

# Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

Number 29 Spring 1982 \$2.00

*No Boom for Women*



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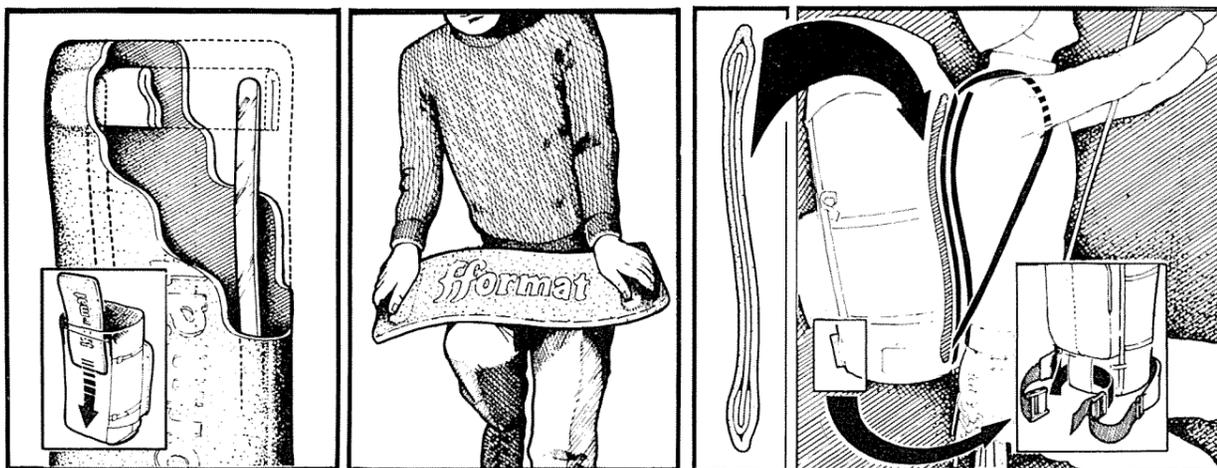
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## Chain Reaction

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Publisher  
Friends of the Earth Australia  
Editors  
Mark Carter, Leigh Holloway,  
Linnell Secomb  
Chief sub-editor  
Jill Taylor  
Letters  
Tim Darling  
Earth News  
Rick Mitchell, Richard Shelton  
Reviews  
Keith Redgen  
Editorial  
David Apswoude, Isobel Attwood,  
Anwar Fazal, Peter Gravier,  
John Hallam, John Hinchcliff,  
Dianne Holly, Annette Horsler,  
Lorraine Jones, Harald Klein,  
Zurha Kiran, Trish Luker,  
Lazarus Lazarukis, Geoff Lazarus,  
Vince Mahon, Bob McCormick,  
Judy McDougall, Barbara Miller,  
Jenny Quealy, Bill Reid,  
Bess Secomb, Denis Walls,  
Ben Witham, Ian Wood,  
Dave Worth  
Art  
Toni Chaffey, Bob Clutterbuck,  
Russ Littleton, Lyn McLeavy,  
Bob Smith, Jo Wachter,  
Accountant  
Candy Strahan  
Distribution  
Jonathon Goodfield  
Subscriptions  
Sue Brady, Robyn Carter,  
Margaret Hay  
Advertising  
Leigh Holloway  
(Tel: (03) 63 5995 for rates and  
bookings)  
Consultative group  
Mark Cole, Tim Darling,  
Jules Davison, Des Kirk,  
Jenny Quealy, Helen Schwencke  
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Correspondence & enquiries  
*Chain Reaction*, Room 14, Floor  
4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne,  
Vic 3000, Tel: (03) 63 5995; and  
785-787 George St, Sydney,  
NSW 2000, Tel: (02) 211 3953

## CONTENTS

### ALP U TURN



The ALP's uranium policy has been changed considerably. In what way, and why?

10

### LAND CLAIMS OR NO GAMES

The Commonwealth Games are a stark reminder of the illegal seizure of Aboriginal land and the oppression and genocide of Aboriginal people. The Games will provide a focus for international attention on the apartheid system in Queensland.

12

### UNIONS, URANIUM AND YOU

What were the pressures that brought about recent ACTU executive decisions on uranium policy? And what can unions do now to stop uranium mining?

14

### NO BOOM FOR WOMEN

The shift in expenditure towards infrastructure for the 'resource boom' has created only a few service jobs for women. These jobs are mostly part time or casual and low paid. The shift has also caused reductions in social expenditure.

16

### ANTARCTICA GETTING INTO HOT WATER

An eight page *Chain Reaction* supplement looking at threats to the Antarctic ecosystem and the global environment from oil exploitation.

21

### PACIFIC FIRST STRIKE



Reporting on the role played by the network of military bases and facilities throughout the west Pacific and Indian Oceans in the nuclear first-strike strategy of the USA.

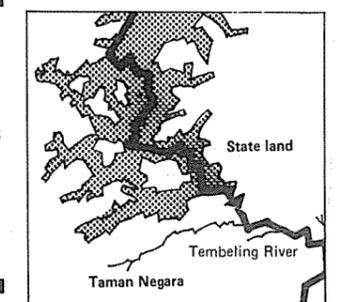
31

### NATIONAL CON

The Australian National Conservation Strategy suggests that we need to 'integrate conservation with development'. But rational use of our natural resources may be incompatible with our economic system.

37

### MALAY DAM



The 110-megawatt Tembeling hydroelectric project will submerge 130 sq km of peninsular Malaysia's only National Park and will displace 5000 people. Other sites and energy sources are available but work may begin in 1984.

39

FOE NEWS	2
LETTERS	3
EARTH NEWS	5
BACKSTAGE	9
REVIEWS	41
ACTION GUIDE	48

Cover: Latrobe Valley (Photo: Friends of the Earth Collingwood). Inset: Woman working as pattern cutter in the clothing industry (Photo: Ponch Hawks). Design: Margie Kaye.

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Contributions to *Chain Reaction* are invited. Please try to send items typed, on one side of the page, double spaced and with wide margins. Keep a copy. We do not have sufficient resources and people to return manuscripts. These few guidelines help in bringing out the magazine better and faster. The summer edition will appear in early December 1982.

# FOE GROUPS

**BLUE MOUNTAINS** 94 Waratah St, Katoomba, NSW 2780 (047) 82 2701  
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**RYDE** 18 Kokoda St, North Ryde, NSW 2113 (02) 88 2429  
**SOUTH AUSTRALIA** 310 Angas St, Adelaide, SA 5000 (08) 223 6917, (08) 223 5155  
**SYDNEY** Floor 1, 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000 (02) 211 3953  
**UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA** Guild of Undergraduates, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009  
**CHAIN REACTION** Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000 (03) 63 5995 and Floor 1, 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000 (02) 211 3953

Dear Friends of the Earth

Please find enclosed my membership fee of \$ ..... (as rates below).

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Membership fees: NSW \$16 (\$8 concession); Vic \$20 (\$15); WA \$15 (\$7.50) or whatever you can afford; Qld \$15 (\$10); SA, NT, Tas, ACT \$10 or what ever you can afford. *Chain Reaction* is sent free to all members of Friends of the Earth and some groups also send members newsletters and provide discounts at their bookshops. Enquire from your local FOE group. Make cheques payable to Friends of the Earth and post to the group nearest you - see list above. Donations are very welcome. Contact us for details on how to make tax deductible donations to FOE.



Bill Reid, of Friends of the Earth Ryde, with the radiation hazard symbol on the pipeline through Lane Cove National Park, Sydney.

## Ryde radiation

Friends of the Earth (Ryde) have found oddly placed radiation hazard warning signs on a pipeline in the Lane Cove National Park, on Sydney Harbour.

The big questions are: What is the pipeline carrying? And, from where? Bill Reid, a member of FOE Ryde, is determined to let the public know what is actually going through their local sewer mains. After discovering the radiation hazard warning signs, his concern led to the founding of a committee devoted to rectifying the problem.

### Willawong waste dump

A recent House of Representatives standing committee on environment and conservation investigation on hazardous chemical wastes reported on the appalling state of liquid chemical disposal at the Willawong liquid waste disposal dump in the outer suburbs of Brisbane.

The committee disclosed that wastes unsuitable for the most well-controlled landfill have been dumped at Willawong, including cyanides and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). These toxic wastes were escaping from the site into nearby creeks which flow into the Brisbane River.

The committee also reported on near fatal accidents occurring because of the lack of knowledge and treatment of wastes. All staff at the liquid waste disposal dump had been advised by their doctors to give up their jobs because they had illnesses including kidney malfunctions, blood disorders and liver diseases.

Bad publicity resulting from the report eventually forced the city council to start a 'clean-up' of the site which will lead to its closedown. It is then proposed to top the ground with 2-3 m of dry garbage as a landfill and then to use the area as a sportsfield

The Water Board and the Division of Occupational Health and Radiation Control have failed, so far, to give any written explanation despite requests.

In investigating the contents of the mains, the committee has found they contain radioactive wastes. Action has been taken by the committee by writing to the NSW Health Minister, Lawrence J. Brereton, in an effort to find records listing government departments and private companies using radioactive materials in the area.

Zurha Kiran

regardless of the chemicals underneath remaining toxic for several hundred years.

FOE (Brisbane) is investigating the situation and will be working with the local protest group. They will research further the health effects of these dangerous wastes and plan to contact, and work with, the relevant unions.

### FOE constitution

An absolute majority of eligible groups has voted for adoption of the Friends of the Earth Australia constitution, as recommended by the FOE Australia January 1982 national meeting.

The following groups voted in favour of the constitution: *Chain Reaction*, FOE Collingwood, FOE Monash University, FOE La Trobe University, FOE Burnie, FOE Blue Mountains, FOE Brisbane, FOE South Australia, FOE University of Western Australia, FOE Perth, FOE Sydney, FOE Darwin, FOE Eltham, FOE Port Pirie, FOE Ryde.

FOE Canberra voted against adoption of the constitution.

The following groups did not vote: FOE Northern Yorke Peninsula, FOE Glen Waverley, FOE Mitcham, FOE Oakleigh, FOE Hobart.

Leigh Holloway

### Ecology/ideology

\* I hope you can publish this rather-too-long-a-letter piece. I worked bloody hard for FOE for twelve months (which is more than some people, but less than others) and came out of the experience worried by the problem of ideology (or lack of it) within FOE.

FOE appeared to me to be fragmented. Some campaigns were run on a liberal-authoritarian structure, while in others attempts at collectivism were made. Some argued that FOE's many varied campaigns required equally varied methods and that a uniform structure or commitment to an ideology would be repressive. I found that the lack of uniform policy did not lead to freer thinking, but to confused practice and internal faction-fights. Often there was a sense of 'reaction' rather than planned action.

In that every action, and every structure, implicitly supports some ideological position (whether those involved realise it or not!), failure to examine the ideological implications of actions can result in unwitting support of hostile viewpoints.

It is in light of these sorts of considerations that your 'Ecology and Ideology' series is valuable to FOE, and progressive.

I disagree strongly with the anti-intellectualist position that Andrew Herington seemed to be stating in his letter in *Chain Reaction* 28. It is this type of position which is potentially dangerous, and a major source of internal division within FOE.

We are much closer now to nuclear holocaust and genetic wipeout than ever before. However, education and complex information is no longer available to only the privileged few. The general public is better informed and more sophisticated, and unimpressed with protests and demonstrations which are not backed by sound, coherent theory.

Information, education, and verbal articulation are what we need to develop in the eighties. Our 'enemies', both private and governmental, have power,

money and technology at their disposal, which we can't match. They employ, directly or indirectly, qualified scientists, intellectuals and academics to (mis)inform and (mis)educate the public. These we can match, if we would only stop alienating those people with these skills who are sympathetic or actual members. Our weapons must include commitment, organisation, and quality information. These can only be consolidated in an explicit, coherent ideological framework.

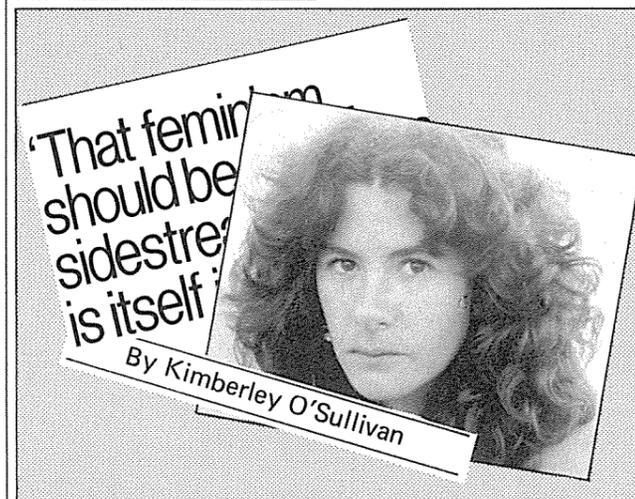
Margaret Jones  
Waverton, NSW

the number of issues will only make money problems worse.

Ruth Folkers  
Prospect, SA

We at FOE Collingwood are not happy about several aspects of the latest *Chain Reaction*.

Many women here feel insulted by the Kimberley O'Sullivan article. FOE has come a long way from the situation that existed three or four years ago when Kimberley worked with FOE. We, the women at FOE, have fought hard for what we have achieved. We have far more



On reading through the Winter '82 edition of *Chain Reaction*, a more important question than the frequency of *Chain Reaction* is its content.

On a South Australian and a national scale, the Honeymoon uranium project is a very important stage in the environment movement's fight against uranium mining. The May action at Honeymoon then was very important, but only half a column was written about it.

While the article on sexual harassment is very important, *Chain Reaction* isn't the place for it. Friends of the Earth groups all over Australia are fighting enough issues as it is, though the environment movement as a whole can learn a lot from the women's movement.

By having four issues a year and closely looking at their content, you may then have resources to buy typewriters, a photocopier, filing cabinets, etc. Increasing

women than men working with us. The women now are to the fore in the decision making in all our campaigns.

The Honeymoon action was the first national action at a uranium mine. It was very successful, particularly in making the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia a practical reality rather than just a twice-yearly conference. That the action should be basically ignored by the magazine that bills itself 'the main anti-nuclear magazine in Australia' (Leigh Holloway's words) is unforgivable.

The Marxist rhetoric of the Wollongong article does not reflect our feelings that the answers to the problems to our industrialised world lie beyond capitalism or socialism, and require a new way of thinking.

We passed the following motion at our last strategy meeting: That we take steps through the consultative group to have inserted in the

# LETTERS

next and all subsequent issues of *Chain Reaction* a statement to the effect that the views expressed in *Chain Reaction* articles are the views of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of FOE.

Denise Chevalier  
for the FOE Collingwood collective  
Collingwood, Vic

As a FOE worker in particular, and on behalf of the FOE people who have read Kimberley O'Sullivan's article, I would like to voice my disapproval at such an article appearing in *Chain Reaction*. Certainly no such situation as Ms O'Sullivan suggests exists at FOE and such derogatory comments reflect badly on both the workers of FOE and FOE as a group.

This letter is being sent to all FOE groups - to let our views be known!

Cathy Brotherton  
Perth, WA

We are pleased that sexism as an ideology is being discussed openly (*CR* 27 and 28). Whilst sexism is not new to, nor specific to, the environment movement there is certainly room for continued discussion.

Kimberley O'Sullivan (*CR* 28) writes of the specific instance of her experience in FOE, but she would agree with us that sexism is evident everywhere around us.

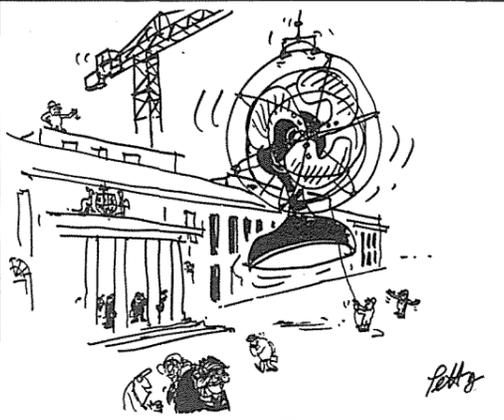
What is sexism? Sexism refers to the realisation that all other things (wealth, class, race) being equal, men have more power than women. We need to ask: Do women and men have equal power in the environment movement? The answer must be no.

It is clear that there are more women than men working with Friends of the Earth, Movement Against Uranium Mining, People for Nuclear Disarmament ...

through to local conservation groups. This is not surprising, as middle-class women often give voluntary labour to

continued page 46

When it hits the fan...



let us take the blame

Chain Reaction guarantees anonymity and the utmost discretion to those in the Public Service and industry wishing to pass on information in the public interest. Our address is Chain Reaction, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000 and our telephone (03) 63 5995.

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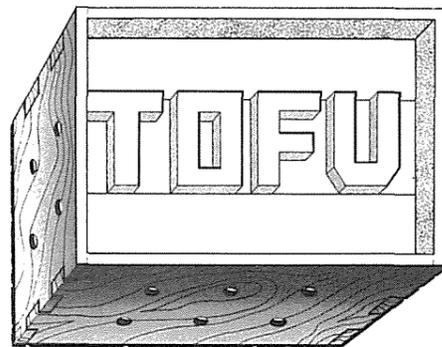
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## EARTH NEWS



JOHN HINCHCLIFF

Anti-nuclear armaments demonstration in front of the United Nations building in New York, United States of America. The demonstration was 800 000 strong.

### United Nations vs Reagan

The recent United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in New York, United States of America, is easy to dismiss as an irrelevant and expensive non-event.

The special session was destined to fail in its great mission to establish a comprehensive program of disarmament within specific time frames because of the power of veto. Nevertheless, the valiant attempt of so many non-aligned, Third World and concerned aligned countries to establish a twenty year program for disarmament has been worthwhile.

The negotiators have assessed and confronted the crucial issues. The moment the USA accepts the principle of disarmament, the procedures and machinery will be ready for quick and effective action.

The recent concentrated outpouring of popular and diplomatic concern has forced the USA leaders to take a more conciliatory approach to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Reagan has shelved his demand that the USSR withdraw from Afghanistan before disarmament talks could begin. The USA Congress House Foreign Affairs Committee voted 26 to 4 in favour of the nuclear freeze resolution, however, the House of Representatives defeated the resolution by 104 to 102, which reflects Reagan's power.

No-one who attended the special session or the forum of non-governmental representatives could have failed to be impressed by the 800 000 people who marched in New York City in opposition to nuclear armaments.

### Roxby floors 'em

The South Australian upper house, at 11 am on 18 June 1982, passed a bill known as the Roxby Downs-Indenture Ratification Act.

The bill had previously been defeated by the same house at 1.40 am on 17 June, amid extraordinary scenes as Labor MLC Norm Foster clashed with members of his own party. Minutes after the defeat of the bill Foster resigned from the ALP.

On 18 June, the government recalled the upper house and Foster crossed the floor and voted with the Liberals. The premier of South Australia, Mr Tonkin, called the vote 'a great day for South Australia'.

The opposition did not share his enthusiasm. Their objections were based on Friends of the Earth's (FOE) submissions to the select committee, that the indenture:

- is premature;
- places the joint venturers, Western Mining Corporation and British Petroleum, in an overly privileged position by protecting them from the normal operation of almost a

dozen state and commonwealth acts;

- disallows the imposition of stringent environmental and radiation protection standards by the SA parliament;
- pre-empts the commonwealth environmental impact statements (EIS) procedures.

### Nicaragua floods

In just six days beginning 22 May 1982, Nicaragua received 8600 mm of torrential rains, almost half what it normally receives in a year. These disastrous floods are a tragic setback for the reconstruction of Nicaragua following the civil war which ousted the USA-backed Somoza dictatorship in July 1979.

Western media coverage of the Nicaraguan floods has been very small.

The damage in Nicaragua has included: over 100 people dead; 60 000 people left homeless; and loss of 60% of the basic food grains harvest.

Action: In Australia, the Committees in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean (CISCAC) have launched an appeal for funds to help Nicaragua overcome the disaster. Donations can be sent via CISCAC, PO Box A431, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Source: *Venceremos*, July 1982.

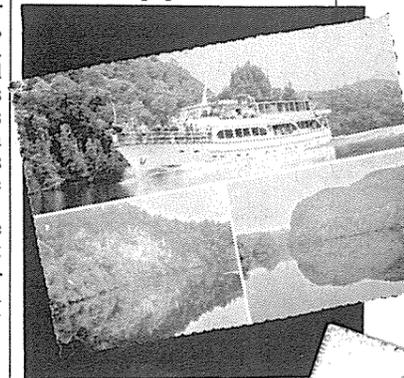
### Overpowered

Power consumption in Tasmania grew by 1.8% compared with the Hydro-Electric Commission's forecast of 3.0%, for the year ending May 1982. Since then, TEMCO, EZ and COMALCO among others have all announced reductions in operations, potentially a 10% reduction in Tasmania's overall power usage by late 1983.

Meanwhile, support for the campaign for the South West Tasmanian wilderness is increasing on the mainland. In

Tourist postcard from the Gordon River in South West Tasmania.

the Australian Capital Territory House of Assembly elections in June, 41% of voters wrote 'No dams' on their ballot papers.



## Wollongong workers' woe

A meeting of steelworkers in early August called for a stop-work meeting of all Wollongong Broken Hill Proprietary (BHP) workers to plan a fight against BHP's job-cutting plans.

The meeting was announced in the local paper and publicised in a five-language leaflet throughout the steelworks. Child care was provided.

It was resolved that:

This meeting of steelworkers and citizens declares its full support for a stop-work meeting at the Wollongong showground. We are now aware of what the companies are doing in the steel industry, which is to take advantage of the oversupply of steel to introduce job-destroying technology.

Elsewhere in Wollongong 600 ironworkers struck when Metal Manufacturers sacked fifteen workers.

Source: *Tribune* 4 August 1982.

## TMI rejected

By an overwhelming margin of two to one, residents in the area of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, Pennsylvania USA, voted on Tuesday 18 May 1982 to keep the undamaged Unit One reactor closed down. The question put to the voters was: 'Do you favour the restart of TMI Unit One which was not involved in the accident on March 28 1979?'

At the time of the accident at the Unit Two plant, Unit One was closed down for maintenance work. Since then the reactor has not been allowed to start up.

President Reagan responded by saying that the decision to restart was 'too complex an issue for voters to decide'.

Source: World Information Service on Energy, *News Communiqué* May 1982.

## Windscale world's worst

The United Kingdom's Windscale reprocessing plant is the world's most polluting nuclear establishment, according to a report from the Political Ecology Research Group (PERG). PERG, which is based in Oxford, UK, and consists largely of persons with doctorate degrees, has conducted research into a variety of environmental areas.



According to Peter Taylor, author of the report, 'The UK accounts for at least 95% of

all sea-dumped radioactivity and Windscale is easily responsible for more than half of this'.

Over the last 25 years, the plant has released more than 250 kg of plutonium into the Irish Sea. Its closest rival is the French plant at Cap de la Hague which averages a yearly discharge of 30 curies compared to Windscale's 1000-1500 curies.

Taylor says Windscale's discharges are 'particularly disturbing' because of the volatile nature of the Irish Sea, which stirs up the sediment that the plutonium is supposed to stay buried in, leading to resuspension.

Source: World Information Service on Energy, *News Communiqué* May 1982.

## Global pesticides

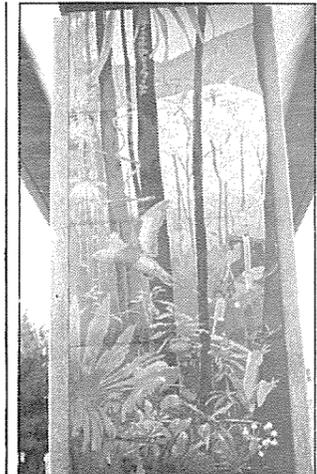
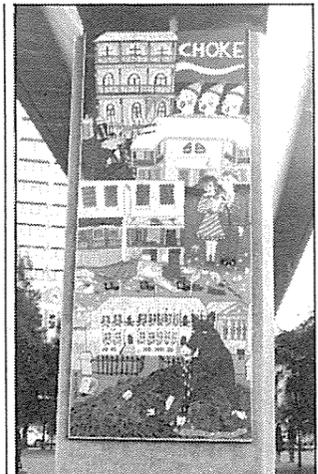
Hundreds of thousands of people are being poisoned each year, thousands fatally, due to the indiscriminate sale and misuse of hazardous

chemical pesticides throughout the world.

The Pesticide Action Network (PAN) International was formed at a conference in Malaysia in May 1982 to combat the threat posed by multi-national corporations' aggressive marketing of dangerous chemicals. Consumer, environmental and development action groups from sixteen countries attended the conference, hosted by the International Organization of Consumers Unions and Friends of the Earth Malaysia.

Two Australian organisations are founding members of PAN International: Australian Consumers Association and the Food Justice Centre FOE Collingwood. These groups are working on both the Australian and international dimensions of hazardous chemical pesticide abuse. Contact: Australian Consumers Association, 28 Queen St, Chippendale, NSW 2008; Tel: (02) 698 9200. Food Justice Centre, FOE Collingwood, 366 Smith St, Collingwood, Vic 3066; Tel: (03) 419 8700.

## Woolloomooloo mural history



The homeless people who live underneath the railway bridge in the Sydney suburb of Woolloomooloo didn't get the garbage bin they wanted for their empties, instead the bridge pylons have been decorated with sixteen murals.

The murals were funded by the Australia Council (formerly the Australian Council for the Arts), the Waterside Workers Federation, the Federated Engine Drivers & Firemen's Association and other groups. Half of the murals are permanent and depict the history of Woolloomooloo, the other half are temporary and are to be replaced after one year.

Left: This permanent mural represents the resident and union action involved when developers evicted tenants from low-income housing in Victoria Street, Woolloomooloo, with threats and thuggery. The Builders Laborers Federation acted in support of residents by imposing green bans on the wrecking of empty houses on the street. By Marilyn Fairisky and Michael Dolk.

Centre: Temporary mural on the shortage of low-income housing by Toby Zoates.

Right: Temporary mural on conserving rainforest by Angela Gee.

## Operation Homecoming

Operation Homecoming, a native peoples' protest, has been underway since 19 June 1982 on Kwajalein atoll, a part of the Marshall Islands, 4000 km south-west of Hawaii.

The atoll consists of a 2300-sq-km lagoon enclosed by some 90 islands. This lagoon is the target for the USA's long-range nuclear-missile-testing program. It is here where they calculate the circular error probability of the missile. With this test data the USA claims to predict the probability of destroying a target. The more accurate the missile the more likely its possible use for 'first strike'.

The traditional owners of Kwajalein Islands, 280 ha in size, were evicted by the USA navy in 1959 to Ebeye Island, only 65 ha in size. Later the USA army took over the base, claiming more islands. Today the population of Ebeye numbers 8000.

Conditions on Ebeye are described as slum. The lack of

water and sewerage facilities, coupled with massive overcrowding and an inadequate hospital, ensures that disease is hard to control. The contrast with the facilities now existing on Kwajalein Island is dramatic. Residents of Ebeye are only permitted on Kwajalein to work for \$USA1.50 (\$A1.50) an hour, servicing the swimming pools, the country club, and other recreational and health facilities.

Operation Homecoming protests against the latest deal between the USA and the Marshallese government which ignores the plight of Ebeye Island. The 'Compact of Free Association' with the USA grants the Marshallese government control of its domestic politics in exchange for a 50-year Kwajalein lease and military dominance of the region.

In August a referendum of some 5000 traditional owners of Kwajalein atoll will decide whether they wish to continue to have their land occupied by the USA nuclear-missile-testing base.

## 1700 drugs banned

Dr Zafarulla Chowdhury of the People's Health Centre in Bangladesh has accused some of the world's largest drug companies of forming a cartel.

Of the 2300 brand-named medicines available in Bangladesh, only slightly more than 10% contain 'essential' drugs. As a result of a government survey into pharmaceutical marketing practices, 270 drugs have been withdrawn from sale immediately and a further 1700 will be withdrawn over the next six months. This has been seen as a direct attack on the multi-national drug companies' aggressive marketing methods.

In January 1982 Chowdhury opened a factory designed to supply 15-20% of the Bangladeshi market in 'essential' drugs (as the World Health Organisation defines them). The factory, called Gonosasthaya Pharmaceuticals Ltd (GPL), aims to sell its drugs for 35-50% less than the prices the multi-

national companies charge for equivalent substances, and still make a profit of between 10 and 15%. It will reinvest half its profit, and spend the rest on medical research - especially into the medicinal properties of local herbs.

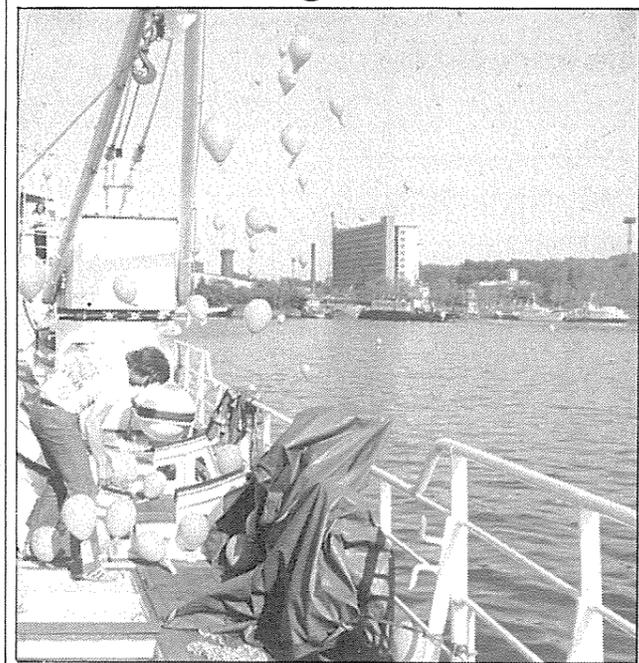
GPL wants to break into the market by supplying government hospitals and clinics. But when the government invited tenders for drugs in 1981 the multi-nationals undercut GPL's bids. For each drug, there was at least one multi-national tender at a lower price. The new prices were lower than those the companies had tendered in 1980, Chowdhury said.

Chowdhury alleges that each multi-national agreed to cut its price on one drug, making a loss in one area, but keeping GPL out of the market.

Source: *New Scientist* 4 February 1982.

Action: Letters of support should be directed to the Minister for Health, Dacca, Bangladesh.

## Sirius in Leningrad



A crew member of the Greenpeace campaign vessel the *Sirius* releases balloons marked with the white dove peace symbol above the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' port of Leningrad. The *Sirius*, after a tour of Scandinavian countries, visited Leningrad to protest against USSR nuclear weapons testing.

## Soweto

In memoriam notices placed in the *Adelaide Advertiser* 16 June 1982 to commemorate the massacre of black South Africans at Soweto.

- SOWETO.** — We mourn all those killed at Soweto. A peaceful student protest against third-rate education was met with tear-gas and bullets. June 16, 1976, became 'Soweto Day', a symbol of the determination of black South Africans to achieve human dignity, equal rights and economic justice in their homeland.
- It is not known how many fell on June 16, or in the months following. Those for whom 'In Memoriam' notes appear in this paper are included under the heading 'Killed by Police' in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots at Soweto... chaired by P. M. Cliffe.
- Today the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation expresses deep sympathy for those who have given their lives in the struggle to create a just society. We are deeply saddened that the intransigence of the white minority government has closed off all constitutional means of change. We know that June 16, 1976, ushered in a new phase in the struggle for a just society in South Africa and that today this struggle continues. — CARE.
- AMATENDE, Elisa.** — 21 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by John Luckens.
- AMATENDE, Elisa.** — 21 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Sharon Mengersen.
- BARRON, James.** — 28 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Richie Gun.
- BARRON, James.** — 28 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Louise Rogers.
- BOGALE, Meshack.** — 18 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Richard Walsh.
- BOGALE, Meshack.** — 18 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Richard Walsh.
- BY NELL LEAN.**
- KGAPULE, Edward.** — 20 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Leonie Ebert.
- KGAYE, Kabelo.** — 48 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Chris White.
- KONGOANA, Ariel.** — 30 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Bruce Rosen.
- KONGOANA, Ariel.** — 30 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Karobi Mukherjee.
- KGUPISE, Herbert.** — 19 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Chris Schacht.
- KHALANE, George.** — 23 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jim Oke.
- KHAMBULE, Godfrey.** — 12 years. Shot by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Prue Luxton.
- KHAMBULE, Godfrey.** — 12 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Derek Robertson.
- KHAMBULE, Godfrey.** — 12 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jodie and Sandra.
- KHUMALO, Ephraim.** — 43 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Anisimoff family.
- KHUMALO, Zolile.** — 16 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Marilyn Evans.
- KOLANE, Doctor.** — 16 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Senator Ron Elstob.
- KUBEKA, Johannes.** — 21 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jackie.
- MAKGETLA, Dav.** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by George Apap.
- MAKHABANE, years.** Killed by police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Earl Moore and family.
- MASHANINI, I years.** Killed by police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Barry S.
- MATSEPE, Jeffre** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Amalgamated and Shipwrights Australian State Tumbers, State S.
- MBATHA, Cleme** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jessie Maher.
- MBEBE, Frank.** — led by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Miriam Tonki.
- MBEKE, Princess** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Robyn and M.
- MBELE, Simon.** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Christine Gile.
- MDA, John.** — 32 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Anisimoff family.
- MEVANA, David** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Ralph Blech.
- MGEMANE, Mori** — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Chris and Ber.
- MITHI, Lily.** — 8 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jackie.

## Swedish radar

In a major victory for the Scandinavian peace movement in June 1982, the Swedish High Court of Appeals softened the sentence of New Zealand peace researcher Owen Wilkes, who was convicted in January of 'gross unauthorised access to secret information'. With his professional interest in radar technology, Wilkes had made observations, from public roads, of some Swedish defence installations he had noticed during a ten-day cycling holiday.

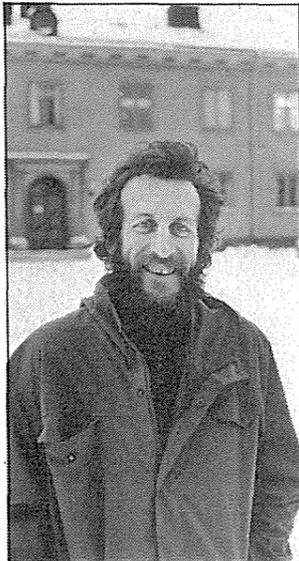
Wilkes' sentence has been reduced from six months' jail and life expulsion from Sweden to a token conditional jail term and expulsion for ten years.

The High Court accepted that several of the installations Wilkes observed actually belonged to telecommunications and civil aviation authorities, and denied the argument of military witnesses that Wilkes had gained a 'penetrating view' of the Swedish defence system. But the court still

maintained that some of the information he gathered was secret and would be detrimental to national security if revealed.

Swedes protesting against his conviction have cycled the same route, making observations of the same installations without repercussion. Wilkes believes he is being persecuted to deter other researchers, perhaps because of a possible secret link between neutral Sweden and the NATO bloc.

Wilkes plans to appeal further to the Swedish Supreme Court.



Owen Wilkes

## CNFA meets

The Campaign for a Nuclear-free Australia (CNFA) met on 23-25 July 1982 in Canberra to plan national action for the campaign for the next six months. It was agreed to:

- develop an alternative economic and energy strategy for Australia;
- offer assistance to the ACTU in its anti-uranium educational program and to educate CNFA groups about issues and problems important to trade unions and workers;
- organise a national boycott of British Petroleum products (BP are part-investors in the Roxby uranium mine);
- organise a bicycle ride against the Roxby uranium mine.

The meeting provided an important opportunity for activists to discuss issues and strategies. However it became clear during the meeting that the lack of structure of the organisation was hindering decision-making. In particular there needs to be greater awareness of what is possible on a national level in terms of action, coordination and issues. These problems were recognised and discussed, and efforts are being made to formulate proposals for changes at the next meeting.

## Transition

After 2 August 1982, the Australian Council of Trade Unions will be located at ACTU House, 393-397 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000; Tel: (03) 347 3966.

The Canberra Programme for Peace Committee can be contacted through the convenor: Stephen Bartos, PO Box 1562, Canberra City, ACT 2601; Tel: (062) 47 3560.

The Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia secretariat has moved to the Greenpeace Sydney office (see below).

The Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament has moved to the Fourth Floor, 252 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000; Tel: (03) 663 3677. Their postal address is GPO Box 114A, Melbourne, Vic 3001.

Friends of the Earth Sydney, Tel: (02) 211 3953, Greenpeace, Sydney, Tel: (02) 211 0089, and the Movement Against Uranium Mining New South Wales, Tel: (02) 212 4538, have all moved to 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000.

The Fund for Animals Ltd has moved to First Floor, 14 Sydney Rd, Manly, NSW 2095.

The Lismore Environment Centre has moved to 123 Keen St, Lismore, NSW 2480.

Tasmanian Wilderness Society has opened an office at Shop 8, 399 Lonsdale St, Melbourne, Vic 3000; Tel: (03) 67 5884.

The Environment Centre (Victoria) opens on 30 August 1982 at 285-287 Little Lonsdale St, Melbourne, Vic 3000; Tel: (03) 663 1561. The postal address is GPO Box 854J, Melbourne, Vic 3001. Groups at the centre are: Bicycle Institute of Victoria, Conservation Council of Victoria, Environment Studies Association of Victoria, MAUM Victoria, Murray Valley League for Development and Conservation, Native Forests Action Council, Project Jonah, and the Victorian National Parks Association. This centre is the merger of the Victorian Environment Centre and the Environment Action Centre.

1992

MARK CARTER



## Chain Reaction frequency

*Chain Reaction* may be issued more frequently in the near future. The plan is to move from issuing four editions a year up to six. This is a recommendation of the magazine's editors and collective.

Friends of the Earth Australia owns the magazine. FOE consists of 20 local groups plus the CR collectives. A poll which closed on 30 June 1982 resulted in a majority favouring an increase in the frequency of editions.

The following ten groups voted in favour of the increase: *Chain Reaction*, FOE Sydney, FOE Blue Mountains, FOE Brisbane, FOE La Trobe University, FOE Darwin, FOE Mitcham, FOE Canberra, FOE Ryde, FOE Monash.

The following seven groups voted against the increase: FOE South Australia, FOE Burnie, FOE Collingwood, FOE Eltham, FOE Port Pirie, FOE University of Western Australia, FOE Perth.

These groups did not vote: FOE

Northern Yorke Peninsula, FOE Oakleigh, FOE Hobart, FOE Glen Waverley.

The FOE Australia constitution makes clear that 'each group shall have one vote and a simple majority of completed votes shall decide the ballot'.

Two factors have now led the magazine's collective to not implement that change until the next FOE Australia national meeting, which is to be held in January 1983 near Adelaide. First, there is a strong probability that the orders for each edition would decline from two of the biggest FOE groups - Perth and Collingwood. Collingwood are considering making *Chain Reaction* an optional part of membership of FOE rather than always include it. Second, current changes within the magazine (as detailed below) have led the group to feel it would be better equipped to make the change in a few months' time.

### Thankyou

This edition of *Chain Reaction* is the last to be produced with Mark Carter and Leigh Holloway as editors.

The collective would like to thank them both for the enormous amounts of energy, enthusiasm and commitment which they have expended in what is often a thankless job. They have been editors since early April 1980 and have been instrumental in developing *Chain Reaction* in many areas.

### We were wrong

We wish to apologise to Mark Cole and Mike Donaldson for an error in the article 'Wollongong in Crisis', *Chain Reaction* 28, page 28. We printed - 'The labour movement has the numbers on the committee but despite this the petite bourgeoisie are well resented.' It should have read - 'The labour movement has the numbers on the committee but despite this the petite bourgeoisie are well represented.'

## Country helpers

We are always calling for volunteers to help with this national magazine of energy, environment and food issues. CR has offices in Melbourne and Sydney and it is easy for people in those cities to become involved. But there are also things that can be done in country towns or other major cities. Here's a few ideas.

• *Watch out for stories.* Sydney and Melbourne are just specks on any map of Australia and in the main we must rely on you to tell us what's happening in the rest of the country.

What are the issues in your area? Are there problems in the rural industry which CR should be covering - with pesticides, erosion, water, mining, forestry? Are locals taking up these issues - or the controversy over seed patenting? You can even offer to write material on environmental issues in your area. Then CR can tell others, and give encouragement through building an understanding of community conflicts and action.

• *Contact your local conservation societies and other community groups.* Urge them to provide information to CR. Suggest that they urge their members to become subscribers or that at least the group takes out a sub. Maybe they can even afford to donate to the *Chain Reaction* Appeal for financial support, to help keep the magazine afloat.

• *Help us to reach more people.* Make sure your local library, school, college, or community centre subscribes to *Chain Reaction*. Encourage your friends to as well, or give them a gift subscription. Don't forget about your local councils and political parties, particularly your local members. Our politicians must be told that voters are worried about matters concerning the environment, energy use, food etc.

Don't forget to join your local FOE group or, if there isn't one, get one going!

• *Tell CR what you think of the magazine.* Finally, we are always interested in comment on the magazine and how it can be improved. Don't hesitate to write to us.

### Deadline

Deadline for Summer *Chain Reaction*. For both editorial and advertising please send material to *Chain Reaction* by 8 October 1982. Enquiries: Melbourne 63 5995 or Sydney 211 3953.

## USS Goldsborough - nuclear threat



Demonstrators meet USS Goldsborough at Station Pier, Melbourne, 4 August 1982.

MAARTEN WOOD

JANE NICHOLLS

# ALP U turn

The decision of the July 1982 federal conference of the Australian Labor Party to abandon its previously strong stand on uranium has been widely condemned as an exercise in political expediency. With Bill Hayden flying around the country defending the new policy, debate within the ALP over its future is vigorous. Here **Joe Camilleri** analyses the text of the new policy and **Geoff Roberts** puts forward an explanation of why the policy has changed.

The decision of the recent ALP federal conference to abandon its previously strong stand on uranium has been widely condemned as an exercise in political expediency. It has surprised and angered a great many people inside and outside the Labor Party who have come to share a deep concern about the dangers of uranium mining, nuclear power and nuclear war.

The new policy, which was adopted by a vote of 53 to 46, takes the form of a long amendment (20 clauses in all) to the previous policy. The amendment is a confusing and confused document. It shows remarkable ignorance of the current state of the nuclear industry and of the problems associated with so-called safeguards. It is long on rhetoric and short on concrete action. Its sole purpose is to enable a future Labor government to proceed with the mining and export of uranium.

Why was it necessary, in spite of all the dangers associated with the nuclear industry, to weaken the ALP's principled stand on uranium? Why should the previous commitment to repudiate all contracts be modified? Because, we are told, of 'the difficulties which could be encountered in the implementation of that commitment' (•9C). But these difficulties are nowhere spelt out.

No doubt a government concerned about the welfare of the workers currently employed in the uranium industry would wish to provide for

*Joe Camilleri is a member of the ALP and lectures in the Department of Politics at La Trobe University, Melbourne.*

'adjustment assistance, compensation and alternative employment opportunities' (•17). But such a task would hardly pose insurmountable difficulties or cost more than \$20 million. As for the Aboriginal communities, they are unlikely to benefit much from mining projects which threaten to destroy their land and culture. A government genuinely committed to Aboriginal rights would have little difficulty in devising, in close cooperation with the communities involved, an altogether more constructive program of development.

This only leaves the mining industry. But since 1977 the uranium companies and their shareholders have been repeatedly warned that if they invested in the industry they would be doing so at their own risk. If, as is acknowledged, 'an ALP government has neither a moral, legal or political obligation to compensation to the industry' (•9B), then what other difficulties remain to be faced? No doubt powerful mining and financial interests would be displeased and attempt to apply pressure, but that is hardly a reason for giving in to such pressures.

In capitulating to these pressures the new ALP policy proposes to 'phase out' the uranium industry (•9C). Yet nothing is said about how it is to be phased out, how long it will take to phase out, or how the phasing out will, in fact, overcome the difficulties referred to above. A not unreasonable interpretation might be that the phasing out would take until 1996, the date by which all existing contracts are expected to have been fulfilled.

It is claimed that the policy will apply to mines in production as of July 1982 (•9C), and will not permit new mines to be opened during the lifetime of an ALP government (•9D). But nothing is said about new contracts which may be signed between July 1982 and the date of the next federal election. Will a Labor government be committed to honouring all such contracts? If so, we face the prospect of a spate of new contracts (economic conditions allowing); in other words, a repetition of what happened in the few weeks immediately prior to the 1972 elections.

Finally, the new policy allows for some new uranium mines to be developed under a Labor government provided the project involves 'the mining of other minerals' (•10C). This is the loophole needed to give the go ahead to the Roxby Downs project. There is therefore every likelihood that in the first few years of a Labor government we might see not a contraction but an expansion of the uranium industry.

The document goes on to list a number of conditions which a Labor government would impose on the export of Australia's uranium. Much of the language here is strangely reminiscent of the way the Fraser government has often defended its safeguards policy.

We are told that Australia would try to influence international arrangements regarding wastes and non-proliferation (•10A). But influence in what way? And how effective would such influence be?

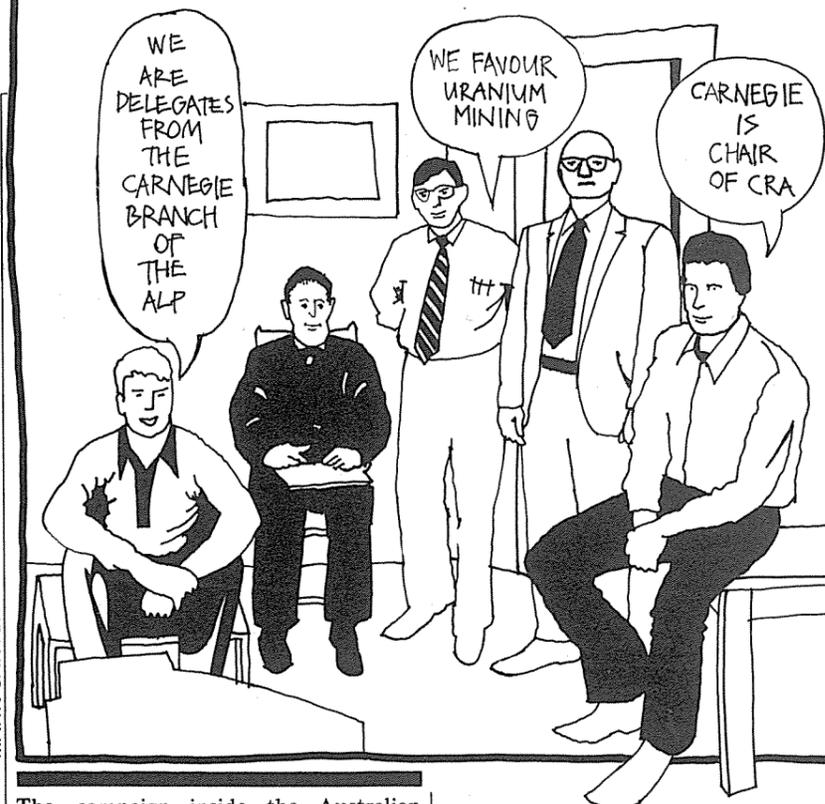
We are told that existing bilateral safeguards agreements will be reviewed and perhaps renegotiated (•10B). But in order to achieve what objectives? At no stage is any indication given of the principles that would apply. All we are offered are a few vague, confused examples (•12), one being that uranium exports to France will be stopped unless the French government ceases all nuclear testing in the Pacific. But atomic tests in the Pacific, deplorable though they are, are not the main reason why we should not sell uranium to France. What if the French government continues its testing in some other part of the world? What if in a year or two it has no further need for nuclear testing? The cessation of testing in the Pacific is hardly enough reason for supplying uranium to a dangerous nuclear industry which includes the development of hazardous reprocessing and breeder technologies.

The great flaw in all the safeguards listed in the ALP policy is that they cannot prevent the possibility of proliferation. The claim that Australia should 'monitor the nuclear activities of other countries and their propensity to develop weapons capabilities' (•16) is absurd. If the International Atomic Energy Agency cannot do this effectively — and it cannot, as several highly respected inquiries, including our own Fox inquiry, have clearly spelt out, it is hardly likely that Australia will be able to do so.

The document's vague concluding commitments (•13, 14, 15, 16) would be far more convincing if they had been backed up by concrete decisions at the ALP federal conference. In reality, the ALP has yet to formulate a coordinated energy policy based on energy conservation, the rapid development of renewable energy sources, particularly solar power, and positive encouragement for energy industries that are job creating and environmentally safe. As for nuclear disarmament, the Labor party has yet to oppose the stationing on Australian soil of military bases linking Australia with America's nuclear weapons system. And despite the courageous initiative of the Cain government in Victoria, it has yet to adopt a national policy banning the use of Australian port facilities by foreign nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed vessels.

Little or no progress, however, can be expected in any of these areas until and unless the Australian Labor Party reconsiders its present uranium stand and reaffirms its total opposition to the mining and export of uranium, and its commitment to repudiate all existing contracts immediately on coming to government.

MARK CARTER



The campaign inside the Australian Labor Party to overturn the 1982 national conference uranium decision apparently began as the votes were cast. Left-wing delegates rose to their feet, yelling 'division, division' at party president Neville Wran. They knew, as did those who supported the Hogg amendment, that there was no more popular position with the party rank-and-file than the anti-uranium policy. For the first time in many conferences delegates had to enter the centre of the conference hall, divide into two groups, have their names read out and then walk back to their chairs. Loud booing and hissing accompanied those who supported the amendments; cheering and clapping by the large audience for those who voted to retain the policy.

As the weeks roll on after the conference, so the campaign to overturn the new policy gains momentum. Hundreds of branches around the country have formulated, or are about to formulate, critical responses to the conference decision.

One of the interesting features of the rank-and-file rebellion has been the condemnation of the change by ALP branches which have traditionally supported the Labor Party's right wing. The Victorian Brunswick branch recently condemned the policy change despite their long-standing support for Hawke's faction. Branches which lean to the left, such as Fitzroy and North Fitzroy, apparently condemned the policy change in no uncertain terms. They are committed, amongst other things, to supporting moves against the new policy to the extent of providing branch

*Geoff Roberts is a long-time anti-uranium activist in Victoria.*

finances and resources for the campaign inside the party.

Labor Party federal electorate assemblies and state branch meetings are being planned. The major goal of anti-uranium policy supporters is the calling for a special national conference to overturn the new policy by at least four state conferences.

Outside political observers of the ALP might wonder why it is that the vast majority of party members can support one policy yet a majority of the conference delegates support a contrary position. Apparently the explanation lies with the fact that the party's right wing, led by people such as Bob Hawke and Bill Landeryou, had not dared to express their positions at party conferences with the quite considerable risk of alienating their party supporters. They saw their opportunity however when the (now former) socialist left member Bob Hogg moved his amendments. Up until conference began it was thought by observers inside and outside the ALP that a policy change was unlikely. Bill Hayden had attempted, in 1980, to say that the party's objections to uranium mining (eg nuclear proliferation, waste products disposal etc.) had been resolved, but was forced to back down by the storm of protest from many branches.

No changes to the policy were mooted in the months leading up to the conference. It was only in the two weeks before conference that things changed. Hayden attempted to persuade anyone who would listen that a policy change was required. His arguments (based on various ill-conceived electoral considerations), together with Bob Hogg's concern over Hayden's

leadership standing, ensured that sufficient votes were cast for a uranium policy change.

One of the probable outcomes of the policy change will be, as Melbourne Age reporter Phillip Chubb has already identified, the isolation of the Labor right wing, who are more responsible than any other section of the party for the change. It is rumoured that Paul Keating, leader of the NSW right wing, had been pressuring Hayden for a policy change for some time. With a leadership challenge campaign underway Hayden willingly obliged. The pressure coming from Hawke, Keating and others for a policy switch will probably come back in their face with the near-certain weakening of support for them in internal ALP elections.

Other players in the piece have been the mining companies and the media. Mining company lobbying of people such as Hawke and Keating has occurred over many years. It is well-known that Hawke is closely associated with Roderick Carnegie, head of CRA, and has had associations with multi-national corporation trouble-shooter Alan Carroll. Keating is a regular at mining corporation association functions. One might get the impression that it is from these sorts of connections that the impetus for the policy change originated. Other pressure came from the media. *The Age* newspaper's campaign against the Victorian ALP's 'no nuclear ships in Victorian waters' shook people like Hogg. According to party uranium activists, if one accepted the Hogg conference argument that the ALP lacked the strategies to combat multi-national corporation activity then all of the ALP's progressive policies would be under threat. These facts have not been lost on ALP anti-uranium/left activists and for them it is more than just the party's uranium policy that is at stake.

For many ALP anti-uranium supporters the time for joining the party is clearly at hand. A small number of party members have resigned over the conference decision, but many more supporters are now signing up at their local branches. Anti-uranium activists who are trade unionists are being urged to contact their union secretary to ascertain what the uranium policy of their union is and, if necessary, to take action to improve it.

ALP state secretary Bob Hogg has been besieged by phone calls, letters and telegrams from angry party members and supporters. Bob Hogg's claim at the national conference that he could justify his position to his 'base' has been shown to be false as his exclusion from Victorian Labor left circles clearly demonstrates.

The fight to overturn the policy will take many months, and anti-uranium activists inside the ALP are hoping that the party will never be quite the same when their campaign is finished.

# Land claims or no games

The Commonwealth Games to be staged in Brisbane during October 1982 have been tagged 'the friendly games' by the Queensland government.

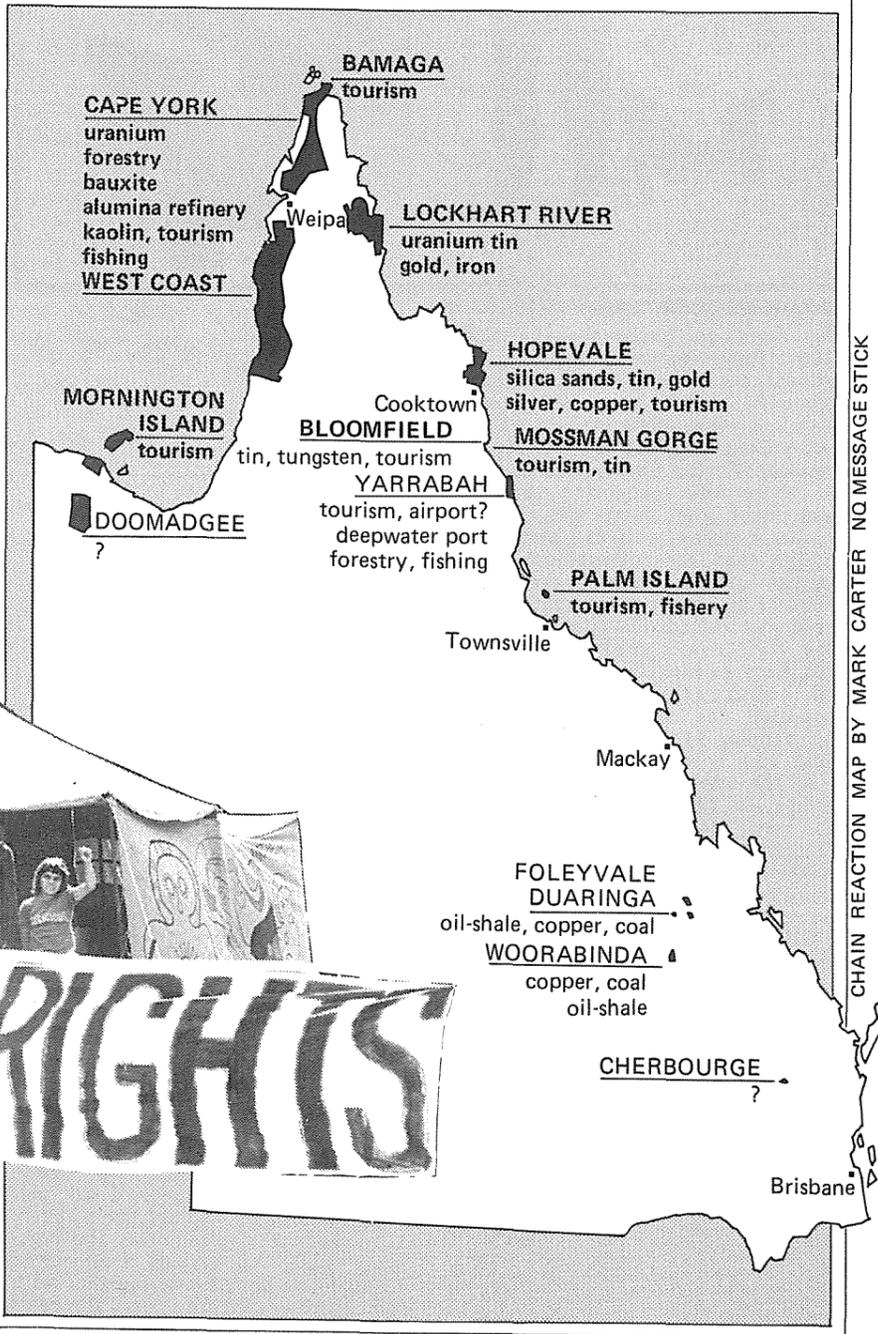
This may be acceptable to the non-Aboriginal population of Australia, but it is not to the indigenous Aboriginal people. For indigenous Aboriginal people, the Commonwealth Games are a manifestation of the oppression, the genocide, the dispossession at the hands of the settlers ... like Australia Day, but with greater political ramifications.

*This story was written by a Queensland Aboriginal who wishes to remain anonymous to avoid harassment due to the Commonwealth Games protests.*

Threats to Aboriginal reserve areas in Queensland.



Aboriginal tent embassy in Brisbane. Years of action for land rights have achieved little change in Queensland. International pressure through the Commonwealth Games is now needed.



# LAND RIGHTS

The Games are a 'political extravaganza' of all the British settler states — an event which would not be possible without the usurping of indigenous people's lands throughout the world. Australia, the land, rightfully belonging to indigenous Aboriginal people, was illegally seized by the British and settlement was made successful through the havoc of genocide.

From the first time white people put foot on this continent, Aboriginal people were sceptical of their presence. When it became obvious that the whites were intending to stay, Aboriginal people resisted, for this was an act of aggression, of invasion, the seizure of Aboriginal land.

In their lust for expansion, the British waged war, undeclared war, against Aboriginal people. That war was waged against Aboriginal people is irrefutable and the following reasonings of the colonial authorities drive home this fact:

Nothing we can do will alter the inscrutable and withal immutable laws which direct our progress on this globe. By these laws the native races of Australia were doomed ... We must rule the Blacks by fear, teaching them the uselessness of waging war (defending their rights) on the settlers.<sup>1</sup>

... to inspire them with terror ... will be found the only effectual means of security for the future.<sup>2</sup>

... it is resolved to exterminate the whole race of blacks in this quarter.<sup>3</sup>

The habit of regarding Aborigines as vermin, to be cleared off the face of the earth, has given to the average Queenslanders a tone of brutality and cruelty ... I have heard men of culture and refinement, of the greatest humanity and kindness to their fellow whites ... talk, not only of the wholesale butchery ... but of the individual murder of natives, exactly as they would talk of a day's sport, or having to kill some troublesome animal.<sup>4</sup> ... the process of extermination is an axiom ... [There is no reason to] suppose there had been any culpable neglect [by white settlers].<sup>5</sup> The struggle was obstinate and fierce, and although an unusually large and costly body of police has been for years engaged in exterminating the Aborigines, and few whites miss a chance of shooting any they may encounter, the strength of the tribes has not been broken ... Evidently settlement must be delayed until the work of extermination is complete ... or until some more rational and humane method of dealing with the blacks is adopted.<sup>6</sup>

Outcries of horror from the liberal press, it seems, caused the government to rethink its tactics. Hence, reserves were established and the remaining Aboriginal people were rounded up like cattle and shoved onto them. It was here, in these concentration camps, that the government with the aid of the church would be able to implement its new policy of cultural genocide — assimilation.

Every conceivable right was denied Aborigines on these reserves. Alien diseases such as leprosy, syphilis etc wreaked havoc among reserve Aborigines. Aboriginal children with white fathers were forcibly removed from their mothers. Aborigines were made slaves

and had to perform whatever work was ordered by the white managers. Cultural practices, speaking in the traditional tongue, not attending church, were considered sins and punishable by flogging and imprisonment. And the church's involvement made it seem acceptable.

These inhumane acts, the genocide, the oppression, cannot so easily be forgotten, and events like the Commonwealth Games are a stark reminder of those atrocities. There would not be any Commonwealth Games without them having been committed.

Thus, the staging of the Commonwealth Games in our country is not readily accepted.

In Queensland, as in South Africa, the white government has 'legalised' its oppression of Aboriginal people. This is done by way of the Aboriginal Act, which makes it 'legal' for the government to practice racism, to wage a continuing offensive against indigenous Aboriginal people. The Aboriginal Act of Queensland empowers the state, under the directorship of Pat Kiloran, to exercise complete control over the lives and destiny of Aboriginal people, in particular, those 60 000 plus on reserves. This situation is just not acceptable, as made clear by Aboriginal people throughout this state.

However, both state and federal governments continue to ignore the Aboriginal people. The state tries to trick the people with '50-year leases' or 'deeds of grant in trust' which only the most gullible of white people and/or the most wretched of politicians would accept as so-called 'significant advances' toward Aboriginal land rights.

Aboriginal people are not so blind. We know that these proposals by the state, and endorsed by the federal government, are mere gimmicks. We also know that there will be no real pressure applied to the Queensland government to recognise Aboriginal rights until such time as sufficient pressure is brought to bear on the federal government to make it use its constitutional powers, and the overwhelming mandate from the 1967 referendum, to secure Aboriginal people's rights for all time under an act of parliament.

The Commonwealth Games, with their anticipated 1 000 000 000 audience, presents Aboriginal people with one of their greatest opportunities to expose the Queensland and federal governments for what they really are.

During the Games, selected tours for international dignitaries will prove useless with thousands of Aborigines and their supporters on the streets of Brisbane. The visitors will be able to see and hear, first hand, Aboriginal people and how we are really treated.

Obviously, the Queensland government is afraid of the truth being exposed. It is endeavouring to stop this by introducing the Commonwealth Games Bill — a bill based on the philosophy of the 1828 colonialist Executive Council

which is: '... to inspire them with terror ... will be found the only effectual means of security for the future'.

The Commonwealth Games Bill gives police awesome powers. It should — it was drafted by them at the request of the Queensland Police Minister, Russell Hinze. Under this bill, the police can:

- fingerprint, toeprint, footprint, voiceprint, and just about any other print, any person suspected of being an 'offender'

- declare large areas of Queensland as 'security areas', which can only be revoked by the police, regardless of the Queensland parliament

- together with 'other authorised persons', use any force necessary in dealing with an 'offender'

This bill also makes police and 'other authorised persons' immune from any subsequent court action so long as 'what they did was done for the purpose of the Act'. And it indemnifies the Police Minister against any subsequent court action resulting from police activities during the Games.

In short, the Commonwealth Games Bill empowers police to declare a 'state of war' against Aboriginal protestors for the duration of the Games.

Aboriginal presence at the Games is best summed up by the North Queensland Land Council, which said:

Apartheid, whether in Queensland or South Africa, constitutes institutional violence against the indigenous black people. Any action taken by the indigenous people against the apartheid state is not an offensive, but in fact a defence of the indigenous people and their rights. If violence erupts, it will be the violence of the apartheid state as it nears its death-throes.

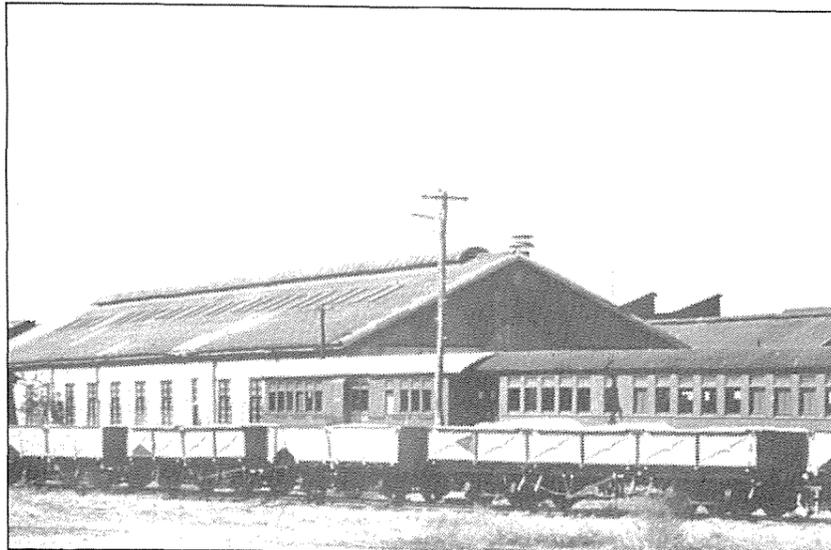
Action: 28 September: Rock Against Racism concert at Tweed Heads. 29 September: March for Survival from Tweed Heads to the Queensland border. 30 September: Official opening of the Games boycotted. Boycott alcohol to highlight the Brisbane brewery, Four-X, sponsorship of the Games. 1 October: National Aboriginal Day. Cultural activities in Brisbane will begin a week-long Celebration for Survival. 2 October: Sports festival organised by the National Aboriginal Sports Foundation. 3 October: International sports night. 3 October: Seminars and forums. 4 October: Seminars and forums. Rock Against Racism concert. 5 October: Cultural night. 6 October: Protest march. Children's and family night. 7 October: Forums. Evening party. 8 October: Main protest march led by Aboriginal elders.

Contact: Black Protest Committee, GPO Box 786, Brisbane, Qld 4001.

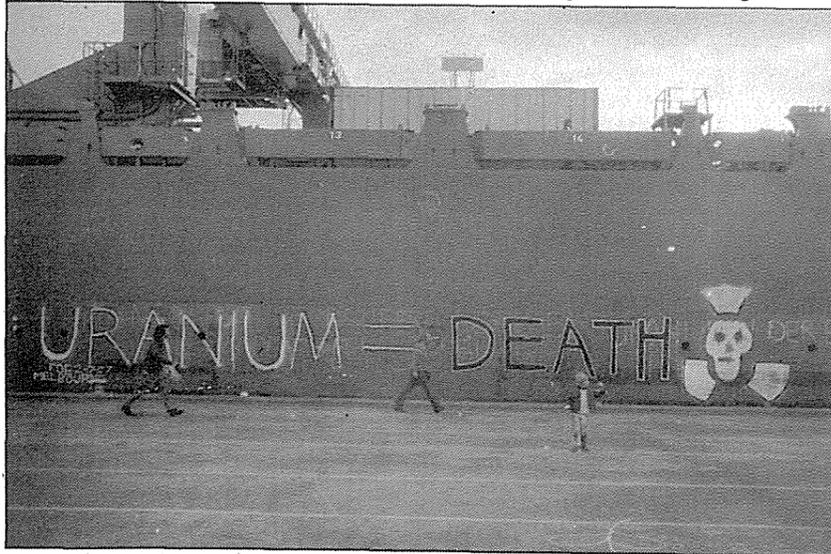
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# Unions, uranium and you



Sulphur wagons destined for Mary Kathleen wait in Townsville shunting yards Monday 24 May 1976 during Australian Railways Union and Australian Federated Union of Locomotive Enginemen strike in opposition to mining.



Columbus Australia cargo of yellowcake held up at Melbourne, 2 July 1977 by public protest and union bans.

Clare Gallagher is research/publicity officer and Dave Northey assistant national secretary of the Australian Railways Union.

By Clare Gallagher  
and Dave Northey

For anti-uranium activists the recent past has been characterised by a series of setbacks. The immediate future is uncertain. Hopefully this uncertainty will force an urgent and perhaps overdue reassessment of current realities and tactics.

That recent decisions of the ACTU executive have been vehemently denounced within some sections of the union and broader anti-uranium movement, points to a failure to appreciate the problems confronting even the most committed unions. The Australian Railways Union, for example, has an excellent anti-uranium policy on its books, but it faces a variety of difficulties in attempting to implement that policy. There is often, on the part of anti-uranium groups, a lack of understanding of the complexities involved in the two-way process of formulating policy which reflects or encourages shop floor organisation. Within and between unions, disunity in relation to the anti-uranium struggle is all too evident. And the left does not have the numbers, either in the ACTU or in the ALP.

Calling for a process of reassessment, however, is not to discount recent achievements. We must remember that the setbacks for the anti-uranium movement were preceded by continuing and courageous actions on the part of particular unions, a broadening of the unions actively campaigning against uranium, and often greater cooperation between these unions.

Major unions actively concerned to prevent the mining, processing and export of uranium include the Electrical Trades Union, the Australian Telecommunications Employees Association, the Waterside Workers Federation, the Seamen's Union, the Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union, and the Australian Railways Union.

The campaign initiated by the Seamen's Union in Darwin last year was particularly significant. Firstly, it followed mass meetings at major ports throughout Australia which result in resolutions to block any attempt to export uranium. Secondly, workers in key unions in Darwin were united in their resolve to halt exports. The seafarers were joined by the Waterside Workers Federation, the Transport Workers Union and the Northern Territory Trades and Labor Council. That advances were being made is evident in the threatened use of the Fraser government's repressive anti-union legislation. Injunctions under

Section 45d of the Trade Practices Act were imposed which have the potential to imprison union leaders and to financially cripple both unions and individuals. It is not a threat to take lightly.

Under the pressure of 45d injunctions, along with pressure from right-wing elements of the labour movement whose ambitions have long been to water down anti-uranium policy, the ACTU executive last December recommended a lifting of the Darwin bans and established a working party of unions associated with the uranium industry to investigate implementation of the ACTU policy and options for further action. Recognising the divisions between unions and between sections of the Labor Party, and the industrial legislation combined with various nuclear legislative measures, the working party is charged with exploring various avenues for action which can ensure that policies of progressive unions, such as the ARU, are put into effect.

The decision of the ACTU, and more recently the watering-down of ALP policy, represent setbacks in the anti-uranium struggle. But setbacks that might be qualified in two ways. On the one hand, lifting the Darwin bans in the absence of a fighting fund to challenge the 45d actions was a realistic response. On the other, the setback is a real reflection of where the anti-uranium movement currently stands.

It may be useful to elaborate on the experiences of the ARU. The ARU has an excellent policy which includes the imposition of a complete ban on the transport by rail of any uranium ore, its by-products, or any equipment and material destined for use in the mining, milling and export of uranium. We have distributed educational material produced by the union and the ACTU. Articles have been included in union journals on a regular basis. In 1976, a ban imposed by Townsville railway workers sparked off a one-day national rail stoppage, an event which provided an important stimulus to boosting opposition to and broadening community awareness of the dangers of uranium mining. Since then, despite the efforts of many at all levels of the union, we have failed to sustain and broaden the 1976 impetus on a significant scale.

Many other unions, if not the entire anti-uranium movement, are in a similar position. We have been fighting but apparently making little progress.

Our problems are many. Besides the legislation relating to secondary boycotts or 45d, various industrial and penal provisions, including state and federal Crimes Acts, give teeth to conservative governments' determination to proceed with uranium mining and export, while the Atomic Energy Acts give protection to the uranium industry. And recent experience has shown that the uranium and shipping companies are able to by-pass union bans by em-

ploying scab labour.

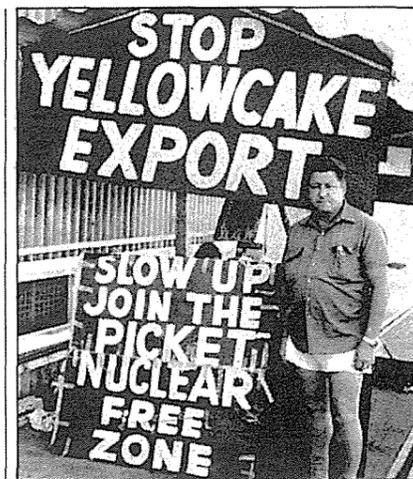
A successful union onslaught against the uranium industry would require the complete and sustained cooperation of all strategically placed unions, and back-up support from the broader union movement. In the absence generally of support from strategically placed unions and of broader union support, activity to date has been piecemeal, a series of disruptive tactics. Even committed unions often lack the financial and human resources necessary to mount an on-going campaign. Confronted by a plethora of industrial struggles, the struggle against uranium unfortunately, though understandably, is not viewed as a major priority.

Put together, these problems render implementation of progressive union policy an extremely difficult task. In many ways, ARU policy, like that of the ACTU and certain affiliated unions, is essentially a statement of principle. The difficulties experienced by the ARU raise the need for a more intensive education effort within our union.

Similarly, ACTU executive decisions, if viewed in terms of reassessment and if acted upon, can provide a sounder base for future activity. The May 1982 decision of the ACTU executive, following recommendations of the working party report, emphasised firstly retention of its principled stand of opposition to uranium mining, and secondly its intention to conduct an educational campaign at union and community levels. Other recommendations included pressuring governments and receptive political parties, and canvassing support from affiliates for contributions to a fighting fund. The resolution states that effective industrial action 'requires a highly unified and motivated trade union movement, a financial commitment from unions to assist other unions and unionists, the combating of non-unionism, a significant measure of community support and international cooperation'.

That leaves the progressive union movement in a position of having to explore ways of maintaining policy and making it workable, that is investigating improved methods of implementation. Guerilla tactics suggest themselves as ways of avoiding the imposition of secondary boycott injunctions. Actions could include cutting off communications to mining companies — postal, telex, telephone and computer — or disruption to supply of materials. At a time of downturn in the industry, harassment tactics may provide a useful way of increasing costs for mining companies and of repelling further investors. More creative tactics, if taken up by the media, may have the advantage of increasing public interest and broadening public support.

At the same time, the progressive unions must address the need for greater cooperation in formulating and implementing their strategies for action.



Waterside Workers' Federation Darwin branch secretary Brian Manning, November 1981.

Crucial to any further action is a stepping up of educational campaigns aimed at involving the union membership. In a sense we are forced to return to where we started from many years ago, having to ensure that available resources are channelled into shop floor education.

The ARU will continue to distribute leaflets and include relevant articles in union journals. The ARU has a large photographic exhibit (the only one of its kind outside of Japan) which is a duplicate of that in the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb museum. The exhibit consists of 111 photos in colour, and black and white, and is available free of charge to organisations on request. We are considering reducing the A and H Bomb Exhibit into slides for easier handling. The ARU also has a number of films which are freely available to organisations.

Union educational campaigns and stimulation of broader union participation in the struggle against uranium would benefit greatly from increased cooperation between the unions and anti-uranium groups. Support and cooperation from organisations and activists to date is appreciated. At present however, we would have to assess it as limited. Anti-uranium groups have long recognised the centrality of trade unions in the anti-uranium struggle but have not viewed unions as a priority in their educational work.

In calling for a broader union/community alliance to fight uranium mining and export we would caution that the support of activists must be premised on an understanding of how unions work and the problems facing the unions, both in relation to implementing anti-uranium policy and in their everyday struggles in the workplace.

A broader coalition is crucial to the ultimate success of our mutual struggle. Ways of achieving this must also be explored in this period of reassessment.

JOHN DUNN

FOE

FOE



HELEN CASEY



# NO BOOM FOR WOMEN

THE EXISTENCE OR OTHERWISE of a resources boom and its costs and benefits have sparked major debates for several years. There is no doubt that in the idea of the 'boom' has been an attempt to evoke the tattslotto mentality in us all, to ensure that problems of unemployment are overlooked. The 'boom' is said to bring jobs — for men. Now and then there is some recognition of how difficult it is for women *as wives* to live in resource development areas. But nothing is said of the women in the paid workforce in those areas who have worked for a long time in traditional female jobs.

This is not unusual, because although women have always been in the paid workforce, they have rarely had the opportunity to describe their own situations.

There does not seem much point however in bemoaning women's fate by looking at the figures. We want to extend the marxist accounts of production which look at the relations between owner and non-owner, means of production and end product (with maybe a token mention about women these days) to look at the more subtle ways in which divisions in the workforce are

• ABOVE LEFT THE INFLUX OF MALE WORKERS FOR CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS HAS CREATED JOBS FOR WOMEN IN THE SERVICE SECTOR WHICH ARE HOWEVER MOSTLY LOW PAID AND PART-TIME OR CASUAL. LEFT WHILE THE LATROBE VALLEY HAS FULL ADULT-MALE EMPLOYMENT, ITS YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS AMONG THE HIGHEST IN VICTORIA.

• Jenny Macklin and Linda Rubinstein researched this article under the auspices of the Labor Resource Centre in Melbourne, a research support organisation for the Australian labour movement. They would like to record their thanks to the women who spoke to them and to the Clothing Trades Union and the Liquor Trades Union.

created and maintained. Some divisions are fairly widely recognised — that women make up distinct and particularly exploited sections of the workforce, that they are concentrated in the least skilled, lowest paid jobs, and that the ideologies of sexism mean that this situation is perpetuated. However, this analysis remains largely at the general level of the economy and workforce as a whole. There is little concrete analysis of how these divisions operate at the level of particular industries or regions.

The Labor Resource Centre's work has been no exception in this regard, its emphasis on political and economic strategies. However, another intrinsic part of the Labor Resource Centre's work is a commitment to enabling

more people in the labour movement at the grass roots level to develop a view and assert a say about their working environment.

Feminist struggles are not separate from or marginal to this commitment.

We see it as essential that a process of consciousness raising, confidence building, and opening access to information is extended to women so that they can create the demand for better representation from their unions, more support, more effective organisation, and more resources being directed towards their problems as women workers.

It was in this context that we spoke to women working in the traditional female jobs in the Latrobe Valley of Victoria.

## WOMEN SERVICE 'THE BOOM'

THE 'BOOM' IS GENERALLY thought of as a Western Australian or Queensland phenomenon where the penetration of multi-national mining companies poses a number of contradictions. The Latrobe Valley is Victoria's equivalent, but there are many differences — it is a long-established community without the isolation of most resource areas although there is also an itinerant construction workforce. And there have been attempts to encourage manufacturing industry in the area. This is where female employment in the Latrobe Valley has traditionally been, with service areas providing the growth in recent years. With the further decline in manufacturing employment and the general monopoly of construction and trades jobs by men, it may have been expected that the service industries provide the best hope for female employment.

The influx of workers for the various

construction projects has created an increase in jobs in the service sector — shops, eating and drinking establishments, and hotels/motels. This parallels the growth in service sector employment as the main factor in the growth of female workforce participation generally. But just as these jobs, and female employment with them, are increasing, so is the incidence of part-time and casual employment. Most of the growth of female employment is in part-time work — technological change and longer trading hours have led to the transformation of retail and hospitality industries into casual employment areas, mainly because this gives the employer the flexibility of using staff at peak times and not having to employ them during less busy times. Clearly the experience of women in this paid workforce is very different from that of men in this development area.

•BY JENNY MACKLIN & LINDA RUBINSTEIN

While part-time work does suit many women, particularly mothers of small children with working husbands, for women with unemployed or low-income husbands, and for supporting parents and young people, part-time work does not offer sufficient income for economic survival, given the low hourly rates of pay in service industries. That these low rates of pay are attached to female jobs is clear when one looks at the position of women employed on the large resource industry construction projects.

With considerable public awareness of the high wages paid to construction workers on these projects, the position of women in these areas can be seen most graphically in the conditions of work for the women directly serving the resource projects in their canteens. We spoke to women in the Loy Yang construction project canteen and to those employed in the Thompson Tavern, a 'wet' canteen (a kind of pub) available to workers on the Thompson Dam project in the Latrobe Valley, situated in the Board of Works town where most of the workers live.

It is immediately evident that these women do not share the wages and conditions enjoyed by the men on these sites. They are essentially paid the low award wage, without the various site allowances negotiated for the construction workers. They are employed on a casual basis — at Loy Yang this means they are sent home if it's raining, although the construction workers do not lose pay for such times when they cannot work.

At Loy Yang the women described the pressure under which they worked, that they never had time to talk to the men because they are there only at peak times. They compared their job with the 'billy boys' who collect the lunches, maintain crib sheds, and so on. The canteen workers believe they work much harder than the 'billy boys' (there is in fact one 'billy girl' at Loy Yang) and see the injustice of a wage level of less than half the 'billy boys' rate.

Although strikes by building unions on these sites are commonplace, industrial action by the women is rare, although effective when it does occur. Over two years ago the Loy Yang canteen employees stopped work over money owed them by the employing contractor, who had gone bankrupt. It eventuated that they had been underpaid for a long period and were owed for this as well as holiday pay etc. As a result of the stoppage a better arrangement was negotiated with the new contractor, resulting in some over-award payments, although still not in line with the construction workers' wage.

On a later occasion, stoppage over a blocked toilet resulted in the closing of the whole site, as the construction workers refused to work without the canteen facility. Not surprisingly, the toilet was fixed in record time and the women

received payment for the time of the stoppage. At time of writing, the Loy Yang canteen employees have put a claim on the State Electricity Commission of Victoria (SECV) for a reduction in working hours and an increase in wages in line with rates paid by other contractors on the site.

Industrial action has also proved effective at the Thompson Tavern where the women (and one male bar attendant) stopped work for four days over a claim for wage parity with other workers on the site. An additional anomaly was that the cooks in the single men's quarters, who were members of one of the construction unions, received wage rates equal to the construction workers, whereas the eight Tavern workers, members of the Liquor Trades Union, were paid only the award rate. Eventually negotiations resulted in wage increases amounting to around \$60 per week and a reduction in weekly working hours from 40 to 38.

At both sites, what was interesting was the reaction by the construction workers to the service workers taking industrial action. Although there was general support, there was some initial failure to recognise the stoppages as 'real' industrial action, or the women as 'real' workers. Nevertheless, at Loy Yang, the whole site stopped in support of the canteen workers, while at the Thompson Dam the mass meeting of workers voted to support Tavern staff and to consider industrial action if necessary. The employees of one contractor had stopped in support when

the Tavern workers first went on strike.

There were also some hostile reactions. For example at Loy Yang when the women went on strike the first time there was a good deal of muttering along the lines of 'the prices will go up if the sheilas get more money'. At the Thompson Tavern, the stoppage led to some discussion that perhaps the social club should run the Tavern so that club members could run the bar. In both cases there was a tendency on the part of men to see the women's work as serving them, and the withdrawal of labour thus aimed, in some undefined way, at them rather than at a boss. Thus the thinking about how to keep the facility going, which would be inconceivable in relation to industrial action by any other group of workers.

One factor in the support being forthcoming was that, without exception, the women employed in the Tavern are married to construction workers and, as part of a fairly closed community in a remote area, everyone knows each other. This did have another edge, however, in that there were some mutterings such as 'Oh, Joe Bloggs (a union delegate) is pushing this because he wants to get more money for his missus' — a recognition of the reality that the women's incomes are additional to their husbands' generally high wages, but carrying within it the implication that for this reason women cannot expect equal pay to men. Not surprisingly there is no suggestion that single men receive lower wages than men who have families dependent on them.

## SEXUAL DIVISION IN LABOUR

CLEARLY, THERE IS AN established sexual division of labour in the region. There is also a well-established acceptance of who does what and everyone accepts this as 'natural'. It's obvious, so to speak.

This sexual division of labour cannot, however, be thought of as a simple matter of sexist attitudes on the part of men, and consequent discrimination.

The sexual division of labour in the paid workforce is based on the sexual division of labour in the family, and these mutually reinforce each other. On the one hand, because the man's income is seen as essential to the family, it has been important for men to secure better wages and conditions and to protect skills. In this context, trade union struggles to protect men's jobs make sense.

On the other hand, women's work is generally defined in relation to their roles as child bearers and nurturers, and as supporters and sexual partners of men. Women are prevalent therefore in those industries which extend their domestic roles into the industrial arena.

For example, the women in the resource development projects are, in the main, restricted to 'feeding' or 'mothering' the men on the projects. By contrast, the work of the men is seen as 'dirty, dangerous and heavy' — clearly, not for women!

There was an interesting, and partly inexplicable, difference in attitudes to women in non-traditional jobs on the construction sites between the two groups of women. At the Thompson project, the women emphatically opposed women working on the actual dam site, which is some distance from the town. Although they were very concerned that there were no jobs for girls (many have teenage daughters), and felt that there were jobs which girls could do around the town, as cleaners or gardeners for example, they opposed work on the dam. The main reason given was danger from the men. We were told of one girl who had applied for an apprenticeship but, 'even though she had all the qualifications, there was no way she would get the job because they won't employ a woman on the job'. Another woman continued, 'Well,

you can't, because you've got 600 single men and you can't have a girl working shift-work out there. They're having trouble with some of the nurses working out there of a night, and they have to have one of the bosses with them all the time'.

It seems to be assumed that if men and women are working side by side, their animal (hetero) sexuality will break loose. These macho qualities have undoubtedly frozen women out. The irony in this, of course, is that those same 600 men and those same young women live in the town where one would expect harassment to be more of a problem, given alcohol and leisure time, than in the rough and ready atmosphere of the actual construction site.

At Loy Yang, on the other hand, the women felt very strongly that all jobs should be open to women. Many said that they would take jobs as 'billy girls' if they were available. Examples were given of a few women who were in non-traditional jobs. Great bursts of hilarity greeted the suggestion that construction jobs might be inappropriate for women because of the dirty conditions. The women pointed to their food-splattered clothes and tellingly made the point that their jobs were pretty dirty too, and not so well rewarded.

In union-dominated mining towns there is never a demand for jobs for women when the new towns are

planned, yet unions exercise their power forcefully in the interests of the men even before the families arrive to begin work.

In the Pilbara, in Western Australia, women are working on the sites of all four iron-ore producers. Duties range from sweeping the workshop floors to operating shovels on the mine face and driving huge Haulpak trucks. There are few women trades' assistants, and the Amalgamated Metal Workers & Shipwrights Union (AMWSU) had a strike to keep women out of these jobs. The Federated Engine Drivers & Firemen's Association (FEDFA) has also opposed women being taken on as shovel greasers. In Newman, the wives of some of the FEDFA workers protested about plans to give single women those jobs on the grounds that 'immoral' single girls working with their husbands would lead to sex on the job. Others say, however, that behind this opposition lay their husbands' fears that women would encroach on their jobs.

The Hunter Valley in New South Wales is the scene of a campaign: 'Who's that under the hard hat?' — a series of television and radio advertisements designed to get girls, parents, teachers, employers and unions thinking about girls training for a trade as a viable job option. It was felt that until there was some action to break down the segregation in the workforce, girls wouldn't be able to get some of the jobs in resource development areas.

What is clear from these examples is that it cannot be assumed that the sexual division of labour is fixed. Where there is a shortage of skilled labour, sexist stereotypes get revised (though not dropped). An excellent example of this accommodation is one where girls moved into a non-traditional job and slowly the job was redefined as 'women's work' because of the tidiness with which the tasks were done. Women are said to be by nature good at boring, fiddly and sedentary work, as well as being tidy.

All the women we spoke to in the Latrobe Valley recognised the grim employment position of women in the

area; in both canteens there was intense competition for the few jobs available. At Loy Yang, women came to the canteen every day looking for work. In Rawson, the Board of Works town, the situation was even more critical; with no public transport out of Rawson and a half-hour drive to Moe, the nearest reasonably-sized town, the few available jobs were precious. Women in the town who had qualifications, such as teachers, nurses and so on, were able to find work in the Valley. For the others, part-time work available in Moe or Morwell was not really worth the journey.

Perhaps the most critical employment issue is that of youth employment; while the Valley has full adult-male employment, its youth unemployment rate is among the highest in the state. This is consistent with the situation in rural areas generally, including the 'resource boom' regions, but it is worsened in remote areas, of which the Thompson Dam project is an example. Although wages for men are high and housing is subsidised, the lack of jobs for school leavers results in severe social problems; there is nothing for the kids to do, they can't go anywhere unless someone drives them (which limits their job prospects drastically).

There are some efforts being made to train girls for non-traditional jobs, but the SECV continues with its policy of no positive discrimination. Only when they are forced to consider girls because of shortages does it occur. Employment for women is considered even less.

As a first response to questions, the women said that resource development was serving the interests of the people of the Latrobe Valley, and that, above all, it provided jobs. Further thought, however, raised a number of problems associated with the proliferation of resource projects, in particular, housing shortages and rising prices. It was recognised that although construction jobs are created, these are filled, in large part, by people from outside the Valley, and that this brings a range of social problems while doing nothing for the employment of young people and women.

## JOBS IN MANUFACTURING

THE MANUFACTURING industry has traditionally been the source of employment, particularly for women and girls. In the Latrobe Valley this has been the clothing industry, with some textile manufacturing as well. Currently 44.6% of female employment is in the clothing industry in central Gippsland.

• IN CENTRAL GIPPSLAND, 44.6% OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IS IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY WHILE MALE EMPLOYMENT IS CONCENTRATED IN THE RESOURCE SECTOR.

But employment in these industries suffered a drastic decline in the 1970s. Whether the decline has now levelled out or whether it is continuing is debatable. There have been some attempts to link the expansion in the resources sector of the economy with the decline in manufacturing because of the exchange rate effects. However, given the non-existence of the boom — in fact, a turn around from a boom to a slump, the connection between the two sectors disappears.

What is important, nevertheless,



PONCH HAWKES

when looking at women's employment in resource-based areas, is to see where the opportunities are — other than on the sites themselves.

The clothing industry in the Valley employs close to 100% women. It was set up for decentralisation purposes because of the ready supply of female labour. Jobs for women have been the consequence. The clothing industry is now subject to rapid structural change, largely because of changes in the international division of labour. The introduction of new technology is displacing many people but this has not been the case in the Valley. In fact questions about technology were greeted with laughter and derision — 'Not for 60 years, and then only second-hand'. The lack of capital investment has the effect of enabling companies to open and close factories to suit seasonal demands. This has major implications for continued employment for women in the area.

In fact, the labour force in the Latrobe Valley clothing industry has been long term and relatively stable. The women work there because they have to — as they said, 'We wouldn't be here if we didn't need the money, and we can't live without two wages'.



PONCH HAWKES

The women we spoke to were very aware of the sexual divisions in the local workforce: 'It's a man's world, love. They can earn high wages and do nothing while we slave for \$100 a week. They [the men] wouldn't help us in any industrial campaign as they think we are lazy'.

One of the most critical characteristics of the women who work in this industry is their occupational immobility. Many clothing workers believe they could do no other work. These characteristics have a major effect on the ability of these women to find alternative employment (or, as the Industries Assistance Commission put it, adjust to change). They are also mostly trained for machining only.

The other critical point about the women working in this industry in the Valley, as elsewhere, is that they are not intermittent workers. The discriminatory myth is that women work only for pin money and therefore drop in and out of the workforce at whim. This concept, apart from reflecting questionable preconceived notions about women's natural roles, and hence, 'right' to work in the paid workforce, relies heavily on

the 'reserve army of labour' thesis, which is quickly becoming redundant because of a better understanding of labour market segmentation.

Decreases in female employment is related to decreases in the areas of employment which women are segregated into. This is not clearly recognised as, for ideological purposes, women are urged to return to the home in periods of economic crisis. Women are also used as scapegoats for the crisis thus avoiding a realistic look at the employment situation.

And the employment situation for women is not clear cut: female employment is increasing at the same time as female unemployment is high and rising further. This situation comes about because the women losing jobs are in different sectors of the labour market from those getting jobs. Semi-skilled and unskilled, and teenage girls are losing jobs while better educated and experienced Australian women are getting them in the service sector — much of which is part-time. There is an under-representation of professional and administrative jobs in the Latrobe Valley.

## UNPAID WORK

ALTHOUGH THE FOCUS IN this article has been on women in the paid workforce, it is impossible to separate this from their domestic responsibilities.

We expected childcare to be a major problem as information from the Hunter Valley has shown the enormous unmet need. However, the women who we spoke to had found alternative arrangements. For those working in the clothing industry, the extended family — mostly grandmothers — was the prime source of childcare. In Rawson, women who were at home already looking after children took the children of working women. This is in stark contrast to the problems which have been described for the women in the Pilbara, where the isolation and the lack of a support system that either the extended family or an established community can provide in the absence of adequate public childcare is critical.

Because women are the primary childcarers, shoppers and general nurturers, it is important to understand that the burden of the reductions in social expenditure, which are made because of the enormous shift in expenditure towards infrastructure, falls mainly on women. They not only have to live in an environment where they can't get jobs,

- WOMEN, AS NURTURERS, BEAR THE BURDEN OF REDUCED SOCIAL EXPENDITURE CAUSED BY INCREASED EXPENDITURE FOR INFRASTRUCTURE IN THE RESOURCE SECTOR.

where there are large numbers of single men, but also have to bear the burden of high rents, housing shortages, caravan life, no childcare and rising prices.

A study by consultants for the Victorian Public Works Committee's inquiry into the proposed Driffield Power Station showed that approximately 80% of future capital works requirements in the Latrobe Valley will be attributable to the SECV. The study also showed that the Shire of Morwell will be unable to provide services for people attracted to the area by the Driffield project. This high expenditure on infrastructure by government has meant a decline in spending on health, education, housing and local government which has a major impact on women's lives.

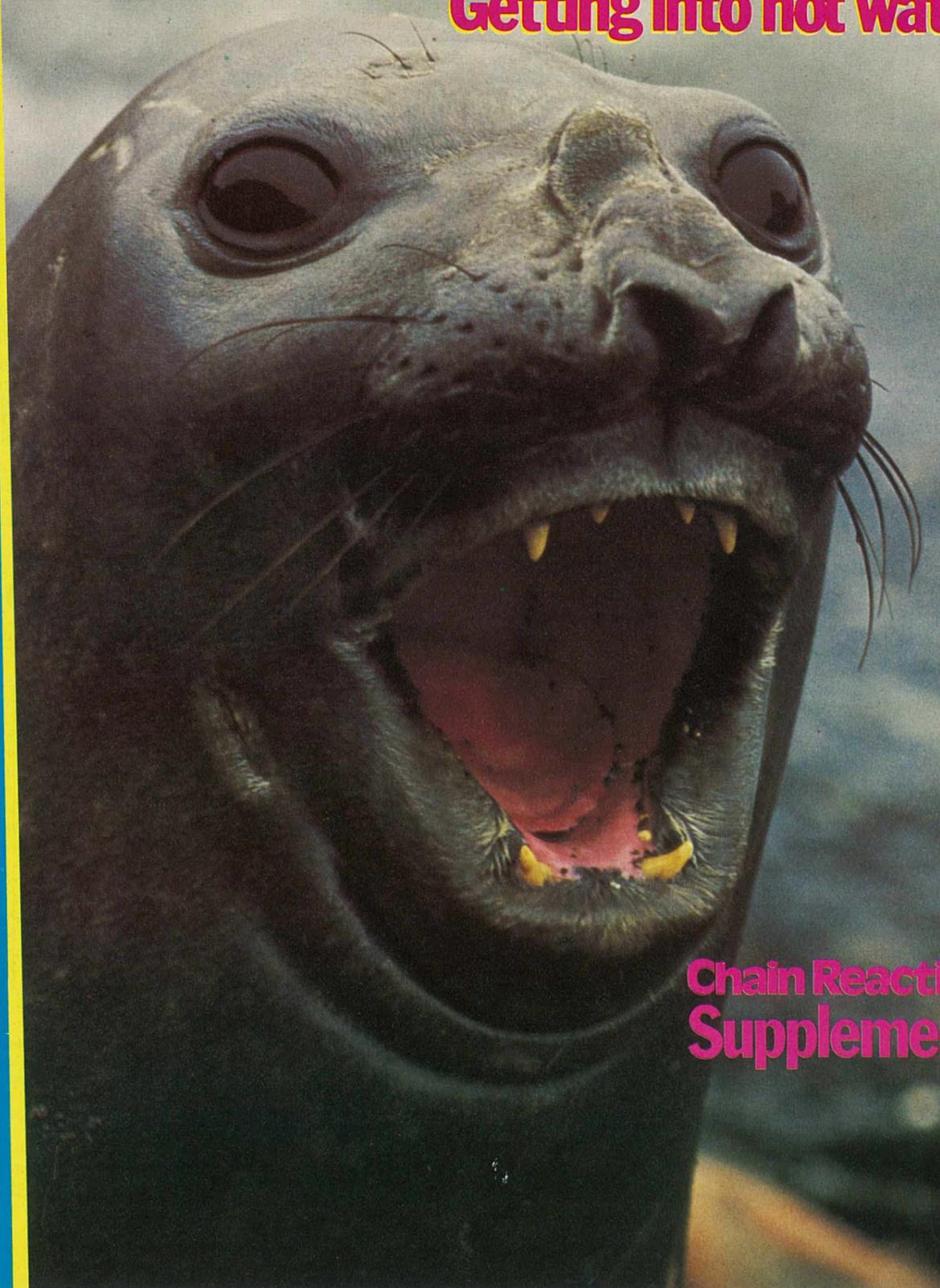
We have to face up to the political and economic strategy of the government and corporations involved in resource development. We have also to take account of the traditional outlook and practices of workers themselves — both male and female — and of the public generally which militate against change.

It is only slowly that consciousness will change. Trade unionists at all levels have to develop a view that goes beyond the hip-pocket and beyond their own sectional concerns. They have to assert a say about their jobs and where they work — taking a comprehensive view about how things fit together.

None of this will solve the structural problems in the economy or the patriarchy, but it will increase the capacity of people to deal with them.

# Antarctica

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**Tell us!**

# Pacific first strike

By Mark Cole

Since the issuing of Presidential Directive number 59 in 1978, the publicly stated policy of the USA government has been to develop and deploy new military technologies capable of being used in a disarming first strike against the USSR.

Public statements made by USA secretary of defence James Schlesinger in 1973 and 1974 suggest that USA military planners have been pursuing first-strike capability since the early 1970s. This new policy requires nuclear-war fighting strategies (termed *counterforce*) and the deployment of a new generation of accurate and reliable nuclear weapons targeted on USSR facilities of strategic significance. Counterforce strategy involves the launching of an accurate, coordinated and comprehensive attack on all USSR strategic and communications facilities, eliminating the possibility of effective retaliation.

Counterforce strategy contrasts with the nuclear-war-detering strategy (*countervalue*) which prevailed until the late 1960s. Countervalue strategy involved the first priority targeting by each opposing superpower of the major urban and industrial centres. Both sides, in theory, refrained from initiating nuclear attacks because of the certainty of retaliation ending in the Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) of their populations, cities, and economic infrastructures.

In progressing towards a disarming first-strike capability, USA military planners are putting together the technologies which make up the five essential elements to a counterforce strategy. These five elements are outlined below.

The first element is the possession of extremely accurate missiles which can be relied upon to quickly destroy the USSR's missile silos and other land targets such as bomber bases, satellite communications and early warning systems, and the ports where ballistic-missile-loaded submarines are berthed. The USA has already progressed a long way towards achieving these technologies with the development of the M-X and Trident ballistic missiles and short-to-medium range nuclear missiles such as the Cruise and Pershing.

The second element is a space warfare ability to destroy early warning and communications satellites.

The third element is an anti-submarine warfare (ASW) force able to seek out and sink those USSR ballistic-missile-launching submarines which are out of port at the time of a first strike. In 1979 the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute published a report which concluded that USSR submarines were at that stage dangerously vulnerable to a USA first strike.

Mark Cole works for International Development Action researching Australian company and military involvement in the Pacific, and is a member of the Nuclear-Free Pacific Committee in Victoria.

The fourth element is a ballistic-missile and bomber defence capable of intercepting any surviving USSR missiles or aircraft that are launched in retaliation. The USA is yet to develop a satisfactory anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defence mechanism. Research and development work is concentrating on space warfare aspects and early warning systems which would ensure the destruction of ballistic missiles before re-entry and the deployment of multiple warheads.

The fifth element is the ability to integrate and coordinate all sensors, weapons and weapon-carrier vehicles with perfect timing. This involves the development of an intricate international network of command, control, communication and intelligence (C3I) facilities.

These essential elements of counterforce strategy all involve the international deployment of technology and the cooperation of USA allies. A very high degree of international cooperation and deployment of forces and facilities is required for the workability of the third and fifth elements of counterforce strategy, the C3I and ASW networks. This contrasts with countervalue strategy which could function effectively simply on the basis of the network of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) loaded in silos within the borders of the USA.

### PACIFIC INVOLVEMENT

Counterforce strategy has a number of grave implications for the west Pacific/Indian Ocean region because certain facilities and forces of the USA and its allies in the region would play a direct and important role in any first strike launched by the USA. One of the implications is that in any future nuclear exchange USSR ballistic missiles would certainly be directed towards a number of land targets in the region.

The major involvements of the west Pacific/Indian Ocean region in a theoretical USA first strike against the USSR are outlined below.

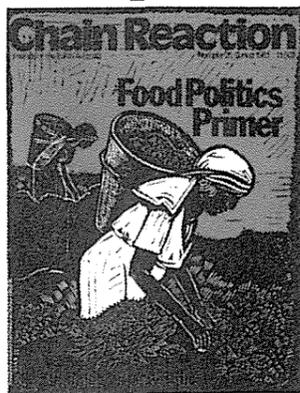
#### Trident Ballistic Missile

The newly developed Trident missile is a submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBN) which will play an indispensable role in any USA first strike at the USSR. Trident-1 missiles are being backfitted to the Polaris class of ballistic-missile-loaded submarines currently patrolling the Pacific Ocean. There are presently about eight of these submarines in the Pacific, home ported at Pearl Harbour and using Apra Harbour (Guam) as a forward base.

Trident-2 missiles have been developed to arm the new jumbo Trident class of ballistic-missile-loaded submarine - arguably the most deadly

continued page 34

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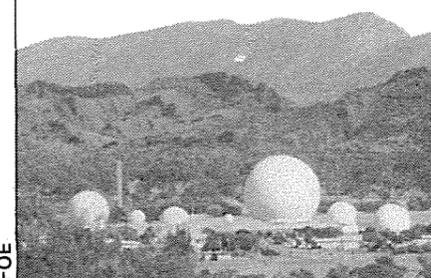
## Antarctica



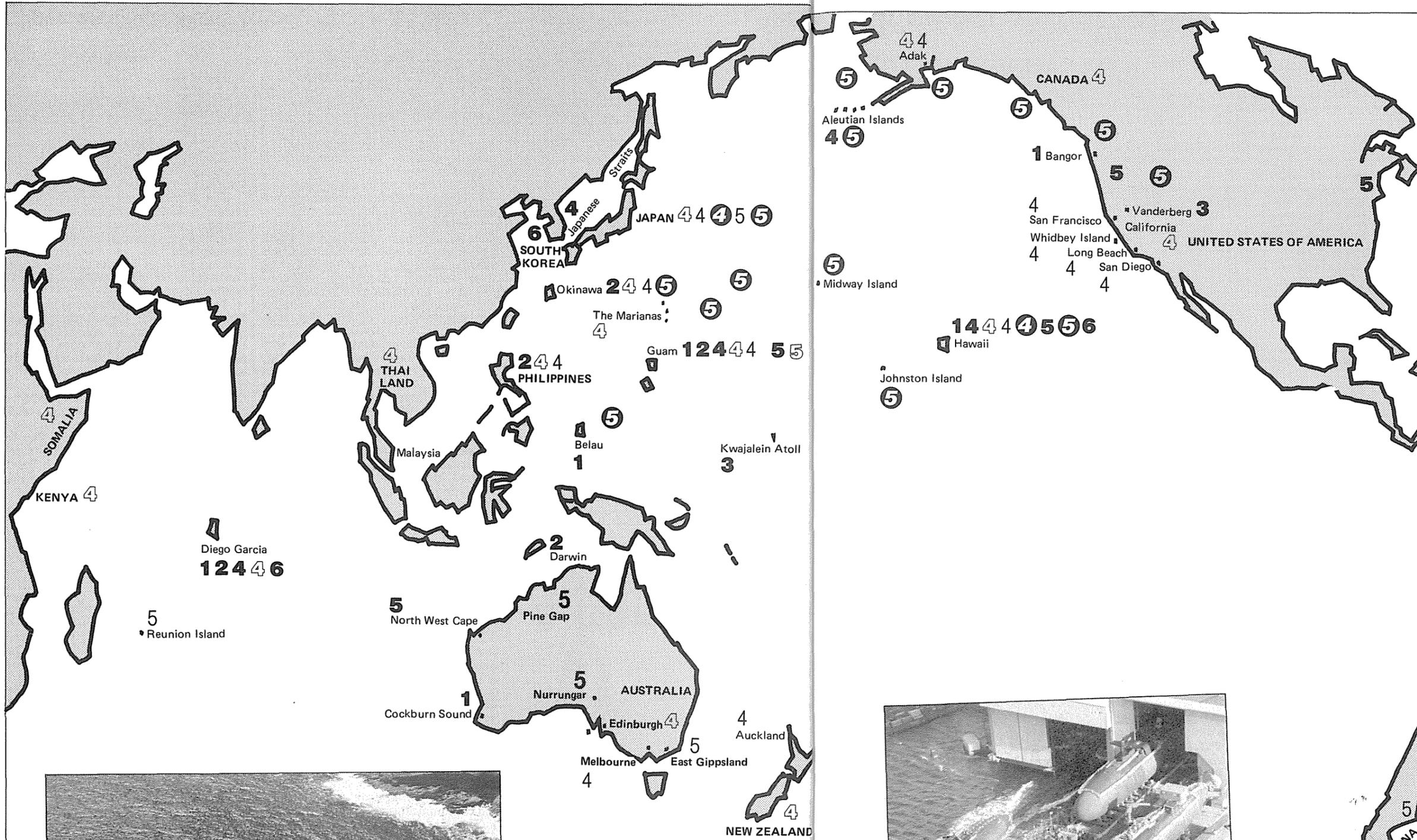
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The Pine Gap Station, Northern Territory, provides satellite information necessary for targeting USSR early-warning systems in the event of a USA nuclear first strike attack.



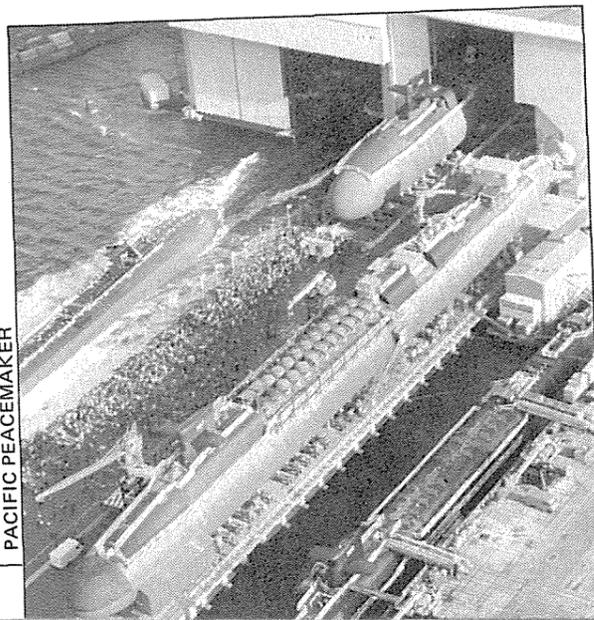
**USA NUCLEAR FIRST-STRIKE STRATEGY COMPONENTS IN THE PACIFIC REGION.**

**LEGEND**

- 1** Trident ballistic missile submarine bases
- 2** B-52H bases/access
- 3** Missile & defense sensor testing range
- 4** ASW sonar arrays
- 4** ASW Orion P-3 bases
- 4** ASW attack submarine bases/access
- 4** ASW aircraft carrier bases
- 5** C3I bases
- 5** C3I Tracamos base
- 5** C3I Omega bases
- 5** C3I Loran-C systems
- 5** Targeting stations
- 6** ASAT sensors



Royal Australian Air Force P3 Orion anti-submarine aircraft.



The first Trident, *USS Ohio*, SSBN-726 (lower right), and *USS Michigan*, SSBN-727 (centre) at the General Dynamics Electric Boat Division, Groton, Connecticut, USA. Note the 24 outer tube doors for the Lockheed C4 Trident 1 missiles.

RAAF

PACIFIC PEACEMAKER

CHAIN REACTION MAP BY MARK CARTER

... from page 31

weapons system yet devised. Each Trident submarine will carry 24 Trident missiles. Each Trident-2 missile bus contains up to 17 nuclear-armed warheads (termed MARVS - manoeuvring armed re-entry vehicles). MARVs can manoeuvre, after re-entering the atmosphere, towards their separate targets hitting home within 25 m of the centre of each target. Each MARV within the Trident-2 missile bus has a destructive power equal to five Hiroshima bombs and is 80% certain to destroy its target. Each Trident submarine has the potential to unleash 408 deadly accurate nuclear warheads on targets in the USSR.

In August 1982 the first of the new Trident submarines, *USS Ohio*, entered service at Bangor, Washington state (near Seattle), the home base for the proposed fleet of Tridents which will patrol the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The USA proposes building 30 Tridents.

Trident submarines will use Diego Garcia and Cockburn Sound as forward bases in the Indian Ocean. There is also some speculation, based on sound argument, that Tridents will use Belau as a forward base.

#### Penetrating B-52-H Launched Cruise Missiles

In the event of a USA first strike, cruise missiles launched from B-52H bombers based in the Pacific/Indian Ocean region would be used against the less time urgent targets in the USSR.

A squadron of 20-23 B-52 bombers, including cruise missile carrying B-52Hs, is based at Anderson air force base in Guam. Cruise missiles are almost certainly stored in readiness at Guam and Hawaii.

B-52 bombers have access to bases and facilities at Kadena (Okinawa), Clark air force base (Philippines), Darwin (Australia) and Diego Garcia (Indian Ocean). Any of these bases could be conceivably involved as staging points for the B-52H/Cruise missile component of a USA first strike on USSR.

#### Kwajalein Atoll Missile Testing Range

The USA Pacific missile-testing range consists of a launch complex at Vandenberg air force base in California, tracking and telemetry facilities on several islands, and a target complex at the Kwajalein Islands in Micronesia. This missile range is of vital importance to the USA's advance towards a first-strike capability. The manoeuvrability and accuracy of M-X and Trident MARVs are being developed and improved at Kwajalein. The range is also vital for the testing of ballistic-missile-defence sensors and weapons, components of the fourth element of counterforce strategy.

#### Anti-Submarine Warfare (ASW)

No USA first strike will succeed unless the ten out-of-port USSR ballistic-missile-loaded submarines which are patrolling the Pacific at any one time are quickly located and destroyed. These submarines are based at Petropavlovsk and Vladivostok, both of which are ice bound for at least half the year. By comparison with their USA counterparts, USSR submarines are very noisy and cannot pass into the Pacific Ocean except via the strategic bottlenecks of the Japanese straits of Soya, Tsugaru and Tsushima. These factors, combined with the efficient USA ASW deployed in the region, mean that USSR strategic submarines are particularly susceptible to monitoring and detection, and ultimately to a USA-launched first strike.

ASW detection by USA forces and USA allies is proceeding now so that USSR strategic nuclear submarines can easily be located and destroyed in the event of any emergency or the launching of a first strike attack by the USA.

ASW detection is based on two overlapping systems. Sonar arrays (SOSUS) are known to be laid out on the floor of the continental shelf around Diego Garcia, Guam, the Japanese straits, the Aleutian Islands and Hawaii. These arrays can detect submarines at distances of up to 1000 km.

After SOSUS arrays have detected a USSR submarine, land-based Orion P-3 aircraft are directed to the general area of detection and by using sono-buoys and other equipment can accurately locate and identify the submarine, and, if necessary destroy it. P-3C Orions are equipped to carry Lulu, the nuclear ASW depth bomb.

The USA P-3 force in the western Pacific (Task Force-72 of the USA seventh fleet) is headquartered in Kamiseya (Japan) with air groups stationed at Misura (Japan), Kadena (Okinawa), Cubi Point (Subic Bay in the Philippines) and Agara (Guam). Atsugi and Iwakuni (Japan), Saipan (Marianas) and all other available Pacific bases are presently being used fully for strategic patrols. The Orions of the USA seventh fleet are coordinated in their activities with those of the USA third fleet patrolling the east Pacific. These P-3s are based at Adak (Alaska) and Muffetfield in California, with a contingent of 45 P-3 Orions based at Barbers Point naval air station, Hawaii.

The USA navy's operation computers link up with Canadian (18 CP-140 Auroras - an Orion derivative), Australian (20 P-3s) and New Zealand (5 P-3s) ASW Orion forces. By 1988 the Japanese self-defence force will be operating 75 P-3 Orions (expected to be based mainly at Iwajima) in the north-west Pacific and will be an integral part of this pan-Pacific ASW Orion network. Australian P-3 Orions are based at Edinburgh air force base outside

Adelaide and could play a role in any USA first strike.

Bases used by P-3 Orions of the USA fleet contingent in the Indian Ocean include Diego Garcia, Nanyuki (Kenya), Mogadiscio (Somalia) and Takli (Thailand).

Most USA warships are equipped with ASW weaponry including tactical nuclear devices such as rocket-fired nuclear depth charges and nuclear-armed ASW torpedos. An important component of the USA ASW weaponry in the Pacific is the fleet of approximately 30 attack submarines of the third fleet headquartered at Pearl Harbour and operating out of bases at San Francisco, Whidbey Island, San Diego, Long Beach and Adak (Alaska). The few attack submarines operating within the USA seventh fleet are headquartered at Yokosuka (Japan) and have access to ports in the region such as Sasebo (Japan), Naha and White Beach (Okinawa), Subic Bay (Philippines), Auckland (New Zealand) and Melbourne (Australia). Apra Harbour (Guam), the forward base for USA ballistic-missile-loaded submarines, also serves as a port of call and servicing/maintenance complex.

Yet another deadly element to the USA ASW naval contingent is the assortment of five aircraft carriers patrolling the Pacific. These carriers carry anti-submarine aircraft and helicopters. USA aircraft carriers in the Pacific are based at the headquarters of the seventh fleet at Yokosuka (Japan) and of the third fleet at Pearl Harbour.

#### Command, Control, Communication and Intelligence (C3I)

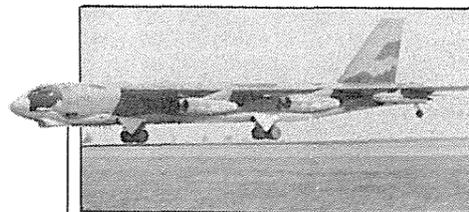
C3I installations in the west Pacific/Indian Ocean will play an indispensable role in any USA-launched first strike.

Hawaii is the largest C3I centre in the Pacific and is the site of the headquarters of the USA Pacific military command (PACOM). This command covers almost one-half of the earth's surface - from the west coast of the USA to the east coast of Africa and from the North Pole to South Pole. C3I installations in Hawaii deliver commands and receive and relay information.

The major communications centre for the USA navy in the west Pacific is situated at Guam and goes under the name of the Naval Communication Area Master Station Western Pacific. It provides necessary communications for the Pacific command and for the operational control of fleet units and the administration of naval bases in the west Pacific and Indian Ocean region.

#### Submarine communication and position fixing

The North West Cape C3I base in Australia is one of the most important elements to USA first-strike strategy. One of the main purposes of the base is to provide communications with



A USAF B-52 lands in Darwin, possible staging point for the B-52H launched Cruise missile component of a USA first strike on USSR.

USA ballistic-missile submarines in the west Pacific and Indian Oceans. The base is the largest and most powerful of three such facilities in the world and can send high-powered very low frequency (VLF) signals to depths of up to 16 m. The other two stations are positioned in the USA, communicating with submarines in the Atlantic and east Pacific Oceans. In the event of any USA first strike being launched, Trident or Polaris submarines in the region would receive their fire command via North West Cape. North West Cape serves a number of other functions vital to USA strategic interests. For example its array of high-frequency transmitters were fully committed during USA mining of Haiphong and other North Vietnamese harbours in 1972.

In the event of the destruction of North West Cape in any nuclear exchange, a fleet of specially equipped transport planes known as Tracamos will act as airborne VLF transmitters towing 7 km-long antennae used to send instructions to strategic nuclear submarines. Tracamos are based on Guam and have access to a number of airfields throughout the west Pacific/Indian Ocean. Because the Tracamo system is airborne it is widely judged to be 'nuclear war survivable'.

There are eight Omega stations in operation around the world to help strategic submarines and anti-submarine forces with the precise determination of location and time as required. These Omega stations emit VLF signals which penetrate below sea level, enabling submarines to establish position accurately without surfacing, prior to launching ballistic missiles. Omega bases transmitting signals in the Pacific/Indian Oceans are situated in Hawaii, Reunion (Indian Ocean), Tsushima (Japan), East Gippisland (Victoria) and Trelew in Argentina.

The Omega system is complemented by the Loran-C navigation system which also mounts an anti-submarine communications system. There are two Loran-C chains in the Pacific, one linking Iwojima, Tokachibuto (Itokkaido), Minami-Torishima, Kesaji (Okinawa), Johnston, Hawaii and Midway, and the other linking Alaska with the USA west coast. A total of eighteen Loran-C stations make up the two chains.

#### Targeting and early-warning ground stations

Nurrungar ground station in South Australia provides satellite information used to identify and precisely locate

USSR targets in a first-strike attack. Nurrungar also plays an important role in relaying information from early-warning satellites monitoring USSR ICBM activity. Nurrungar would thus play an important role in identifying USSR ICBMs which were launched after surviving a USA first strike.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) controlled Pine Gap Station near Alice Springs in the Northern Territory also provides satellite information necessary for targeting in the event of a first strike. The station is involved in a wide range of intelligence-gathering work including the mapping of the extensive USSR early-warning and air-defence networks. This mapping is essential if the USA is to be capable of disabling USSR early-warning systems in any first strike.

#### Space Warfare

The USA is currently developing an anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons system and an advanced satellite tracking sensor for this system is being constructed at Taegu, South Korea. Proposed sites for similar projects are Maui in Hawaii and Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

#### USSR FIRST STRIKE?

The USA has been able to progress towards a first-strike capability partly because it has constructed an extensive network of bases, ports, airfields and communication facilities around the globe. Nowhere is this network more evident than in the Pacific. This network forms the infrastructure of the USA ASW weapons systems and C3I operations.

By comparison, virtually all USSR C3I lies within the USSR borders. USSR ASW is solely ship based and the only non-USSR ports those ships have access to are in North Korea, Vietnam and Yemen. In any case most USSR ASW is deployed within territorial waters and is at present considered to be of a tactical rather than a strategic nature. The deployment of these ships on the open sea would be limited in a time of crisis because they lack air cover.

This lack of any effective strategic ASW eliminates, for the time being, any possibility of the USSR launching a planned first strike against the USA. The difficulty for the USSR in launching a first strike is compounded by the fact that 50% of the USA's ballistic missiles are on board submarines, and the first Tridents are now almost ready for commissioning.

#### COUNTERFORCE VERSUS COUNTERVALUE

Whilst the deterrence strategy provided at best an unstable and dangerous lull and at worst brought us to the brink of nuclear holocaust, the strategy of counterforce initiated by the USA contains new and greater dangers.

Counterforce strategy compounds the chances of nuclear war on at least three counts. Firstly there is the danger that once the USA possesses the capability of mounting the first strike, it will choose to use it. Secondly, the USSR can only be expected to consider capabilities rather than intentions under extreme conditions when war seems imminent. Faced with the possibility of a USA first strike the USSR may be motivated to fire off its missiles before they are disarmed and USSR industry is crippled, as a last-ditch effort to lessen the impact of the perceived imminent USA strike. The third factor in the increased likelihood of nuclear war is the shorter times in which the new generation counterforce weapons take to reach their targets. Some tactical nuclear missiles in western Europe are 6 minutes away from their USSR targets. In many cases Trident missiles are as little as 10 minutes away. There is little time for properly judged responses, and the chances of a computer malfunction or false alarm triggering a nuclear holocaust are increased.

#### WHAT CAN WE DO?

People in the west Pacific/Indian Ocean region have a critical role to play in the worldwide disarmament movement.

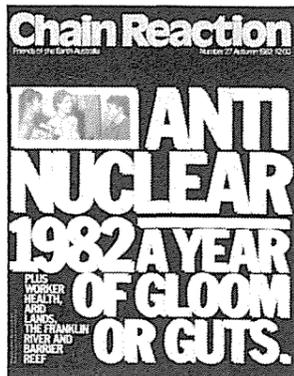
Removal from the region of the USA's C3I and ASW facilities which are operating outside USA borders would seriously reduce the effectiveness of USA counterforce strategy. The accuracy of USA ballistic missiles would be reduced as would the ability of the USA to effectively seek out and destroy USSR ballistic-missile-loaded submarines. In particular the closure of the Kwajalein Atoll missile range would, in the short term, cripple USA progress towards first-strike capability. Citizens groups throughout the region, including Australia, are mounting campaigns for disarmament, nuclear-free zones and removal of USA bases. Those campaigns have already received varying degrees of support from governments in Mauritius, Fiji, Vanuatu and the Australian state of Victoria.

An undermining of USA counterforce strategy would return us to the 'balance of terror' that existed under counter-value strategy. But that is infinitely preferable to living in a world where at least one of the nuclear superpowers believes in a winnable nuclear war. A world without counterforce strategy is more likely to produce meaningful international disarmament negotiations which would be the first step towards complete nuclear disarmament.

Such significant social change is only possible under the impulse provided by an organised mass movement built on wide-ranging coalitions. In April this year over 100 000 Australians marched on the streets of our major towns and cities, showing the potential for such a movement here at the junction of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

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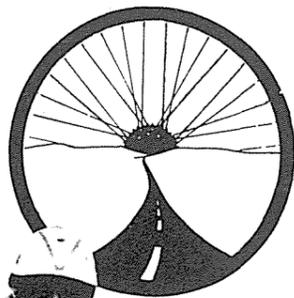
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## Chain Reaction

### Position Vacant

### Editor/s

Applications/proposals are invited for the position of Editor/s of *Chain Reaction*, the national magazine of Friends of the Earth Australia. (Since May there have been three people working as Editors.)

The magazine is currently published quarterly, goes to members of Friends of the Earth in Australia, other subscribers (including schools, unions, community groups, libraries and individuals) and is on sale at community centres and various retail outlets. We are planning for the magazine to be published six times a year commencing in 1983.

*Chain Reaction* covers a wide range of issues emphasising the politics of the environment, energy and resources.

The Editors currently work with collectives of volunteers in Melbourne and Sydney, FOE, and other community groups around Australia. The magazine has been based in Melbourne since it was established in 1975.

The Editors' responsibilities include ensuring continued operation of the collectives, encouraging people to work on the magazine, and, with the collective, determining content, organising production, managing the finances, distribution, and promotion of the magazine.

Applicants may be required to attend interviews in late January 1983 at a Friends of the Earth Australia meeting near Adelaide.

Remuneration — negotiable.  
The new Editor/s will take office, after a two week introductory period, on 1 March 1983.

Applicants are welcome to discuss the magazine and obtain further information from the present Editors and Melbourne and Sydney Collectives — Tel: (03) 63 5995 or (02) 211 3953.

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

Applications close on 14 January, 1983.

## Chain Reaction

# National con

By Alistair Machin

In May 1982, the Department of Home Affairs and Environment released a discussion paper *Towards a National Conservation Strategy*, which is the latest step in its efforts to create a national conservation strategy.

As the discussion paper points out, Australia has lost two-thirds of its forests, is one of the most highly urbanised countries in the world, and has a legacy of extinct and endangered wildlife after only 200 years of white settlement. Good agricultural land is a scarce resource and soil degradation is 'so serious a problem that it poses a major threat to this essential life-support system'.

The concern that living resources which are essential for human survival are increasingly being destroyed or depleted led, in 1980, to the launching of the World Conservation Strategy (WCS). Mostafa Elba, the director of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), said that its main thrust 'is to present the case for conservation as a means for sustained development'. He should have added that before any serious discussion can take place about conservation of living resources for sustainable use, there needs to be a major re-examination of our development path.

Conservation in the WCS is defined as the management of human use of the biosphere so that it may yield the greatest sustainable benefit to present generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations. Thus, according to its authors, while 'development' aims to achieve human goals largely through use of the biosphere, 'conservation' aims to achieve them by ensuring that such use can continue.

The sponsor organisations of the WCS — the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources and the World Wildlife Fund — spent five years of intensive consultations with more than 700 scientists before they finalised its preparation in full cooperation with UNEP. The strategy has the full endorsement of the Food and Agricultural Organisation and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Even though the WCS enjoys an impressive status, the ultimate responsibility for adopting sound development policies

*Alistair Machin has worked with Friends of the Earth for a number of years and now works for Fund for Animals in Sydney.*

based on the principle of conservation and rational utilisation of natural resources rests solidly with sovereign national governments.

Australia has responded by beginning to develop a National Conservation Strategy for Australia (NCSA). The discussion paper *Towards a National Conservation Strategy* is stage three of this process. It was preceded by, firstly, the commissioning of experts to present papers analysing the impact of land users and human activity in living resources and the institutional mechanisms which influence this impact, and secondly, a national seminar which debated and reviewed these papers. Public comments and criticisms of the discussion paper are now called for which will be taken up in stage four when a draft strategy is produced. This will then be debated at a national conservation conference in Canberra in February 1983, the outcome of which will be the final strategy, to be submitted to the 1983 Premier's Conference.

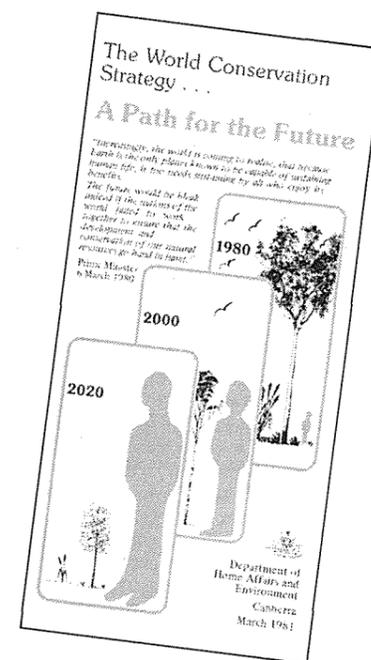
One can have little quarrel with the central concerns and objectives of the WCS and NCSA. These are to:

- maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems on which human survival and development depends;
- preserve genetic diversity on which depend the breeding programmes necessary for the protection and improvement of cultivated plants, domesticated animals and micro-organisms;
- ensure the sustainable utilisation of species and ecosystems which support millions of rural communities as well as major industries.

The view then, that the activities of humans in the organisation of production of goods and services to satisfy material needs now seriously jeopardises the ecological processes upon which we depend for survival, has given impetus for the need to 'integrate conservation with development'.

The principal obstacle to achieving this goal is simply stated as the failure to achieve this integration. It is argued that 'conservation and development have so seldom been combined that they often appear — and are sometimes represented as being — incompatible'.

The explanation for this failure to integrate conservation and development is provided by a range of institutional problems which, the paper suggests, can be eliminated by corresponding adjustments to policy measures appropriate to their respective tasks. Accordingly the paper carries, at length, recommendations which, if implemented, the authors argue, would steer Australia on



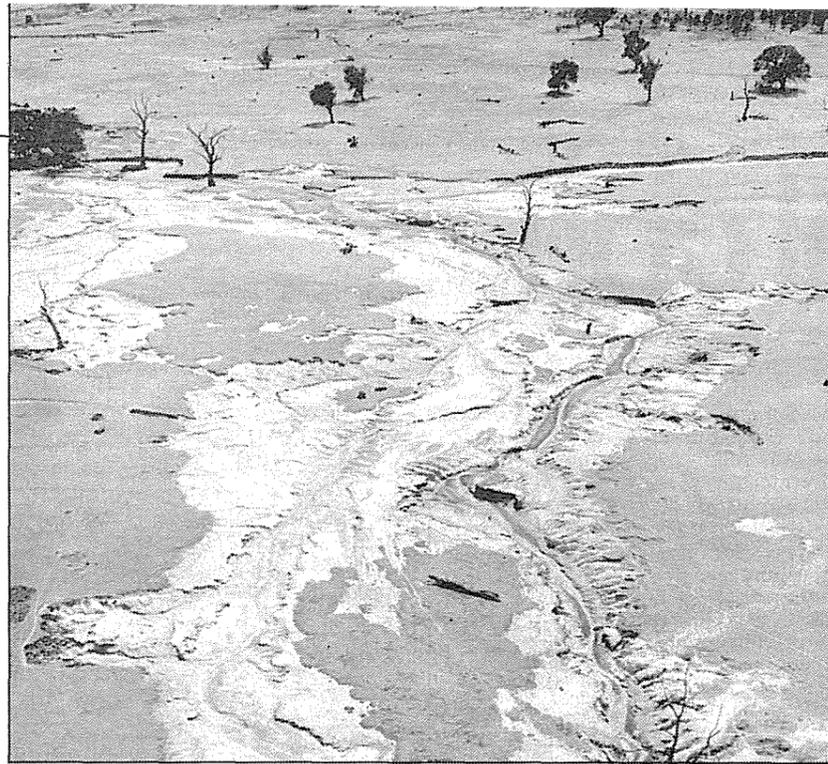
National Conservation Strategy literature from the Department of Home Affairs and the Environment, Canberra.

this 'rational sustainable path'.

I suggest that it would not. If we assume for the moment that the current political and economic climate in Australia would be receptive and committed to all these recommendations, which it clearly is not, the relevant question to consider is whether rational and efficient use of our natural resources is actually possible (compatible) under the prevailing conditions imposed by the economic order which shapes our society.

The internal logic of the 'free market' system demands that the maximisation of returns on investment is facilitated by larger economies of scale in which costs per unit of output are minimised. Since it is the search for profit which gives the prevailing economic order its dynamism, there has been a tendency towards longer, greater and more 'efficient' scales of production. But the efficient allocation of capital resources does not necessarily coincide with the efficient use of natural resources.

The generation of power by coal combustion may prove economically wise where the power stations are sited near extensive and cheap coal reserves, yet the technological choice of power station design is inefficient in terms of the calorific value of the fuel which is actually 'used'. A decision to use a more efficient combustion process



— say fluidised bed combustion which unlike pulverised combustion can also utilise the coal washery wastes — or to develop an electrical generating process from renewable sources, (eg photovoltaic cells using solar energy) may be more energy efficient, but financially prohibitive.

The design of many consumer products, in particular the motor car, which have been a source of considerable profits to their producers, have a built-in obsolescence that has served to sustain a continuing demand for them. Yet they are extremely wasteful of the raw materials needed for their creation and of the energy needed to power them.

Thus, for me, the major limitation to the NCSA seems to be a conceptual one: that the obstacles which are identified as critical are in fact only of secondary importance. The reason for the inability of conservation and development to integrate is much more fundamental. The development of a conservation strategy that seeks to 'fine tune' an economic system whose internal logic and practice is inherently wasteful is doomed to failure, in the same way and for the same reasons that the Green Revolution of the 1960s was a miserable failure for the hungry of the Third World. The failure to address the fundamental issue — the direction and purpose of development and the distribution of economic and political power which characterises it — is the major shortcoming of the NCSA. It insists that conservationists accommodate themselves to a happy compromise with developers within the narrowly defined parameters of the prevailing economic status quo.

It should be understood, in case I am taken to be saying something that I am not, that this is not an argument for saying there can never be any grounds for a

**The strategy lists priority needs for sustainable development including the prevention of soil degradation, and land restoration where soils are degraded.**

marriage between conservation and development. Indeed there must be, but the starting point for this negotiation comes after the redefinition of development priorities and the values and assumptions which serve them.

Barry Commonor expresses the point perfectly in his book *The Poverty of Power*. He argues that in our world there are complex interactions among three basic systems — the ecosystem, the production system and the economic system — that together with the social or political order govern all human activity. The ecosystem provides all the resources which support human life and activity. The production system transforms this wealth into earnings, profit, savings etc. Thus, he says:

logically the economic system ought to conform to the requirements of the production system, and the production system to the requirements of the ecosystem. The governing influence should flow from the ecosystem through the production system to the economic system. In actual fact the relations among the three systems are the other way around... thus what confronts us is not a series of *separate crises* but a single basic defect — a fault that lies deep in the design of modern society.

For those who will charge that my arguments are 'esoteric', 'impractical' and 'ideological' since we have to work in the real world and social-ecology is not about to appear around the corner, let us briefly consider some practical reasons for submitting the NCSA to its major shortcomings.

As the crisis of western capitalism deepens and the present recession rumbles horribly close to the edge of a new depression, the response of the private sector — what the NCSA euph-

emistically call the development practitioners — has been to rationalise its production. Among the first costs to be thrown out the window will be pollution abatement technology and environmental protection measures.

The role of the state in such crises is typically 'to minimise the effect of any policies which might constrain the opportunities for profitable activity'. Environmental protection legislation, which imposes costly delays or adds significantly to the expenses of establishing new projects, is rarely applied. Enforcement of pollution violation laws are overlooked or inadequately funded and in some cases the legislation is amended and modified.

The Fraser government has also shown its willingness to create favourable conditions for the pursuit of profit by shifting a larger proportion of its revenue away from social services programs towards subsidies for capital. Such a policy has meant that the financial commitment of the government to its environmental responsibilities has fallen, most notably the cut in funding available to conservation organisations. The Environment Department has been shuffled and reshuffled, combined at different times with Housing, Science and Home Affairs, and is presently the lowest portfolio in cabinet, absorbing less than one-quarter of the 1975-76 environment allocation in dollar terms.

In the light of this it is not surprising to encounter widespread suspicion of the government's motives in promoting this strategy. Indeed it is justifiable in any view to claim that the Fraser government sees the NCSA as an important public relations exercise in which it can give the appearance of acting with purpose on its environmental responsibilities. This of course is not to suggest that there is a deliberate conspiratorial effort on the part of the public servants charged with the task of putting this strategy together, to purposefully dupe the environmental community. Indeed I am sure their commitment to its principles is genuine and they will be acting in earnest to achieve its effective implementation, despite its severe shortcomings.

Instead I am arguing that the environmental community should be wary of the literature which promotes the NCSA as a workable plan, for reasons that are structural, political and ideological in nature.

Individuals and groups should study and comment (by 15 September 1982) upon the paper, from which a draft strategy will be prepared for discussion at a national conference in February 1983. The document to emerge from this conference will contain recommendations to government for a National Conservation Strategy for Australia (NCSA), and will be considered by the commonwealth, state and Northern Territory governments for approval and acceptance.

## POWER

# Malay dam

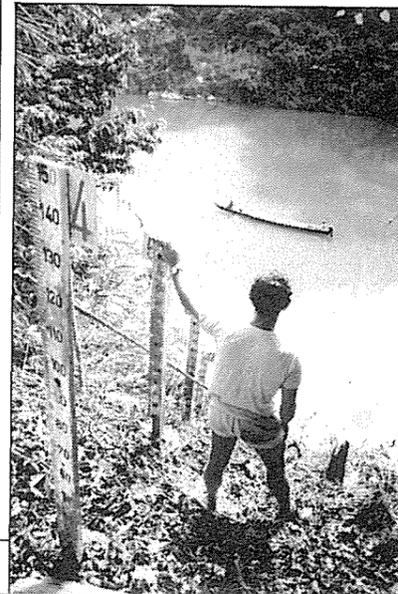
By Thomas Smith

The Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Musa Hitam, told the National Electricity Board (NEB) on 23 January 1982 to 'revive' the Tembeling Hydroelectric Project — a scheme conceived in 1971 and shelved indefinitely in 1978. The Tembeling project will submerge to the 130 metre contour about 7½%, or 130 square kilometres, of the core area of Taman Negara, peninsular Malaysia's only National Park.

NEB sources say that tenders for the dam on the Tembeling river will be called after an NEB feasibility study assessing the environmental impact is presented in April 1983. Work is to begin in 1984.

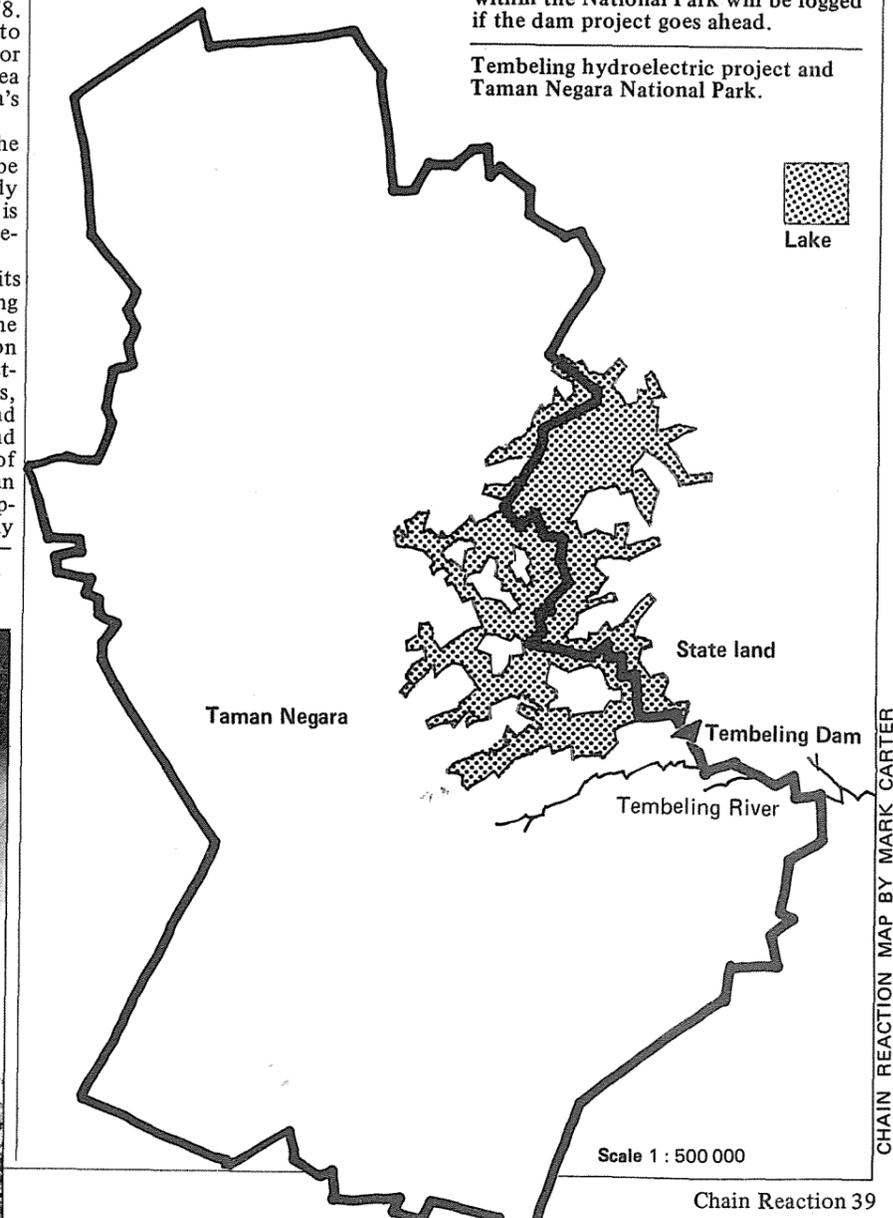
If the government was serious in its desire to create the impression of being fair-minded, it would have given the impact assessment study to the Division of Environment, with views and assistance sought from affected bodies, such as the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, the Drainage and Irrigation Department, the Friends of the Earth (Sahabat Alam), the Malayan Nature Society, the Tourist Development Board, and others. One can only

**The dam site on the Tembeling River, about 4 km upstream from National Park headquarters at Kuala Tahan.**



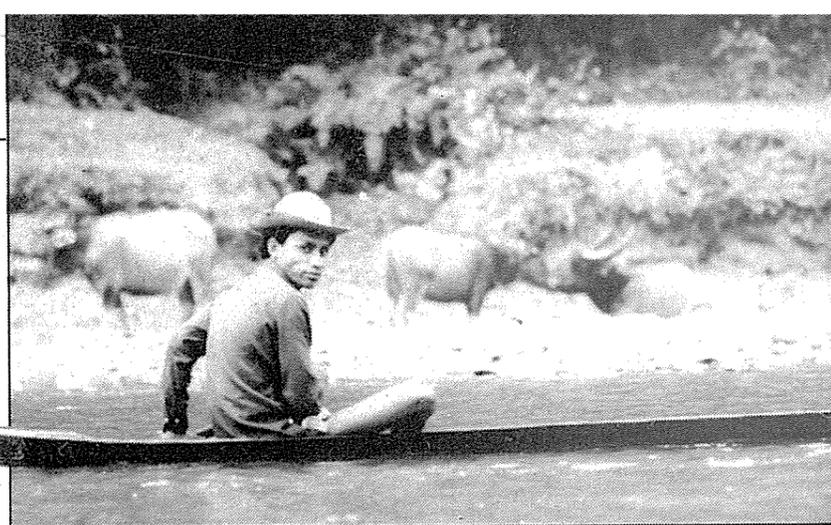
Logging activities have already reached the borders of the National Park in the Tembeling valley. More than 200 sq km within the National Park will be logged if the dam project goes ahead.

**Tembeling hydroelectric project and Taman Negara National Park.**



Scale 1 : 500 000

Chain Reaction 39



More than 2500 people live within the proposed flood zone — growing rice and rubber, fishing, and tending buffaloes and goats.

assume that the study will play down the environmental impact of the dam.

Construction of the dam will displace 5000 people, who will have to be relocated. There are some 2500 people, mostly Malays, living in fourteen kampungs upstream of the proposed dam site. Life for these people involves working paddy fields and rubber plantations, looking after buffaloes and goats, and catching fish from the river. There is also some gathering of forest produce such as rattan and gaharu. There is no electricity and no piped water. A measure of wealth is the ownership of buffaloes, which graze along the river banks. A large animal, when sold at the market in Kuala Tembeling, may fetch as much as 1000 ringgit. Fishing is something available to all, and the river thus provides most of the protein in the balanced diet of kampung dwellers.

A few hundred Orang Asli (aborigines), the Bateq Negrito of the Ulu Tembeling (upper Tembeling), will also be displaced. The Orang Asli have lived in this region for perhaps 5000 years as a hunter-and-gatherer people. Little is known of their origins. The majority of those who have been asked have said they would prefer to stay.

The Taman Negara National Park was created 'in perpetuity, for the propagation, protection and preservation of the indigenous flora and fauna' in 1939. The park sprawls along the boundaries of Kelantan, Trengganu and Pahang states, covering 4343 square kilometres. About 10% of Taman Negara is lowland valleys with gentle slopes, and more than one-third of this lowland area will be flooded if the Tembeling project goes ahead. The dam will be created in the oldest (100 million years), densest and tallest tropical rainforest in the world.

Losing the core area of the park could affect more than 70% of the lowland fauna and flora, according to Dr Keir Bong Heang of the Malayan Nature Society (80% of the wildlife is lowland). Among the fauna almost certainly

Thomas Smith lives in West Malaysia.

affected would be the seladang (wild ox), tapir, tiger and Sumatran rhinoceros. The numbers of these animals have already reached a critical low.

Tigers, elephants and countless smaller and less glamorous species rely heavily on the lowland forest as their principal habitat. Plant life is richest in the lowlands. More than 200 different tree species may occur on a single hectare! Countless species of Malaysia's flora would suffer, particularly rare types of lowland orchid. Access for study will be severely limited after the destruction of the jungle paths, which mostly follow the riverside.

Important archaeological sites, where bronze artefacts have been found, will also be submerged or made inaccessible by the dam.

Back in 1970, before the dam proposals were made, a major threat loomed for the National Park. Logging on the south-western edge of the park, in a forestry reserve, was to be allowed to extend eastwards, into the park itself. Conservation bodies, amidst growing awareness of the importance of Taman Negara for conservation of the peninsula's plant and animal life, made representations to government at state and federal levels, and the threat passed. The logging threat rises again with the dam project. Logging is handled by the state authorities and the area will be felled before it is flooded.

It seems that the Pahang state government was the main beneficiary of the selling of leases to loggers in the Endau-Rompin Forest Reserve, also in Pahang, in 1977. The core area was destroyed before logging finally stopped. The outcry this caused at that time was perhaps one of the reasons for shelving the Ulu Tembeling project in 1978, the Pahang state government not wanting to attract yet more unfavorable publicity. The accession to power of a new, 'clean' Menteri Besar (chief minister) in 1978 was an encouraging sign, but he was forced to resign at the end of last year over differences (barely mentioned in Malaysia's self-censored press) he had with the Sultan of Pahang. Malaysia's central government in Kuala Lumpur pretends it is the authority that controls events, but the power accorded the state governments, and particularly the

sultans, is still very great. It is quite possible that a considerable number of people stand to make a killing from logging concessions given by the government, if the dam scheme goes ahead.

Another aspect of the project which arouses concern is the loss of productive agricultural land. Paddy fields, rubber plantations, fruit orchards and grazing land cover 2300 hectares. The mature fruit trees of nangka, durian, mango, rambutan and others provide a major food source. There are coconut plantations and groves of bananas, as well as other useful trees such as kapok. All existing agricultural land, and some 90% of potential agricultural land, would be lost to the dam.

A road will be necessary to transport bulldozers, rock crushers, other machinery, and the 2000 or so workers who will be at the site during the peak of construction. There is no road at present and one of the delights of Taman Negara is the three-hour boat trip to get there from Kuala Tembeling. With the easier access to Taman Negara, which the road will afford, there will also be increased problems of protecting what remains of the National Park from hunters and loggers. Flooding will require the \$Malaysian 5 million Kuala Tahan headquarters, visited by 5000 people last year, to be moved.

The building of the dam, so the government says, will help ease flooding problems in and develop the state of Pahang. The proposed 110 megawatts, if generated for 50 years, until build up of silt in the lake begins to cut back productivity, is primarily for industrial growth in that state on the east coast.

Between 1971 and 1978 Russian and Australian consultants carried out feasibility studies on the Tembeling project. The Australians suggested four other viable damsites involving smaller lakes but with a power potential similar to the Tembeling project. Recent studies have shown that there are 36 potential sites for hydro plants in Malaysia. It has been recognised that there is great potential for mini hydro-electric plants in the peninsula because of its numerous rivers. The NEB has shown that they can be operated viably at low cost.

A study from University Sains (Science) Malaysia showed that the energy potential from agricultural wastes such as sugar cane, oil palm and rice paddy is considerable. Even if these wastes can be converted at 15% efficiency, then scientists estimate that the continuous cultivation of just 1 acre of sugar cane will produce waste that can provide the basic lighting needs of eight to nine rural households. The wastes from an acre of oil palm fruit and paddy can supply the basic lighting needs of two rural households. Malaysia has also sizeable reserves of natural gas, while recoverable reserves of non-associated gas have been estimated to be equivalent to five billion barrels of oil.

## REVIEWS

### Films

**El Salvador, Another Vietnam.** Produced and directed by Glenn Silber and Tete Vasconcellos, 16 mm, colour, 53 minutes. **Changing the Needle.** Produced and directed by Martha Ansara, Mavis Robertson, and Dasha Ross, 16 mm, colour, 53 minutes. For both films contact Sydney Film Exchange, Tel: (02) 33 5360.

It is easier to destroy a society than to create one is the message from this double program. Using interview and press conference footage balanced by scenes of life, and death, in El Salvador Glen Silber and Tete Vasconcellos document the destruction of that society, and draw savage parallels between USA's present involvement in El Salvador and the earlier encroachment into Vietnam's social revolution.

In Vietnam itself Martha Ansara, Mavis Robertson and Dasha Ross focus on the Binh Trieu drug addiction centre in the Ho Chi Minh City, and through it show Vietnamese efforts to rebuild a society shot to bits by 30 years of war. There is no attempt to hide the difficulties, shortages and limitations experienced by the centre but as you meet the people you become aware of the dedication of the staff and a growing hope for a future among the inmates.

The two films work from different angles. *El Salvador* takes you from headline politics to the devastating effect on the individual, while *Changing the Needle*, by dealing with individuals, delineates the society behind those individuals. The films also derive their impacts from different sources. The USA film uses words and the contradictions between words and actual existence to create its impressions. Bland diplomatic faces make obscene statements, such as President Duarte's assertion that there was no repression in El Salvador, only 'abuses of authority'. These images are combined with interviews with people who have experienced such 'abuses'. And it was the words spoken by people such as Archbishop Oscar Romero and Ita Ford that ensured their deaths at the hand of the right-wing death squads.

With the Australian film it is the pictures that tell the story. Martha Ansara's unobtrusive camera has caught



From the film *El Salvador, Another Vietnam*

some beautifully telling illustrations of the human predicament. Most memorable is her capturing of the day of decision as the city-bred addicts decide whether to return to a futureless but known way of life in Ho Chi Minh City or to burn all boats and settle in a New Economic Zone commune where they may, perhaps, find a future.

*El Salvador* ends in the USA with

the demonstrations against the restoration of government aid to the Duarte regime. *Changing the Needle* leaves us on the commune where the former addicts are building new social ties which may bring them to a new beginning. And while people will work together in solidarity to help and support each other there is still hope for humanity.

Rosemary Metcalf

**Der Macht Manner Ist Die Geduld Der Frauen (The Power of Men is the Patience of Women).** Directed by Cristina Perincioli, 16 mm, colour, 78 minutes. Available from Feminist Film Distribution Centre, Tel: (02) 827 2874.

*The Power of Men is the Patience of Women* is a film about Addi — and all other women like her, women who have been beaten by their husbands. Addi lives in a small apartment in Berlin with her husband and young son. She lives the insecure and fearful existence of a woman who never knows when, and perhaps more importantly how, her husband will relate to her each day on his return home, from work or from the pub. Will he be drunk, aggressive, violent — yet again? Will he be charming? Will he desire her sexually? And if he is kind or charming, how genuine is it? How long will it last, before she once again suffers another

brutal beating at his hands?

Addi makes several attempts to leave her situation, which is destructive for her as well as for her young son. But with each attempt she learns how her husband's behaviour is not only condoned, but also reinforced by attitudes and structures beyond her control. His mates still drink with him each day. They never challenge or confront his brutality. She is refused legal assistance with divorce proceedings because she cannot afford the fee. She is refused social security benefits because she cannot prove she is separated. To do so, she must be divorced. She is threatened with the loss of custody of her child because her husband's story is believed in preference to her own. Against all these odds, Addi eventually escapes to a Women's Refuge, where she is assisted by other women to obtain the social security benefits to which she is entitled. But now she is faced with the

## REVIEWS

problem of how to get permanent accommodation and employment. Rental accommodation is costly, and to be eligible for employment, she requires child care. Her problems are finally solved when she moves with two other women into a communal living situation.

What is perhaps most significant about the film, is that, except for the male actors, all roles were played by the women portraying themselves. As the director, Cristina Perincioli, commented after the film, it is possible to ask an actor to act anything; but the women simply had to be themselves. Because of this, much of the script was rewritten where it did not match with the women's own experiences. This brought a sincerity and genuineness to the film.

Addi's story highlights the many inequities and injustices of society. It is about the German system; it could quite easily be the Australian system. The success of the film may no doubt be assessed by the fact that it is now compulsory viewing for all German social welfare students.

Australian groups wishing to obtain the film may do so from the Australian National Library.

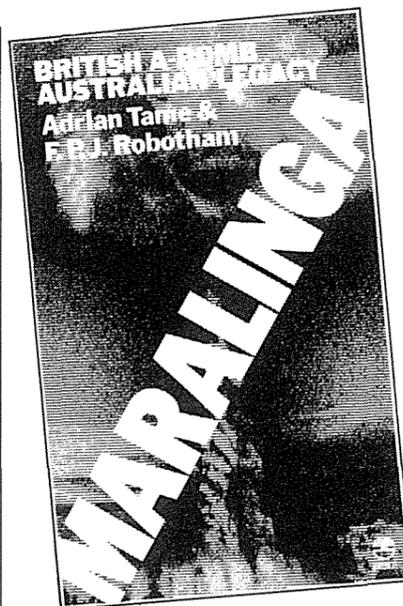
Teresa Cannon

## Books

**Maralinga: British A-Bomb, Australian Legacy** by Adrian Tame and F.P.J. Robotham, Fontana, Melbourne, 1982, 272 pages, \$5.95 (soft cover).

*Maralinga* reveals numerous 'great men'. Some of them have names that are more or less well known: Professor Sir Leslie Martin, Professor Sir Ernest Titterton, H Beale MHR, R.G. Menzies PM. Others are not named or not so well known. Consider, for instance, the British air vice-marshal who was interviewed on ABC Radio in 1980, and who authors Tame & Robotham quote being asked about whether he thought any Aboriginals could have been exposed to dangerous doses of radiation during the tests at Maralinga during the years 1956 and 1957:

This is of course nonsense. We rounded up the Aboriginals and took them off to a safe place if my memory serves me right. We kept them there. We had the Australian regional officers to look after their affairs. They were there, and we were responsible for their well-being, and when the tests were over, and the radi-



ation levels had subsided, they were allowed back into their own particular areas, and they went walk-about again.

*Maralinga* leaves little doubt that much of the 'rounding up' was done in a haphazard manner, that large numbers suffered immediate and long-term effects of radiation from exposure and fallout, and that many others suffered misery and death from the Belsen-like conditions in which they were kept while their 'affairs' were being 'looked after'. It further suggests that much of the incidence of what is being treated as glaucoma among Aboriginals may well be a legacy of the tests.

One of the accounts which is typical of those running counter to the official line is that of Patrick Connolly, a Perth businessperson who had served with the British Air Force at Maralinga. He recalls Aboriginals wandering unchecked on the test sites:

There was nothing to stop them, the signs were useless. During the two-and-a-half years I was there I would have personally seen the best part of 400 or 500... In some cases we would run a geiger counter over them, in other cases not. We just weren't that interested because we didn't understand the seriousness of the situation until some years later.

Connolly also recalled, with horror, revisiting the small town of Yalata near Maralinga in 1980. He was reluctant to talk about this because Commonwealth police and medical teams were investigating the area, but he said that he saw 200 'very sick' Aboriginals there, partly blind and listless; that is, displaying symptoms of radiation-connected sickness. The local government official denied Connolly's story.

One man recalls a stand-up row between an officer and a scientist over whether a contaminated area was safe enough for a ground crew to go in. The officer won and the men went in. The weather was so stifling that they discarded their protective overalls and

hoods.

Pilots were ordered to fly into the mushroom clouds to collect samples; many of them were inadequately clothed and they often kept working when the needles of their geiger counters had gone off the dial. They had not been adequately informed of the risks they were taking. Nor had many of the ground crews who decontaminated the planes.

If *Maralinga* reminded me that human nature remains a constant, the book also makes quite clear that the world we inhabit certainly has changed. Many of the people involved in the tests possessed considerable knowledge about the character of that change in so far as the dangers of radiation were concerned, and hence bore a great burden of responsibility for the safety of others (soldiers, civilian workers, Australian people, including Aboriginals) who might be unwitting victims of fallout. The evidence presented in *Maralinga* suggests the sobering thought that the higher the rank of the scientists, the soldiers or the politicians, the more cavalier they were about the health and lives of those in their charge.

*Maralinga* is not a mere journalistic expose. It is an expose. But it is also a valuable handbook for the scientific layperson in providing a readable history of the development of nuclear physics, nuclear weapons and radiation protection. The book stands as a forcible warning that if we place unquestioning trust in those with vested interests, we do so to our cost. It should be mandatory reading for all those connected with the Australian uranium-mining industry, including Labor politicians.

Paul Begley

**Life After Nuclear War — The economic and social impacts of nuclear attacks on the United States**, by Arthur M. Katz, Ballinger Publishing Company, Washington, 1982, 423 pages (hardback).

The idea that it is feasible to fight and survive a 'limited' nuclear war — one in which the USSR and USA exchange 'counterforce' strikes aimed only at each other's missiles and military bases without incurring unacceptable civilian losses and permanent damage to their economies — has now become the conventional wisdom of the USA's strategic planners. Following Presidential Directive 59, the limited war concept has even become enshrined as official doctrine, superseding the previous doctrine of MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction) in which deterrence was guaranteed by the targeting of civilian centres.

Systematically analysing all relevant information on the likely physical, agricultural, medical, social, economic and psychological impacts of even the most 'limited' counterforce attack (ie directed only at USA missile silos and

military bases), Katz concludes that there would be: 7-15 million immediate deaths; 10-20 million injuries; dislocation of the whole food-producing and distribution system. (through fallout, social disorganisation, transport difficulties, and hoarding); disruption of key industries (through both evacuation and 'bottlenecking' — the dependence of a complex inter-related industrial system on key materials, fuels or products that could no longer be supplied); overwhelming of the medical system by the millions injured, which in turn would deny services to the conventionally ill and produce panic and trauma in the remaining population; and breakdowns in the USA's international trade relations, with collapse in international currencies and cutoffs in vital imports.

Uncertainty about further attacks following the initial 'limited' strike would mean that massive evacuations of urban areas would have to be organised (or would take place spontaneously as a result of panic). This would critically disrupt the whole economy of the country and create race, class, and urban/rural conflicts, as the predominantly poor and black inner suburban population evacuated to the predominantly white affluent rural areas.

Even a limited nuclear attack would have such devastating and unpredictable consequences that any national leadership would have difficulty controlling the domestic and international forces unleashed. How would such a war be 'terminated' short of an all-out nuclear war? According to Katz, political control would slip away because, while the actual physical damage may have been qualitatively limited, there would be no guarantee that the limited attack would be perceived as such. If the public and leadership believed that they had been subjected to a large-scale attack, then they might demand retaliation in kind, leading to the very escalation which the 'limited war' doctrine assumes can be prevented.

Katz also systematically analyses the effects of four other levels of nuclear attack, ranging from 100 to 500 one-megaton warheads, both at the national level and at a regional level (Massachusetts). In another chapter, he effectively debunks the idea that mass evacuation prior to a feared nuclear attack will be of much use. British and Japanese experience with evacuation on a much smaller scale suggests that evacuation creates more problems than it solves, and after one or two weeks, would begin to wreak as much economic and social damage as a nuclear attack itself.

In short, Katz's analysis confirms what the nuclear disarmament movement has long been saying: that in any nuclear conflict, no matter how limited, the survivors will find themselves envying the dead. Starvation, disease, fear,

and psychological trauma will sentence them to an uncertain, futureless existence, devoid of hope and meaning. Michael Hamel-Green

**Coast Alert** edited by Thomas C. Jackson and Diana Reische. Coast Alliance, USA, 1981, 188 pages. \$7.95 (soft cover).

*Coast Alert* is the most absorbing collection of conservation essays I've read for years. And it should interest the scientist as much as the layperson. Six scientific essays on widely different topics are introduced by a simply written essay which brilliantly encapsulates them all in one man's experience of his native coastline.

In the first essay, shoreline geologists record attempts to stabilise shifting shores in an era of slowly rising sea levels. They report on the natural migration of the offshore sandy islands which has been happening for thousands of years and which distinguishes east coast USA. Yet an army of Canutes, from property owners to the USA Bureau of Engineers, has tried, at enormous expense, to stem such forces all along the coast.

In the second section, a scientist from the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute, Massachusetts, estimates that 'more than 6 million tonnes of oil are released to the world's oceans every year'. Most of this oil, more than 90% yearly, enters the marine environment through mundane — and thus scarcely visible — sources. Useful comparisons of sublethal and lethal effects of oil pollution on marine organisms and fisheries follow.

The third paper, by the senior biologist at Woods Hole, records ten years monitoring of a small oil spill near Woods Hole. A single influx of oil from a rather small spill ten years ago has caused chronic pollution that still persists.

The fourth paper demolishes the Offshore Ecology Investigation by the Gulf Universities Research Consortium which is used by industry to illustrate the lack of adverse effects from oil extraction operations. But this scientist claims that it indicates uniform pollution of the entire inshore shelf of Louisiana by oil industry activities. His studies ought to be widely exposed to the Australian media before chronic pollution affects the Great Barrier Reef.

The essay 'Can Marine Mammals Survive Man' argues that the future of most marine mammals may depend on our ability to preserve the coastal environment and to share it with the animals.

In 'The Politics of Pelicans' two University of California authors review the advantages and disadvantages of the Endangered Species Act. From the case of the California brown pelican they show the power of attempts to preserve

## Coast Alert Scientists Speak Out



an endangered species to affect a series of coastal ecological problems which extend far beyond the rescue of a single breeding population. Endangered species, they suggest, may play their most important role in attracting attention to and winning support for broad management efforts.

The final essay is by Professor Eugene P. Odum. Odum once again attacks specialisation in scientific discipline which has too often worked against the study of whole systems. 'Science and technology in the past half century have been so preoccupied with reductionism that larger supra-individual systems have suffered benign neglect. We are abysmally ignorant of the ecosystems of which we are dependent parts', he says.

Much of this essay consists of a valuable discussion of the biological productivity of wetlands. Woven into it is the claim that 'the new ecology demands that economic cost accounting of natural environments include not just "market value" of such things as fish and real estate. It must include public values — those things like water purification that until now have been considered the free work of nature'. Odum calls for extension of economic accounting to include the free work of nature. This is not an unexpected claim from the centre of the capitalist system and others make it too. In this reviewer's view, it is doomed to failure because it attempts to equate totally unlike values. When we can price friendship or love then we will be well on the way to pricing the long-term value to humanity of a major wetland. But as soon as we put a financial figure on a wetland, some major firm or consortium will discover it can pay that price and the wetland will be destroyed. Society's real problem is to divorce life support

## REVIEWS

systems, ecosystems, habitat, wildlife species and population survival from the market system.

But that is the single disagreement I have with the most useful conservation book I have read for years.

Milo Dunphy

**The Liberation of Life: From the cell to the community** by Charles Birch and John B Cobb. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, \$34.50 (hardback).

Those concerned about the environmental degradation which has accompanied the rise of western civilisation often put a lot of the blame on our judeo-christian values and our scientific outlook. The authors of this book do not think that religion and science have been entirely blameless. But they do believe that recent developments in science, and a christian point of view, properly understood, can encourage the development of an ecological and social consciousness. They call for a change in our concept of life and for human liberation, and argue that these things go together.

The world picture which Birch and Cobb present rests on developments in biology which they claim undermine the mechanistic view of world as machine. From the level of atomic structure upward, organisms — and indeed non-living things — are not independent and self-contained mechanisms, but depend essentially on their inter-relations with other things. For example, the way proteins are constructed by DNA molecules depends on the environment of a cell; and the way genes operate is influenced at every stage by environmental factors. This integration of the elements of life with their environment is reflected on another level by the integration of living and non-living things in an ecological system. Once we realise that all things are 'constituted' by their relations to each other, we will find it more difficult to see the human species, or ourselves, as separate and self-contained. We, too, are constituted by our relations with each other and our relations with our environment.

Birch and Cobb go on to argue that a proper appreciation of these inter-relations has moral and social implications. It teaches us a respect for life and its possibilities, and it underwrites attempts to liberate people from unjust social conditions and the search for a 'just and sustainable world'.

The authors' world view is not logical-

ly airtight — and it's not meant to be. Not all plausible connections have to be logical ones. But it's possible to accept their view of living things and disagree with their ideas about values and social goals. Every reader will probably object to something in this book.

What is valuable and stimulating about the book is its attempt to bring together scientific theories, values and views about social life. It does this without mystifying readers with technical terms or obscurities. Any person who likes philosophical argument and is not afraid of a few difficulties should get a lot out of it. In writing *The Liberation of Life* the authors were themselves combating the compartmentalised, fragmented points of view which are all too common among philosophers, scientists and other specialists — a way of thinking which they believe modern science has made obsolete.

But has it? The reductionist explanations which are still popular in the life sciences, the search that still goes on for a new technological fix, suggests that the views which Birch and Cobb oppose are very much alive. Perhaps, as many critics claim, the message of modern science is not so clear and unambiguous as Birch and Cobb think. Or perhaps there are social forces at work, in science and in society as a whole, which are encouraging the anti-ecological and anti-human practices which the authors deplore. Birch and Cobb have written a very humane book, but sometimes it seems a far too gentle one.

Janna L Thompson

**The Other Side of the Frontier** by Henry Reynolds, History Department, James Cook University of North Queensland, Townsville, 1981, 217 pages, \$11.50 (soft cover).

The value of this book lies in its ability to make people think, to create a total picture from what used to be shattered pieces of information. Henry Reynolds has managed to unchain, both intellectually and emotionally, historians' accounts from non-Aboriginal Australians' 19th-century origins. He has embraced the other side of the frontier and created an exciting yet tragic picture of our past. He has given 'academic validity' to the Aboriginal peoples' place within Australian history, which in the past has only been a quaint archaeological remnant.

Reynolds has refused to accept that there was simply a meeting and subsequent conquest between two races. He has clearly demonstrated the significance of such a dramatic meeting for the Aboriginal people, in terms of the reality of emotions and experiences.

What was it really like when an Aboriginal first saw a European; the colour of the skin, the clothes worn, the possessions, foodstuffs and stock?

The author has demonstrated an in-

### THE OTHER SIDE OF THE FRONTIER

HENRY REYNOLDS



depth search for an understanding of the Aboriginal response to the European invasion. He asks questions such as:

If Europeans were seen as reincarnated relatives by Aboriginals, what type and degree of resistance, if any, would occur?

What of the different cultural concepts: Aboriginal reciprocity compared to European proprietorial rights?

Aboriginal revenge not territorial conquest.

Judicial rather than martial law.

How did the Europeans fit into this presumably age-old pattern of revenge and reprisal?

What were the reasons for killing?

What role did 'sorcery', 'magic', 'religion', play in the conquest?

The author has asked the obvious but previously unasked questions relating to the frontier situation.

Reynolds has brought together information on the numbers of people killed on the frontier and on the methods used by Aboriginals — the changes necessary to traditional methods of conflict as a response to a changing environment. Incorporated also is the value of traditional skills such as 'bush craft', knowledge of the environment and effective surveillance.

The chapter entitled Politics of Conflict breaks new ground by creating a Gestalt picture. What has been seemingly irrelevant information is seized upon by the author with great enthusiasm, and an explanation is offered, through questions like:

What was the effect on Aboriginal society of the decline of power for the elderly men, and the new found power thrust into the hands of the younger men?

What control and limitations were waged on Aboriginals entering the European world?

Finally, the study of contact between the pastoral frontier and others such as the maritime and mining industries explores the vast range of experiences and tactics employed by the Aboriginals, and the resulting Aboriginal lifestyles.

This book is recommended to all Australians concerned with a more balanced account of their history. It is essential reading for history teachers, at all levels. Senior secondary students will find it an invaluable source of knowledge; however, to extract the greatest amount of information the student should approach the book with segmented direction from the teacher and constant class discussion.

The concepts discussed in *The Other Side of the Frontier* are abstract in comparison with Australian history to date. A new perspective has been offered through this book.

Nerida Blair  
Aboriginal Education Services

**The Spiral Path: A gay contribution to human survival** by David Fernbach. Gay Men's Press, London, 1981, 236 pages, £3.75 (soft cover).

In 1973 an essay entitled 'Towards A Marxist Theory of Gay Oppression' appeared in a now defunct British publication, *Gay Marxist*. Written by David Fernbach, the essay 'tried to develop the classical Marxist theory of the family to deal with the specific character of gay oppression'. The essay reflected, as well as helped to create, a growing interest by lesbian-feminists and gay men in what marxist theory and practice had to offer their autonomous movement and wider change. Since then this project has continued with varying degrees of rigour; and few have been more conscientious than David Fernbach.

In *The Spiral Path: A gay contribution to human survival* Fernbach continues in this manner. He moves far beyond his earlier position, which he now sees 'as vitiated by an unwillingness to question central dogmas of Marxism'. And he goes out of his way to challenge the hegemonic strength of marxist theoretical discourses and practices while he suggests: 'The crisis which makes possible and necessary the advance to a communist society is a global contradiction between scientific technology and the system of social relations based on violence, its present form being the twin threats of nuclear war and ecological catastrophe.'

Fernbach persuasively argues in four chapters (The Gender System, Homosexuality And Gayness, The Crisis Of Humanity, The Way Ahead) and an Afterword (Beyond Communism) that 'we are still far too cowed by the dogmatized Marxism of the masculine Left'; and that the feminist and gay movements 'have a special contribution

DAVID FERNBACH

## THE SPIRAL PATH

A GAY CONTRIBUTION TO HUMAN SURVIVAL

to make, by working to erode the masculine specialization in violence that underpins class society, the state and the endemic warfare between states'.

Although Fernbach more than adequately contests the capability of marxism to be a totalising theory around which to organise a program for social change, he still seems to be searching for 'one way'. Nonetheless, the book has much to offer, especially the sections on gender; and throughout the course of his text Fernbach makes a substantial contribution to a discussion which needs to concern us all, no matter what our sexual orientation — human survival.

Dave Sargent

Here is the *Other News*, 80 pages, £1.25. Where is the *Other News?*, 80 pages, £1.25. *The Other Secret Service*, 32 pages, £0.60. *Rolling Our Own*, 120 pages, £2.25. *News Limited*, 176 pages, £3.25. All by Minority Press Group and Campaign for Press Freedom, 1980, 1981, London (soft covers).

Distribution is the fundamental theme of this British series. The distribution problem explains why *Spare Rib*, a successful feminist magazine, sells 20 000 copies worldwide while *Cosmopolitan* sells half a million copies in Britain alone. It explains why *The Leveller*, a controversial left newspaper, can't increase its circulation despite the wide publicity received by its exclusive news stories.

One solution to the distribution problem — which Australian small magazines such as *Chain Reaction* share with the British — appears to lie in the French system. There, legislation guarantees distribution to all publications through the huge *Nouvelles*

Messageries de la Press Parisienne (NMPP). The assistance doesn't stop there — special concessions, rebates and loans are available to publications with circulations below 30 000 copies. The French system is described fully in *The Other Secret Service*, the third of the series.

The first two volumes look at the distribution problem in Britain and at how the local commercial press has been challenged by community newspapers using a variety of distribution techniques. Decision-making issues are dealt with in *Here is the Other News*, *Rolling Our Own* and *News Limited*, which detail a number of hierarchical and non-hierarchical attempts at organising and running magazines, and publishing and printing operations. *Rolling Our Own* deals with women's organisations involved in each of these activities, examining the rationale for organisations composed entirely of women and looking at publishers such as Virago and The Women's Press, and at several printing firms. *News Limited* deals with the faults of the mainstream British press from the inside and describes one attempt to create an alternative.

This series of books is a very valuable contribution to the debate over control of the media, a debate which for a number of reasons has tailed off disappointingly in Australia. Our press cannot be said to be free while economic factors remain the central restricting influence. The French distribution system, although it has emerged from particular historical conditions, provides a provocative contrast and emphasises a single fact — that there is a market for radical magazines — which we should use as a starting point for a renewed assault on Australia's monopoly press.

Peter Browne

**The Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing for Writers, Editors and Speakers**, by Casey Miller and Kate Swift, The Women's Press, London, 1982, 109 pages (soft cover).

*Man* used to mean an adult human of either sex. In Anglo-Saxon times *wif* meant adult female and *wer* meant an adult male. *Wifman* (adult female person) eventually evolved into the modern term *woman* and *man* became the word for adult male.

It was not until the late eighteenth century that *man* and *men* ceased to be used as generalisations for all adult humans. By this time writers were referring to the 'actions of men' which presumably applied to all people, but then gave themselves away in lines such as 'workers and their wives and children'. (Not incidentally, it was at this time that women were being forced out of the paid workforce and

continued page 47

# LETTERS

... from page 3

community groups — almost as an extension of women's history as charity workers.

But unfortunately, the presence of equal or greater numbers of women in an organisation does not, by itself, mean an end to sexist ideologies.

• Having more women than men at a meeting doesn't mean that women will speak for as long as men do, nor ensure that women have equal decision-making power with men. We are all brought up to believe that men are natural leaders and thus accept their proposals more readily.

• Having more women than men in an organisation doesn't mean that women will be proportionately represented at 'the top'. There is a tendency for men to assume positions of power regardless.

• Having more women than men in an organisation doesn't mean, for instance, that it won't still be a man who is the media representative — using a press release typed by a woman.

To understand the oppression of women over the centuries is not an admission of weakness on behalf of all women. Likewise, it is not a sign of individual failure for even those of us who are articulate, committed feminists to admit that sometimes we slip back into the old stereotypes and defer to men.

Sexism is hard to overcome. We can't do it singly, we can't do it without the concurrent effort to remove oppression by class and race, and we certainly can't do it if we don't raise and debate the issues now.

Karina Veal  
Jill Taylor  
Margie Kaye  
Melbourne, Vic

I would like to commend *Chain Reaction* for publishing the article by Kimberley O'Sullivan in the last issue. I think it augers well for FOE's

development that it is able to publish an article which raises and criticises sexism present in its own organisation.

The issue of sexism is one women contend with daily. It would be hopeful to believe that the publication of Kimberley's article could highlight the on-going difficulties women are facing, and lead to open discussions on such issues within your organisation and the environment movement as a whole.

Isobel Attwood  
Carlton, Vic

Can one 'movement' be all things to all people? Probably not, but I thoroughly support Kimberley O'Sullivan in her contribution to the debate on 'Ecology and Ideology' (CR 28).

I do so fully aware that my practice falls a long way short of my theory, and that I personally need lots of jolts to remember that my (male) view is not the common one. Since my major concern is for the ecology movement to realise that the substantive issue is decision-making power, I've felt for a number of years that the radical feminists' insistence on self-determination was the most valuable political dynamic around. But how to support that view and make use of its insights?

It's not easy. For instance, I feel that Down-To-Earth and the so-called alternative lifestyles movement have degenerated for the very reasons that Kimberley speaks of. But what are the words to turn a 'brick-wall' into a hearing aid? Many people say that they are listening and that they agree with you, but can't see how it refers to them personally. I have the greatest difficulty in coping with real or implied criticism, and feel that praise would achieve more. But how can I be praised for neglect of something I claim to understand?

Men's Liberation, for want of a better label, has yet to go through its first stage. No wonder radical feminists have gone off to work on their own self-determined priorities.

Bob James  
Moonee Ponds, Vic

## Environment staff

After reading an article in *Chain Reaction* on the dwindling resources of the federal Environment Department, I placed a question on notice to the Minister for Home Affairs and Environment requesting exact staff numbers in the Department from December 1972 to January 1982.

When the figures given were analysed, it was seen that there has been very little change in staff numbers (79 to 105) from the Environment Department in 1972. If the staff employed by authorities responsible for National Parks and Wildlife, the Great Barrier Reef and Aligator River are included, the current number of staff is seen to be about 250.

I feel that the whole point of these figures is that they are so very low. Two hundred and fifty people to administer the needs of 7 682 000 sq km of extremely diverse and delicate ecosystems is an appallingly small number.

After all, we depend on our environment for our survival.

Colin Mason  
Senator for NSW  
Deputy Leader of the  
Australian Democrats  
Parliament House, ACT

## We were wrong

While I recognise the difficulties in ascertaining and correcting all proofing errors, I am angry. I have already requested an apology for the two proofing errors in my 'Ecology and Ideology' article in *Chain Reaction* 27.

CR 28, page 18 included an apology for one error. It also did not state what had been the previous error as in the 'We Were Wrong' on page 34 of the same edition.

Margie Kaye  
Northcote, Vic

## Honeymoon views

\*In December 1981 the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia decided that the Honeymoon uranium mine would be the site for the first nationally coordinated protest against uranium mining. The Honeymoon mine in particular was chosen to draw attention to the potentially dangerous type of mining

method proposed.

On 14 May 1982, the weekend of activity began. All through the day and night people from all over Australia arrived. By the following morning around 450 people had gathered. Together with locals from Broken Hill and the nearby Aboriginal town Wilcania, we marched down the main street and then set out in cavalcade to the base camp at Mingary, a ghost town close to the mine.

Splits within the protesters arose because there were many people who signed up at the last minute and were not prepared to make a decision before the march which may have made them feel committed to participate. They had obviously not thought about what they were letting themselves in for and when confronted decided that singing songs and chanting was the best course of action. Naturally, those of us who were involved for some time were more prepared for direct action. One group of people decided to go ahead and attempt to pull down the mine fence without the support of the rest of the protesters. Had the whole group participated in this we would have shown strength and anger at the mining companies, instead it showed a lack of co-operation between protesters.

As Karl, a protester recently arrived from West Germany wrote in the CANE Adelaide newsletter:

Direct actions and militancy are never good or bad per se. It always depends on the historical, political situation. Militant actions seem to be necessary now in Germany but the political scenery in Australia is completely different. There was an obvious lack of awareness about this fact at Honeymoon. A political strategy for the Australian anti-nuclear movement was missing.

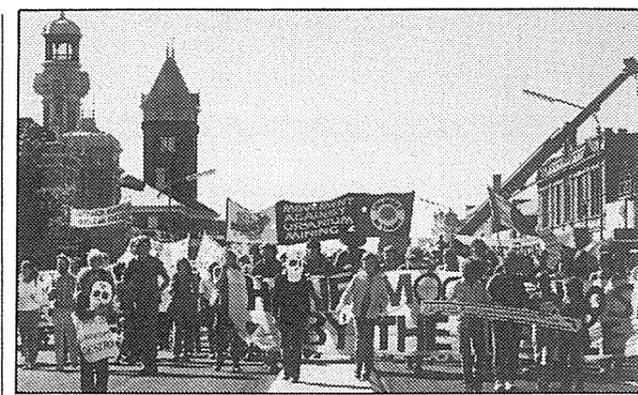
Let's hope that Germany never becomes a pattern for the Australian anti-nuclear movement. The opposite is true: by blocking the uranium mining here, we can give the European movement hope. It's an international issue and we can only win with international solidarity.

Trish Anderson  
Fitzroy, Vic

\*After the recent Honeymoon occupation I could have felt elated but I didn't — despite

the euphoric back-slapping surrounding me. Inner debates gnawed at me as I drove back to Broken Hill. What's happened to the anti-nuclear message? — or is it the medium? The implications of Australia's first uranium mine occupation reach into the future.

The occupation itself was mostly successful within its limits, though it should have been bigger. Very few people from Broken Hill decided to join in even though many of them are concerned by uranium mining and the final, all-encompassing truth — nuclear weapons exist. The rally through Broken Hill was touched with supreme irony. Four hundred activists marched down Argent Street with a banner proclaiming 'Honeymoon Closed By The People' but the people simply gaped. Most seemed more amused than moved, enjoying the spectacle between forays into the shops. At Honeymoon itself, the speakers harped on 'the people', but few indicated any ability to relate to



Honeymoon protesters march through Broken Hill

moderate, humdrum suburbia. There seemed little understanding of the fears and insecurities of ordinary people, or of how they could be drawn in.

My feeling is that Broken Hill people were principally kept away by the protestors' involvements in other, often political, issues. One woman I spoke to said bluntly 'I'm against uranium mining but I'm also against land rights. If it had been solely about uranium mining I would have been in it'. This type of

problem was exemplified by the Honeymoon handbook. While containing some basic information on Australian uranium mines, half of its 24 pages dealt with largely irrelevant, left-liberal topics: Land Rights, Overcoming Masculine Oppression, Consensus Politics, and the Law and You to name a few. Along Argent Street it misfired badly in winning any new adherents to the anti-uranium cause.

Finally, the single most remarkable aspect of the

entire protest was that the dangers of nuclear war remained a side issue. Of all the prominent banners not one mentioned nuclear weapons or war — the clear issues that almost anyone can relate to.

The Honeymoon protesters travelled thousands of kilometres for the occupation but, sadly, failed to limit their aims and methods to something everyone can support — peace. Closing Australia's uranium mines isn't likely without the overwhelming opposition of ordinary people — the people along Argent Street.

Ed Stokes  
Broken Hill, NSW

\*These letters have been edited for space reasons.

You are invited to write letters to *Chain Reaction* with your comments on the magazine or on other issues of interest to you. Letters longer than 300 words may be edited or may not be printed. Write today to *Chain Reaction*, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000, Australia.

... from page 45



Casey Miller and Kate Swift

specifically denied political rights.)

Casey Miller and Kate Swift put a clear and persuasive case for *man* as a false generic in their excellent *Handbook of Non-Sexist Writing for Writers, Editors and Speakers*. The authors' earlier book *Words and Women* (available in Penguin) was a pioneering work on sexism and language. This new book has been specifically revised for the British reader and includes samples of sexist writing taken from British newspapers. Sexist writing is that which excludes, trivialises, marginalises or denigrates women and their achievements.

With its detailed table of contents, this book is an essential reference for all people committed to non-sexist writing and speaking. It is particularly useful

for students and others trying to find their way around sexist terminology whilst remaining grammatically correct and avoiding cumbersome expressions. Miller and Swift have many suggestions about how to remove unnecessary gender identifications and deal extremely well with the problematic gender-specific pronouns.

However the best thing about this handy little book is that it provides sound arguments and grammatic and linguistic evidence for those of us who have to get up time and time again to argue that *chairman*, and many other expressions, are sexist terms which consciously or unconsciously exclude women and negate our contributions.

This book also puts the lid on those 'enlightened' men who think that they are being ever so clever and funny when they talk about *wopersons*, *chairthings*, or call a person whose name is *Couchman*, *Couchperson*, and so on.

Jeannie Rea

**The Green Pages — Directory of non-government environmental groups in Australia** by the Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne, 1982, 96 pages, \$15.90 (soft cover).

If you want to contact almost any, or perhaps all, non-government environmental groups in Australia this book is essential. It gives the name, address, contact person, telephone number, number of members, name of journal

# REVIEWS

and areas of interest of over 800 organisations. The information is concise and clearly presented, and the book has both the organisation's name and the subject indexes.

The unfortunate aspect of it is that as many as 300 or 400 groups either are not aware of the book or choose not to provide information for publication. I hope many more groups will participate in the next edition. Meanwhile, this remains a useful publication from ACF.

Leigh Holloway

Other books worth mention:

**How to Stay Out of the Gynecologist's Office** by the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers, Peace Press, Culver City, 1981, 136 pages, \$6.95 (soft cover).

**Victims of the Law: Black Queenslanders Today** by Garth Nettheim, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1981, 200 pages, \$9.95 (soft cover).

## ACTION GUIDE

### Queensland Conservation Council

PO Box 238  
North Quay  
Queensland 4000  
147 Ann Street  
Brisbane  
Queensland 4000  
Tel: (07) 221 0188

The Queensland Conservation Council is a non-government non-profit organisation which represents the interests of conservation and environmental groups throughout the state. Established in 1969 to coordinate the activities of its members, the council currently has 70 member bodies and over 500 individual members. Apart from its coordinating role, the QCC is increasingly being called upon to provide the conservation viewpoint by government authorities, the media, various institutions and politicians, and has thereby been identified as the environmental advocate for community interest groups in Queensland.

As the major umbrella organisation for a broad spectrum of interest groups, the QCC is involved in a wide variety of issues related to nature conservation, resource and energy usage, pollution, industrial development, land use, and environmental legislation and administration. While many of the council's member bodies are actively involved in lobbying campaigns associated with their specific issues, the QCC has tended to concentrate its efforts on issues that are perceived to be of state and national significance, such as the Great Barrier Reef, rainforests, oil shale development, toxic chemicals. In this regard, the council not only coordinates groups with an interest in such issues but also undertakes research to provide information to support these campaigns. However, not all environmental issues in Queensland are covered by a specific interest group and in these cases the QCC seeks to stimulate the formation of such an organisation or local action group. Where this is unsuccessful, the council continues to fill the gap to the best of its abilities and limited resources by community edu-



Queensland Conservation Council Environment Outlet Bookshop.

cation programs, media coverage of conservationists' concerns, and direct lobbying of decision makers. Issues such as air, water and noise pollution, transport, arid-land uses and recycling are just some of the vital areas in Queensland where more work needs to be done to make the community more aware of the conservation viewpoint.

The QCC started off, like many other conservation groups, in being a purely voluntary organisation with no office and no paid staff. However in 1976, following the receipt of a grant from the federal government, a small office was established in Brisbane and a full-time worker employed. This has now expanded to four full-time and one part-time staff members. However volunteers still play a vital role in helping the QCC attempt to cope with all the demands constantly being placed on it, and they help out with routine office work, research, publicity and serving in the bookshop.

The council also manages the Brisbane Environment Centre as an integral part of its operations. As well as providing a base for the QCC's staff, the centre services the needs of its Brisbane-based member bodies by supplying office space, administrative support, meeting rooms and information resources. Another major role of the centre is meeting the every-increasing public demand for information on environmental topics, particularly from secondary school students. The library resources of books, journals, newsletters, pamphlets, newspaper clippings, maps and audio-visual material are heavily used,

and a large number of phone and written requests are also handled each week.

The council publishes books and pamphlets on current environmental issues, such as Moreton Island and herbicides, and also produces a monthly newsletter outlining activities and issues involving the QCC and its members.

A ten-person executive committee is elected annually by the members, and meets monthly to determine priorities for action, administer the council, and oversee the management of the environment centre. Bi-monthly general meetings are also held featuring guest speakers, films, etc on current environmental topics.

The QCC's major source of funding comes from its federal government grant, membership fees, donations and, more recently, from the sale of publications from its bookshop, Environment Outlet. This street-front shop, across the road from the environment centre, stocks a wide range of books, magazines, posters, stickers and notepaper on conservation and related topics. Apart from over-the-counter sales, there is also an expanding mail-order service throughout all Australian states, particularly to schools.

Membership fees for bodies wishing to join the QCC range from \$18 to \$45 depending on the size of the organisation, while individuals can join for \$10 (\$17 for families and \$6 for students and pensioners).

Anyone wishing to find out more about the QCC, or any other conservation organisation in Queensland, should contact the council at the above address.

QCC



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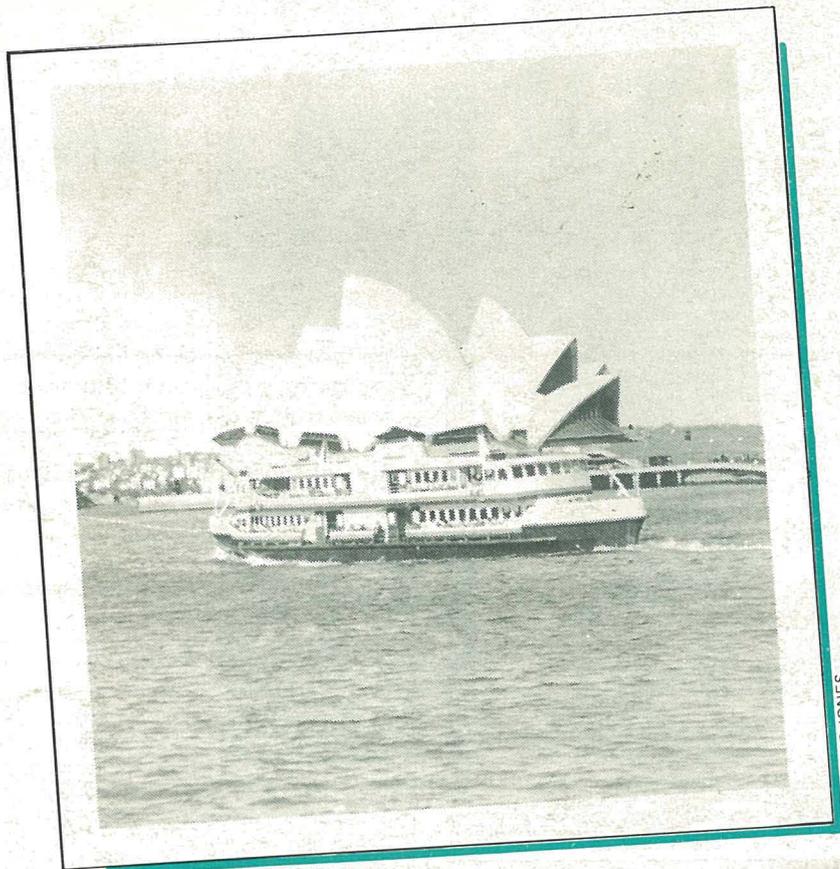
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LORRAINE JONES

# Sydney!

The **Chain Reaction** Sydney Collective has been going for about eight months. We need more people. The work can be as little or as much as you want; it's stimulating and satisfying; a great way to use or learn skills. Work to be done ranges from that of a reviews editor here in Sydney, working on Action Guide and Earth News, producing a radio ad, laying out pages of **Chain Reaction** in Sydney, encouraging groups to use **Chain Reaction**, supplying and finding photos and other graphics, researching articles, mailing out the magazine quarterly to Friends of the Earth members, working on sales in shops and . . . the things to do are endless.

To have the Sydney collective actively working on and through the magazine we need people power . . . that's where you come in. If you're interested ring and discuss your involvement with Trish Luker or Jenny Quealy on (02) 211 3953.

(Leave a message if we're not in.)

Come on, give us a call.