

Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

Number 38 July-September 1984 \$2.50



KOREA: A NUCLEAR BONANZA.

HOLLYWOOD GOES NUCLEAR.

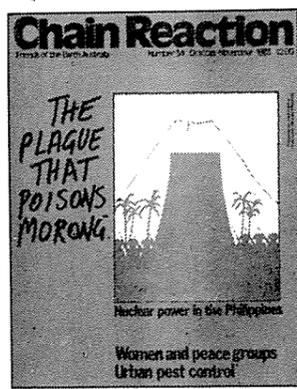
WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS?

ACTIVIST 1984-85 CONTACTS
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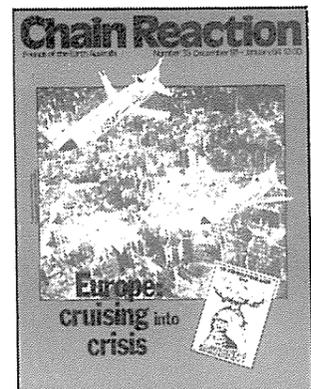
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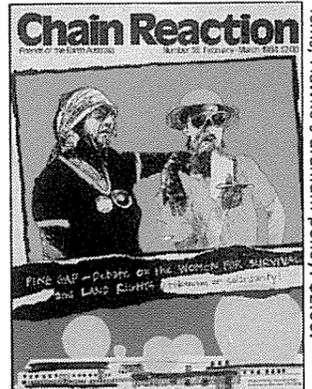
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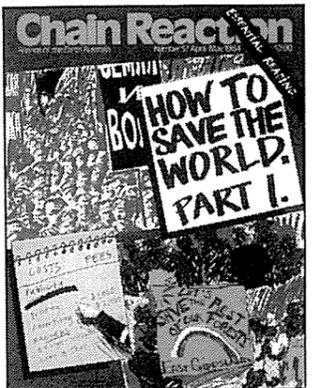
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Chain Reaction

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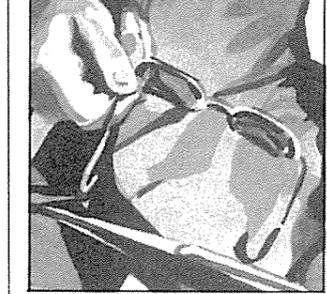
CONTENTS

ACTIVIST CONTACTS
1984-85
Lift-out poster

11
HOLLYWOOD GOES NUCLEAR
A discussion
Nuclear celluloid. Film buffs take a look.

19
PRECOCIOUS PUBERTY IN PUERTO RICO
By Sheril Berkovitch
Growth hormones fed to poultry, poultry fed to kids . . .

20
A LITTLE EACH DAY . . .
By Terri Seddon

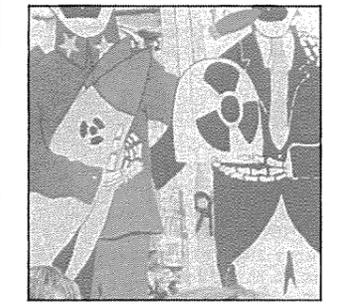


The Uranium Information Centre's battle for your mind

24
KOREA: A NUCLEAR BONANZA
By Mark Howie, Peter Hayes, Tim Shorrocks and Lyuba Zarsky
Bribery in pursuit of South Korean reactor contracts.

29
RE-PRESENTING WORK
A photoessay
'A large area of our lives remains undocumented and hidden.'

32
WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS?
By Phil Shannon



Does it matter who's responsible for the arms race?

36
DEVELOPING THE MALAYSIAN ENVIRONMENT
Richard Nankin talks to Gurmit Singh
Prospects and problems of environmentalism in the Third World.

38
COMMON EXPERIENCES
An interview with Barbara Harford
The ebb and flow of Greenham women's peace camp.

41
ANTARCTIC TACTICS
By Ross Scott
No sliding on ice.

LETTERS	2
BACKSTAGE	6
EARTH NEWS	7
SUB FORM	17
FOE GROUPS	18
COMMENT	44
REVIEWS	45

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LETTERS

give women.

The criticism of eco-feminism as 'utopian' because its 'projected society is not clearly related to the existing one and it is not at all clear how to get from one to the other' is also inappropriate. This is because eco-feminism works very much on the concrete here and now of people's lives as part of a peaceful ongoing cultural transformation.

This in turn means that the personal politics between women and men, both inside and out of the eco-political movement has begun to take on a different character. It is not a matter of 'writing men off', nor 'suspicion' or 'cynicism' . . . but more self-awareness, understanding, care and honesty needed all round. And given Petra Kelly's recent comments on women's experiences in the Green Party, it seems there is a lot of work to be done on this level yet.

Despite the upsurge of uniquely eco-feminist actions across the world, just as many women are working alongside men in peace and environmental campaigns. Eco-politics is 'split on gender lines' — just as society itself has been so divided for as far back as we know, and, until environmentalists come to recognise the broader cultural context of their struggle, this will go on.

In the longer term though, the analysis which eco-feminism provides is humanly unifying rather than sectarian. Is this what is 'dangerous for feminism and the peace movement'? Is it dangerous for people to be asked to look at unexamined assumptions and practices? To change and to grow?

Eco-feminism challenges and complements the prime feminist focus on equality in a very radical and refreshing way. It draws feminist politics into a completely new problematic — the human connection with nature. On one



hand, this supplies a global environmental frame of reference for women's concerns. On the other, it allows women to confront what might be 'natural' inside themselves as well — something the older, masculine-identified feminism of the sixties and seventies was afraid to do, in case the admission of sexual difference might mean an admission of inequality. Far from 'upholding themes which feminists have fought for decades', there is a distinct 'epistemological break' here — to borrow a theoretical phrase from Marxism — a totally different way of looking at things. That is why the new eco-feminist interest and valuation of what is defined as feminine in patriarchal culture has nothing whatsoever to do with earlier, conservative emphases on Motherhood, King and Country. These are two historically different forms of consciousness, with distinct political and cultural antecedents.

But eco-feminism also

deepens and broadens the mainstream environment and peace movement: it underlines the connection between social and ecological violence, showing how and where this violence works in people's everyday lives. Far from 'misinforming our political action', eco-feminism involves a path breaking reformulation of 'the political'. Not only because like feminism it links the personal to the political level in a practical way; but because, as I said before, its philosophy re-situates politics in a new problematic based on a rediscovery of the nexus between what is human and what is natural.

The conventional agenda of politics — our reciprocal rights and obligations, the just distribution of goods — has been overtaken by a fundamental paradigm shift. This will have a far reaching effect on the way in which those more traditional political problems are analysed and dealt with in the future. The criticism of eco-feminism as misinformed politics therefore, resides in a rather static and outmoded conception of where the cutting edge of politics is.

In response to the question — 'Is eco-feminism really as simplistic as it seemed in the letters and article in *Chain Reaction* 36?' — the short answer of course, is 'no'. 'The growth of eco-feminism' (*Chain Reaction* 36) simply maps out something of the wide variety of women's environmental action around the world over the last decade or so. It does not aim to present a 'version': it is a condensed, chronological account, edited down for popular consumption in a non-specialist magazine. If a reader is genuinely disappointed to find a non 'theoretical' treatment of the topic — although the book list was intended as a guide to that — then this is an encouraging sign. Perhaps the author of the letter might provide a theoretical treatment of eco-feminism for a subsequent number of *Chain Reaction*? And if s/he goes ahead with this project, have debate with my more analytical discussions of nature and culture, gender and epistemology, published recently in *Thesis Eleven*. The issue should be properly

opened up, it is too important to be dealt with by a few unsubstantiated side-swipes.

Ariel Kay Salleh
Visiting fellow in sociology,
University of New South
Wales

Ariel Kay Salleh is teaching a post-graduate seminar on eco-feminism at the University of New South Wales during Session II, 1984. Inquiries: (02) 662 2108 or (02) 662 2260.

Eco-feminism — is it really reactionary, as claimed by Terri Seddon (letter, *Chain Reaction* 37)? I think not.

The driving forces behind environmental problems and behind the institutionalised domination of men over women are closely linked. Some of the key modern institutions behind environmental problems are:

- the state (which includes for example the military and government bureaucracies);
- bureaucracy as a way of organising people's work through hierarchy and the division of labour; and
- elite control over production of commodities, such as under capitalism and under state socialism.

Each of these institutions both supports and is supported by patriarchy in numerous ways. For example, the men who hold elite positions in the dominant bureaucracies in our society use their bureaucratic power to exclude women and to enforce the gender division of labour, thus supporting patriarchy. Conversely, the separation of work and child-rearing in bureaucracies and the impersonal style of work serve to benefit the careers of male bureaucrats and to mobilise their support for bureaucratic hierarchy. Other such connections between institutions are spelled out in *Friends of the Earth* (Canberra's) paper *Strategy Against Nuclear Power*.

To ultimately solve the problems of war, environmental destruction, poverty, injustice and human inequality, challenges to exploitative and oppressive institutions are required, and also alternatives to them. Eco-feminism, in linking two of the important challenges/

Continued on page 43. . .

COLLAGE BY TIM DARLING

The Boiling Frog

by Alison Lyssa

Dear Friends,

We'd be delighted to welcome you at Nimrod to see **The Boiling Frog**, a new play by Alison Lyssa.

You may have seen our production in 1981 of **Pinball**, Alison's earlier play, about the lesbian custody case where the women not only won the right to be lesbian mothers, but brought down the system of patriarchal law. (Well, almost!)

In **The Boiling Frog** a group of appealing characters find themselves up against those vast systems of belief that are used to justify keeping people down — superstition in the seventeenth century, and megascience in the twentieth.

The group outwit the Great Plague of London in 1665, refuse to be crushed by a collapsing coal-mine in the Age of Enlightenment, and arrive in the twentieth century to find a world of science and art so awe-inspiring no one has noticed that life itself has gone missing.

With music and song this optimistic piece of theatre is a testament to people's resilience and common sense.

Yours, Nimrod Theatre Company.

**THE BOILING FROG —
NIMROD UPSTAIRS
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**Performance Times: Tues-Fri 8pm,
Sat 5pm & 8.30pm, Sun 5pm.**

**Bookings: Telephone 699 5003, 699 6031
and at Mitchells Bass.**

**Nimrod Theatre, 500 Elizabeth Street,
Surry Hills, Sydney**

**STOP PRESS! STOP PRESS!
THE WOMEN
OF MARCH THE FIRST**

by Lissa Benyon
**Don't miss this important
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Three Russian women of exceptional courage, intelligence and idealism. Their political involvement ends in terrorism when they become key members of the party which assassinated Tsar Alexander II on March the First, 1881.

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**Performance Times: Tues-Fri 8pm,
Sat 5pm & 8.30pm, Sun 5pm.**

**Bookings: Telephone 699 5003, 699 6031
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We were wrong

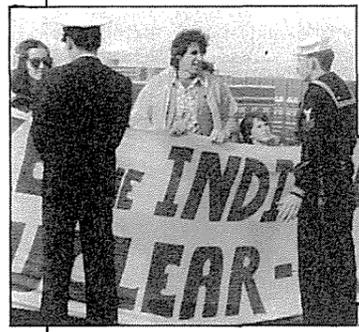
In *Chain Reaction* 36, an Earth News item, 'Coal sack', wrongly presented the views of Barry Swan, the general secretary of the New South Wales Miners Federation. Swan was said to 'accept' the explanation from the Bellambi Coal Company that the sacking of 363 miners in January 1984 resulted from loss of sales to Japanese customers, and that unless the retrenchment occurred all of the 880 miners at Bellambi would have been sacked.

In fact Barry Swan's view is that Bellambi Coal would have proceeded with the retrenchments for the sake of profit maximisation regardless. He no way accepts the sacking of any miners and continues to fight for their right to work in the industry.

Chain Reaction apologises for misrepresenting Barry Swan and hopes this apology in some way redresses any harm done.

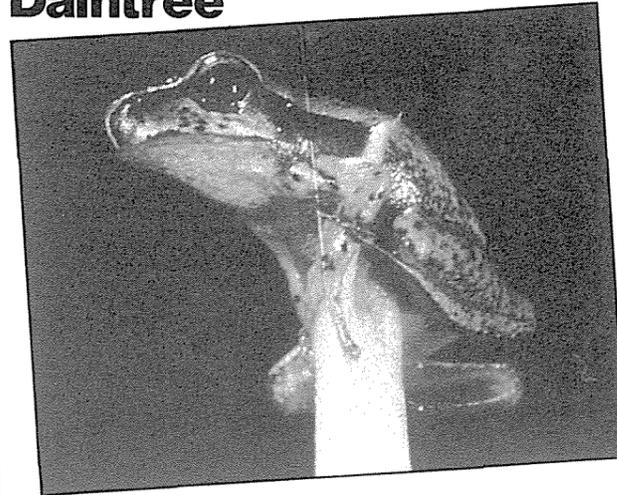
Rapid deployment

Project Iceberg, along with other peace and disarmament groups around Perth, continues to stage actions against visiting USA warships to the port of Fremantle. On 19



8 Chain Reaction

Daintree



A variety of frog found in the Daintree area.

On Thursday, 26 April 1984, the Queensland government announced the revocation of 135 hectares of the Cape Tribulation National Park (in far north Queensland) to make way for the road alignment between Cape Tribulation and Bloomfield. The following Saturday, 'Daintree Day' rallies and events occurred in Cairns, Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra and Hobart to protest the threat to the Daintree tropical rainforest, which is partly covered by the national park.

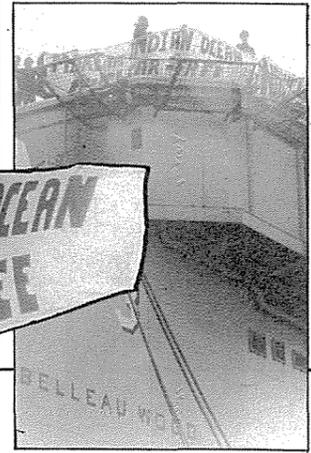
Before Christmas 1983, local conservationists blockaded bulldozers trying

to proceed with the road (see Earth News, *Chain Reaction* 36). The Christmas break and monsoon rains stopped work on the road, but with the end of the wet season work will recommence. In response, conservationists are preparing to renew their blockade.

Contact: For further information on the campaign to protect the Daintree rainforest, contact the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Rainforest Conservation Society, the Wilderness Society, your local environment centre or the Cairns and Far North Environment Centre, CMS Box 5918, Cairns, Qld 4870. Tel: (070) (070) 51 1344 or (070) 51 1204.

May 1984 about 25 members of the Project Iceberg group protested against the USS *Belleau Wood*, part of the USA Amphibious Assault Forces.

The marine units are part of the USA Rapid Deployment Force, an air, land and sea force based on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean



and designed for USA intervention in the south-west Asian region and the Middle East. But the force also has the flexibility to be quickly deployed to other parts of the world. It has already seen active service in the Lebanon. The force has nuclear weapons capability and, while it is basically an aggregation of existing forces, some billions of dollars have already been spent on upgrading these forces and their support facilities since 1980.

Project Iceberg was formed in early 1983 to oppose the presence of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed vessels in Fremantle. Visits by USA nuclear warships have been increasing in recent years with the USA military build-up in the Indian Ocean. The group concentrates on direct action.

Toyota ransom

Vince Forrester, Northern Territory chairperson of the National Aboriginal Council (NAC) has demanded that funding for essential Aboriginal services be met by direct grants from the Federal Treasury rather than from mining royalties. Speaking at a forum organised by the Darwin Trades and Labour Council on behalf of the NAC, which coincided with the Northern Territory Australian Labor Party conference, he said:

The local Aboriginal community... depend on the government or on statutory bodies dependent on royalties from uranium mining. This dependence, I believe, is a form of ransom.

White Australia says to the under-served, fledgling outstation movement: 'You can have money for Toyotas, for bores to help you set up' but if mining stops, the money stops too. We must break this dependency on mining activity for money for essential services.

It is morally bankrupt and no Aboriginal community should be put in the position of deciding on development that is tied to the uranium industry. Until all Aboriginal service needs are met by direct grants by federal treasury, our people have little choice in this matter.

Mr Forrester called on the ALP to honour its election policy commitment to Aboriginal people on uranium mining. (This policy stated in part that: 'The provision of Australian uranium to the world nuclear fuel cycle creates problems relevant to Australian sovereignty, the environment, the economic welfare of our people and the rights and well-being of the Aboriginal people'.) Mr Forrester said:

We demand that our rights and well-being are recognised. All of our people need to be fully and equally informed of the problems of uranium mining on our land.

I hope that the ALP delegates... are genuine in their commitment to self-determination for our people. If you are, you have a responsibility to consider our concerns when you decide on your platform.

Source: National Aboriginal Council Secretariat, Alice Springs.

LEO MEIER

PROJECT ICEBERG

Irianese uprooted

The Indonesian government is causing serious damage to the environment and culture of Irian Jaya. Irianese tribal communities have been uprooted from their land to make way for the new Indonesian migrants, miners and foresters.

In the next five-year development plan starting in 1984, Irian Jaya has to accommodate one million more people. That means 400 000 hectares of forest land has to be cleared for rice fields or oil palm plantation. Three out of seven million hectares of productive forests in Irian Jaya have already been allocated to timber-cutting concessionaires.

Timber concession holders in Irian Jaya have been exempted from various obligations which companies elsewhere in Indonesia have to

fulfill. They are allowed to export logs under a special quota system even though the export of logs was officially banned in 1980.

Replanting the harvested forest land is much neglected in Irian Jaya. The invasion of timber companies in the Asmat region of Irian Jaya has nearly crippled the numerous logging cooperatives initiated by Christian missionaries about twenty years ago.

As stated by a cooperative leader in Asmat, 'after thirty years of cutting ironwood for the church, the government and recently the timber companies, now our ironwood trees are becoming so scarce and only the ones to protect our sage stands are left'.

Source: *Asian-Pacific Environment Newsletter* vol 2, no 1 1984

Symbols of a dying forest.



Wendland roadblock

As Australian activists attempt to stop uranium mining, activists in West Germany are struggling with the other end of the nuclear fuel cycle.

In 1977, Gorleben, a small village in the province of Wendland, was selected as the site for both an intermediate and a 'permanent' nuclear waste dump. With the recent completion of the intermediate dump, local and national opposition has reached a critical phase - the transport of nuclear waste could begin at any time.

Local activists have begun a three-stage plan to try to

stop the waste from being stored. The first stage, in late March 1984, was the formation of a human chain involving 12 000 people across the 26 km 'entrance' to Wendland to symbolise the desire to remain nuclear free. (The province of Wendland is triangular shaped, closed on two sides by borders with East Germany).

The second stage, one month later, was a direct action, the 'Wendland blockade'. Its aim was to block the five major roads leading to Wendland for a period of twelve hours. The government banned the blockade, or any demonstration at all, and the police superintendent vowed to keep traffic flowing all day. Despite this, and despite the water cannons,

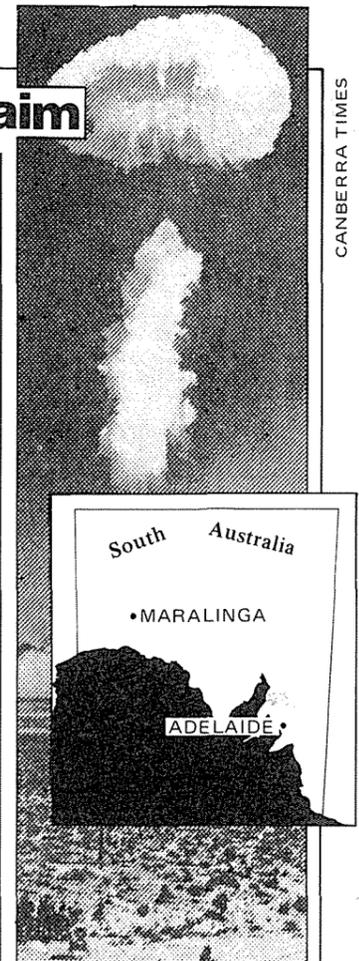
Maralinga claim

The South Australian Ministry of Health is investigating reports that Aborigines were exposed to radiation hazards as a result of the British atomic tests at Maralinga thirty years ago. The Ministry is attempting to contact Aboriginal people directly affected by the testing as well as descendants of those who have already died.

The Federal Minister for Resources and Energy, Senator Walsh, has verified that at least four Aborigines had been exposed to radiation and many more may have received dangerous exposure. Aborigines who were not warned about the testing are now facing the consequences. Some have cancer, some have skin conditions that refuse to heal. Others are dead before their time.

The Pitjantjatjara Council has released a film of interviews with Aborigines from the test area, who described the immediate effects of the bomb as including green vomit, green faeces and old people dying around camps. The council members are demanding a full judicial inquiry or royal commission into the effects of the British tests, the amount of radioactive debris left in the area and the reports of death and injuries among Pitjantjatjara and Yankunyatjara Aborigines.

The Yalata Community Council is working towards



Maralinga, site of 1950s British atomic tests.

making a claim for compensation from the British and Australian governments for the deaths of Aborigines in the area. They are also seeking compensation for the damage done to their traditional lands.

vehicles. Although scientific evidence confirmed that the nails could only have caused a slow leak and not a blow-out, the pair were convicted of 'a dangerous interference with road traffic, with the intention of causing an accident'.

(For those who still have faith in the technical competence of the nuclear industry: on the first test run of the completed intermediate waste dump at Gorleben, made with an empty truck, it was found the entrance had been made 15 cm too low for the truck to pass through.)

Contact: Messages of support would be greatly appreciated in the countdown to Day X. Write to: Lüneburger Arbeitskreis Gegan Atomanlagen, c/- Gunter Garbers, Dahlenburger Landstrasse 9, 2120 Lüneburg, West Germany.

CANBERRA TIMES

Nuclear scrap

In what may be the worst radiation accident in North American history, at least 200 people in Juarez, Mexico, and elsewhere have been exposed to high doses of radiation after a cancer treatment machine containing radioactive cobalt-60 was stolen and melted down as scrap. The crisis is not over, as some of the spilled material is not yet accounted for.

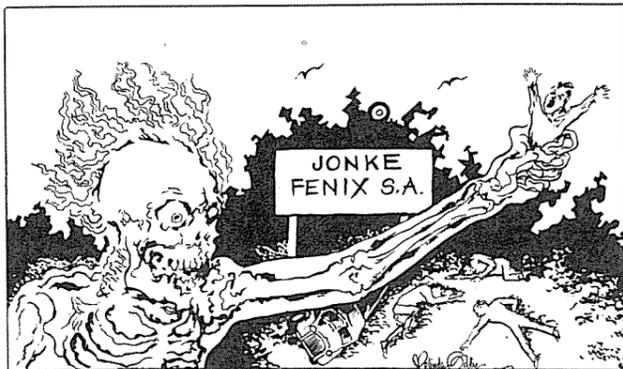
The contamination was discovered accidentally on 16 January 1984, when a truck delivering steel reinforcing rods at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, USA, took a wrong turn and set off a radiation alarm.

taminated scrap was sent to two Mexican steel foundries. The radioactive rods were part of a 4000-ton batch of reinforcing rods, 3500 tons of which is unaccounted for. The contaminated scrap was also used by a Juarez foundry to make restaurant table bases. The table bases were shipped to 1000 customers throughout the USA.

The table supports were radioactive enough to give restaurant patrons the equivalent of a chest X-ray for breakfast.

The radioactive treatment unit was sold to a medical clinic in Juarez in 1977. Its previous owner, a Texan hospital, had not been prepared to pay the machine's manufacturer to dispose of it. Although the clinic had no licence to receive radioactive materials, the export had gone routinely. The unit then sat in a Juarez warehouse until it was stolen. USA officials must share the responsibility for letting such a deadly item sit around in a warehouse.

The fact that an essentially unregulated nuclear export could result in an accident more severe, in radiation



It turned out that the radioactive rods were made from scrap at a foundry in Chihuahua, Mexico. The scrap was traced back to a busy junkyard in Juarez. Investigation revealed that the stolen cancer treatment machine had been cut open by workers at the junkyard, and about 6000 pinhead sized pellets — the cobalt-60 'source' — spilled out and scattered in all directions. It is presumed this happened around 6 December 1983, since the junkyard's paperwork for that day is radioactive.

From the junkyard con-

exposure terms, than Three Mile Island, has raised concerns about new proposals for using radiation for food preservation, which would involve sending huge quantities of caesium-137 to Mexico, where an increasing amount of USA produce is grown. The export of this material — another 'reactor by-product' (read 'nuclear waste') — would presumably also be poorly controlled, and could result in tragedies that would make the Juarez incident look minor.

Source: *It's About Times*, April-May 1984.

WANT TO STUDY THE ENVIRONMENT?

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The University of Tasmania offers a two-year postgraduate degree for Master of Environmental Studies by course-work or research, and Doctor of Philosophy by research.

for information write to Dr R. Jones, Centre for Environmental Studies, University of Tasmania, GPO Box 252C, Hobart 7001

Tasmania the environment state

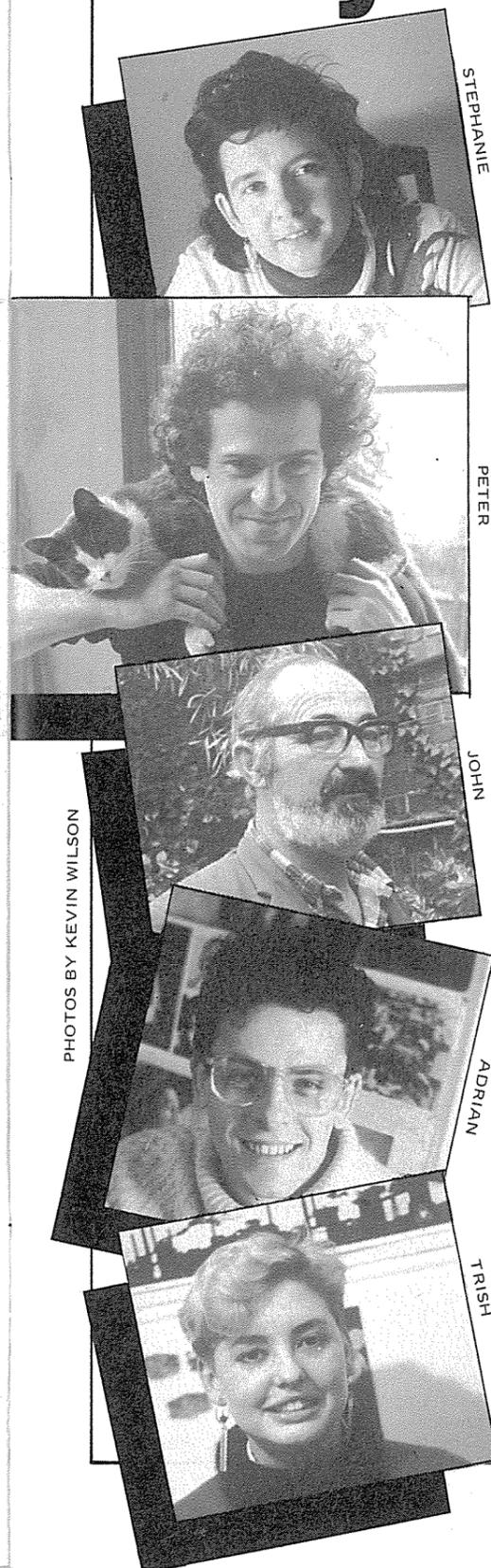
The
ANTI-URANIUM benefit concert

Eric Bogle
Sirocco
Bill Smith (Ex. Bushwackers)

Dallas Brooks Hall
8.00 pm Saturday 4 August
Tickets: \$12:90 & 8:90 conc.

Anti-Uranium Coalition 663 1428

Hollywood goes nuclear



STEPHANIE

PETER

JOHN

ADRIAN

TRISH

PHOTOS BY KEVIN WILSON

During the last few years a spate of films dealing with the nuclear issue have been released in Australia. The first was *The Day After*, a film about the impact of a nuclear blast on a small town in Kansas, USA. *Silkwood* deals with the well-known anti-nuclear activist who, when working in a nuclear power plant, attempted to publicise the company's failure in safety procedures. *Testament*, similarly to *The Day After*, focuses on a family in a small American town in the aftermath of a nuclear explosion. The Australian film, *One Night Stand*, is about a group of teenagers who are caught in the Sydney Opera House on the night of a nuclear blast.

We publish here an edited transcript of a discussion about these and earlier films. The participants were Stephanie Bunbury, Peter Christoff, John Flaus and Adrian Martin, chaired by Trish Luker from *Chain Reaction*. The discussion was recorded in the studio of Melbourne community radio station 3RRR in May 1984 and will be broadcast later in the year.

One Night Stand



Why have these films surfaced now?
John: I'll take a few guesses, but I'm not at all certain about it. There's been a veritable response it would seem in Australia to these films. *The Day After* was intended for television release in America but was given theatre release here in Australia. Moderately intensely promoted, it seems to be doing good business. *Silkwood* has had similar success, although it had certain advantages that the others didn't, because of starring roles. *Testament*, which on my impression seems to have received equally as much promotion as *The Day After*, has done poorly and has been taken off. The Australian film, *One Night Stand*, was produced under very different conditions with different expectations and scarcely surfaced at all in Melbourne.

The reason for the films being made in the first place is one that we'll probably never have all the information on. But this much we can be certain of — a decision to produce a film dealing with the nuclear issue is one that's taken by people whose view of the future is short-term and whose concern is to get profits. I believe they'd exploit any issue. However, they can't create a receptivity in a public which isn't there already. A decision was taken in recent years that films dealing with such matters could be made.

Silkwood looks to me, particularly in its promotions, different from the others — in the sense that it was marketed differently and was appealing to a different section of the film-going

The War Game, and certainly Watkin's new film (yet to be completed), don't allow for any of those possibilities. That is, both politically and in a general sense, a more realistic position from which an audience can then build.

Stephanie: I'd like to take issue with that, Peter, in two ways. Firstly, there is a notion encapsulated in what you said, which is that those films *depend* on a passive reaction. They may well *encourage* a passive reaction but I don't think that's their intention. In fact, when I interviewed Nicholas Meyer, the director of *The Day After*, he said that one of his greatest concerns was that Reagan is now talking about a 'limited nuclear war.' He felt that *The Day After* would encourage people to see that that was impossible — and that the community depicted in the film would eventually die out.

Peter: I suppose that the politest thing one could say about Meyer's conception of what he was doing with the film is that it's incredibly naive, both in terms of the general political context into which the film is being injected, and quite specifically in terms of the cinematic process by which the film was to be shown over television to a large and extremely passive audience of around 20 million people.

Adrian: Who says 20 million people are passive? You're making an extraordinary assumption there about a supposedly dumb, passive audience.

Peter: No, I don't think it's an assumption. It would have been nice to have had a more thorough survey done of exactly how people responded. But to my knowledge the American disarmament movement in fact suffered quite a substantial backlash, because of the way the film was used. Following the screening of a panel of so-called disarmament and armament experts, including a number of people very high up in the American government and military, talked about why the concerns the film raised were ones to be answered, not through any process of disarmament, but by the process of securing American nuclear defences against the possibility of threat from the Eastern bloc. In fact, the film was utilised very successfully as a device in the Cold War to generate greater concern for procedures of civil defence. Apparently sales of 'fall-out shelters' increased immeasurably while the disarmament movement had to go on the defensive. I think that's fairly conclusive proof of the pacifying effect of the film.

It seems to me extraordinary that a film like that can be made without any acknowledgement of the concrete issues raised by the disarmament movement. Instead it opts for a very pallid, Hollywood version of what happens to your average mid-Western family in a thoroughly nationalistic environment.

Stephanie: But there you've really hit



The Bed Sitting Room

it on the head, haven't you? You say that there's no recognition of an anti-nuclear movement, but presumably the film is not aimed at people who are involved in that movement. It's aimed at people who live in a small town in America, who have all the mid-Western hopes and dreams that we know so well. How can you say that it doesn't take into account every gamut of the political spectrum when it's obviously only aimed at a particular aspect of that spectrum.

Peter: My most direct concern is that it doesn't show how the audience or the protagonists within the film actually participate in the arms race. I think that a film that is really concerned with disarmament will try to take up those issues. *Dark Circle* is an interesting film in that it certainly does do that, as does *Silkwood*. *The Day After* doesn't even begin to deal with it.

Stephanie: I would agree with that in fact. But in the continuing role of devil's advocate, you've compared it to *The War Game*, you've compared it to *Dark Circle* — both those films are

The War Game



documentaries. *The Day After* is aiming at a mass audience in a populous cinema — the same audience that went to see *Earthquake* and *Towering Inferno*.

Peter: But *The War Game* is not a documentary.

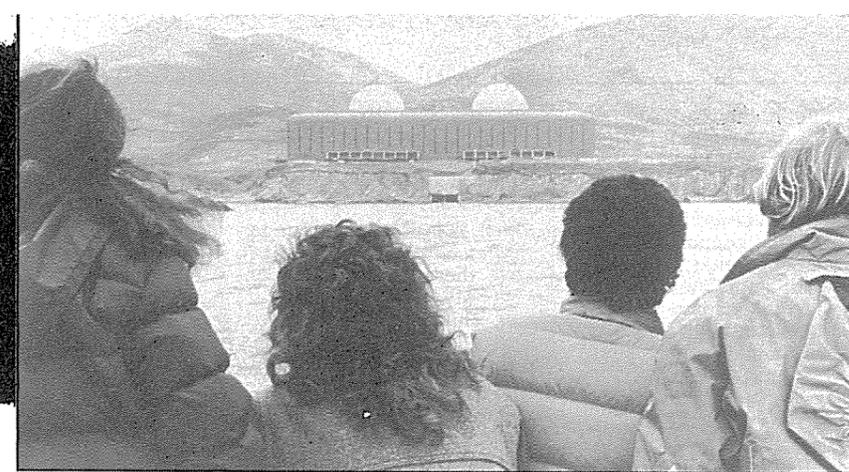
Stephanie: Well, it's a *pseudo-documentary* and that has problems too.

Peter: It's a film which very cleverly and critically utilises the medium to make its particular points. If a film producer like Meyer thinks that he can use formula then he cannot expect that to be turned around and act subversively.

Stephanie: But that's looking at it after the fact. The point is, you've got a film like *The War Game*. Who has seen it? Precious few people.

Peter: I disagree. *The War Game* has been possibly the most active and vital instrument in terms of film, for generating a disarmament movement in Australia.

Stephanie: But aren't you showing that to people who are already interested in



Dark Circle

the subject? I saw *The War Game* and I think it's an excellent film but I don't think it's a particularly useful tool in generating public debate. I tend to feel that no matter how poor these films may be, and I think all of them are fairly dreadful, at least it's getting the issue into the public arena. Once that happens, you've got to expect some dilution of the purity of the argument.

Adrian: It seems that where we part company on this one Peter, is that I think you have a very essentialist and formalist notion about how films work within culture. I think films are multiple artifacts and so are audiences and I don't think you can say that because *The Day After* has a panel of experts giving a line on the film, that that necessarily shuts down every possible response from 20 million people. I think it's too easy for you to jump from this totalisation of all classical narrative films and their 'passive' audiences to another kind of cinema which is going to question form and everything.

Peter: I don't think that's really my position on it. Certainly when *The Day After* was shown in other countries, it received quite different critical responses. People in Europe are not going to accept the American orientation of the film and blithely skip over the fact that what the film starts out with is an annihilation of the environment in which they live.

Everyone is now talking about the ridiculousness of making the film *The Day After The Day After* and what worries me about the way *The Day After* was shown in America is that it utilised the space for making those sorts of films, and rather than subverting it, I think has actually closed off the opportunity for making a thoroughly critical, commercial film.

John: If the films we've seen over the last couple of years do close down the possibility of a commercial entertainment exploring 'The Day After The Day After' there could be a serious loss in terms of the ongoing debate in society at large.

Let's consider something else. In the 50s there were quite a few films that dealt with precisely that point.

There was *The World, the Flesh and the Devil*, *Five*, and *The Last Woman on Earth*. Those and others had as their scenario 'life after the bomb', and in each case that life was shown to be nasty, vile, British and short. Each of them dramatised the struggle between survivors, which often lead to death. Yet their impact on the public, or on the gatekeepers of public opinion, was negligible. I guess what I'm asking is: if films about 'The Day After The Day After' do get made, what will they have to have in order to be more successful than those made in the 50s, which were a dead letter within a year of their making?

Stephanie: I suppose for a start they would have to have more response from public bodies than those films had. I'm specifically thinking of the kind of 'bomb-shelter mentality' encouraged, whether wittingly or not, by films like *Testament* and *The Day After* — the idea that if you shut yourself in a shelter for long enough you've got a chance. I don't think the anti-nuclear movement has sufficiently tackled that yet.

I'd like to have a look at Silkwood now. As John mentioned earlier, this film is often identified separately, not only in its advantage of 'starring roles', but also in the sense that it has a quality — a dramatic complexity — which the other recent films don't share.

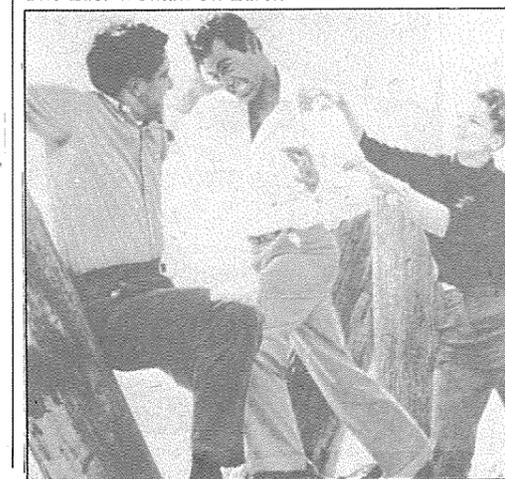
John: I've got a problem with *Silkwood*, and that is that there is, I believe, an inherent contradiction. On one hand, Karen Silkwood is presented as an ordinary or normal wage-slave, who just happens to be working at the most convenient place of employment, a nuclear power station. Then, the other message which is coming through in the drama is that Silkwood is different. Even casting a current idol like Meryl Streep was a way of suggesting that only an exceptional person would take the steps that Karen Silkwood did. I have reservations about the film, speaking as a critic, not as a citizen concerned with the broader issues. Perhaps a wider public didn't feel that sense of splitting, in which case it would have had a desirable effect I suppose.

What about the Australian film One Night Stand, that's different again isn't it?

Adrian: I take a pretty dim view of this movie. The film sets up an awfully condescending portrait of ordinary boys and girls of the street who have no political awareness. They are various forms of Australian larrikins — the film has a lot to do with tapping into the supposed populist mythology of Australian life.

Anyway, these people find themselves in the Sydney Opera House during their last night in the world and have to face for themselves the implications of the fact that the world is going to end. Presumably by the end the film is meant to have dropped them at some point of political enlightenment. *One Night Stand* is a parable about how you make ordinary people aware. What I find disconcerting is that it plays it out entirely in terms of human emotions and pathos. It involves a number of prurient stories about the importance of human sexuality on the last night of your life and of coming to terms with your past. I don't know where the film takes you on any level — dramatically or symbolically. It certainly doesn't tell you much about nuclear war, but neither does it tell you anything symbolically, other than in this eternal theme that it would be a

The Last Woman on Earth



shame to die. I can't see anything more going on in that film.

What were some of the other reactions to *One Night Stand*?

Stephanie: Well I think that's an excellent synopsis of everything that happens in the film. My only comment is that in the final scene, we have the impression that these people are undergoing something far nobler and better than they've ever done before as they stand in the underground singing 'It Might As Well Rain until September'. We have the feeling of British hearts strong and true rising to meet the occasion. If anything, it reminds me of those 40s films about the blitz.

Peter: Isn't that one of the most interesting things about it? It does play around with a number of those sorts of issues and images, and throws them back on themselves. With people standing in the underground during the blitz there's always that sense of hope. But in this film, that has been thoroughly demolished when people realise that this is nuclear war, it is the Third World War and there is no future. All the scenes that are then enacted have a fatalistic element to them which I think is very

powerful. OK, the film uses some very crude and clumsy conventional ways of building itself up as a romance, but it is after all aimed at adolescents, perhaps a little too simplistically.

Stephanie: Well I think the film underestimates adolescents - we need to recognise that there is no adolescent culture per se. Adolescents move quite quickly from child to adult-oriented literature and film and I think they would respond a lot more strongly to *The Day After* with its portraits of young love and family life than to the twee posturings of *One Night Stand*.

On a lighter note to wind up, I'd like to ask: if you were given a two-hour warning of nuclear attack, what film, of any ever made, would you choose to watch?

John: Well what I would really like to do in that last two hours, even though I'm not really a Christian, is listen to the cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach. If that weren't possible, and I could look at a film, then I suppose I'd look at *The Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*.

Adrian: My decision would be based on whether I wanted to go out happy or sad. If I wanted to go out happy, I'd

look at Preston Sturges's *The Lady Eve*. If I wanted to go out sad, there'd be two ways I could prepare myself for death. I'd watch *Letters from an Unknown Woman* and that would prepare me for death, or I'd watch one or two Bresson movies.

John: And that would prepare you for life after death.

Adrian: No, not at all. I'd probably watch the latest Bresson film *Money*, and that would entirely prepare me for death.

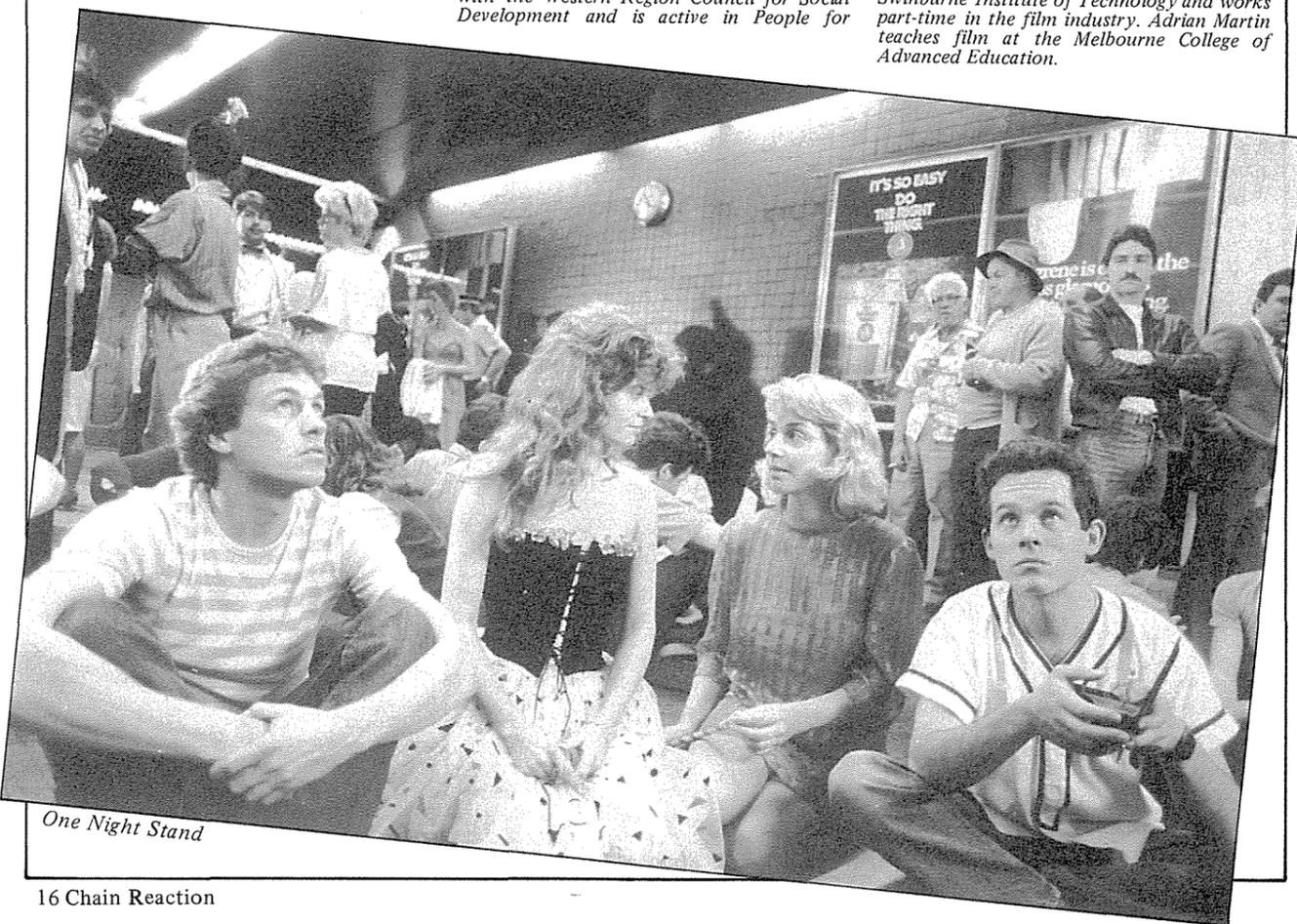
Stephanie: The only Bresson film I've seen, you'd be spending the last two hours trying to discern the image on the screen amongst a sea of darkness. I think perhaps I'd choose to watch something of the sort of *Private Vices and Public Virtues* and attempt to lose myself in both its eroticism and political fable.

Peter: Given that I don't think we would have two hours, I think I'd bring out the snap album and see if I could get through the first five photos. But if there were time, I suppose I'd watch *M. Hulot's Holiday* and practice the umbrella and walking technique. I've never quite got the walk right.

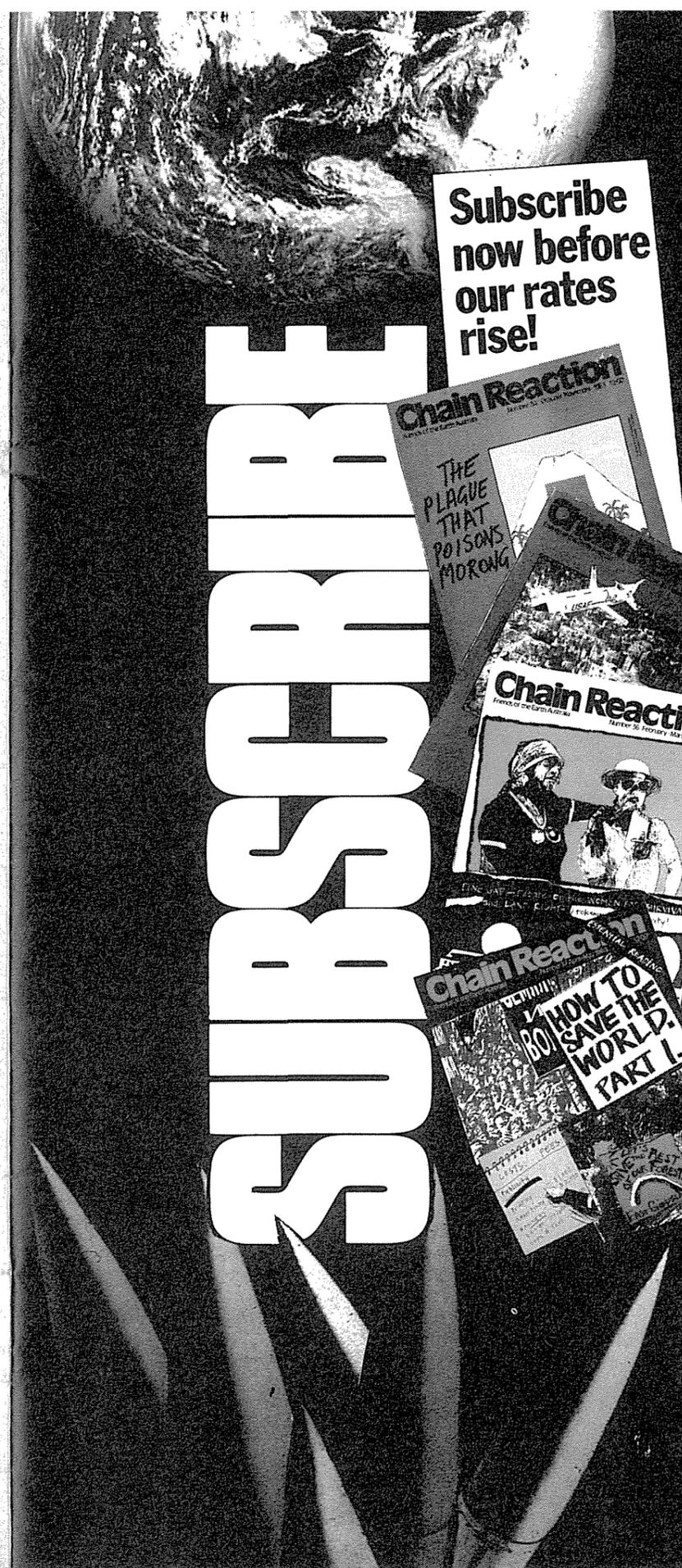
Chain Reaction thanks Isabelle Gulberg from 3RRR for her perseverance when we recorded this discussion.

Stephanie Bunbury is a journalist who edited and designed the book *The Nuclear Environment*. Peter Christoff is a research worker with the Western Region Council for Social Development and is active in *People for*

Nuclear Disarmament. John Flaus is a film critic who broadcasts 'Film Buffs Forecast' on public radio station 3RRR, teaches film at Swinburne Institute of Technology and works part-time in the film industry. Adrian Martin teaches film at the Melbourne College of Advanced Education.



One Night Stand



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MEMBERSHIP

Precocious puberty in Puerto Rico

Over the last decade more than 2000 children in Puerto Rico have shown signs of early sexual development or 'thelarche', but have been known to advance to what doctors term 'precocious puberty' (sexual development in girls under nine and boys under ten). Sheril Berkovitch reports on suspicions that the condition may be associated with illegal use of hormones as growth stimulants in local poultry.

It is estimated that one in 10000 children in the USA is affected with thelarche or precocious puberty. Dr Carmen Saenz de Rodriguez, director of pediatrics at Hospital de Diego in San Juan, the Puerto Rican capital, estimates the rate on the island to be one in fifty and increasing. Children as young as nine months have shown signs of breast development, menstruation and other adult characteristics such as growth of pubic and underarm hair. Thirty percent of Saenz's patients have a more advanced precocious puberty condition.

Saenz believes that the children's condition is caused by excessive levels of estrogen (a female sex hormone) in local poultry. Experimenting with the diet of her patients, she found that in 85% of cases, symptoms regressed when they stopped eating chicken.

Saenz has been seeing cases of thelarche since the 1970s, averaging eleven cases a year between 1972 and 1976. However, by 1980 she was seeing close to 100 new cases a year and 167 in 1982. Now, eight to ten new cases arrive each week at Hospital de Diego.

Saenz attempted to alert the government and the USA Food and Drug Administration (FDA) as early as 1975

Sheril Berkovitch is a feminist and freelance writer based in Melbourne.

and again in 1982 but without success. Her letters went unanswered. Finally, in March 1982, she went to the local media.

Hormones once used as growth promotants in poultry and cattle in the USA were banned by the FDA in 1961, although diethylstilbestrol (DES), an artificial estrogen, was legally available until 1979. In March 1982, suspecting violations of the bans, Saenz hired a detective to check on the sale of veterinary drugs containing hormones. The detective found that potent veterinary hormones, including DES, were available without prescription.

DES is considered a carcinogen. It was given to pregnant women in the 1950s and 1960s to prevent miscarriage and recent investigations have shown a high incidence of cervical cancer in women who received DES. Saenz has noted that 13% of her young female patients have ovarian cysts.

With the publicity given to Saenz's findings, the Commonwealth's Health Department sent seventeen samples of local meat and dairy food to the FDA in Washington. Saenz herself, distrusting the potential results of official tests, froze 27kg of poultry and spent thousands of dollars having it tested. In August 1982 the results of Saenz's tests were released, revealing high estrogen levels in two samples, both of which came from local sources. The FDA's biological tests in which rats were fed meat from its samples also showed 'elevated estrogen levels' in two of the five chicken samples.

Local industry and government worked hard to counter the growing concern and what they saw as a conspiracy by food importers to ruin local production, holding legislative hearings and news conferences. After hearing one broadcast assuring the public that nothing was wrong with local produce, the parents of a girl with thelarche added local chicken to their family's diet again. Their daughter, whose symptoms had disappeared when the

Growth hormones for profit in the USA.

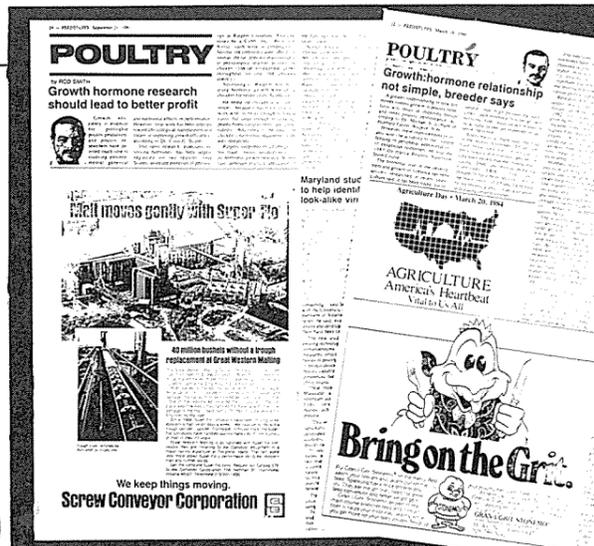
family ceased their intake of local poultry, experienced a worsening of her condition within two months.

Even though the controversy has subsided, the cause of over 2000 Puerto Rican children's condition remains a 'mystery'. Dr Benjamin Dominguez, resident veterinarian for Pollo Picu, a local chicken firm said, 'We consider this a dead issue. It's really stupid for anyone in 1983 to utilise illegal means to grow chicken'. Interestingly enough, Pollo Picu chicken was found to have excessive estrogen levels in Saenz's own tests, and illegal veterinary hormones are still available in the grain stores of Puerto Rico.

Whilst the seeming collaboration between health officials, government and industry continues, tests are still being carried out on local produce. Testing for hormones is a slow and expensive process and singling out a single cause of the condition affecting so many children is difficult. Like the results of investigations into local poultry and veal in Italy in 1977 and 1978, where 323 children experienced early breast development, it is unlikely that Saenz's suspicions will ever be verified.

Puerto Rico is an island in the Western Caribbean, with an area of 8900 km² and a population of 3.8 million (1980). It has the highest population density in the region; 58% of its population are urban dwellers.

Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony until 1898, when it was taken under the wing of the USA. Although it became a 'free state' (the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) in 1949, the USA controls its foreign and defence policies. The USA controls 81% of the island's factories, 65% of housing projects, 60% of banking operations, almost all communications and 90% of the export of manufactured products. Ninety-three per cent of Puerto Rico's imports are supplied by the USA including 65% of its foodstuffs.



WORLD URANIUM UPDATE

Canny Scots?

Nuclear power accounted for 38.8% of all electricity generated in Scotland in 1982/83, an increase of 8.8% over the previous year. Coal accounted for 50.9% ... down from 70.2% a year ago.

The cost of the nuclear electricity was 2.21 pence/kWh as compared with 2.92 pence/kWh for coal and oil-fired stations.

One reactor, the South of Scotland Electricity Board's Hunterston B, an advanced gas-cooled reactor, produced electricity at an all-in cost of 1.74 pence/kWh.

A little each day...

Eminent British radio-biologist, Professor John Fremlin has told a meeting of the British Nuclear Energy Society, that efforts in 1973 by the US Argonne National Laboratory to detect the effect of low level radiation by comparing cancer rates over a five year period in different States in the USA, had suggested that exposure to an additional 100 millirems of radiation a year *reduced* cancer risk by 15 per 100 000.

Morocco bound

The Government of Morocco has commissioned the French company Sofratome to carry out a site and feasibility study for the first nuclear reactor to be built in Morocco. The Moroccan Government has talked of building four 600 MWe reactors and using part of their output to desalinate seawater for irrigation.

Canada producing more uranium

Canada's Key Lake Uranium Mine produced its first consignment of uranium oxide late last year. By early 1984 the mine is expected to be producing about 5400 tonnes a year - about 12% of world uranium production. By comparison Australia's total uranium exports in 1982/83 were 4431 tonnes worth A\$354 million.

Uranium mined in Australia is sold only to nations with whom the Australian Government has concluded bilateral nuclear safeguards agreements and where facilities come under international nuclear safeguards.



Uranium Information Centre Limited
Box 1649N GPO Melbourne Vic 3001

A little each day...

The Uranium Information Centre's battle for your mind

By Terri Seddon

The Uranium Information Centre Ltd

This item was one of four or five items which make up the 'World Uranium Update' column which has appeared weekly in the *Sydney Morning Herald* over the last few months. Similar columns appear in the *Weekend Australian* and the *Melbourne Age*. These columns are inserted by the Uranium Information Centre Ltd, a Melbourne-based company whose only voting members are 'companies engaged in exploration, development, mining or processing uranium ores in Australia'. Decisions about the program and budget of UIC are forwarded to its directors by the Advisory Council, comprising a representative of each voting member of UIC and any other company as the directors see fit.

The UIC has three main aims:

- to provide information about the development of the Australian uranium industry, the contribution it can make to world energy supplies and the benefits it will bring to Australia;
- to promote a flow of factual information on all aspects of the mining and processing of uranium, the role of nuclear energy in supplying part of the world's electricity needs and the associated nuclear fuel cycle;

Terri Seddon is a postgraduate in education at Macquarie University.

- to promote an understanding of the position of nuclear energy in relation to other energy systems.

It achieves these aims by producing and distributing information through the media, schools, seminars and public meetings.

What does this all add up to? The UIC is explicitly an agent of companies concerned with the exploitation of Australian uranium for maximum profit. This means exploitation in the most straightforward way, with the minimum of public debate which might interrupt or increase costs. In order to defuse this debate, the UIC is providing 'facts'.

I nearly didn't write this article. I had collected quite a lot of the materials produced or distributed by the Uranium Information Centre (UIC), and I got really angry about the dishonesty of its message. Somebody should do an exposé of that stuff, I thought.

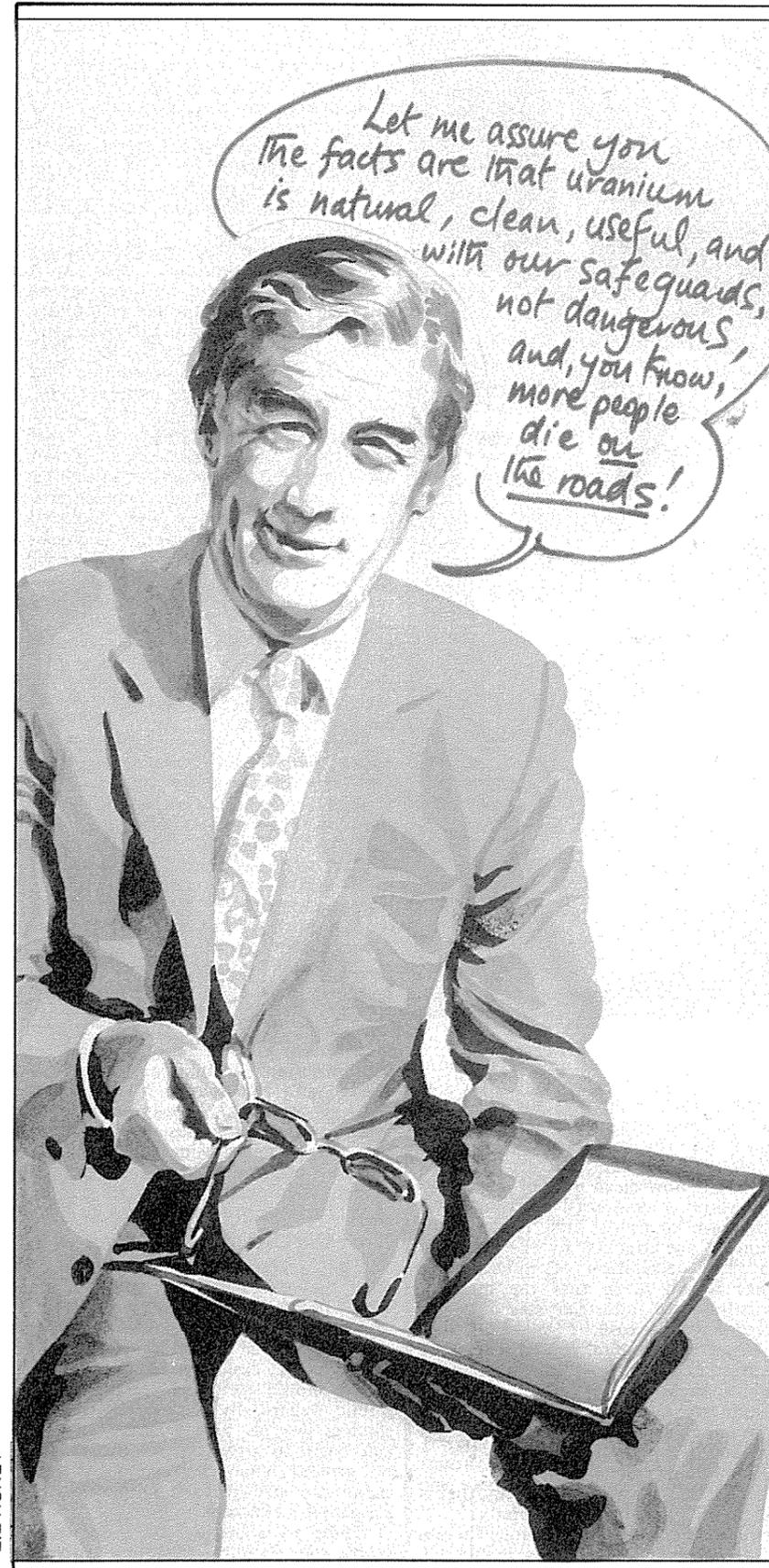
But when I read through all the UIC information, I thought, how can I argue with it all? What is there to question? I don't know enough. I don't have the facts. The materials, the issues addressed, and the language used, induced a kind of crisis of confidence in me. I felt like a simpleton, amateurish in the face of such professional and scientific information. With it came a sense of powerlessness. I almost abdicated responsibility to the experts...

But no - one can't fall into that trap.

As you can see, I wrote the article. I realised that in the battle for people's minds, over uranium, disarmament, building hydro dams or whatever, the debilitation I felt is very common. In part it is induced by a strategy of 'expertism' which is both powerful and well used. It is used by governments, corporations and professional bodies to maintain control of an issue or area of knowledge, by limiting the people's access to information, and by limiting the boundaries of debate.

The uranium companies' intervention into the public debate on uranium through the UIC depends heavily on our readiness to undervalue our own understanding, knowledge and opinions in the face of any kind of authoritative statements; and our unwillingness to ask questions, or make a fuss. This is not to say that some people do not have a better understanding of a situation than others. In criticising expertism I am not saying that everybody is entitled to their own point of view because all points of view are equal. What I am criticising is the use of knowledge as a weapon to confuse, subordinate and disarm people.

Expertism works to the extent that we enter into a subordinate relationship with an ideology and accept its boundaries as our own. Very often this happens without our realising it, as for example, with advertising or as I had found when first reading the UIC



LIZ HONEY

materials. The only defence against this is to develop a critical awareness of expertism as a strategy, to always be on the look out for instances of it, and then to deliberately step outside the implicit boundaries which are being promoted. Given all this, it seemed useful to examine the UIC materials as an example of expertism, to see the techniques used, the implicit boundaries and limitations of the materials, and to see how they could be used in a progressive way.

I have deliberately not taken the materials on their own grounds for two reasons. First, to concede the boundaries and terrain of a debate is the initial and most crucial step into the expertism trap. The uranium companies, via the UIC materials, are defining technical issues as the legitimate focus of the uranium debate. Technical debates are important, although too often these are not accessible to people because they are not available in a popular form.¹ But if people accept the boundaries but lack technical information, they are effectively excluded from the uranium debate. The UIC's intervention is important for this reason. Their materials provide accessible laundered 'technical' information which enables people to enter the debate, but only on pro-uranium terms.

The second reason for not debating with the materials on their own terms is because I want to highlight their dual character as both a source of information and a conservative political intervention in a broad struggle, one aspect of which centres on uranium. But I want to note further that this dual strategy of communicating specific information and a more general implicit political message, is not restricted to the uranium debate. It is common in other avenues of public opinion shaping (eg education). It is the continuous repetition of these implicit, conservative themes which perpetuates the ideological fog within which we bumble.

What the UIC materials say

The materials produced and distributed by the UIC use a number of techniques to make their information appear objective and authoritative. I will outline briefly the techniques I noticed, looking first at the form of the materials, and then at their content. (I suggest you have a look at the materials yourself. They are available free from the UIC, GPO Box 1649N, Melbourne, Vic 3001, and I'm sure that in the interests of education they would be only too happy to send copies to you.)

The form of the materials is important in inducing a sense of professional command and competence. These are not the rough duplicated sheets of tinpot organisations. The materials are high quality, brightly coloured glossy productions - as one would expect of materials funded by large mining interests.

The use of colour is particularly



- what is modern and technologically advanced is best;
- the future will be one of continued growth, with no change in the political, social or economic status quo;
- social divisions do not exist (although there is some recognition of the 'underdeveloped countries');
- history equals progress; and
- all branches of technology progress equally.

These themes and assumptions are communicated through the text, graphics, and graphs by the slurring together of facts, familiar metaphors, and spurious statistics and comparisons. Metaphors such as the teacher and class, being overweight, and living the easy life, are used to present concepts in an immediately accessible and benign way. Statistics and comparisons are used extensively. For example, 'Uranium averages about two parts per million of the earth's crust'. This is not very useful information when one considers the concentration of uranium at Roxby Downs or other mines! A graph of radiation sources implies how safe nuclear power is by showing that water, food and air give 25 millirem per year, a brick and concrete home gives 45 millirem per year, a commercial jet flight gives 4 millirem per year, while 'nuclear plant vicinity' gives 1 millirem per year!

If one was to use the UIC material as the basis of a self-education campaign, there are clearly a lot of issues that could be raised. One could easily question how clean nuclear power is, and how extensively it is used in the generation of electricity? Such questioning would lead to a range of technical issues related to the use of uranium in modern society. But it would also lead to consideration of the link between nuclear power and weapons and a wide range of social, political and economic issues. The assumptions behind the materials lead even further, toward questions about the relationship between capitalism and technology. What gets funded and researched? Who benefits? What is progress? Finally, one could look at the techniques used to 'communicate'. An increasingly critical understanding of the techniques can only be of benefit in enabling us to see through the mystifying processes of the media.

What the UIC materials don't say

The UIC materials give some 'facts'. But what they don't give information on is more important. The silences in the materials allow us to see the weak or sensitive points in the uranium companies/UIC's case. It is the silences which should form the terrain of the public debate. By arguing around the silences we, as non-technical experts, can begin to argue on our own terms, on ground where we can gather our maximum strength and speak directly on people's concerns.

There are a number of underplayed issues. For example, the link between

focus on the peaceful uses of uranium and its treatment before and after use. Finally, some pamphlets discuss social and environmental issues which can be linked to the nuclear debate. For example, 'acid rain' is discussed to emphasise how clean nuclear electricity generation is compared to traditional generation methods; and 'nuclear free councils' are attacked by the assertion that the declaration of nuclear free zones would mean that the medical, agricultural or industrial uses of radioisotopes would cease.

However, despite the diversity of content, clear themes stand out in both text and graphics.

- uranium is everywhere;
- uranium is natural;
- uranium is not very dangerous;
- uranium has many uses; and
- uranium is a source of energy that is widely used to produce electricity.

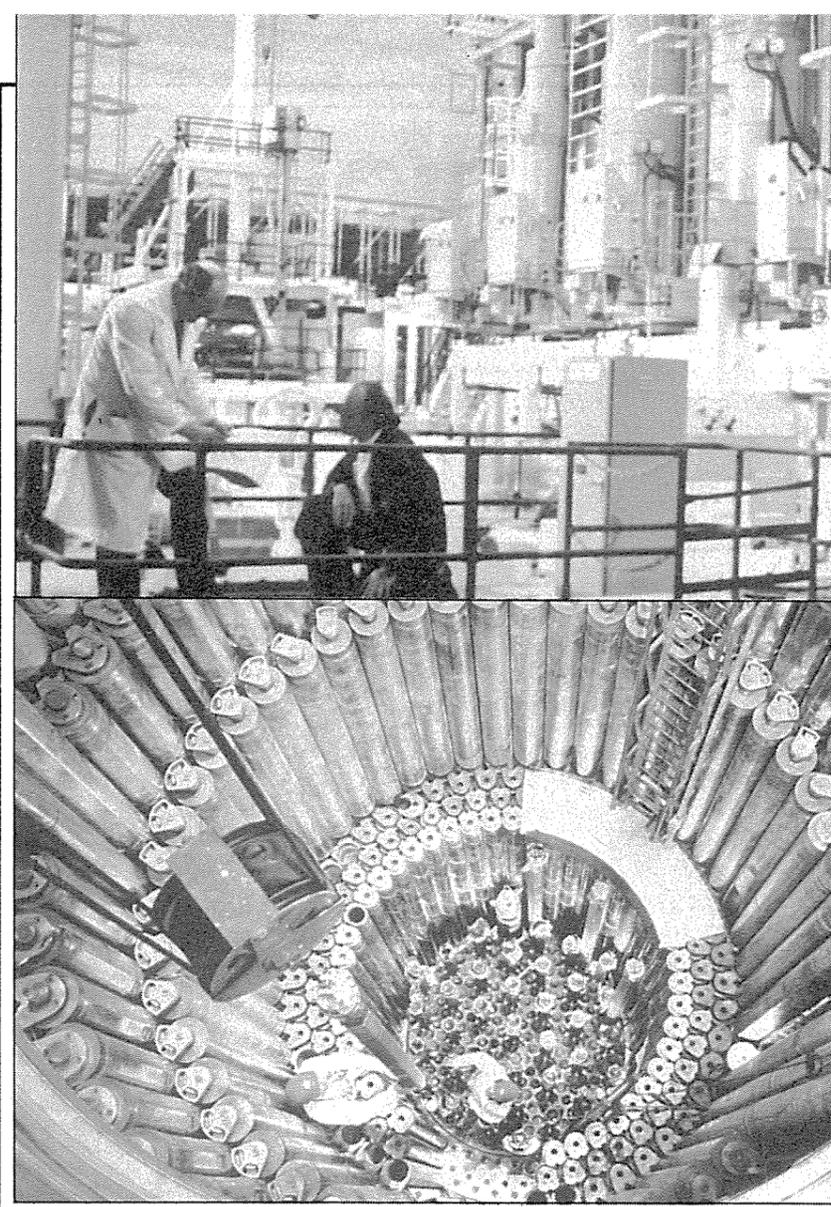
Underlying these rather obvious themes are a number of assumptions, including:

Some of the publications in the UIC's teacher's kit.

powerful. Some bits of information in canary yellow stand out sharply, other information in dull, dark or toning colours is far less obvious. What is highlighted reinforces notions of ordinariness or safety. What tends to be downplayed is the crucial information about uranium!

The language used in the materials is significant too. It is impersonal, uses simple technical terms which are laboriously defined, and provides simple explanations of scientific procedures. Although the materials have been produced for the general public, many are written at the standard of about year 7 or 8 students (12 to 13 years). The effect of this is that the materials seem to have a rather paternalistic tone . . . experts, *who know so much* taking time to explain *the facts* to us, the general public.

The content of the materials is very diverse. Some pamphlets provide information about uranium itself, others



UIC helping you understand nuclear reactors.

nuclear power and nuclear weapons is mentioned, but not the example of Canada's supply of 'peaceful' nuclear technology and plutonium to India, who then developed and exploded a nuclear bomb. The question of waste disposal is raised so it appears that Synroc has solved all our problems. Little is said about the dangers of nuclear reactors in terms of the release of waste, as, for example, Windscale's release of nuclear waste into a stream which ran across a popular beach, or the danger that a nuclear strike on a reactor would create a truly massive 'exploding device'. The Non-proliferation Treaty is much lauded but there is no comment on the supply of Australian uranium to non-signatories of that treaty (eg France, who then explodes bombs in the Pacific²).

These issues are given some treatment in the UIC materials. But other issues are not raised at all. Some

examples:

- the threat which uranium mining poses to Aborigines;
- the capital intensive nature of uranium mining and nuclear power, so massive capital outlay will not produce many jobs;
- the termination of many nuclear power contracts in the USA;
- the supply of nuclear technology to the Third World, particularly military dictatorships; and
- the centralised and anti-democratic character of nuclear power which perpetuates and strengthens existing structures of power and control.³

And where does that leave us?

I started out by describing how undermined and powerless I felt in the face of the ideological intervention by the UIC acting for the multinational uranium companies. A look at their materials shows that such impotence is induced

through quite simple techniques in well-produced, if intellectually dishonest, pamphlets. The effect of the UIC information is to set limits on the debate over uranium mining; to undermine critical readers' confidence and conviction; and to provide ready-made arguments in support of uranium exploitation to the conservatives and 'fence-sitters' of our society. The apparently democratic intervention by the UIC in the provision of information and facts about uranium, in reality undermines democratic processes by inducing political passivity and the abdication of our democratic responsibility to experts.

Obviously, progressive movements are confronting the huge resources of big capital, and behind that the state. With our limited resources, we cannot confront them directly. Instead, we must use their ideology against them and learn from them for our own ends.

The UIC and a range of other bodies kindly provide us with materials. By critically analysing those materials we can educate ourselves technically and politically. The materials are powerful forms of popular communication; we can learn from their techniques, use of language, metaphors and graphics, to increase the effectiveness of our own educating and communicating power. Their pseudo-scientific approach, the distortion which results from fragmented and only partial disclosure of information, and their use of expertism, can be justly exposed as intellectually dishonest and anti-democratic. The patterns of silence in the materials provide us with clear pointers to our opponents' vulnerabilities, pointers to the terrain on which we should be debating, on which we must battle for those on the political middle ground.

But as well as all this, interventions of the UIC type can provide temporary focuses for progressive movement action; they can concentrate the energy of those who cry, 'but what can we do?'. In the practice of working and learning together around these focuses, we can begin to regain a sense of community from which we can draw support and strength. We can begin to understand the complex links that lurk behind an apparently fragmented world; and we can begin to see that there are alternatives to a cut-throat, dog-eat-dog, suicidal society.

Notes

1. Brian Martin's *Nuclear Knights* (Rupert Public Interest Movement, Canberra, 1980) is an interesting exception.
2. In 1983 the Hawke government stopped supply of uranium to France, because of its Pacific testing program. It will be interesting to see how long this policy lasts, particularly in the face of French threats to not buy Australian coal.
3. Some of these issues are discussed in more detail, with suggestions for action, in the pamphlet *Strategy Against Nuclear Power*, produced by Friends of the Earth (Canberra) early in 1984.

Korea: a nuclear bonanza

Recently *Chain Reaction* received copies of two reports published in the May 1984 edition of *Multinational Monitor*. The first report detailed America's role in the evolution of South Korea's nuclear power program. The second contained allegations of bribery in South Korea by the Bechtel group of companies (a San Francisco-based construction conglomerate that pioneered nuclear power plant construction). These reports are presented here in a condensed version.

The story is a powerful commentary on the degree to which the USA government panders to the interests of the giant corporations. It also raises disturbing questions about:

- the ties between the Reagan administration and the Bechtel group;
- the exercise of USA power in South Korea; and
- the unwillingness of the USA government to enforce laws that negatively affect corporations.

HOW THE AUTHORS GOT THE STORY

The Bechtel story grew out of a three-year investigation of South Korea's nuclear power program conducted by Peter Hayes (founding editor of *Chain Reaction*) and Lyuba Zarsky, both of Nautilus Pacific Action Research, and Tim Shorrock, recently sacked editor of the *Monitor*.

In 1981, Nautilus launched an investigation into the Korean nuclear program, then the world's largest. For months the research team combed files of the government, the Congressional Research Service, and companies involved in the program. A request under the *Freedom of Information Act* for cable traffic between the USA

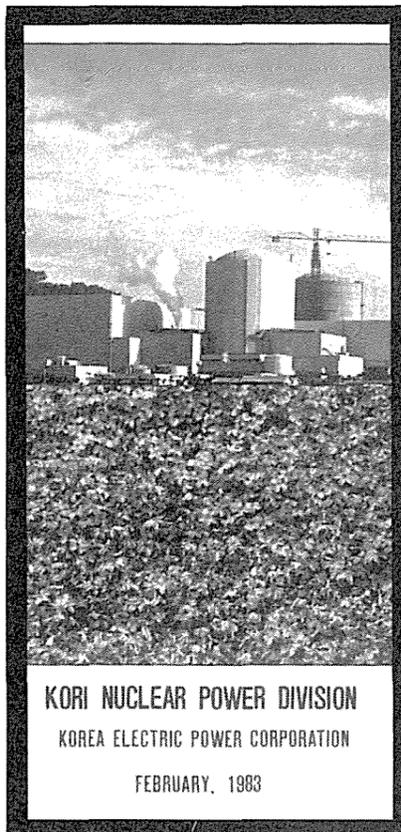
embassy in Seoul and Washington produced hundreds of documents.

In early 1981, Tim Shorrock, at the time a researcher with Nautilus, spent two months in South Korea interviewing Korean and American officials about the program. On the visit, he learned of a former Bechtel official who 'had a story to tell'. But it took over two years to finally interview the official, Daniel Charboneau, who contacted the *Monitor* after a report had been published in February 1983 exposing serious problems with nuclear safety in Korea.

Daniel Charboneau, 52, joined Bechtel in 1974 and served as the assistant to Bechtel's regional representative in Korea from 1978 to 1980. A former priest and missionary to Korea from 1961 to 1970, Charboneau left Bechtel after September 1980 when he was asked by the company not to return to Korea.

Charboneau's tale of bribery had to be corroborated by other sources. To complete the research team, Nautilus and the *Monitor* called in Mark Dowie, the investigative editor of *Mother Jones* magazine. Together the research team interviewed several past and present employees of Bechtel in Korea, businesspeople who were in Seoul during the late 1970s and government officials knowledgeable about South Korea. The results of their research form the foundation of this article and apparently the basis for the sacking of Tim Shorrock.

The owner of the *Monitor*, Ralph Nader, sacked Tim Shorrock the day the story was released in Washington DC. Nader not only summarily fired Tim Shorrock, but later transferred the ownership of the *Monitor* to his operative



Korean nuclear program propaganda, complete with flowers.

John Richards (who is well known for his visits to Australia with Nader), and placed the two co-editors under suspension for 'bad attitude' — they were trying to unionise the *Monitor*.

Nader's actions appear to be an attempt to deflect the political backlash of sacking a popular editor as well as to deflect the legal responsibility for contravention of the *National Labour Relations Act* which covers 'good faith' bargaining on to his operative. Apparently, Nader has also tried to suppress the story and later slandered Tim Shorrock around Washington DC.

A NEW SUPER-RACE

When Bechtel made its big move into South Korea in 1977, the country was in the midst of one of the fastest economic expansions of the century. In 12 years the Korean gross national product had quadrupled. Exports had increased from USA\$119 million in 1964 to more than USA\$10 billion. Sophisticated transportation and communications infrastructures had been built and a massive program of industrialisation was under way.

As Korean exports began to flow into world markets in the early 1970s and corporate profits from Korean operations grew, South Korea was hailed as the new Japan — especially to American businesspeople and government officials weary from the American failure in Vietnam and tired of Third World calls for a 'new international economic order'. A new super-race had been found.

South Korea is 'literally pulsating with unleashed human energy', wrote one business reporter in 1978. 'Work as Koreans know it is not a hardship', gushed another. 'It is a heaven-sent opportunity to help family and nation'.

Long work hours? 'It is a fact [that South Koreans are] the worst workaholics in the world, averaging 50.7 hours per week'.

Pollution? No problem. A young auto worker described in one business magazine shows up 'at his post on the assembly line, ready to endure noise, dust, and fumes that would keep an . . . inspector busy writing reports for a month'.

Human rights? 'As flagrant as this repression can be', said *Fortune*, 'it doesn't impinge heavily on the average citizen's life, so long as he's willing to forego certain forbidden activities'.

But what these business writers admired most was President Park's 'steely determination' and his vows to achieve his economic goals 'by whatever means necessary'. These factors 'made South Korea a model for other less-developed countries, who prefer to sit around blaming their problems on "imperialism", multinational company rapacity or on a lack of raw materials. It is also what makes South Korea's future so favorable'.

Nevertheless, behind the shiny images of the 'miracle' were some appalling facts: the highest industrial accident rate in the world; millions of slum dwellers crowded into the big cities;



With rapid industrialisation came unprecedented energy demand.

severe pollution; rampant corruption; and savage government repression of civil rights and labour activists. But with the country firmly under the protection of the USA, these unpleasant realities were, for the most part, unseen by the American business community. For these businesspeople South Korea was a new Shangri-la.

HUNGRY DOGS

With the rapid industrialisation came a demand for energy unprecedented among developing countries. In the mid-1970s Korea's heavy industry began to overload the electric power grid. Power outages were frequent and energy use for street lights, advertising and other 'non-essentials' had to be strictly controlled by the government. With the price of oil on the rise and predictions of a 15-20% annual eco-

nomie growth through the 1990s, Korea's technocrats frantically sought more reliable and less expensive sources of electricity than oil and coal-fired plants. Nuclear power, still being touted overseas as cheap, safe and reliable, began to loom as the solution to Korea's energy crisis.

In 1977, the South Korean government announced plans to build 21 nuclear power plants by the end of the century. 'When the decision was made', said an official with the Korean Energy Research Institute in Seoul in 1981, 'a comparison showed that nuclear had the lowest costs. But I'm not sure if that was a rationalisation after the fact. The decision could be the result of industrial companies making an effort to find a market'.

South Korea's decision in the mid-1970s to undertake such a massive program of nuclear expansion overnight became the salvation of the world's deeply depressed nuclear industry, which was then facing the beginning of its long slow slide into bankruptcy. Its expansionary plans were being crushed under the steamroller of escalating costs, falling electricity demands, citizen opposition, safety regulations and technological failure.

By 1978, cancellations of planned nuclear plants had outnumbered or equalled new orders in the USA for three consecutive years. Not a single nuclear power plant has been ordered in the USA since 1978, the year of the Three Mile Island disaster. Since then, cancellations and deferments have mounted, some involving the loss of billions of dollars and, in one case, a plant that was 99% complete.

Feeling the pinch at home and unable to crack the markets in Canada, Europe and Japan, American nuclear companies — led by reactor manufacturers like Westinghouse and General Electric and architect-engineers like Bechtel and Ebasco — began an aggressive push for Third World markets. They were joined in the race by market-hungry firms like France's Framatome, West Germany's Kraftwerk Union, Canada's Atomic Energy of Canada Limited, and Japan's Toshiba. Competition became so stiff that one industry executive described it as 'many hungry dogs fighting over a few bones'.

The biggest 'bones' are the budding nuclear power programs of South Korea, Taiwan and Brazil, followed by the Philippines, Iran, Iraq, Mexico and Argentina. Recently, the prospect of a large new market in China has sent industry executives from around the world scurrying to Beijing.

THE BIG-FIST APPROACH

American companies had the advantage of 30 years of close ties between South Korea and the USA, as well as an embassy that acted more like a chamber of commerce than a diplomatic mission. South Korea is currently the sixth



USA embassy next to Korean State Economic Planning Board.

largest market for USA exports overall and the fourth largest market for USA food products. USA food exports to Korea totalled over USA\$1.5 billion in 1982, 47% of the country's food supply. All of the country's imported grain is purchased from the USA.

Besides absorbing exports, the vast South Korean market has also drawn direct American investment, most of it concentrated in petroleum, food, banking, general trade and chemicals.

Both exporters to and investors in South Korea have used the USA defense commitment to Korea as leverage to keep the market in American hands. When South Korea announced the purchase of 500 000 tonnes of rice from Japan in 1981, for example, a representative of the USA Rice Millers Association came to Seoul accompanied by a Louisiana congressman who represented a large rice-growing area. According to a Korean official who negotiated with the two men, the Americans 'used the big-fist approach'. 'Their basic message', he recalls, 'was "we give you military aid, and you buy our rice"'. The approach infuriated the Korean government — but the Japanese purchases were cancelled.

The American role in the Korean economy is nowhere more evident than in the evolution of Korea's nuclear power program. The USA government has been the primary influence — and chief financier — of the program since its inception in the 1950s. American advisors convinced the Korean government in 1956 to establish an Atomic Energy Section in the Korean Department of Education. When Korea embarked on its high economic growth track in 1965, the USA Agency for International Development (AID) recommended that South Korea go nuclear 'whenever Korea Electric Com-

pany's electricity system becomes large enough' to handle high-megawatt nuclear plants. On the basis of an AID-funded study, the Korean government drafted a plan in 1968 for two 500-megawatt reactors, and two USA engineering firms were hired to design the program.

FUNDING NUCLEAR IMPORTS

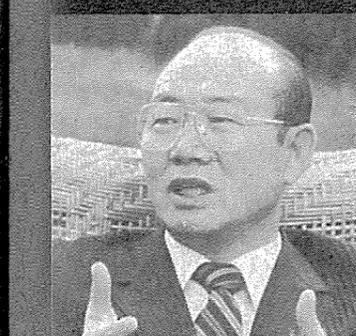
The USA State Department became even more heavily involved once the program was underway. Upon hearing that Korea would soon order its first reactor, the American ambassador to Korea cabled Washington in 1968 that 'from various standpoints, it appears in the USA long-term interest that USA participate [in] this project'. USA participation, however, depended on the availability of funds to finance the expensive reactor purchases.

The massive sums required for nuclear power plants were beyond the reach of the Korean treasury — the billion-dollar price tag for a single plant represents 4% of Korea's 1977 gross national product. If Bechtel, Westinghouse, or anyone else was going to sell Korea a nuclear power plant, they were going to have to find someone outside of Korea to finance it.

Unable to interest private banks, the State Department turned to the public purse, in the form of the Export-Import Bank of the USA (Eximbank), a tax-supported federal agency that assists in financing the exports of American-based corporations. When American nuclear companies first went to the bank in 1968, its officials told them they were 'not prepared . . . to consider financing of that scale and magnitude required by such a project'. But a concerted lobbying campaign led by Westinghouse, AID and the USA embassy in Seoul, forced changes in



Stephen Bechtel



Chun Doo Hwan



Casper Weinberger

the bank's attitude.

In October 1968, the bank board voted to include nuclear power plants in its loan portfolio for Korea. Once the Korean government decided to build nuclear power plants, all the Korea Electric Company (KECO) needed to do was apply for a loan. What won the argument apparently was South Korea's strategic importance as an ally. The loan offer, says Les Jantz, former Westinghouse project director in Korea, 'was part of our defence commitment to the country'.

Negotiations for work on South Korea's first reactors were monitored closely by the USA government, primarily to ensure that the South Koreans purchased from an American company. In July 1969, Secretary of State William Rogers cabled the USA embassy requesting officials to notify the Korean government that 'Eximbank does not intend to allocate equivalent resources to other projects if nuclear power contract is awarded non-US supplier'. A few months later, Westinghouse was awarded the first of its six contracts.

'I want to thank you', wrote then Westinghouse president Robert Kirby to Eximbank president Henry Kearns, 'for your interest and support . . . I am sure that your assurances to the Korean government . . . will enable us to firmly keep this order for US industry'.

By the mid-1970s, with the nuclear industry in a downturn, USA domestic economic pressures began to dominate Eximbank decision-making. In what can only be termed a gigantic industry bail-out, Eximbank invested USA\$4.7 billion in loans and loan guarantees for nuclear exports to Asia between 1973 and 1982 — almost half going to South Korea.

Since the Eximbank was founded 50 years ago, Bechtel has seen it as a promising funding source for its gigantic construction projects. Before he retired, Stephen Bechtel Sr., was on the bank's influential advisory committee. And Bechtel group, upholding its reputation as an attractive workplace for high government officials, in March 1984 created a new position, Executive Vice-President for Financing Services, for

John Moore, a former president of Eximbank. It was Moore who was dispatched to South Korea by President Carter in 1980 to convey the bank's support for the newly-installed military regime of General Chun Doo Hwan.

AIDING REPRESSION

Eximbank money and loan guarantees were an important source of political support for the government of Chun Doo Hwan after the former Army intelligence officer seized power during the spring of 1980.

Following the assassination of former head of state Park Chung Hee by the head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency on 26, October 1979, South Korea was in ferment. Anxious to turn away from 18 years of political repression, hundreds of thousands of Korean citizens joined in a mass movement for democracy, trade union rights, and an end to military intervention in politics. The movement culminated in an open rebellion in the city of Kwangju after Chun seized the government on 17 May 1980, and arrested scores of dissidents,

Scenes of repression under the military regime of Chun Doo Hwan in May 1980. Paratroopers control passengers at a Seoul railway station after rumours of an anti-government rally; students put the Korean flag over coffins of those killed in demonstrations in Kwangju. USA Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Holbrooke, opposed cutting loans to Korea because of the effect 'on private lending institutions in New York and elsewhere'.

including former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, a Kwangju native.

Over two thousand people were killed in the struggle for Kwangju, which finally ended when USA General John Wickham, then commander-in-chief of American forces in Korea, allowed Korean troops under his command to be sent from the border with North Korea to Kwangju to put down the uprising.

Chun's military crackdown and the repression in Kwangju presented President Jimmy Carter, who had championed human rights during his administration with a dilemma: either support the democratic forces — and risk alienating the new military government — or support Chun and reassure the USA business and banking community that their extensive investments and loans in the country were safe.

Carter chose the latter course. A week after the rebellion in Kwangju, the president dispatched John Moore to Seoul. The visit, the first by a major American representative after the coup, signalled to international lenders that the USA stood behind Chun. On his trip, Moore promised USA\$600 million in new credits to cover cost over-runs on the nuclear reactors then under construction. In a cable to the State Department, USA Ambassador William Gleysteen reported that 'Moore provided top Korean officials much appreciated assurances of continued Eximbank support for Korean development . . . All of Exim's Korean clients appeared pleased by his warm assurance of continued financial support'.

BECHTEL IN KOREA

Bechtel had plunged into what promised to be a lucrative business in the early days of the nuclear age. The first nuclear plant to produce electricity was built by Bechtel for the Atomic Energy Commission at Arco, Idaho, in 1951, along with a nuclear fuel reprocessing plant on the same site. With this government-supported head start, Bechtel leapt into the commercial nuclear power business, designing or building about 40% of the nuclear plants licenced or under construction in the USA by the end of the 1970s.

Bechtel first went to South Korea in 1954, in the aftermath of a three-year civil war that caused mass destruction to the peninsula and left the country bitterly divided. Over 80% of the country's electric power before the

division was in North Korea, which had been heavily industrialised under Japanese colonialism.

Stephen Bechtel Sr, convinced President Syngman Rhee to abandon Korea's hydro projects and build coal-fired plants instead. Bechtel received the contract to build four such plants. Like most other American projects, these plants were paid for by AID, which financed the bulk of Korea's imports throughout the 1950s.

During the next decade however, Bechtel received no major contracts for any of the 16 power projects launched under President Park Chung Hee. Instead, another USA firm, Gilbert Associates, firmly established itself in the Korean power sector and later joined with Westinghouse to construct the first two nuclear reactors ordered by the Park government. When the full-scale nuclear program began in the mid-1970s, Bechtel was on the outside, looking in.

Bechtel was excluded from bidding on the first two nuclear units, which were contracts won by Westinghouse, with Gilbert Associates performing the engineering and construction work covered by Bechtel. Then Canada sold Korea one of its unique CANDU reactors, the plant for which was built by Atomic Energy of Canada. By early 1978, three units were under construction in Korea, and Bechtel, the largest construction company outside the Soviet Union, still didn't have an order.

Bechtel adopted a threefold strategy to snare the elusive contracts with KECO for nuclear units 5, 6, 7 and 8. First, says a former Bechtel official, they sold KECO on the idea that the utility 'needed their own consultant someone on their side'. Bechtel managed to translate this idea into a contract to evaluate the bids submitted to the utility for nuclear and generator equipment for plants 5 and 6.

As the next step, Bechtel hired a 'special' consultant, Yuon Sik Cho, who was reputed to have connections that reached all the way into the Blue House - the residence of President Park Chung Hee. Yuon Sik Cho helped Bechtel to ingratiate itself with KECO by undertaking a contract to manage construction of a World Bank financed coal-fired plant at Gegong. According to Daniel Charboneau, the contract lost money for the company, but helped put Bechtel on the inside track in its successful bid for the architect and engineering contracts for nuclear units 5 and 6.

Third, Bechtel exploited the Korean preoccupation with technology transfer and self-sufficiency. Yuon Sik Cho organised a joint venture agreement with Taihan Electric Company, a Korean engineering firm with close ties to the president of KECO. Moon Yang Hwae, president of Taihan, was related by marriage to KECO's president.

NO QUESTIONS ASKED

With a Korean name on the calling card and Y S Cho on the payroll, doors began to open for Bechtel. Contracts for units 5 and 6, both billion-dollar projects already financed by Eximbank, were now clearly in its sight. A USA\$90 000 annual contract with Y S Cho (along with a USA\$60 000 expense account) was negotiated. Bechtel's regional representative in Korea, Robert Lynn, was ordered to sign the contract and give Y S Cho whatever he needed, 'no questions asked'.

Late in 1983 USA Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agent Fred Cundy, and federal attorney Joseph Covington, quietly opened up a case on Bechtel. The company was suspected of violating the 1977 *Foreign Corrupt Practices Act* between 1978 and 1980 by bribing South Korean officials in order to obtain nuclear construction contracts. So far, the performance of the FBI and the Justice Department was not encouraging. The FBI took nearly two years to issue a subpoena to Daniel Charboneau after he gave the agency documents and testimony that implicated Bechtel in acts of bribery.

According to testimony given to the FBI by another former high-level Bechtel employee, what Y S Cho needed was expensive American appliances and cash - lots of cash. In the weeks that followed the signing of Y S Cho's contract in 1978, Bechtel employees, who were allowed to bring their own belongings into Korea duty-free, would arrive with brand new gold clubs, TV sets, video recorders, and refrigerators. The FBI's informant told the bureau that the appliances would be taken from the port of entry to Y S Cho's house, and distributed from their as gifts to key Korean officials.

Periodically, according to the informant, Y S Cho would ask for a large amount of cash. He would say it was an 'advance'. The informant told the FBI that either he or another Bechtel staffer would take a cheque to the Seoul branch of the Bank of America, cash it and carry the proceeds to Y S Cho, who would be waiting in the Bechtel office. Y S Cho would stuff the cash in an envelope, hand the envelope to a driver and order it delivered to an official somewhere in Seoul. The informant told the *Monitor* this happened perhaps once a week.

One of Y S Cho's most strategic payoffs is described in an affidavit given to the USA Internal Revenue Service by Kang Ki Won, one of the drivers who delivered the cash. In this affidavit, Kang testifies that on several occasions he delivered large sums of money from Y S Cho to Shin Ki Cho, a vice president of Korea Nuclear Engineering Company - a subsidiary of KECO. One envelope he recalls

contained two million won (about USA\$4000).

On 1 May 1978, Bechtel won its first Korean nuclear construction contract - for units 5 and 6. With work underway, Bechtel focused on winning the engineering contracts for units 7 and 8, which like 5 and 6 would also be jointly put up for bid. Executives at Taihan had learned that the Ministry of Energy Resources was planning to recommend granting this contract to Ebasco. Early in 1979, Y S Cho met with Taihan executives to ask them to help Bechtel make its case to Ministry of Energy Resources. Taihan's president Moon was upset with this request because he felt that Bechtel had not lived up to its promise to include Taihan in earlier projects.

Cho conveyed Moon's complaint to Bechtel and shortly thereafter, on 17 May 1979, a new memorandum of agreement was signed between Taihan and Bechtel. Moon seemed satisfied and the way was cleared for Bechtel to obtain work on units 7 and 8. According to two former Bechtel employees, Bechtel was granted a one-day delay in submitting final bids for these units, and apparently the company was able to read the bids of its competitor Ebasco twenty-four hours before submitting final bids for these units. Employees then at Ebasco are certain that their original bid was lower than Bechtel's.

SHULTZ AND WEINBERGER

According to Daniel Charboneau, George Shultz, USA Secretary of State, and Casper Weinberger, USA Secretary of Defence, were in a position to know about the alleged bribery. Shultz was an executive sponsor for internal auditing at Bechtel when two separate audits of the Korean division were cancelled. Weinberger was Bechtel's general counsel, the company's top legal advisor and trouble shooter.

The *Monitor* has made no specific allegations against the two men concerning Bechtel's activities in South Korea. However, as people entrusted with the management of USA foreign and military policy, it is proper to ask of such officials the same question that Senator Howard Baker asked of President Nixon during the Watergate hearings: what did they know, and when did they know it?

FURTHER READING

This article was prepared by Sue Armstrong from material supplied to *Chain Reaction* by Nautilus Pacific Action Research, Box 228 Leverett, Massachusetts 01054, USA. The full story of the corruption is found in the *Multi-national Monitor*, vol 5 no 5, May 1984, available from Nautilus for USA\$4.00 airmail to Australia.

Background history on the Korean nuclear program is available in: P Hayes and T Shorrocks, 'Dumping Reactors in Asia', *AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly* vol 14, nos 1 and 2, 1982, from PARC/AMPO, PO Box 5250, Tokyo International, Japan.

Re-presenting work

Photographs of working life are generally taken on behalf of management, not workers. They are used to consolidate and reproduce the company image or as documentation for efficiency and security studies.

'Re-presenting Work' is a photo project initiated by the Workers

Health Centre in Sydney. The Centre wanted to establish a resource of photos of people at work for use by workers and unions, and for their publication *Work Hazards*. The project was funded by the Australia Council under its 'Art and Working Life' policy in conjunction with trade unions; and was produced by

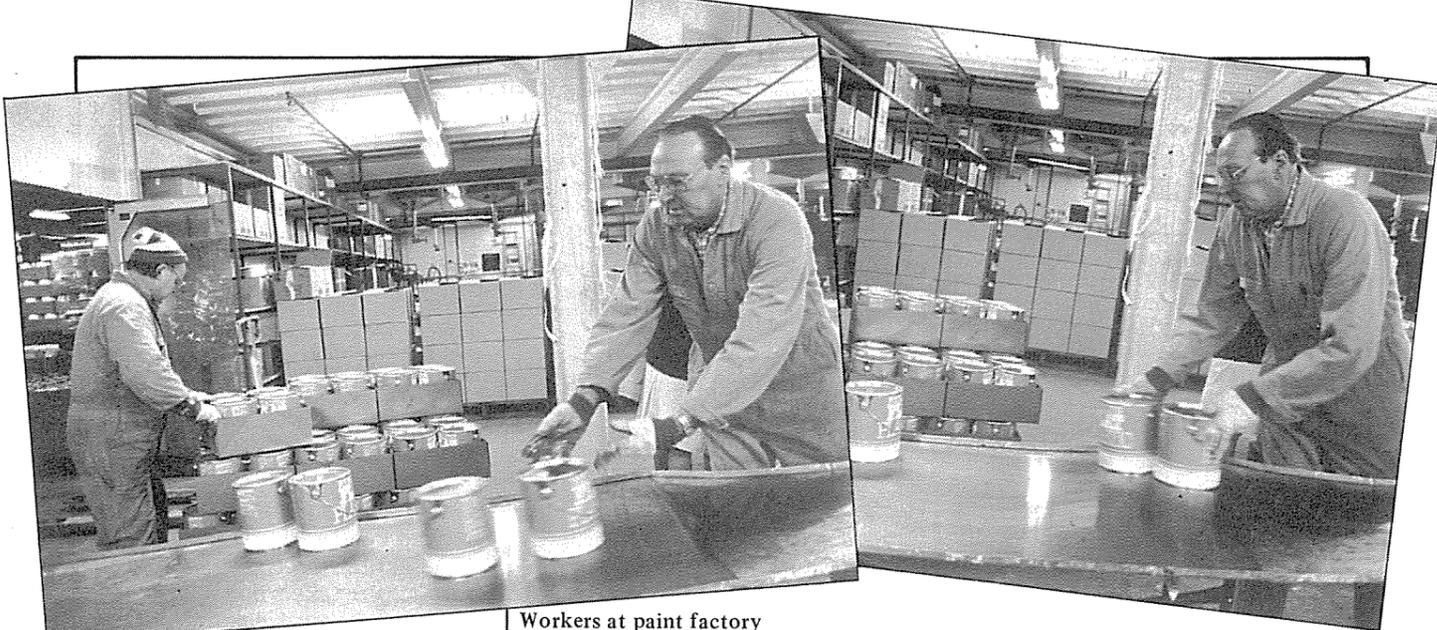
Helen Grace, Julie Donaldson and Warwick Pearse.

The exhibition is a collection of photographs taken during visits to workplaces thematically united by categories of work hazards. *Chain Reaction* publishes here a selection of photographs from the exhibition.



Workers at Otis Elevators Company.

We take snap shots of family and friends on holidays and special occasions, like birthdays. While we see images of ourselves at home and in our social lives, a large area of our lives remains undocumented and hidden - time spent in the employ of others at work.



Workers at paint factory

Workers compensation statistics show that 145 120 people were injured in New South Wales in 1982. Ill health and unhappiness, stress and boredom caused by threat of the sack, sexual harassment, repetitive and monotonous jobs, overbearing supervision and lack of control in the work process are not mentioned in the statistics. Time lost through work accidents and illness is three times greater than time lost through strikes.



Banking workers

The workforce is experiencing fundamental changes. New technology may improve organisation and efficiency and eliminate some hazardous jobs, but the major effects are unemployment, de-skilling and job relocation as well as health hazards such as eye problems, overuse injuries and possible radiation exposure from Visual Display Units.

"At first it was an interesting toy, but now it's boring and every keystroke is monitored; it writes a report on me."



Spray painter at State Rail Authority, NSW.

Synthetic chemicals are known causes of cancer, brain, lung, kidney and liver damage as well as causing dermatitis, burns, damage to the foetus and sterility.

"After using turps, we used to come off the job and our arms would be numb and tingly. You feel sort of drunk. Many times arms would erupt with dermatitis and blokes would be off work for a while."

What about the Russians?

By Phil Shannon

Over a quarter of a million people marched throughout Australia on the Palm Sunday peace rallies of 15 April 1984, protesting the threat of nuclear war and celebrating peace. They added legs to ideas now widely held by vast numbers of Australians. The marches were the largest ever public demonstrations in Australia's history and represented the broadest coalition of humane and progressive forces since the Vietnam Moratorium days.

Even the Blind Freddie amongst the politicians could see that support for peace and disarmament is as massive as it is broad. But will this display be enough to ensure the peace movement's success? The history of peace movements since Hiroshima and Nagasaki unfortunately suggests otherwise. Despite their huge support they have failed to achieve their main aims. The arms race continues. A new Cold War is in full swing.

Despite the overflowing meetings, bursting petitions and millions of marching feet, the nuclear threat has worsened. Why has opposition not been more effective?

A major reason has been the peace movement's failure to identify the political causes of the arms race, and to develop appropriate strategies for change directed at the roots of the nuclear crisis.

The flavour of the peace movement has generally been a moral one, concentrating on the 'evil' nature of nuclear weapons and the callous power interests of the two 'superpowers' responsible for them. Moral outrage has drawn many people into mass protest. It is a valid and desirable mobilising factor. An apolitical peace protest, however, is likely to become a pious and powerless cry tolerated by the politicians and war-planners.

The dominant view within the peace movement is of an arms race that has developed an irrational momentum of its own, equally fuelled by the USA and the USSR both equally imperialist superpowers and equally threatening

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to world peace. This mood also saw expression in the recent rallies with general calls for 'Disarmament East and West' and in the street theatre of the Melbourne rally where Reagan and Chernenko puppets were counterposed as equally callous giants.

Why does the peace movement have a predominant moral and apolitical tone and why is its analysis grounded in that of the equally irresponsible machinations of the USA and USSR 'superpowers'?

First, it is a response to indisputable chunks of reality. The USA and the USSR do have enormous stockpiles of nuclear weapons. There is an undeniable arms race between two nuclear giants. The destructive power of nuclear weapons is well known and the policies of the countries that deploy such weapons are seen as just as evil as the weapons themselves. Commonsense does not distinguish between different degrees of evil at the level of annihilation of civilisation.

The peace movement focuses this commonsense perception of reality from very wide sectors of society, few of which are 'political'. The activist base is largely middle class, white-collar/professional and church-oriented, drawn from sectors outside the traditional left political elements. The weakness of the left in the peace movement is partly reflected in the lack of trade union involvement. The leading spokespeople of the movement are doctors, poets and novelists.

The peace movement's very breadth and 'commonsense' outlook inhibits a political orientation. It can successfully mobilise people not already involved in traditional political or social action, people motivated by fear of nuclear war, people resenting the sense of being pawns in a bureaucratic Great Powers struggle. The urgency of the nuclear war threat, in addition, seems to allow no time for the academic luxury of an historical and political understanding of, and challenge to, the basic causes of the nuclear threat.

The 'Soviet Threat'

What passes for the peace movement's analysis, however, obscures the roots of the nuclear threat which lie primarily,

but not solely, with the domestic and foreign needs of USA capitalism. It is the USA that is the biggest threat to peace. There is a 'Soviet Threat' but this lies not in any foreign expansionism but in the clumsy and rigid nature of their response to the pressures of the USA-induced Cold War. USA imperialism (and Australia's role in this) should therefore be a central concern of the Australian peace movement.

The implications for the peace movement of such a historical and political analysis matters not for the neatness of setting the record straight on the USSR, but for showing how the warps in this record affect Western peace work. By avoiding a political analysis, a purely moral protest or an equal condemnation of both protagonists will allow the underlying causes of the arms race to go unchallenged.

In the protest against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe, for example, many activists believe that missiles were deployed to counter the Russian SS-20s which supposedly upset the nuclear 'balance' in Europe. In fact the USA missiles were planned long before the SS-20s were deployed in 1977, the Pershing II as early as 1968. The SS-20s were only marginally superior to the SS-4s and SS-5s they replaced and NATO still retained its overall nuclear superiority in Europe.

Cruise was not a military response to a new Soviet ascendancy. It was more a political strategy by the USA to 'couple' European defence to the American nuclear arsenal, a demonstration of NATO solidarity, and an attempt to reassert USA economic dominance over an increasingly independent Western Europe.¹ The SS-20s provided a happy pretext for the USA decision to deploy Cruise and Pershing and to gain public legitimisation for the USA escalation of the arms race into first-strike, 'limited', 'winnable' nuclear war-fighting theory and technology.

Peace movement publicity that oversimplified the issue to one of yet another case of equally irresponsible superpower rivalry, not only lets the USA off the hook but also aids the way the USA has repeatedly used the Soviet Threat to justify its own acts of nuclear escalation.

The effects of an inadequate political analysis are also shown in equating USA and USSR imperialism. The peace movement has not actively opposed USA interventionist foreign policy. Retarding USA aggression will help prevent Third World, Middle East and other localised conflicts developing into international arenas of Cold War and nuclear conflict. Opposing USA imperialism also weakens the Cold War anti-Sovietism that the USA uses as its ideological cover.

Nuclear sense

The peace movement's 'weapons fix' is another way in which USA's primary

responsibility for the arms race is hidden. Nuclear weapons, divorced from their political context, are seen as being irrational, of having an uncontrollable logic of their own. Nuclear weapons, it is true, do not make much military sense. Nuclear superiority, given thirty-fold levels of overkill, does not make much sense either. It is easy to believe that our rulers have lost control over nuclear weapons.

'Blunderbuss' nuclear weapons and the absurd levels of overkill are certainly crazy - morally, militarily and economically; in every way, in fact, except politically. They are the ideological core of USA global power. They are used in bargaining with the USSR over the Third World. They have been deployed nineteen times since 1945 and their use has been threatened four times - all by the USA. A costly arms race, by placing a greater strain on the USSR economy, is a form of economic warfare against the USSR.

Nuclear weapons also have a domestic purpose. They, and a massive USA defence budget, are an ideological device for uniting the population behind a belligerent USA capitalism 'preserving democracy' against 'Red subversion' at home as well as abroad. Re-arming America aims to deflect criticism of economic and social inequalities (in the way that a certain rich men's yacht race recently did in Australia).

Behind the debate on strictly military matters, behind the apparent madness of the arms race, lie political concerns, part rational, part emotional, but all intelligible. By identifying these concerns, namely the needs of USA domestic and foreign policy, we can better attack the nuclear weapons spiral at its roots. The alternative is often to crumble into helplessness in the face of the perceived nuclear insanity of two all-powerful giants.

USA bases

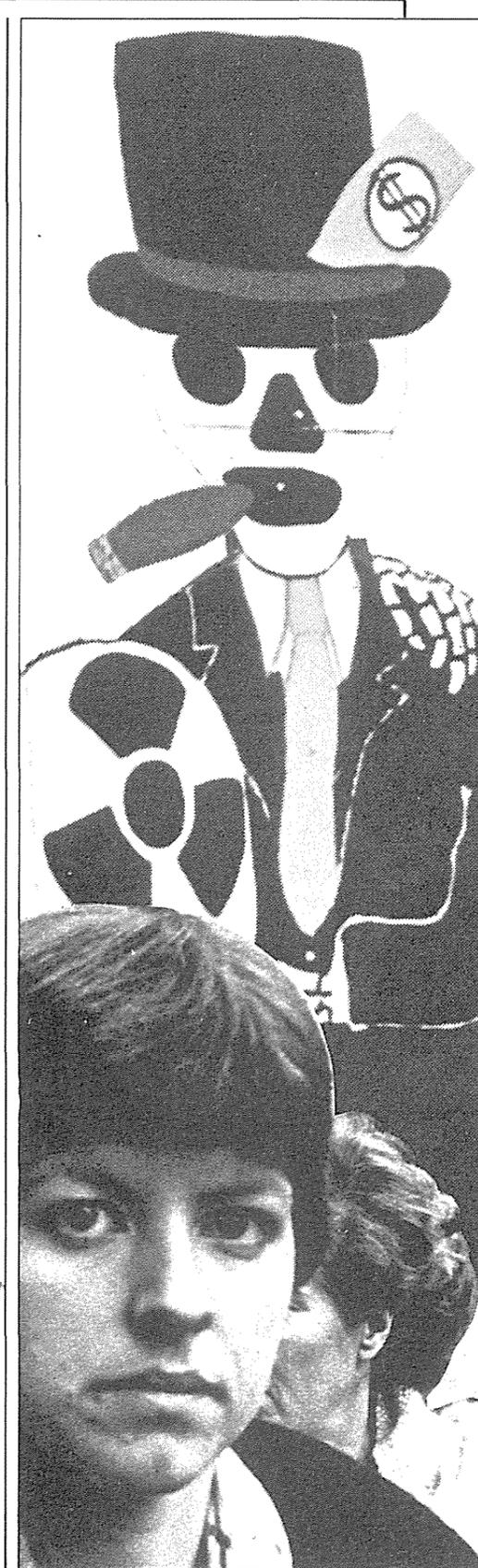
The influence of the new Cold War is not only reflected in the peace movement's own apolitical thinking but, ironically, this thinking plays its own part in furthering the Cold War. The focus, for example, on USA bases in Australia making us a Russian target relies on fear of the Russians when we should be trying to build trust and support their initiatives towards disarmament. Further, our silence on the bases' role in conducting a nuclear war against the USSR is part of, as EP Thompson puts it, the Cold War in our heads whereby we objectify and dehumanise the Other/the Enemy long before any missiles are fired.²

The bases are a military fact and a political symbol of Australia's subordination to the USA. Successful opposition to the bases will depend on recognising and confronting their political purpose.

Another example of the peace movement inadvertently strengthening the



NEDERLANDZEGT NEE





Attempts to link the peace movement with 'Moscow Gold'.

Cold War is the tendency to paint both Moscow and Washington as two 'evil' giants locked into superpower rivalry. In the face of such a seemingly unalterable system, some people may withdraw from peace activity. Worse, by lending legitimacy to USA charges of a Soviet Threat, we provide further reason for people to accept USA nuclear superiority, no matter how grudgingly, as a case of 'better the devil we know'. The USA is thus strengthened in its role as the primary mover in the Cold War.

The bogey

The peace movement should be very clear about the actual and the ideological nature of the 'Soviet Threat'. The Bolshevik Bogey has cluttered Western thinking for 67 years. The profit-makers and their protectors have made enormous ideological and capital gains through successfully equating the Stalinist totalitarianism of the Soviet Union with genuine socialism. The USSR, however, is as far from socialism as any reader of *Chain Reaction* is of being appointed to the board of Western Mining Corporation.

The many and serious defects of the Soviet Union have given a certain legitimacy to the ideological weapons of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism. These weapons enable the USA to protect its economic and strategic interests by opposing all progressive forces (colonial movements for independence, trade unions, civil rights, feminism, environmental protection, the peace movement, etc) as being socialistic or financed by 'Moscow Gold'.

The reality

The USSR is not a superpower to the extent that the USA is. They lag behind economically, politically and militarily. The imbalance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is even more marked.

Economically, the gross national product (GNP) of the USSR is less than 50% of that of the USA, its per capita GNP is only one-third of that of the USA and equivalent to only the most underdeveloped countries of the 'advanced' West - Ireland, Spain and Greece.³ A stronger USA economy also softens the impact of military expenditure on living standards compared to the USSR.

The Third World allies of the USSR such as Vietnam, Angola and Ethiopia are economically weak and are a financial sore for the USSR. The USA, on the other hand, returns enormous profit from its extensive foreign investments.

Politically the USA has far greater foreign influence. Within the United Nations, the USSR has the support of only 15 out of 100 Third World countries. Through USA chambers of commerce, food aid, cultural penetration, trade agreements, foreign investment, and control of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the USA maintains this influence.

The USA's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is stronger than its Russian counterpart, the KGB. In the Third World the CIA has 'a long record of toppling governments (Iran 1953, Guatemala 1954, Chile 1973 . . .) and attempting to assassinate foreign leaders (Lumumba in the Congo, Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, Sukarno in Indonesia, Castro in Cuba . . .)'.⁴ Including the less dramatic operations, the USA has long used military force for political ends, on 215 occasions from 1946 to 1975.⁵

Militarily, contrary to the claims of the celluloid cowboy, the USA has superiority. Adjusting for CIA accounting tricks, USA military expenditure of \$111 billion in 1981 was greater than the \$107 billion by the USSR.

Military expenditure per capita showed an even greater USA lead - \$494 per capita to \$404. Total spending by NATO, Japan and China was more than that of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) - \$243 billion to \$119 billion.

The USA has the advantage in conventional armed forces. The USA has over 200 major bases of all types in 45 nations, the Soviet Union only a handful.⁶ NATO has more soldiers than the WTO (one quarter of which are deployed against China). Although the WTO has more (but inferior) tanks, NATO has a huge, sophisticated battery of (much cheaper) anti-tank weapons. NATO has a smaller navy overall, but more big ships, superior submarines, advanced anti-submarine warfare technology, more naval infantry and vastly more aircraft carriers suitable for foreign intimidation and intervention. Crucially the USA has dozens of overseas naval bases (even one in Cuba!) and facilities; the USSR has no full bases and few facilities.

The nuclear missile count is against the WTO, quantitatively (numbers of warheads), qualitatively (more accurate first-strike missiles) and strategically (the USA can launch missiles with equally destructive potential from land, air and sea against the USSR itself).

This multi-faceted USA superiority reflects the strength of USA imperialism. USA multinational corporations (MNCs) have vast investments and profits to be protected. Of the top 260 MCNs, 126 are American.⁷ The USSR has a different economic system. The Communist Party bureaucrats can look after their own material interests from solely domestic exploitation and corruption and there are no profit-chasing MNCs requiring overseas markets, resources and cheap labour, whose interests need similar global policing to that of the USA.

The comparatively severe economic and political limits of USSR 'imperialism' are obscured by labelling of the USSR as a 'superpower'. Of course, the USSR has the capability for super nuclear destruction but it is less than super in other important aspects such as its economy and foreign influence. The superpower impression of the USSR (G F Kennan) was aware of this policy. In 1982 he wrote of the 'endless series of distortions and oversimplifications', the 'systematic dehumanisation of the leadership', 'the routine exaggeration of Moscow's military capabilities and of the supposed iniquity of Soviet intentions' and the 'monotonous misrepresentation' of Russia and its people.⁸

Unfortunately the peace movement has been tempted into the sloppy application of 'superpower' to the USSR. This has disguised the real imbalances of power between the USA and the USSR.

Is the USSR imperialist?

Soviet/Cuban subversion is behind each loss of a country from the Free World, so we are insistently told by Reagan.

This alleged Soviet expansionism is then used to justify USA foreign intervention and military build-ups. Grenada is just the latest casualty of a deliberately managed myth of Soviet expansionism.

The USSR's Grand Design to Spread Communism, however, has about as much reality as Bob Hawke's socialism. The USSR's record belies any Grand Design. The Soviets have lost important allies such as Yugoslavia, China and Egypt. They have had little political influence over countries where they have provided significant military support such as Iran, India and Vietnam. Defections from the Western camp have not always been to the Soviet bloc as in the case of the Arab oil-producing alliance (OPEC) and the anti-communist Islamic radicalism of Iran.

Russian control of important mass Western communist parties has seriously weakened in Italy, France, Spain and Japan. Their control of Eastern Europe, whilst settled, is hardly resolved. The USSR has nothing like the military or economic capability of the USA for largescale foreign intervention far from its borders (even Afghanistan is an embarrassment to Soviet power).

Soviet foreign policy is more one of accommodation than expansion. Ever since 1917 the USSR has been, and has felt, threatened and encircled by a hostile West. In a profoundly unequal Great Contest, the Soviets have sought relations with other countries that would secure their borders and break down their international isolation. They have mostly opted for stability and to avoid war with the USA. Although such caution has hindered popular socialist revolution from the Greek communists in 1946 to the El Salvador rebels in 1984, it is understandable for a country that has lost over 25 million people in wars this century compared to less than one million by the USA.

A more effective peace movement

By taking time to analyse the strategies of the policy-makers in the USA and USSR, and the concrete history of the Cold War, as above, peace movement strategy can become more effective and go beyond the elemental, but essential

and imaginative, mobilisation of people based on fear of the horror of nuclear war and the perceived insanity of the arms race. Politics is a necessary complement to the work of the peace movement. The very openness and democratic health of the peace movement will ensure that differing views are contested and decided on their merits.

To build on the April rallies, the peace movement should now concentrate much more, but by no means solely, on opposing USA power because this is where the roots of the nuclear conflict lie. In Australia, in addition, we are much better placed to concretely affect USA policy than we can that of the Kremlin. We are, after all, a partner of our 'great friend'; the bases are USA not USSR ones.

Indeed, if Australia wishes to effectively improve Soviet behaviour, one of the best ways is for us to withdraw our support for the USA war threat against Russia and to oppose the USA global strategy of 'policing the world for democracy'. The Soviet rulers will feel less need to intimidate their citizens and those in the buffer countries of Eastern Europe into obedience in the interests of national security. This will help to democratise Soviet society by opening up more space for democratic dissent. The democratic opposition in Russia and those in the West who oppose the single-minded anti-Sovietism of the USA-led Cold War, are in this sense allies working for the same ends.

Many of Russia's actions are indefensible and make it harder for us to oppose the USA's political and military drive but the easy response of joining in the anti-Soviet chorus is no solution, even if expressed as an evenhanded condemnation of both sides.

This article is not intended to belittle the mass support for the peace movement or to be divisive by playing bloc politics. Rather it is intended to show how a lack of a political analysis constrains our effectiveness. It is not intended to impose a 'line' on the peace movement. It is not pro-Soviet rather it is anti-anti-Soviet. A critical

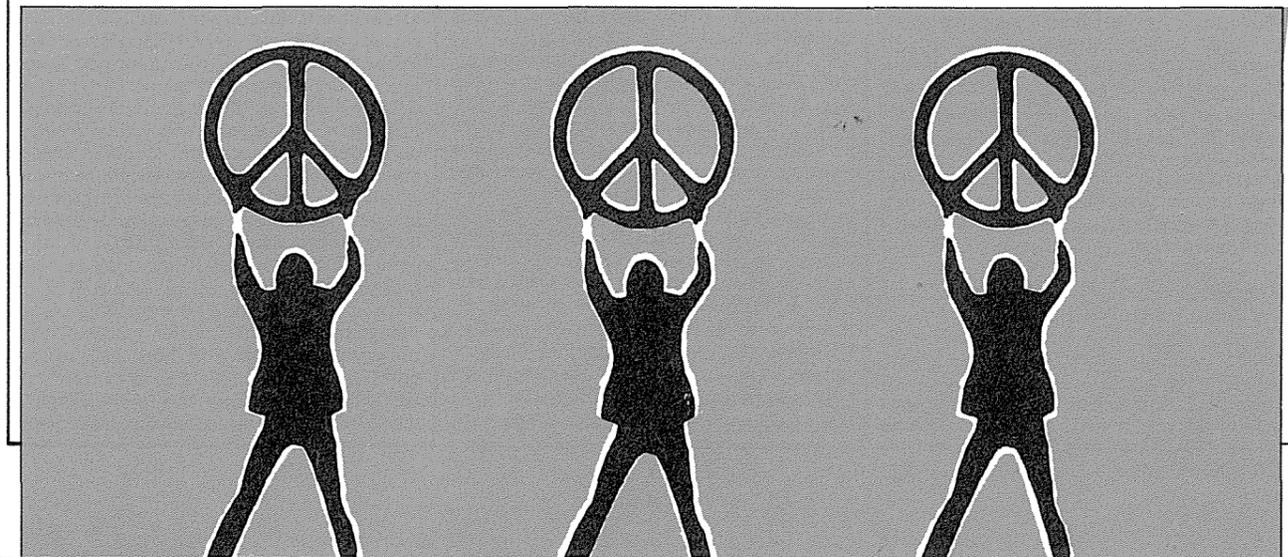
but fair and realistic assessment of responsibility for the arms race is a good guarantee for avoiding the sterility of bloc favouritism.

It is not an attempt to apologise for the faults of the Soviet Union - the psychiatric incarceration of dissidents, the lack of political freedom, repression of national minorities, etc. Rather it is an attempt to assess the real role of the USSR vis-a-vis the USA in the arms race and Cold War.

The article's main aim is to confront one of our biggest obstacles, the Cold War fear and distrust of the Russians, expressed often by potential supporters in some formula such as, 'Yes, I agree with nuclear disarmament - but what about the Russians?' Rushing in with a ready condemnation of Russian culpability in all aspects of the arms race diverts attention from USA imperialism as the major threat to peace and deflects the peace movement from the actions we can most effectively take to tackle this threat. This does not mean that the main task of the peace movement should be the immediate overthrow of USA capitalism - that will have to wait a little longer - but it does mean we can better work for the relaxing of Cold War tension which, with the Doomsday Clock inching closer to midnight, is our most urgent task.

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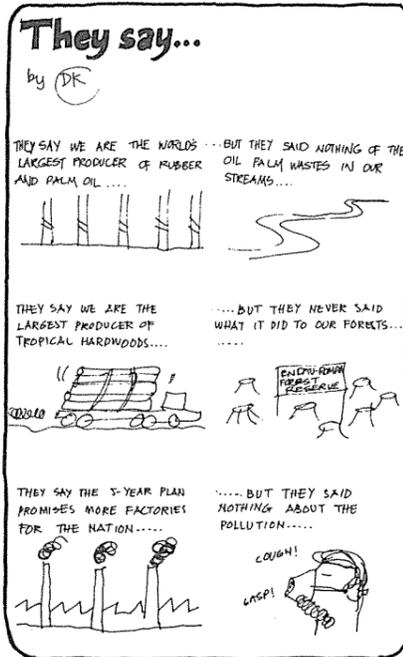
Developing the Malaysian environment

Environmental activists in the Third World face many similar problems and issues as those in the West, but the social climate within which they are working is often very different and requires a different approach to that adopted by Western environment groups. Richard Nankin, an activist working with Friends of the Earth in Melbourne, and Gurmit Singh, president of Persatuan Perlindungan Alam Sekitar Malaysia (Environmental Protection Society of Malaysia) spoke about the role of environmentalists in the Third World on 'Habitat and Heritage', an environmental issues program on community radio station, 3CR. Below is an edited transcript of the conversation.

Persatuan Perlindungan Alam Sekitar Malaysia, or the Environment Protection Society of Malaysia (EPSM), is a non-government organisation made up of Malaysians from all walks of life, who are concerned about the deterioration of the environment, especially that of the poor of the country. EPSM was launched at a public meeting in January 1974 in the Malaysian capital, Kuala Lumpur.

EPSM has drawn attention to environmental problems through the press, through representations to government, through public seminars and through the publication of its quarterly magazine, *Alam Sekitar*. The society was active in the successful campaign in 1982-83 to protect Taman Negara, peninsular Malaysia's only national park, from a proposed hydroelectric dam on the Tembeling River on the borders of the park. (See 'Malay Dam', *Chain Reaction* 29, Spring 1982.)

Richard Nankin: Is there much of an environment movement in Malaysia?
Gurmit Singh: I would say that compared to many other developing countries, we are pretty strong. The Environmental Protection Society is ten years old and Friends of the Earth in



Malaysia is seven years old. In addition the consumer organisations take an active interest in the environment. But of course if we try to compare it with Australia, we could be considered pretty weak.

RN: Is there much contact and co-operation between the Malaysian environmental groups? You don't seem to have any umbrella groups like our state conservation councils.

GS: The groups get together when an issue is in the offing. I think that within the Malaysian context, that's about the best arrangement you can get under prevailing circumstances. To set up an umbrella organisation means you have to go through a bureaucratic exercise in registering that organisation. In Malaysia for an organisation of seven persons or more to exist for any common purpose you have to register which can take anything from three months to three years. It is not worth the hassles. I can see that we'll end up with another bureaucratic organisation for which we will have to submit annual reports.

RN: Do you think that the activists in

Malaysia get much public support?

GS: There is a bit of public support. In terms of the coverage by the media, in terms of the fact that the media is not completely free, (radio and TV is a government monopoly) the sort of coverage we manage to get once in a while on TV and in the newspapers, I think indicates that there is growing interest, although I'm not completely happy with the extent of support.

RN: Do you think there are a lot of serious environmental problems in Malaysia being played down by the media because of government control?

GS: Obviously, there's no question about it. But once in a while the issues build up too strongly to be ignored or there is a sympathetic editor sitting on the news desk who lets a story through.

RN: For me, as an Australian environmentalist, it's quite a surprise to see that many of the issues your group has tackled are much the same issues we work on here. Is that a fair impression?

GS: Yes, I would say in some respects environmental problems are not really different because, although Australia classifies itself as an industrialised country, a lot of your industry is agriculture-based, and that's also the same in our case. But I would say that possibly because we are in the process of developing, there are a lot of things that we can't fight because we are then seen to be fighting development.

RN: In Australia we find it hard to believe, for example, that Malaysian farmers could be losing their crops year after year from rubber processing factories' pollution without urgent action being taken by the government, or there being a lot of publicity.

GS: I think we must understand that farmers in Malaysia and Third World countries are generally not that assertive and they do not have access to the levers of power as much as the farmers in your country who have a strong lobby. The strong urban bias of the printed media means that some of the real problems don't get reported.

RN: In some cases, it sounds like you're being an advocate of the poor — the out-of-town poor — as well as for the environment.

GS: Yes. I would say that we are fighting for all the poor because the poor

are the first victims of pollution in the developing countries — whether they are the urban poor or the rural poor. I think it has been difficult for people in developed countries to understand when you tell them you are actually fighting poverty. We are trying to ensure that the poor are protected from environmental pollution and that can only be done by uplifting their living standard and improving the quality of life. People in developed countries don't seem to see the connection. They think that rural poverty can only be fought by giving dollars and cents. They forget that improving the physical environment is also one way of eliminating poverty.

RN: I gather the Malaysian environment movement is always hated by the Malaysian establishment as being anti-development.

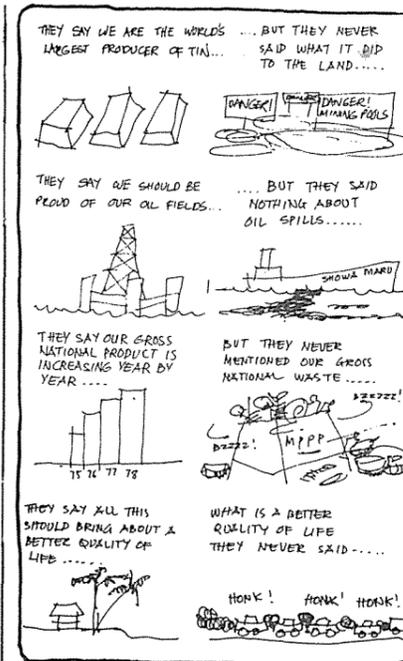
GS: I have basically repeatedly said to my people back home, 'Look, we are not anti-development, we are pro-people. If that development is in favour of the majority of people, we will support it'. But most of the development that creates environmental problems is certainly not in favour of the people. There may be a few elites that benefit — the people who own the factories, the people who have the timber concessions.

RN: You mentioned it's really hard to get signatures in Malaysia. Why is that?

GS: I think this is because we have not had a strong democratic tradition even during colonial times. As well, you must not forget that all the ethnic groups — Chinese, Indians and Malays — have a very strong feudal background which never encouraged participation. You listened to authority, you never questioned it. That is why it's quite difficult to get people even to write letters of complaint. They must feel terribly strongly about an issue before they will.

RN: Do you get much surveillance or hassles from the government because you're environmental activists?

GS: There's been no direct hassles as such. But we are conscious that records are kept on some of us, those who are prominent. It is possible that our phones may be tapped. Also there is legislation known as the Internal Security Act, which is another British



heritage, where anybody can be detained for up to two years without any court trial. So far, no environmentalist has been pulled in under that. But trade union leaders in the past have been pulled in.

RN: I'm interested in the nuclear power issue in relation to the Third World. We're often told that we should be supplying our uranium to the rest of the world because they need it to generate badly needed power for poor people. Do you believe that nuclear power reactors are going to benefit the people of Malaysia or other Third World countries?

GS: Not at all. I do not believe for a single moment that nuclear power is the answer to the energy needs of the poor people. I still believe very strongly that what is needed is maximum utilisation of local energy sources, and especially renewable energy sources. Unfortunately the proponents of alternative energy sources sometimes fall into the trap of being single-minded, that is, only one form of energy will solve all the problems. They are not

willing to promote a mix of different forms of energy to, say, supply energy to a village. And I think sometimes they also get caught in the trap of thinking of centralised energy generation. We must, especially in the case of developing countries, be willing to take on a decentralised form of energy. But I think that goes against the trend in a lot of the developing countries of centralised authority. Decentralising energy is in a way decentralising authority as well.

RN: It's exactly the same here.

GS: Yes, we have the same sorts of obstacles. Only in our case, we have to walk very carefully — we can't tell people we should not have energy growth. We have to advocate energy growth in certain sectors. You can say here, 'All Australians must cut their energy use by 10%'. We certainly can't say that for Malaysians, because they are mostly poor, and their energy consumption is so low.

RN: Here in Australia with highly centralised power generation, we're getting to a situation where the state government is forcing the energy commission to encourage decentralised power sources. The institutions themselves are now changing their views because it's becoming so difficult to manage and because there are so many problems with a highly centralised grid system. Do you see any chance of such a process happening in Malaysia, where people will push for decentralised systems of power — and not just energy but political systems as well?

GS: I think that will come slowly, but not overnight. At the moment I think the trend is still towards centralisation.

RN: In Australia, we're learning from our mistakes gradually and we're changing our direction. Yet it seems in the Third World those in authority only go for our mistakes.

GS: I think sometimes there are vested interests not to learn. We try to get them to change. We say 'Look, why do you insist on making the same mistakes the developed countries have made? Why can't we learn from them?'

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and many women do choose to identify themselves in these particular ways. The media was seeking a particular image to exploit, but this was something we were aware of and attempted to counter. We are also aware of the extent to which it is out of our control.

CAROLINE TAYLOR: We were a mixed lot, and pretty naive when it came to using the media. Perhaps it was our naivety however, that struck a chord in so many people who rallied round to help and give us moral support. I remember the disgust one woman felt after a tabloid photographer had persuaded her, in an unguarded moment, to pose in front of the fence, wreathed in chains, hands clasped and face uplifted in meek supplication. The attitudes of such journalists probably hardened our resolve as much as anything; we eventually learned to refuse to be used in this way. We wanted to get the message across on our own terms.

Very few black women have become involved in the peace camp at Greenham. Why do you think that's the case?

I think that black women have a very specific experience, which I can't speak for, because I'm not black. The connecting fact is that we are all women, but it is true that most of us at Greenham are white and have a white woman's privileged experience. Wilma Brown argues in a book she's written *Black Women in the Peace Movement* that black women need to organise autonomously. I support that idea - it's part of recognising your own experience, building up confidence from that basis and then reaching out and making connections with other groups.

I think a lot of people now realise that the peace camp at Greenham is not simply about Cruise missiles in Britain. Could you talk a bit about some of the connections that are being made with women in other countries.

It's part of an educative process whereby women who travel to different places bring information, in resource material and in their experiences, back to Greenham. A lot of women also come from other countries to the camp - there

AGGIE JAKUBSKA DECIDED TO GO TO SICILY FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: On 8 March the focus was Magliocco air base A 50-strong international group of women with Italian and local Sicilian women made a sit-down protest outside the main gates of the base. We sat in a circle and wove a huge multi-coloured web by throwing balls of wool between us. We sang, and learned each other's songs in our different languages. We shared our power and strengthened our emotional bonds.

are a lot of Australian women. We have a great deal of correspondence with Spanish women from Chile and Costa Rica also. The women who do come to Greenham from other countries usually bring resource material and conduct workshops to raise awareness about issues in their countries. Contact with

other cultures is seen as part of a process of acknowledgement that all women are united in some way under the umbrella of patriarchy.

Have those links, especially with women from the Third World, meant that there's been discussion of non-violence?

Oh yes, but it's a difficult one to talk about. There are so many different points at which to approach non-violence, I think there's a lot of confusion about it, particularly in relation to struggles in Third World countries because it raises the question about whether one can make judgements on



Greenham Common camp.

choices that other liberation groups have made.

At Greenham we have discussed non-violence on many levels, and have also begun questioning verbal and emotional violence. But it is by no means something which has been sorted out. It's discussed particularly in terms of actions, as part of a process of evaluation. One of the most exciting things about living in the community is that you are constantly being challenged, often on fairly basic prejudices that you may not realise you carry. In that sense, there is a degree of analysis going on, but there isn't always time to pursue it. It's a luxury to have the time to spend two weeks on pursuing non-violent goals.

The media in Australia would have us believe that the peace camp at Greenham is all over. Could you explain what's happening now?

Over the last six months we've begun spreading out around the base and have set up a second camp at Greengate, which is a very wooded area, designating it as a 'women only' space. When I say 'women only', I mean only women visitors, whereas all the other camps have men and women visiting all the time. This was seen as a necessary step. Greengate acts as a refuge, a place out of the public eye. There was an attempt

BABS SCHMIDT IS A GERMAN WOMAN WHO WAS STUDYING DRAMA AT A COLLEGE IN ENGLAND. SHE CAME TO THE MARCH BLOCKADE AND THEN MOVED TO THE CAMP: We all reacted differently to the hostility in Newbury and once back at the camp, the whole discussion about non-violence flared up again. It was as if we were judging each other, giving marks for good or bad behaviour. Well, it is difficult. If you care a lot for an action then you prepare yourself for it. You imagine how you'd like it to be and if another woman goes against your sensitivity, it causes gut reactions.

We hadn't yet learned to communicate all this beforehand, so we had to do it afterwards and it proved to be a very destructive, painful exercise. Non-violence doesn't stand up in theory unless you are able to live it. And then where does it start, where does it end?

to establish another camp at Bluegate on the northern edge of the base - but the three women who tried to set that up were arrested so we've left that for a while.

In July, we had a week of blockades and at that time two new camps were set up, one at Blue- and one at Orange-gate. That began a growth and at one stage we had about eight camps around the base. The numbers fluctuate - sometimes there might be 200-300 women, sometimes 50 or 80. We have a lot of speaking commitments and also commitments to support women's actions in other parts of the country.

Many of the camps have been subjected to constant eviction and we have become quite adept at rebuilding benders and pitching tents. A bender is a structure made out of bent wood, in some cases live saplings, which we cover with plastic, dirt and stones. It's a dome-shaped structure which serves as a little home. In winter, they're lined with straw, foam and blankets - it's actually very cosy.

MARY MILLINGTON FOUND HERSELF IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CHAOS: Soon everyone was packing up tents and bedding and hiding them, looking for places to put things we would need for the next stage of the camp's life. Saucepans, food, cutlery, cash and bedding were packed into cars; we hid our standpipe very carefully. Meanwhile it rained solidly. Some women went to Angela's to ring the press. Others took car loads of belongings to Barbara's house to store. More than thirty policemen stood around as the cranes lifted our caravans on to the transporters.

There must be a limit to the amount of time women want to live that kind of existence.

Oh yes. Two weeks is about as much as you can cope with in one stretch and then you have to get away for a few days. The intensity of living there with the harassment from vigilantes, soldiers and police is exhausting. It's difficult learning to live in a continually fluid community and there's a limit to the number of meetings you can attend.

Antarctic tactics

Lyn Goldsworthy, in 'World park on ice' in the last edition of *Chain Reaction*, said that there was a need to reassess strategy in the campaign to protect the Antarctica wilderness. Environmentalists have been calling for the area to be declared a 'World Park', which would exclude any exploitation including mining activities.

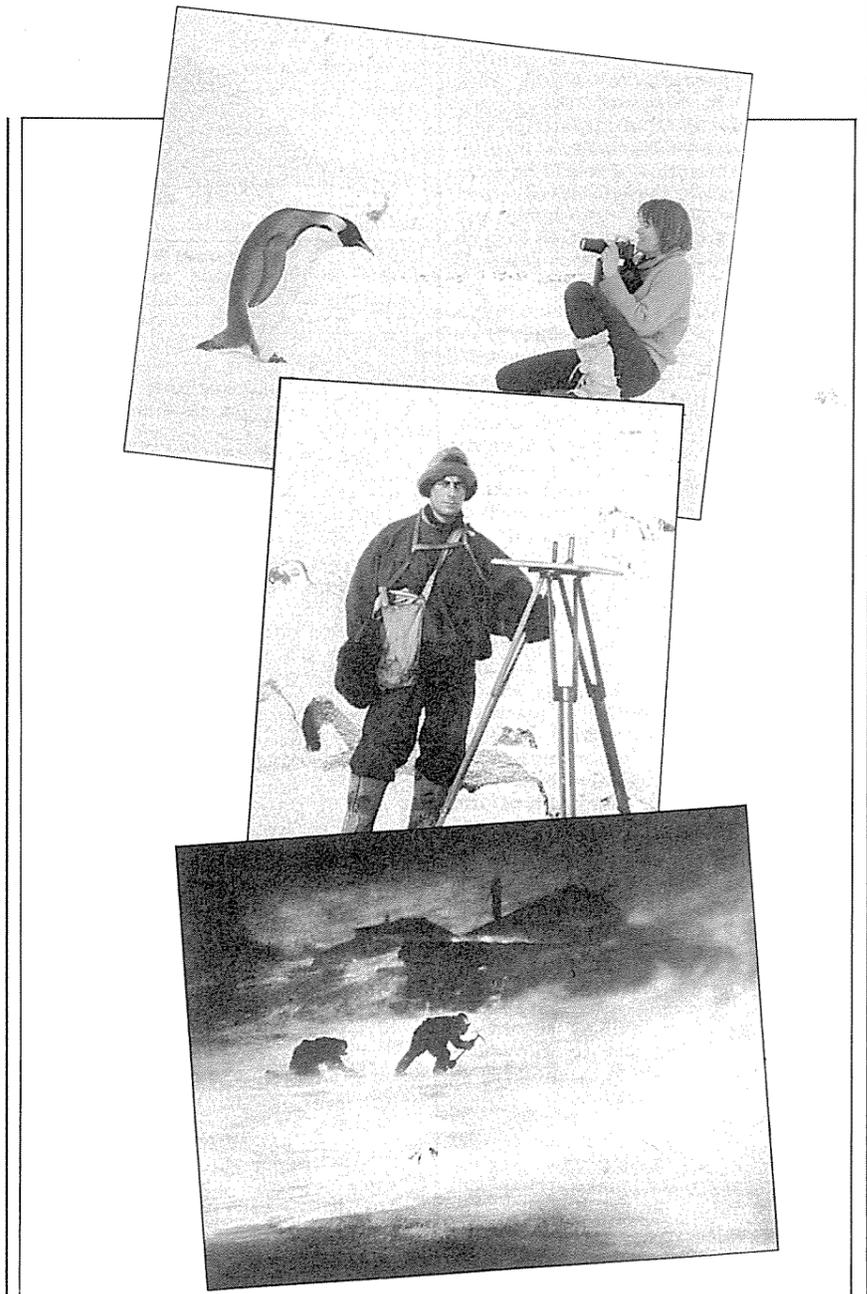
Ross Scott replies in the following article, suggesting that it is too early in the campaign to compromise.

(For further discussion of the issue, see Letters this edition.)

The Antarctic continent - an area about one and a half times the size of Australia and the last continent still virtually untouched by human activity - has wilderness, scientific and natural values of a character and magnitude found nowhere else on Earth. Yet, unlike all other continents, humanity does not rely on Antarctica for exploitable resources, and the spirit of international cooperation fostered by the Antarctic Treaty is quite unique, and transcends historical and entrenched territorial problems common elsewhere. Hence the potential to maximise the conservation of this continent is great, and the top campaign priority for the conservation of Antarctica should be the push for a World Park covering the continent in its entirety.

The concept of a World Park, for which there is currently no precedent closer than the concept of national parks, can probably best be defined in terms of humanity's relation to the area concerned, namely, an area where non-renewable resources remain intact and where humanity's impact on the natural environment is kept to the minimum compatible with controlled tourism and scientific research, and the collection of environmental data. The stance taken by conservation groups around the world in support of the

Ross Scott works with the Antarctica Action Group of the Australian Conservation Foundation.



Antarctica - a paradise for its animals, photographers, scientists, and adventurers.

protection of Antarctica by the establishment of a World Park has been expressed by conferences such as the Second World Conference on National Parks and the 1981 General Assembly

of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, and by the Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition, the international coalition of conservation

groups concerned about Antarctica.

The development of a Minerals Regime was initiated due to the economic interests of some nations and the fears that, as mining is not prohibited by the Antarctic Treaty, unregulated mining could cause damage to both the Antarctic environment and the Treaty system itself. As currently envisaged, a Minerals Regime would constitute an agreement that would regulate mineral exploration and mining activities in Antarctica - activities in conflict with the concept of World Park protection. In view of the unique conservation values of Antarctica and the early stage of humanity's involvement with Antarctica, it would be more logical to press for the nations concerned to adopt, or at least thoroughly and seriously debate, a Conservation Regime before consideration of a Minerals Regime.

All the lessons from humanity's exploitation of resources, and from past conservation campaigns, point to the following principles:

- If conservationists don't demand long, hard and clearly what they want, they will never get it; no-one else will do it for them.

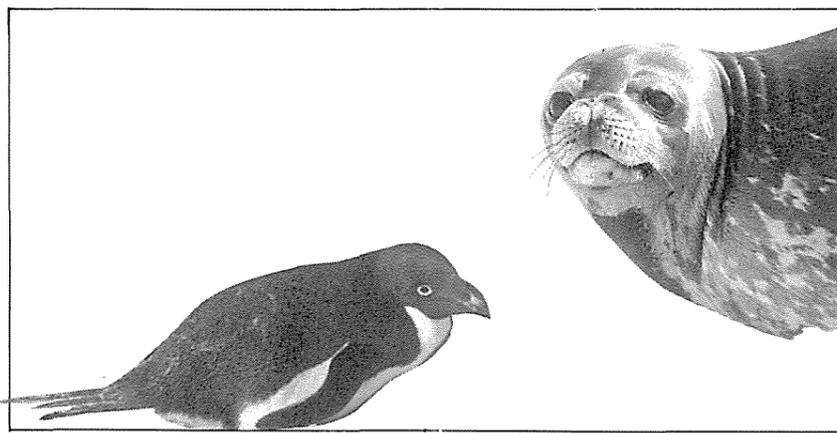
- To agree to exploitation-oriented policies or policy mechanisms such as the Minerals Regime is to play into the hands of exploitative interests and effectively acknowledge defeat, partial or total, before the fight for Antarctica has really begun.

- The economic and lobbying power of the mining industry, and the breaking of safeguards in the past clearly demonstrates that safeguards are in no way a satisfactory means of dealing with the problem of mining in sensitive areas. The only way to guarantee protection of an area is to make all possible efforts to prevent the commencement of mining and mineral exploration in the first place.

- The harder and louder that conservationists push for a World Park, the greater will become public support for the idea.

It should be recognised that just as the exploitative interests have only relatively recently publicly sought to formalise a mechanism to allow the regulation of mining in Antarctica, so the conservation campaign, which inevitably will last for decades, has scarcely just begun. To accept the compromise of a Minerals Regime so early in the piece immediately places the conservation movement at a disadvantage in the battles yet to come.

One of the dangers of allowing mineral exploration is clearly that it would be conducted with the expectancy of proceeding with extraction and processing if viable deposits were found. Even exploratory drilling and other investigative activities can be very damaging to the environment, especially if oil pollution or heavy metal pollution is involved. Negative



Animals of the Antarctic.

impacts of mining and mineral exploration would include not only the disastrous effects of oil spills on marine fauna, on which virtually all life in Antarctica depends, but would also increase the stress on the Antarctic Treaty, the international agreement by which activities in Antarctica are now regulated.

Although some conservationists who advocate abandoning the idea of a World Park as the prime thrust of the campaign to conserve Antarctica claim that to not support the Minerals Regime and to persist with the push for a World Park would lead to the destruction of the Antarctic Treaty, the reasoning behind this rather blinkered conclusion has never really been explained. Despite the differences that do exist between nations involved in Antarctica, the Antarctic Treaty and the success of the various conventions that operate in conjunction with the Treaty, give grounds for hope that the Treaty could be used as a basis for the development of a Conservation Convention and eventually a World Park, just as it has been used to keep Antarctica a zone of peace and an area free of nuclear tests and nuclear waste disposal, rather than to embark on a different course which, historically, has led to conflict and environmental despoilation on every other continent on Earth.

As the world's foremost wilderness, the obvious alternative for Antarctica, from a conservation point of view, is one based on the region's value as wilderness, however 'unrealistic', 'idealistic' or 'impractical' that may be regarded by the nations now keen to mine Antarctica. A World Park, once established, would, much more than an exploitation-oriented direction, help to maintain Antarctica as a zone of peace, avoid great expenditure on the search for minerals, avoid increased tension between nations over access to minerals, maintain a pattern of activity in Antarctica which has been successful in achieving scientific cooperation and conservation, conserve Antarctica as the last great wilderness and as a global ecological buffer, set an example of

environmental restraint of value for international and domestic policy elsewhere, and possibly lead to an earlier return to renewable sources of energy.

As a first step, the Australian government should initiate a study by the Antarctic Treaty partners into a Conservation Convention whose main provision would be a World Park, and propose to them that they consent to the nomination of all parts of Antarctica claimed by them for inclusion on the World Heritage List and to the extension of the moratorium on mining and mineral exploration until full consideration has been given to the Conservation Convention. To accept that mining is inevitable, especially at such an early stage in the proceedings, and to abandon the push for a World Park, is comparable to accepting the position that the existence of 'adequate safeguards' on the export of uranium is sufficient to justify not pushing for a ban on uranium exports.

As with all major conservation issues, the first step for people concerned about this issue is to persuade the federal government to take the initiatives outlined above. By the time this article is published, a major meeting held to discuss the Minerals Regime, the Special Consultative Meeting on Antarctic Minerals, held in Tokyo in late May, 1984 will have finished. The approach taken by various nations to the prospect of mining Antarctica will then no doubt be much clearer, and the need to build up the campaign for a World Park even greater than before.

Further reading

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...From page 4

alternatives, can be an important part of this struggle.
Brian Martin
O'Connor, ACT.

► Antarctica park

Lyn Goldsworthy's article on Antarctica in issue 37 is misleading. It presents a strategy that has by no means been shown to represent that held by a majority of the conservation movement. She claims that 'most environmentalists' have 'shifted from the previously used World Park Strategy' and, that 'to continue with this strategy is analogous to an ostrich sticking its head in the sand'. The first statement is unsubstantiated. The second is a remarkable condemnation of environmentalists who do not accept 'the inevitability of the minerals regime'. The supporters of a World Park do not want to see mineral activity even 'restricted to limited areas'. It is no use compromising at this stage.

There is still hope that complete protection can be afforded to the continent. Yes, the World Park concept does need defining. There must be considerable thought and open discussion regarding the details of what we want and how it can be brought about. However, the concept must not, and has not been, rejected.

Did compromise help protect the Barrier Reef, Fraser Island, the Franklin River? Would compromise achieve nuclear disarmament? No, and neither would it produce what we believe in, an Antarctica free from any minerals activity.

Paul Broady
Parkville, Vic.

This letter has been edited.

I agree with Lyn Goldsworthy (article 'World Park on Ice', in the last issue of *Chain Reaction*) that there is no simple solution to the problem of protecting the Antarctic environment. However, I don't agree that the idea of an Antarctic World Park should be dismissed as too difficult or impractical, or that environmentalists should aim to work within the proposed minerals regime for Antarctica as a means of demanding protection for the

environment.

Rather than tacitly supporting a minerals regime and then having to fight from a disadvantaged position to ensure that environmental standards are set and followed within it, why not push for a conservation regime, as stated in the revised Australian Conservation Foundation draft policy on Antarctica (*ACF Newsletter*, May 1984), as an equally viable alternative to a minerals regime being a management and protection mechanism for Antarctica. There should also be a push for the inclusion of Antarctica on the World Heritage List, with attendant publicity.

The public needs to be made aware of the issues at stake on a much broader scale than seems to have been achieved by environmentalists so far. I have found in conversation with many people about Antarctica that they are fascinated by the place, but have no idea of the issues at stake, and are surprised that there are any. To me, the interest and concern is there and will surface if it can be tapped, and if the full facts of the issue, including the very secrecy with which the Antarctic Treaty nations are treating the whole minerals question, are better publicised. Support for the Franklin wilderness campaign, once activated, came from many unlikely sources, and from thousands of people who knew they would probably never see the Franklin themselves.

I feel that environmentalists concerned about Antarctica need to concentrate on raising grassroots awareness and concern at least as much as attempting to influence the politicking associated with the minerals regime at a high level. This would give the present 'small and not powerful movement' (Lyn Goldsworthy's words) an injection of new people and energy as well as greater public backing and influence.

Jenny Scott
Northcote, Vic.

I am writing in reply to Lyn Goldsworthy's article, 'World Park on Ice', found in the April/May edition. In the introduction to this article, your magazine commented that 'most' environ-

mentalists have reassessed their position on Antarctic conservation to the extent that they have shifted away altogether from the World Park strategy. I consider this statement most unfair and misleading, and would be interested to know your sources.

I maintain that the majority of conservationists concerned with the environmental protection of Antarctic are working towards attaining a World Park, consisting of the Antarctic continent in its entirety, and its surrounding seas.

Lyn Goldsworthy, in her article, writes in a way that represents a new style of conservationist. Lyn seems obsessed by what is 'realistic', or what is 'inevitable'. She argues that a minerals regime is unavoidable, and therefore to achieve optimum environmental protection, conservationists must work within the minerals regime, and demand, 'at the very minimum', the protection of large tracts of the region.

During the past five years, conservationists have, I believe been subject to an important lesson. Through the experiences of the Great Barrier Reef campaign, and more recently the success of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society, it has been shown that it is absolutely obligatory to demand total protection of any given environment. Lyn Goldsworthy ignores this rule, and in its stead demands 'the very minimum' level of protection. As a long-time conservationist myself, I ask the question, 'which end of the scale would I prefer to be bargaining from?'

Lyn Goldsworthy, I ask you, as a fellow conservationist: 'Leave the 'realistic', the 'inevitable', and the 'pessimistic' to politicians and diplomats. If you cannot do this, then please move over and make way for more optimistic groups. After all, the fight to save Antarctica has just begun!'

Tim Doyle
St Kilda, Vic.

Lyn Goldsworthy, author of 'World park on ice' in the last *Chain Reaction*, replies to the readers' comments above.

I must first apologise for my statement that most

LETTERS

environmentalists actively working on the Antarctic campaign are reassessing their approach, as obviously I cannot speak for everyone. However, my experience as a lobbyist at the recent fifth round of minerals regime negotiations has reinforced my feeling that many environmentalists from UK, USA, Europe and New Zealand, as well as Australia, while maintaining their ultimate goal of total protection, are looking for new strategies to obtain that goal.

I fear that I did not make myself clear when discussing the inevitability of the minerals regime. I do not believe that exploitation is inevitable but that the negotiation of an international agreement to regulate mineral activity is. The Antarctic Treaty nations have just completed their fifth round of discussions towards this regime and have scheduled a sixth meeting for February 1985.

Conservationists must demand an extension to the present moratorium on mineral activity (in force until the completion of the regime negotiations) and campaign for a Conservation Regime to be negotiated. But we must also be aware of the conceptual difficulties of the World Park proposal (which excludes mineral activity from all of Antarctica) once the Minerals Regime is ratified.

Lyn Goldsworthy
Fund for Animals
Manly, NSW

You are invited to write letters to *Chain Reaction* with your comments on the magazine or on other issues of interest. Letters should be kept within 300 words so that as many as possible may be published. Longer letters may be edited. Write today to *Chain Reaction*, Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000, Australia.

COMMENT

In the last edition of *Chain Reaction* we published an article by Leigh Holloway, 'Effective Campaigning', which outlined the elements required for the organisation of a campaign, in the areas of strategy formulation, tactics, group dynamics and style.

We invited a number of activists from around Australia to comment on the article. Below is a selection of their replies.

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼
I have never been one for a lot of rationalising, analysing, making or working through theories. A little bit but I just don't get really into it. But I see it as important and encourage others.

Since the emergence of the women's peace movement in Australia I have come 'home' so to speak. All sorts of things are right for me - I feel more validated; I am stronger; I speak out more; I use my skills more easily; I trust women-only groups much more; I can be more spontaneous and creative.

So far the women's peace movement is not characterised by detailed planning, long-term goals, analysis - although there is a general understanding.

I work from my emotional base - my gut if you like. I feel very strongly so I act. I am learning, maybe changing tactics as I go along, adding bit by bit to my inner strength and determination. I am enormously inspired to see other strong and beautiful women around me, doing it in their own way, all strengthened by each other.

Greenham Common started off as a walk from Wales - 20 or 30 women. Two and a half years later they are becoming legendary. There is no 'master' plan or longterm thought out

strategies. They feel the need to stay - and they do. So they have inspired thousands of other women around the globe to take action.

I sense this is a very different starting point and sustaining point than your 'campaign building'. Both work. Both work for different people at different times.

One thing that gives me a lot of anguish. That of combining being an activist with being a parent. The dilemmas and conflicts it creates within me are insoluble. My activism usually wins - it fulfils my needs as an adult more. Yet I don't want to neglect my children as much as I do. I reflect that our battles are going to last our lifetime - and longer.

Commitment to childcare and child-sharing in my experience comes at the end of most activists' long list of priorities. Yet these are the kids who are going to be dealing with the world we leave them. Surely it'd be great for them to grow up with better ways of relating, feeling good about themselves, etc, than what most of us grew up with.

Cynthia Shannon
Uluru, NT

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I read with interest the article on campaigning in *Chain Reaction* - a very fine job! Perhaps the only thing I would add is with regard to goals.

Much energy is dissipated by having a thousand and one prongs to the campaign that you want people to be involved in - if you are organising a petition, make the program clear; if you are running a series of local meetings, make the program clear. This often means choosing a limited range of major activities. Everybody knew it was 5 March to kick out the Fraser government from thirteen key electorates, everyone knew it was 15 April for a major rally - people were easily able to lock into the activity. A lot of people did their own activity to contribute - but it all contributed to give the movement a united, and effective voice.

Essentially - make what you want clear, make what people can do clear. The key dates and demands should be able to be carried around in

your head, not in a maze of minutes and memos. They are for the fine tuning.

David Allworth
Indooroopilly, Qld.

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼
I was surprised that some emphasis was not given to the importance of coordinating activities in pursuit of specified goals. This seems essential! Also no mention is made of the effectiveness of having individuals responsible for specific tasks/priorities, to alleviate duplication and allowing an increase in the group's overall diversity.

Jennie Whinen
Hobart, Tas.

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼
One thing - you speak only in terms of a single group. One of the factors in the Great Barrier Reef campaign in Queensland which helped to swing the issue was that we of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland (WPS) had branches in most of the important country areas - they increased pretty rapidly and have fluctuated since but there are still a good number from Cairns south to Brisbane and inland in south central Queensland, and this made a big difference.

We were able to circulate our own material and newsletters, keep in touch by mail and urge action when anything important came up. There was a sense of belonging to something wider which can make all the difference when you're under local pressure.

I don't know why the WPS has been the only such organisation to encourage the formation of branches with a loose affiliation and a common newsletter. I think the sense of support outside your own immediate group and solidarity, as well as the feed-in you get from your own branches on news and action can be crucial.

Judith Wright McKinney
Mongarlowe, NSW

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼
Activist groups always have unrealistic expectations in any campaign. A process of coercion by guilt develops, creating tension, frustration and exhaustion. Most activists are their own worst enemy, taking on more responsibility in an effort to deal with problems that occur because expectations are unrealistic or because the group is not

functioning in an efficient manner.

The high profile of mass-based campaigns and their attractiveness to the media has created a belief that a campaign must be big to be successful. Most successful campaigns have been small while one of the largest, the anti-nuclear movement, has been unsuccessful in either preventing uranium mining or removing USA bases. Mass movements are not an end in themselves. It is the nature, scale and difficulty of the objective that should determine size, and a campaign need not succeed simply because it has a mass base. The point is to harness whatever level of community support the organisation is capable of mobilising.

Many campaigns in the past have not been 'professional' enough to grab the imagination of the community. However it is important to realise the limitations of professional advice, especially in relation to advertising. Much advertising is intended to market a product by techniques inappropriate to an idea, or political change. The key thing is to maintain control of the way you communicate to the community. If you can do this and stick to your own sense of what looks good or communicates well, then the help of professionals can be of enormous value.

Geoff Coleman
Sydney, NSW

▼ ▼ ▼ ▼
I disagree that the more time a group spends on internal structural matters, the less the group does in terms of 'real' issues. For a start, structure is far more than constitutions and procedures - it is how decisions are made, who controls the many relations between local, state and national parts of the organisation. There gets to be a point when existing structures actually impede effectiveness.

Internal structural matters must be adapted to suit the demands being made on the organisation. The issue is finding the right balance between internal and external matters.

Bob Burton
Hobart, Tas.

REVIEWS

Books

Battle for the Franklin: Conversations with the combatants in the struggle for South West Tasmania, interviews by Roger Green and photographs by Geoffrey Lea, Fontana Books/Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne, 1984, 303 pages, \$8.95 (soft cover).

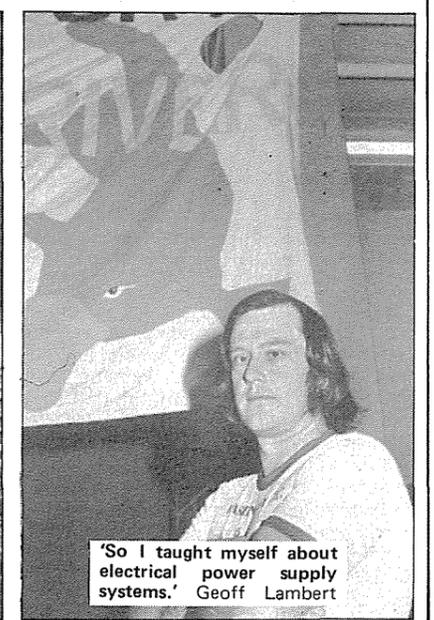
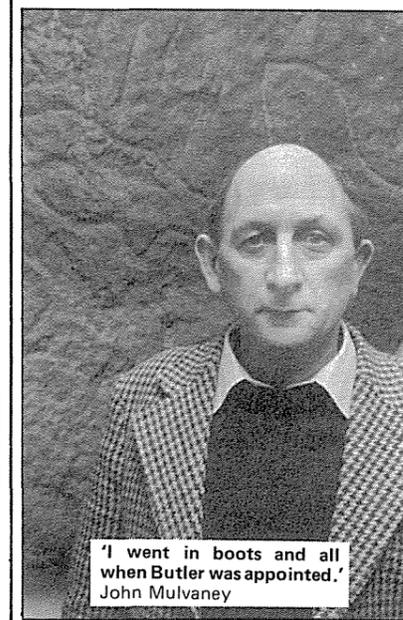
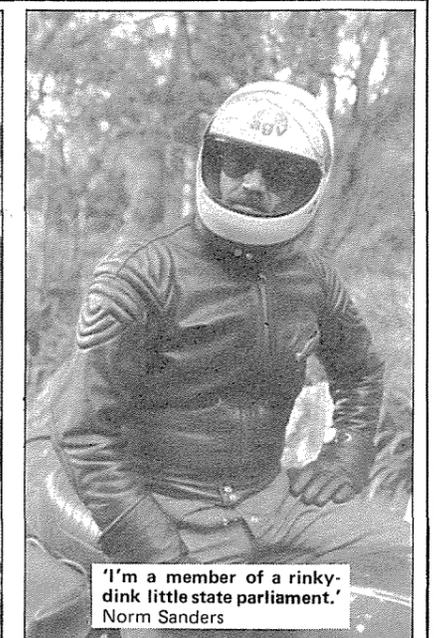
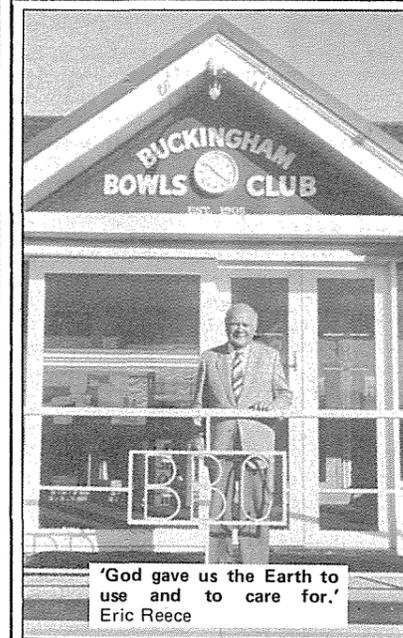
Reviewed by Linda Parlane and John Stone.

Battle for the Franklin, or as we prefer to think of it: 'The Franklin - the battle for analysis', is a book about 'what I did in the Franklin war'. It comprises Roger Green's selection of 24 ripping yarns by famous South West Tasmania campaign 'combatants'.

By reading these interviews we gain an interesting view of South West campaign history - from Lake Pedder to the blockade and the High Court decision. It's great to have such history written down, as it makes clearer the course of 'green' politics in recent years - including Prince Phillip at the ACF and Moss Cass and Gough Whitlam on Lake Pedder. It is good, too, to see more of the personalities involved. Norm Sanders reveals why he - and many others - were very glad to spend their time at the blockade in Strahan carting shit. Geoff Lambert of Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS) Sydney, by contrast undersells his own contribution to the campaign. He is also one of the few who gives any hint as to the changes that are needed to make further struggles successful. There are also some great mug shots by long-time Hobart TWS worker Geoff Lea: Pedder Premier Eric Reece outside the Buckingham Bowls Club, and archaeologist John Mulvaney's wonderful egg face.

The book is a resource for developing a critical analysis of the Franklin campaign. But it is a somewhat dangerous resource because it's not at all up-front about its own biases. There are no clues as to who has been left out, or why these particular combatants were chosen. Interestingly, Roger has shown a tendency to choose men, and particularly those from the academic elite.

In addition to this, the questions Roger must have asked to direct interviews are omitted. In all but the chapter



on Robin Gray only half a conversation has been published. In this way the structure works to conceal the slant of the book. We have no clear idea of the interviewer's chosen focus in each case,

nor his prejudices. The missing questions also break the flow and internal continuity of the conversations.

Even so, we do get some indication of Roger's environmental politics. He

REVIEWS

would like to see himself as a 'ruthless pragmatist' but his line on Malcolm Fraser shows some naivete. Roger, like many a greenie in late 1982, fell heavily for Mal's 'better nature, a concern for the wilderness' line. Surely a pragmatist would quickly see that Fraser would be constrained by the fundamental Liberal ideology of 'states rights' and the conservative's habits of power. Of course, everyone can argue that they like trees (Reagan says he wants peace) — but shouldn't we respond to politicians' actions rather than their 'warm inner glow'?

In the same vein as *The Wilderness Society's* book *The Franklin Blockade* (reviewed in *Chain Reaction* 36) and most movement discussion of the Franklin campaign, this collection follows the thrills and excitement, but through rose-coloured glasses. It has that edge of cashing in on the euphoria of victory.

Battle for the Franklin includes very little analysis of the Franklin campaign; in fact Roger Green specifically excuses himself from this responsibility in his introduction to the book, where he states it is intended only as a rough draft of history. The problems associated with attempting to broaden people's analysis of 'green' politics is left to others. That's all very well, but we feel justified now in asking, just when will a critical evaluation of the Franklin campaign eventuate? Why do we not look more critically at our victories? Or is ours a movement that can only learn from its disasters?

The fact that the Franklin River is still flowing free is as much due to the extraordinary political circumstances of 1982-83 (read luck) as it is to the dedication and sophistication of the Franklin activists. However, judging from the crashing silence of veteran Franklin campaigners, those starting out in the environment movement now might be excused for thinking that they need only replicate the hard work and campaign style that led to that victory, in order for others to flow naturally.

Surely the South West Tasmania campaign has taken us another step in the gradual maturing of the environment movement. It is useful to look at the development of the movement, and of the nature conservation arm in particular. It seems we started out as observers last century (naturalists in fact) and have a long history of looking and exchanging information. As the need to reserve areas for conservation arose, naturalists took to using the

old-boys networks to persuade friends in government to preserve important biological areas. About ten to fifteen years ago it was realised that asking the old-boys didn't necessarily get us anywhere, and so out came the bumper stickers and public meetings. Over the years use of the media and political system has become more sophisticated. The height of this latest stage must have been the deep breath taken by many of the stalwarts as a party political stand was taken on the Franklin issue at the 1983 federal elections.

Unfortunately, it is firmly in this stage that Roger Green leaves us in the *Battle for the Franklin*. Any discussion of the limited nature of electoral strategies or of the environment movement's need to broaden its political awareness and affiliations (with the women's, labour and welfare movements for example) has been virtually overlooked.

It is implied through what's been left out of the book that *this kind of direction is not up Roger's alley*. As we've already stated there are no conversations with combatants who are doing the work on developing alternative economic strategies for Tasmania. Women are also conspicuous in their (relative) absence. Despite the thousands of women involved in the campaign, only three (as opposed to 21 interviews with men) are worthy it seems. This book is definitely a 'HIStory' of the Franklin.

There is one glimmer of hope in the book that people are thinking about the broader political context of the environment movement in the conversation with Geoff Lambert, when he says:

To achieve our aims we had to operate in fairly conventional political patterns. With the end result that we have legitimized the political system. There may be a danger that we have seen the political process works and in many cases the cause of all our trouble in the first place was that political process. We have just turned it to our advantage rather than changing it so that it never works to our disadvantage. That lesson has been learned though, and we are now trying to work at a more grass-roots level.

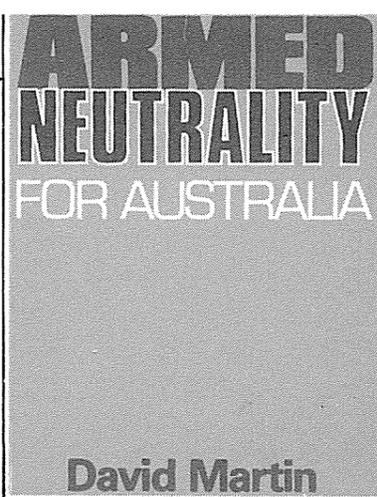
But if you're looking for more clues to the lessons learnt (in the Sydney arm of the campaign, at least) you won't find them in the *Battle for the Franklin*. A thorough reading of it however, may show you why those clues are so badly needed.

Linda Parlane and John Stone are currently battling to produce an analysis of the Franklin Blockade, as a companion volume to the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire and other modern history books.

Armed Neutrality for Australia by David Martin, Dove Communications, Blackburn, Victoria, 1984, 294 pages, \$14.95, (soft cover).

Reviewed by Peter Elliffe.

Armed Neutrality for Australia represents an attempt to stimulate a wider



and better informed debate about Australia's role in the world, and is particularly significant for peace and anti-nuclear activists.

Martin's argument suggests that the anti-uranium and peace movements would benefit from the broader perspective of national defence policy. Perhaps one reason for the confused utterances and policies of our present government on the issues of uranium and our relations to the USA is the issue-specific nature of the left lobbies. Opposition to uranium mining and American bases makes more sense as part of a program.

David Martin quotes Foreign Minister Bill Hayden: 'If we wipe ANZUS, what are we? Are we going to be non-aligned, neutral, isolationist?' He observes that our thinking about the issues will necessarily be cloudy unless we confront these 'options'. Through discussion of these alternatives for Australia's future, peace activists could present the government and the electorate with something more closely resembling a program. The recent ASTEC (Australian Science and Technology Council) report, giving support to Prime Minister Hawke's uranium policy, seems to accept that Australia is in a weak position as far as the control of 'horizontal' nuclear weapons proliferation is concerned, and that our influence can only be via the International Atomic Energy Agency. It was not possible, however, for ASTEC to look into longterm foreign policy because of its narrow terms of reference. Otherwise, a different picture may have emerged. To pragmatic politicians, business people and much of the electorate, the international effect of Australia's refusal to mine and sell uranium may seem insignificant. However, as a part of a program designed to save Australia from nuclear attack, an anti-uranium policy may seem like common sense. David Martin suggests that the program should be the creation of a neutral Australia.

A neutral state is one which endeavours to keep out of war, and does not enter into alliances likely to impair its ability to avoid war. In order to maintain national independence however, Martin

argues that the neutral state must be able to defend itself from aggressors. Genuine, lasting neutrality must be armed neutrality.

Like Jim Falk's *Taking Australia off the Map, Armed Neutrality for Australia* argues that Australia's military relationship with the USA has no concrete advantages for Australia. The ANZUS treaty gives Australia regional responsibility, but it gives Australia no guarantee of assistance in the event of attack. Many defence specialists nominate Indonesia as the most likely aggressor in the foreseeable future, while Martin raises the spectre of renewed Japanese militarism, given its rearmament supported by the USA. Of course, both these states are USA allies. Meanwhile, Australian defence forces are less capable of defending our territory than of playing a minor role in the maintenance of the Pacific as an 'American lake'. The 'joint facilities' such as Pine Gap are of little use to Australia but they make parts of Australia prime Soviet targets in the event of a nuclear war.

Martin describes at some length the defence measures taken by the European neutrals. Sweden and Switzerland are capable, for example, of putting up fierce and sustained resistance to any invader. The main objective of their preparations is to deter invasion, by guaranteeing that the economic and military cost would be difficult to bear. Martin's argument is that Australia would both be safer and would work more effectively against the destructive spiral of the arms race if it similarly became more self-reliant in defence and was removed from the false security of the USA bloc.

In the case of a nuclear war however, neutrality for Switzerland, Sweden or Australia would make little difference, given the 'nuclear winter' hypothesis, but Australia's shift to neutrality may well have repercussions among other satellite nations and contribute to a lessening of East-West tension. Clearly, also, Australia may well have more influence as a voice for peace and disarmament if it were not compromised by being host to USA bases, the aggressive potential of which is becoming more widely acknowledged.

Armed neutrality would require considerable reorganisation of Australian society. The number of trained soldiers would have to be greatly increased and industry would need to be oriented to greater national independence, especially in the field of arms production. Most importantly, Martin's program requires national consensus on a policy which must currently appear to be radical and, if militarisation is not to be a big step to the right, Australian's will have to become far more involved in the political process. Then there is the larger problem raised by some ecologists and feminists that militarisation, its attendant push towards greater industrialisa-

tion, and their possible effect on social values are the last things that Australia and the world need. Perhaps Australia's peace and ecology groups will have to form one lobby, and work towards economic, political and defense nationalism on the one hand, and towards the diffusion of peaceful and ecological values on the other. Martin presents armed neutrality as the best program for all political groups, but for the left, nationalism can only be essentially negative: it's better than being dominated by another state but it is no solution in itself.

Peter Elliffe is a member of the Chain Reaction collective in Sydney.

The Battle for Bermondsey by Peter Tatchell, Heretic Books, London, 1983, 170 pages, \$10.95 (soft cover). Reviewed by Michael Hurley.

The British Labour Party held the seat of Bermondsey almost continuously from 1922-1983. In February 1983, at a by-election, the Liberals won it by 57% to 27%. The Labour candidate was an Australian resident in England, Peter Tatchell.

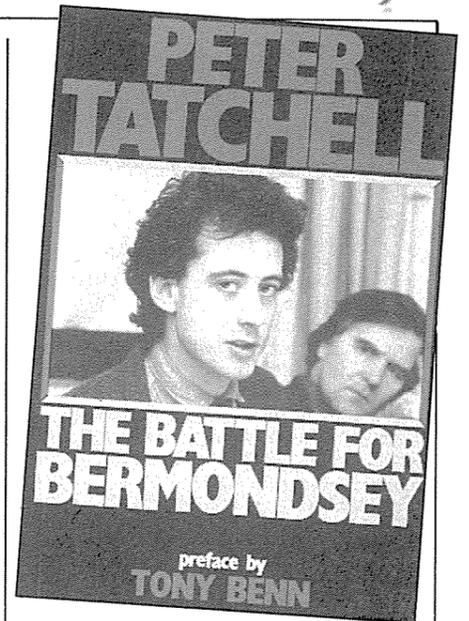
Peter Tatchell left Australia for England in 1971, after being involved in the Vietnam Moratorium campaign. Like many others he opposed the Vietnam war and conscription. Tatchell was an anti-imperialist (prepared to defend wars of national liberation), rather than a pacifist. In Britain he continued to oppose USA involvement in Vietnam, and Britain's war in Ireland. He also joined the Gay Liberation Front.

Nineteen seventy-eight saw him accepted as a member of the Hornsey Labour Party in North London. Later that year he shifted to Bermondsey, and transferred his party membership to the local Labour party branch. It was a fateful move.

Tatchell is a radical who believes in democratic, grassroots socialism. Before World War II these were the politics of his local branch. After the war, however, conservative forces took it over. Tatchell was part of an attempt to revive the earlier radical tradition. Much of the book is a description of this process, his battle for preselection as the local candidate and what happened after he gained preselection. It is a well told story of political filth.

During the campaign, Tatchell was threatened with death, verbally and physically assaulted, vilified by the press and anonymous letter writers: 'By the time the by-election was over I had received several hundred hate letters, two bullets, and thirty threats to kill me and petrol bomb my flat.'

Tatchell was virtually disowned by powerful, conservative sections of the Labour party. Michael Foot, the then



Labour leader, repudiated Tatchell as a candidate. He claimed Tatchell put extra-parliamentary politics before the authority of parliament, and was thus anti-democratic. A day before the opening of the campaign, regional officials confiscated the 25 000 leaflets produced by the local branch, and cancelled the press conference.

In the preface to *The Battle for Bermondsey* Tony Benn rightly claims that the campaign against Tatchell should be seen as part of moves to stop reform of the Labour Party. In this context, Tatchell's story is a warning to anyone who believes democratic reform of parliamentary political parties is simply a matter of goodwill and sincerity. Further, it effectively exposes the links between reactionary sexual politics and authoritarian methods of organising, though the book suffers from a failure to consciously grapple with the implications of this link.

The Battle for Bermondsey is one of the most detailed exposés of the yellow press I have read. Their manipulation of news, slanting of information and political partisanship are made quite clear. The pressure of press harassment on the welfare agency for which Tatchell worked was so great he had to resign his job. Nor is there any recourse to the law. As the Melbourne teacher Alison Thorne has recently discovered, the laws of libel and defamation are easily used to protect those with money and power.

As with Thorne, the press particularly exploited Tatchell's refusal to back down over gay rights. They attacked his sexuality unmercifully, in an attempt to make sure his election and reform of the Labour Party failed. In the process anti-communism and homophobia were cleverly combined to create a climate of political hysteria.

So, for example, under the headline 'Red Pete went to the Gay Olympics',

REVIEWS

the *Sun*, on discovering Tatchell was in San Francisco at the same time as the Gay Olympics were being held, ran a sensational article with false quotes about him 'swanning' in California. Tatchell's denial was at the end of the story on the inside page. Next day, the *News of the World* ran an anti-gay story with a touched-up photo of Tatchell which made him appear to be wearing eye-liner and make-up. Such tactics appealed to anti-gay prejudices at an extraordinary primitive and vicious level. The National Union of Journalists had to dissociate itself from the actions of some of its members.

In the week before the election 10 000 anonymous, pro-royalist leaflets appeared asking, 'Which Queen will you vote for?' (Remember Bob Brown's Tasmanian election campaign?) They gave Tatchell's home address and phone number.

But the most heartening aspects of *The Battle for Bermondsey* are the letters and actions of support from ordinary people all over Britain. In the month after the election he received 2500 letters from well-wishers. Cold comfort no doubt, but significant in the context of perhaps the most dangerous election since the war. Attempts by car drivers to run him off the road continued. Yet history has its own petty ironies for those who believe that respectable family men are those who win for Labour. In the next general election, against such a candidate, the Liberals increased their vote.

As Tatchell concludes, in words whose spirit will no doubt be endorsed by those in the nuclear disarmament and anti-uranium movements: 'It is this historic evasion by Labour of awkward questions for short-term electoral advantage that was ultimately our undoing...'

Michael Hurley believes in fighting for peace.

Socialism and Survival: Articles, essays and talks 1979-1982 by Rudolf Bahro, Heretic Books, London, 1982, 160 pages, \$11.95 (soft cover).

Reviewed by Phil Shannon

Rudolf Bahro, imprisoned for two years in East Germany for publishing a Marxist critique of East European 'socialism', is now a well-known member of the West German Green Party. He still remains a dissident (Western, this time) socialist.

His book, *Socialism and Survival*, shows why not only the East German

authorities regarded him as dangerous but why much of the Western Left find him troublesome — as an essentially Marxist intellectual, his thinking is fresh, unconventional and heretical.

Bahro attempts to construct a new concept of socialism. To begin with, genuine socialists 'must cease calling the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe socialist or communist countries', in fact, any post-capitalist society that follows the capitalist (and traditional Leninist) technocratic faith in industrially-based economic growth that harms the ecology. An environment-crunching, GNP-oriented 'socialism', in addition, will not meet people's human and spiritual needs, he argues.

Bahro's socialism still requires traditional social control of the 'economic motor', of the means of production to provide the necessary base to eliminate socially and ecologically harmful profit maximisation. This economic revolution, however, also requires an ecological revolution to harmonise production with protection of the environment, and requires a psychological revolution to democratically organise production to prevent alienation of workers and to enhance the cultural and social development of all people, based on less material consumption.

According to Bahro, while production and consumption are organised on a capitalist basis, the ecological catastrophe will continue to lie on the near horizon. He doubts that our ecological support systems will last until the year 2000 — 'the share of the earth's crust that can be ground up in the industrial metabolism is limited'. The ultimate technological logic of nuclear weapons, he fears, could finish us off even sooner.

In this crisis there is 'simply no time left' to wait for change through the 'promised proletarian general solution' of traditional Marxism. The traditional proletariat of the 'advanced' countries have lost their revolutionary role by sharing 'in the profits from colonialism'.

Bahro calls for restraint of both industrial growth and material consumption by the West, including the working class, to ease the strains on the poor of the Third World and on the environment. This call has attracted hostility from much of the Left in Europe. Bahro replies that he is *not* against the working class, it is just that the workers' movement, by being integrated into the global capitalist system, is no longer enough to bring about radical change on its own in the eighties. Affluent workers now have more to lose than their chains. Their material well-being affects their political consciousness and their will to make class revolution.

Marx didn't see that the power of a global imperialism would make the struggle for the division of the economic product 'which is quite justified when viewed in the local context' now unjustifiable because it is 'waged on the backs of the rest of humanity' — the

colonial people and the economically marginalised in the rich countries. Early Marxism had a specific realm of validity tied to a certain concrete historical situation, he claims.

The Greens, he believes, offer socialists the chance to 'emerge from the offside Left, from trading in mere formulas, from fixation on foreign models'. A broad Green coalition of progressive forces (Christians, communists, liberals, ecologists, etc) promises more for socialist advance than does economic unionism ('if there is anything today that really does deserve the label of a single-issue movement, it is the institutionalised wages struggle') precisely because 'it is not as wage-slaves but as human beings that people will rise up against the capitalist system'. The old theories of class revolution are relevant but inadequate; revolutionaries need to address 'the worker more as an individual seeking personal development'.

Unfortunately, a book of articles and speeches doesn't allow Bahro's claims to be rigorously argued or tightly documented. He dismisses too easily, for example, evidence that Western trade unions, as narrow, insular and fat from imperialism as many of them are, are still progressive forces, too, occasionally internationalist, able to apply significant constraints on capitalist power.

Another weakness is that his unsupported statements on the depletion of scarce resources (common to most doomsday ecologists) may inadvertently further the Cold War. The USA uses resource scares as a justification for military superiority to control foreign oil and mineral supplies. Recent thinking by some on the Left, such as Fred Halliday, suggests that the known reserves and especially the total volume of minerals and fossil fuels (even with increased consumption) may have a much longer life expectancy than much public debate would indicate. Bahro's book is not the place to advance, let alone settle, this debate.

Many of the pieces in the book are flat, dry, and academic. Like most speeches put into print, the passion and animation of the performance boils down into a wordy mixture of unsupported assertion and tedious repetition, rather like overcooked cabbage — bland. But there is still enough substance in the book to make a nutritious intellectual meal, though it will not agree with everyone's digestion, especially those Marxists who still see ecology as an optional side dish to the main course of traditional class struggle. And a good thing too. *Socialism and Survival* will help to initiate discussion on a renewed humanistic and ecological socialism.

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

ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE STRATEGIES AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEMS

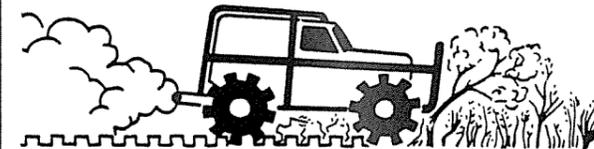
A public meeting at the Glasshouse Theatre, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, Swanston St, Melbourne. 15 July 1984 1.30 pm — 5.00 pm

The principal guest speaker is GENE SHARP, Director of the Programme on Nonviolent Sanctions, Centre for International Affairs, Harvard University. His masterwork is a book titled *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* and his most recent book is *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential for civilian-based Deterrence and Defence*. Other speakers are HERB FEITH and MAX TEICHMANN of the Department of Politics, Monash University. Cost: \$5 (\$2 concession)

For further information, contact:

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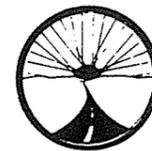


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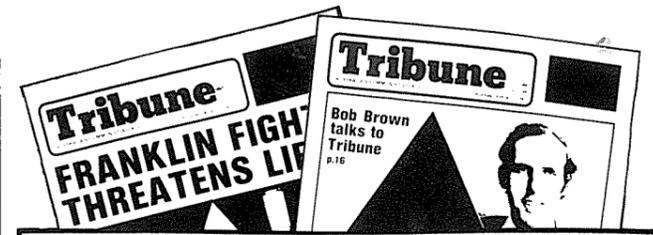
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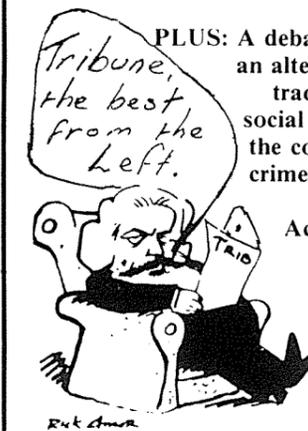
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THE THIEF OF SYDNEY

— by Toby Zoates

13 mins col/opt 16mm live action/animation film.
1984. Also available on videocassette. Rental: \$20

An impoverished young man dreams/fantasises/hallucinates about his adventures in a future post holocaust Sydney. He must steal (even oxygen) to survive but in spite of these obstacles, he dreams of winning, of getting on top of his troubles. The film encourages the individual that she/he can initiate constructive action.

CARRY GREENHAM HOME

— by Amanda Richardson
and Beeban Kidron. 66 mins col/opt 16mm film.
1983. Also available on videocassette. Rental: \$60

The action of the women's peace camp at Greenham Common have brought home the issues surrounding cruise missiles to a huge international audience. Carry Greenham Home covers the best known actions; the *embrace the base* action, the dancing on the silos, the Easter action, the huge blockades and an eviction by the Newbury Council. The film is not so much about the "pros and cons" of cruise missiles but the power and strength of opposition, the implications of *non violent protest* and of living non hierarchically in an all women's community. It was filmed over a seven month period by two women who were students at the National Film and Television School. What started as a training exercise in documentary ended as a *powerful, moving and often humorous* documentation of the Greenham women's commitment to world peace and disarmament.

PINE GAP IMAGES

— by Lorraine Stacey

15 mins col/opt 16mm film. 1984
Also available on videocassette Rental: \$20

A fifteen minute documentary which is a celebration of the impression, experiences and feelings of women who went in protest to the top secret base American installation Pine Gap. The film shows interviews with a few of the seven hundred women who went to Pine Gap in November 1983, interspersed with powerful sequences of some of the events that took place there.

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