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Roxby Water Dispute

West German Peace Movement

MX Tests

A Red and Green Coalition?
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**Accountant**

Eileen Geofehld

**Subscriptions**

Ben Kilmartin

**Sydney collective**

27 Federal Rd, Glebe Point, NSW 2037

Tel: (02) 660 0464

**Melbourne collective**

Roun 14, Flore, 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000

Tel: (03) 6359595

**Roquographics**

Melbourne Media Services

**Typesetting**

Kast Graphics

**Printing**

Waverley Offset Publishing

**Group, Geddes St, Mulgrave, Vic 3170**

**All correspondence and enquiries**

Chain Reaction

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Tel: (03) 6356990

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ALR, Tasmania.

MONDAY 15th JULY 1985 during office hours.

Youth

PROJECT FOR PEACE AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

This is an invitation to all Technical and High School students to participate in CICC's Youth Art for Peace & International Co-operation Project.

All entries are to be delivered to the CICC offices, 1th Floor, 252 Swanston St. Melbourne no later than MONDAY 16th JULY 1985 during office hours.

ADDRESS: 6th Floor, 252 SWANSTON STREET MELBOURNE near the corner of Lonsdale St.

Please feel free to contact us at CICC (03) 307237 if you have any queries.

Environmental Costs

This coming year is a crucial one for the anti-nuclear movement, and the antiuranium movement in particular. We should develop campaigns where the emphasis is on the environmental aspects of uranium mining in Australia, right up to the point of unemployment.

For some years now, the economic aspects of the uranium issue have been highlighted and, initially, this was a deliberate ploy. The intention was to lead people to believe that lower uranium prices would cause an automatic end to the uranium industry.

Economists tout what the economy is today perhaps uneconomic in the near future or vice versa. Therefore, conducting the uranium debate on economic grounds only or, as has occurred, by putting the emphasis on economics, is very shaky indeed. But the destruction of the environment is ever-present.

Although the use of uranium for production of electricity has been falling off because it has been found not to lead to profits, uranium is still in strong demand, and we don't have to look into a crystal ball to see what is the intended use.

Early in 1984, we see ERA Ranger achieving new uranium contracts for delivery of up to 840 tonnes at US$33 a pound. These two new contracts are with American Electric Power and Pennsylvania Power & Light, for a total price of US$100 million.

This is despite having been continually told for years that only about half this price (US$17) could be expected. And these new contracts are with companies in the USA where considerable uranium deposits exist locally. What is behind such a situation?

The Fox Report on Ranger stated that it contained approximately 400 tonnes of uranium bearing rock to produce one tonne of yellowcake. This means up to 14 million tonnes of further extraction from the Ranger mine. This will aggravate the already extensive pollution caused by mining.

Uranium mining is the initial step in the manufacture of nuclear weapons and, at every stage, an environmental hazard.

Our Australian uranium must be left in the ground.

Willy Weekes Collingwood, Vic.

Stockpile

I continue to find most interesting the issues of Chain Reaction which I receive. In particular, the article by R. Leeks on 'Mining the Stockpile' (Chain Reaction 39) is quite well done and certainly a good presentation of one notable school of thought about uranium and its materials.

It has been interesting to watch the quality of Chain Reaction improve during the year. It certainly is better edited and produced. Congratulations.

Warren H Donnelly Washington, DC

Another con job

A couple of years ago I spelled out my misgivings in these columns about the National Conservation Strategy for Australia (Letters, Chain Reaction 30). It seems my fears were well founded. The NCSA has simply not addressed itself to two of the main environmental issues of the day, namely the questions of resource and disarmament and the Cape Tribulation/Bloomfield road. Instead, the NCSA is quite satisfied with meaningless platitudes, as expressed in the recent issue of Topfile (vol 2, no 1, December 1984).

NCSA is not the only body that exercise in futility. The government through its Department of Foreign Affairs, is now embarking on yet another attempt to use window dressing, namely the International Year of Peace (IYP) in 1986.

The peace movement must be conned into participating in harmless, ineffective activities with the intention of using up time and energy to pursue much more important matters. Being government sponsored, the agenda will obviously have to exclude issues not approved by it, such as stopping uranium mining, getting rid of US bases, preventing nuclear ships and planes coming to Australia, and generally fighting for a genuine nuclear-free Indo-Pacific.

Naturally, if we choose to ignore the IYP, we shall be accused of not being genuinely interested in peace. As with the NCSA, we are once again being put at a no-win situation.

Peter Spring

Clifton Beach, Qld.

Sharp overview

I was very pleased to read the interview with Gene Sharp in Chain Reaction. It presents a good review of non-violence and helped give prominence to some practical applications of non-violent action.

The interview also reminded me of how fortunate we are in Australia to have access to such key people as Nicaragua and El Salvador.

We do not have the luxury of being backed against the wall so we haven't been forced as yet to adopt any form of resistance like non-violence.

Chain Reaction thoroughly impresses me as an unbiased informed magazine. It is reassuring to see the power of the press not being abused for a change.

Andrew Broadley
Arcturus, NSW

Bahro problem

I'd like to correct a misprint that occurred in my book review of Ralhoff Bahro's Chain Reaction 3
Maralinga: Australian science on trial

By Peter Springell

For almost 20 years the rosy, reassuring official accounts of the British nuclear weapons tests in Australia were generally accepted as representing a truthful record of events. It was only in the early 80s that the first doubts began to be expressed about the conduct of the tests. Since then, these doubts have cascaded into a major scandal, forcing the authorities to hastily change the officially approved papers were not in the mass of anecdotal evidence of the unfortunate victims to the contrary?

Previously Sir Ernest Titterton has been claimed that his original paper

However, it appears the professor is unprepared? His argument is that critics of the tests have failed to produce well-documented data to contradict the official line. Did he really expect nomadic Aborigines to write up their experiences in an acceptable form suitable for the type of prestigious publication which he would be prepared to believe? My contention is that under the circumstances, the video they produced? is surely the best that could be expected of them.

As to the collecting of information from ex-Service personnel, the threat of the

The professor made much of the fact that his side was being taken by Knights of the Realm, Fellows of the Royal Society (FRS), and even a Nobel Prize Laureate. At the same time he resorted to stripping me of my Ph.D. and ignoring the fact that the one and only independent scientific researcher of the time (Marston) also happened to be a Knight FRS to boot.

A recent article in the National Times pointed out that all may not be revealed, because of Britain's touchiness on this subject. Given the credibility of the royal commission will end up being a white-wash job, the sheer volume of evidence now accumulated is enough to suggest that a cover-up and carelessness had almost certainly taken place.

As a society of scientists we are the most prominent. Marston's position is most interesting. It has been claimed that his original paper on the extent of radio-isotope contamination of sheep thyroids was abridged, so as to fit in better with the official accounts of the tests. One is left to wonder whether the officially approved papers were not in turn also doctored to fit the political climate of the day.

It is of course a fact of life that no reputable historian would ever depend entirely on sanitised official reports to

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Sir McF was the most prominent.

Australia scientists have been deeply involved on both sides of the controversy. On the one hand, the establishment position was taken by some of the biggest names in Australian science - Sir McFarlane Bremner, Sir Leslie Martin and Sir Ernest Titterton - while the critics Sir Hedley Marston and Rob Rothamboth are the most prominent.

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**Woodchip draft**

The long-awaited draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on Tasmanian woodchipping was released in early March 1985. The media has recognized the significance of the document and forestry now dominates the front pages of the local press in Tasmania. (See Woodchip Exports, Chain Reaction 40).

Woodchipping is also being viewed as a major issue in the forthcoming state election, particularly if the federal government can be portrayed as intervening in state affairs. An election is not due until May 1986 but drafts as early as May 1985 have been rumoured.

The conservation movement is gearing up for the campaign.

**Peace bus**

The Tasmanian Peace Bus tour to Tasmania created the number of peace bus tours in the country approximately 20%. A long-neglected building 1969 had been restored by a team of interested people, not formal members of a peace group. Funding was obtained by donations from members of the public, and the bus is available for rent to non-commercial organisations.

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**Kiwi peace**

The New Zealand government is considering a proposal to establish an independent peace institute. The proposal went before the Labour government's caucus in early January 1985. The promoter of the peace institute, Waitakere member of parliament Ralph Maxwell, believes its establishment will enhance the international prestige New Zealand has gained from its handling of the nuclear issue.

Historically it is time to get tough on the subject of peace and development - small nations have a responsibility to opt in to the struggle on the nuclear issue. The solution is unlikely to result from merely leaving it to the superpowers.

The institute would have both teaching and research functions. Its board would comprise members from the Federation of Labour, Employers Federation; Returned Services Association, members of parliament, senior government officials, the Peace Foundation, the National Council of Churches and the University Vice-Chancellors Committee.

The proposal also provides for a disarmament ambassador. Its structure is based on the Institute of Policy Studies which was established by New Zealand's Victoria University in 1983.


**Shining**

Some signatures to petitions circulated in Czechoslovakia against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe (including Soviet) are reported here, for the first time to be published.

Students at Prague's Charles University have found a risk-free way to protest new missile deployments. Early in 1984 a sign appeared on the main staircase of the university bearing the simple text: 'Down with the missiles...if you agree with us, don't sign your name, draw a picture of a sun.

In addition to the problems of the party's constitution and possible expulsion of policy, the above question will be addressed at the first national conference of the NDP over four days in late April 1985. Representatives of the party from all over Australia will attend a meeting of delegates from 30 Northern Territory outstation communities early in 1984. It has only won very limited and qualified support from politicians and Department of Aboriginal Affairs officials, even though they admit the need exists for a coordinated approach to meeting present and anticipated outstation community needs.

Ingkerreke is an Eastern Arrente word meaning 'People working together'. In keeping with this spirit, the organisation aims to assist member communities to obtain land, housing and essential services, and also to improve basic living conditions.

Through the establishment of regional resource centres in the Ti-Tre, Plenty River, Kings Canyon and Finke regions, a decentralised structure will be developed under the control and direction of local communities. The objective is to develop and support self-management and self-sufficiency of member communities.

Regional officers will eventually be employed to establish these centres and coordinate their essential service programs, as well as help manage financial resources (pensions or benefit payments) to obtain community vehicles and other camp requirements. Field officers would be recruited from local communities to assist in meeting organisational, community consultation and delivery of services. Government liaison will be provided by two Aboriginal directors representing the major language and cultural groups (Arrernte and Lurina) and will be based in Alice Springs.

Although it has the full support of all the Aboriginal organisation in Alice Springs and its 30 member communities, Ingkerreke has not received any government funding except for an interim coordinator. Longitudinal submissions have been written, but further government assistance still appears doubtful because of a policy of cutting new or expanding programs in low priority portfolios in an effort to lower the national deficit. Money is urgently needed to cope with the needs of its member communities.

Actions: Given the present situation Ingkerreke appeals for financial assistance from individuals concerned about the human rights and land rights of Aborigines. Donations of $20 or more will entitle donors to receive the quarterly Ingkerreke newsletter. Contributions over $10 be sent to: The Interim Coordinator, Ingkerreke Outstation Resource Service, Northern Territory, Australia. Address: P.O. Box 8, Alice Springs, NT 5733.

Support for Ingkerreke at 1984 National Aborigines Day in Alice Springs.

8 Chain Reaction
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($10); SA $10 ($5); Tas $10; Vic $24

Fairer distribution of the world's food and an end to nuclear madness, and we've started a recycling campaign. Friends

Of the Earth is a

We've got lead out of petrol and whales will probably still be around for our kids to enjoy. We're working hard for a

better world tomorrow. We need your support now to continue our work. Join us.

By Bert King

MIC reacts with almost any other substance. The most likely explanation for the catastrophe is that water entered the tank. A workman had been washing out a pipe that had not been properly sealed, under instruction from a novice supervisor, about two hours before.

The plant had been closed for maintenance for two weeks before the accident. Both the storage tanks and the pipes connecting them were under repair.

An Indian scientist, Dr Srinivarsan Varadarajan, made the first statement about the cause of the disaster.
What price an untouchable?

Legal actions for compensation for the victims of Bhopal will be hard, involving both Indian and US law, and both UC and the Indian government. Any number of lawyers have descended on Bhopal like leeches for the pickings.

Under US law, negligence does not have to be proved. There is strict liability, no matter how the substance escapes. It will mobilise their defence and use delaying action to manoeuvre behind the scenes. Justice will be despairingly slow. What can the victims or their relatives expect? In the USA, compensation for aircraft accidents is about $300,000. In Spain, it was $70,000 per victim who died (28 victims, all of natural gas) ran into a holiday camp. One estimate for Bhopal is around $250,000.

In the possibility of a lump sum settlement between the Indian government and UC, eliminating legal actions but it would have to be a simple, quick, settlement. Recent reports suggest the Indian government plans to file a lawsuit against UC in the USA on behalf of the victims and to hire a law firm that specialises in mass disaster claims.

However the Indian government, with a 49% share in the plant, surely has a share of the responsibility. Blame also lies with the state and national governments for the lack of housing regulations and their failure to prevent slums growing so close to a potentially dangerous plant. India may have won the World Series cricket, but at Bhopal, the Indian government lost the respect of the world by their poor management and supervision of the plant and also by their collusion with UC to cover-up their negligence.

Action against Union Carbide

Around the world there have been actions against UC and MIC. In December, Brazil stopped the unloading of a freighter carrying 13 tonnes of MIC in 68 drums and supervision of the plant and also by their collusion with UC to cover-up their negligence.

Bhopal has raised broad ethical questions about the role of multinationals in Third World countries. It is sometimes said that environmental protection is a luxury of rich nations. The success of the ecological movement in developed countries has done none of the activities of chemical corporations has had the effect of forcing the companies to move their operations to the Third world. However, there are less stringent environmental standards.

For example, the manufacture of pesticides that are banned or restricted in the USA are now made in "flashdance" plants in the Third World. UC has one such plant in the Philippines, producing and selling a restricted pesticide such as DDT and Heptachlor. India has pesticide plants owned by multinationals UC, ICI, Bayer and Hoechst.

Additionally, the question of pesticide use in developing countries. Oxfam, the British relief agency, estimates that 1.2-2 million people suffer acute pesticide poisoning and pesticide-related deaths amount to 100,000 each year in developing countries. There should be less reliance on pesticides and more education in their proper use, but this is difficult when those in control of the operation change their course. Nicaragua's efforts towards achieving the sensible use of pesticides offers some hope.

Bhopal is a classic case of grafting a high-technology, dangerous industry onto a low-technology infrastructure. The knock-on effects of the activities of chemical corporations has had the effect of forcing the companies to move their operations to the Third world, where there are less stringent environmental standards.

Union Carbide in Australia

In Australia, UC operates on a relatively small scale, essentially involved in two operations - packaging and dry cell batteries, UC phased out most of its manufacture of agricultural chemicals in western Sydney and New South Wales. The use of unloading drums of the deadly poison dioxin in storage in its plant at Sydney's Victoria Harbour. Senator Mason of the Democrats drew attention to the unsolved problem of disposing of this menace.

Also, in early 1983, UC sold off its, polyethylene manufacturing plant in Altona, Victoria, to Commercial Polymers. UC's factories are marketed under the "Eveready" or "Evergreen" brand name and are made in Sydney and Melbourne. In the packaging field, Glad plastic food wrap and bags are UC's big products. There is also a very large support system of UC Chemical Industries of Brisbane, which was bought out by UC in the 1970s. It makes aluminium foil and plastic films and bags under the "Glad" label.

In addition, UC markets a wide range of general and specialty chemicals in Australia that it manufactures overseas. UC Australia & New Zealand Ltd employs about 1000 people, and operates with a (gross) profit around $18 million a year. Its headquarters are at 157-167 Liverpool St, Sydney (GPO Box 3232, Sydney, NSW 2000). In Melbourne it has a branch at 14 Queens Rd (GPO Box 12271L).

Western Mining in deep water

Pastorals and conservativists are currently struggling with Western Mining Corporation over water rights at two locations in South Australia. One is Roxby Downs. The other is at Kingston, site of large coal deposits which could supply the state's proposed $1000 million power station.

Ian Grayson and Anne-Marie Delahunt report from Adelaide.

South Australia does not have an abundance of water. It is supplied by the driest state in the world's driest continent. However, on 6 December 1984, Western Mining Corporation (WMC) and British Petroleum (BP), the two joint venturers in the giant Roxby Downs mining project, pulled off a coup. The largest licence ever issued for the extraction of underground water in South Australia was granted to the companies for their mining operations at Roxby Downs by the South Australian government.

Under the terms of an indenture agreement entered into earlier with the companies, the state government had offered to make water supplies for the project available. In such a dry state, the available options were extremely limited. The desalination of seawater 270 km away in the Spencer Gulf and the exorbitant pumping costs were far too high. The River Murray was considered but its available supplies were extremely limited and in times of drought supplies would be cut. The ground water below the mine site at Olympic Dam contains water which is much too salty and too expensive to use.

Just 100 km north of Roxby, however, there is a seemingly huge water supply in the Great Artesian Basin. This underground water source supplies the continent and contains water of a suitable quality. It was decided upon as being the only feasible water supply for the project.

No critical is the water from the Great Artesian Basin to Roxby's economic viability that the special water licence for the project was issued in a secretive manoeuvre by the South Australian government. Vital reports supporting the application were not made public until after the licence was granted. Despite complaints from Democrat member of parliament, Ian Grayson, the undersecretary of the South Australian government and the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy (CANE) in Adelaide.

The supply of water to Roxby Downs has caused problems for WMC since the start of the project. To bridge the problem of transferring the proposed borefields at the edge of the Great Artesian Basin, 4 km to the east of the site. The project plan is to construct a pipeline which will eventually be laid. This had to be batched through Aboriginal sacred sites.

Ian Grayson and Anne-Marie Delahunt are editors of the Action Monitor and members of the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy in Adelaide.
Conservationists have not been able to enforce its own recommenda­tions. In 1984, Councillor Ralph Antkiranva, Arabana and South Aranda residents, says ‘there is no statutory requirement for a period of public comment on such reports’.

The special water licence paves the way for Roxby to become the largest single industrial consumer of underground water in Australia. In full production it will require 33 million litres of groundwater per day, most of which will be used for industrial processing.

Conservationists also point to WMC’s current track record in South Australia, in particular the proposed mining, processing and power stations at Kingston.

KINGSTON

Early in 1984 WMC purchased land overlying large coastal coal deposits at Kingston, 50 kilometres south of Port Broughton. WMC was given a special water licence, valued at $10 million, which was then spent by the company supplying infrastructure and infrastructure.

The state may need a new coal power station in the 1990s and potentially sites near suitable-coal seams were discussed by the Stewart Committee, set up for this purpose. Mr. Ross Squires, a member of the committee, was particularly the George and Helen water licences were granted to developer companies. The company which conducted the environmental studies on the ground water for Kingston, Kinhis Hill Station, conducted the ground water study for WMC’s other large project Roxby Downs.

The operators of Finniss Springs Station claim to have been given little say in the mining. Both the indenture bill and the special water licence were passed without consultation. ‘I first heard of the granting of Roxby’s special water licence when I read it in the newspaper’, says Mr. Dodd.

Another point of contention is the anthropological report, the object of which was to precisely assess the cultural and environmental significance of the Arabana springs to the residents. The proposed mining process, however, was not necessary as even the environmental and legal issues could be addressed.

At one stage of the campaign some locals suggested that they would have to get the ‘g’ word in to publicise the issue, however this was not necessary as everyone from the local government, police and the Environmental Protection Agency, ought to be aware of these proceedings and the public.

Conservationists also point to WMC’s current track record in South Australia, in particular the proposed mining, processing and power stations at Kingston. They have never been approved by RMS on this issue as required by the indenture.
Desperate options

Forestry in Papua New Guinea

The Australian contribution

A major factor in PNG's forestry sector has been the influence of colonial policies. In 1946 the Australian colonial government established a Department of Forestry in the unified territory of PNG. This department attempted to encourage the development of sawmills throughout the Territory. It was thought that this would result in the Territory being able to satisfy its own demand for timber, and also spread capital and employment opportunities throughout the Territory. Rights to log were granted only on the condition that the operator would establish a sawmill and process a set amount of timber.

These policies had the effect of preventing indigenous entrepreneurs from entering the forestry sector since none could raise the capital required to establish a sawmill. As a result all forestry concessions were granted to Australians. Insofar as the colonial government during the 1950s and early 1960s was primarily interested in preventing an indigenous elite from forming and thereby allowing Australians exclusive access to various fields of economic activity, then its policies in the forestry sector must be judged a success.

Multinationals as log exporters

In 1965 the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) made a report on the economic development of PNG. This influential report called for an emphasis on the sectors that were likely to give the highest returns on any investment. The Bank noted that the forestry sector was one of PNG's best prospects for economic growth. It recommended that PNG's forestry be opened up to exploitation by international capital with emphasis on the development of log exports. A very rapid increase in log exports was to be achieved by the establishment of a few large logging projects operated by foreign corporations.

The broad thrust of the Bank's recommendations — the development of a foreign-controlled export-oriented forestry sector — has been followed by PNG up until the present day. The result is that PNG's forestry industry is now totally dominated by foreign, especially Japanese, capital.

Despite indications, outlined below, that the forestry sector may not be under the effective control of the PNG government, it still attempts to attract multinational corporations to invest in forestry. The government has done this largely by increasing its rights to timber in desirable areas. The areas chosen have usually been close to shipping, associated with economically accessible stands of timber and were, Scally, sparsely populated. By mid-1978 around 2.2 million hectares of land had been purchased by the government. It is worth noting this constitutes about 4.3% of PNG's total land mass of 46 million hectares. Having secured rights to timber from the owners in exchange for a royalty payment, the central government then has to attract a foreign investor to exploit the timber. In exchange the government gains revenue, increased employment, and usually requires the company to provide some social infrastructure (schools, hospitals, roads, etc.). Such services are often very important for residents in and around the forestry project simply because the areas favoured with tropical hardwoods are often very poorly provided with government services.

The Asian connection

As a result of these policies, combined with rising Japanese demand for logs, some multinational corporations did invest in PNG's forestry industry. However PNG was a relatively marginal supplier to the Japanese market since Japan's demand was largely being met from South-East Asian sources. Yet from PNG's point of view Japan was the crucial market. Up until 1979 Japan was virtually the sole buyer of PNG's logs. This monopoly position was broken in 1979 when a company started exporting logs to Korea. As a result of this sale PNG's guideline minimum export prices were raised, in some cases, by almost 100%.

Since the late 1970s Asian, or as opposed to Japanese, capital has entered PNG's forestry sector. This trend was exemplified by Korea's capital's involvement in the Kapulik project, attempts by a Philippines company to exploit the lucrative Yanimo area and the logging project I have researched which involved a Singapore based company. None of these companies had previous experience in the timber industry despite PNG's official forestry policy at the time stated that foreign companies wishing to be involved in large log export developments should have a good international reputation in the operation of tropical hardwood projects.

The entry of these inexperienced firms into PNG was also associated with increasing public disquiet concerning the forestry sector. The attempts of the Philippine company, Hetruris Mejia, to exploit the Yanimo area were, especially in 1982, a matter of continual comment in PNG's newspapers. Hetruris Mejia tried to get the PNG government to guarantee that it would borrow the capital to establish the project. The Philippine company proposed to employ over 700 expatriates on the project hence reducing the local employment effects of the development. The company also tried to ensure itself an annual return of around 35% on its investment. The then Minister of Forestry strongly supported the Hetruris Mejia proposal and even over-ruled his own negotiating team's position and adopted one more favourable to the company. It was also the case that the Minister's own personal lawyer was, at
the time, acting for Heturi Meja, and was a director of its PNG subsidiary. The networks among PNG's emerging elite and their alliances with different foreign companies can have an important influence on forestry projects — often at the expense of official government policy. Alliances with the elite are also important for the foreign companies — with the delay of the Chan government negotiations with Heturi Meja were broken off. The Somare government is currently attempting to attract other foreign firms to 'develop' the Vanimo forests.

**Dependence and desperate options**

What has emerged from past and current forestry policies is a sector which the government's point of view is about in balance, that is, revenue from export tax, corporation and income tax and the central government's share of royalties only slightly exceeds its expenditure on administration and development expenses. However, the benefit of the forestry sector to citizens and government has been reduced by the substantial leakage of potential surplus out of the sector and the country. One astute observer has estimated that this leakage was about K1.3 million (K1 is about Australian $1.90) a year. This loss of potential surplus was due to inefficiency and transfer pricing.

Given these sort of figures it is worth asking why PNG persists with its current emphasis on developing the forestry sector. While policy advice from international finance agencies such as the HIRD and World Bank and alliances between the indigenous elite and foreign capital are important factors it is also the case the PNG government confronts fiscal and balance of payments difficulties. The government believes that during the 1980s the price of most of PNG's major export commodities are likely to decline in real terms by twenty and forty per cent. There is little reason to doubt the rough accuracy of such projections. It is also known that Australian aid is likely to decline during the 1980s. Hence it is possible that PNG could contain a severe revenue shortage with import massively exceeding exports. In this context forestry appears to be one of the very few possibilities by which the PNG state could quickly increase its revenue. World Bank's claim that timber could improve PNG's balance of payments seems to argue in favour of forestry projects.

While logging proceeds landowners do not have the chance to accumulate surpluses from royalties and wages. Yet of the total royalty of K3.30 a cubic metre of timber logged landowners usually only receive K0.8, the remainder being divided between the provincial and national governments. Wage labour may be short-lived or intermittent and whatever surplus is saved has to be productively invested. Opportunities for profitable investment are very difficult to find in areas favoured by loggers. While the project may develop infrastructure that is beneficial to loggers, in some cases the benefits may not be long-lasting eg, logging roads and bridges get washed away and are not rebuilt. In one case a company was unable to buy or obtain staff only one schoolroom. While admirable, without further government support such a development is not, in itself, likely to result in the emergence of well educated children.

Moreover logging companies are generally interested in short-run profit maximisation and try to minimise costs — hence fulfillment of obligations concerning social infrastructure is often non-existent or avoided. Given transfer pricing it is difficult to accurately establish the profitability of forestry projects in PNG. Even where joint ventures are established with a majority of the equity in indigenous hands it seems that the foreign investor is likely to be the major beneficiary. In one case where a foreign firm had only 25% equity in a logging project, through a marketing and management agreement it was able to secure about 94% of the total export value of the output even before receiving any dividend.

Winners and losers

It is by now commonplace that the extension of commodity production into the Third World often creates and intensifies social inequalities. Forestry in PNG is no exception.

Those bearing the major environmental costs of logging are also usually those who receive least out of the project. The landowners whose timber is to be logged lose all rights over the timber. Moreover the central government believes that it must own any land required for follow-up agriculture or reforestation. Ideally acquisition of such land is supposed to take place prior to the commencement, but in some cases no attempt has been made to acquire land for 'post-harvest' development. If land is acquired for such purposes then the original landowners lose a crucial basis to their autonomy and security. In the case of follow-up agricultural developments, they may find themselves converted into cash crop producing peasants working small blocks while being closely controlled by state officials and foreign development experts. If no follow-up development is planned then the owners may be left with a degraded environment and little opportunity to generate further income — their major asset, the timber, having already disappeared.

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The events of the 'Action Autumn' in late 1984 attracted significantly fewer people than had been expected by West German peace movement organisations. Conservatives gleefully celebrated the demise of the peace movement.

Peter Mares, an Australian anti-nuclear activist resident in Frankfurt, argues that the movement is just struggling to find a new focus and mainstream support. 'There are many people in West Germany who would dispute my analysis and I in no way wish to claim that I possess the absolute truth on such a complex issue.

My hope is to provoke discussion, especially within social movements in Australia, as I feel there are a great many parallels and a great deal to be learnt from experiences made in Germany.'

But this run of events is explainable, and could perhaps have been predicted, had one only been able to stand back far enough to take a critical look. In West Germany's Hot Autumn all effort was concentrated on stopping an imminent event: the stationing of the first new missiles. The optimism and idealism which made these aims seem achievable crashed head-on with the reality of political power structures in West Germany. The missiles arrived.

It is not surprising, and in fact probably unavoidable, that this climate should be followed by a slump. A new orientation is required, and a new analysis. After the shock of such a defeat, time is required to stock on motivation, the individual prerequisite for involvement. Motivation arises from the perception of a way forward, and it is this 'way forward' that the peace movement in West Germany is currently lacking. Despite their limited success, the events of the Action Autumn show some of the potential directions.

NEW DIRECTIONS, POSSIBLE PROTESTS

The decision to disrupt manoeuvres was not to annoy individual soldiers, but to expose the role of such manoeuvres overall. They are not just war-games to keep the boys amused, but tactical military preparations; an integral part of normal soldier, who is, after all, only following the orders of those higher up. Instead of a simple call 'No Pershings! No Cruise!', an attempt was being made to politicise completely new areas, to demonstrate that the missile stationing was not an isolated event. The aim of disrupting manoeuvres was not to annoy individual soldiers, but to expose the role of such manoeuvres overall. They are not just war-games to keep the boys amused, but tactical military preparations; an integral part of normal military thinking. It is these strategies, and the military infrastructure accompanying Pershing and Cruise, which make it likely that these weapons may one day be used. This is what many in the peace movement wish to make clear.

OFFENSIVE MILITARY STRATEGIES IN PRETTY PACKAGES

Concentration was focused explicitly on the current US military doctrine 'Air Land Battle' (ALB). According to ALB, the purpose of military operations is not to
"prevent defeat" but to 'win'. ALB is the taking into account such measures as 'conventional' attack back to the border and missiles (including Pershing IIs).

Glanz, Inspector of the West German military superiority', Western Europe must massively 'upgrade' its conventional forces, (the point at which it first becomes necessary to use nuclear weapons.) The immediate offensive planning which envisages on the ground an invasion or attack into foreign circumstances, discussions with soldiers, blockades and varied: forest walks to inspect military sites, demonstrations based on the premise that a limited 'conventional' attack back to the border.

conflict somewhere else, especially in the local, the Social Democrats' was around 40 000. As with the industrial Ruhr area. As with the occupation of, or at least the deliberateTIPTOEING

Widfeldt is in constant use and there set up to 'improve' it with a minimum number of ranges and an added 10 000 soldiers. The local population have protested against war planes; they get a little enough sleep as it is, the NATO strategies not been increased for war have a clear need on social and natural environments.

The number of people involved in the peace camps was not as high as had been hoped — in the hundreds rather than the thousands. It is probably true that many, perhaps their friends, 'Freunde' (friends) are not as it was previously expected. 400 000 US Colonial Harlem.) The whole doctrine is constructed on the premise that a limited 'conventional' attack back to the border and missiles (including Pershing IIs).

former returning from Fuldka myself, talked up on inspiration and energy, I was an inspiration and energy, I was quite inclined to share this analysis. But coming from Adelaide, and having only previously ever been at football grandstands, the last Saturday in Fuldka had perhaps given me an overdose of social action, especially given their than normal actions from a more critical perspective.I was a little unsure about the Christian organisations, feel that the effort itself is positive either in the framework of party political interests. Hence they seem to be away from the old school of organising role to a loose information exchange. The SPD faction are opposed to this plan, which essentially removes the emphasis on grassroots decision making. The Movimento Focolari (KMF) facets are also against the dissolution; they wish to continue criticism of Warsaw Pact militarism."

Three years ago women made this an issue in their anti-nuclear demonstrations, "Die Schwestern fiihren nicht mehr" (The sisters conduct no more). Many men in the peace movement regarded the situation as bad enough to refuse to concentrate on the missiles. The lack of representation of women in the peace movement today is an indication that the priorities have not changed much since then. The peace movement's refusal campaign had not been marked by success, and the 'Die Tage der Dauergewalts' actions also passed relatively unnoticed. This is another indication that the optimistic analyses following the Fuldka Gab action remain some distance from reality and leave the future of the peace movement, like the future of Mutlangen peace camp, somewhat unclear. Never the less actions which concentrate on the overall structure, and which involve a more fundamental analysis than the call "No Cruise", seem to me by nature. Disrupting manoeuvres and refusing to do military service for example, could signal the way from an anti-nuclear movement, to a broader movement against militarism.

The Peace Movement in West Germany is not disappearing, just undergoing a period of recuperation. There will certainly be several large 'mass actions' around the planned deployment of Cruise in November. But conquest of the media on this one event may lead to a repetition of the same experience. Half a small majorly of the German parliament and the missiles will come anyway. The result will be back into disillusionment and a feeling of powerlessness. A broader movement would not stop Cruise in the shorter term, but possibly in the longer term. It is not clear to which it will be possible to bring about change. Despite atomic weapons, the ability to plan and fight a war with limited losses in the absence of the major use of technology, the military side of nuclear power.
The MX missile tests to be held in the Tasman Sea are an example of the perfection of first-strike accuracy for these missiles. This report by Owen Wilkes describes the activities associated with the tests and suggests ways in which peace activists can harass and disrupt them. (Aotearoa, the Maori name for New Zealand, has been used instead of its colonial title.)

The MX missile is widely regarded as one of the most dangerous developments in the nuclear arms race. The MX will have more heads and these warheads will each be about 50 times as powerful as the H-bomb. More importantly, the MX incorporates a very advanced guidance system, which gives it the accuracy necessary for pre-emptive destruction of Soviet missiles in their hardened silos. MX will be able to fly 13,000km and come down within 50m of its target.

Also significant is that MX will be based in the Pacific, which gives the USA a second-strike capability. It is thus the perfect candidate for a US first strike. MX is thus the perfect weapon for starting a nuclear war. It is a missile for starting and fighting nuclear war as a retaliatory weapon for deterring them. MX was renamed Peacekeeper by the Reagan administration but somehow the name doesn’t seem to have caught on.

Background to the tests

The MX tests in the Tasman Sea are not the result of an impulse to frighten Aotearoa with some nuclear saber-rattling. The tests have actually been planned since at least 1981 and it probably works against US interests that they have been revealed just recently. There are important military reasons for having them.

For instance, as at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California and up until now Owen Wilkes is a researcher working with Peace Movement Aotearoa.

The USA has already carried out one such test, which came down in the vicinity of Oeno Island, near Pitcairn Island. This was regarded as a successful test at the time but the much more accurate MX missile requires precise measurement of the factors which influence its accuracy, hence the new tests.

In 1981, the final report of an ad-hoc committee set up to make a Strategic Test Support Study (STSS) concluded that it was necessary to carry out tests of both the MX and the navy’s Trident missile in the South Pacific. The Trident tests were first proposed with target zones at Oeno Island, at Aotearoa’s Chatham Islands and at Wake Island. The splashdown zones for the MX would be more secret and were only identified as BOA-1, BOA-2 and BOA-3 (BOA standing for Broad Ocean Area).

The MX tests — not just nuclear saber-rattling.

By December 1983, three MX tests had been held, with at least another seventeen to go. Lieutenant-Colonel Dick Hellmichief, public affairs officer at Vandenberg, was quoted as saying: ‘We have to seek a location that is somewhere further away’, but he could not say where.

The Tasman Sea tests

The present tests were secretly arranged with the government of Malcolm Fraser about three years ago, and were secretely agreed to by the Hawke government without caucus or cabinet being consulted. Hawke merely requested that the USA hold the tests in international waters rather than in Australian territorial waters, to reduce the visibility of Australian involvement. Permission was given for American aircraft to operate out of Sydney.

Each of the two test missiles will probably carry ten dummy warheads. The primary objective of the tests is to measure the accuracy of these warheads. This is done by using hydrophone buoys anchored to the seabed which record the splash as the warheads hit the sea. From the timing of the splash recordings, the splashdown location can be pinpointed to within 15m. The buoys will float at the surface, and each will have a small radio transmitter and special P-3 Orion aircraft cruising in the vicinity. It has been reported in Australia that these buoys have already been planted in the ocean.

The missiles themselves and the dummy warheads will transmit data (‘telemetry’) while in flight. This will include information about speed, acceleration, height, temperature, guidance system performance and so on. This data is recorded by a fleet of vessels equipped with special P-3 Orion aircraft cruising in the vicinity. Other smaller vessels will probably be used for retrieving the warheads after splashdown.

Since the tests will be in international waters there is nothing to stop the Soviet Union participating as well. The Soviet Union has several big tracking ships for monitoring its own tests and spying on American ones. Since US missile technology is far ahead of Soviet technology, the Soviet Union can get a free ride by observing what the USA does and how successful it is. The Soviet Union will probably learn a lot about how to make its missiles fly more accurately in north-south direction. Geography prevents the Soviet Union from testing in this direction; it cannot do so without flying over the territory of other nations. So the US tests will probably result in technological advances for both sides of the arms race.

Normally a missile test involves vast amounts of data being relayed between warheads, aircraft, ships, land-based facilities and the USA. The aircraft and ships are fitted with satellite communication antennas and most of the data will be transmitted back to the USA in this manner. Extensive use is also made of ordinary high frequency (short wave) radio, and it may be that the USA will use radio to relay short wave radio facilities in Australia and even Aotearoa. According to the SALT-2 treaty, neither the USA nor the Soviet Union are allowed to encode the telemetry transmissions so the Russian spyships will be able to eavesdrop on any US data.

The two scheduled tests are probably not the last the USA hopes to hold in this part of the world. It is quite likely that the US navy will want to test its Trident 2 in this direction too. Trident-2, a follow-on from the Trident 1 (already deployed in the Pacific region around Trident submarines), has a vastly superior capability. Together with MX it will make the US have a US first strike feasible.

Taking the buoys from the boys

The target zone will probably be about 100km in diameter. The USA will have to reveal its location several weeks in advance of the tests to allow publication and dissemination of warning notices to mariners and aviators to keep out of the way of the incoming missiles. The missiles themselves and the dummy warheads will transmit data (‘telemetry’) while in flight. This will include information about speed, acceleration, height, temperature, guidance system performance and so on. This data is recorded by a fleet of vessels equipped with special P-3 Orion aircraft cruising in the vicinity. Other smaller vessels will probably be used for retrieving the warheads after splashdown. Since the tests will be in international waters there is nothing to stop the Soviet Union participating as well. The Soviet Union has several big tracking ships for monitoring its own tests and spying on American ones. Since US missile technology is far ahead of Soviet technology, the Soviet Union can get a free ride by observing what the USA does and how successful it is. The Soviet Union will probably learn a lot about how to make its missiles fly more accurately in north-south direction. Geography prevents the Soviet Union from testing in this direction; it cannot do so without flying over the territory of other nations. So the US tests will probably result in technological advances for both sides of the arms race.
Greenpeace voyage

Several Australian peace and disarmament groups are forming peace squadrons or considering the effectiveness of water-based actions as ongoing protests. Their source of inspiration is the Greenpeace organisation, whose boat the Vega (also known as Greenpeace III) recently circumnavigated Australia, its crew involving themselves in actions where appropriate and in discussions with activists and the general public.

Many groups, recognising the achievement of New Zealand activists concerning the visits of nuclear-powered ships, are looking to their methods to gain a similar stand in Australia. The extensive water-based campaigns in New Zealand in which Greenpeace played an important role (eg voyages to Moruroa and actions in Auckland harbour) were successful to a larger extent in capturing the imagination of the New Zealand people.

The Vega is a Canadian registered double ended ketch, New Zealand built, constructed entirely of a native timber, Kauri pine, and built by Alan Oram over a two-year period without the aid of any power tools.

The yacht was purchased in 1970 by a Canadian ex-businessman and athlete David McGTaggart who, in 1972, hearing of the Greenpeace organisation’s planned protest voyage to the French nuclear test site at Mururoa in the South Pacific, volunteered to take Vega on the forbidding 5000 km voyage from New Zealand. And so the mission of Greenpeace III (renamed for the voyage) began and these acted as a catalyst for widespread protest throughout South Pacific nations including Australia and New Zealand.

In 1972 the newly elected governments in both these countries each pledged to support a ban on nearby atmospheric tests, especially those conducted by the French. Following the creation of atmospheric tests at Mururoa atoll, concern at the damage caused by the continuing underground tests conducted by the French government was brought to a head by the return of Greenpeace in 1981 to the test site, eight years after the first historic voyage.

Its continuing presence in the South Pacific region has provided both a focus for action and inspiration for the individuals and groups working to make the Pacific region nuclear free.

Greenpeace III arrived in Sydney in December 1981 — the first visit to Australia of an active Greenpeace campaign vessel. Setting up the east coast on a voyage circumnavigating Australia, it gave support to the Daintree campaign in late May 1982 and then in Darwin in July 1982 supported an action to stop a consignment of uranium leaving from Europe. From there they sailed to the Moore Bello Islands (site of British nuclear weapons testing in the 1950s) where the crew investigated the significant radioactive contamination. The voyage continued down the west coast to Perth where the yacht was involved in an attempt to stop the US nuclear submarine Dallas from entering the harbour. Then on to Hobart where it tried to prevent a supply ship leaving for Antarctica with machinery which would be used to build a French mirror directly through a periscope.

The yacht sailed to Port Albert in Victoria and after some much needed maintenance left for Adelaide in early January 1983. It visited Melbourne in late February on its way back to Sydney, where it arrived in time to take part in the effort to try to prevent the destructor USS Broadway from entering Sydney Harbour on March 8.

Contact: Greenpeace Australia, 76 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000. Tel: (02) 210 0689.

The USA has a problem by threatening a partial solution would be to ask Hawke to remove his “foreign nationals”. New Zealand’s “foreign nationals” can be quite embittered by giving them honorary Nicarguan citizenship, then bowing them out the water. Fortunately, however, the USA will be reluctant to set a legal precedent which would stop them in future law of the Sea negotiations. Peace fleet crews need have no moral qualms about undertaking the actions described above. The USA refuses to allow its freedom of navigation to be impeded by a Pacific Nuclear-weapon-free Zone; why should we allow our freedom of navigation to be impeded by a US Nuclear-test Site Zone?

Other anti-test protests

There are a wide range of facilities in Austral­ia and Aotearoa which may be used, openly or covertly, by the USA in the course of the tests. Peace activist groups near these facilities should make their own investigations and plan actions at or against these facilities. These actions may be designed to publicise the use of the facilities, or, preferably, to impede their use.

Alternatively, there will be all sorts of aircraft supporting the tests. Undoubtedly there will be several Starlifter loads of equipment to be airlifted into Australia, possibly by way of the Operation Deepfreeze base in Christchurch. There may even be outside equipment which requires the use of a French dedicated transport. Six Caribo terminal area support aircraft will serve as runabouts during the tests.

According to the SSTSS report up to sixteen aircraft may be involved in the tests themselves. This will include the seven ARIA aircraft. Some of these planes will make their presence known in no uncertain way - their engines produce considerable noise during takeoff. This noise problem, plus the likelihood of physical interference, especially with the planes, will probably ensure that the planes are parked at Richmond RAAF base rather than Sydney International Air­port. Richmond already serves as a staging point for Starlifiers flying from Operation Deepfreeze to the big US bases in the interior and west of Australia.

There will be up to nine P-3 Orion participating in the tests, monitoring any DUT boats left unmoored by the peace fleet.

Ports. The ARIS will probably need to dock at an Australian port for refuelling and provisioning. In addition the USA has probably chartered a vessel of the type used for servicing oil rigs to implant and maintain the DOT buoys. Maritime unions may be able to help in identifying this ship. Peace squadron port blockades and other protests should attempt to keep these ships out of port, or attempt to keep them in once they have got in.

Omega. According to the 1976 official Range Instrumentation Handbook, the Omega navigation system is utilised during missile tests for measuring winds in the upper atmosphere which affect the accuracy of the re-entering warheads. Gippsland activists could try to use the Omega stations in Victoria shut down for the duration of the tests.

Loran. During the missile tests a temporary very high accuracy radio navigation system will be erected in Australia. The USA will probably set up the system on the Australian mainland. It will consist of four small transmitter installations, and is used for accurate positioning of the ships and aircraft when they track the warheads and for accurate positioning of the DUT boats.

Using simple radio direction finding equipment people could set up stationary stations and mount vigils or other forms of protest.

Communications. All sorts of communica­tions facilities may be needed. When missiles are tested at Kwajalein a big satellite antenna is used to relay all the data back to the USA. This antenna is identical to the Project Sparrow antenna at Watsonia, Melbourne, and it is conceivable that Watsonia could be used to relay data from the Tasman Sea tests.

The NASA satellite telemetry antenna at Ororal Valley near Canberra could also be used for monitoring the missile tests. If high frequency communications are to be extensively used the USA may try to make
covert use of its Depeche communication facilities in Aotearoa, or it may arrange to supply all kinds of detailed military information.

Missile testing in the Pacific

The USA has been testing missiles in the Pacific since the 1950s, mostly on what the USA calls the Pacific Missile Range — between California and Kwajalein Atoll. The nuclear arms race, however, is a technological arms race, not a numbers arms race. Most of the technological developments in the arms race, making first-strike doctrines feasible, are developments in missiles rather than developments in the nuclear explosives they carry. Nuclear explosives are already about as "perfect" as they can be, but missiles are still undergoing continual and dramatic improvements, particularly in accuracy, reliability and payload. Thus if there is more missile testing, we can expect the arms race to move on to more nuclear tests do.

Most of America's strategic weapons are tested in the Pacific, as well as in many Soviet ones, and all the US tests are in the only nation to test missiles in the South Pacific: the Soviet Union did so in 1975. The USA calls the Pacific Missile Range "covert use of its Deepfreeze communication facilities in Aotearoa, or it may arrange to use Australian military facilities.

David Lange, a "political animal"

Dannevirke, the town of his birth, was found discarded and covered with cobwebs in the basement of the council chambers with a 50c sticker on it. Apparently it had something to do with Lange's nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. Apparently the kiwis are not some kind of wonderful messiah risen from nowhere to save New Zealand from the nuclear threat. Lange is a political animal reacting under pressure from his electorate and from a vocal and continuing peace movement.

New Zealand's ban on visits by nuclear ships has sparked renewed hope among the peace movement in Australia. Lynette Thorstensen, a New Zealand peace activist, spoke to an anti-MX rally in Melbourne City Square on 15 February 1985 about New Zealand's stand.

The best thing about owning up to being a New Zealander at the moment is that David Lange is one. The most embarrassing thing about being a New Zealander in Australia is that Bob Blythe-Petersen is one too.

Lange's stand is regarded by the peace movement as admirable, if surprisingly, firmly. The inside story on the cabinet vote against visits by nuclear warships is that it was unanimous. Quite incredible really given that a number of members of cabinet were certainly not very supportive not long ago.

The reaction of the general public at this stage is 70% all the way with Lange. Either this or Lange is skillfully interpreting his electorate and is all the way with them. He seems perhaps more skilled at interpreting the wishes of his electorate than Bob Hawke!

The right wing opposition in New Zealand is limited and Jim McLay—Muldoon's replacement as leader of the opposition—made a cringing and pathetic display of his party's support for Lange, but back in 1975. The opposition spokesman on disarmament and arms control, Douglas Genthe, has remained consistently silver-tongued while fair and wise. One long-time near-facist, known as Jim Sproat, has set up a group called "Peace Through Security" which obviously has very little support and is an outrageous misnomer as Reagan builds the MX missile the Peacekeepers.

Media support in New Zealand has generally been supportive with Peace Movement Action working hard to produce one or two media stories a day. A great deal of favorable press has been given to Lange's nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. Apparently the kiwis loved the Blythe-Petersen fiasco (over imports of New Zealand chocolate). A leading story in one of the New Zealand daily papers was that a photographer Blythe-Petersen had given to the people of the nuclear ships ban or the MX missile is as isolated from the network of American bases throughout the entire Pacific. The bases are the nuts and bolts of the arms race, dangerously and ruthlessly implemented military strategy.

It's also important that the peace movements in both Australia and New Zealand to see disarmament in its political and economic context. It is important that more people become aware that treaties like ANZUS and, more generally, the arms race is promoted by huge multinational conglomerates such as General Electric, Boeing, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas and even Kodak which profit at the expense of the workers whose labour they exploit.

It is important that the peace movements in Australia and New Zealand see the nuclear ships ban or the MX missile as isolated from the network of American bases throughout the entire Pacific. The bases are the nuts and bolts of the arms race, dangerously and ruthlessly implemented military strategy.

The future is ours.

The future is ours. It is not the tiresome government of President Reagan which will decide the fate of the world. It is the people of the world who will decide the fate of the world.

Vote 1 Nuclear Disarmament Party election material, December 1984.

| NZ nuclear ships ban |

| POLITICAL DIRECTIONS FOR THE ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT |

Towards a red and green coalition

By Anna McMenamin and John Wishart

The 1984 federal election showed considerable and continuing appeal for an electoral expression of environmental and survival concerns. In 1982 and 1983 the "No Dams" issue surfaced in a series of state and federal campaigns. In 1984 the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) became a force which the media and the big parties were compelled to take note of. And since its formation in 1977, the Australian Democrats, although not primarily an environmental party, have drawn significant support from people seeking a better alternative to Liberal and Labor on environment issues.

The NDP vote on 1 December was truly spectacular, with over half a million people giving their first preference to them in the Senate. Arguments will go on about exactly who composed the NDP vote—disaffected laborers, new non-aligned young voters, left liberals, and what the vote means—opposition to uranium mining, concern about nuclear arms and militarism and so on. But what is clear is that the major parties are failing to satisfy a sizeable constituency which wants some action and better policies in this area and which perceives the electoral process as relevant to environmental politics.

Given this, where do concerned environmentalists go from here? Expel the NDP within the ALP? Form an Ecology Party? Leave parliamentary politics alone and concentrate on grassroots activism? Develop a network of linked and working alternatives? Discussion about these options, and possible combinations of approaches is very important now that the winds of change are blowing.

Anna McMenamin and John Wishart are both members of Friends of the Earth (Adelaide) and the Community Party of Australia.
The political consequences of environmental harmony

Our starting point is the belief that the achievement of an environmentally harmonious society involves fundamental changes in how society is run and what principles guide development. Even if one is only concerned to save a single endangered species it is more and more obvious that protection of the particular habitat is not enough. Aggregate environmental degradation is linked to changes in the life support systems for humans and many other living things on a global scale.

Many factors have led to this situation, but massive industrial growth and population growth are principal among them. Almost everywhere one looks, this trend is dominating development and shaping the human environment. Now the essential political point is that it is big companies, powerful governments and privileged elites who are largely in control of this process and who primarily benefit from it. (However vast numbers of people have been encouraged to believe that a bright future for all lies in more material goods, further 'modernisation' and an expanding gross national product.) It is against the interests of the elites to admit that our present path of super-industrialisation is risking major environmental damage. Those who want an ecologically viable society confront a powerful ruling group which vigorously resists any attempt to radically alter social goals. Their wealth and power depend on keeping the system basically as it is. The battle royal over nuclear power and the suggestion that renewable energy alternatives are wiser provides a good illustration of just how tenaciously the big companies and their friends will fight to protect an irrational industry.

Of course, the exact constellation of political forces varies from country to country. The role of various states, private corporations and big capitalists are largely absent in the key domestic industries (although trade with the west and joint ventures with foreign transnational giant industries are gaining importance). However, powerful central government and privileged elites remain.

In Australia and other capitalist countries, the role of transnational corporations in determining how society is organised and what is produced and consumed.

How to change this?

Two enormous obstacles block radical change in a society like Australia. One is the integration of the majority into the marketplace, education and political institutions. The other is the larger system of nuclear power and exploitative economic relations. How to change this?

For the NDP, the basic question of every issue will remain its stumbling block. Its membership will have to form a full set of policies based on a philosophy of how society works and what must be changed to eliminate the nuclear industry and military bases. This process is likely to split the membership, some refusing to look at the root of problems, whilst others will come to believe that radical change is necessary. If the former position wins out, then the party will remain as a protest group, probably with diminishing impact—ineffective in the long run. If the radical wing prevails then the party will find itself pushed out of the comfortable mainstream, and hence facing the problems and disadvantages experienced by other radical parties.

Nuclear Disarmament Party

The limitations of the NDP, as a case point, emerged in the 1984 election campaign. As a vehicle to express support for nuclear disarmament and opposition to uranium mining and military bases it had value, but the critics could justifiably ask what would the NDP do about jobs, poverty, foreign trade, education, women's rights? What about immigration, or Aboriginal self-determination? Nuclear disarmament simply isn't the central issue from which all other considerations can be derived or traced. The fact that nuclear war, if it occurred, would make all other issues irrelevant, doesn't mean that everything else can be either explained or solved through adherence to nuclear disarmament. The nuclear arms race is only a result of twentieth century industrial civilisation and the rivalries between different blocs. A frightening consequence, but a consequence nonetheless.

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Ecology Party

Following the West German experience, there has been a lot of interest in the development of a Greens-type party in Australia. Many environmentalists correctly see that the ALP is not committed to strong environmental action, even when at the policy level its position is reasonable. It has a strategy which places parliamentary reform at the centre of the political agenda on an anti-nuclear basis, and that its membership is overwhelmingly wed to the status quo. These features have long characterised the ALP, though the Hawke government has gone further in putting the party into the arms of the bankers and other money barons.

The fact is that the ALP, despite the continuing presence of a small minority favouring socialism, has since its formation in the 1920's always been a party content to reform some of the society's aspects without fundamentally changing society.

At the same time many do not see the Communist Party or other revolutionary socialist parties in Australia as an acceptable alternative. This is partly because the existing socialist countries' record on environmental protection is not good, and also because socialism is conceived of a centralised bureaucracy, devoid of grass roots democracy and the room for expression of creative ideas which diverge from the accepted orthodoxy. Of course, in our country at least 40 years of anti-communist propaganda, containing gross distortions of fact, also goes a long way in explaining why so many people have negative views about socialists.

The big danger here is that environmentalists will completely reject socialist principles, rather than viewing them as integral to a new environmentally sound society. For such a world is not possible without co-operation between people and the sharing of resources within and between nations or regions. Communism as it is understood is opposed to individualism, co-operation in place of competition.

Those critical of existing socialist models on environmental grounds can validly say that achieving public ownership of the mass industries has not, or itself led to an environmentally rational society. (Feminists have made the same point about women's liberation) The existing models of the socialisms are as committed to a philosophy of 'man conquering nature' as their capitalist counterparts, and in some cases the attitude that nature is an object is present. And at the present time the majority of people in the socialist countries seem to want similar consumer goodies and hold similar attitudes to technological progress as people in capitalist countries. People in socialist countries are not bombarded by corporate advertising, and in general their consumer tastes are far less exotic than in the rich capitalist nations. However there are many similarities in underlying attitudes—modern is always better, that it is beautiful.

What does it follow from all this is that socialist principles are irrelevant or that we can move away from the global environmental crisis under a capitalist order. For capitalism, with private property driving force; has shown itself to be an environmental nightmare—wasteful of material reserves, exploitative of human beings, extremely unjust in how wealth and security are distributed. It is not possible, however, to summarise the environmental hazards of the nuclear arms race, Soviet Union, China, USA and India, or the ‘new’ arms race, the Middle East, or the south–south nuclear arms race.

Red and Green

Our conclusion is that the movement or parties we speak of above must be both Red and Green in its character, combining the ideals of equality and collective in human life with respect for environmental laws.

It is a matter of some debate whether the time is ripe now for such a political formation. Some initiatives have already been taken that full discussion amongst environmentalists, feminists, socialists and peace activists is essential if a new formation is to be sought, or if it is to be sought, the debate and organisation must be open. Perhaps there'll be different attempts at coalition and combination of which will come a new party. There is no doubt that a political formation is coming, and it will be a force becoming evident to more and more people, providing the basis for a political and social change of considerable magnitude.

Those who formed such a party would determine the details. We would like to see the organisation as:

- indigenous in its character, based on Australian conditions rather than a copy of some overseas model
- having a big emphasis on decision making and action, avoiding the centralism and elitism of most existing political parties.
- concentrating on popular mobilisation rather than on parliamentary strategies for change, but participating in elections local and national—because this is part of Australian political life and social history and intrinsic to struggles.
- respecting the value and independence of more specific organisations and campaigns, attempting to draw people together across areas of concern by giving or trying to substitute for these specific initiatives.

The time is ripe for a free exchange of ideas about future directions for the environment movement.

Contributions from readers are welcomed on the issues raised in this article or, more generally, on the themes 'political directions for the environment movement' and 'the New Right'. Write to the editors and articles to Sue Armstrong c/o Chain Reaction.
Wimmera water battle continues

The July 1983 edition of Chain Reaction publicised the battle in Western Victoria to preserve the Environment Protection Appeal Board decision of July 1982 to halt sewer discharge from the provincial city of Horsham to the Wimmera River and lakes system. (The Wimmera is a closed and intermittently flowing river system, feeding Lake Hindmarsh, Victoria's largest freshwater lake, Lake Albacrinia Park and Wimmerfield National Park.)

The decision resulted from Victoria's longest river pollution hearing, lasting 25 days and requiring an enormous allocation of resources by the successful appellants, the rural shire of Dimboola, downstream of Horsham. Their legal costs at the time were $160,000. Due to the Victorian government's attempt from December downstream of Horsham to the Wimmera River and lakes system, their legal costs at the time were $160,000. Due to the Victorian government's appeal from December 1982 to oppose the appeal funding via the State Environment Protection Appeal Board, the legal bill has risen to over $200,000.

Lyndon Fraser and John Kirby look at the importance of the decision for the protection of all Australian waterways.

The nil-discharge ruling, to be implemented by the end of 1983, is the first of its kind in Australia. It is crucial for Australia's water environment. It has established a nil-discharge rule which permits waste discharges to water, the assumption that the environment has an inherent capacity to safely absorb a base level of wastes (its 'waste assimilative capacity'). The Victorian Environment Protection Act 1970 was copied from the US legislation which permits waste discharges to water by 1985 and introducing recycling of waste water to land, TD Waite, of the Victorian State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (SRWSC) described the change in US attitude:

- by accepting the positive policy of keeping wastes as close as possible, as opposed to the negative policy of attempting to use the full capacity of water for waste assimilation, could the nation adequately protect its water resources.

In comparison a Victorian Environment Protection Authority (EPA) statement says:

Some wastes may be discharged to the environment in limited quantities without causing harmful effects. This wastes are generally non-persistent and biodegradable. Organic wastes such as domestic sewage fall into this category. The realising environment is said to have certain ability (assimilative capacity) to cope with such wastes... limited amounts of organic wastes can be broken down in the aquatic environment without harmful effects. This reduction of natural purification (water treatment) primarily involves the breakdown of organic material by bacteria into inorganic pollutants and carbon dioxide using up oxygen in the dissolved water. If too much organic material is released into a water body, the oxygen is used up more quickly than it can diffuse into the water from the atmosphere. The resulting drop in oxygen levels may then be sufficient to kill fish and other aquatic organisms. If all the oxygen in the water is used up, unpleasant odours can result.

The July 1982 Wimmera River appeal decision says:

We are satisfied that the main cause of pollution of the Wimmera River is the proliferation of eutrophic vegetation stimulated by nutrients (phosphorus and nitrogen) introduced by the sewer discharge. This proliferation forms a sludge, particularly in shallow waters, is the result of decay of this vegetation. (p56)

In obvious reference to the waste assimilative capacity the Appeal Board further said:

After much consideration we think that we should prohibit any further discharge of effluent to the river system on the basis that even if satisfactory rates of dilution could be achieved with certainty there would still remain the problem that any input of phosphorus into the closed system of the Wimmera River and lakes must, for practical purposes, remain there. (p59)

The decision has changed, for the better, the ground rules of environmental impact assessment. It effectively defined the term 'waste assimilative capacity' as the removal of nutrient overload by the raptant growth of eutrophic vegetation. These waste releases, and the subsequent return of this additional organic material to the riverbed and banks upon decay of the vegetation litter. This waste assimilative capacity will migrate further and further down the Wimmera as a result of

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It's all in comfortably distancing and dated prose, which, in an ironic effect, the 'slightly unreal' look that the directors are said, according to my handout, "is aimed at. Usually in a good decision, the sense of decay and dilapidation is enhanced. It is an almost overwhelming feeling of putrefaction, a visual analogue of the supposed corruption of the regime itself. Fortunately this also gives it an almost theatrical documentary feeling that intrudes on its sense of contemporary relevance.

The suspension of disbelief is well-maintained by this film, and the experience is certainly on TV murder thriller, adventure or sci-fi spectacular. Without pre-knowledge of the novel many viewers are therefore likely to take the story as that of two unappealing heroes who represent the inevitable and awful fate of nonconformists and outsiders when they go against any system in which they find themselves.

Penny Phillips is a Sydney art teacher.

The Killing Fields, produced by David Puttnam, directed by Roland Joffé, colour, 35 mm, 133 minutes. Distributed by Starcreen.

Reviewed by Peter Eillife.

It would seem to be an elementary truth that your average blockbuster, mega-techtacular, wall-of-schlock Hollywood flick must have an action-packed soundtrack, the theme for the awakening of Thought. Yet this simple idea seems to have escaped the notice of so many socially conscious directors, producers and writers and Wall Street Entertainment. Futurists.

The producer of the film The Killing Fields, which has an accompanying book (see review following), it seems to be a 'spin-off' — by current Hollywood producers and executive, and a statement against war and for friendship. (So says an article on the film in the Sydney Morning Herald, 1 February 1985. As implied earlier, The Killing Fields grants its audience little intellectual space in which to contemplate these sentiments. As a part of the popular orientation, Pertoum chose to reproduce a film that's a look at a different time and place and the help of quite a few helicopters, lots of (fake?!) explosions, crumbling and burning; but this, for me, is the icing on the cake. Built for the purpose of capturing their demolition on film, and many 'South-East Asian' people with physical deformities (perhaps from a real battle, one that made

The headmaster ritual: John Hurt as Winston.

man who created that pomposic vision, (as the Metro Study Supplement available in the foyer suggests). The film suggests that this is the world that that unfortunate man, over-involved with fascism in his personal life and dying in tuberculosis, knew. The major war shots and much of the film's action take place in a kind of prison, which Orwell's generation did not foresee. The film's contemporary relevance.

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Films

Nineteen Eighty-four, written and directed by Michael Radford, colour, 35 mm, 110 minutes. Distributed by Roadshow and Virgin Films.

Reviewed by Penny Phillips.

George Orwell was a public school boy. The horrors he described in Nineteen Eighty-four are the nightmare of our public school, which goes something like this. The master is always watching you. You can escape sometimes, and have secret bread and jam, and maybe even real coffee in the back of the dorm or the cleaner's room, and maybe be real independent. But always the master is looking and always there is corporal punishment to keep you in line. There are bullies and smoke to add to your discomfort and the known brutality of the fag system to impress on you that you power really is. So most of the boys too the line properly, and pull up their socks regularly, and believe the slogans and support the school teams passionately.

The film Nineteen Eighty-four and the book are different. We have modern knowledge and technology, and daily exposure to violence on TV to allow us a consciousness as consumers and an appreciation of sophisticated packaging as producers, which Orwell's generation did not see. Some of Orwell's modern appeal on this level alone. In cool artisticobjection and aesthetic excellence, Orwell's Cléver's Orange. There is something Orwellian Wellcut and sharp, as a story because it generates, but Orwell Wells without the homely gutness of the stories which give his films technical finesse, a sense of reality.

In the homespun qualities of the symbols and actions within the private world that the lovers create, in their bath-by-the-exit rather than rooms-with-a-view, that counteracts the slick technological aspect of the film. The joys and needs of cool objects and art objects are used against the fear of rats under the bed after reading ghost stories under the sheets, work against the emotional need of a world that the producers so carefully create, that they are as a (today's) future film' into some contact with ours. There is a real tenacity to the story, however, takes the guts out of Orwell's message, and will raise curiosity about 'the
these look like mere theatrics?). As such, the story suffers from a disjointed narrative and a lack of emotional depth.

Despite some able acting and the skilled direction, the film fails to deliver a satisfying conclusion. The ending is anticlimactic, leaving the audience feeling unsatisfied. The film is an important historical account, but it falls short in terms of dramatic impact and emotional resonance.

Reviewed by John Warnock.

Number 100 in the catalogue to this exhibition depicts a demonstration in a street of terrace houses near the wharves. An orderly crowd of men and women marches to the pedimented pillars of a rich man’s gate. Their leaders carry placards proclaiming resistance to oppression and the promotion of world peace. But they are stopped at the gate and policemen are trying to confiscate a placard; another two policemen are using force to arrest a man; and yet another is harassing a woman who is attending an old man who has collapsed. The Policeman, seated in a whirled chair by a uniformed servant, holds aloft a little flag with a pound sign on it, and receives the homage of a tycoon, a priest and a judge, who grovel on the ground mounded around heavy sacks.

The curator sees in the Social-Realist paintings and their evident sympathy with the oppressed and their evident sympathy with the oppressed an important one in the years of the Depression and the Second World War. There was an interest in considering how an artist’s concern about Australian society could be translated into action for the building of a new society. The catalogue notes appear to interpret the artists’ ”social commitment” as their commitment to art, to the imaging of the human condition in their day. It may indeed be considered that the creation of images is the prime duty of an artist, but this endeavour may or may not be addressed to society’s, the working class. An image is not an idea, or a program, or a political movement; so a commitment to image-making begs the whole question of the relevance of art to social struggle.

The images are novel and powerful, and the recurring motif is the human form bent to express the artist’s sense of alienation and horror. The techniques commonly used are those of fragmentation, distortion and exaggeration. To judge by the reaction of many of the exhibition’s visitors it still seems to be important to emphasise that this division was deliberate. It wasn’t that these artists couldn’t draw well. They could. Tucker, for instance, is much better draughtsman than any of the Realists. Jack Maughan’s Man’s Man (1931), a pen and ink drawing of a working man, hangs alongside his satire of Chivalry (1931), a depiction of the morning rush to work in the factories, the workers, all with bent backs, trudge in orderly file to the doors of forbiddingly tall buildings behind which rise even taller chimneys belching orderly streams of smoke. Workers and buildings and chimneys are generalised, but the Man is a particular man. These two pictures illustrate two approaches to social comment in art: satire and realism. The spectator can see, as he or she goes round the exhibition, even in the works of the Realists, that the individual bodies begin to express their suffering in ways that resemble those in the more satirical pictures such as Tucker’s Train Stop, Image of Modern Evil 26 (1945/46). In Counihan’s At the Meeting 1922 (1944) the light catches and flattens the planes in the coarse face, and in his At the Start of the March 1922 (1944) the bodies droop and resemble rounded heavy sacks.

The curator sees in the catalogue to ‘recovering’ a community is a little difficult. To paint ordinary people at work suffering under their oppression is one way in which artists might express their solidarity with the working class struggle. Another might be to express a protest against oppression and war, as John Perceval did in Exodus from a Bombed City (1942). This, for me, is one of the most moving and dramatic pictures in the exhibition: the crowded and harassed people stream out of the wrecked city, leaving the dead behind to be raged by a huge red in tooth and claw. The horizon is almost on a diagonal so that the world itself appears to be affl, off its axis. The picture was first exhibited in the Anti-Fascist Exhibition in Melbourne at 1942, an exhibition to which many artists of different temperaments and aims submitted works. The war, as Bernard Smith said in a recent radio interview, caused many artists to think in different terms, even when they rejected actual political involvement.

Albert Tucker’s the Possessed (1946) is another of the pictures that appeared in the Anti-Fascist Exhibition, although its creator was uneasy about participating as an artist in an event organised for a political purpose. He admitted this some years later.

At this time I was in a state of confusion about many things, in particular about society and the obligations of a painter. It was shortly after this that I came to the realisation that art has its own intrinsic structures and principles and, for me, a greater validity than politics. In the Forties, Tucker’s private feelings of horror and the feelings of the public about Fascism and the War coincided. It was possible to read the

Possessed as both an expression of horror at Fascism or War, and also as a visualisation of current ideas about political or social oppression and their effects on the individual mind.

The potential gap between social concern and the expression of individual emotion can be perceived as already realised in the work of John Perceval. To pass from his Exodus from a Bombed City to his Survival, also painted in 1942 and exhibited at the Anti-Fascist show, is a terrible and confusing experience: at the next, we are seeing in the hideous grimaces of the figures a cynical depiction of the relationship of the mother and child, a horror of life itself.

Such painting is not politics, but to the working class.

Charles Merewether points out that this horror and fragmentation is what survived the immediate concerns of the war years. This, and a commitment to art, was expressed by Tucker, also, being an artist is something that you have to do; a private obsession equivalent of a state of consciousness. Tucker welcomed Viktor Lowensohn’s description of how, for the ‘haptic’ artist, ‘the ... the importance of the environment diminishes and experience is more and more confined to the processes that go on in the body as a whole ... and their various emotional effects’. Charles Merewether quotes this passage in the introduction to the catalogue but does not go on to show, as Humphrey McQueen does in his The Black Swan of Tramps, Howards End and The Good Soldier, how reactionary this Idealist belief is. I don’t know who would blame him for stopping around this thorny thicket: after all, Mr McQueen demonstrates the adequacy of the Communist Party’s response in the forties. Mr Merewether also resists the temptation to trace the origins of the Realist movement; he offers this selection of pictures as a virtually independent but possibly dialogue of differences. The exhibition attempts to present the dialogue between the pictures made in belief and those made in despair. Is there any equivalence of a state of consciousness? Tucker perceived as already realised in the work of John Perceval. To pass from his Exodus from a Bombed City to his Survival, also painted in 1942 and exhibited at the Anti-Fascist show, is a terrible and confusing experience: at the next, we are seeing in the hideous grimaces of the figures a cynical depiction of the relationship of the mother and child, a horror of life itself.

To paint pictures for themselves does not dispose of the problem of the involvement of detachment of artists from the struggle for equality, but it does free us to consider some problem in our own time informed by the experience of the past. The exhibition presents the works of those Australian artists who tried to depict ‘the heart of the modern condition as the experience of individual loss, of alienation, and fragmentation’, and shows us that they were trying to understand the meaning of the individual in society informed by Baudelaire, the Symbolist painters and Freud. However, since our understanding of the mind and of the self and society has increased — we are developing more a holistic appreciation of the individual in society, we might more successfully sustain the struggle to achieve a common culture. This exhibition offers workers in that struggle, especially middle-aged ones, support in our personal problem of how to relate social involvement and individual growth; with patience and determination in the street and to retire quietly to the garden with a good book.

John Warnock is an ABC writer and actor living in Sydney.
The Politics of Agent Orange: The South Vietnamese peasants to flee to sixties. Ecological devastation was practiced on Vietnam as the USA attempted to alter the landscape of a country for political ends through massive defoliation and crop destruction campaigns, as Joe McCulloch discusses in The Politics of Agent Orange.

Agent Orange was one of the chemicals used in Operation Ranch Hand, a ten-year $20 million program to denude cover. The campaign failed to win their hearts and minds. Animals died and agriculture was destroyed along with Vietnamese that were destroyed along with the conservative hegemony and under the pressure of the domestic war. Returned Services League (RSL) is over compensation for (unlike Michelin's ruined rubber plantations). The campaign failed in agriculture, their only political success with the Returned Services League (RSL) and to force one in three Vietnamese that were destroyed along with Vietnamese boys'. face tough obstacles, then how much more so do the Vietnamese people in their search for justice and compensation, having to confront Western racism (sourced by Geoffrey-the-tiny-tyranny-of-dim-sims-Blainey) and anti-capitalism as well. I would like to think that the veterans' case, so grippingly and fluently told by McCulloch, may yet help us to repay our debt to Vietnam. It is high time that we started fixing up this Third World debt, not the one owed by poor countries to the Western banks, but the one owed by Western imperialism to the people for the military, economic (and chemical) suffering we have inflicted upon them.


The report is thoroughly referenced and is so accurate in its analysis that the HEC refused to comment on it.

Overpowering Tasmania is McCulloch does not recognise, however, that the veterans are conservative. They believe Vietnam was a good cause and do not oppose the wider abuses of chemicals used in agriculture. They only political difference with the RSL is over compensation for exposure to chemicals in Vietnam. The veterans can thus be bought off (as in the successful case of settlement by Dow Chemicals in the USA without pressing home the wider political questions of capitalist, chemicals and war.

Overall, with a rigorous analysis of the evidence and an awareness of the political nature of scientific research, McCulloch makes a strong case for the veterans. Yet, the veterans (our boys') face tough obstacles, then how much more so do the Vietnamese people in their search for justice and compensation, having to confront Western racism (sourced by Geoffrey-the-tiny-tyranny-of-dim-sims-Blainey) and anti-capitalism as well. I would like to think that the veterans' case, so grippingly and fluently told by McCulloch, may yet help us to repay our debt to Vietnam. It is high time that we started fixing up this Third World debt, not the one owed by poor countries to the Western banks, but the one owed by Western imperialism to the people for the military, economic (and chemical) suffering we have inflicted upon them.

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Social Alternatives provides a forum for the analysis of social, cultural and economic oppression and focuses on the development of alternative strategies to effect social change towards greater freedom and a more participatory society.

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An Australian peace vessel is long overdue.

An open letter from the Nuclear Disarmament Party

Dear friends

In light of the Australian government's stand in relation to the MX missile tests off our coast, we feel it is necessary to send a protest vessel to the splashdown site as a representative of the Australian peace and environmental movements. Due to the financial and physical constraints involved, we are asking for your assistance in establishing an organisation and in purchasing a vessel.

Such an organisation would have the potential to protest and publicise the visits of nuclear-armed and powered ships, the export of uranium, and any other nuclear activity in Australian and surrounding waters. It could also investigate and protest environmental pollution in Australia and neighbouring countries, as well as being involved in educational tours and raising funds for future protests.

We would see the overall objective of the vessel to be in assisting the creation of a non-oppressive world free from the threat of nuclear and environmental devastation.

For further information contact the Nuclear Disarmament Party on (03)6314666 or c/- GPO Box 5228BB, Melbourne, Vic 3001. Donations are welcome for the 'Peace Boat' — make cheques payable to the NDP, and post to the above address.