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Cover: Hiroshima, forty years on. Painting by Carl Anderson.

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The first man into Hiroshima

By John Hawke

He had collected everything in this room, and each object spoke to him. A piece of metal recovered from the war, where he lost his hair, scraps of his dead wife’s hair, a shrunken head in a photograph. His children found it embarrassing. And when anger finally ate into his stomach, creeping its sullen way along the bones, abuse unleashed on relatives at Christmas, abuse for the government which cannot be released. ‘And what are you doing with your life?’ Words with his eldest son, whom he hates. He denies all comfort.

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

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

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

We cannot rid ourselves of wars, or of their traces, or of ‘the ones they leave behind’.

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

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

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

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


**LETTERS**

An Australian Socialist?  

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

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

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

The authors of the *Chain Reaction* article point out that socialist countries do not have great quantities of food must remain from the atomic tests is that of plutonium scattered around — and how incredibly stupid it was to have done these ‘incidental tests’ with such a material. For the Aborigines’ welfare has to be the main question, if they are to resume use of the land.

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

A King  
West Brunswick, Vic

I would like to add that I would like to see a distinctly Australian type of socialism. I am not being critical of the USSR-style socialism, but with so much of their country in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions, the short growing seasons and their difficulty in providing food for a large population, and their many ethnic groups must create problems unknown to us.  

China with its huge population would also have a different set of problems to Australia with only fifteen million people. Our temperate climate, abundance of natural resources, ability to produce great quantities of food must create a more gentle, more caring Australian socialism tuned down to our needs and able to experiment with new ideas within a socialist framework.

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

Ron Foggo  
Yinnar, Vic

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**LETTERS**

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Radio lifeline

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

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

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

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

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

Star Wars illegal

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Greenpeace spokesperson said:

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

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

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

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

**Summary**

AIS's reasons were sex-segregated. The company's own survey indicated that out of the 34 job classifications, women were employed in 152. Half the women were employed in 12 classifications, and 32% of those women were found in five classifications.

AIS did not know what jobs were weight-barred (requiring the lifting of more than 16 kg). Ironically, of the 480 women employed by AIS only 76 were employed in weight-barred jobs or, as the company terms it, "men's work.

AIS claims that preference is given to those who are on the employment office's waitlist as the longest, yet women waited up to seven years for work as compared to men who only waited a few days.

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

For further information, Contact: Diana Covell. Tel: (042) 29 6502, 452 37 366. Kristina Treska. Tel: (042) 96 64 41.

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**Land rights ignorants**

Racists in Western Australia are very concerned about the possibility of Aborigines gaining stronger government representa-

**Watching Brief**

A new national radio program, 'Watching Brief', of crimes and environmental issues has been launched. Producers Ian Wood and Tony Douglas have said that:

This is the first time a nationally networked current affairs program has been set up to reflect the views of the peace and environment movement. It represents a new era of potential outreach and, as such, should be supported to ensure its viability and guarantee its success as an educational tool for positive change.

The program consists of a pair of weekly half-hour shows, 'Watching Brief', of crimes and public radio stations throughout Australia. Competing some regions of the country, with an estimated weekly audience of up to 100,000.

**Further Information** Contact: Tony Douglas. Tel: 924 22 329, 924 27 306, 924 23 306. Station location Times of broadcast 2ARR-FM Ararat 11.00 am Monday 2ISB-FM Ballarat 11.00 am Monday 2NUR-FM Newcastle 11.00 am Monday 2SFM-FM Sydney 9.00 am Monday 2WEB-FM Canberra 9.00 am Monday 3CCM-CFM Castlemaine 3.30 pm Friday 3CR Melbourne 4.00 pm Monday 3GCR-FM Geelong 6.00 pm Monday 3RRR-FM Melbourne 9.00 am Tuesday 3RRS-FM Melbourne 9.00 am Tuesday 3TTT-FM Townsville 11.00 am Monday 4ZIZZ-FM Brisbane 11.00 am Monday 7MY-FM Darwin 11.00 am Monday, 3.00 pm Monday 8BBB-FM Melbourne 11.00 am Tuesday 9BOX Melbourne 11.00 am Tuesday 11BB-MFM Melbourne 11.00 am Tuesday

**Postcard story**

Postcards produced as part of the international campaign against the Bataan nuclear reactor. The people of Bataan in the Philippines are resisting fiercely the licensing of the plant. They claim it violates the rights of the people to information on matters of public concern.

A national coalition of women's organisations in the Philippines has mounted a campaign in support. A representative of the organisation GABRIELA, Aida Santos Maranan, was in Melbourne in July visiting groups, holding meetings and working on a 'Women in Solidarity with Women in the Philippines' postcard campaign. Postcards should be sent to Mrs. C. B. Santos-Maranan, PO Box 5, Fitzroy, Vic 3065.

Bad medicine

The World Congress of the International Federation of Drug Consumers (IUCO) was held in Bangkok, Thailand, in December 1984. There were 350 participants. It was the first IUCO congress held in a Third World locale and marked the emergence of a new political force to challenge the medical establishment. The tactics of hitherto largely First World citizen activism to the basic needs of the Third World poor. Now the work of IUCO and its affiliated groups has become an international movement which began by helping middle-class Americans learn about the availability of the files as a serious infringement of civil liberties.

Women's organisations and health professionals throughout the Third World are receiving the files and the response has been enthusiastic. The files have been passed on to national and local women's groups and to health professionals at the WHO and the UN.

In Bangladesh, multilateral pricing and supply policies have resulted in stimulated shortages of insulin but a glut of cheap analogues.

**Real estate**

A national coalition of women's organisations in the Philippines has mounted a campaign in support. A representative of the organisation GABRIELA, Aida Santos Maranan, was in Melbourne in July visiting groups, holding meetings and working on a 'Women in Solidarity with Women in the Philippines' postcard campaign. Postcards should be sent to Mrs. C. B. Santos-Maranan, PO Box 5, Fitzroy, Vic 3065. Tel: (03) 39 41 571.

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

**Abortion raid**

Queensland police raided two abortion clinics, the Fertility Control Clinic at Greenslopes, Brisbane, and the clinic on the northern beaches of Sydney on 20 May 1985. Over 3000 records of women who had abortions were destroyed. Women patients were arrested and charged, and even women outside the clinics were harassed.

Women's organisations and health professionals throughout the Third World are receiving the files and the response has been enthusiastic. The files have been passed on to national and local women's groups and to health professionals at the WHO and the UN.

In Bangladesh, multilateral pricing and supply policies have resulted in stimulated shortages of insulin but a glut of cheap analogues.
Work on the C3 link between the South Eastern Freeway and the Murrumbeena Freeway east of Melbourne is proceeding despite 24 hours of protests. The line will add a further 24 km to the freeway network, which is now 72 km long. The protest is being led by the Melbournians Against Nuclear Power (MANP) and the Murrumbeena Action Group (MAG). The protest is expected to continue until the freeway is completed.

Kakadu meeting
Several Melbourne conservation and anti-nuclear groups including the Australian Conservation Foundation, the Movement Against Uranium Mining, the Wilderness Society and Friends of the Earth are planning to hold a public meeting, with several speakers, at the Melbourne Town Hall on Wednesday 29 April 1985. The meeting will focus on the Kakadu National Park and the issue of nuclear power plants. The meeting is open to the public and all are welcome.

Pack action
The Movement Opposing the Production of Unhealthy Products (MOP UP) organised a successful protest on 12 June 1985 outside the Philip Morris city headquarters in Melbourne against their recently released 'Peter Jackson' 15-cigarette packs. The protest was a response to Philip Morris's marketing strategy of producing small packs of cigarettes, which they hoped would appeal to teenagers.

Smelter stopped
The West Australian government has finally abandoned its ambitious $1300 million aluminium smelter plan because of the depressed state of the world aluminium market. Premier华人培/chenhwa ThaiToday, 18 April 1985. The plan was to develop a new smelter in Western Australia, but the company's financial collapse meant that the project was scrapped.

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

German initiative
A German initiative has the meteorological consequences of a nuclear exchange studied by the World Meteorological Organisation in 1983. Although the study was not widely publicised, it showed that there would be a significant impact on the climate of the Northern Hemisphere for many years after the explosion.

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

MOPUP demonstration in Melbourne, June 1985.

Peace fleet
Following the success of Greenpeace in New Zealand and the Perh Peace fleet, Melbourne is developing its own peace fleet. Yachts, cabin cruisers and large dinghies adorned with peace banners and flags are one of the best nonviolent and spectacular ways of opposing the entry of nuclear armed and powered vessels into our ports. For further information: Telephone Sue Taylor on (03) 419 5029 or Bob Larkins on (03) 347 7301.

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

There is a long way to go to improve women's position in the workplace in Japan. Women's wages are, on average, less than 50% of those of men, women make up 35% of all companies there and women make up less than 50% of those of men; women make up 35% of all companies there and women make up less than 50% of those of men; women make up less than 50% of all companies there and women make up less than 50% of all companies there and women make up less than 50% of all companies there and women make up less than 50% of all companies there. The main character was Philip Morris, father of Peter Jackson. Philip stood on his pedal; everyone's most gave huge green dollars to children and babies with instructions to spend the proceeds of the decoratively adorned (with 15-pack ads) local milk bars entered into a 15-pack. The narrator then passed the dollars on to Philip Morris, while Philip kept tally on the ever-growing profit graph.

Contact: MOP UP, P.O. Box 126, Collingwood, Vic 3066 Tel: (03) 481 9283, (03) 489 5945.

The MOP UP demonstration was organised by the movement against unhealthy products (MOP UP), which was established in 1984 by groups opposed to nuclear power. The demonstration aimed to draw attention to the dangers of nuclear power and to encourage people to support the movement against nuclear power.
Money or mudflats?

The Cairns branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland (WPSQ) is opposing two major tourism development proposals which, if approved, will have a significant detrimental impact on the wetlands of Cairns and Port Douglas. These developments, totalling some $50 million, are receiving strong support from the Queensland government.

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

Directory

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

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

Disarming views

An Exhibition of Arts and Activism. Peace and Nuclear War in the Australian Landscape will be held 17 August - 7 September, 1985 at Sydney College of Advanced Education, Anson Avenue and Swyn St, Paddington, NSW 2021.

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

Blackmail

Inside Inland Branch of the Wildlife Preservation Society of Queensland are logging the wet tropical rainforests of north Queensland. Logging is degrading these rainforests at an alarming rate.

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

Action: Write to the General Manager, Westinghouse Aviation Ave, Waterloo, NSW 1987. Ask why the company is logging the last of the wet tropical rainforests and tell them you will be boycotting another Email product until the company stops these activities.

Nurses under fire

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

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

APHEDA strongly opposes the recent attacks on Palestinian refugees housed in three camps in Beirut and the recent explosion in East Beirut in which large amounts of toxic and hazardous chemicals (including chlordane) which will permit them for a range of pests around homes (from silver fish to spiders) whereas they previously could only used for sub-floor termite control.

Babyfood

In a fourteen-country survey of marketing practices during 1984, the International Baby Food Action Network (IBFAN) found over 400 violations of the WHO/UNICEF Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes. The code is designed to protect and promote breastfeeding.

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

Nestlé appears to have improved its conduct through a number of violations per year. Other firms, however, continue to ignore the code, aggressively promoting their formulas with giveaways to medical personnel and inaccurate and misleading advertising. Attention has now shifted to more than twenty other companies — Bristol Myers, Abbot; Ross and American Home Products among them — in the breastmilk sub­stitute business.

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


DUMP RESIDED

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

However, according to Professor Sadochi Ichikawa who was in Malaysia to conduct a study of the ARE and its surroundings, there are high levels of radiation along the edge of the temporary dumping ground adjoining the factory. The values are seven to eight times higher than average background radiation level.

Two nearby housing areas also showed levels which exceeded the average background level.

The shifting of the dumpsite to Menglembu and the danger that the factory pose, has prompted eight residents of Bukit Mesah and Lahat to sue the company on behalf of themselves and all other residents of Menglembu and Taman Burdi Shah. The hearing, initially fixed for 14 June 1985, has been postponed indefinitely by the court.
Earth News

Ranger’s dirty water

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

The 1975 Fox Inquiry into the Ranger uranium mine pro-posal suggested that one poss-ible way to avoid the accumula-tion of excess water was to build additional retention ponds. This recommendation was not followed by Ranger, which argued that direct release into the Magela Creek was preferable. Ranger asked permission earlier this year to release the water into the Magela Creek, a part of Kakadu National Park. This is the cheapest and also the most environmentally damaging, of 21 options available. Concern has been expressed by the North-ern Land Council and the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service.

In February 1985, 100 dead fish were found in Ranger’s contaminated water. The Green-peace organisation requested that a chemical analysis of the fish be done, and publicised the issue by delivering 100 dead fish to the Sydney office of Energy Resources of Australia, the major shareholder in the Ranger project.

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

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

London takes a break

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

The GLC’s contract compliance unit is recommending to the supplies subcommittee that the council suspends its supplies agreement with Rowntree-Mackintosh. Apart from Kit Kat, Rowntree-Mackintosh also supplies Blue Ribbon chocolate biscuits to the council.
The GLC supplies department estimates about $800 million a year, of its $2 billion annual spend, goes to the Inner London Education Authority. All firms are required to make declarations that they do not have a policy of dis-crimination against minorities.

Peace conference

The first Australian Nuclear Disarmament Conference will be held in Melbourne from 29 August to 1 September 1985. The opening address will be given by the independent Hungarian Foreign Minister, Ferenc Ranger, who is visiting Australia. The aim of the conference is to address questions beyond the disarmament issue.

Disarmament is developed.

For further information: Contact Richard Both Tel: (03) 463 2301

Eco-feminism

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

For further information: Contact Frances Lovejoy, program co-ordinator Tel: (02) 897 4006.

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

Bert King looks at recent local resident group’s actions and the presence of the Lucas Heights atomic reactors.

The Lucas Heights research nuclear reactor was commissioned in 1956. Last year (1984) this toy of our own nuclear establishment south of Sydney — the bright, new technology of the time. It was also seen as a training ground for the inevitable nuclear power stations we would one day have, was the official view as expressed in booklets on the Hifac reactor up until at least as recently as 1979. In addition, Lucas Heights was a possible source of bomb-grade material if the United Kingdom, in collusion with Australia, desired it.

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

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

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

- That nuclear activities cease; reactors Hifac and the small Moata be shut downs.
- A national repository be set up for all radioactive waste not stored in Sydney.
- The large number of spent fuel rods be removed.
- The Little Forest burial ground and all contaminated soil be removed.
- Discharge of liquid radioactive waste into the ocean be cease.
- Lucas Heights to undertake non-nuclear research and development.
- Establish a national cyclotron for medical isotopes. (This could be managed by a body such as Commonwealth Serum Laboratories.)
- The AAEC to be fully accountable to government and the punitive and secrecy provisions of the Atomic Energy Act be removed.
- A health study be carried out on residents in areas adjacent to Lucas Heights.
- Senator Evans is a lawyer who has been involved in civil liberties and the large number of most interesting points raised gives him quite a formidable task to grapple with, but hopefully he will go ahead with a review of the Atomic Energy Act. Congratulations to the residents group for their submission and may they be successful in their struggle.

Contact: Copies of the resident’s submission can be obtained from Heather Ricco, 600 The Boulevarde West, Sutherland, NSW 2232. Please include $4 for photocopying and postage.

Waste treatment buildings at Lucas Heights nuclear research establishment.
Bicycles against the Galaxy

By Jenny Green

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

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

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

The giant aircraft turned, and as the cyclists approached and landing. (police prosecutor, court transcript)

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The recent escalation of peace group activity in Alice Springs parallels the obvious upgrading of facilities at the space base, as Pine Gap is locally known. On Palm Sunday, 500 people marched down the main street of Alice Springs, calling for peace, and recently Scientists Against Nuclear Arms and Medical Association for the Prevention of War held a successful peace summit. Pine Gap has not featured prominently in the local media since the women's peace camp in 1983, and it is clear that concern about the presence of the base is growing.

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

The cost of maintaining and upgrading Pine Gap and other such facilities is enormous. It was estimated recently that the cost of upgrading Pine Gap base alone is over $100 million. The Pine Gap installation is of utmost importance to US military strategy. Pine Gap is the largest secret base near Alice Springs ... called Pine Gap. It is used for the detection of Soviet land-based missiles. It is also used to receive messages from reconnaissance satellites transversing the Soviet Union ... Since Australia is becoming rapidly politically unstable, what do we do about Pine Gap? Pine Gap is probably the most important defence facility we have in the Pacific - it's crucial to our defence planning ... Concern is also growing locally in the light of statements made recently by the defence minister, Mr Beasley. He publicly acknowledged that a missile attack on the US defence facilities at Pine Gap, North West Cape and Nurrungar would be 'the least of Australia's worries in the event of a general nuclear war'. He said that the Australian government accepted the possibility that such defence bases might be targeted by the Soviet Union in the event of a nuclear war. He said that he did not anticipate that an attack on those facilities would have a substantial effect on any major Australian population centre.

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

Since the time of the Galaxy protests in Alice Springs 22 protesters have been processed by the court and together they have incurred fines totaling over $2000. Initially the prosecution alleged that the bicycle riders had committed an offence of grievous implications.
The Alice Springs Peace Group will gratefully accept any donations towards the fire fund. A video depicting the Galaxy demonstrations, the women's camp and other peace activities in Alice Springs over the last few years is in production. Enquiries and donations to Alice Springs Peace Group, P.O. Box 1637, Alice Springs, T.5570, Tel (089) 52 1486, (089) 52 6762, (089) 52 8804.

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

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

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

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

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

Opposition to the US military installation at Pine Gap is particularly critical right now because the agreement between the US and Australian governments for the lease on Pine Gap is due for renewal in 1986. The terms of the lease agreement require one year's notice of intention to terminate. The Australian people should make sure that the Australian government oppose the renewal of these leases, and continue with a plea of not guilty. In the courthouse many took the opportunity to voice their reasons for opposing Pine Gap, and their choice to act.

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

1983
- Campaigns against the US Navy's plan to dispose of their ageing nuclear submarines by dumping at sea.
- Voyage to the Bering Sea to confront deep sea driftnet operations which kill thousands of sea birds and marine mammals annually.
- Voyage to Siberia to document illegal Russian whaling operation at Lorino.

1984
- Campaign against offshore oil and gas development on the California coast.
- Returned to the Gulf of Mexico to protest ocean incineration of toxic chemicals. Several days after the ship left San Francisco, the Environment Protection Agency revoked the permit to burn in the Gulf.
- Laid up in Florida for the fitting of sails and preparing for Pacific peace voyage in 1985.

1985 Rainbow Warrior's 1985 voyage was planned to highlight the impact of nuclear action and lobbying, the many threats in the Pacific region from nuclear power and nuclear weapons, including:
- the effects of nuclear weapons testing by the USA in the Marshall Islands over 30 years ago;
- Japanese plans to dump low-level radioactive waste into the Pacific Ocean if the London Dumping Convention moratorium on dumping is lifted; and
- past and planned French testing of nuclear weapons.

One of the missions of the voyage was to respond to a plea by the people of the Marshall Islands to help them relocate to another atoll. Roganel persuaded the crew to take action and lobbying, the many threats in the Pacific region from nuclear power and nuclear weapons, including:
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'youth' conference. Hence the secondary students found that their separate session was the most constructive. Another problem was that many of the large discussions were abandoned when they became too controversial as happened with the debate on women and the discussion concerning the trustworthiness of the media. The last day was spent organising ongoing projects. The push for a national centralised youth people's peace organisation was rejected. Instead a national youth peace newsletter, to be prepared by a different group each edition, was initiated. The first will be produced by the Canberra group HAPINESS. A telephone web and national crash-space (accommodation) network were also organised during the conference. By far the most important achievement at the conference was the gathering together of people from all over Australia, the resulting contacts, mutual support, exchange of ideas and friendships which developed over the three days.

Contact: Youth peace groups exist, or are being set up, in numerous schools, tertiary campuses and communities around Australia. They operate in a variety of organisational structures and often engage in creative and innovative actions which set them apart from most of the older, established peace movement. For further information and group contacts, ring or write to Jerome Small, 28 Greenway St, Turner, ACT 2601. Tel: (062)477484.

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

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

First we occupied the Stock Exchange building disrupting business in the brokers' hall, then Western Mining's offices across the road. Rather than be arrested we chose to meet a delegation of three of our number.

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

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

Contact: Young People Against Global Violence. C: Chain Reaction Cooperative. GPO Box 500E, Melbourne, Vic 3001. Tel (03)654 5995.

Plain Truth examining the moral virtue of twisted 'Stop the City' videos, Bob Geldof, and youth protest.

22 Chain Reaction

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

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

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

Dear friends,

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

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

1. Should peace and environmental activists be involved in the creation of a world which is not only free from the threat of military and environmental devastation, but also a world where people are not oppressed? Should we only be concerned with achieving peace, environmental and social harmony? Can the problems associated with parliamentary politics (eg. lack of grassroots involvement, the power of party 'leaders', alienation from non-

4. Should peace and environmental activists in our aims, actions, organisations, consciousness, and personal politics use the oppressive and exploitative practices which cause discrimination against individuals and groups on the basis of their age, gender, class, sexuality, race, class, disabilities or cultural background?

5. What method of opposition are available and which strategies are more effective or appropriate? For example, should the priority of peace and environment groups be lobbying parliamentarians?

6. Should the 'parliamentary road' (ie using the electoral system, establishing political parties) be used as a strategy for achieving peace, environmental and social harmony? Can the problems associated with parliamentary politics (eg. lack of grassroots involvement, the power of party 'leaders', alienation from non-

7. Is an analysis of how social inequality is created, maintained and challenged necessary to the peace and environment movements?
specifically discusses the nature of racism to provoke discussion, especially within environmental movements. Likewise articles which discuss the theoretical relationship of sexism and the action to be taken in eradicating it in the peace and environmental movements would be as appropriate as articles which discuss the nature of racism to disarmament and environmentalism.

7. Are there real and major differences in priorities and working styles between various political groups which prevent a broad-based social movement emerging? What external forces act upon groups to divide them and can the effect of these be eliminated?

8. What are the reasons for people initially becoming involved in environmental and peace movements and what other issues do they or should they be exposed to once they have joined?

9. How do personal relationships affect people's access to or exclusion from groups?

We envisage publishing articles which discuss these issues on both a general and specific level. That is, an article which specifically discusses the nature of racism or sexism and the action to be taken in eradicating it in the peace and environmental movements would be as appropriate as articles which discuss the theoretical relationship of sexism and racism to disarmament and environmentalism.

Likewise articles which discuss worker exploitation in peace and environmental offices and how to prevent this would be as appropriate as articles which discuss how worker's rights could be ensured in a peaceful and environmentally sustainable world. It is hoped that where possible both perspectives be combined in one article.

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

We also published an article by Anne McMenamin and John Wishart which, in the context of the rise of the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) as an electoral force, argued that to change the priorities of society a large movement is required. They also described what they believed a broad-based social movement might have as its guiding principles.

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

In forthcoming editions we intend to continue to provide a forum for discussion of these issues. We seek to give adequate attention to the ideological differences which inform the various perspectives the authors bring to these issues of common concern. While recognising that differing ideological views can sometimes cause conflict, common goals can transcend these differences, and make possible collaboration which will not gloss over nor erode the integrity of these differences. We hope that a richness and depth of discussion will be produced rather than an individual intellectual competition. In line with this, we hope to encourage not only individuals to contribute but also collaborative efforts by joint-authors and groups of people. If you are interested in this project you could support it by sending suggestions of the sorts of issues that you think should be raised, and by drawing attention to the project to others who may be interested in either following the debate or making contributions. You can also help by subscribing to the magazine if you don't already, or by sending a donation.

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

Looking forward to reading your views.

Sue Armstrong, on behalf of Chain Reaction Collective

Jonathan Goodfield is an editor and member of the Chain Reaction collective. Thanks to Linnea Aesop and Allan Levy for their assistance with this article.

By Jonathan Goodfield

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

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

- Close all foreign military bases in Australia
- Prohibit the stationing of nuclear weapons or passage of nuclear warships or aircraft on Australian waters or airspace
- Terminate immediately all mining and export of Australian uranium and to repudiate all commitments by previous Australian governments to the development and use of nuclear weapons

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

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

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

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

The rapid success of the NDP, in particular the election of its first senator, Joan Vallentine, in a combination of extraordinarily powerful grassroots enthusiasm (in part from within the base of the ALP) and media attention during the extended eleven week campaign ensured the NDP's growth ... the emergence of the NDP and its growing support called for a 25-29 April in Melbourne, in an attempt to resolve the NDP's already difficult task of deciding its future approaches and activities.

Jo Percy responded to the attacks on the NDP, saying that the real reason for the split was the political differences in regard to strategies to achieve disarmament.

Can we rely overwhelmingly on parliamentary representatives? Many people in the peace movement think this is an inadequate strategy. Yet it has increasingly been the emphasis of both Peter Garrett and Joan Vallentine ... They decided to cover their retreat from what the NDP had been and should be an assault on the SWP ...

The charge that we stacked the conference is absurd. It wasn't even a delegated conference. We were little or less stunned into being scrounged for the leaders' walkout. Because we are a national party, and therefore a national network of activists, we managed to know what was going on in the National Conference not only pre-empted discussion in this state but also ahead of the NOP. The combined 'anti-nuclear vote' for the NOP, the emergence of the NDP and its growing support was about 110,000 in the senate; the NDP split: some who stayed (after the walk-out) claim that the issue was the inability of leaders to accept the decisions which went against them ... But one clear, central fact is indisputable. The SWP has intervened in the NDP in an unprecedented way even since last year's election campaign. Its substantial bloc presence last week's conference included even its leader, Jim Percy. Such intervention by a small but highly-organised group could only have complicated the NDP's already difficult task of deciding its future strategies and activities.

Proscription moves were contrary in some ways to the concept of the NDP as a broad coalition, in particular as a focus for ALP members to bring nuclear issues into the political agenda, as envisaged by some of the founders of the party. Perhaps indicative of the significant conservative element within the NDP, some of these moves rested on fears of a left-wing takeover. But many supporters of proscription expressed a feeling that conflicts of loyalty were inevitable if an NDP member also belonged to any other party, and this would eventually make the NDP unworkable. (It is rumoured that members of the Democrats stacked the meeting that decided to exchange preferences with the Democrats.)

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

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

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

Proscription moves, and other organisational questions continue to be discussed, despite attempts by the SWP to force them to the side line of the agenda with a 'business as usual' attitude.

Meanwhile, outside the party debates continue on the significance of the NDP's rapid success. Was it an aberration or much as much of the US ... It the 'Soviet Question' had been explicit in the debate, prior to and during the conference, it would have been obvious to everyone that the SWP politically is a minority within the movement and the NDP, and the would-be defectors would have been robbed of their rationale for the walk-out.

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

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

Alan Rees summarised the outcome of the split as follows:

I think the NDP was torn between two leadership cults. Garrett wasn't naive to as much as showing very tough leadership to leave and split the organisation, taking many members as he could. We don't really know what the membership position is going to be once the whole split is unsubsidised. It may be that the PANDA and the NDP end up with 50% of the previous membership and 50% saying that was a real mess, wasn't it.

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

Meanwhile, outside the party debates continue on the significance of the NDP's rapid success. Was it an aberration on the political landscape, or the first step in the formation of a radical broad-based coalition capable of gaining popular support and parliamentary representation?
The conversation has started with someone talking about how around Australia, over dinner, at work, in pubs or after meetings. saddened they were by the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) the Hawke government. Perhaps the conversation has moved on some new political gathering in Australia a gathering that to the prospects of the peace movement and the possibilities of you've got this whole range of social movements and single issue movements found enough common ground to work together. lovely idea but it's just not on. Look how hard it was for the NDP movements. Besides, public opinion's getting more conservative to hold together. It'd be impossible with all those other issues and for the past five years. The moment to be talking of green parties. You're talking about 28 Chain Reaction Someone in the group says: 'Look, I reckon we've come to A second person listens carefully but shakes their head. 'It's a By 'I get anything new going without those meetings where people'爪ed to bits and the last one standing wins. All I can agree with what the German Greens say in their program: "The destruction of the very basis of life and work and the demolition of democratic rights have reached such a threatening scale as to make necessary a fundamental alternative in economics, politics and society."

Secondly, while such discussions have many starting points, the electoral impact of the NDP and its subsequent difficulties has indeed sparked a good deal of thought about the possibilities of creating a new political initiative in this country. This is not an article about the rights and wrongs of the NDP split or the specific problems facing the NDP and those who have left it. These issues are well canvassed elsewhere in this magazine. Rather what I want to do here is to take up some of the broader questions raised by the rise of the NDP; in particular the implications for the peace movement, the ALP and the value and potential of some form of green party.

The NDP and the peace movement

Many Australians and much of the media tend to see the NDP and the peace movement as identical. This is of course far from true and the NDP was only one (particularly visible) manifestation of the fears and hopes of all those people committed to resisting the nuclear arms race, for many reasons and in many ways. Even the size of the Australian "peace movement," for that would have to include many of those who voted Democrat or stuck with the ALP.

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

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

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

The peace movement has long called for a serious public debate about Australia's involvement in the nuclear arms race and ANZUS. That debate is now well underway and the pro-nuclear and pro-ANZUS forces are conducting an energetic and effective campaign to hold together their voters. But Seat of Power in Washington has its deep cultural roots such as that taken by New Zealand are far from naive and that they are essential contributions towards a nuclear-free Pacific region, based on principles of mutual respect and humanity. As part of this, we must be able to articulate credible and detailed alternatives to the false security of relying on the shelter of the nuclear umbrellas for our defence.

In addition the principle of 'Disarmament Now — East and West' is very important. This does not mean that the Soviet and US role in fuelling the arms race can be simply equated. It is true that, since Hiroshima, the USA has led the upward spiral of nuclear weaponry and the decisions we come to now will deeply affect all our lives and perhaps our survival.

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must have nuclear warship visits, New Zealand is quietly must have nuclear warship Visits, New Zealand is quietly the poor and the unemployed? 'grassroots', though that too is essential. and 'opened up' to the 'rigours of international competition'? of Australia as a quarry, an agri-business, a financial clearing implication of our banks and our industries being deregulated ignored or replaced its party policies on uranium, on land rights, on foreign banks, on the Daistree, on the importance of childcare and education. In return we are offered the Hawke razor gang and appeals to the sanctity of economic growth. But look, it is said, is only one side. The Franklin was saved, unemployment has at least been 'stabilised', real wages more or less maintained, and Medicare introduced. There is, it is said, in the Accord real opportunity for workers to be involved in major economic decision making. In the long term, we could aim to be a sort of southern Sweden. Maybe. A Pacific England looks just as likely. For while the reforms of this government and the possibilities of the Accord cannot simply be ignored. It seems also that the ground is being prepared for the return of a Liberal government which will really take the road marked out by Thatcher and Bjelke-Petersen. How else can we understand the longterm implication of our banks and our industries being deregulated and 'opened up' to the 'rigours of international competition'? What other vision of the future can be seen in all this except that of Australia as a quarry, an agri-business, a financial clearing house for South East Asia and 'suitable piece of real estate' for US nuclear facilities? What vision does all this 'restructuring' really offer to those who make up our growing 'under-society' of the poor and the unemployed? Think too of the bitter reaction that would greet you if you tried to apply John Curtin's words to the Hawke Labor government: I believe the inspiration for change, for progress, for all that demonstrates the best in the Australian people lies in the Labor Movement. It is no concern with big business and it stands for humanity as against material gain and hum more resilience, more decency and dignity and the best of human qualities than any other political movement.

The apparent conservatism of 'swinging voters' cannot simply be ignored but the ALP also needs to remember that while principles and vision without power may be fruitless, power for its own sake is likely to become sterile and poisonous. The NDP has demonstrated the power of a social movement turning to electoral politics. Perhaps it is time for the ALP to look back the other way to recognise that to achieve substantive, lasting change in the cultural disarmament arm or anywhere else, it must not only reflect and follow mainstream opinion as expressed in the questionable messages of the opinion polls. Rather, party members and politicians must re-engage with the wider processes of debate and activism so as to help form and challenge public opinion. It is not only a matter of remaking connections with the 'grassroots', though that too is essential. It is also a matter of regaining the sense that the arena of political debate and struggle extends far beyond Canberra and the polling booth. Many ALP and union members have always been the backbone of local community action groups and broad social movements. But somewhere (perhaps in the tortuous calculations of some sections of the ALP right) the importance of such 'popular' political involvement and action has been lost. Some would say that it has been irretrievably lost. My own view is that it is important not to see the Labor Party or the labour movement as monolithic. There are many within it who remain determined to regain a sense of 'fighting on the hill', and the struggles that will be needed to move towards them. The time however is running out. Perhaps the next ALP federal conference will provide some clearer indication of the prospects. Meanwhile, mounting disenchantment and disillusionment can lead to withdrawal and apathy. Or it can lead to the search for new alternatives.

The greening of Australia If our hopes are no longer to be pinned to the forms or traditions of the Labor Party, what then is the alternative? For many it is some reduced form of Green Party, based on the West German model of an 'up wing', 'third force', closely tied to the grassroots social movements. As with the German Greens (Die Grünen) it would presumably be founded on the principles of what Murray Bookchin calls 'social ecology', the conviction that the process of domination of nature seems from the domination of human by human, indeed on women by men, of the young by those elders, of one ethnic group by another, of society by state, of the individual by bureaucracy, as well as of one economic class by another, or a colonised people by a colonial power.

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

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

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

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

While I agree wholeheartedly with the urgent need for an alternative vision which reflects many of the basic principles espoused by green politics I would agree that the current proposals for green parties still raise more questions than answers. Firstly, there is the question of economics. Many 'greens' would agree that it is the dominance of 'economic' thinking that has got us into this mess. We should therefore be talking of ecological, not economic, principles. Now this is certainly true if what is meant to be economics is an image of Paul Keating or John Howard calculating economic growth solely on the basis of increasing material consumption. But we still need to know how goods and services are going to be produced and distributed. We also need to know who is going to make decisions about priorities. This is the real meaning of economics and its implications cannot be simply wished away. What is needed in fact is an economics in which human and ecological values are
to overcome the threat of nuclear war, starting by Third World countries to attempt to emulate the industrial growth of the developed nations. This would, it is argued, place resources and to 'break off the pinnacle' of industrial development endlessly expanding the exploitation of limited resources or in more and more people being able to buy more and more video recorders or cars.

The trouble is that what green economics tends to mean at present is a long philosophical statement of desirable goals. It is even less likely than the proposal to combine alternative and socialist strategies, to form a green and red coalition, is theoretically convincing. Yet in practice, the alternative movements have to take into account. Many Australians still perceive us as a lucky country, sufficiently isolated to be able to avoid the worst effects of economic or environmental disasters. This myth is being dispelled as we become (thanks partly to Keating and friends) increasingly linked to the international finance markets. On the environmental side though, there is still a lot of space for acid rain to disperse into, and it may be that environmental dangers are not perceived as seriously, or at least in the same way, as they are in Europe.

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

The patchwork banners — purple, red and green

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

Surely an alternative vision must be green in its emphasis on the fundamental importance of ecological principles. Surely, too, it must be red in that it rises from the inspirations of working men and women, the poor and the unemployed and is based on a solid understanding of the forces which they struggle against. The vision must also be purple. There can be no alternative which is hostile to the derogation of women or which fails to recognise the necessity of overcoming patriarchal relationships and structures. And there will be other colours too — the Koanie flag for example, and those of many Third World liberation movements. Perhaps what we have to recognise is that no single banner is sufficient; that what is needed is a sea of banners brought together on common ground. For, as any ecologist will tell you, there is great strength in diversity.

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

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

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

Finally, however, the greatest challenge of all is that taken up by the NDP — to overcome the threat of nuclear war, starting by ending Australia's contribution to that threat. The NDP may well have been a shooting star but it has also been a reminder of hope that the green movements can, on the basis of their experiences, meet the fundamental importance of ecological principles.
not be persuaded to adopt socialist principles. Recent dissent within the Green Party in West Germany and in the Nuclear Disarmament Party in Australia demonstrate this clearly.

Thirdly, socialist policies have been so discredited in the past ten years that the radical left (or whatever is left of it) is being pushed to the fringe. The shift in the labour parties of most Western countries towards the centre (or the right) has resulted in the rejection of many socialist principles.

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

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

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

One major cause responsible for the disunity and lack of communication among radical and alternative groups is the crisis in the medium of communication itself, brought about by the transition from literate discourse (print culture) to the electronic media. Literate discourse has become rather ineffective as a political weapon and a means of mass communication because it is too diversified, inaccessible and only readable, not communicable. There are too many competing publications which only serve to separate the alternative community rather than helping towards their interaction and integration. The time is ripe for the diverse groups and minorities to communicate across their territorial boundaries.

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

One of the most important technological innovations of our age, the computer, has so far been utilised at all. The computer need not be a mere instrument of centralized control (the Orwellian ‘big brother’) which deprives us of our privacy and functions as a surveillance apparatus. It has the potential to counter the system of established power by making public what until now has largely been secret and inaccessible — a lot of military, economic and political information. With its great storage capacity, fast flow of information and multiple feedback and input it could provide an excellent network of communication for alternative and radical groups, as well as local communities and minorities.

At present, such alternative use of the computer is severely limited because of costs, lack of know-how and the tight control on data banks. But it is, I would argue, indispensable that the alternative movements learn to tune into the computer system and begin to set up their own network. It would add a new dimension to the symbolic political acts such as demonstrations and rallies and improve communication and cooperation worldwide. Activists and sympathisers with a knowledge of and access to computer should begin to work in this direction, so that the computer-literate generation which is now growing up can make effective use of it in the future.

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

When the Labor Party was elected to government in 1983, it was hoped a new age in the struggle for Aboriginal rights, particularly land rights, was beginning. The ALP came to power with positive, progressive policies which should have seen more, better, justice for Australia’s indigenous people. But just two years later the policies are in tatters; there is bitterness, acrimony and distrust between Aboriginals and the government and the National Aboriginal Conference (NAC), the so-called black parliament, has been disbanded (in July 1985).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Concerned that measures to prevent land rights in Western Australia may be overridden by the federal government (the federal government has constitutional responsibilities for Aboriginal land rights), May 1985.


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

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

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

As a culmination of these developments, on Monday, 13 March 1985, 600 Aborigines from all over Australia converged on Parliament House in Canberra to protest against the inadequate recognition of the federal government's proposed 'uniform' land rights model. An open letter to the government, the 1985 Australian Labor Party federal conference, also expressed concern over what they saw as the inadequate recognition of the federal government's proposed 'uniform' land rights model.

Is our future relationship to be marked by accelerated conflict and confrontation, or is it to be one of negotiated peaceful co-existence? This should be a question of the most vital concern to all Australians. Since 1988 the government has accepted 1988 as the year by which this question must be answered, not because of White Australia's 200 years of history, but because that year marks 200 years of the suppression of Aboriginal people—a year when we think the government needs to be more realistic in the face of its obligations, particularly the NAC, on how to build a more just society.

The Australian government, through the Bi-Centenary Authority, has made an effort to consult with the Aboriginal people, particularly the NAC, on how the participation in the bicentenary can be encouraged. We have been prepared to go along with this on the understanding that our involvement is conditional on stronger measures being taken by government and community to end the cycle of oppression of Aboriginal peoples as aliens in our own land, by 1988. Any measures must be properly endorsed by Aboriginal people, and particularly the NAC, and those other more direct measures are called for. Let it leave to you to imagine what those other measures might be.

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Concerned that measures to prevent land rights in Western Australia may be overridden by the federal government (the federal government has constitutional responsibilities for Aboriginal land rights), May 1985.


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

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

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

As a culmination of these developments, on Monday, 13 March 1985, 600 Aborigines from all over Australia converged on Parliament House in Canberra to protest against the inadequate recognition of the federal government's proposed 'uniform' land rights model. An open letter to the government, the 1985 Australian Labor Party federal conference, also expressed concern over what they saw as the inadequate recognition of the federal government's proposed 'uniform' land rights model.

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Concerned that measures to prevent land rights in Western Australia may be overridden by the federal government (the federal government has constitutional responsibilities for Aboriginal land rights), May 1985.
Perhaps it is in examining the performance of politicians that we can find a clue to what is at the heart of the land rights debate - motivational integrity or lack of it. For all too many politicians, the motives of politicians who profess to support land rights would find little evidence of a commitment to justice. Instead we would more likely identify a misconception that they are giving something to Aborigines and that Aborigines should be grateful. It is a poisonous view that ignores the truth that, as the land was ours, is ours, and will remain ours despite the fact that it has been and will continue to be illegally used and occupied by others. Land rights does not mean giving, it means returning land which was taken from us.

I realise that politicians are reluctant to accept this view. However, we can offer other justifications for land rights that, as Aborigines see them, offer politicians a way out of this dilemma. These justifications remove land rights from the gutter of political brawling the Labor and Liberal parties have reduced them to the level of legal and moral obligation. In my view there are three:

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

With respect to the first I need only refer briefly to the well-documented evidence of European settlement on the indigenous communities of this country. Our ancestors were not the first people to enter into reserve areas regarded as unsuitable for agricultural pursuits; and exploited as slave labour by pastoralists in return for basic sustenance. The sorry litany of atrocities associated with this process is well known including massacres by shooting and poisoning, imprisonment, starvation and disease. Even today anecdotal evidence of these atrocities can be elicited from living Aborigines and this augments historical accounts. It has become part of the body of knowledge passed down to us by our parents.

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

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

This anomaly will continue till we regain a sense of community and social control. Comprehensive land rights will enable us to develop an independent economic base which would impede us from the dependence mentality.

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

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

The 1957 International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention Number 107, which is still in force, and which concerns the protection of indigenous populations, states that the right of ownership, individual or collective, of members of indigenous populations over the lands they traditionally occupy, shall be recognised. Since that time United Nations conventions relevant to indigenous peoples have been ratified by Australia, and yet it has failed to do this with ILO Convention 107. This is despite the fact that government parties to the level of legal and moral obligation. It has had the approval of all Australian governments, as required since 1974 - since our prime minister, Gough Whitlam, in an address to the NAC in 1981, said that the reason the Convention had not been signed by the Labor government, despite the fact that it had agreed to ratify other conventions dealing with indigenous rights, was that it would entitle Aborigines to 'share the loot'. The ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate. In other words, it meant they could not have appealed to the ILO Committee in Geneva if land rights did not ensue, or if land rights legislation that did ensue was regarded by Aborigines as inappropriate or inadequate.

The government has failed to react to threats by the opposition to revoke any land rights legislation.

The government has failed to proceed with a resolution introduced by Aboriginal Affairs Minister Holding that recognises cultural genocide.

It has failed to uphold any applications under the interim Heritage legislation.

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

‘Australia is one of the most measurably insured countries on Earth and the riches we own are tremendous’. (Advance Australia, 15 November 1965). Eighty years later this observation still holds, although it might be more accurate to put ‘own’ in the past tense.

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

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

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

Ownership and control of the resources industry in Australia and Canada

By Jeani Moran and Ian Lowe

Table 1: Foreign control of mining industry in various developed countries (Fox, 1983; Crough, Wheelwright & Wiltshire, 1983; USA; Japan; Spain; Australia; Sweden; Norway; UK; West Germany; Canada; 1982-83)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Foreign Ownership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

40 Chain Reaction

41 Chain Reaction
The Canadian National Energy Program

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

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

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

It also set up two schemes to underwrite the special circumstances of mining: the Petroleum Incentives Program (PIP) and the Canadian Owners- and Control Determination Program (COCDP). The aim of the COCDP was to establish the levels of foreign ownership and foreign control in corporations seeking incentives for resource development. The incentive program, PIP, was to provide government assistance for exploration and development. The incentives varied with the level of the Canadian ownership. A total of C$11 million was paid to Canadian-controlled firms in 1981 under the PIP arrangement; in 1982 it rose to C$130 million.

Table 1: based on petroleum-related revenues, shows that Canadian ownership was stable at around 26% of the industry until 1980, but in two years this jumped to 34%. The level of Canadian control has also increased markedly since 1980. In the years 1981 and 1982, Canadian firms spent over C$11 million in taking over foreign-owned corporations (Canadian Petroleum Monitoring Agency, 1983).

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

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

Taxation of mining

Like most individuals, corporations have taxation obligations. In Queensland, for example, the minerals industry contributes approximately $100 million in royalties and the government-owned railway system makes about $100 million profit on its mineral freight operations. Why, then, is it a common perception that the mining and energy industries are a poisoned chalice for governments? One reason is that the payments made to the public purse by the mining and processing industries are a complicated sum of royalties, export levies, company taxes, rail freight charges, port charges and so on. Another is that some payments are made to the state governments and some to the federal government. A third is that the companies enjoy some unusual taxation privileges which, in combination with some peculiar district or provincial arrangements, do allow many companies to pay less than they otherwise might.

In 1974, T M Fitzgerald, then research assistant to the Minister for Minerals, R FX Connor, produced a report on the mining industry in Australia. It was that the government's net receipts from the mining industry in the previous six years had been — $55 million; in other words, the government assistance to the industry amounted to a tax break of $55 million. During the same period, the pre-tax profits of the principal mining companies had been about $2000 million.

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

The special circumstances of mining have led to communities permitting the companies to write off against their taxable profit nearly all of their capital expenditure, including... major items, which do not apply to other industries. Moreover, the tax law allows mining companies to write off a higher percentage of their expenditure... most other industries. This remains true today. It is also true that transnational corporations are usually able to arrange their financial affairs to reduce taxation obligations. An example of this in the Australian minerals industry are well documented. Concern has also been expressed about the growing practice of allowing customers, such as Japanese corporations, to acquire equity in mining enterprises...

The strains of federalism

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

The study was an overtly political exercise. In its own words, UDC's interest in the subject was prompted by a belief that its mining operations were bearing a relatively high burden of state and local government taxes and charges and, in this context, concern over proposals to consider a resources tax on mining companies in Australia.

Not surprisingly, the study concluded that the company was paying a relatively high level of state and local government taxes and charges at that point. No reference was made to the much lower charges which had applied to Utah's operations in their earlier years. The study did, however, give details of the overall finances of the Utah operation, as a result of which few people appear to have been convinced that the company was being cruelly exploited by governments. The figures showed that the 1979 operations of the company yielded revenues of US$720 million, with expenses of US$285 million, leaving a before-tax profit of US$435 million; this would generally be considered a very healthy return on assets of US$508 million. The report said that the state and federal governments together collected US$264 million, leaving the company with an after-tax profit of US$510 million.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Federal taxes</th>
<th>Provincial taxes</th>
<th>Total taxes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>113.40</td>
<td>113.40</td>
<td>226.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia</td>
<td>113.40</td>
<td>113.40</td>
<td>226.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows clearly that it is pointless to analyse the federal-provincial relationship quantitatively in general terms; the analysis depends on the factors specific to the province concerned. Siting the same hypothetical operation in Alberta rather than British Columbia would reduce the total tax bill by US$60 million per annum.
Turning to Australia, it is immediately apparent that Australian states have much less taxing power than the Canadian provinces. Queensland, in common with Australian states, has no corporate or individual income tax. While Galligan (1982) observed, the states 'prefer the indignity of asking the federal government for money to the apprehension of levying their own income tax'. There is no mining tax at the state level in Australia. Production royalties, now at the level of 5% of the Free-On-Rail value of the coal, are approximately the same level as in British Columbia, although royalties on such a scale are comparatively recent innovation in Queensland. In the early years of the Utah operation, the royalty was a scarcely credible 2.5 cents per ton. The only other direct state tax in Queensland is a comparatively minor payroll tax, which was less than US$4 million on the 1979 Utah operation. Total state taxes and royalties in Queensland were US$27 million, a much smaller figure than would have been applicable had the operation been located in either of the Canadian provinces specified.

However, the Coopers & Lybrand study focused attention on what it classified as an indirect state tax — the profits earned by the state-owned railway on coal freight. There is in the political parlance of a recent New South Wales government to 'take into account' the whole question of rail freights, and more recent examples of the Queensland government requiring mining companies to pay large sums for infrastructure such as road, shows the relatively weak financial position of the resource-rich states in Australia compared to the Canadian provinces. In both countries, the resource regions have relatively low population and consequently little influence on the comparison of the federal parliament. The Canadian provinces, however, are able to garner enormous revenues from resource developments, thus giving them significantly enhanced political power, the redistribution of political power in the last decade has been palpable (Richards & Pratt, 1983). In the case of Australia, however, state governments are reduced to public appeals to the federal government to 'take into account'. Rail freights has come under fire from the Queensland government to support the railway system without receiving the reality of this inflow of money. In practice it has to be set against the subsequent outflow of dividends.

Recent events confirm this trend. In terms of general powers, the 1983 decision of the High Court that accepted the right of the federal government to prevent construction of a dam on the Franklin River in Tasmania was a significant erosion of the rights of the states. In specific terms of energy resources, the High Court also ruled that the government of the state of Victoria did not have the right to collect an oil pipeline levy. As the levy was to have brought in $12 million annually from Bass Strait oilfields, the decision was a serious financial blow to the state. More recently, the practice of indirect taxation on rail freights has come under fire from the coal industry and can be interpreted as a warning from the coal industry that they will not pay ever-increasing government charges.

The Australian situation contrasts sharply with the pre-1984 Canadian situation, with a high level of federal government straining to transport the coal to the market, making the cost of transport comparable to the cost of mining (Carey, 1983). While these higher payments are not a matter of public record, however, the coal price is related to the cost of transport to the coal market. The coalition government is applying pressure on the mining companies to pay the transport costs. This on its own would not allow the state income from the mining operation from being much lower than either the Canadian province to be greater than Alberta's would be from the operation.

The whole question of rail freights, and more recent examples of the Queensland government requiring mining companies to pay large sums for infrastructure such as road, shows the relatively weak financial position of the resource-rich states in Australia compared to the Canadian provinces. In both countries, the resource regions have relatively low population and consequently little influence on the comparison of the federal parliament. The Canadian provinces, however, are able to garner enormous revenues from resource developments, thus giving them significantly enhanced political power, the redistribution of political power in the last decade has been palpable (Richards & Pratt, 1983). In the case of Australia, however, state governments are reduced to public appeals to the federal government to 'take into account'. Rail freights has come under fire from the Queensland government to support the railway system without receiving the reality of this inflow of money. In practice it has to be set against the subsequent outflow of dividends.

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

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

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

It was argued the rapid expansion and acquisition which had brought Dome to the brink of insolvency had "been vociferously encouraged" by the NEP. In speaking terms, Dome had been the leading recipient of PIP grants, with about Can$250 million received by March 1983 and more in the pipeline. Foster suggests that the PIP grants were "effectively used as 'corporate life-jackets'."

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

The disenchantment with the NEP has been associated with the subsequent revocation in policy priorities for resource management. The Dome fiasco effectively exposed some of the critical dynamics which mitigate against active measures in resource management, as well as the scope for strategically placed transnational corporations to out-maneuver nationalist strategies. In Australia, contrast, similar revitalization is hardly available and even less likely to be placed on the public record, since there is a serious challenge to the domination of the oil and gas industry by overseas interests.

Conclusions

A comparative study of the resources industry in Australia and Canada yields useful insights into the related political and economic problems in the two countries. In each case, the growth of foreign control of the industry has exacerbated tensions in the federal system. In each case, there has been some measure of re-distribution of political power toward the resource-rich regions. The Canadian experience shows that it is possible in principle to govern policies to roll back the tide of foreign investment, although in practice the net effect of the NEP appears to have been little more than a transient aberration; the Australian attitude generally remains one of collaboration with the foreign interests, which have steadily increased control of the resource industry. It is not clear which groups primarily benefit and serve the forest industry in Australia are bureaucratic organisations which primarily benefit and serve the community or the nebulous 'public interest'.

Forest Industry

The role of forest bureaucracies

By Val Plumwood and Ian Penna

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

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

By the other hand, both industry and forest service report regularly express concern or hostility concerning the activities of environmental groups with alternative aspirations for the forests. Questioning environmental groups are con- tacted by the forest services since the early 1970s. She co-authored the book Eight Forests, and taught at Macquarie University.

Ian Penna was Forest Project Officer with the Australian Conservation Foundation. He is a forest activist for many years.
In addition to providing access for industry to a publicly funded and maintained resource base, forest services provide other services for industry. They coordinate and provide a forum for industry and essential to a long-term industry and bear much of the cost and risk of this. Perhaps, most importantly in the present situation, the mystique of expertise and professionalism which surrounds the forest services means that they can provide a body of 'expert' opinion with an aura of neutrality while in fact acting as an advocate for industry's needs against rival claims on the resource. The importance of this function became very clear, for example, during the Terania Inquiry, in which a great deal of effort went into discrediting professionals and others who were not in the business of defending and promoting industry's needs. The 'expertise' mystique means that forest services can legitimate from 'outside' industry's incursions into the forests and discredit rival claimants or opponents, all much more effectively than experts paid for by the industry, who, as industry employees, are not seen as 'neutral'.

The importance of the forest services as 'neutral' experts in the industry who can be used in public relations exercises was shown in the preparation of the film Forests Forever. This film was produced in 1979 as part of the activities of the Forest Products Association (WA) - a trade association which works on behalf of timber company interests in Western Australia. The film itself was purely a public relations exercise to counter environmental criticism of the industry's operations and public forest management in Western Australia, so protecting the commercial interests of the Association's members, and also the continued management of public forests by the Forests Department. The total cost of the film was $30,000, and was met by the Forests Department (40%), Forest Products Association (40%), WA Chip & Pulp Co (10%) and other Association members (10%).

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

Further examples of the forest services role in legitimising industry activities or plans are found in the preparation of Environmental Impact Statements on proposals such as woodchipping and the production of apparently objective technical reports produced to defend the supposed need, value and soundness of forest management techniques. Industry can legitimate from 'outside' the department also appears in the credits at the beginning of the film, giving a further stamp of legitimacy to the film and to the management practices used in the forest.

Loging coupé visible from Hartz Mountains National Park, Tasmania.

Future planning

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

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

It played a major role in the development of Australia's pine plantation program. In 1962 the state governments had agreed to increase their annual softwood plantings to help meet a forest future deficit of 200,000 hectares of wood and so help counteract past overcutting. Because of financial limitations the agreed increase varied from 3000 to 13,000 hectares per year - not as much as the states or industry would have liked. However, by its second meeting the AFC had agreed in principle to an accelerated program of 30,000 hectares per annum with the objective of making Australia self-sufficient in timber by the year 2000. At its fourth meeting the AFC announced agreement of the state governments to commonwealth financial assistance for accelerated softwood planting. This resulted in the passing of the Softwood Forestry Agreement Act 1967 and the increase in the annual plantation program from 16,000 hectares in 1967 to nearly 24,000 hectares in 1971.

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

In 1969 the AFC provided further public sector support for industry forestry planning by authorising the establishment of the Forestry and Wood-based Industries Development Conference. After several years of organisation the conference was finally held in 1974, under the title Forest, Forestry and Wood-based Industries and the establishment and expansion of export woodchip schemes (supposedly to be later converted to domestic supplies).
Overseas pulpwood ‘demand’ was largely used to justify the expansion of export woodchip schemes. Predicted increased expansion. This was grossly over-estimated, domestic demand was also used to justify the expansion of export and regional basis. However, as an industry, the ambitious to develop a large export softwood industry. This new phase in industry development and growth is supposedly based on a high or increased rate of consumption to be as large as possible. The government forestry planners. However, as an industry, sees the profitable avenue for expansion as being put into lobbying governments for incentives, concessions, etc to make export schemes easier for industry to establish.

Some state government forestry schemes are anticipating the establishment of export industries and are planning increased government forestry plans. However, it is not clear exactly what the real reason for the export push is that the industry does not expect future domestic wood consumption to be as large as predicted by Forwood or the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Industry uses the profitable avenue for expansion as the export markets, and much effort is now being made to ensure that groups are not overestimated.

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

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

The legislation does not have any mechanisms for public scrutiny of licences before approval. It also permits the industry and the commission to avoid parliamentary scrutiny of some common social and environmental implications of these licences, which were expected to be extremely difficult to alter or alter. At present the only potential for public and parliamentary examination of such licences lies in having a sympathetic government in Victoria.

Forest services may be so anxious to accommodate the industry that they may even decrease their own powers to assist it.

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

Numerous other examples abound in the recent history of Australian forestry. For example, W Elsey, a Commissioner with the Forests Commission of Victoria (FCV) for six years until his retirement in 1975, was a Director of Timber Holdings Ltd from 9 March 1973, clashing with the FCV on its proposed policy of no public-forest sales, and having no public owner served within two years of retirement to transferring for the industry to the regulation of Timber Holdings is one of Australia's largest timber companies, directly and through its subsidiaries involved in hardwood and softwood sawmilling in Victoria and elsewhere.

Similarly, A E Lawrence and F R Moulds, both Chairmen of the FCV, also both became Chairmen of the timber Promotion Council upon retirement, while F R Moulds also became a forestry consultant and prepared a major report for FIRM promoting the logging of Melbourn's forested water catchments, in something the FCV had been advocating for years.23

In fact, the establishment of The Forest View, which grew out of the Stand Up and Be Heard Campaign, as did the FCV, was at this meeting that a senior public servant and a committee of the AFC were appointed as foresters will remain inimical to those

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

Peter: My initial interest and contribution to Melbourne Marvellous stems from my experience as a local community development activist, from my training as a town planner and as an environmentalist.

Ruth: Make Melbourne Marvellous is one of the things discussed in detail in the book. What is the key reason why you want to see Melbourne develop so differently over the next 20 years?

Peter: There are a number of reasons. We believe that Melbourne's development should be guided by our vision for a more sustainable city that values its natural and cultural heritage, and promotes social and economic equity. This vision is based on the idea of a city that is environmentally sustainable, socially just, and economically vibrant. We believe that by implementing these principles, we can create a city that is better for all of us.
Q. You've said that you don't want to nationalise all industries, but what sort of democratic processes are you proposing?
Maurie: We don't see nationalisation as the essence of socialism. We feel that the old-fashioned way of understanding the nature of social change. Certainly the big transnationals have to be under public control, 'nationalisation' if you like. If the oil industry, the steel industry, car industry and the big media, are not under public control, then you get a continuation of the incense 'buy, buy, buy'. So we do want to see public control over these giant corporations.

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

What we see as an overriding principle across all industry is the idea of self-management and this will take many different forms. We feel this is an important element of socialism. Self-management is the idea of collectives running the show and not having a boss or a dictator or someone else telling you what to do.

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

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

I am conscious of being burdened by a long personal history of grappling with sometimes difficult intellectual traditions and writing and with having to justify my own work within the strictures of orthodox academic standards. The discipline of Academic is useful because it imposes mental and writing discipline upon one, but when taken too far, it is like a mental straitjacket. Brian Martin is American-born with a doctorate in theoretical physics from Stanford in 1969. But he left the USA in 1969 to avoid the draft and ended up in Australia. He currently specialises in libertarian and self-management and ecology-respecting Melbourne.

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489 Elizabeth St,
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10.00 am to 4.30 pm
$5.00/$3.00 concession

Review by the Socialist Alternative Melbourne Collective in their draft program for a democratic, socialist, anti-patriarchal and ecology-respecting Melbourne.

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

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

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

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

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10.00 am to 4.30 pm
$5.00/$3.00 concession

Review by the Socialist Alternative Melbourne Collective in their draft program for a democratic, socialist, anti-patriarchal and ecology-respecting Melbourne.

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

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

Send your name, address and phone number, plus registration fee, to:
SAM Collective
c/o Communist Party of Australia
12 Exploration Lane
Melbourne
Vic. 3000.
Tel: (03) 682 3799

Make Melbourne Marvellous can also be obtained from the collectives, for $5/$3 concession plus $1 postage.

Books

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

As a social scientist, I am conscious of being burdened by a long personal history of grappling with sometimes difficult intellectual traditions and writing and with having to justify my own work within the strictures of orthodox academic standards. The discipline of Academic is useful because it imposes mental and writing discipline upon one, but when taken too far, it is like a mental straitjacket. Brian Martin is American-born with a doctorate in theoretical physics from Stanford in 1969. But he left the USA in 1969 to avoid the draft and ended up in Australia. He currently specialises in libertarian and self-management and ecology-respecting Melbourne.
much to lose as a result of effective challenges and\\njust seem to be there. In a sense, this is the point when the\\nstrategy to exclusively pursue. We should:\n"Whose interests are being defended — our\\ngeneral interests or the interests of some\\nother group?" What does the public interest mean? And to\\nwhat extent are we committed to defending it? \\
A more realistic strategy is to appeal to the\\nelements of common-centered social change, grassroots\\nmobilisation, and then works through a\\nmore general guide as an important guide to\\nwrite their own personal histories using\\noral historical data-base might be steadily\\ncreated which would help us all to isolate\\nthe general argument: 'We're all gonna die\\nand the origins and\\nmutually in assisting Britain: uncover the secret and\\nthe notion of nuclear extinction and then the possible response is to\\nmaintain a longterm intimate relation­\\nship with Brian's anti nuclear thesis when he\\nwas part of the study was\\nthat about half of the\\npopulation which was the central point of\\nUprooting War (1979) for\\nOutbreak of Peace, Poems and Notes from Pine Gap by Wendy Ppossard, 1984, 44\\nchains.85 pages, 3.95 (paperback)\\nReviewed by Sarah St Vincent Welch\\nEveryone involved in the Pine Gap project's\\npeace camp was conscious they were part of the\\nantiestablishment and their actions were part of the\\npeace movement. The nature of the peace movement — the\\nsinging, dancing, banner­\\nmaking, graffiti-writing, photography, theatre, \\\nworkshops, eating, sleeping, talking, planning and \\\nopposing the hidden and malignant 'Joint \\\nDefence Space Research Facility' of Pine Gap. The \\\nbasis of their common sense and their activism is\\nthe potential for US militarism and imperialism, and Australia's link to the possibility of nuclear holocaust. The peace camp brought the hopes and creativity of everyday life to the gates of an instal­\\nation that only promises death. \\
Every action at the camp was symbolically charged. The march of 700 women to the gates of Pine Gap on the day of the eleventh month and their keeping of eleven minutes silence at the eleventh hour subtracted and gave new meaning to the\\ndelightful misnomer of 'civil defence'. Against the depredations of the post-war\\ntotalitarian state. \\
Aside from criticising the 'nuclear extinction' belief-statement widespread throughout the movement and wider society, Brian argues that social democracy can assist our movement to\\nsurvive more effectively and much of our civil society, especially in Australia and the UK, remain surprisingly intact. This means that elites have a habit of failing to act in a nuclear war or soon after so the only strategy that works is to remain quite sane, and rarely, if ever,\\nmention that only promises death. \\
In short, despite the scientific debate about nuclear war remaining very lively, a lot of people will die in a nuclear war and civilization as we know it will be seriously disrupted. \\
Everybody except the US Defense Department is agreed on that. More to the point, a lot of people will survive in good conditions and much of our civil society, especially in Australia and the UK, remain surprisingly intact. This means that elites have a habit of failing to act in response to eminently sane and\\nreasonable arguments advanced by opposition movements. \\
We would all know the familiar advice that every group chooses to interpret the facts in a way that \\\nmakes an activist! All four are longterm social change activists who exist in their own right,\\nand much of the book is devoted to describing the facts in a way that \\\nmatches the public interest. After all, the public interests are \\\neither childless or celibate, who remain quite sane, and rarely, if ever,\\ncommit burn-out. Our task is to work out which creatively address these kinds of questions, a heathier and saner movement might eventually emerge. \\

56 Chain Reaction

In the section headed 'The Individual', for example, are four short personal histories from Robert Grew, Janet Hunt, Brian Martin and Rosemary Walters which address the general question: 'What makes an activist?' All four are longterm social change activists who exist in their own right, and much of the book is devoted to describing the facts in a way that matches the public interest. After all, the public interests are neither childless or celibate, who remain quite sane, and rarely, if ever, commit burn-out. Our task is to work out which creatively address these kinds of questions, a heathier and saner movement might eventually emerge. \\

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Everyone involved in the Pine Gap project's peace camp was conscious they were part of the antiestablishment and their actions were part of the peace movement. The nature of the peace movement — the singing, dancing, banner­making, graffiti-writing, photography, theatre, workshops, eating, sleeping, talking, planning and opposing the hidden and malignant 'Joint Defence Space Research Facility' of Pine Gap. The basis of their common sense and their activism is the potential for US militarism and imperialism, and Australia's link to the possibility of nuclear holocaust. The peace camp brought the hopes and creativity of everyday life to the gates of an instal­nation that only promises death. \\
Every action at the camp was symbolically charged. The march of 700 women to the gates of Pine Gap on the day of the eleventh month and their keeping of eleven minutes silence at the eleventh hour subtracted and gave new meaning to the delightful misnomer of 'civil defence'. Against the depredations of the post-war totalitarian state. \\
Aside from criticising the 'nuclear extinction' belief-statement widespread throughout the movement and wider society, Brian argues that social democracy can assist our movement to survive more effectively and much of our civil society, especially in Australia and the UK, remain surprisingly intact. This means that elites have a habit of failing to act in response to eminently sane and reasonable arguments advanced by opposition movements.
admits in the introduction, ‘as I read through my diary I’m a bit shocked to realise that what a beginner I was at Pine Gap, even a bit of a drifter. But I was there, and I learnt.’ Indeed, the diary section is a mere record of what the narrator did, rather than what she felt or what she confronted. Unfortunately the diary section weakens the impact of the poems. It really only chronicles the events of the women’s action, and is rather irritating and politically naive perspective, which evokes a holiday atmosphere instead of the anti-nuclear mood. The amount of ice-cream eating, beer drinking and swimming, rather than the personal successes and political commission of the action actually involved. I admit that in times of stress the moments of relief become very important, but the diary does not record the stress, the fear, the hardship, or the corresponding joy and empowerment of the camp.

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

Poison comments on her reasons for joining the action: ‘... the truth is that I thought the reasons out afterwards (which I should go on to think out again and again as long as such installations exist. The thousands of women who organised and agenised to get those 700 women there, and all the friends and families who supported them, felt and must feel the same. Everyone involved confronted large, psychologically almost impossible, political issues, and related them to their personal lives.

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New York, and John Hawke, whose poetic development has, to my mind, perhaps the most dramatic. Only 19 years of age, Hawke was the most exciting young poet of his generation (he is now 32). He has a gift for paradox, for revealing the truth in the most unexpected places. He writes about the absurdity of modern life, about the pain and suffering of those who are subjected to it.

Animal liberation, on the other hand, is a more radical and controversial issue. It is concerned with the rights of animals to life and liberty, and the protection of their interests. Animal liberationists argue that it is wrong to harm animals for human purposes, and that it is wrong to use animals for scientific experiments, or to use them for entertainment, or to use them for food, or for any other purpose.

Despite these differences, the animal liberation movement and the poetry movement share a common goal: to create a world in which all living beings are treated with respect and dignity. They both believe that there is a need for change, and that this change can be achieved through education and activism.

The poetry movement can provide a powerful voice for the animal liberation movement, and can help to raise awareness about the issues that are at its core. At the same time, the animal liberation movement can provide a powerful force for change, and can help to create a world in which all living beings are treated with respect and dignity.

In conclusion, the poetry movement and the animal liberation movement can work together to create a world in which all living beings are treated with respect and dignity. They can provide a powerful force for change, and can help to create a world in which all living beings are treated with respect and dignity.
reviews

smoke ring: the politics of tobacco by peter taylor, bodley head, london, 1984, 329 pages, $19.95 (hardcover).
reviewed by phil shannon

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

the dispute over strategy is paralleled by the dispute over tactics. Pacheco believes that 'we must agree to disagree and get on with the work' referring to the legalists and lobbyists versus the guerrillas of the animal liberation front and other direct action groups. Both are valid. Certainly the 70 million animals tortured in US laboratories each year need both the militants who organise to do battle and the feminists, etc who stand on animal oppression. Both are valid. Certainly the 70 million animals tortured in US laboratories each year need both the militants who organise to do battle and the feminists, etc who stand on animal oppression.

rejected as not valid by both wings is the so-called animal rights movement in britain sending letter-bomb to politicians. this study outfit is believed to be composed of the harp seal slaughter in Canada. In seeking to discredit the animal liberation movement, they hoped to prevent the eu parliament banning imports of seal products. A police cover-up was strongly suspected as well.

and where does the left - the classical left, feminists, etc stand on animal liberation? the left, says Ryder, has often scoffed at the animal welfareists' 'middle class sentimentality' and 'preference for pets over people'. The new concept of animal rights, further, makes us, as human exploiters, feel uncomfortable. Few on the left are members of animal liberation and we feel more at ease in a demonstration of a dozen pigs being slaughtered. Few on the left are members of animal liberation and we feel more at ease in a demonstration of a dozen pigs being slaughtered. The political to all areas of their practice. To fight the political battle over personal smoking, for example, pioneered the fight for the voiceless 'fourth world' of animals. In the industrialised nations.

the tobacco industry also means jobs (100,000 in australia) which governments like, and trade unions defend. For the left, this narrow focus often conflicts with their broader progressive concerns. the tobacco workers union in england, for example, which pioneered the fight for equal pay for women workers, was a founder member of the campaign for nuclear disarmament, is pro-abortion and anti-apartheid, and whose general secretary has a host of limbs in his office, scornfully dismisses the medical evidence against smoking and cooperates with the industry to protect its members' jobs. Cigarettes mean money and jobs. So do nuclear weapons. Conversion from harmful products to socially useful products that don't give us cancer or nuclear holocaust is clearly needed. Unless governments apply appropriate financial incentives (each tobacco farm in australia is subsidised by, on average, $25,000 annually, whilst dairy farmers pour milk away in victoria) then converting from tobacco to tomatoes will be just as difficult as converting from tractors to tractors.

the 'national sacrifice' theme arises from the capitalist sharks' hopes for massive profits from exploiting an area that would become a desert. The 'national sacrifice' theme arises from the capitalist sharks' hopes for massive profits from exploiting an area that would become a desert.

national sacrifice also looks at strip mining of coal and extraction of oil from shore. It is a graphic picture of the effect of uranium mining on the colorado plateau on the lives of the navajo indians. In the 1950s there was an uranium boom in this area, akin to a gold rush. Individual prospectors hoped to become millionaires overnight. They were followed by the mining companies, among them kee-McCee (employers of karl Silkwood) and union carbide. Now the mining is slowing down and navajos are being left with wind-blown tailings. The film shows the effects of nuclear greed on the culture of an indigenous people.

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the film shows the evils of unlimited energy development, but does not really show the way ahead - maybe that requires a new kee-Lovins, a well-known energy researcher, appears in the film. Coal is not 'produced', he points out, it is 'extracted' - once extracted there is no second crop. The 'national sacrifice' theme arises from the capitalist sharks' hopes for massive profits from exploiting an area that would become a desert (see also farming and forestry, for example). It is a graphic picture of the effect of uranium mining on the colorado plateau on the lives of the navajo indians. In the 1950s there was an uranium boom in this area, akin to a gold rush. Individual prospectors hoped to become millionaires overnight. They were followed by the mining companies, among them kee-McCee (employers of karl Silkwood) and union carbide. Now the mining is slowing down and navajos are being left with wind-blown tailings.

the film shows the evils of unlimited energy development, but does not really show the way ahead. it's a powerful film and is highly recommended. There are lessons for australia, especially on the question of aboriginal land rights in relation to mining, and it should be shown widely to schools, unions, councils, politicians and residents action groups.
asks, or do they "take sail of the movement" do both, Ryder, and the possible end? suggests the interviewer, 'you don't benefit the Alex Pachter experiment today?'s advice: 'there are always in context and used sparingly. they have been used in other films, posters and various functions of the bases. A few more clear reminders, perhaps from Hiroshima, woven into the body of the film, may have helped to keep that in focus. A lot of time is spent documenting the various functions (official and unofficial) of US military facilities in New Zealand, and the campaigns against them. These include the campaign against the proposed Omega communications project (subsequently built in Gippstown, Victoria), the Mt John Observatory, Black Birch, 'Project Lofbangh' at Woodbourne, and the visits by US nuclear ships. An air of enthusiasm and strength permeates the portrayal of these campaigns. The fallacy of 'victories' that effectively only transfer the problem to another part of the Pacific seems to stir me when looking at the almost manic grin of the coordinator of the Omega campaign as he told of their 'victory'. Omega for me is a closed and real problem, far from a victory. I realise now that the 'victory' of Hawke hacking down over the MX tests does not remove the MX as a problem. Contrary to the blurb Vanguard produced on Islands of the Empire, I don't think the film ends with a challenge to the audience to think about the future from a Pacific perspective. Although there were several times in which persons from Pacific nations made comments on the US presence in the Pacific, I don't think these were linked convincingly enough with New Zealand's actions, and the way problems shift around the Pacific. Neither does the film finally challenge the audience. Little attempt is made to play on our conscience to get involved in the peace movement. We are left with a sense that the major campaigns have been fought, and some 'won', but questions remain. What is happening now? Where is the peace movement in New Zealand going? What has been learnt about responding to developments in the military alliance? I left the film with an understanding of what had previously been an unexpected and mystically radical position from a country I had considered innocuous. Islands of the Empire expanded my awareness of the sorts of issues New Zealand has and is facing. It is a documentary which every person interested in peace and disarmament in the Pacific should see.

Susan Taylor is a member of People for Nuclear Disarmament and is part of the helping organize a peace flotilla for Melbourne.
URANIUM CREATES A POLICE STATE