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Cover: South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) guerrilla (Photo: Per Sanden); insert: detail from plans for Roessing uranium mine. Cover design: Ben Kilmartin and Jonathan Goodfield.

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**Bega threat**

In this far South Coast area of New South Wales there is some of the most pristine and valuable countryside in Australia. Its management and protection are, I believe, the major concern of the local council and all level-headed Australians. As a former councillor on the Bega Valley council, I fear that this is not the case. A recent unanimous decision by the shire to continue the woodchip operations in the valley is totally obstructionist attitudes towards the future well-being of our shire and its residents is that we have infinite land and everything will sort itself out in the future. Not so! Having experienced the totally obstructionist attitudes of some councillors towards razing this shire as a nuclear-free zone, following a recent unanimous decision by the shire to continue the woodchip operations, the valley will be left to future generations of Australian taxpayers, whilst the present generation of taxpayers are effectively subsidising the industry and its cohorts via the continuing intrusion upon its established environments, agricultural and fishing economies and its growing tourist economy.

One could say that our councillors and our quite removed Labor politicians cannot see the forest for the trees.

The supporters of woodchip operations claim that:

- it does not harm the environment.
- it provides employment (overall?)
- it gets rid of useless timber

The council has heard all these claims through an address by a representative from Harris-Davihowa and has, in its wisdom, agreed to continue supporting the industry — even before the contents of an impending environment impact statement have been debated and evaluated by the community it purports to represent.

Bob Arthur
Kangaroo, via Cambrerro, NSW

**Law enforcement**

I have recently given some thought to the issue of Australian forests and the subsequent silvicultural problems that chip-milling is inflicting on the soils and rivers in our area. Why do we allow such an industry when a proper community-based perspective, all it really does is compound year after year these problems of erosion, silting (plus the risk of flooding from summer logging operations), and systematically eliminate the natural beauty of our region? The latter is the very reason why the South Coast is so popular, from a tourist perspective.

The Japanese company is not left with the choice (they do not woodchip their own forests) and they will certainly never leave if indeed it is possible, the damage that the woodchipping operations have done will be left to future generations of Australian taxpayers, whilst the present generation of taxpayers are effectively subsidising the industry and its cohorts via the continuing intrusion upon its established environments, agricultural and fishing economies and its growing tourist economy.

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Bob Arthur
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**Symptom and cause**

Thank you for publishing the Liberator Workers for a Self-empowerment poster ‘Uranium creates a Police State’ on the back cover of the August issue of Chain Reaction.

We produced the poster in 1978 because we felt the anti-nuclear campaign was only looking at the dangers of nuclear power. It was not looking at the problem that nuclear power is centralised power and controlled and protected by the state.

In Canberra, Australia there is a law that animals are kept in confined conditions should be exercised daily. This has been enforced rather than attempting to get specific laws introduced banning the keeping of hens in battery cages.

In Canberra it is also illegal to sell cigarettes to those under 16, or to smoke in lifts.

As a long term goal an activist may want to see cigarette advertising banned, and all persons having the right to breathe smoke free air, but in the short term a powerless person’s energy could well be better used up in ensuring that the laws already on the books in relation to these matters are enforced.

This would commend progressive politicians attempting to introduce laws to do with such things as cigarette advertising. As an activist I am becoming increasingly political and this progressive politicians may get laws on the books, but emotional citizens not ensure they are enforced, the long-term change required from the new law is mainly cosmetic.

Andrew Freeman
Belconnen, ACT

**Par avion**

Following demonstrations at its Melbourne city store where a ‘Fête de France’ was held in October, the department store, Myer wrote to French president Mitterrand explaining how its customers are unhappy about French activities in French Polynesia. Protestors had called for a boycott of products being sold or supported the New Zealand stand for a nuclear-free Pacific. Myer were embarrassed by the poor attendance at the fete’s inauguration which was attended by the French ambassador.

The letter to Mitterrand began by explaining that the fete was held in ‘the smallest and most prominent store in Australia, often called Le Gastric LalaYet’, Myer stressed that they were not a political organisation but believed it their duty towards this section of their customers to let the French government know the concerns about recent events around the Rainbow Warrior in New Zealand and nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Source: Tribune, 30 October 1985

**C3 pollution**

More news about the C3 Link between freeways in the eastern suburbs of Melbourne. (See Earth News, Chain Reaction 42/43). The Gardener Creek Valley Residents Association has begun by explaining that the site of the residents association to the state of the environment and the replacement of the state by community and workers’ councils federated by horizontal links which are based on equal decision-making power and an equal distribution of wealth for all.

Joe Hart
Parkville, Vic

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Longer letters may be edited.

Write today to Chain Reaction, GPO Box 530E, Melbourne Vic 3001, Australia.

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One of the many protests outside Myer in Melbourne. October 1985.

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Salt class action

On 6 November 1985, Australia's first class action was commenced in the Supreme Court of Victoria. The case was brought against the Victorian Rural Water Commission by 131 northern Victorian farmers, some of whose properties are located around the perimeter of an area of farmland that is being compulsorily acquired for the construction of salt evaporation pans.

(A class action is where a group of people with a common interest can take legal action against a single defendant, rather than having to take individual actions for each person. Victoria is the only state with this provision, which was introduced in May 1985.)

The proposed ponds are the latest stage in a 150-year project of diverting water with a high salt content from the Murray-Darling to Northern Victorian farmers, eventually to be used for modifying soil areas instead of hiring contractors to spray 'Roundup' herbicide. Use of this water soluble herbicide contaminates natural water supplies nearby.

The last round-up?

Protestors at Courtenay and at Kyayquat on Vancouver Island are urging the Rural Water Commission to let them manage forest areas instead of hiring contractors to spray herbicide. Use of this water soluble herbicide contaminates natural water supplies nearby.

The opposition to the re-start argues that the NRC has not adequately investigated issues of management integrity and competence at the TM-1 and 2 plants. The real problem of the TM-1 plant is that the safety defects contributed to the 1979 accident. Some of the delayed work present in TM-1 and no-attempt whatsoever has been made to correct them.

It seems that while there has been ample time for the past six years for litigation aimed at avoiding fixing the safety problem, there has been little time for the relatively straightforward changes that can be made in the wake of the TM-2 accident. This hardware problem is not limited to TM-1-A, a study released in 1979 showed that these safety fixes will not be done until at least 1989 on 54 reactors in the USA.

Business as usual

The Three Mile Island number 1 reactor, the undamaged twin of the TM-1 reactor which experienced a core meltdown in March 1979, has been parked for re-start for the last six years.

On 30 May 1985, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) gave General Public Utilities Corporation permission to operate the plant, but they have been prevented from re-starting the plant by a court-ordered 'stay' while further objections are heard.

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The French, Japanese and Swedes all made major modifications to their reactors within two or three years of the TM-1 accident, but the U.S. NRC has only 'looked at' the troubles.

For further information: contact John Hallen, Friends of the Earth (Sydney).

Steel women win

As anticipated the Wollongong women steelworkers won their case (see Earth News, Claim Reaction 42-43). In Sydney, on 28 September 1985, before a packed hearing of the Equal Opportunity Tribunal, Justice Barbour stated:

With regard to the 35 individual complaints of sex discrimination against Australian Iron & Steel Pty Ltd. made by 17 women as former employees, I find all the complaints to be well-founded.

For further information: contact Iris Hallett, ANZATS (NSW).

The Equal Opportunity Tribunal found that AIS had discriminated in refusing to hire women as production workers, placing their names on a separate list from male applicants; and in retrenching women who were employed in 1981 as a result of the campaign by the 'Jobs For Women Action Committee', because they had lost seniority due to the expiration of their original job applications.

The judgement has wide implications for the Australian iron industry, it means that Section 36 of the Factory Act, barring women from lifting 16kg or more, cannot be used as justification to discriminate against hiring women. At present the Act says nothing about weight limits for men. It also means companies will have to look closely at their practices in hiring and training women and giving promotion. It should mean women will have some protection against retrenchments if past discrimination can be proved.

Carmel Niland, president of the Anti-Discrimination Board, summed up the position after the judgement.

In Australia there is widespread sex segregation in the workplace. Men have moved easily into women's jobs, such as nursing and childcare. Women have not been able to move easily into traditionally male jobs. In blue collar jobs there have been major barriers. There have now been broken down and there will be a flow-on effect to all women.

It is almost certain AIS will appeal against the decision which could mean over $1 million in compensation to the 34 women.

Source: Direct Action, 2 October 1985.
The long-running debate over whether Australia should adopt plant patenting — Plant Variety Rights (PVR) — legislation seems about to be resolved. The federal government hopes to plant patenting: Plant Variety completeness his inquiry into people who are actively considering the legislation than the adoption of PYR will preclude agriculture other than large-scale, yielding crop and pasture plants.

In the wake of McDonald’s backdown, the West Australian Confederation of Industry (WACI) announced that it would oppose the plant patenting legislation only if the government would agree to certain modifications. The WACI claims that its members are strongly opposed to the legislation because they believe it would have a negative impact on the economy and would also be a violation of the freedom of speech.

In the wake of the controversy, the government has been forced to release a statement clarifying its position on plant patenting. The statement reads, "We remain committed to implementing plant patenting in order to protect the rights of plant breeders and to ensure that Australian agriculture remains competitive in the global market."

The statement has been met with mixed reactions from the public and industry groups. Some have praised the government’s efforts to protect plant breeders, while others have criticized the move as a threat to the freedom of speech and the right to express one’s views.

The government has also been faced with opposition from some members of the public who believe that plant patenting would lead to a decrease in the variety of crops available to consumers. These individuals have called for a moratorium on the implementation of the legislation until further research can be conducted on the potential effects of plant patenting.

Despite these challenges, the government remains committed to implementing plant patenting in order to protect the rights of plant breeders and to ensure that Australian agriculture remains competitive in the global market.
International scientists have described it as 'priceless and irreplaceable'. It is the richest place in Australia for wildlife and contains 30% of Australia's marsupial species, 29% of the frogs, 62% of the butterflies, 80% of the bats, 23% of the reptiles and 18% of the birds. It dates back 130 million years ago when rainforests covered most of the continent. Due to climatic changes and upheaval, these ancient forests diminished except in certain areas where the warm humid conditions remained relatively unchanged. It is the Wet Tropics - an area of lush tropical rainforest which hugs the coast between Townsville and Cooktown — and its under threat.

Anne Hingston reports.

In 1984 the Australian Heritage Commission recommended the Wet Tropics for World Heritage listing. Whilst the commonwealth accepted this recommendation it decided not to nominate the area without the consent of the Queensland government. The Queensland government refused and announced that it had a policy of opposition to all nominations covering any areas of the state for World Heritage listing. The commonwealth also failed to use its powers and legislation to protect the area against the construction of the Cape Tribulation to Bloomfield causeway which affected a key section of lowland rainforest and the adjoining Great Barrier Reef Marine Park. The commonwealth's failure to act, in spite of its obligations under the World Heritage Convention to which it is a party, indicates a very poor attitude to the protection of our national heritage.

The threats to the Wet Tropics are many and varied. For the past 100 years the North Queensland timber industry has operated on the basis of logging virgin rainforests. But these areas are rapidly running out and the industry is now desperately cutting the very last of them. The 1986 logging season (during the dry winter months) will continue the logging of virgin lowland rainforest. Clearing of these plots to provide access and homesites will ultimately destroy the rainforests. There is continuing pressure in the region to convert leasehold land to freehold title for real estate speculation and tourist developments.

Numerous proposals for tin mining exist in the Daintree area. The beautiful Roaring Meg and another area west of Rossville are threatened by mining which would have a destructive effect on the rainforest and drastically reduce its scenic appeal.

Other threats include clearing for agriculture and degradation associated with unmanaged recreation. With all these threats to our tropical rainforests it is imperative that the federal government accept the Wet Tropics for World Heritage listing.

The commonwealth's failure to act, in spite of its obligations under the World Heritage Convention to which it is a party, indicates a very poor attitude to the protection of our national heritage.

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Anne Hingston in Natural Environment and Wildlife Project Officer with the Australian Conservation Foundation.
This is probably the most significant victory for Friends of the Earth International ever. So claimed Jonathan Porritt, Director of FOE (UK) at the FOE International Conference in London in October 1985. Indeed the indefinite ban on the dumping of radioactive waste at sea supported by a majority of voting nations at the London Dumping Convention three weeks earlier was cause enough for jubilation at the London offices of FOE. FOE (UK) had devoted considerable resources to a campaign similar to FOE's efforts at sea. This followed growing international concern over sea dumping which had developed amid much publicity generated by a series of spectacular direct actions by the Environment Federation of British Seamen, who prevented the transport of waste destined for disposal at sea, and thereby stopped the 1983 dump moratorium decision, noting that LDC resolutions were 'non-binding' on member nations. The government's determination to continue dumping was quickly thwarted by transport unions led by the National Union of Seamen, who prevented the transport of waste destined for disposal at sea, and thereby stopped the 1983 dump and any subsequent plans.

As early as 1981 sea dumping had ceased to be solely a European issue though, when Pacific nations voiced their concern over Japanese plans to dump radioactive waste in the Marianas Trench in the Pacific. It was the Pacific nations of Kiribati and Nauru which first pushed for a moratorium. It was a two-year moratorium which was imposed upon dumping at sea. This followed growing international concern over sea dumping, which had developed amid much publicity generated by a series of spectacular direct actions by environmental groups in the UK, Germany, Holland, Belgium and on the high seas.

European countries are responsible for nearly all the radioactive waste dumped in the world's oceans and so it wasn't surprising that these actions were European-based. Ninety percent has been dumped by developed nations. Ninety percent has been dumped by European countries. The government's determination to continue dumping was quickly thwarted by transport unions led by the National Union of Seamen, who prevented the transport of waste destined for disposal at sea, and thereby stopped the 1983 dump and any subsequent plans.

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By Bert King

The world's worst industrial accident ever, at Bhopal, in Madhya Pradesh state of India, made methyl isocyanate (MIC) and Union Carbide (UC) household names around the globe. (See 'Bhopal', Chain Reaction 41). It was on 3 December 1984. It was certainly the chemical industry's Three Mile Island.

Now the journalists have come and gone, the instant news has died down. But the poverty remains, the cries of anguish have not, the agony lingers on.

The lawyers have come and gone, but in their offices they fight like jackals for a slice of the pie; the compensation that the victims may receive. UC are on the defensive; to do nothing is to be held in contempt of court. The lawyers are busy at work to fight a delaying action. Will UC seek to frustrate by declaring some form of bankruptcy? The MunIr Corporation did over asbestos claims?

The tug of war goes on - will the legal cases be heard in India or US? Or will it be a war of attrition in the legal world, the victims may have to wait years for any retribution. Even the distribution of the compensation is likely to be hindered by the Indian elite and bureaucracy.

How to apportion the blame? The plant was designed by UC, but it was managed by Indians. Did UC transfer to India obsolete technology requiring the storage of MIC in large quantities, whereas their mixture in England? Even then, the modern process does not require such storage? But the Indian management had been incredibly lax in failing to maintain both the refrigeration equipment to cool the chemical in its storage tanks and the vent scrubber to render any escaping gas harmless.

UC did its public image even more harm, if that is possible, with another leak at Bhopal, in May 1985.

Questions: Is development more important than safety in the Third World? As Mrs Gandhi has said, 'Environmental safeguards are irrelevant; poverty is our greatest environmental hazard.' UC have corrupt accomplices in the Third World where occupational safety has low priority, where controlling and monitoring bodies are understaffed or bought off.

There is a form of racial arrogance in the developed countries that says life is cheap in the Third World, as safety and environmental practices are stringent as in the First World. We are not warned. We have this attitude which treats people as dispensable in pursuit of profit. So Marx would say, it's new!

People have to question the green revolution technological package, of which the Bhopal pesticide plant was a part. Is it in the long term the answer, is it advanced or is it destructive, wasteful and anti-nature, anti-people and beyond the reach of subsistence farmers?

There is the huge question. Could an underdeveloped country dedicated to social justice chart the correct path? The Third World must not be allowed to go down a path of a few but for the longer term benefits of the community.

Could Mozambique in Africa, for example, or Nicaragua in Central America follow the correct path for agriculture - if they could be freed of the repression of South Africa and the United States? Can China continue along the line of food production? Can they feed their population without environmental damage, yet with modern methods of agriculture? Are these fascinating questions?

In the case of India the need is first for a social revolution, for radical social change. This is the inescapable conclusion. This is the wider perspective essential. Only with this social change can conditions be such that Bhopal will not be repeated, and only the Indian people themselves can achieve that.

By Rob Hitchcock

Miners strike at Orgreave in May 1984, when several thousand picketing miners encountered the police at the Doncaster coal mine. The police were advised by the Home Office to use any means necessary to keep disaffected minorities in line.

If the police had been at the Somme, but I could see his point - the mud stank. An hour or two later we were riding the perimeter fence of the base preparing to tinkle our little bells and blow our whistles with all the symbolic significance we could muster in the pouring rain, when I heard the old bloke a few yards away shouting orders to 'Stand close' and 'Hold his line'. A minute later he was lying flat on his back in the mud as four friendly bobbies (transported up from London complete with dogs) walked straight through him. Maintaining law and order is extremely important in the UK these days. In April 1985, Ann Francis, a peace campaigner from Wales, was sentenced to one year in prison by a county magistrate for cutting the perimeter fence at Greenham Common. The judge was evidently not impressed with her plea for mitigation, which included a direct reference to the teachings of Jesus, and described her as a 'habitual lawbreaker'.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) believes it was prepared to go to power in 1979 with 'law and order' as a central plank of its platform. Years later, after the Tretian riot, the sinking of the Belgrano, the miners' strike and the Belgian football disaster, the government is still determined to stem the wave of 'criminal element' in society, both at home and abroad. Recently, at the Conservative Party's convention in October 1985, immediately following the riots in Birmingham and the Toskala massacre in London, the government gave police total support to use whatever means necessary to keep disfavored minorities in line.

The police have only rioted twice in the past eighteen months, even though they have had opportunities to do so more often. The first occasion was during the miners strike in Australia which has recently returned from Britain.

Further information: Juliete Major, Friends of the Earth, 37 City Rd, London, ECV 1NA, UK.

12 Chain Reaction
Picking for the revolution

Since overthrowing the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza six years ago, the Nicaraguan people have launched an impressive campaign to rebuild the ruins of their country. But the efforts of the Reagan administration to oust the Sandinista government are undermining the progress made by the Nicaraguans. International support for the Sandinistas is essential. According to Bert King, who will be travelling to Nicaragua early in 1986 on an Australian work brigade.

The first Australian work brigade to Nicaragua flew to Nicaragua via Houston and Mexico City in January 1985. A second brigade of thirty people is due to leave on 1 January 1986. This is a work mission, not a tourist jaunt. After a briefing session in Managua the brigade will be taken to San Jose farm, 20 km from Managua, north-east of Managua.

Why go to Nicaragua? Well, if one wants to oppose the Reagan administration's foreign policy, there is no more direct way to do it than to support the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan people.

In this case the support will be by helping to harvest the coffee crop. The Aussies and other international groups will pick in the more difficult areas, leaving the locals to pick in the easier areas, so that they can concentrate on 'soft targets' disrupting harvests and destroying new economic projects. The country is also in trouble due to drought — the harvest of corn and beans is down markedly, as is milk and sugar.

Meanwhile the second work brigade will pick the coffee beans. Last year only 70% of the crop could be picked because of the war. There are also construction projects at San Jose farm which Australia will sponsor. The work will be a diet consisting largely of beans and rice. But in the grim reality of a country like Nicaragua, POLITICS = BEANS + RICE.

The Nicaraguan people can withstand present shortages of many items we take for granted. As long as the people can be fed, the Sandinista revolution will succeed. The work brigade will take with them supplies which can be left with the Nicaraguans — medical supplies, writing materials for schools and industrial clothing.

And why is it important that the Aussies go to Nicaragua? The solution is that Nicaragua as a country is important. The USA has no investments there. But it is enormously important as it epitomises the struggle for peace and social justice. This in turn means the struggle against US imperialism, against the very bastion of capitalism.

What can you do? If you feel inspired as so many do by the Sandinista struggle for a just society, you can help. The Australian equivalent of 'Ship for Peace' is the 'Tools for Peace in Nicaragua' Fund. The aim is to buy essential materials, medical supplies, educational materials and farm tools. Your money will be well used as there is no army of bureaucrats in Nicaragua. The first such shipment, a Canadian one, the second was from Norway and Sweden. Cargo included medical supplies, urea fertiliser, milk powder, wheat and typewriters. This was an enormously important gesture of opposition to the policy of the Reagan administration. It is hoped that Australia can promote its own 'Ship for Peace' to Nicaragua.

The Contras are avoiding direct confrontation with the Sandinistas; instead they concentrate on 'soft targets' — disrupting harvests and destroying new economic projects. The country is also in trouble due to drought — the harvest of corn and beans is down markedly, as is milk and sugar.

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While Tasmanian woodchipping operations are currently being reviewed by the federal government, the cogs are turning faster in regard to the Japanese Harris-Daishowa chippering operations at Eden, on the south coast of New South Wales. Its licence will expire in 1989, but a decision on its renewal is scheduled for late 1986. The Labor governments of New South Wales and Victoria both have a stake in the Eden chipmill issue, and if certain planning decisions in these states are any indication, both have already prepared the ground for the renewal of the licence. Terry Cox reports.

The Eden chipmill commenced operation in 1970. At present, it is being supplied by 80 logging trucks from along the south coast; each truck makes an average of two trips a day, five days a week, with loads of 35-45 tonnes. In addition, the mill receives wood from the forests of East Gippsland in Victoria.

Along the South Coast, various environment groups are organisation themselves to fight the informal decisions which have already been made in the bureaucratic empires in Sydney and Melbourne. The Eden chipmill issue gained momentum in the latter part of 1982 when the New South Wales Forestry Commission announced plans to log the Tantawangalo waters catchment at the headwaters of the Bega River Valley. The Tantawangalo River is a pristine mountain stream which is the sole source of supply domestic water for the rapidly growing resort towns of Merimbula and Pambula, plus a number of smaller towns in the area. The same catchment also partly supplies Eden itself.

At the time of the announcement, the Bega Valley was towards the end of a six-year dry period. Local residents were existing under extremely tight water restrictions, and the 1982-83 summer was to be the last. Terry Cox is a freelance writer with an interest in government and departmental decision making behaviour. He has had a relationship with the South Coast forest areas since 1975.

South Coast of New South Wales. Insert: 'Management' in Nadgee State Forest on Victorian border. 

State forests
National parks/nature reserves
Sawmills

Tourist influx was yet to commence. By early January 1983, the small Tantawangalo weir could not satisfy even a modest demand, and the coastal camping grounds of Merimbula were being supplied by water pumped from beneath the dry bed of the Bega River. Water was relayed by tanker throughout the season uphill to Wolumla, and fed via pipes to Merimbula. The tankers were operating at one every half hour.

Needless to say, the experience sent a shockwave through the community. Apart from continuing anxiety about the quantity of water, the South Coast had also been confronted with a threat to the quality of its water if logging of the Tantawangalo catchment proceeded. The timber industry, mainly the established regional sawmills at Nimbmitabel and Eden, perceived public meetings called by local environmentalists as a threat and organised bus-loads of employees to attend them.

Behind this situation was the Eden chipmill, which was the real culprit for the planned assault on water catchments. Demands for logs by the chipmill was forcing the smaller sawmills to intrude further into publicly owned forests. The timber industry must be ruing the days back in 1982 when they organized worker against worker. Harris-Daishowa would
The much-vaunted 'public participation' in decision making, which Labor governments founded on the concept of 'fair play' and an abhorrence of stepping beyond acceptable government it has authorised the preparation of an environment impacts statement (EIS) to further upgrade woodchopping in the Eden chipmill with an EIS prepared after 1989 by a consultant selected by an industry. In liaison with the federal government, the proposal is sowing the seeds of the long term process of 'going through the motions'. YPAGV is made up mainly of secondary students.

Watsonia Barrens is the site of a satellite ground station known as Project Space Station which transmits live USA naval intelligence information gathered from a network of radio-intercept stations. This information, which is processed at the Victoria Barracks in St Kilda Rd, Melbourne, by the US National Security Agency and in Australia, by the Defence Signals Directorate. It is speculated that the information passed through the satellite terminal. The next visit came after the mass trespass when Millie arrived early one morning with a large contingent of media people. However, the visit was reported as Millie was humiliated by questions from the protestors which he was unable to answer.

Although the peace camp was organised by YPAGV, and the primary aim was to achieve what the UN has so far failed to do. This view is obviously shared by the IYP could achieve what the UN has so far failed to do. It would therefore be very naive to suppose the IYP could achieve what the UN has so far failed to do. This view is obviously shared by the International Years of this and that before the peace movement.

Peace year a hollow call

By Peter Springell

The United Nations (UN), and just about every member of government has an enormous credibility problem when it comes to the peace issue. Each and every government claims it stands solidly for peace, and yet this has failed to slow the ever accelerating arms race or reduce the massive expenditure on preparations for war, which currently run at more than $1 million a minute globally.

Agreement among member nations is not easy to come by normally. However, when it came to salvaging the collective conscience of governments, it was not difficult to achieve what the IYP could achieve what the UN has so far failed to do. This did not commit any of the parties to doing anything other than making the already well-rehearsed, and all-too-familiar appropriate noises at the right time. It was therefore hardly a big deal for Australia to have co-sponsored a Costa Rican resolution on the IYP at the UN General Assembly on Nuclear Disarmament.

There have of course been plenty of International Years of this and that before, and they have achieved very little in the long run, despite their cost. The UN was founded to ensure peace, and yet after 40 years of non-stop effort by the very best diplomats the world has to offer, very little progress has been made. It would therefore be very naive to suppose the IYP could achieve what the UN has so far failed to do. This view is obviously shared by the world community.

Readers will be aware that at the same time as the IYP, the government, earlier administrations have little cause to be proud of their efforts in securing peace.

The peace movement in this country, as elsewhere, is obviously in the ascendency, as shown not only by the increased Palm Sunday attendances, but more importantly by the Sunday vote for the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) and Democrats, not to mention the massive informal vote in the Lower House. However, it is also a very divided movement, as the government well knows, and as amply illustrated by the differences between the Democrats, the Green Party, the NDP and more recently, PANDA. Apart from encouraging ASIO to maintain the split, the government would also see the IYP as a means of adding to the divisions within the movement, while serving as a useful public relations exercise to demonstrate its supposed dedication to the cause of peace.

The divisive nature of the IYP is perhaps best expressed by Brian Martin. His views on participation are most appropriate, as in the Senate vote for the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP) and Democrats, not to mention the massive informal vote in the Lower House. However, it is also a very divided movement, as the government well knows, and as amply illustrated by the differences between the Democrats, the Green Party, the NDP and more recently, PANDA. Apart from encouraging ASIO to maintain the split, the government would also see the IYP as a means of adding to the divisions within the movement, while serving as a useful public relations exercise to demonstrate its supposed dedication to the cause of peace.

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directorship at the start of the long pre­
attack on her. Indeed, her impressive record
although the all-important question of
velopment Research Institute, Convenor
to announcing the above visitor list, further
Vice-President of the Women's Inter­
also serves to co-opt and absorb many social
and to induce radicals from their
At this time we need to take a closer look
what the IYP in Australia is all about.
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Cornelius has excellent cre­
outset that Cornelius has excellent cre­
mention in August 1986, with international
some other activities mooted are
Some issues not on the IYP agenda: Visits by nuclear ships (USS Buchanan in
Sydney Harbour, September 1985); US bases (Pine Gap radomes); uranium
mining (Ranger retention pond).

Resource Centres in each state/territory,
and regionally in existing libraries, com­
young people, and community and peace
organisation offices was also envisaged. Here
facilities would be provided, together with
access to information and outlets to the
media. The IYP further intends holding
many conferences, meetings, seminars,
workshops etc, which are to culminate in
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m}
Laurie goes for worries

Jan Ardill looks at a new style of 'consultancy' that is emerging in the wake of proposals to build the Eastern Distributor expressway through Inner Sydney. While an improvement on the government's past roughshod treatment of local communities affected by 'development', the process is also effectively stifling public input into overall transport policy.

In July 1984 the New South Wales Minister for Public Works, Laurie Breton, announced that an expressway, the Eastern Distributor, would be constructed through the inner Sydney residential areas of Woolloomooloo, East Sydney, Darlinghurst and Surry Hills. The road would take the form of a 'tunnel' running from the Harbour Bridge exit through to Anzac Parade, a distance of 1.5 km. Hundreds of houses and commercial buildings were to be demolished.

Following strong opposition, this plan was scaled down to a proposal for twin tunnels, with a ten-lane expressway leading through Woolloomooloo to the tunnel's entrance. (Some cynics have suggested that the first outrageous proposal paved the way for community acceptance of the second, which had been intended all along.) In all, this proposal would cost $140 million, achieving a saving of several minutes in travel time for motorists destined for Sydney's north shore suburbs.

The story of the Eastern Distributor illustrates the renewed vigour with which the roads lobby and particularly the road freight industry, is determining transport policies in New South Wales. Once again, one section of the community is paying heavily for the material and social gains of a privileged few.

Generally speaking, the areas affected by the Distributor are characterised by a unique inner city population mix, substantially different in character from the general metropolitan area. There are less children, and a larger proportion of single aged and young single adults (refugees).

From: Laurie Breton for the 1970's. Since then, continuous action by resident groups has been necessary to prevent encroachment by commercial interests. Heavy traffic has long been a major concern for the area, where 70% of households do not possess a car yet suffer greatly from heavy trucks and cars using residential streets. Residents have pressed for improved public transport, renewal of low income earners from the inner city area. In order to avoid wholesale gentrification, residents are concerned that positive steps be taken to retain the supply of low income housing.

Many observers doubt that the tunnels will ever be built. They fear that the first stage alterations, providing semi-freeway conditions on surface roads, are the only changes residents are likely to see. This will then leave the area suffering more heavy traffic than at present. Even if the tunnels are built, trucks carrying chemicals and flammable materials will not be able to use them.

Ironically, part of the area affected by the road was saved from demolition by the 'Green Bans' of the 1970's. Since then, continuous action by resident groups has been necessary to prevent encroachment by commercial interests. Heavy traffic has long been a major concern for the area, where 70% of households do not possess a car yet suffer greatly from heavy trucks and cars using residential streets. Residents have pressed for improved public transport, and particularly the road
and particularly a light rail system, which would serve their needs better than expressways. The desire to preserve the unique residential character, and to prevent environmental degradation, has long been a priority of residents groups in these areas.

From the beginning the road had served as a vehicle of Breton's political career. An energetic 'rising star', he has impressed observers with his capacity to pick up languishing schemes and push them through despite adversities. Public transport is an area where Breton is particularly effective at playing one interest group against the other.

When the road was first announced, residents responded at community level. In particular, the Anti-Freeway Action Committee (AFAC) in Woolloomooloo and Communities for Action on Traffic (CAT) at the Surry Hills end of the road. From the beginning these groups were faced with a dilemma; while both shared a strong, well developed commitment to public transport as the solution to the city's traffic problems and their own transportation needs, they were also faced with the necessity to ensure the best possible outcome for the communities they represented, given that a road was presented as a fait accompli. Thus both groups had different concerns and priorities, reflecting the road's potential as a vehicle for the advancement of different interests.

From the outset, the consultants employed by the DMR began to liaise with residents, trying to elicit support for the scheme. After Breton's initial announcement, residents were invited to comment on a series of six options displayed in exhibitions also played some part in pre-announcements. One group, Action for Public Transport, attempted to draw media attention to the fact that the cost-benefit analysis contained within the EIS had not kept up with rhetoric. Transport is a good example of this. Efforts by one section of the bureaucracy to control air pollution and encourage positive lifestyles are rendered futile by large scale activities promoting dependence on road transport. Transport policies in New South Wales are currently being determined at a covert level which is inaccessible to the general public. In order to demystify this process it is necessary to expose what is occurring and to open up public scrutiny and debate. The Inner Regional Transport Plan (which represents the coalition of residents and community groups) has called for a full inquiry into the transport issue. In February 1986, this was seen as a good first step. There is also a need for renewed public education on basic environmental principles, so that transport terminals and particularly the growing complex at Botany Bay. A feeling of frustration and bitterness is developing amongst activists; in spite of government lip service to 'consultation' there has been little real consideration given to the community's health, environmental and transport concerns.

All this sits uneasily with the New South Wales Labor government's present attempts to portray itself as environmentally aware and to promote its record on railroads and national parks to attract the 'conservation vote'. However one analyst has suggested that 'if there is the only area of environmental policy where significant differences exist between government and the opposition, and the government's stance serves to divert attention from urban environmental issues, where pressure has not kept up with rhetoric. Transport is a good example of this. Efforts by one section of the bureaucracy to control air pollution and encourage positive lifestyles are rendered futile by large scale activities promoting dependence on road transport. Transport policies in New South Wales are currently being determined at a covert level which is inaccessible to the general public. In order to demystify this process it is necessary to expose what is occurring and to open up public scrutiny and debate. The Inner Regional Transport Plan (which represents the coalition of residents and community groups) has called for a full inquiry into the transport issue. In February 1986, this was seen as a good first step. There is also a need for renewed public education on basic environmental principles, so that transport terminals and particularly the growing complex at Botany Bay. A feeling of frustration and bitterness is developing amongst activists; in spite of government lip service to 'consultation' there has been little real consideration given to the community's health, environmental and transport concerns.

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Namibia is the largest vestige of colonialism in the southern African continent. It occupies a large territory of 824 000 square kilometres of semi-arid, mineral-rich land — an area slightly greater than that of New South Wales. Bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean, Namibia borders on the north with Angola, on the east with Botswana; by the narrow Caprivi Strip — extending 500 kilometres eastward — it shares borders with both Zambia and Botswana; on the south and south-east it faces South Africa. South Africa occupies it illegally and has all but annexed it.

Namibia's population, which is estimated at 1.3 million, is composed predominantly of peoples of the Bantu language family: the Ovambos, the Hereros and others. Persons of European descent (Africans, English and Germans) make up about 11% of the population.

Last century Namibia was occupied by English and Germans; during the First World War by South Africa. After the war, in 1920, Namibia — then called South West Africa — became a League of Nations mandate under South African administration. After the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations (UN), the UN General Assembly called on members administering mandated territories to place them under the Trusteeship System. Only South Africa refused to comply. In 1949 South Africa enacted a law which in fact converted the territory into its fifth province.

Under the pressure of world public opinion and the demands of the people of South West Africa, on 21 October 1966 the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 2145 XXI in which it affirmed the inalienable right of South West Africans to self-determination and independence. The resolution abolished the mandate and declared that the UN would assume direct responsibility for the territory. In 1968 the General Assembly changed the name of the territory to Namibia and called on UN member states to render aid to the Namibian patriots in their struggle for independence.

An advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, handed down on 21 June 1971, declared that the continuing presence of South Africa in Namibia was illegal. South Africa ignored the court's opinion and embarked upon an extension to Namibia of its apartheid policy. Until the late 1970s, Namibia was administered as part of the Republic; since then, South Africa has been devolving administrative power to persons of its trust in Namibia. The UN Council for Namibia, set up in 1966 to take responsibility for the territory, has been unable to establish a presence there.

In April 1977 the Western members of the UN Security Council — Britain, Canada, West Germany, France and the USA — began discussions on the constitutional future of the Territory with the South African government through a group of officials — the Contact Group. The activities of the Contact Group led to the UN Resolution 435 on 29 September 1978. The Resolution has formed the basis of all subsequent UN and Contact Group negotiations. It proposes the establishment of a ceasefire, the holding of free elections — one person, one vote — for an assembly to draft a constitution and further elections for a parliament to lead Namibia to independence. For specious reasons South Africa refused to abide by Resolution 435.

Since 1958, when it was founded, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has led the struggle for the liberation from colonialists and foreign economic interests. SWAPO has been engaged in a guerrilla war against South African occupation since 1963. In 1973 SWAPO was recognised by the UN General Assembly as 'the sole and authentic representative' of the people of Namibia, while the UN Security Council set May 1975 as the deadline for South Africa to announce its withdrawal. South Africa responded by only reluctantly acknowledging Namibia's separate international status in 1975, and continued to set up an apartheid regime.

Since 1982 the UN has continued to pass resolutions against South Africa, while in 1983 the puppet administration set up by South Africa disintegrated, and was quickly replaced by two men, both South African appointees. In mid-April 1983 President Botha announced that South Africa would re-establish an interim government with limited powers in Namibia, which would exclude SWAPO. South Africa would retain control of Namibia's defence and foreign relations. The SWAPO President said that if South Africa took unilateral steps to declare independence for Namibia, SWAPO would 'crush it'. The transfer of powers took place in mid-June. By the end of the month, in a move seen by many as a step towards establishing a docile puppet regime, the South Africa government set up a 'transitional' government in Namibia.
In an official UN publication containing data available as at mid-1974, Namibia was described as a dual economy, consisting of a predominant modern European export sector and a traditional subsistence economy. The simplicity of this symmetry embodies the tragedy of Namibia.

The exchange sector is represented by large mining companies controlled by foreign economic interests and staffed entirely by whites, Africans provide the unskilled coerced labour for these enterprises. The traditional subsistence economy is practised exclusively in the reserves -- lately designated 'homelands' which are less than half of Namibia.

Namibia is the world's second largest supplier -- after South Africa -- of gem diamonds which lie beneath the barren soil. In addition to diamonds, Namibia has a great variety of mineral deposits including copper, lead, zinc, tin, vanadium and petroleum. Statistics after 1965 are scarce, South Africa's first act after economically incorporating Namibia was to prohibit information on production of specific minerals, production and concessions in the territory.

Foreign investment has increased rapidly since 1965. Namibia has become the largest refined lead, the second largest cadmium, the third largest zinc and the third largest diamond producer in Africa. Encouraged by low taxation and generous concession areas, mining concentration is based in Britain, Canada, West Germany, South Africa and the USA.

In the mining industry the largest employer of African labour and the largest single contributor to Namibia's exports, gross domestic product and government revenue. Uranium and diamonds were the dominant mineral subsectors. Diamond production on a large scale dates to the 1940s, that of uranium oxide to 1976. Copper, lead and zinc are, like diamonds, older industries. They have been adversely affected by post-1974 prices, but are in a position to recover if the anticipated mid-1980s price boom occurs.

Companies are not available, but some figures are. It is possible to state with considerable certainty that at the beginning of 1974 there had sufficient resources to form the basis of an independent and self-supporting economy — if it could have gained its independence.

Namibia's proven resources are significant in global terms for gem diamonds, uranium, anenite and germanium. Minerals remain central to the economic structure of the territory, contributing to almost half the gross domestic product and making up about 95% of goods exported. Because foreign interests operating in Namibia concentrate on the extraction of minerals for quick profits which are in turn reprocessed, other sectors of the economy have been neglected to the extent that the territory has become highly dependent on imports for most of the basic requirements, including food. Most of what is produced is exported, and most consumer goods are imported. The economy is thus tremendously dependent on forces over which the Namibian people have no control.

Development in Namibia has been subordinated to the need of foreign corporations to maintain shareholder dividends. Because of this, in a country with one of the highest gross domestic products per capita in Africa, the black population is among the poorest in the world.

A black labour force is employed in Namibia's economic activity. It consists almost entirely of workers from the north of the territory — migrant workers from the southern homelands of their own country. According to statistics published by the South African government, almost one-third of all Namibian workers are engaged in the mines. These workers undertake some of the most arduous, dangerous and unpleasant jobs going. One observer, writing about a copper mine in Namibia, has remarked that:

"It is impossible to imagine, let alone describe, these working conditions without actually experiencing them. To gain a small impression, try to imagine 15 pneumatic drills going full blast in a small enclosed room with a temperature of over 99 degrees Fahrenheit and the operators wearing long clothing drenched in sweat all day out of breathing."

A black worker on a mine recently concluded:

"We Africans work all day to give the whites a lot of money. You get 20 rands and he gets hundreds of rands. Many white people are people who stand over workers and call for profits and dividends."

The low level of taxation and the generous concession area offered by the South African government have encouraged many companies to invest in Namibia. The most important of these new venturers has been RTZ (formerly Rio Tinto Zinc), a British-based transnational corporation with global interests in base metals and uranium) with its active uranium mine, the Roessing uranium deposit.

Located near Swakopmund, inland from the central coast, in the middle of the barren coastal Namib Desert, Roessing is the only active uranium mine, the most important single economic project in the country — and currently the largest single producer of uranium in the world.

The mine is run by Roessing Uranium Ltd, a company which has been controlled at different times by a consortium; it has always included companies from some or all of Britain, Canada, France and South Africa.

The following table, from a 1984 study, discloses what is publicly known about the current shareholding in Roessing Uranium Ltd shareholdings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shareholding</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ)</td>
<td>41.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rio Algom (Canada)</td>
<td>18.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Mining and Finance Corporation of South Africa</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minatome SA</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>22.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** RTZ and Rio Algom's shares are taken from the RTZ 1978 Annual Report. The other figures are based on slightly conflicting data from a variety of sources.

Miners are exposed to varying degrees of radioactivity throughout the mining, milling, and refining processes. The consequences of this exposure are both short and long-term. It may take 15 to 20 years for lung cancer to develop, but respiratory diseases and genetic risks occur in a much shorter time.

Working and living conditions at Roessing are frightening. The mine is an enormous open pit. The millings are not covered and the prevailing morning winds blow dust from the tailings into the compound where the non-white miners live. All workers have been supplied with respirators that they are required to wear only in very dusty areas or when one of the chemical plants breaks down. When there is a breakdown, a thick acidic smoke covers the mine and people feel sick even if they wear the respirators.

Roessing has not been in operation long enough for long-term damages to be visible, and it is even difficult to determine if they are being kept. What is shocking is that the danger is known, the exposure is deadly, and yet the conditions continue. White workers, who live away from the mines and do not suffer night-time pollution, are given thorough medical tests several times a year. Tests include x-rays and blood tests. In contrast, non-white workers are only x-rayed.

As the question of Namibia's independence has become an international issue, the mining sector — which more than any other is dominated by transnationals like RTZ — has become obliged to take a close look at its treatment of its non-white workers. But despite all these pressures, the inherent inequalities of the system and the vast discrepancies between the earnings, experiences and expectations of white and non-white workers have remained in all essential unchanged. In other sectors of the economy, the conditions that workers can expect are even worse.

These shareholders are not the only foreign and multinational companies directly connected with the extraction of Namibian uranium. There are the West German uranium dealers, a US company, the Western Knapp Mining Corporation, and the operators were the target production of 5000 tons of uranium oxide per year. Uranium has now surpassed diamonds as Namibia's major mineral export and, while all uranium currently exported comes from Roessing several other mines are under development.

Workers testify at the Uranium Hearings held by the UN Council for Namibia in 1980 estimated that Namibia’s reserves range from 100,000 to 300,000 tonnes of uranium oxide — enough for 25-30 years of mining life. As an independent country Namibia could become the fourth largest producer of uranium, after Australia, Canada and the USA.

Special mention needs to be made of the working conditions at Roessing because of the health hazards connected with uranium mining. Such mining is dangerous in the best of circumstances. The water supply is easily contaminated. Waste from the millings — tailings left at the Roessing mine — can release radioactive materials into the atmosphere. Inhaled uranium ore dust and thorium attack workers' lymphatic systems.

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In the case of uranium, the colonial condition of Namibia is aggravated by the confluence of the economic interests of big transnational and the strategic interests of their host governments. Roessing uranium mine has a key place in South Africa’s nuclear strategy and is major exporter of uranium to the industrialised world. From 1976 to the end of 1981 deliveries of uranium oxide under existing supply contracts from the mine to its customers — including, Britain, West Germany, Japan and Spain — are believed to have totalled at least 13,400 tonnes. These contracts commit Roessing to the export of at least 65,000 tonnes of oxide up to the year 2000 — most of it to Britain and Japan.

Because of the political sensitivity of the project, details of Roessing’s contracts have been kept secret by the mine’s management, RTZ, and the South African government. The extraction and purchase of Namibian natural resources is banned by the UN Court for Namibia Decision No. 1, of 27 September 1974. This however has never been accepted by the major Western powers, all importers of Roessing uranium, though they have been worried they could face international condemnation.

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In view of the interest expressed and the amount of material received for the 'political directions' series of articles, we have decided to continue the discussion into the 1986 edition of Chain Reaction. One notable gap we hope to fill has been contributions from women. Many operates in the peace and environment movements as in broader society; women are given less opportunity than men to develop confidence to write and voice their opinions. We hope that women will feel encouraged to contribute.

We also hope that articles will be written in accessible language and avoid the pretentious diatribe. This is not because we are anti-intellectual; rather we wish to encourage the better 'educated' to communicate their ideas in ways that are neither alienating or confusing, such as by avoiding mystifying language.

Many people, because of their gender, race, class etc., are denied access to education and so are often excluded from serious discussion. We believe they should be given every encouragement to be heard.

Perhaps there are one or two points you would like to make, please feel not intimidated by the length of articles we have published so far. We welcome short contributions, as well as long ones. Once again we would prefer an outline of what you plan to write (especially for long articles) so the collective can discuss it and offer suggestions.

The response we have received has been excellent. We even received a message from the inconsequential Micky Barnyard, in his predictable article 'Peace and the environment' (15 October 1985). Barnyard exposes the ineptness of the Left ... people are moving away from the narrow confines of exploitative materialism and living with a different view of the world. A view which places the needs of people and the needs of the Earth before the needs of the systems (industrial, social, political) which control us ...

The aims of the 'Getting Together' process are to facilitate the deliberate and careful discussion of our options for united action; to promote the exploration of new and creative means towards our common goals.

A conference is being organised for Easter in Sydney. It will bring people from a wide range of movements along with individuals who share our goals and aspirations. The conference will be open to everyone interested in ecological politics. The 'Getting Together' process is also developing a number of other initiatives, such as joint discussions or workshops on specific issues.

We believe that a national broad left conference could make a significant contribution to these tasks. We are continuing to discuss perspectives for the left in Australia. We need to discuss similar areas to those canvassed by the 'political directions' project. All issues are being discussed and decisions about which areas to develop will be made in the broad left and feminist movements. Hopefully, these decisions will be taken in the 'Getting Together' conferences planned for Easter 1986 in Sydney - the 'Broad Left' and the 'Getting Together' conferences - which will discuss similar areas to those canvassed by the 'political directions' project. Both hope to meet in broad left and feminist movements as in broader society; women are given less opportunity than men to develop confidence to write and voice their opinions. We hope that women will feel encouraged to contribute.

The left faces two major strategic issues at present: (1) Feminism; (2) the maintenance of left unity. We believe that this is both desirable and timely for those broad left forces who share similar perspectives to discuss how to develop more effective left responses to current political developments in Australia, and to the vital issues of the 1980s and 1990s.

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The state of social movements

Following a period of expansion and consolidation, a number of social movements have entered a phase of reflection and dialogue regarding their goals and tactics as they attempt to confront the complexity and magnitude of structural and practical obstacles to desired change.

The labour movement represents the longest established and seemingly still the most broadly-based and powerful non-capitalist political force in Australia. Consequently, relations between the labour movement and other progressive groups are of pivotal importance in the struggle for a more humane society. Indeed, it is startlingly apparent that increasing bureaucratisation and conservative influence within the trade unions and ALP has been paralleled by the faltering strength of the social or left-wing of the labour movement. However, some socialist groups have begun to move beyond past preoccupations with the production and distribution of economic factors, and the role of the state in regulating these processes, to take up the concerns of and build links with other movements — for example, the women's, the peace and environmental movements. The re-socialised dialogue, the program of the Socialist Alternative Melbourne Collection, and the proposed Easter 1986 gathering of the 'broad left' are notable recent initiatives in this context.

Unfortunately, a significant degree of suspicion regarding tactical motives as well as basic commitments has retarded the development of cooperation between progressive sections of the left and other social movements. Many feminists point to the continuing dominance of patriarchal, authoritarian attitudes and structures within the left, and many environmentalists point to the pervasiveness of the left's failure to understand a number of fundamental political, economic and cultural issues. The mainstream media has been crucial in sustaining public awareness of the peace movements' concerns — though attention has focussed on 'newsworthy' events rather than empathetic, critical exploration of the issues involved. Actions aimed at specific national issues like foreign bases, visiting warships and uranium mining have received less sympathetic attention from the media (and the federal ALP government) than mass rallies with more diffuse, but still real, international disarmament. Nevertheless, the increasing consciousness of the interdependence of peace, social justice and environmental issues — in relation to political-economic and socio-cultural structures — which is slowly emerging reflects an important aspect of maturation within the peace movement. Despite this, the relationships between militarism, imperialism, and industrialism, and underlying political, economic and cultural factors, and therefore alternative approaches to societal organisation, development and defence, remain poorly understood.

The black land rights movement has been, and still is, of enormous significance in the broader struggle for progressive social change. As well as providing a focus for blacks' political identity and economic demands, the land rights issue has exposed the arbitrariness of legal property relations, the narrowness of economic definitions of the value of land, the political power of mining and grazing interests, the links between cultural oppression, economic exploitation and environmental destruction. Related issues have been highlighted by groups supporting community-based development and the struggles of oppressed peoples in the Third World, though the consequences and parallels with the Australian context have not gained wide recognition.

Community-based social welfare organisations and related political groups committed to improving the situation of, or winning social justice and basic rights for the unemployed, disabled and other marginalised sectors of the population, have engaged in a variety of practical and tactical initiatives. At the national level, important grassroots developments have occurred with the establishment of neighbourhood houses, child care, food and health cooperatives, tenants unions and the like. Communal cooperatives are still an important manifestation of alternative lifestyles, and in varying degrees, alternative social values and structures. However, the signs are that the deep psycho-social roots of individualisation or privatization in Western culture are being reflected in the erosion of an orientation toward cooperative practices, and, more fundamentally, of a concern for the cultivation of caring relationships between people and with the environment, in the communal settlements or collectives of the 1960s. Though there are many exceptions, these communities tend to be inward-looking and somewhat isolated from radical oppositional struggles. Nevertheless, their experiences undoubtedly offer vital lessons with respect to the political-economic obstacles to structural transformation. Both communal and self-help collective representatives positive manifestations of a movement toward a more humane society.

Over the past twenty years there has developed a growing awareness of the inter-relationships and parallels with the Australian context have not gained wide recognition.

Ralph writes a pre-conference discussion paper.

Points of Convergence

A number of general features of the state of social movements in Australia are worthy of comment. First, at an intellectual and ideological level, amongst the diverse groups committed to nonviolent, radical social change we may note:

- highly contrasting theoretical perspectives in terms of analyses of causal relationships and practical priorities;
- limited understanding (though growing awareness) of the interdependence of different social issues; and
- a striking convergence of basic social values.

Secondly, at a practical, organisational and individual level we may note:

- largely divergent organisational goals with typically little communication or cooperation between movements, except through overlapping individual involvement (though this situation is rapidly changing);
- contrasting styles of organisational operation and tactics;
- pervasive difficulties in linking the political activities of organisations, with the personal needs, expectations and interactions of individuals;
- highly limited and over-stretched resources (money, facilities, people) for sustaining political activities.

In sum, there is both a great diversity and a substantial commonality of orientation and experience. Two aspects warrant close consideration here. First, the fruitful and faltering momentum of most social movements may reflect, in part, the intellectual, moral-political and personal uncertainties of people comprising these movements. A simplistic, dogmatic intellectual and moral purity may stimulate or sustain — at least for a time — a political commitment based on emotional zeal. However, individuals whose, political preoccupations are wholly externally-oriented, and who fail to recognise their own egoistic motives and aggressive modes of behaviour, will inevitably provide conflict.

A maturing of perspective, reflecting an expanded awareness of both real world complexities and personal motivations, will contribute to the growth of, paradoxically, both a more critical pragmatism and an authentic openness at an interpersonal and at a collective level.

The relationship between political ideologies, cultural structures and awareness is obviously complex — and is the subject of much debate. Similarly, the relationship between the psychology and tactics of political activism is receiving increasing attention, as is the relationship to the dynamics of aggression and authoritarianism and the alternative ethos of nonviolence. While the building of mutualistic, caring relationships within affinity groups of activists is undoubtedly desirable, given that our daily praxis will reflect our progress towards the creation of an alternative culture of spiritual awareness of our interdependence might be seen to be a necessary dimension of the political struggle. Nonetheless, the cultivation of such awareness would appear to be linked with the emergence of a non-egoistic, socially committed, moral passion which is essential to sustain a movement towards both psychic and spiritual emancipation.
must be combined with a sense of humour and affirmation of the joyful life.

Second, granted the improbability of a radical consensus regarding the relative significance and interrelations of class, patriarchal and ethnic domination, industrialism, imperialism and militarism, material, psychosocial and spiritual human needs, grassroots initiatives, mass opposition and parliamentary politics, what common ground or meeting point can we identify and build upon? It would seem that most of us share a commitment to a struggle for a more just, participatory and sustainable society responsive to basic human needs, democratic involvement and ecological realities. Indeed, a number of value imperatives appear to be widely shared amongst radically oriented people:

• All people should have access to their basic material needs and be able to achieve a radical social change.
• All people should have opportunities for personal fulfilment through work, creative activities and social interaction.
• All people should have substantial control over their own lives, including opportunities for involvement in decision-making affecting their work, community and environment.
• All people should be able to live in freedom from fear of war and personal violence.

Ecological systems and natural resources should be conserved to provide for human needs in the future.

• Other species should be protected and suffering of animals minimised.

While certain of these value statements might be open to a plausible, eventually conservative interpretation, taken together, especially in the context of the imperative of involvement in decision-making — a radical thrust is sustained. If the validity and interdependence of these value imperatives is accepted, the key question is: what political response is required?

A rationale for linking social movements

In view of, on the one hand, the substantial commonality of values held by many people in diverse social movements, and on the other hand, the profound political-economic and cultural obstacles to realisation of these values, a good case can be made for significant cooperation between organisations involved in different movements. The limited — though important achievements of individual movements in recent decades suggest that some linkage of efforts may be a prerequisite of a renewed, expanded and powerful mobilisation for progressive social change. Furthermore, if a major part of the Australian population is to be persuaded that it is within its power to contribute to the creation of a more humane society, then it will be necessary to articulate a cohesive alternative vision which would be meaningful in the context of people’s current experience. So long as the various social movements pursue their goals in virtual isolation, they may be played off against one another by dominant interests (e.g. ‘jobs versus environment’, ‘employed versus unemployed’). It is essential that we both explore the connections — including conflicts — between our various concerns and begin to articulate and propagate the elements of an alternative vision.

What linkages might be forged between different social movements? There are a range of possibilities:

• information-sharing (newsletters, research etc).
• resource-sharing (office space, equipment, paid staff, media skills etc).
• dialogue to promote constructive criticism, mutual understanding and sharing of experience regarding organisation, tactics etc.
• dialogue to develop shared positions on specific issues.
• cooperative action on specific issues.
• formation of a network of organisations committed to ongoing cooperation encompassing the above possibilities (Network for Action).
• formation of a network or coalition of organisations committed to a broadly based struggle towards structural change (Coalition for Change).
• formation of a broadly based extra-parliamentary organisation committed to radical social change (Radical Change Movement).
• formation of a broadly based radical parliamentary party (Radical Party).
• formation of a network of organisations engaged in practical, cooperative activities (Grassroots Network).

We believe that the formation of a broadly-based organisation integrating political action directed toward structural change with practical, cooperative activities (‘New Society Movement’) is a crucial and immediately possible development. Important initiatives corresponding to a number of the above options have, of course, already occurred in Australia. Our challenge is to broaden and strengthen the linkages.

Some anticipated objections

At this point we should perhaps consider potential reasons why closer linkages between different social movements might be judged either impractical or undesirable.

First, it is apparent that radical political organisations tend to operate at the limits of their capacities, in terms of immediately available skills, energies and resources. Substantial interaction with organisations outside (or even within) the movement of which we are a part may appear impossible. Two observations may be made here. First, choices inevitably have to be made between concentrated responses to current issues and strategic actions in response to longer term structural goals: the basic problem is that of strategic integration. Secondly, the building of links with other organisations may, over the medium-term, significantly increase capacities to respond to current issues — indeed, such an increase might be regarded as a measure of the justification of inter-organisational cooperation. While a strong, mutual commitment to cooperation would be essential, long-term success would depend upon a gradual engagement, slowly building effective relationships and trust.

Secondly, substantial centralisation of radical political activities might lead to bureaucratization and the concentration of organisational power, weakening the opportunities for grassroots involvement and the impetus for creative initiatives within particular areas of concern. This very real danger underscores the necessity of organisational structures which pivot upon grassroots involvement, though the problem of effective integration or coordination must also be confronted. Decentralised political activities may be politically effective if they are at least informally linked with one another. In some form of network, linkage would appear to offer an appropriate structure. Arguments for ‘strategic separation’ espoused by many black activists, radical separatists and some disabled groups — so that they might sustain their own public voices and organisational styles of practice — are supported by the more dominant groups of activists — command respect, yet potential modes of networking need not have undesirable consequences.

Thirdly, quite fundamental divergences of goals, ideologies, interests, structures and tactics do exist between radical organisations — these cannot be wished away. Yet even if these differences are undeniable, to emphasise their significance as against areas of mutual concern or shared values can only perpetuate the relative political weakness of radical movements.

The challenge is to identify and build upon what we do have in common, rather than persistently indulging in pious dogmatism or empty polemicalism. The reality is that our various concerns are highly interdependent, and only through constructive mutual criticism and cooperative action can we promote a movement toward viable alternative structures. If we cannot aspire to a comprehensive radical consensus, areas of agreement can be defined and actions coordinated. Beyond that, the inevitability and desirability of a radical pluralism must be accepted. We cannot begin to overcome the fragmentation of our various movements unless we develop a hope of convincing the population at large of the practicality as well as the desirability of radical social change.

At the same time, it is also apparent that radical alternatives are only likely to prove attractive if they incorporate the possibility of substantial diversity of social structures and lifestyles. Rapid blueprint prescriptions by dogma will inevitably alienate the yet-to-be-converted, as well as being inconsistent with the creation of a ‘liberated society’ through an experientially grounded, participatory, reflective process. Atheist/revolutionary strategies of transformation imposed through authoritarian edict may be expected top result in catastrophic social dislocation and continuing oppression.
but not impossible.

The nuclear arms race is only a result of twentieth century industrial civilisation and the rivalries between different blocks. A frightening consequence, but a consequence nonetheless. For the NDP, the basic question of causing will remain its stumbling block. 'Towards a red and green coalition,' Chain Reaction 41

I hope I may be forgiven for two faults: Firstly, for not contributing to the liberation of the NCP. I leave that to media personalities who left, or threatened to do so and are now counting heads to decide finally, and to many of those who have remained but insist on contributing nothing more than their travel money and their mindless babbling. Secondly, for repeating myself to some extent: see 'Open letter to an accidental Senator [Vallentine],' Peace Studies, April 1983.

My view in the debate is put simply thus: we either sink our differences and unite in a grand Rainbow Alliance, or we will continue to be electorally irrelevant and our differences will sink us separately, one by one.

Before I explain who we are, I may be allowed to declare my position. I have been studying the issue of uranium in its legal, economic, political and social implications for the last nine months. As I came to understand the link between nuclear power and nuclear arms I broadened by interest in peace studies, if the description fits, and disarmament — nuclear at first, and then of all kinds — to reverse the trend of our society towards nuclear omnicide. Of course, I share the three basic goals of the NCP. But my position is more than a point of arrival.

If we wish to translate into action the rhetoric about their being 'millions of us,' then our constituency must be enlarged to the blacks, the migrants, the women, the conservative youth, the pensioners, the unemployed and the political non-conformist and social outcasts. Among the latter I would place all those who have an unconventional taste of living, thinking or living — such as the consumers of 'sour' brands of socialism and communism. What would it matter if, in the interests of unity and success, the cherished liturgy and the imported ways of thought be made more consonant to what my friends identify as 'Australian custom expressed with the word 'discretion.'

This is the scenario, this is the script. And it was all acted out to consumer perfection before camera and microphone. Is there anyone then that a modern Jeremiah from Minnesota, reasonable, knowledgable and decent could not have a chance to be listened to? Americans and their dependants are in no mood to listen to any rational argument, particularly when it requires a lengthy presentation and it poses what the French would call in problemitique.

The political process is then debased to a collection of quips or one-liners: 'You ain't seen nothing yet.' to deny the reality of what has actually happened, and keep the electors away from their real interests. That pup earned Reagan four more years. We are treated to no better now! 'The only trust I seek ... is your trust that we will continue to put Australia first.'

If this is not the solution what is then the problem, le problemitique? It calls for the study of an interrelated set of challenges to government caused by human agency. A new breed of forces must first of all address a policy of atonement for the ravages on the Aboriginal inhabitants of this land, recognise their rights — a particularly difficult endeavour, as this will require the application of a system which is still foreign to them and imposed on them, to preserve their religious life and sacred sites. This must be done by having the Aborigines on our side, because past promises made to them either have been betrayed or have not attracted their confidence. We must act in a matter of duty, without any expectation. This must be an act of conscience. We must look for the support of those men and women whom the Aborigines still respect. Perhaps the Aborigines may trust us one more.

It is this trust which will encourage other minorities to believe that we are not some new brand of racket in the 'ethnic industry.' I am thinking of people like the Greeks, who twice voted for Mr. Hawke's party, soon to find that their control of the heartland spied on from space by appointment to the CIA, How many nautical miles between Greece and Italy? Forty. And how many kilometres from Greece to Yugoslavia? None.

In a world rendered more sinister by growing violence, torture, terrorism, assassination, disappearances and police or military force by government and would-be governments, Australia may appear as an oasis of peace. A Rainbow Alliance must throw light over the darkest spot of the Australian psyche, the inherited taints of being — still at least in thought — an English colony. For instance, Greece provides an excellent example of how programs are expected to understand and accept the transliteration of the English custom expressed with the word 'discretion'.

One way of moving to a democratic life is to establish the rights of all social and minority groups, in a peaceful, educated
and free society. We must address ourselves to the sponsorship of land rights, human rights, education, to dismantle the military-industrial-bureaucratic-academic complex, in a spirit of freedom information particularly about alliances, treaties and bases. The Rainbow Alliance must advocate the abandonment of a life-style given to discrimination, secrecy and clientelism. That would inject a hope for a rosy future, what all migrants to this country shared — and add a new colour to the flag of the Alliance.

If we said it clearly and were seen to mean it, why shouldn’t the grievances be part of a world system of detection and deterrence. 1 f that their budget deficit is $200 billion while Reagan advocates a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget may be informed — certainly it is academically, to determine that their country is in poverty. That poverty level since the great depression may be relevant — but again academic. The tragedy of the White children and adults may very well be that thirty-five million votes for Reagan over twenty-five million votes for Mondale equal thirty-five million persons living below the poverty line. We must make a better world more than they were before Hawke came to office. Hawke’s policies, Study, reports and investigations are scandalously repetitious. The situation does not change. We can’t blame Hawke, it is not improving. We must do something.

The Rainbow Alliance must advocate the incineration of the globe. Such open attitude to our neighbours will lead to the destruction of our nation, and of removing to the extent we may domestically do so the threat of nuclear war and interference in the life of this country, and of ending our occupation of foreign lands.

Mainly by people who have no first-hand experience, and often know so little more than what is peddled by the media controlled by the Fatty Foxes, Perry Kaker or Lord Smut, we are told that there is no counterpart here of the American condition. Or is there?

Having comfortably settled the unemployment at almost 9%, the glorious process of reconciliation, recovery and reconstruction continues. There are some minor pitfalls. An unchivalrous critic may insist with the minister for private schools and an infidel may challenge the guardians of education and those who stand back. But luckily for them there are not many Halliwellworths to remind us that one out of five children in Australia is reared in poverty.

We must widen our attention, from proliferation — through population and politics — to poverty. This must be reckoned expansively to include moral, spiritual, educational as well as physical poverty. Those children reared in poverty are ill-educated in a symbiotic public-private system of which they become the victims, until they move to the role of the unemployed — or functionally unemployed. Why should their parents continue to vote for a ‘Labor’ which will exact from them, without giving anything in return, the last pound of flesh? Its colour could cover a very large spectrum.

Amidst the self-induced emotion and the pompous listing of national priorities: growth, equity, and peace, against the silly-why should we not be more concerned with the intellectually enfeebling exercise of ‘questions the government says?’. Women, who must manage amidst incredible difficulties and keep the family together among these abominations, who still receive two-thirds’ pay for equal work. Men between 45 and 54 spend an average nine months out of work. For many of these people, the chance of finding work is fading. A Rainbow Alliance could mobilise the red of their anger, before they yield to the seduction of the red-necks. To tell them, would have been, to use the words of the Messiah of platitudes at the Sydney Opera House last November ‘a grab bag of unachievable electoral promises’ to commit a conservative government to: a equitable reform of the taxation system instead of cosmetic exercises which rob Simon to pay Saul; a further expansion of employment opportunities; housing for low income people; an increase in pensions and benefits; and an overall national policy which — as Curtin said — stands for humanity as against material gain, an instrument of change in the interest of decency and human dignity?

What is so unacceptably ‘radical’ in this basic program that it would not appeal to a large constituency? Why should this instead be concerned with the intellectually enfeebling exercise of ‘questions the government says?’? Women, who must manage amidst incredible difficulties and keep the family together among these abominations, who still receive two-thirds’ pay for equal work. Men between 45 and 54 spend an average nine months out of work. For many of these people, the chance of finding work is fading. A Rainbow Alliance could mobilise the red of their anger, before they yield to the seduction of the red-necks. To tell them, would have been, to use the words of the Messiah of platitudes at the Sydney Opera House last November ‘a grab bag of unachievable electoral promises’ to commit a conservative government to: a equitable reform of the taxation system instead of cosmetic exercises which rob Simon to pay Saul; a further expansion of employment opportunities; housing for low income people; an increase in pensions and benefits; and an overall national policy which — as Curtin said — stands for humanity as against material gain, an instrument of change in the interest of decency and human dignity?

There are some noises of whipped-up dissent. A fallen Liberal Party is on its knees. Is this not the language of courtiers, what is? Our first duty is to our neighbours, to all that faces them. We will not, indeed should not, present a glossy polish and the slick conmanship of the ‘packagers’ we have not got. Thank you.

We will not, indeed should not, present a glossy polish and the slick conmanship of the ‘packagers’ we have not got. Thank you.
The monarchy exerts upon our national life a profoundly corrupting influence. Daily print, radio and box treat even the present prime minister—have raised sycophancy to the level of a sporting effort. A populace like Australians, not particularly well-known for a demonstrative nature anyway, is offered day after day, month after month, and year after year this drivel about the royalties which satisfies the irrational appetites of the community. Careful administration and acceptance of that drivel feeds off a caste-ridden, horse-riding, philistine nation—throttled by the school tie, full of excrement, living off increment—and makes up this outpost of an empire which is as dead as a doornail.

The question of Australia becoming a republic is not—as an upstart like Mr Hawke would want us to believe—of no value to us. Nor is becoming a republic an end in itself. Even when we become a republic there will be a massive work to do, for we will need to purge ourselves of the archaic influences which still degrade our character, which deform our society and which retard our progress. Only shallow men—and women—such as we have at present both in government and in opposition may assert that Australia becoming a republic will make no difference. When that happens we will be able to substitute rational judgement for ritual, incantation, fantasy, ignorance and fear.

The republic, because of the fundamental equality at birth of its citizens, is the expression of rational judgement. The monarchy is at the pinnacle of that pyramid of power without authority, government without accountability, which makes of this country no more than a client-state, almost fully integrated in the international division of labour and capital which is not of our making, a forward-post for alien interests, the quarry of ill-gotten fortunes and economic privilege, a sub-tropical constitutional dependence of no greater value than a modern satrapy. Nothing could be more greatly misnamed than accusing Mr Hawke of maintaining a presidential posture. He is more the holder of a provincial governorship on behalf of foreign power as commission agent for foreign capital. Amidst the occasional embarrassment in speaking of socialism, Hawke's program is simply this: to maintain unchanged the structure of ownership and power. The 'new' formula is to take from each according to her/his consumption and to give to each according to political clout. 'Labor' has painfully become the alternative of the old regime, it has revealed even the purpose of elections. As such it may carry the heavy responsibility of opening the door to a Reagan and Thatcher-like government.

The question of Australia becoming a republic is not as an anachronism, mesmerised by inherited privilege—that too many Australians experience vicariously, as they become distracted from their real interests, oblivious to social injustices, conditioned by Victorian values and other horrors that this monarchical, enfeebling bondage continues. In the end we all pay for it.

The Rainbow Alliance could become that party; it could inherit the tradition of the Australian Labour Movement, which in the words of Curtin—has no concern with big business and stands for humanity as against material gains and has more resilience, more decency and dignity and the best of human qualities than any other political movement.
challenged. Individuals can feel a sense of their own power to achieve changes in themselves and society. Through building networks of collective, affinity groups and individuals we can achieve grass-roots culture of resistance based on an idea of cooperation and solidarity. We can nurture non-exploitive lifestyles, undermining domination, the basis of hierarchical society.

Social conditioning and domination

Our society is based on some people having more decision-making power than others. The organisation of society reflects this, from corporations, parliament and bureaucracies, to many volunteer and ‘alternative’ organisations. In the green and peace movements this method of organisation often can be found. Hierarchies, both formal and informal, are everywhere. With them we see the patterns of domination and competition and a general disregard for life.

This value system has been consistently instilled in each of us from birth, through social conditioning by our parents, sexual repression, our indoctrination in school, and our experiences at work or play. None of us are immune to it because of its prevalence in every institution.

It is this value system which allows the elite at the top of hierarchies to manipulate the people below them. In this way governmental use nationalism and patriotism to prepare for war and to fight wars. The violence inherent in war can be seen as a physical projection of power. The power of man extending control, of man striving to prove himself above nature, animals, other races and womin. It is a perception of the world as being divided into opposites — one superior, the other inferior. The act of one to control another is a hierarchical act replacing the bonds of love and respect.

The vast majority of womin remain trapped in a society forcing itself on another nation is an act of rape. In this way, domination is maintained. Womin are portrayed as inferior to men, as objects to be owned and controlled. Control exercised of ownership and control of womin’s bodies. Control exercised through a male monopoly on medicine and fertility control. The nuclear family which results is an ideal production and rearing factory of a new generation of workers. The nuclear family that basic conditioning of children to the nuclear family which results is an ideal production and rearing factory of a new generation of workers. The nuclear family that is based on exploitation and domination. The nuclear family which results is an ideal production and rearing factory of a new generation of workers.

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Political parties

The problem with organising political parties to achieve the goal of an ecological society is that, by their inherent structure and endorsement of parliament, they perpetuate hierarchies and domination. By its nature, the electoral process is biased against the underdog and against minorities. The vast majority of womin remain trapped in a society forcing itself on another nation is an act of rape. In this way, domination is maintained. Womin are portrayed as inferior to men, as objects to be owned and controlled. Control exercised of ownership and control of womin’s bodies. Control exercised through a male monopoly on medicine and fertility control. The nuclear family which results is an ideal production and rearing factory of a new generation of workers. The nuclear family that basic conditioning of children to the nuclear family which results is an ideal production and rearing factory of a new generation of workers.

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The German Greens have also had parliamentary representatives disbelieving Green policy and refusing to hand over their positions in parliament to new people

Even when radical reforms can be initiated through parliament, they will be sterile without the support of an active grassroots movement. It is more likely such social radical changes will be more actively defended if they are initiated by a grassroots activist movement. Parliament then becomes just a very expansion of superfluous rubber stamp for social change.

The Nuclear Disarmament Party

The problems and the split in the NDP can be traced to its formation. The first mistake was in not adequately working out a structure and decision-making mechanism for the organisation. Because the effort was put into running a successful electoral campaign, the necessity for establishing firm structures was left till after the election. This only resulted in degrading any structure over, and making the crisis and the split in the organisation more bitter and public.

The second mistake, arising from the unresolved question of structure, was the presence of the 'support and hierarchy in the organisation. Concurrent with this, Barrie Griffiths (in Green Alliance Newsletter to 10, November 1984) alleges;

Those who formed the NDP did so without consulting with those key people in the organisations and networks which constitute their primary support. Had it been their intention to do so, there would have been no better way to ensure a relatively non-active pressure group presence in this election.

The absence of anti-hierarchical structures, the existence of an informal elite and its mass media appeal, made the NDP a target for other groups. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) operated as an organisation that they saw as having probably contributed reforms, for the elected representatives to have more power and control over other organisations within the NDP than a grassroots movement had. These attributes have all been exhibited in the German Greens. A growing split is occurring in the German Greens over whether to continue the coalition with the Social Democrats. The Greens feel that the party membership is not large enough to compete with the Social Democrats. They fear that the Coalition would not be able to implement the new program.

We must challenge this violence on an individual and social level. To solve the questions of domination, submission and exploitation we must work on the personal level means that any patterns of domination remain the same. Success at the broad political level would only be temporary, for the old structures (or lack of) will grow back from their basic social and spatial roots.

The small group as a method of organisation

Electoral politics and mass organisations have a strong tendency to be ineffective in empowering individuals for social change. In fact, further alienation of people from their own power is more likely to occur. What we need are forms of organisation to challenge all forms of violence and domination.

We must challenge this violence on an individual and social level. To solve the questions of domination, submission and exploitation we must work on the personal level means that any patterns of domination remain the same. Success at the broad political level would only be temporary, for the old structures (or lack of) will grow back from their basic social and spatial roots.

Basic insights to the problem of domination has come through various traditions. The anarchist movement has inspired the need to change hierarchies through organisation in small groups and networks. Much of the recent insight has come from the feminist and ecology movements. The feminist movement
have contributed to investment. The BLF was also active in builders laborers were only Vietnam Moritorium movement, the
C<r1. 
• making method, the use of nonviolent conflict resolution, and the
change themselves. overcoming their own fears and
activities a small group may engage in are endless. Some may
roles assigned to them. The small group can create free space
awakened a wider audience to the use of small groups for
communes and health food
lifestyles.
has contributed much in the way of using consensus as a decision-
structure will become an elitist central control, another hierarchy
imposing its will on people.
There are still dangers in the operation of a small group. If
Occasionally, there will be the need for small groups to work
predominant hierarchical values based on domination and
free ourselves of all domination, can we eliminate the danger of
personal experiences and our everyday lives. To develop new
values which involve responsibility and initiative, caring lifestyles
realisable and desirable. In such situations the autonomy of the
particular issues or skills. Others may be more action oriented;
be necessary. Reaching consensus among all the small groups or
primarily hierarchical values based on domination and
dismantling of the branch by Norm Gallagher and the federal branch of the
union.
Jack Munday, BLF secretary in New South Wales from 1966 to 1973, said of the
green bans: ... probably for the first time in the world, a
union, in the manner in which the Builders Laborers did in New South Wales, set about to not only concern itself with economic issues, but
interested directly on social issues. The linking up of the resident action groups, progressive engineers and other citizens with the Builders Laborers to in fact hold up the ordinary citizens say in the planning process ...

The New South Wales branch responsible for the green bans emerged out of rank-and-file dissatisfaction with union ofﬁcials in the forties and fifties. The BLF leadership of that time was unsympathetic to workers’ concerns and was characterised by corruption and violence. A Rank and File Committee was formed to oppose the leadership, and gained the support and conﬁdence of workers, eventually winning union elections in 1961. The New BLF ofﬁcials set about re-organising the union with the particular emphasis on making it democratic. This included the introduction of limited tenure for ofﬁcials, encouraging close liaison between ofﬁcials and membership, and giving workers the power to negotiate conditions on site. They initiated campaigns

Political parties versus the small group
The differences in political parties and small group organisation
are many, and the results of their actions differ markedly. Political parties are seen as a shortcut to radical social change, but in fact they tend to adopt and maintain the hierarchical values which are the basis for the threat of nuclear war and ecological destruction.

Our movement must be grassroots to challenge the inherent violence of the state. It must be prepared to educate and act, to take nonviolent direct action to counter the violence of patriarchy and capitalism. And it must be a truly international movement to counter the power of our capital and transnational corporations. To think globally and act locally is a worthwhile maxim. With the developing international networks, we can pursue social change on a local level. Social change based on personal experiences and our everyday lives. To develop new values which involve responsibility and initiative, caring lifestyles
which are ecological and non-exploitative. Only in attempting to
free ourselves of all domination, can we eliminate the danger of
all war and ecological destruction.

Many of the ideas for this article come from the anarchist or libertarian tradition. Much of the recent experimentation with forms of organisation and structures has come from the feminist, pacific and ecological movements of the late 1960s to the present. I choose to label these ideas as ecological anarchism or green anarchism, but this is only labels to identify ideas and a method of organisation. Much of the recent experiments with small group structures and consciousness-raising has been re-entering and enlivening the anarchist tradition.

It is perhaps significant that the continuity of anarchist organisation in Australia, will be celebrated in Melbourne in May 1986. The anarchist movement in Australia has had long histories of ideas consistently suppressed and violently distorting. This centenary celebration should help to cast a new light on the inﬂuence of anarchism in Australia’s radical past, and at the same time provide valuable insights into the future of anarchist ideas and their impact on social change in the future.

the residents of Hunters Hill, was the...
for his time, a coalition of groups fighting to maintain a liveable environment in Sydney and fighting for other social justice issues. The peace and declining economic conditions meant that most of the areas protected by the coalitions of groups like the BLF and the AES existed today. This included the documentary Woodsmovember which Pat made with Denise White and which was a finalist in the 1979 American Film Festival. It is an enjoyable and inspiring film which gives an insight into the colourful history of the New South Wales BLF. Even though the film runs for 90 minutes or never drags, it races from early construction sites to demonstrations to public meetings to violent confrontations as evictions of Kings Cross thugs backed by police. There are many humorous commentators by builders, labourers, former BLF officials, residents and activists.

The film was produced and directed by Pat Finke, a member of the BLF in the green ban years. The film has been in the pipeline since that time but has taken the back seat to many films she was involved in the late seventies. This included the documentary Woodsmovember which Pat made with Denise White and which was a finalist in the 1979 American Film Festival. It is an enjoyable and inspiring film which gives an insight into the colourful history of the New South Wales BLF. Even though the film runs for 90 minutes or never drags, it races from early construction sites to demonstrations to public meetings to violent confrontations as evictions of Kings Cross thugs backed by police. There are many humorous commentators by builders, labourers, former BLF officials, residents and activists.

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Dear Readers,

How are you all? I've been asked by that perennial group of people whose labour and life energies go into the pages of this magazine — namely the Chain Reaction Collective — to write a few words about one of the flock who has strayed. One Linnell Seconomic.

It seems to me she strayed a couple of years ago, in leaving Melbourne for the sunny and life-force strengthening environment of Sydney. But she remained a member of the Chain Reaction Collective, even there. But it will be too far in Scotland, so Linnell has resigned.

Linnell's involvement with Chain Reaction and Friends of the Earth goes back many years. In 1980 when I first came along to Chain Reaction as a volunteer, a uni student with no skills at all, Linnell was the volunteer coordinator of the Earth News section. She was undoubtedly effective at coordination of volunteers as I learnt many skills in editorial, graphic art and general organisation whilst helping on Earth News. As well, she was involved in the Strategy Groups of FOE Collingwood, which was in the days when the collective shared office space with FOE. As a result of Linnell's lobbying, FOE Collingwood must have been one of the first community/political activist groups to take on an affirmative action employment policy setting the ratio of women employees to men employees as 60:40.

Linnell's involvement in a group called International Development Action at the time was important for Chain Reaction's presentation of articles dealing with the problems of nuclear-militarisation and independence in the Pacific Islands. She organised and edited the very well received 'Free the Pacific' supplement in Chain Reaction 23 (Autumn 1981). This brought to light many of the independent struggles in places such as Belau and the Marshall Islands. It was important not only for informing Australians of the need to support the NUCLEAR FREE and INDEPENDENT PACIFIC MOVEMENT but also strengthened links between Australian and Pacific activists.

Readers who feel frustrated at Chain Reaction's lack of coverage of an issue which they know to be in need of public airing should take note. Getting material published in magazines like Chain Reaction is not such a hard task. It simply requires a phone call or a letter to the editorial collective with follow-up consultation to see if editorial space can be set aside, and if assistance can be given with costs such as phone and postage expenses; and of course they will be too far in Scotland, so Linnell has resigned.

Linell left to study at Sydney University in 1983. She continued to be involved with Chain Reaction peripherally whilst working on the Communist Party magazine Australian Left Review. I'm sure all readers irregardless of political difference will realise the contribution Linnell has made to the development of Chain Reaction as an important polemical journal of the environment movement and wish her well.

Linnell, there's a FOE group in Scotland you know.

Bye, Richard Shilton.

Linnell, circa 1983.

Phew! Chain Reaction got through its eleventh year of publication, despite lack of funding, dwindling bank account and increased pressures on collective members. A busy year, with lots to distract us from the business of getting the magazine out on time. Among the more momentous of these was the birth of Luke in March, to two of the collective, Faye and Keith.

We have received much encouragement from many sources, and we would like to thank the many people who have given helpful comments and praise during the year, as well as those who gave their time and energy in producing Chain Reaction.

Best wishes for 1986 to all our readers.

Jonathan Goodfield for the Chain Reaction collective.

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