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Greenpeace reply to 'Hazel Notion'

All at Greenpeace took strong exception to Hazel McAllister's article, 'Greenpeace - getting a piece of the green action' (Chain Reaction 63/64). This is the level of debate we would expect from a right wing think tank like the Institute of Public Affairs, not from a supposedly experienced political activist or a magazine that purports to support environmental issues and campaigns.

Greenpeace took exception to the article on two grounds. Firstly, the attitude that Greenpeace was adopting a 'business as usual' approach to campaigning and the environment, then the author has a very different definition from Greenpeace of 'business as usual'. Hazel seems to believe that Greenpeace is involved in environmental activism purely for the purpose of making more money, to get bigger, to achieve environmental gains that non-direct action has achieved. For Greenpeace it is about 'bearing witness' to environmental wrongs and attempting to stop them whenever possible. This choice of issue and timing is dictated by environmental pressures and an analysis of whether a direct action or some other form of campaigning is the best approach to take at that time.

Hazel claims that one complaint levelled at Greenpeace is that we don't have the commitment to follow issues to a conclusion. S/he however provides no details of from whom such complaints have come. Greenpeace on the other hand, can identify scores of community groups that are current and, have previously, worked with the successful completion of an issue.

The next complaint was that Greenpeace uses 'canvassers' who doorknock and 'ask for donations and sell subscriptions' and are then paid 40 per cent of what they raise. (Hazel's comments imply that canvassers are not paid. I'm not sure that if they were unpaid Hazel would be up in arms about slave labour! It is a case of damned if you do and damned if you don't.)

Canvassers are an extremely valuable part of every Greenpeace campaign. They are environmental ambassadors who promote awareness of environmental issues throughout Australia. Greenpeace considers that getting out into the community and talking personally to people who have little direct contact with our issues is a critical and valuable part of environmental work. We also value the people who do this difficult and demanding work and, yes, we pay them for it. We don't believe that the long-tried political approach of sitting around feeling warm and pure and talking to each other is a very effective way of changing the world.

Hazel, it seems, is confused. S/he states on one hand that if Greenpeace receives information from canvassers about an issue of environmental concern amongst the public then this may lead to Greenpeace adopting the relevant cause. However, in the very next paragraph Hazel says the 'most cited criticism of Greenpeace is the centralism of power, the old boy promotion network [a comment that many members of staff found somewhat sexist] and the rigid bureaucratic authority structure.' Now Hazel, you can't have it both ways; either Greenpeace is rigid and bureaucratic or it will pick up an issue of concern among the general public and campaign on it. It would seem that we couldn't be both.

Now to our most scath-
Let's hear it from the workers

Well, imagine our surprise to learn that our employment at Greenpeace Australia was due to the fact that we were 'better suited to the new conservative and bureaucratic requirements' of GP OZ (Chain Reaction 6/64). Gee, and we thought that our history of working in the trade union movement, anti-racist groups, the public housing lobby and other social radical change groups might have had just a little to do with our being here at Greenpeace. Just goes to show how wrong you can be!

Seriously though, folks, the article printed in the latest edition of Chain Reaction was extremely nasty, bitter and, in our opinion does not come close to reflecting the reality of Greenpeace Australia. If it did we would not be here.

While the article did try to undermine the work of us here at Greenpeace who, in common with the rest of the green movement, are committed to working long hours to protect the planet and effect real social changes. The personal article was insulting and upsetting.

The fact that such an article appears in a journal like Chain Reaction at a time when Greenpeace Australia is under severe attack from companies like BHP and Nufarm and individuals like Peter Walsh and Arvi Parbo is at best disappointing and at worst makes us wonder what were the intentions of the editor.

We don't believe in shying away from open and honest critical debate, and for this reason were especially disillusioned that the article was published under a pseudonym. Why isn't the author prepared to stand up and defend his/her personal views? It's cowardly, and taken to a logical extreme, begs the question; 'Was Arvi Parbo the author?'. If the author is not Arvi and Hazel Notion is, as the byline states, an experienced political activist then one might imagine that s/he would respect the length of history in the social change movement for openness and honesty in criticism.

Greenpeace is not a perfect organisation. Like all groups working to achieve radical social change we do make mistakes and there is certainly room for improvement both in our organisation and in our campaigning work. But to suggest Hazel does that we are of the business-as-usual-school of light green greenies is unfair. Greenpeace is not a grass-roots organisation, but works closely with many. We believe we occupy an essential niche in a range of environmental activism, especially in terms of effective direct action, and after many years of trial and error, some pretty well honed media skills.

In the last couple of years we have widened our work and are now making a concerted effort to deal effectively with the concerns of the trade union movement and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, two sections of society the green movement, including Greenpeace, has a very proud history in dealing with. We have also made a real attempt to improve our relationship with local groups and we enjoy a good working relationship with such groups across the length of Australia.

In short we at Greenpeace are not corporate careerist yuppies but activists who come from disparate backgrounds but who all share a desire to work together and with others to protect our planet.

Ultimately, it's disappointing to be attacked on the basis of a lot of rumour mongering and assertion...those very activities of which the 'forces of darkness' accuse all of the environment movement, and the very two peas we should take absolute care to avoid.

Meanwhile, there's a fight for control of the existing organisations from within which involve bitter recriminations, ugly scenes, hysteria, burn-out, and probable destruction of the goal anyway. This has been my past experience with the ALP, and the very two peas I believe we should take absolute care to avoid.

For one thing, to somehow fight for control of the existing organisations from within would invoke bitter recriminations, ugly scenes, hysteria, burn-out, and probable destruction of the goal anyway. This has been my past experience with the ALP, and the very two peas I believe we should take absolute care to avoid.

The question, I suppose, is what to do about it. I don't believe confrontation is in order.

For example, even in the horror of the Wilderness Society in Brisbane, grassroots action groups form and reform as 'need' arises. Here, people are empowered, and cast their awareness much further afield than any office, political party or elite preferences. I only worked with one such group, the Brisbane Rainforest Action Group, around the blockade of logging on Fraser Island. So perhaps my experience isn't representative.

This group had visions of how the world should be, and were looking for their own ways to make it happen. They felt able to refuse suggestions by TWS and ACF leaders to 'postpone' NVDA for a year or so, and they eventually succeeded in laying down an extensive and effective blockade which, for a few weeks, stopped all logging activity on the island.

I watch some people in the environment movement, taking up the weapons of power politics over-simplifying issues, creating false dichotomies, seeking glossy photo opportunities — and apparently looking towards a glorious future of 'eco-fascism' (with themselves on the Board of Directors).

Sometimes I find it hard not to despair when I think of all the resources and labour going into an electoral strategy I believe is wrong, based on issues I believe are right.

So the more direct community power we build now, the better off we will be in future. Even if 'we're' the ones who are wrong, I don't think we can do too much harm with such a strategy.

Brian Law, Malanda, Queensland.

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Politics of manipulation

Thank you for your feature on 'Corruption in the environment movement' (Chain Reaction 6/64). I was particularly tickled by Tim Doyle's article, as it did again confirm all my prejudices about elite groups and the ALP.

Tedd, this is staff people ought to know. It illustrates just how a politics of manipulation can operate, and can appear to succeed in the short term.

I share Tim's belief that, in the long run, such a politics will weaken the 'organised movement', making it narrower, shallower, and less able to resist the economic rationalist approach to conservation. An increasingly narrow P.R. campaign to 'private' environmental controls is already under way.

The question, I suppose, is what to do about it. I don't believe confrontation is in order.

For one thing, to somehow fight for control of the existing organisations from within would invoke bitter recriminations, ugly scenes, hysteria, burn-out, and probable destruction of the goal anyway. This has been my past experience with the ALP, and the very two peas I believe we should take absolute care to avoid.
leadership at the time did not regard either the Wilderness Society or ACF as the least bit 'ALP orientated'.

It must be true that environmentalists have 'evidently' backed political parties. Offering electoral support is an established tactic. Environmental groups have repeatedly supported various candidates and parties when it advanced our cause. A notable example was the highly successful, and virtually unanimous, support by hundreds of groups across the country for the Democrats and ALP in the 1983 election (when the Franklin River faced destruction).

No 'trade-offs' or 'deals' were made between the ALP and the environmental organisations. Tim offers not a shred of evidence for this assertion. This is an important clarification because a 'trade-off' suggests that environmentalists gave away something in an effort to conclude a deal. I ask Tim to specify: Which wilderness areas or other conservation issues did the environmental leaders sacrifice in this alleged 'trade-off'? The answer is: none. There was no such 'deal'.

In reality, the process leading to the decision was quite open. The Government considered and then announced its policy on the major environmental issues (certainly with considerable input from many conservationists). Environmentalists saw that the policy was sharply superior to the Liberals' alternative, and, after much discussion, decided to support it. Unfortunately for those who like to see conspiracies, it was as simple as that.

No gifts of either money or free advertising were accepted by The Wilderness Society (or any knowledge any other environmental group) from the Bond Corporation during the 1985 federal election. This claim is simply false. Nor was the content of the Wilderness Society's advertising in any way influenced by anyone associated with Channel 9. We did, however, receive several calls from a rather anxious Channel 9 advertising account executive wanting his bills paid.

The Wilderness Society paid for its advertising with donations; a couple of large ones from wealthy supporters and many small ones from less wealthy backers. (One of the wealthy sympathisers was Richard Farmer, no doubt considered a highly suspicious character by Tim Doyle because he was a friend of, and occasional adviser to, Bob Hawke. I'll now let Tim into a 'secret': Farmer had in the past made other donations to The Wilderness Society, including some wine for a raft trip. Shall we look forward to a thorough investigation of this 'corruption' as well?)

Much of Tim's conspiracy theory seems based on the fact that I had worked briefly for Environment Minister Barry Cohen before becoming TWS director. Tim implies that I was some kind of ALP hatchet man sent into the environment movement to secure its support. Unfortunately, Tim either did not know, or conveniently ignored, the fact that I had worked with The Wilderness Society and ACF for over a decade before becoming a part of Cohen's environmental adviser. In the light of events both at the time and subsequently, to suggest that the ALP-environment movement link is strongest in my home state is truly laughable!

The Wilderness Society did not drop arguments about aesthetics and spirituality, nor science and economics, when it intervened in the election. As all who saw our publicity will remember, these remained the centre of our campaign.

I am reminded of a comment made some years ago by Loch Walesa. Walesa recalled that - contrary to popular belief - his most stressful battles had not been with weak, and less wealthy backers. (One of the wealthy sympathisers was Richard Farmer, no doubt considered a highly suspicious character by Tim Doyle because he was a friend of, and occasional adviser to, Bob Hawke. I'll now let Tim into a 'secret': Farmer had in the past made other donations to The Wilderness Society, including some wine for a raft trip. Shall we look forward to a thorough investigation of this 'corruption' as well?)

...and one from Jon West

Tim Doyle's nasty allegations against The Wilderness Society, in 'Corruption in the Environment Movement' (Chain Reaction 63/64) are wrong in both fact and interpretation.

It is a gross exaggeration to assert that the 'voluntary membership was quite shocked' by the Society's decision to support the ALP and had not been consulted. While it was inevitable that some members would disagree with the choice, the decision was supported by the vast majority of The Wilderness Society. The decision was taken after an open formal and informal decision-making process.

Tim Doyle is the only person I know of who believes The Wilderness Society's leadership is 'intensely Labor Party oriented'. I doubt even Robin Gray would agree with Tim on that one. Of the nine 'key individuals' he lists, only one, maybe two, have ever been associated with the Labor Party. None could be described as 'intensely oriented' to the ALP and none were currently active in the ALP in 1987. Certainly the Labor Party supported the ALP and its candidates. This was the only reason environmentalists backed Labor in 1987.

Jonathon West

Former Director
The Wilderness Society.

Editor's response

There were other letters in response to the 'Corruption', articles, and we're sorry we haven't the space for all of them, or for all our replies, but we will reply briefly to criticisms of the editors.

Chain Reaction aims to encourage debate on important issues and there will sometimes be unagreeable articles. If there are, however, any sacred cows in the environment movement, we do not know what or who they are, and would welcome suggestions. We do not edit the substantial opinions out of articles we publish, even if we don't agree with them.

We do not contact every organization, whatever to verify facts or not, because of the potential for inordinate pressure on us to not to print. As it stands, the facts in the article and the Gilding response are still there. These are contradictions to the former Executive Director, which Gilding cannot say were never made because he was not always at McAllister's side.

There are problems for editors in publishing work written under a pseudonym. We published, in this case, because it was referred to us by someone we respect and trust, and it had already appeared in another journal and it did raise some of the many issues about Greenpeace which deserve an airing. Hazel's choice of anonymity may have been wise for Hazel, given the threats that followed, but, sadly, it allowed the use of diversionary tactics such as the suggestion that it's all a Right Wing plot. Chain Reaction is not involved in any such conspiracy, but, at the same time, it should not be expected to sit on issues while waiting for the Right to go quiet.

HELLO FLOWER

Ruth, would you relax! Let's get on with it. We're not people who fight! We shall be quiet. Until low came and started pissing on all us, you were happy! Yes! I was control! But I was only after the facts... who cares about them? Untrue! You shouldn't have been here! You were only here to be safe! You shouldn't have been here! You were only here to be safe! You shouldn't have been here! You were only here to be safe! You shouldn't have been here! You were only here to be safe! You shouldn't have been here! You were only here to be safe!

Number 65 6 7
We have been quite busy since the last Chain Reaction, and the pressures of life conspired to force us to prioritize making a living for a while. It would be nice, but not likely, for Chain Reaction to be able to pay its editors a living wage, allowing them the time to concentrate on the administration and production of the magazine. Money is necessary in our society and it is currently difficult for Earth Australia, and received support and understanding. We, Clare Henderson and Larry O'Loughlin, were once again elected as editors, and a number of measures were proposed to assist Chain Reaction to come out more frequently and regularly, without overloading or overlooking the editors.

One proposal was that guest editors be used to produce a substantial portion of the magazine. Most cases, the guest editors would solicit, edit and find graphical material for many or all of the major articles in an issue (usually twenty to thirty pages), and the regular editors would prepare Letters, Earth News, FOE News, Reviews, Resources and other "regulars" such as the back page cartoon, Hello Flower and Greenword.

This will be trialled with the next issue, when FOE Nouveau, the Adelaide-based Friends of the Earth group, will be guest editors in conjunction with the Eco City 2 conference to be held in Adelaide in April 1992.

We will also be approaching other people to do some of the hard work of gathering appropriate, stimulating articles for other editions during the year. It should be very interesting and will, hopefully, reduce some of the workload on the regular editors.

Friends of the Earth groups also promised to provide more material to the magazine, not just about things they have been doing or strictly local issues, but also contacts with good writers on interesting subjects.

We also plan to stabilise and secure our own incomes. This is not entirely up to us, as we are part of an economy which is not very successful at providing for everyone's needs. But we have to try at all costs to bring Chain Reaction regularly.

Chain Reaction has moved to make it more convenient for the editors, and we have a new, combined telephone and fax number: (08) 293 8535, though bear with us if there are problems getting through. You will usually be able to leave a message if there is no-one in the office. Our postal address remains the same: GPO Box 90, Adelaide, SA, 5001.

Earth News

Cows, people and BST

It appears that a decision has been made that genetically engineered agricultural microbes will be assessed for commercial application through existing controls, despite a lack of public consultation as to whether this is an appropriate regulatory structure.

It is likely that Bovine Somatotropin (BST), a genetically engineered growth hormone designed to increase milk production of cows, is being assessed for use in Australia. The Australian Agricultural and Veterinary Chemicals Council, in the Federal Department for Primary Industries, refers to the lack of BST and it has been extended for another two years until the end of 1993.

The rationale for the moratorium was the lack of adequate data on the socio-economic, ecological and health effects of growth hormones. Part of the debate surrounds the assumption of "fourth hurdle" which brings questions such as the 'need' for the product as well as the traditional questions of agricultural products which were limited to 'efficacy, toxicity and safety'.

BST has been equally controversial in the United States, and it is currently under review by the Federal Food and Drug Administration and its use is outlawed in several US States. Given the restrictions on the use of BST in the United States and Europe, the companies with an interest in BST are conducting field trials and promoting the sale of BST in the third world.

BST increases milk yields by 10 to 25 per cent - yet cows injected with BST suffer from an increase in mastitis (udder inflammation), decreased fertility and signs of stress. There are also concerns that BST will wipe out the small dairy industry and the debate rages as to whether it poses adverse health risks to humans.

Given the controversial nature of BST, and genetic engineering in general, it would seem that any consideration of its use in Australia should be fully and publicly debated.

Genetics Network

In an effort to increase public debate on genetic engineering the ACF has established an 'Australian Genetics Network'. The network will work to link all those who want to debate and resolve genetic engineering issues in the public interest. Through the network ACF will be producing a regular newsletter, The Gene Report, and a series of weekend forums will be held in capital cities in the middle of 1992.

For further information contact: Bob Phelps, Co-ordinator Australian Genetics Network, C/- Australian Conservation Foundation, 540 Gore St, Fitzroy Victoria 3065 Ph: (03) 416 2222 Fax: (03) 416 0767

Antarctica Saved!

In October 1991 Australia published a signed Protocol to the Antarctic Treaty. The protocol is binding on Australia in international law and will probably prompt amendments to Australian Antarctic legislation. The primary effects of the Protocol are to ensure environmental impact assessment of activities in the Antarctic and to ban mining and oil drilling for at least 50 years. The Protocol can be amended at any time with the consent of all parties. After 50 years the Protocol may be amended with the consent of at least 75 per cent of the current consultative parties.


Better left unsaid

The second United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), the so-called Earth Summit, will take place in June 1992, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Two of UNCED's major goals are to produce an 'Earth Charter' that will embody basic principles governing the economic and environmental behaviour of peoples and nations. Such an agreement is needed to ensure 'our common future' and to implement 'Agenda 21', a blueprint for action in all major areas affecting the relationship between the environment and the economy through the 21st century.

In preparation for UNCED, the United Nations Secretary requested from all participating countries a 100-page national report reflecting a diversity of citizens' views. A public discussion draft of the Australian report was released 30 July 1991 with comments closing on 30 August 1991. It covered a wide range of issues within the ambit of environment, but tended to be more scientific and narrowly-based. For example, it did not strongly cover the North-South issues which are predicted to be a major issue at UNCED.

The United States draft report has been widely criticised there. It is a retrospective document only, generally congratulating the US for the progress it has made while ignoring or minimising the much greater slide away from ecological health. Partly, as a consequence, the US Citizens Network has been created to facilitate a broader perspective. It is preparing an alternative report which takes a more integrated approach to the environment. These critiques reflect the view of many non-government organisations that the UNCED is being used as a public relations exercise by political and business elites everywhere to stem public alarm over environmental threats but to not really address the root causes.

Demise of the 'drins'

According to Shell Chemical, world production of the pesticides aldrin, dieldrin, and endrin (the 'drins') has ceased, and sales of the insecticides were discontinued in December 1991. The drins, produced only by Shell since their introduction in the 1950s, were once widely used, however, their use has declined to 5 per cent of previous levels, according to a representative of Shell Chemical in Australia.

Eric Nickson at Shell's international headquarters in London characterized this decline as 'quite natural' as 'business moves on [and] new products are developed'. He cited pressure...from...sources, primarily the loss of government registrations, as a major factor contributing to the product phase-outs.

The drins are perhaps most notorious for their environmental persistence and harm to wildlife, yet they are also the most acutely toxic organochlorine pesticides and have caused mass fatalities. They have also been linked to chronic health problems such as cancers, birth defects, liver damage, and nervous system damage.

Production of endrin ceased in the early 1980s. Dieldrin and aldrin production at Shell's Pernis, Netherlands site, the last in the world, were halted in April 1987 and February 1990, respectively. According to Nickson, Shell is unaware of any drift or dieldrin production by any other firms in the world and considers it to be quite unlikely, as their company manufactures a key intermediate which they do not sell to anyone else.

Australia, France, South Africa, and 'probably' India continue to formulate aldrin; Spain 'may' still formulate dieldrin, according to Nickson. Aldrin and dieldrin sales continue in these and a few other countries. Shell claims it sells these products only to other Shell companies with effective stewardship programs, and anticipates that existing stocks will be exhausted by the end of 1991. The company does not have a plan to recall stocks which may remain after 1991.

New global forest alliance

Representatives of tropical forest dwelling communities from around the world met in Malaysia in February 1992. The conference produced a 'Charter of the Indigenous Peoples of the Tropical Forests' and passed a unanimous resolution setting up the 'World Alliance of the Indigenous Peoples of the Tropical Forests'.

The Charter advocates a new approach to development and conservation in the tropical forests based on securing the rights of the forests' original inhabitants. There can be no rational or sustainable development of the forests and of our peoples until our fundamental rights as peoples are respected', the Charter declares.

The alliance demands respect for the human rights of forest dwelling peoples and above all their right to determine their own ways of life and ways of organising.

In place of large-scale development projects, logging, mining and other destructive practices, the Charter calls for alternative development approaches based on securing the lives of those who live in the forest and promoting small-scale community initiatives under the control of the peoples themselves.

The Charter condemns the damage caused by logging as 'a crime against humanity' and calls for the suspension of logging concessions on indigenous territories.

Source: PANNA Outlook, United States 1991.

The Maralinga Legacy

In 1991 the Technical Assessment Group (TAG) released a report outlining a number of clean up options for the contaminated 1950s British nuclear test site at Maralinga, South Australia. TAG, with members from Great Britain, United States and Australia, had a mandate to assess the nature and extent of radioactive contamination in the area.

TAG was set up as consequence of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia which found that the Maralinga and Emu sites remained highly contaminated despite previous clean up attempts. According to the Royal Commission 34 square kilometres of land in the Maralinga Tjarutja lands, which were returned to the Aboriginal community in 1983, were contaminated with platinum at levels that rendered the area uninhabitable.

Two previous clean up operations had been conducted in 1968 and 1979. The British Government has claimed that its involvement in these previous operations absolves it of any further liability. As a result of the Royal Commissions findings, however, it agreed to be involved in the technical assessment undertaken by TAG but refused to discuss financial liability until the TAG Report was concluded.

The TAG Report recommends a number of clean up options - the cost of which range from $13 million to $30 million. The options were preferred by the South Australian Government and the Aboriginal community costs $93 million. It involves the removal of a 100 kilometre contaminated area and the mixing of soil and in situ vitrification of contaminants in burial pits. The most costly options were refused by the Aboriginal community as they would involve the removal of the contaminated land and the British Government for delaying a decision on the issue.

The Federal Cabinet is deferring a decision until negotiations between the British Government and the Federal Minister for Primary Industries and Energy, Simon Crean, began in November 1991, are completed. The British Government is currently offering $30 million, but is refusing to consider additional compensation to the Aboriginal people.

The Australian Government is arguing that the clean up costs be shared equally between Australia and Britain, but it also has not addressed the issue of compensation. As a result, in October 1991, a delegation from the Aboriginal community visited London in a last-ditch effort for compensation and have threatened that on their next visit they will deliver a load of contaminated soil from Maralinga to the doors of those responsible for desecrating their land.

In September 1991, SBS's Dateline program, disclosed that a report to TAG on the distribution of radioisotopes at Maralinga had been sanitized on instructions from the Australian Government at the request of the British Intelligence Service. The British claimed that the report contained information on radioactive fallout that gave away details of the 'minor trials' testing. There is evidence to suggest that the information omitted from the suppressed report could implicate a number of other countries, including the USA, in breaching the 'Atmospheric Test Ban' that was in place when the minor trials took place.

At the Australian Radiation Protection Society Conference in September 1991, it was suggested that TAG and the Federal Government should consider locating a national repository for low and intermediate radioactive waste at Maralinga, the rationale being that the land be fenced off could provide a suitable site. The Aboriginal community has not been consulted in regard to this proposal.

Source: Maggie Hine, Greenpeace Australia.

ENDANGERED SPECIES

12 • Chain Reaction

Greens retain seats in Tasmania

The Tasmanian State election on the first of February 1992, resulted in the election of the Liberal party, which gained two seats at the expense of the ALP. The Green Independents retained all their five seats, although their primary votes were reduced. They will no longer hold the balance of power.

In comparison to the May 1989 state election, it appears that the Green Independents voted dropped from around 17 per cent to 12.8 per cent.

However, one of the Greens, Gerry Bates, sees much promise in the result. 'I think it's pretty significant for Green policies on a national level, because in a recession the environment is supposed to be the least of everyone's concerns and yet we've shown that politically the vote has held up, we've retained all our seats.'

The newly elected Liberal Government has threatened to permit mineral exploration in National Parks and will open up 360,000 hectares of forest for logging.

Source: Green Left Weekly, 12 February, 1992; Gerry Bates, M.I.A.

British nuclear test 27 September 1956 at Maralinga.

The damage caused by logging as 'a crime against humanity' and calls for the suspension of logging concessions on indigenous territories.

1. "Down" from a sheep and a goat was still the most popular name for 100 years after it was first used. This is because the name was commonly associated with the breed of animal that was being raised.

2. "Greenwood" is a place in the United Kingdom, known for its association with the Robin Hood legend.

3. "Cross" as a family name is derived from the Latin word "crux," meaning "cross," which was a symbol of Christianity.

4. "Across" is a popular word in English, often used in puzzles, riddles, and games.

5. "How much More can Sydney take?" This question is often asked in the context of environmental issues, particularly with regard to the city's capacity to absorb waste and pollution.

6. "Rain" as a name is not uncommon in many cultures, often carrying meanings related to water and nature.

7. "Canberra" is the capital city of Australia, named after the Latin word "canis," meaning "dog," from the Aboriginal word "Canbarra," which means "meeting place."
Action on chemicals
Friends of the Earth (Fitzroy), through its Hazardous Chemicals Working Group, has prepared a submission to the Coode Island Review Panel. Coode Island is the massive chemical storage area in central Melbourne which was ravaged by fire and explosions on two successive days in 1991.

FOE suggests that there are two ways to proceed with industry demand for chemicals in Victoria – a continuation of the current ad hoc, competitive system leading to increasing usage of chemicals, or an environmentally friendly based production and manufacturing system concerned with a ‘cradle to grave’ production process.

FOE favours the latter approach, and suggests that there is a number of things which could affect the future demand for chemicals and associated storage facilities.

These include government legislation proposals such as action to support the Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances, but demand for chemicals could also be reduced as community pressures mount, sometimes with encouragement from government, such as fostering the export of organic food.

Union calls for increased safety in workplaces should lead to reduced use of chemicals, and consumer awareness should reduced use of consumer goods, especially those with environmentally wasteful packaging, again reducing overall uses of chemicals. The submission states: ‘If each community group rejects the siting of a bulk storage facility in their area (which they do) due to the dangerous nature of that facility, we believe this is in effect rejecting the concept of the inherent danger of the chemical industry as a whole. It is a clear message from the community saying that it is not prepared to accept the risks in preparing these goods’.

The FOE submission also suggests that if reducing chemical dependency, the next step should be source reduction where hazardous chemicals are replaced with other materials.

The long term solution for the existing industries is to move towards clean production where every level and stage of production is carefully audited and assessed, and is subject to public scrutiny.

Further information:
Clive Rosewarne, Friends of the Earth Fitzroy, Hazardous Chemicals Working Group Ph: (03) 419 8700.

Toxic profiles
Friends of the Earth England, Wales and Northern Ireland have established a Toxic Substances Information Service which is available to community groups in the UK. It will also be available to all members of FOE International. The database consists of a non-computerised listing of toxicity data for more than 500 chemicals.

These POE groups are also working together on a ‘right to know’ campaign regarding the discharge of hazardous substances by the chemical industry. In the United States the public can obtain information about admissions of pollution to the air, water and waste. Under the provisions of Federal legislation companies are required to draw up an annual inventory of releases or transfers of 322 specified toxic materials from all production plants of a specified size. This information is publicly available. FOE has written to each of the major chemical companies asking them to disclose similar information. Most have refused. This has highlighted the key point that the companies which operate in both the US and the UK operate a double standard with regard to how much information they are willing to provide to the public. This double standard is likely to operate in many other countries apart from the UK. FOE is aiming to extend the ‘right to know’ principle in the UK and extend it internationally.

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The Federal EPA: States vs Commonwealth

The Federal Government is currently considering a range of options for a Federal Environment Protection Agency. Paul Rutherford and Rob Fowler argue that the cooperative federalism approach and the failure to adopt new approaches to environmental management may result in the EPA becoming a 'lame duck' organisation. They outline features they believe should be part of the new EPA.

Constitutional issues

There is a long standing view that the States have primary legislative responsibility to protect the environment, and that the Commonwealth has little capacity to act unilaterally in this area.

Constitutional interpretation by the High Court over the last fifteen years shows that this view is no longer appropriate and is based on political expediency and bureaucratic practice, rather than constitutional necessity.

The Hawke Labor Government was first elected in 1983 on a platform that included using Commonwealth powers to prevent the State of Tasmania from damming the Franklin River World Heritage Area. These powers were subsequently confirmed by a High Court ruling.

Despite the use of these powers in some very high profile conservation disputes, the Federal Government is now unwilling in environmental matters to go beyond the 'States' Rights' thinking it previously opposed.

There has been a political decision by Labor not to use those powers which are clearly available to it for environmental protection.

The Federal power to


Firstly, the EPA should be structured in a way which would not see it hamstrung by traditional forms of cooperative federalism arrangements which require protracted negotiations at the ministerial level between Federal, State and Territory governments.

Secondly, the EPA should introduce new approaches to the protection of the environment that do not rely exclusively upon existing methods such as standard-setting and risk assessment, but rather implement a pollution prevention philosophy by promoting clean production and by applying the 'precautionary principle'.

The November 1991 Special Premiers' Conference gave informal support to Kelly's Ministerial Council approach to the Federal EPA. In addition, although the States are insisting that any EPA established by the Commonwealth should be a joint Commonwealth-State body, they are unwilling to contribute to its funding.

In February 1991, Dr Ian McPhail, previously Director-General of the South Australian Department of Environment and Planning, was appointed as head of the EPA in Canberra, and it continued in the process of filling Senior Executive Service positions. The functions of the EPA were described as assisting the Commonwealth to establish, monitor and maintain arrangements for the ecologically sustainable future of Australia. In cooperation with State and Territory Governments, industry and interested groups, the Agency is involved in developing national environmental quality standards and programs, including environmental impact assessment and monitoring of the environment reporting.

The Agency actively encourages new attitudes in support of pollution prevention and waste minimisation.
legislate for environmental protection can be briefly listed.

- Under the corporations power the Commonwealth can regulate all acts of trading corporations performed for the purposes of trade, and hence may control the manufacture, mining and agricultural activities of corporations.
- Under the trade and commerce power the Commonwealth can regulate not only exports and imports on environmental grounds, but also the trading of products between States, even possibly at the point of manufacture or production.
- The constitutional guarantee of freedom of interstate trade and commerce is unlikely to restrict Federal regulation for environmental purposes, and will only affect State laws of a protectionist nature.
- The capacity of the Commonwealth to raise taxes, spend money and make specific purpose grants provide an important means of environmental protection, whereas the ability to tax interstate pollution may be limited by constitutional prohibition on State taxation.
- The external affairs power provides an important means of environmental protection, whereas the capacity of the States to raise taxes on pollution may be limited by constitutional prohibition on State taxation.

The capacity of the Commonwealth to regulate for the purposes of trade, and hence pollution, backed up by poorly enforced penalties for non-compliance.

This approach is based on 'allowable' levels of discharges set through ambient standards or conditions attached to emission licences. It assumes the environment has an 'assimilative' capacity to absorb without damage most pollutants.

The evidence is that pollution has either reduced only marginally or has worsened, despite the operation of extensive environmental controls. Many scientists, administrators and environmentalists now challenge the concept of assimilative capacity, suggesting that it is fundamentally flawed. This is because species, ecosytems and toxic compounds are the subject of enormously complex inter-relations which often make assumptions about so-called 'safe' levels of pollution or exposure meaningless.

In recognition of this, new approaches to environmental protection are being forged. The most significant of these is the commitment to a policy shift from pollution control to pollution prevention. The Environmental Protection Agency has identified pollution prevention as a high priority because it has in practice proved to be the most effective strategy.

A related development, (particularly relevant to the control of toxic and hazardous substances) is the 'precautionary principle'. When doubt exists about the impact of a substance on the environment or human health, it is desirable to err on the side of caution rather than risk significant and irreversible damage. As a result of the application of this principle, the burden of proof is placed on the prospective polluter to show there is no likelihood of harm, rather than on those concerned with the environment to show conclusively that harm will occur.

The precautionary principle is gaining international support and has been endorsed recently by United Nations Environment Program and the EC Parliament.

The Greenpeace and ACF proposal

The Australian Conservation Foundation and Greenpeace Report argued that these new approaches should provide the philosophical underpinning of the EPA's operations and that the legislation which establishes the EPA should enshrine these principles in its terms. The Report also recognised that strong leadership by the Federal EPA would be necessary to promote the acceptance and implementation of such principles among the States and Territories.

In addition the Report argued that the successful operation of a Federal EPA would require Commonwealth legislation incorporating three essential elements:

1. Full use of constitutional powers
The most powerful possible use should be made by the Commonwealth of established constitutional powers in defining the powers and functions of the Federal EPA.

2. State participation
Mechanisms for securing State government participation and cooperation in the implementation of national environment protection initiatives should be developed, involving:

(a) establishment of processes with representation from the States and Territories that are consultative, rather than collaborative (that is, it would not be necessary to obtain State consensus as a prerequisite to implementation of environment protection programs);
(b) establishment of a means whereby Federal standards would constitute a minimum; States being able to impose stricter controls if they wish.

3. Financial support to the States
The Commonwealth must use its financial powers with respect to taxation, special purpose grants and expenditures to resource the operation of the Federal EPA and to support participation of the States in national environment protection initiatives.

The Federal government can impose taxes and allocate taxation revenues for environmental purposes. It can also provide funds to the States as special grants to which specific conditions are attached. Federally directed environment protection programs can be devised and implemented using Federal funds.

Powers and functions

The role of the Federal EPA should be to ensure that adequate and consistent environmental protection strategies, standards and procedures are in place throughout Australia, and that these are properly implemented and enforced within the States. Beyond this general mandate, the EPA should be empowered to address all relevant aspects of 'environment protection', with the term being widely defined. Other Commonwealth agencies should retain primary responsibility for matters such as occupational health and safety and natural resources management.

The Federal EPA's activities should be divided into three broad categories:

1. Environmental planning, which would include development of strategic environmental plans and policies and the implementation of environmental impact assessment and risk assessment processes;
2. Environment protection in the form of regulatory functions under existing Federal environmental legislation and in new areas of federal concern, together with a back-up role where State arrangements are inadequate; and
3. Research, monitoring and information functions. In adopting these new approaches, existing methods such as standards setting and risk assessment processes, would not be replaced overnight. These would have to be maintained by the Federal EPA whilst new regulatory techniques

The former willingness of Federal Labor Governments to use Commonwealth power to over-rule the States on specific environmental issues has all but vanished, coinciding with Hawke's 'Closer Partnership Initiative' on Commonwealth-State relations.

It seems Hawke's 'New Federalism' is desirable to err on the side of safety and natural resources management.
evolve which are compatible with the over-riding pollution prevention philosophy that should form the basis of EPA legislation.

Structure and funding

A key proposal in the ACF/Greenpeace report is that the Federal EPA should be independent from political influence — in particular, free from Ministerial direction. The EPA should be governed by a Board of Directors comprising a Chairperson and between two and four other persons appointed on a full-time basis by the Federal Environment Minister on the nomination of a Selection Committee. Members should be appointed to the Board in their capacity as experts rather than as representatives of particular interests.

The EPA should be structured to reflect the broad range of functions outlined above (planning, protection, research) promoting an integrated approach to environment protection.

Independence and funding are two key practical issues which will affect the viability of the EPA. In order to balance its independence, the EPA should be accountable to Federal Parliament. We also believe there is merit in creating, through the EPA legislation, an Office of Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, to whom the EPA would be answerable. The Commissioner would have powers to hear complaints about the EPA, to report to the House of Representatives, and to publicise its findings and opinions.

Funding to establish an independent Federal EPA must ensure that it cannot be strangled by lack of financial resources. Accordingly, the legislation should guarantee a budget for the EPA at a prescribed minimum level, in order to balance its independence. The funding must be tied to Federal Parliament approval of that level requiring an amendment to be approved by the Parliament of the Commonwealth. Funding beyond the guarantee level would be the responsibility of the Government of the day.

The States are insisting that any EPA established by the Commonwealth should be a joint Commonwealth-State body, although they are unwilling to contribute to its funding. It would be absurd for the Federal Government to concede to this sort of State pressure.

Other mechanisms

The legislation establishing the EPA should provide a 'citizen's suit', enabling a person to bring proceedings to enforce the provisions of the EPA Act, either against parties in default of obligations imposed by the Act, or against the EPA itself if it has failed to perform its statutory obligations. These proceedings could be used to secure injunctive relief or to enforce penalties imposed by the legislation (as is possible in the United States). There should also be rights of appeal for third parties where regulatory functions are exercised by the EPA.

Another aspect of liability which should be addressed is the imposition of criminal responsibility on directors for the acts of corporations with which they are involved.

Finally, there is a need for strong commitment to public participation in the administration of the EPA Act and in the activities of the EPA. One means by which this could be ensured is through community 'right to know' legislation such as was enacted Federal­ly in the United States in 1986 following the Bhopal accident in India. The provision of 'intervener' funding to facilitate community input to public inquiry and environmental impact assessment processes is also needed.

Current directions

In July 1991 Federal Environment Minister Kelly released a proposal that failed to address most of the substantive issues raised in the ACF/Greenpeace report. In particular, Kelly's model rejected decisive use of Common­wealth powers in favour of the continued reliance on negotiated compromise by a Ministerial Committee made up of State and Commonwealth environment ministers.

The need for a strong Federal EPA was further emphasised by the ACF and the Worldwide Fund for Nature, Australia (WWF) in a wide ranging set of recommendations presented to the Commonwealth's Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD) working group process in December last year. These recommendations support a strong EPA and Greenpeace, with its emphasis on clean production.

The ACF and WWF submission argued for a 30-year target to bring all pollution emissions within ecologically sustainable limits. In the medium term a goal for the elimination of toxic and bio-accumulative waste emissions over the next ten years was called for, with short-term targets for the reduction of individual pollutants being set for each year on a five year rolling timetable.

It remains to be seen whether Prime Minister Keating's government will have the courage to pursue such important environmental policies or whether it will yield to short-sighted demands for 'soft' environmental standards, and in particular, whether Environment Minister Kelly is prepared to push a more decisive role for the Federal EPA.

Conclusion

At a time when the public is demanding an increased role for the national government in protecting the environment, the opposite direction seems to be gaining favour with some of our politicians.

As Australia approaches the centenary of Federation, we need some genuine vision and decisive action to deal with environmental degradation. Regrettably our governments seem incapable of moving on from the failed administrative structures of a colonial past.

The EPA should be both the servant and vigorous advocate for the public for a safe and healthy environment. By forming a coalition with the public in the battle to protect the Australian environment, a Federal EPA could bring about changes in the way in which this task is approached and accomplish results which have appeared until now to be beyond the grasp of environmental authorities in this country.

Paul Rutherford is with the Department of Political Science at the Australian National University and formerly was National Liaison Co-ordinator with the Australian Conservation Foundation in Canberra, and Robert Fowler is National Liaison Co-ordinator, Policy Unit, Faculty of Law, University of Adelaide.

The Multifunction Polis proposed to be built near Adelaide has generated a large amount of written material and a number of public meetings. Ade Peace has been reading up on the proposal, attending the meetings, and here he links the two experiences.
The Australia That Can Say "No!": The Multifunction Polis Project, Asia-Pacific Millenarianism and the Tyranny of Technocracy


Joseph Wayne Smith declares the MFP project in its first public performance in 1990 was "an enigmatic, anti-democratic, highly abstract scholastic question-begging decision, not only about the future direction of Australian society, but about 21st century life in a world gripped in a global crisis so severe that it may not survive" (p. 2). On the same page he pronounces that "the entire political and economic direction of Australia is wrong and that any sensitive thinking and moral person should feel ashamed to live in a land where fundamental democratic values are becoming but a memory, remembered." Smith, whose sub-title reads The Multifunction Polis Project, Asia-Pacific Millenarianism and the Tyranny of Technocrony, describes himself to be "an old style philosopher" committed to "a green, ecocentric, or deep environmental position", all of which Guy Rundle assuredly is not. Yet the two issues must be, of course, closely related.

Yet his essential faith in the MFP remains undiminished by virtue of having labourd on two major fronts. The first is his attempt "to put the debate over the MFP into a fairly wide and historical industrial context" (p. 140). In broad terms this means counterposing the relative decline of the Atlantic economies against the Global Rim with "Japan as Phoenix" (pp. 8-10). The second, more contentious, front is on renaming throughout the "Joint Development Zones" (JDZ) as "MFP Zones". For Rundle condemns the MFP and the (V(ery) Fast (T)rain) project to be equally "crazy schemes ... so seriously flawed in their conception, tainted and besmirched by falsehoods, corruption and secrecy, so riddled with internal contradictions that it is almost impossible to develop them as anything other than a distraction from the fundamental question: are they sustainable" (p. 12). All of this may indeed be accurate and true. The problem is of course that if one adopts such a morally principled position one is then left without a global development strategy for Australia, a position which the MFP project determines is an "ecocentric" or "deep environmentalist" position. It is not necessary to be a deep environmentalist to keep MFP projects in Australia. But it may well help, faced with chapters bearing such titles as "An Interpretation and Critique of a Flawed and Myopic Vision of Humanity's Future" and "A Critique of the Ill-Opportunistic Growth Syndrome". At the other end of the spectrum is Inkster's "book, well informed, well argued, at times somewhat labourd, but at all points borne along by the conviction that the MFP is not only in itself an exceptional and speculative concept but also an essential point of departure for rethinking and restructuring the entire Australian economy. So far, argues Inkster, two major errors have been made: instead of provoking inter-state rivalry and considerable devolution of control, the MFP should have remained a Commonwealth project, and; Adelaide is not the proper location. Inkster details especially clearly what seems at times to have been an alacritous route to Adelaide, with many fundamental questions (particularly concerning funding) ditched on the way through.

By the year 2010, the area is to become a splendid new high-tech city and true. The problem is of course that if one adopts such a morally principled position one is then left without a global development strategy for Australia, a position which the MFP project determines is an "ecocentric" or "deep environmentalist" position. It is not necessary to be a deep environmentalist to keep MFP projects in Australia. But it may well help, faced with chapters bearing such titles as "An Interpretation and Critique of a Flawed and Myopic Vision of Humanity's Future" and "A Critique of the Ill-Opportunistic Growth Syndrome". At the other end of the spectrum is Inkster's "book, well informed, well argued, at times somewhat labourd, but at all points borne along by the conviction that the MFP is not only in itself an exceptional and speculative concept but also an essential point of departure for rethinking and restructuring the entire Australian economy. So far, argues Inkster, two major errors have been made: instead of provoking inter-state rivalry and considerable devolution of control, the MFP should have remained a Commonwealth project, and; Adelaide is not the proper location. Inkster details especially clearly what seems at times to have been an alacritous route to Adelaide, with many fundamental questions (particularly concerning funding) ditched on the way through.

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In other words, what its substantial a concept should have become 'fear' (BAB p. 123).

Japan, and the supposedly special within the unfolding momentum Australia, how the MFP is the product economic, political and bureaucratic forces inside Australian society is an of particular political and economic accommodation which is evidently generated by the MFP, what comes through quite clearly is that no one as yet has been able to penetrate, even in modest degree, the evidently most important point to underscore is that the technocrats of the MFP have been singularly successful in sustaining a high level of secrecy about themselfs, and of disseminating to the population at large relatively little information about a project which will, most likely, begin to impinge on and influence their world lives within the relatively near future. Just about everyone who has written on the MFP, whether from right or left, has, commented on this collective leaning to secrecy; and if anything, the tendency becomes the more pronounced as time passes.

To some degree, this has to be put down to the nature of the technocratic élite which gravitates towards such projects as the MFP. Their training, expertise, occupational status and social prestige, are such as to reinforce rather than challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions about progress, expansion, economic growth, political redolent which are built into such an enterprise. In similar fashion, it readily remains their collective assumption, what they consider to be appropriate for the future should be unproblematically accepted by the population at large. Under such circumstances there is no pressure from within to engage in open debate and the free exchange of ideas. But this is also a symptom of how power is charactistically exercised in Australian society at large. For ruling circles, life worlds within the relatively near future, democracy is unproblematically accepted by the population at large, never mind take on board, even a fraction of the complex material which this project generates? Again, inasmuch as some representation is clearly essential, how is a complex urban population to be segmented into voting blocs in order to raise a peoples' voice? Lastly and on the issue of democratic consultation to is have any meaning at all, then it should entail the right of veto. But how, and according to what criteria, could a veto possibly be raised vis-a-vis a project of the MFP's magnitude?

We are back finally with the woman with the microphone in the Adelaide Town Hall asking how to put to flight the MFP technocrats. For it is pertinent issue is whether the role of public opinion is of any consequence at all when politicians, senior bureaucrats, and industrialists, develop mammoth projects such as this, and then direct them in ways which best suit their collective interest? The course taken by the Adelaide MFP thus far suggests that public opinion is neither here nor there. If this is the position whilst it exists on paper only, much more worrisome is that same prospect when in late 1993 the MFP takes physical shape over the flat terrain of Gillman?

Ade Peace teaches anthropology at the University of Adelaide.

Under these circumstances, it is to be expected that, notwithstanding the continued reference to democratic consultation in the bundles of MFP publicity material, in practice its bureaucratic machinery displays minimal interest in such processes. More specifically, it inclines to exploit the ambiguities and anomalies which quickly surface when one asks what such democratic consultation might entail. For example, who specifically is to be consulted on a project of this scale? Residents in the Gillman area, residents in metropolitan Adelaide, all in South Australia; and who can say where the boundary should be drawn? Then again, consultation can only be properly described as such when all parties can equally access much the same body of essential information. But how could an ordinary urban resident possibly access, never mind take on board, even a fraction of the complex material which this project generates? Again, inasmuch as some representation is clearly essential, how is a complex urban population to be segmented into voting blocs in order to raise a peoples' voice? Lastly and on the issue of democratic consultation to have any meaning at all, then it should entail the right of veto. But how, and according to what criteria, could a veto possibly be raised vis-a-vis a project of the MFP's magnitude?

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The Australian International Defence Exhibition, held in Canberra in November 1991, was in the news not so much because it was in the business of selling 'defence equipment' as for the fact that there were people protesting against it. Louise MacDonald looks at some aspects of the protest and Bill Williams went into the exhibition itself.

The important point to underscore is that the technocrats of the MFP have been singularly successful in sustaining a high level of secrecy about themselfs, and of disseminating to the population at large relatively little information about a project which will, most likely, begin to impinge on and influence their world lives within the relatively near future. Just about everyone who has written on the MFP, whether from right or left, has, commented on this collective leaning to secrecy; and if anything, the tendency becomes the more pronounced as time passes.

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8.30 am had pushed protesters to the far side of the road away from the NATEX site. From that point on any attempts to block AIDEX got no further than a site. From that point on any attempts to lose the initiative. Previously, the police had been responding to our violence and their unswerving devotion to keeping us off the bitumen. Also, the media, particularly the Times, portrayed as the fault of the protesters. It cost. The blockade had been successful. It was probably the time for the demonstrators to change tactics. In an effort to maintain their focus on what AIDEX meant, many people were questioning the desirability of getting into a televised battle with police. It was suggested that the protest continue with the original agenda of planned actions. The group's strategy lay not in its ability to act on a road and be beaten by the power of so many people coming together from so many different backgrounds with the united goal of wanting to close down AIDEX and end Australia's support for militarism. Collectively the potential for so many different types of action all over Canberra was enormous.

In earlier planning, Wednesday had been designated as the Women's Day, and had been planned as a focus for women to get together to highlight the effect of war on women and to reach out to the community to educate and reveal the extent to which Australia is involved in the war machine. The women's action, like the environment action a day later, was attacked in meetings by the IS as being divisive, cowardly and irrelevant. Having taken part in both actions, I consider that they were the most positive and informative part of the anti-AIDEX campaign. The women's action, which started at the War Memorial with rituals and singing, moved through the streets of Canberra with dancing and singing to arrive at the Civic Centre where speeches were made. The action ended back at the NATEX site with a weaving in the fence, in the tradition of Greenham Common. After the women's action the focus did change, more people were wanting alternatives to the violence. Singing, theatre and humour became more apparent in people's attempts to break down police lines.

The environment action, which became known as the non violent action, suffered, like the women's action the day before, from IS attempts to railroad it. The action was organised to be an information sharing event (something the gun for the purpose of education and awareness), but the police and media interpreted it as a mass demonstration. The action ended up, but in the power of so many people coming together from so many different backgrounds with the united goal of wanting to close down AIDEX and end Australia's support for militarism.

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Socialists. The IS were determined that the camp remain 'unified' and that everyone be involved in blockading. They used tactics such as placing people through the crowd to make their numbers seem stronger, stirring the crowd and, when things went against them, creating a diversion so the whole group would go running towards perceived threats. The camp included such diverse groups as: Campaign Against Militarism, Renegade Action Force, Pax Christi, unionists, Teachers for Peace, Doctors for the Prevention of War, Friends of the Earth, the Canberra Campaign for Peace and Justice, and the Smile Club.

The exhibition was now but at a greatly reduced size and increased cost. The blockade had been successful. It was probably the time for the demonstrators to change tactics. In an effort to maintain their focus on what AIDEX meant, many people were questioning the desirability of getting into a televised battle with police. It was suggested that the protest continue with the original agenda of planned actions. The group's strategy lay not in its ability to act on a road and be beaten by the power of so many people coming together from so many different backgrounds with the united goal of wanting to close down AIDEX and end Australia's support for militarism. Collectively the potential for so many different types of action all over Canberra was enormous.

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meeting) and refusing to give speaking rights to those opposing the IS line – particularly those supporting the environment action. The meeting ended with those wanting to blockade marching off through the camp and the remaining people setting off to begin the environment action.

What began as a handful of people at the environment action quickly swelled to about three hundred. There were speakers on Australia’s sale of arms to Malaysia and Indonesia and military spending in Australia, and the impact this has on the environment and indigenous populations. The protesters then started singing (with constant interruptions from IS people asking for quiet as they were holding a meeting ten metres from where the action was assembled). All those involved in the action then walked in single file, singing as they passed the police who lined the road past the exhibition. During the banner painting there was an open microphone which people used to speak on issues, including working conditions in the Philippines and Indonesia. The action ended with a discussion on where the $20 million spent daily on the military in Australia could be better used.

Many people would have arrived in Canberra having read the book on AIDEX: End the Arms Trade, published by the Renegade Activist Action Force, which, along with much information on AIDEX outlined the program of events that the anti-AIDEX campaign was likely to follow. People would also have arrived expecting that they might get involved in arrestable activity. Also they may have been aware of the possibility of police violence, given the violence that occurred at lead-up actions around the country and at AIDEX 89.

Under these circumstances it was impossible to set up the infrastructure to support the demonstration during its operation. People wanted to respond immediately to the police, rather than to cooperate in meetings. Things such as medical and legal support needed to be put into place before the action started and to have collectives maintaining and coordinating them during the week. Likewise, media liaison, whilst very well operated from the Canberra Peace Centre, was happening in a very ad hoc way at the AIDEX site. The lack of identifiable media liaison people at the AIDEX site made it easy for reporters to grab sensational comments from demonstrators or only talk to the police before filing their reports.

Similarly, while it is impossible to check everybody’s commitment to anti-militarism, some form of vetting of the gung-ho boys on walkie-talkies, who seemed to have control of our own communications systems, would have helped people make accurate assessments of what was happening at the various parts of the demonstration. Reports such as ‘The police have just trashed the campsite and are throwing everyone out’, being rung through to the peace centre were not at all helpful.

The decision making forums needed to follow some format and obviously needed to address the issue of the disruptive tactics of the IS. These meetings should also have had a greater emphasis on information sharing rather than being a forum for those in control of the megaphone or those best skilled in crowd manipulation. Because of this type of domination and the violent agenda being set by the police over the road it was impossible to have the necessary rational discussions about tactics and how to carry through actions that were proposed on the draft agenda.

A possible way of avoiding these problems would have been to have people organised in affinity groups, and ensuring structures were in place to enable easy access to information and decision making processes so that the group could have control of the agenda rather than it be controlled by individuals.

Louise McDonald is an activist from Melbourne.
Araby. The nearest major centre of Kerbala was a hundred kilometres to the north.

The desert scenery surrounding the camp did not resemble anything one would expect after seeing films such as Lawrence of Arabia or The Sheik from Arabia. It consisted of low rocky terrain with a sand dune to the north. The temperature was also not as some would have expected. It was consistently cool. There were some sunny days but mostly the rain together with fairly fierce wind was characteristic. There were some sunny days but mostly the rain together with fairly fierce wind was characteristic. The temperature was also not as some would have expected. It was consistently cool. There were some sunny days but mostly the rain together with fairly fierce wind was characteristic.

The campers were mainly white western middle class people with twice as many men as women. There were more tranquility seekers and adventurous and Indian. There were priests and nuns, a Buddhist monk, anarchists and conservatives, professors and poets. Ages ranged from 23 to 90, one or two were even disabled.

Some were long time peace, social justice and human rights activists, such as members of the US Peacewatch group with many years of non violent direct action experience and some as long as years of sitting in front of the embassy or college gates, and were not unfamiliar with their beliefs. There were women who had partaken in the Women’s Peace Camp at Greenham Common and were used to living in tents or army camps. Others were new to the experience. One was a peace activist who had been in the Women’s Peace Camp at Greenham Common and was used to living in tents or army camps. Others were new to the experience. One was a peace activist who had been in the Women’s Peace Camp at Greenham Common and was used to living in tents or army camps.

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any departure let alone a day in the foreseeable future was of great concern to them. For others there was a concern that the lack of communication with the various support groups at home was an indication of the lack of achievement of our efforts and an indication of the failure of the purpose of the camp.

Some felt a sense of frustration at the idea of being trapped by Israeli ‘hostility’. In order to resolve this dilemma a small group volunteered to set up a camp another two kilometres in to ‘No Person’s Land’ towards Saudi Arabia. This was not only to become independent but to set according to one of the principles of nonviolent philosophy by becoming a truly neutral presence. This proposal met with such hostility from other campers that it had to be abandoned to avoid conflict.

After numerous rumours the inevitable evacuation occurred. It did not come from US helicopters with guns ablazing as had been prophesised—just two rather ordinary buses and a truck. It was clear that for some this was the planned mission for which they had looked. For others it was the very thing the camp had been set up to resist and despite the efforts from the majority of the campers to remain it was left to a small group of fifteen to attempt to stay. They staged a sit-down protest and had to be physically carried on to the buses by the Iraqi officials to the delight of some of the campers already on the buses who obviously resented this unnecessary delay.

The new ex-campers were bussed to Baghdad and ‘interned’ in El Rasheed camp. From there they were met by members of the Gulf Peace Team project.

While in Baghdad the ex-campers witnessed the nightly bombing of the city where there was little food, no electricity, and water for an hour a day for the fortunate. On one occasion a meeting with a high ranking Israeli official was interrupted by two explosions which shook the hotel and sent the ex-campers scurrying to the bomb shelters. The Israeli official was in the process of advising the ex-campers of the country’s eternal gratitude for their efforts. Their names would be written in gold in the annals of Israeli history, they were told. They would be welcome in Iraq at any time and were to regard it as their second home. During this time it was learned that the Iraqi military had in fact staged an offensive in the area of the Peace Camp. The doctors from the Peace Team were keen to provide any additional assistance at the hospitals.

Whether the Iraqi authorities now felt the campers’ usefulness had been established, whether they were influenced by the behaviour of some of the ex-campers or for whatever reason, soon the campers were once more being bussed, this time to the Iraq/Jordanian border.

In an uncharacteristic consensus, the ex-campers agreed that the Iraqi authorities and the Iraqi people had shown them unfailing courtesy and assistance at a time of extreme difficulty throughout the country.

The road to the border had been heavily bombed the night before. Several Jordanian truck drivers had been killed, and their lorries were still burning in the bomb craters together with the wreckage of several civilian cars. The situation at Rushid at the Iraq/Jordanian border was one of desolation and confusion. Many guest workers from Africa and Asia, also Palestinians leaving Kuwait in fear of their lives were attempting to cross the border into Jordan but lacked the necessary exit visas. These people were camped under bits of iron and cardboard boxes in freezing conditions and some had already died.

On the Jordanian side of the border the ex-campers were met by members of the Gulf Peace Team who had remained in Amman and given fresh fruit, hot drinks and mail from home.

Once back in Amman the ex-campers were greeted by more friends, more food, the first hot showers since leaving the border camp and the opportunity to contact loved ones, support groups and media at home.

For some, the Gulf Peace Team’s task was completed. For others, another phase began which included negotiations to set up a Peace Centre in the Amman with the aim of establishing a Peace Camp in the Golan Heights area. Some were interested in organising humanitarian aid to Baghdad and several trucks with Gulf Peace Team members on board succeeded in taking much needed medicines into the area.

The Team members returning home reported keen media interest in their experiences and in hearing a perspective on the situation different from that of the international media networks. They also reported a high level of interest in their local communities about the camp and the campers throughout the period. This was in contrast to the view of a member of the Australian group expressed while in the border camp that the camp was a failure because of lack of media attention. This was a similar criticism by the same person of the Peace Camp at Nurrungar in 1989, despite evidence to the contrary. The Border Camp in many ways resembled the world at large. There were political and cultural difficulties, language and differences. There were physical dangers, discomfort and emotional stresses. There were scarce resources together with suspicions of deliberate attempts to disrupt any resolution of conflicts. There were those who never accepted group decisions and there were those who worked hard and tirelessly to make the experience so enjoyable and worthwhile for themselves and for others. So it is clear that this particular camp could and should provide invaluable lessons for organisers and participants in any future activity of this type.

Liz Densham is an activist from Hobart.
how do we get to not having faith in other ways of solving problems? And thinking about these things led me, of course, to television. Being a developmental psychologist, it was natural for me to look at the effects of TV, especially on children.

So the focus for me was clearly on how TV might be implicated in violence and aggression. There are many more potential effects, both positive and negative, of TV on children besides any influences on aggressiveness. But these potential effects, both positive and negative, of TV on children besides any influence on aggressiveness. But these
days we are all coming to know that everything is interconnected — that there are links between what President Bush decides to do in the Middle East and how children behave in the playground, that the global threat of nuclear war is related to the values and attitudes inculcated in each of us, and that the problem of violence is linked to issues of gender, of power, of racism, of social injustice and of disempowerment. So we cannot address problems of violence without acknowledging these. And, of course, to learn about violence also has a bearing on them.

As I started on this interest in the violence of the screen, the questions for me (being trained as an empirical scientist to be sceptical and to carefully weigh the evidence) were: is TV really an influence of any magnitude on children's behaviour and attitudes and values? And if so, what are the mechanisms by which TV has its effects — for example, is it simply a copying or modelling process, or something more complex and involving memory processes? How do children learn from the programmes they watch and how should we respond?

One thing that struck me as soon as I got involved in research on the effects of TV, and in the heated debate that surrounds it, was that many people seem to think there are two quite different things: there is TV and there are educational programmes, and then there's entertainment.

People have no difficulty in believing that Sesame Street and Playchool are 'good' for children, that they learn things from them. And we avidly watch current affairs and documentary programmes in the hope and belief that we'll learn from them — that they'll change us in some way (even if we have well-founded doubts about the accuracy and comprehensiveness of what is presented!)

And then on the other side there are the crime shows, soap operas, sporting programmes and cartoon shows. These are supposed to be simply entertaining — pleasant, relaxing, amusing time fillers with no effect on us at all. And, of course, it is these programmes which tend to be high in violence — an Australian survey in 1985 found 97 per cent of crime shows, 74 per cent of action adventure shows and 86 per cent of cartoons contain violence; and most show the aggression to be appropriate, effective and rewarding. The average Australian child is calculated to watch 15,000 murders on TV during her or his school years. But there are many who argue that all this is entirely irrelevant, without effect on the behaviour or attitudes of the viewer. I am often told, 'Look at me. I watched (Superman/Flint­man/Rambo, etc.) when I was a kid, and look at me now, I'm alright, I'm alright!'

This is often said in a somewhat bel­ligerent manner, which rather under­cuts the force of the assertion!

Such a dichotomy between educational and entertaining, is obviously false. We know that learning often occurs 'by mistake', unintentionally, unconsciously. Viewers, whether adults or children, do not make complex judg­ments about 'This is Sesame Street, I learned things from this' and 'This is Ninja Turtles, I don't learn from this'. Learning doesn't work that way.

There has been a huge amount of research on the effects of TV, ranging from short-term laboratory studies to longitudinal studies spanning 20 years and more. Here is not an appropriate place to review the research literature in detail; it is a difficult area to research, and the results are not always consistent. However, it has now been frequent­ly confirmed that more aggressive people watch more violent television. And most researchers accept that this is a causal relationship — that viewing violent material causes an individual to behave more aggressively, more rejection of others. Whether we're in a TV programme or not it seems to be encoded and stored in a mental script depends on a variety of factors such as how often you are exposed to the material, how you interpret it, how relevant it is to you, whether the observed behaviour is seen to 'work', and how often you can rehearse the script. So the outward 'reality' of the material is only one fac­tor among many, and even if it is clearly 'not real', scripts reflecting it can be enacted when a situation arises which resembles the original one in some way.

This notion of cognitive scripts was supported in a study I did with an Honours student, Chris di Muccio, where we showed pre-school children episodes of Voltron (where ren­creatures engage in intergalactic warfare) and episodes of Gummi­bears (showing the harmless adventures of a group of cute little bears); the children then played with either Voltron or Gummi­bears toys. Both the cartoon programme and the toy type affected the children's behaviour — they were more aggressive and less cooperative and less sharing after Voltron. What is more, the effects were strongest when children both saw the Voltron cartoon and played with the Voltron toys — so it ap­peared that the advertising used to encour­age sales of children's toys is effective, but the covert messages are not ones that most of us would want to encourage. So much for the idea of TV, what about so-called fact — news, documents, current affairs and, and most recently, coverage of the Gulf War? I want to raise just a few issues.

Of course there is not hard research evidence on the effects of TV coverage of the Gulf War on children — there are no carefully collected data on random samples of children, with comparison of them "before the Gulf" and after the Gulf. What we do have are anecdotal reports, from many parents, teachers and children themselves.

We know that some children got taken in by the new action-packed soap opera, 'the TV war', and said to each other, 'Did you watch the Gulf War last night?' as if it were just another soapie. The death and destruction seemed to be taken in by this new action-packed soap opera, the 'TV war', and said to each other, 'Did you watch the Gulf War last night?' as if it were just another soapie. The death and destruction seemed to be more active and important, females are trivial and passive. The turtles became huge, strong and intelligent as the characters in TV shows. The turtles then played with either Voltron or Gummibears toys. Both the cartoon programme and the toy type affected the children's behaviour — they were more aggressive and less cooperative and less sharing after Voltron. What is more, the effects were strongest when children both saw the Voltron cartoon and played with the Voltron toys — so it appeared that the covert messages to encour­age sales of children's toys is effective, but the covert messages are not ones that most of us would want to encourage. So much for the idea of TV, what about so-called fact — news, documents, current affairs and, and most recently, coverage of the Gulf War? I want to raise just a few issues.

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conflict and all the issues it raised. What is most obvious about this list-
ing of children's reactions to media coverage of the Gulf War is their variability. Children showed a whole
range of responses. And this brings me back to a point raised earlier, that not all children become more aggressive
when exposed to aggressive
violence are much reduced if the
child has an adult with whom to dis-
cuss the material, who can help the
child to interpret and analyse what
is being presented. This leads to the topic of Media Educa-
tion. I think there is an urgent need to
make us (adults and kids) discriminat-
ing and expert consumers of the media, consumers who notice what is included
and what is excluded, who perceive
and 'read' the covert messages, and make
them overt, so that a conscious choice
can be made about whether to accept
them or not; thus the messages are
disempowered and the viewer is em-
powered. We also need to educate ourselves to express our views, to learn
how to make ourselves be heard, both
with our brickbats and our bouquets, so
that we do influence the media diet which is
dished up to us.

Media education of this sort is the responsibil-
ity of schools and others, but also of parents. I would say that if you
want to protect your child from the negative effects of TV, the single most
important thing you can do is to talk
about what they watch. Monitor what
they watch, share what they watch, and
discuss it — draw out the subtle mes-
38 • Chain Reaction
sages, express your views, let them ex-
press theirs. Say: 'Did you notice how
only the men did anything, and the
women stood by?'; 'Do you think there
39
might have been another way to solve
that problem instead of fighting over
it?'; 'They only showed us bad things
about the (black/afro/poor ...) person;
do you think she might have a better
side?' — the possibilities are endless.

The Pesticide Handbook: Profiles for Action
by Sarojini Rengam and Karen
Snyder (Eds), IOCU and PAN,
Malaysia, 3rd Revised Edition, 1991,
4Epp, US$24 for institutions and
US$12 for non-profit, public interest
groups.

Reviewed by Richard Hindmarsh

The Pesticide Action Network (PAN)
and the International Organization
of Consumer Unions (IOCU) have just
released The Pesticide Handbook:
Profiles for Action. This is timely as it
coincides with Australian calls to ban
outright the poisonous organochlorine
group of pesticides, especially aldrin
dieldrin. The book provides easily
accessible and useful information on
problem pesticides and extremely
relevant background information. The
editors, Rengam and Snyder, have
worked hard to ensure the book is well
laid out and interesting to read. For
anyone wishing to become more profi-
cient in understanding pesticides and
the industry this is a vital source book.

The first section acts as a 'pesticide
dictionary' with revised information on
fifty pesticides, including each
pesticide's common name, chemical
group, chemical name, trade names,
hazard classification, lethal dose (LD50) values, hazard to human health,
main use, regulatory controls interna-
tionally, incidences of known poison-
ings and other problems, and effects on
the environment. A more comprehen-
sive section on possible hazards of pes-
ticides and their residues follows.

Section three, of eight concise and
powerful background readings, intro-
duces us to the global political economy
of the pesticide treadmill, and focuses
on a range of specific issues, including
occupational safety, pesticide residues,
the pesticide industry, alternatives to
pesticides, and biotechnology. Such a
balanced selection makes for an excit-
ing contemporary understanding of the
pesticide issue, at the same time provid-
ings insights into the existing problems
and the newer ones emerging with the
bioevolution and genetic engineering.

These insights are necessary in order
to comprehend the broader picture and
the enormity of the problem to which
the agrochemical industry is subject-
ing us, and the planet. Such is the extent
of this problem that Pat Moonen in his
paper 'Beyond Biocides' charges that 'with biotechnology (coupled to the
pesticide industry), the fight is for our
lives.'

The final sections of the handbook
complete this informative and
groundswell network approach to tack-
ling the pesticide problem. There is an
overview of the Pesticide Action Net-
work (and how to join), an account of
the United Nations Food and Agricult-
ture Organization's (FAO) internation-
al pesticide code and its weaknesses,
a comprehensive list for further reading,
and a glossary of terms. All in all, the
handbook is a worthwhile addition to
the library of anyone concerned about
pesticides.

Richard Hindmarsh is an environmen-
tal scientist at Griffith University.
The greening of the church


Reviewed by Andrew Dunley.

This book should be read in all Australian churches. To use an overused adjective, it really is 'prophetic'.

Sean McDonagh, an Irish Columban missionary, who has lived in the Philippines, has a perspective on the global environmental crisis which is in all too unusual in the churches. He sees things clearly. His vision is not obscured by his religion. Rather, his religion is informed by what he sees happening and to plan a new way of living in the context of our common solidarity for survival. If the natural world of South Cotabato cannot support tribal peoples in this decade, within another decade or two it will not support the lowland Filipino settler either, and in a few short decades because then, current economic policies could make the earth uninhabitable for any human society. (pp 34)

As it describes the complex of economic, political and cultural conditions which intersect in the global environmental crisis, Part One makes disturbing reading for Christians. Part Two is even more disturbing. There Sean McDonagh describes biblical and historical understandings of the earth as God's creation. Against this background he goes on to discuss the painfully slow process through which the churches have begun to acknowledge the environmental crisis as an issue for Christian faith. He focuses on the Catholic Church, to which he belongs, but Protestants will cringe too. What he has to say concerns the fundamental challenge which he poses to established Catholic instruction. I hope he is successful in stimulating a fresh discussion, and has not simply earned himself a reprimand. His description and analysis of the development of Catholic teaching on the environment is very helpful. He shows himself to be a first rate interpreter of official theology (which certainly needs interpretation if it is to be of any use to Christians, or others).

This book is directed at Christian readers, but it will be of interest to others too. With increasing numbers of Christians becoming active in environmental groups and actions, it provides helpful insights and useful information for those who would welcome the new recruits. Understanding each other is important. The possibilities opening up for cooperation between environmental groups and churches will also be taken more constructively when there is some measure of mutual understanding. This book is an excellent resource in that respect.

The greening of the church is a challenging book. It has the potential to change the way its readers think and live; for the sake of the earth. And for that reason, I hope it has many, many readers.

Andrew Dunley is lecturer in systematic theology at Parkin Wesley Theological College, Adelaide.

All of the books listed in Chain Reaction are available or can be ordered through the Friends of the Earth Bookshop.

228 Brunswick St, Fitzroy, Victoria. 3065. Ph: (03) 416 2081.
Part I is about non-nuclear sources of radiation, such as X-rays, microwaves and extra-low-frequency (ELF) radiation. Part II is about nuclear sources of radiation, all of which, like X-rays, are ionising (in nature). The last part looks at the human health issues, the research findings and their interpretations.

In only two centuries human beings have managed to do what few other species have been able to do. Besides making this planet uninhabitable for thousands of others we are rapidly making it uninhabitable for ourselves. Well documented technical detail is included in a way which does not interrupt the flow of more readily digestible information and occasional snippets of history, sociology and biology ensure that the reader is not snored under with technology.

The nett result is an authoritative, forthright and readable account of issues about which many will have thought but few could claim to understand and expound as well as Les Dalton.

Dennis Matthews is a lecturer in Chemistry and Physics at Flinders University and is a former member of the South Australian Radiation Protection Commission.

Reviews

Chain Reaction


Reviewed by Paul Shannon

Green politics is a relatively new player on a political field which has long been dominated by the various shades of red (left) and blue (right) politics (with the multi-hued feminists doing surprising things to all of them). Green politics comes in different shades, too. Radical Green politics is about fundamental changes in our present values and patterns of production and consumption, and its impact on the hegemonic territory of progressive politics, with parody, caricature and straw men in heavy deployment.

Dobson argues convincingly that ecology is fundamentally antagonistic to capitalism. But it is also not the consumer culture of capitalism that can digest its greens. Ecologism, he argues, although having 'points of contact' with its nearest anti-capitalist neighbour — socialism — is not identical with it for as long as socialists reject the notion of Green egalitarianism. Dobson says, is seen by Greens as sharing with capitalism the 'super-ideology' of industrialism and is committed to an unsustainable productive growth and material abundance. In the words of one such Green critic, orthodox socialism will offer but 'fair shares in extinction' as long as there is no ecological priority given to its program of wealth redistribution and economic justice.

Again, there is much accuracy in this depiction of socialism. Despite the (quite genuine) green bias of Marx and Engels, the belief that radical Green socialism in the 'natural limits to economic and population growth' arising from the Earth's 'limited carrying capacity (for population), productive capacity (for resources) and absorbent capacity (pollution)'

Dobson's portrayal is accurate. Somehow the point of Green ideas seems to escape a lot of people. For example, is channelled into the stilling world of ESD and RAC bureaucracies, and when buying new Earth-friendly Studio from the supermarket is accepted as enough to save the planet. Dobson, too, believes that green shopping is an essential part of the radical Green project is 'not to get people to consume soundly but less. If Green politics merely improves the Body Shop's annual turnover is it worth it? A few million animals would say 'Yes!' if they could but the general point is that considerate consumer strategy is taken — it will ultimately merely 'imunise the consumer against the reality of an unsustainable industrial order'.

Dobson argues convincingly that radical Green politics should be taken on board by Greens to overcome the tension between the radical Green vision and its 'relevance on traditional liberal-democratic means of bringing it about'. Ecologism is, he says, 'an ideological that lacks an adequate program for social and political transformation'. It wants an anthropocentric, materially profligate world turned upside down so that it can be fitted with catalytic converters'.

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The Greening of Australian Politics: The 1980 Federal Election

Reviewed by Tony Smith

At the special sitting Parliament called to discuss the Gulf War, 21 January 1991, Senator Janet Powell received vocal support from the young protesters in the Public Gallery when she attacked the tired old major parties for their attitude to the conflict. This was a clear demonstration that The Greening of Australian Politics examines an important development of the political system.

In seeking to explain the importance of 'green' issues for the future direction of Australian politics, the contributors to this excellent election portrait concentrate on the idea that there may be emerging a 'new politics'. Elin Papadakis provides a lucid analysis of how 'minor' parties may have benefited from a realignment away from the traditional ALP-versus-the-conservatives contest. In particular he examines the way in which green preferences were of such vital importance in the outcome of the contest, and how the Coalition seems to be lagging on environmental issues.

David Gow provides a more critical perspective on the influence of 'postmaterialism'. One of the books strengths is that the election data is scrutinised in comparison with 'The 1980 Australian Election Study'. This survey compiled particularly valuable data on voter partisanship and strength of influence of various issues. Interestingly, respondents tended to rate the Coalition's policies as being closer to their own on the economic issues, but Labor's as closer to their own on quality of life issues. Overall general interest in the election resulted more to the Coalition's failure to attract economically aggrieved electorates than to any demonstrable change in the nature of politics.

This study is a very professional account of the 1980 election and sets new standards for election studies. It will be invaluable for overseas observers because John Warhurst supplies detailed 'blow-by-blow' accounts both of political developments between the 1977 and 1980 elections and of the 1980 election campaign. These chapters cover the political background, including inter-party state elections, institutional changes such as by-elections and Senate vacancies which may have altered the balance, and the main intra-party events, such as the Peacock-Howard leadership contests. The flavour of the campaign is captured well, with extensive quotes from the media commentators whose influence created the general images of the alternative governments.

Clive Bean provides an analysis of the policies, the campaign launches, the great debate, political advertising and the reporting of the campaign is particularly readable as he refers to 'conclusions stripped of the informational gravy'.

Unfortunately, he does not fully address the 'green' issue. The campaign was replete with rhetorical appeal to the green electorate and there was a genuine public desire for environmental policies. Bean's account provides an incomplete picture of the campaign because there is a lack of data or evidence of the relative efficiency and effectiveness of the 'measured pace of democracy'.

Murray Goot looks at 'the forest, the trees and the polls'. He discovers considerable discrepancy between politicians as to which were the most appropriate questions, a lack of sophistication in assessing the importance of the environment as an issue, and a deal of good luck in their ability to predict the overall result. He concludes that public opinion is not independent of the polls but is created by the politicians as they attempt to measure it.

McAllister and Bean in 'explaining Labor's victory' suggest that there has been no fundamental change in party allegiances and caution against any projection of the various parties' electoral prospects for the nineties. They attribute the result to 'the connected factors', including the failure of the Coalition on economic factors and the environment. They regard the environmental policies on a major party 'head to head'. Most importantly, Labor presented 'a positive popular image, with a united, competent governing team lead by a popular and capable Prime Minister'.
Plunder
Reviewed by Minewatcher.

This monumental work draws together all the strands of the vast operation of Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ). The author, Roger Moody, is the bête noire of RTZ. His inquiries have probed and dissected the giant, culminating in this book, the product of industrial activism and research.

RTZ now operate 52 mines in 40 countries, and many smelting and processing plants. This is a multinational corporation par excellence, the naked face of capitalism. Who said Marx was outdated?

RTZ's mining operations encompass nearly all the non-ferrous metals and iron ore, with moves into energy to embrace coal and uranium, and now diamonds. RTZ covers from A to Z—aluminium to zinc.

Not all products are successful, not all operations make booming profits; commodity prices are quite cyclic; they have their troughs. But when iron ore is doing poorly, aluminium will be booming, or vice versa. The philosophy of exploitation is to restrict an operation when profits are low, and go for broke when prices are buoyant, even if this saturates the market.

The only continents and areas that RTZ has not muscled into are the Antarctic, the former Soviet Union, India and the sea bed. Now the countries of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are ripe for exploitation.

RTZ explores regions, not minerals. The Australian arm, CRA, has wisely seen Asia as a new giant trading domain. It is the awaking giant. China is the colossal; Indonesia is untrapped.

But to return to the beginning, RTZ derives its name from, and had its beginning in, the Rio Tinto copper mine in Spain over 100 years ago. Eventually the tentacles began to spread. Next was the copper belt in Northern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe.

The book demonstrates how RTZ influences governments, sets up cartels, and is prepared to sink quite a lot of money into public relations to improve its image, for example, the Save the Kakapo campaign in New Zealand.

Moody considers that 20 to 30 multinationals control the sources of minerals. Six have a dominant position; RTZ is one of these. They will compete with each other when it suits them, or they will cooperate if it suits, to control production and prices.

One new venture is the giant Escondida copper mine in northern Chile. Here CRA has a 30 per cent interest and BHP controls the project. But iron ore is doing poorly, so Aluminium will be booming, or vice versa.

RTZ would have as its credo—"we are not in business to make aluminium (or zinc, or lead, or copper), or to mine for uranium or diamonds or coal, we are in the business to make money!"

This book is highly recommended for a detailed, but very readable, insight into a huge multinational mining company. It is like a course in geography and geology!

Minewatcher is an active watchdog on mining activities around the world.

Legal Organisation for Non-violent Action

The handbook developed out of the experiences of those involved in legal organisations of the campaign to protect the South East Forests of New South Wales. It is designed to provide both a framework for organisations, as well as, detailed information to individuals.

The book follows the course of interaction between NVA and the law including: planning for Non-violent Action, major players in the criminal justice game, organisation before and after arrest, local courts and appeals.

The handbook has appendices which cover New South Wales and Commonwealth legislation relevant to NVA, standard forms for use by legal organisations and a guide to local court trials.

Available from: Environmental Defenders Office, Suite 82, 270 Pitt Street, Sydney NSW 2000

On the Water Front
by John Archer, Pure water Press, 96 pages, $12.95

It's easy to take your water supply for granted—it's simply a matter of turning on the tap. But is your water safe to drink? On the Water Front presents a revealing perspective on this vital subject.

Available from: Pure Water Press, PO Box 85 Brunswick Heads, 2483.

Say Yes to Peace: Directions for the 1990s
Dale Heret (ed.), Victorian Association for Peace makers, 13 pages, $2.

Say Yes to Peace provides seven perspectives on directions the peace movement should take in the 1990s. These include consideration of a role in Asia Pacific and new approaches to self-determination.

Available from Peace Decrees, GPO Box 1274, Melbourne, Victoria, 3001.

Green Pages 1991/92 Edition
Australian Conservation Foundation, 1991, $3.95, plus $1.50 post for each.

A comprehensive directory of Australian environment groups. It covers more than 700 national and state groups, with each listing including contact person, postal address plus phone, fax, membership numbers, meeting times and publications.

Available from: ACF Books, 340 Gore St, Fitzroy, 3065.

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Resources

1991 Directory of Assistance Schemes for Trees on Farms and Rural Vegetation
Greening Australia and Bureau of Rural Resources, 1991, $14.95

This Directory summarises 74 schemes that provide assistance and advice on trees growing and retention. It lists where to find grants, cheap seedlings, free literature, information about what species grow where, as assistance with planting, management and marketing. Each scheme entry has a standard format, one to each page. Contact numbers and basic information are provided to allow readers to follow up the most relevant scheme, and to make easy comparisons. The Directory will be updated annually.

Available from: GPO Box 9094, Canberra, ACT 2601.

Genetic Engineering Education Resource Kit
Australian Conservation Foundation, 1992, $0.90

This timely kit focuses on the requirements of Victorian VCE science and biology students but is also suitable for other students and anyone with an interest in genetic engineering. It contains items from magazines, news reports, Hamed, as well as case studies and illustrations. It aims to assist readers to identify and assess the risks and benefits to society of genetic engineering, with a particular emphasis on ethical issues.

Available from: Australian Genetics Network, ACF, 340 Gore St, Fitzroy, 3065.
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