

Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

Number 39 October-November 1984 \$2.50

GENE SHARP -
ON VIOLENCE

WEST GERMANY

ROXBY DOWNS -
A MINE WITH NO
MARKET?

DAINTREE

THE WORLD COFFEE
INDUSTRY.

ROXBY

PORTLAND

MALAYSIA

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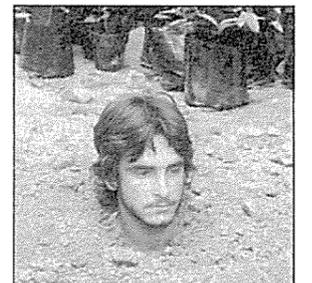
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Contributions to *Chain Reaction* are invited. Please try to send items typed, on one side of the page, double spaced and with wide margins. Keep a copy. We do not have sufficient resources and people to return manuscripts. These few guidelines help in bringing out the magazine better and faster. The last edition of *Chain Reaction* for 1984 will be published in late November 1984. Deadline for feature articles is 19 October.

LETTERS

► Eco - feminism

Eco-feminism makes a valuable contribution towards saving our planet by stressing the need for the development of a non-exploitative consciousness. However I believe the eco-feminist model, by concentrating on patriarchy as the source of the destructiveness of modern, human society, does not go far enough towards identifying the root causes.

Certainly the exploitative attitude of industrial society towards nature is a fundamental factor but this is associated with a dominatory and hierarchical sensibility *per se*, which is not confined to the institution of patriarchy but permeates all social institutions. In broad terms we have the oppression of young by adults, of one ethnic group by another, of 'masses' by bureaucrats, of certain personality types by others, of society by the state, of one nation by another, ultimately of one part of the self by the other; as well as of women by men.

The belief that the disappearance of *all* power relations from within human society is a prerequisite for the achievement of an ecological consciousness, and that alienation from nature is a product of the large scale and centralised control of modern technology is the essence of the 'eco-anarchism' of Murray Bookchin (*Towards an Ecological Society, The Ecology of Freedom*) which provides a more fundamental epistemology than eco-feminism.

Eco-feminism has pointed to the role of socialisation in perpetuating aggressive 'male' traits but has I think been partisan in over-looking female complicity in maintaining the status quo. For example militarism benefited from the practice during the First World War and earlier wars, of women sending anonymous white feathers

to impute cowardice, to men who were reluctant to answer the call to arms.

Eco-feminism has become, in some minds, not so much an aid to understanding which has some validity at the macro level, but a doctrine which treats individuals from a subgroup of humanity (namely those of the male gender) as indistinguishable representatives of that group. If social conditioning were wholly successful the peace/environment/social justice movements would not have arisen; and if all males were inherently oppressive, men would not be involved in them.

Andrew Bullock
St Kilda, Vic

► Soviet style

I wish to end my subscription to your magazine now. After reading the last year of issues I fail to see how you can believe any sane, rational person is gaining anything from reading *Chain Reaction*.

Personally, I find your whole style absurdly anti-USA and pro-Soviet. If you think anyone with an ounce of intelligence is believing this rubbish you present with your biased viewpoint, then you have fooled yourself.

M M Booth
Garran, ACT

► Consensus

In response to Howard Ryan's disparaging article on consensus (*Chain Reaction* 37) I'd like to say that from my experience it can and does work well under certain conditions. I believe that it can only work happily and efficiently if everyone in the decision-making group wants it to work; if no one is using the process for their own purposes; and if a range of other structures and procedures are used to support the consensus process.

Consensus cannot be successfully imposed on a group. Doing so only leads to resentment, resistance and sabotage of the process as illustrated in the Manderson cartoon. The philosophy of the consensus process is in itself revolutionary and may have to be introduced gradually by example.

Often the rejection of hierarchical structures leads

to a mistrust of all structures including those that support the consensus process. The voting process at its best has a lot of the same structures as agenda formation procedures, encouragement of less confident speakers by the chair, formation of subcommittees etc. To use the process without some support structures leads to frustrating and time-consuming inefficiency in both voting and consensus processes.

Ryan makes much of the right to block consensus. My experience is that the process works much better if participants accept that they have both an obligation to the group to block consensus when they believe that their proposal is significantly better and an obligation to believe and accept that *any* decision, even one far removed from their conception, is possibly acceptable.

It is important for any group using consensus to clearly advertise the fact. Newcomers to a group should be clearly advised of agreements on procedures and structures and of any expectations the group might have of them. It is particularly important to have procedures for dealing with individuals who have agreed to such structures but still choose to break these agreements in a disruptive way.

The attempted use of consensus in broad-based coalitions can be quite disastrous. Often the very principle of consensus is against the political philosophy of one of the represented groups. It can only work when everyone wants it to work. Ryan's comment that when 'there are significant philosophical differences among members, consensus poses real problems even in small groups' is misleading. It is the 'significant philosophical differences' that pose the problem, not consensus. Voting in this case sweeps the problem under the majority mat.

Daryll Bellingham
Uki, NSW

► Controlled substances

Recently I learned that the *Controlled Substances Act* was tabled in the South Australian legislative council in December 1983. If this act is passed, sales of vitamins, minerals and herbs

will be severely restricted. Similar legislation is currently being considered in Victoria.

All nutritional supplements will be classified as therapeutic goods; this means that supplements will have to be registered. Many herbs and vitamins now freely available could soon be removed from the market entirely. The Victorian government has already banned the sale of comfrey.

Furthermore the dosage of tablets will be controlled through this registration process. The control of sales of nutritional products will be done by licensing; the administrator of the act will control who will be licensed. Natural therapists could be denied a licence, thus putting them out of business and taking away the public's freedom of choice.

The South Australian government has completely banned the sale of kelp because *one* batch was considered unsafe. The medical profession has long been contemptuous of alternative medicine and sees these draconian measures as a way to force many people back to orthodox treatment. No doubt this would benefit them and the large drug companies, but at what cost to many people who are allergic to drugs and others who do not want to poison their bodies and minds.

C Laurence
Norwood, SA

► Uranium information

In regards to Terri Seddon mentioning the claims of the UIC that nuclear free zones will mean the end of the use of radio-isotopes in industry, agriculture and hospitals, sadly this isn't the case.

Remember the radiation accident in Juarez? (Earth News, CR 38) The waste concerned came not from

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

nuclear arms or a power plant but what had been a hospital's cancer machine. As mentioned, the incident has raised scepticism about the sensibility of using radiation for food preservation - in this case by USA corporations in Mexico.

The use of radium by the medical profession is part of the 'cancer industry'. Having personally known a number of others with the misfortune to get cancer, only one has survived. She ignored medical advice and adopted a strict diet of natural foods. The others all accepted cobalt radiation treatment. I can tell you what it does to a person makes some forms of torture pale by comparison!

The well documented means of overcoming cancer (diet, meditation, exercise and most importantly a good environment) exist compatibly with the revolutionary ecological notions of self-help and self-management and not surrendering oneself to the power of 'experts'.

Kim Brinkley
Parkside, S.A.

Many thanks for the fine Terri Seddon article on the UIC (*Chain Reaction* 28).

The Fraser conservative government and its look-alike successor the Hawke 'Labor' government, have both made a great pretence that their 'safeguards' agreements make our uranium exports perfectly safe.

The uranium producers who made up the UIC obviously have a vested interest in persuading us that uranium production is perfectly safe, a view which is contradicted worldwide by competent scientists with no axe to grind. In contrast, the conservationists can, in the main, be regarded as being impartial and disinterested (to use that much-abused word in its proper sense). Reasonable people in search of the truth will know well enough which group to believe.

Even if it were true, as the good-looking bloke in the accompanying picture to Terri's article says, that 'more people die on the roads', we are entitled to ask which roads. Perhaps his statement merely indicates that we need to find better methods to

prevent all those people from 'dying on the roads'.

Larry Drake
Nudgee Beach, Qld.

It is highly uplifting to read Terri Seddon's article, which exposes some of the sinister practices of the Uranium Information Centre Ltd. While I do not want to question any of the issues he (*sic*) raised, particularly that of the manipulation and stifling of the public 'discussion' on uranium through the UIC, I think he did not include one major point.

Terri did not notice however that the UIC is very often not dishing us 'facts' up, but is simply lying. The statistics and figures that we are regularly given in our morning papers as nuclear propaganda are very different from those that the nuclear industry and government institutions in European countries with nuclear reactors are admitting to.

It is understandable that Australians find it hard to assess any nuclear figures given to them, since there are no nuclear power plants in this country and that the nuclear industry and their proponents are relatively unchallenged in their empirical reliability.

Available anti-nuclear power literature in Australia is fairly limited, not widely distributed and dealing more with general, moral problems (which are very important too), but rarely with scientific figures that contradict propaganda.

This propaganda equals that of the nuclear industry in West Germany about twelve years ago, when nuclear plants were planned on a massive scale. Due to scientific and popular disbelief (which was backed up through international research and on-location measurements) the industry was forced to admit to figures which were closer to reality (however still far from it).

UIC 'information' states that a nuclear power plant emits only *1 millirem per year*. The West Germany nuclear industry stated in a safety report to the State of Schleswig-Holstein that *60 millirem per year* will be emitted, whereas the Minister of the Interior estimated *90 millirem per year*. Even if

these figures are many times higher than UIC propaganda wants to make us believe, they don't approximate reality. In an internal report of the Kernforschungszentrum (nuclear research centre) Karlsruhe, outside their reactor premises *1500 millirem/year* were measured.

It basically seems that nuclear barons 'inform' us with as much or as little as they can get away with. Let's make it more difficult for them.

As an example of the thinking of nuclear thinkers ten years after Hiroshima, and of the cynicism of the propagandists of nuclear energy usage, here is a quote by E R Carling from a speech at the first nuclear conference in Geneva in 1955:

It is also understandable that in a world that looks into a future in which the growth of population destroys the basis of food supply, reduced fertility and a

shortening of life expectancy will not be lamented over too much. Insofar as a sinking of the general level of intelligence occurs, this expectation is depressing, but it is to be hoped that even then there will be new breeds of extremely high intelligence that will suffice to penetrate the level of the masses. To somebody who is not a genetic scientist, it may seem that for the future good of mankind, one mutation that produces an Aristoteles, Leonardo, Newton, Gauss, Pasteur or Einstein, might outweigh 99 mutations that produce imbeciles.

Keep up the fight, *Chain Reaction*.
Bernhard Huber
Clovelly, NSW

Continued on p 30

A little each day

The Uranium Information Centre's battle for your mind

Let me assure you the facts are that uranium is natural, clean, useful, and with our safeguards, not dangerous, and you know, more people die on the roads!

COLLAGE BY TIM DARLING

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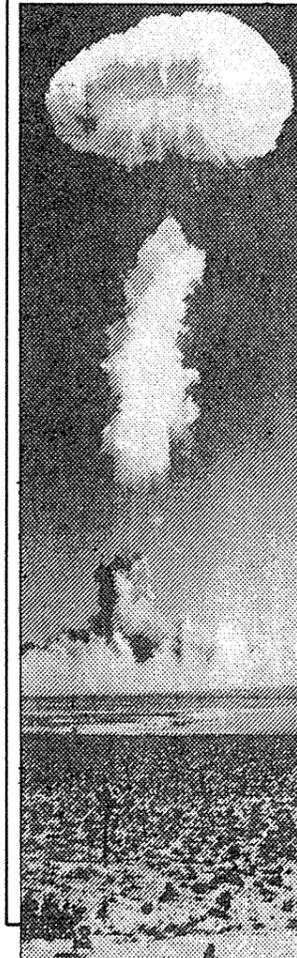
EARTH NEWS

Unroyal treatment

The Pitjantjatjara Council has recently been part of a successful campaign to have the federal government hold a royal commission into British atomic bomb tests in Australia. These took place in the Monte Bello Islands, Emu Junction and Maralinga in the 1950s and 1960s.

The federal government is setting up a team to support the royal commission which will include an experienced barrister supported by two crown solicitors with a team of fourteen consultants, researchers and secretarial staff.

British atomic test at Maralinga in the 1950s.



CANBERRA TIMES

The Aboriginal people are now faced with the daunting task of putting together their case with nowhere near these resources. They have government funding for only one barrister and one instructing solicitor. Thus the Aboriginal witnesses may not have adequate access to field researchers who could document their accounts. The team representing the Aboriginal witnesses has no access to expertise in radiation matters and they vitally need advice from scientists sympathetic to the Aboriginal situation.

One other major area of concern for the Council is that they have received invitations from the USA to examine relevant material collected by lawyers preparing cases for compensation relating to the American atomic bomb tests in both the Marshall Islands and Nevada. However, the Council does not have the resources to send somebody to sift through the material to determine what is useful.

The Council's position is critical. They feel that it is not enough for Aboriginal people simply to give evidence of what they saw or experienced. If they are to make out claims for compensation they must discover all available evidence surrounding the conduct of the tests and about safety measures taken.

The Council is requesting assistance from the peace and disarmament movement. They are asking that individuals or organisations consider taking the following action:

- Forming a local support group for Aboriginal victims of Maralinga.
- Collecting information about Maralinga and circulating it in workplaces.
- Writing to newspapers calling attention to the plight of Aboriginal atomic test victims and their need for independent representation before the royal commission.
- If you are in contact with

any scientific workers who could assist in the preparation of evidence, encourage them to contact Pitjantjatjara Council.

- Writing to the federal government demanding they make adequate funds available to independent Aborigi-

nal organisations to prepare and present evidence to the commission.

- Raising money to assist Aboriginal organisations to prepare their case.
- Contact: Maralinga Group, Pitjantjatjara Council, PO Box 2189, Alice Springs, NT 5750. Tel: (089) 52 5783, (089) 52 3655.

Rum through jungle



Sign warning of polluted water at Rum Jungle.

This year's (1984) federal budget provides \$7.6 million for rehabilitation of the site of the former Rum Jungle uranium mine. The federal government, under an agreement with the Northern Territory, will spend \$16.2 million over six years to reduce water pollution caused by heavy metals (copper, zinc, manganese) and sulphates, and to remove the public health hazard presented by radioactive tailings at the site. Some \$6.1 million has been spent in previous years to revegetate the area and to stop radioactive materials leaking from the tailings.

Rum Jungle was the first uranium mine in Australia and was opened to provide the UK with uranium for its atomic tests. The mine stopped operating in 1971 but has continued to be an environmental problem of massive proportions. The tailings dam at Rum Jungle has been repeatedly breached

by monsoonal rains and the Finnis River has been polluted by toxic elements and radioactive materials. Pollution extends over a 100 square kilometres and will continue to poison the land and water for many years.

An amount of \$384000 has been provided for management and maintenance of the former atomic test sites at Maralinga, Emu and Monte Bello Island. Most of the expenditure will be used by the federal police to supervise the former test sites.

Other budget allocations provide \$41.9 million to the Australian Atomic Energy Commission, an increase of 8% on the previous year's expenditure. In 1984 - 85 \$1.2 million will be spent under a \$4.7 million five-year program for the refurbishing of the Lucas Heights research reactor to ensure its continued operation into the 1990s.

Women's anthology

Edith Blicksilver, a teacher of Ethnic Literature at Georgia Institute of Technology in the USA, is requesting contributions to an international women's anthology. Ms Blicksilver is the editor of an anthology *The Ethnic Woman: Problems, Protests and Lifestyles*. This book has gone into its second printing, with contributions from women of twenty-three different ethnic groups.

Ms Blicksilver is starting work on a new anthology. She is seeking material from women in Australia. All contributions should examine cultural traditions, ethnicity or national origins, in the form of a short story, poem, essay, biographical sketch or autobiographical sketch. Contact: For further information, contact Alison Thorne, C/- Radical Women, PO Box 334, Fitzroy, Vic 3065. Tel: (03) 386 3452.

Soft focus on Silkwood

While the film *Silkwood* shows the sloppy and irresponsible way Kerr-McGee ran its plutonium facility in Cimarron, Oklahoma, it also distorts facts about Karen Silkwood's character, her contamination with plutonium, and her death, according to Danny Sheehan, a lawyer for her estate. Sheehan said that 'the lawyers for Kerr-McGee intimidated the producers and directors of the Silkwood film. The filmmakers tried to denigrate the character of Silkwood to placate Kerr-McGee.'

For example, the film makes it look as if the plutonium contamination of Silkwood's house came from a spilled urine sample, and that Karen herself contaminated the food in her refrigerator after spilling her urine sample in the bathroom. The fact of the matter is that the package of bologna and cheese (in the refrigerator) had 400000 disintegrations per minute of plutonium in it, the bathroom had only 24000 in it. . . . The motherlode of the plutonium was in the refrigerator.

The film gives the impression that Karen ran off and left her husband and children. In fact, says Sheehan,

Who owns who?

World Information Service on Energy (WISE) are finalising a major publication, *The Gulliver File*, and hope to publish it in November 1984. The aim of the file is to provide not only activist groups but also trade unions with comprehensive information of the companies involved in the uranium industry and to highlight past and potential resistance to specific mining projects and companies. 'Who owns who' will be revealed. The file consists of an introductory essay and individual studies of some 600 companies and multinational corporations.

WISE would like to finish the company profiles as soon

as possible. This will cost a minimum of \$1,500. The money for research has been raised mostly in Holland and England and funds are now available to have the file printed in German. They ask for similar support in Australia through donations or purchases of the file at the pre-publication price of \$20.

Contact: Wise, PO Box 87, Glen Aplin, Qld, 4381.

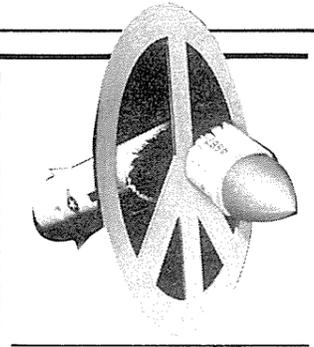
Women, go west

HMAS Stirling Naval Base on Garden Island in Cockburn Sound, 60km south of Perth, is a de facto USA military base. From 1 December 1984, it will be the site of the Sound Women's Peace Camp.

Women from all over Australia will be gathering to protest about the presence of this base which draws us into global nuclear strategies and makes us a part of the mili-

tarization of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. They will also be protesting about the exploitation of women resulting from the use of Cockburn Sound and Fremantle as 'rest and recreation' ports for USA military personnel. Women from the eastern states will be travelling to the camp on a 'Peace Train'.

Contact: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) PO Box 53, North Fremantle, WA, 6159, Tel: (09) 3212269; or your local women's peace group.



CND



FOE goes west

The Friends of the Earth (FOE) national liaison office has moved across the continent, from Melbourne to Perth. Lorraine Grayson has been appointed as the new national liaison person. The move is in preparation for the 1985 national meeting of FOE representatives in January somewhere near Perth.

Contact: Lorraine Grayson, c/- FOE (Perth), 794 Hay St., Perth, WA 6000. Tel: (09) 3212269

Still pedalling peace



After two years and 16000 km, the World Bike Ride for Peace and Disarmament is in Britain. The ride began in Sydney in March 1982. (See 'The Peace Cycle', *Chain Reaction* 35). Their numbers are down to just four, and over the British summer spent a leisurely seven weeks riding between London and Orkney Islands. They have no support vehicle, and carry their displays, literature and musical instruments on their bikes, contacting groups as they go to organise venues for their 'roadshows'. These shows combine information on nuclear issues and travel slides. Donations received cover food and expenses.

Contact: World Bike Ride, c/- Ali Kaye, 13 Lillieshall Rd, Clapham Common, London SW14.

Pulling the cord on the smelter express

Announcement of an aluminium smelter feasibility study in the south-west of Western Australia has been met by criticism from the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) and Campaign to Save Native Forests (CSNF). The groups are concerned that a proposed site is an area adjacent to a state forest and the smelter will result in increased bauxite mining in the region.

The present state labor government, which when in opposition energetically campaigned for full public discussion of the aluminium industry, now refuses to release the facts which would allow such debate to take place. ACF is concerned that an agreement on a smelter will be introduced to Parliament

South Africa boycott

The Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE) has called for an intensification of the trade boycott of South Africa to hasten the end of apartheid. In 1959, when Chief Albert Luthuli of the African National Congress (ANC) called for a boycott of South African goods, he received messages of support from many parts of the world. From Australia came a shipload of South African goods which waterside workers had refused to unload. As Gertrude Shope of the ANC reminded audiences during her recent tour of Australia, the news of the shipload caused rejoicing in black townships.

CARE is pushing for a total economic boycott of South Africa including investment, travel to South Africa and goods made in South Africa, or by South African based companies. A group of CARE members in South Australia has prepared a report on South African trade with Australia, which shows imports in several categories of goods from South Africa have increased in recent years. These include toilet paper and some fertilisers, as well



Jarrahdale bauxite mine site, Western Australia. Mining denies public access to large areas of state forest.

before economic and environmental factors have been considered. Construction could begin in March 1985, leaving little time for debate on issues such as flouride fall-out on state forest land.

Alumina from bauxite mined in the jarrah forests

near Worsley will be used in the new smelter. AFC has demanded a government guarantee that there will be no increases in bauxite mining in the Darling Ranges.

Contact: CSNF, 794 Hay St, Perth WA. 6000. Tel: (09) 3212269

as goods for 'reprocessing and re-export'. This suggests that Australia is joining Israel and Taiwan as a country in which South African goods are laundered marked 'Product of Australia' before they are shipped to countries where opposition to apartheid is stronger.

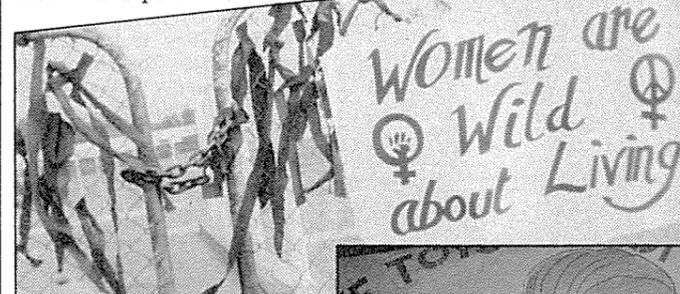
CARE is calling on the

federal government to enforce the trade boycott, including sales of petroleum products to South Africa. It is also asking consumers not to buy South African goods - and to let shopkeepers know why they aren't.

Contact: CARE national office, PO Box 51, Kensington Park, SA 5068. Tel: (08) 3326474

In memoriam notices placed in the *Adelaide Advertiser* 16 June 1982 to commemorate the massacre of black South Africans at Soweto.

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| SOWETO . — We mourn all those killed at Soweto. A peaceful student protest against third-rate education was met with tear-gas and bullets. June 16, 1976, became "Soweto Day," a symbol of the determination of black South Africans to achieve human dignity, equal rights and economic justice in their homeland. | KGAPULE , Edward. — 20 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Leonie Elert. | MAKGETLA , D. — Killed by South African police, 1976. — by George Apai |
| It is not known how many fell on June 16, or in the months following. Those for whom "In Memoriam" notices appear in this paper are included under the heading "Killed by Police," in the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Riots at Soweto... chaired by P. M. Cillie. | KGAYE , Kabelo. — 48 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Chris White. | MAKHABANE , years. Killed by police, Soweto, 1976. — by Bas Moore and fam |
| Today the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation expresses deep sympathy for those who have given their lives in the struggle to create a just society. We are deeply saddened that the intransigence of the white minority government has closed off all constitutional means of change. We know that June 16, 1976, ushered in a new phase in the struggle for a just society in South Africa and that today this struggle continues. — CARE | KGONGQANA , Ariel. — 30 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. Remembered by Bruce Rosen. | MASHANINI , years. Killed by police, Soweto, 1976. — by Barry |
| | KGONGQANA , Ariel. — 30 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. Remembered by Karobi Mukherjee. | MATSEPE , Jeff. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Amalgamate and Shipwright Australian Stat |
| | KGUPISE , Herbert. — 19 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Chris Schacht. | MBATHA , Cier. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Jim Otte. |
| | KHALANE , George. — 23 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Jim Otte. | MBEBE , Frank. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Miriam Toni |
| | KHAMBULE , Godfrey. — 12 years. Shot by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Prue Luxton. | MBEKE , Prince. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Robyn and J |
| | KHAMBULE , Godfrey. — 12 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Derek Robertson. | MBELE , Simon. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Christine Gi |
| | AMATENDE , Elisa. — 21 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by John Luckens. | MDA , John. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Rem Anisimoff famil |
| | AMATENDE , Elisa. — 21 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Sharon Mergerson. | MEYANA , Dav. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — by Williams and R |
| | BARRON , James. — 28 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Richie Gun. | MITHI , Lily. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remem by John Thomas |
| | BARRON , James. — 28 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Louise Rogers. | MITHI , Lily. — Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Rob Scott |
| | BOGALE , Meshack. — 18 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Richard Walsh. | |
| | BUTHELEZI , Joyce. — 16 years. Killed by South African police, Soweto, 1976. — Remembered by Rob Scott | |



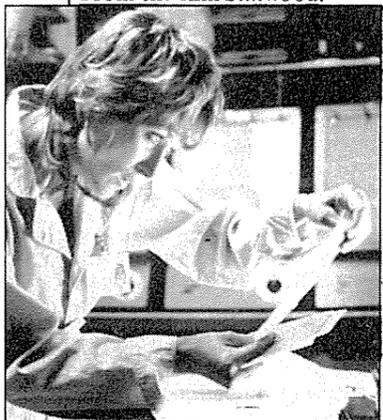
JANET WRIGHT

'her husband ran off with one of Karen's best friends.'

They said at the end of the film that the circumstances of Karen Silkwood's death are not known nor is it known whether or not she had the documents with her that night. On the contrary, says Sheehan, there is undisputed evidence, recognized in court, that she had the documents with her at the time of her death in the car accident. Source: *It's About Times* June 1984.



JANET WRIGHT



BASIL SCHUR

CARE



JOHN HINCHCLIFF

Birth of a party

The Nuclear Disarmament Party (NPD) was formed in Canberra on 17 June 1984. It is a single-issue party which aims to provide candidates for the next federal elections. A branch has also been set up in New South Wales.

Its platform is:

- To close all foreign military bases in Australia.
- To prohibit the stationing of nuclear weapons in Australia or passage of nuclear weapons through Australian

waters or airspace.

- To terminate immediately all mining and export of Australian uranium and to repudiate all commitments by previous Australian governments to mining, processing and export of uranium.

The NPD aim to give concerned Australians an opportunity to show our politicians by means of the ballot box that priority must be given to nuclear disarmament.

Contact: NPD, GPO Box 414, Canberra, ACT 2601.

Otways action

Since Europeans first settled Australia, two-thirds of our native forests have vanished. Of the remaining forests almost all have been severely modified. This is most pronounced in Victoria, where over two-thirds of the State's native forest is drastically altered. One of the areas that shows the major changes which have occurred is the Otway Ranges in the south-west.

In 1800 the forests of the Otways covered 500 000 hectares from Warrnambool to Geelong. Since that time 65% of the forested land has been completely denuded. Between 50% and 70% of the remaining 175 000 hectares has been severely modified.

Most of the changes in the Otways have taken place in

the last 100 years. If present timber extraction rates continue, sawlogs from the Otways will not be available in 2010. Already fully grown mountain ash no longer exists.

As a direct result of forest clearing in the Otways, rivers are polluted and water quality is deteriorating. Half of the Otway forests are catchment areas for many towns and cities including three major urban centres - Geelong, Warrnambool and Colac. Half of these areas are open to logging.

The most profound abuse occurred in 1981 when logging was allowed in the newly opened Otway National Park. The park represents only 12% of existing Otway native forest.

Management priorities in the Otways should be reassessed to place more emphasis on

Mr Clean

As reported in the last edition of *Chain Reaction*, Ralph Nader, owner of the *Multinational Monitor*, sacked editor Tim Shorrock the day the Bechtel corruption story was released in Washington DC (see 'Korea: A nuclear bonanza', *Chain Reaction* 38). In the latest developments Nader is reported to have locked out and fired all the staff of the *Monitor*, and turned the police onto Tim Shorrock, claiming that Tim had stolen the Bechtel story files.

Nader has also brought a suit against Tim and his co-workers for US\$1.2 million damages, claiming that the Bechtel file was stolen and that the story 'damaged' the magazine. However, as all the source material belongs to Nautilus Pacific Action Research, the original sponsor of the research, it would appear that 'Mr Clean' does not have a leg to stand on.



water production than timber production. This can only happen if management of the Otways forest is taken away from the Forest Commission of Victoria and a sound management strategy formulated.

Environmentalists also want assurance from the state government that the forest of the Otway range will not be used for woodchips. Currently there is a moratorium on woodchipping in the Otways, but with timber production unlikely to continue after the year 2000 there is growing pressure for the forest to be opened up to the woodchippers. This would result in the clear-felling of forests and complete disintegration of the existing timber industry.

Contact: Otway Action, 285 Lt Lonsdale St, Melbourne, Vic 3000. Tel: (03) 663 1561.

Radio re-stationed



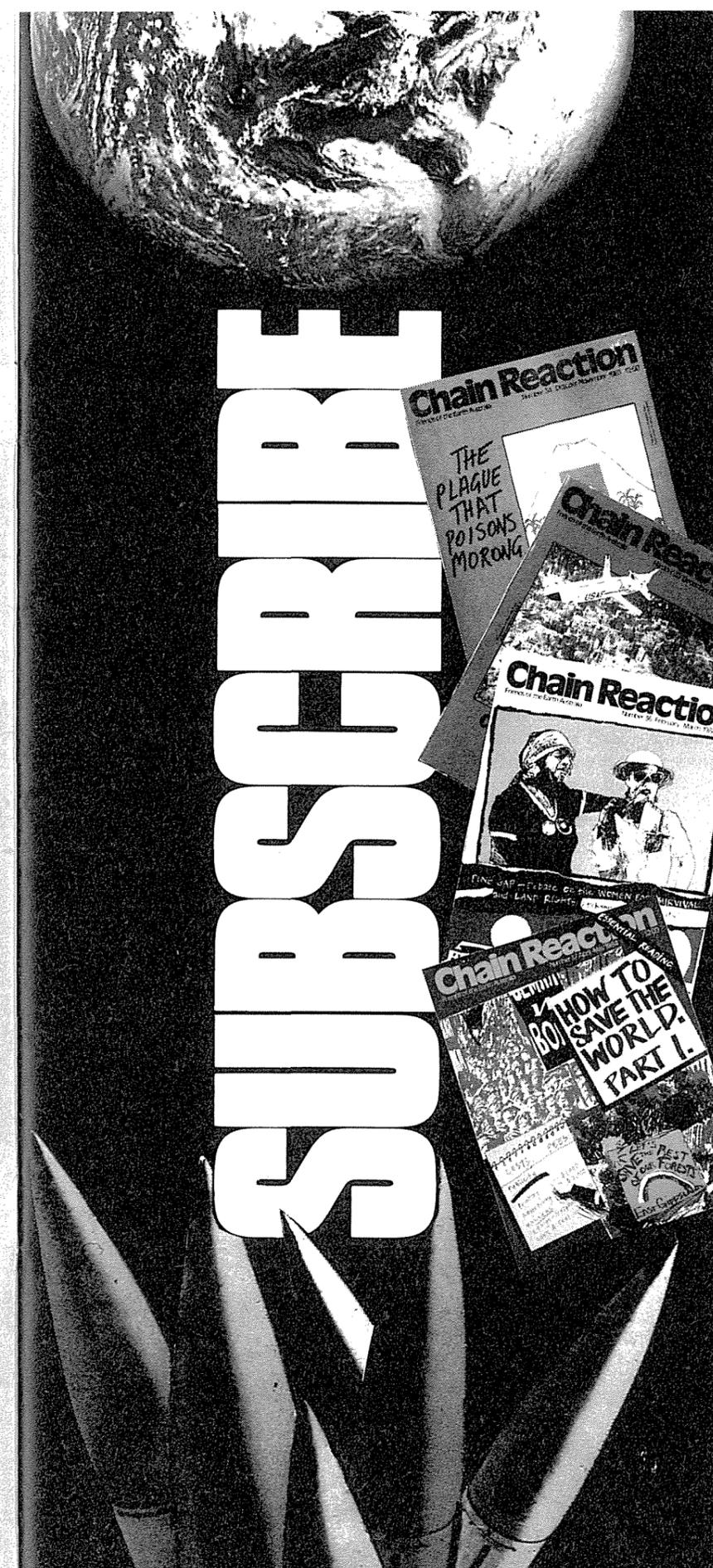
Melbourne's community radio station, 3CR, has recently acquired new premises after seven years at Cromwell Street, Collingwood. The move was made essential after the station's accommodation problem had reached crisis point. Every corner of space was being used and programme-makers even found it necessary to prepare their work at home.

Fortunately, 3CR was then approached by Walker Press whose home is owned by the 21-23 Smith Street Unit Trust who in 1976 bought the building to house community organisations such as Campaign Against Racial Exploitation, Campaign Against Mining Aboriginal Land, along with Walker Press. The trust's directors were keen for the building to continue as a community facility after these groups moved interstate.

3CR will purchase the building over the next twelve years, with 3CR gradually acquiring shares from the original trust members. The station move has cost less than \$200,000 and thousands of voluntary hours have been put into the project. Grants were also made available by the state government to employ a carpenter and labourer. The new studios are some of the best designed and constructed in the public broadcasting sector in Australia, combining excellent insulation and superb acoustics.

Despite the vocal opposition from the usual opponents on the lunatic right of politics, 3CR have obtained a full three-year renewal of their broadcasting licence. Continued public support is essential for the survival of this independent, progressive and genuine community radio station.

Listen: 3CR, 855 KHz.



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FRIENDS OF THE EARTH



We've got lead out of petrol and whales will probably still be around for our kids to enjoy. We're working hard for a fairer distribution of the world's food and an end to nuclear madness, and we've started a recycling campaign. Friends of the Earth is a radical activist group - and that means we don't avoid controversy. We are raising issues today to make a better world tomorrow. We need your support now to continue our work. Join us.

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH MEMBERSHIP

Dear Friends of the Earth

Please find enclosed my membership fee of \$.....(as per rates below).

Name

Address

Telephone

Membership fees: NSW \$20 (\$13 concession); Vic \$24 (\$18); WA \$15 (\$7.50) or whatever you can afford; Qld \$15 (\$10); SA, NT, Tas, ACT \$10 or whatever you can afford. Chain Reaction is sent free to all members of Friends of the Earth and some groups also send members newsletters and provide discounts at their bookshops. Enquire from your local FOE group. Make cheques payable to Friends of the Earth and post to the group nearest you - see list above. Donations are very welcome.

Friends of the Earth groups

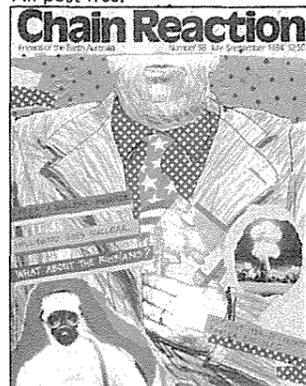
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BONANG Tingalla, via Bonang, Vic 3888
BRISBANE PO Box 667, South Brisbane Qld 4101
CANBERRA PO Box 1875, Canberra City, ACT 2602; 116 Lewin St, Lyneham ACT 2602 (062) 47 8868
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UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY PO Box 364 Wentworth Building, University of Sydney, NSW 2006
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WHYALLA 77 Meares St, Whyalla, SA 5600 (086) 45 2457
CHAIN REACTION Room 14, Floor 4, 37 Swanston St, Melbourne, Vic 3000 (03) 63 5995
NATIONAL LIAISON OFFICER Lorraine Grayson, c/- FOE (Perth), 794 Hay St, WA 6000 (09) 321 2269

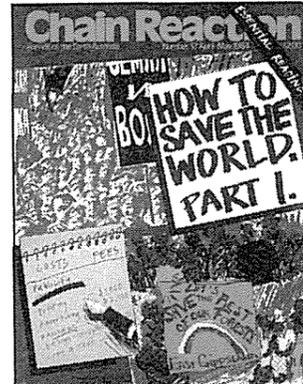
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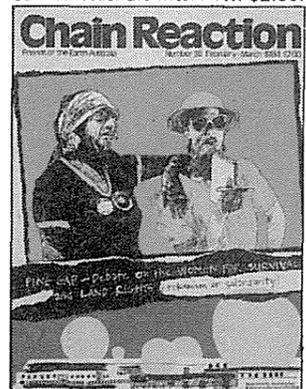
Thirty-two back copies of *Chain Reaction* all those published from autumn 1976 (except vol 2 no 3, of which we will supply a reprint of the major stories) are available as a set for \$48. Add another \$2 to include this edition (no 39). Single copies and class sets of each edition are also available. All post free.



July - September 1984, no 38 - Activist Contacts poster, nuclear films, Korean reactor bribes, Uranium Information Centre, Russia and the peace movement. \$2.50.



April - May 1984, no 37 - Effective campaigning, using the media, consensus decision-making, Antarctica World Park, Salman Rushdie interview. \$2.00.



February - March 1984, no 36 - Pine Gap women's protest and land rights, biotechnology, economic growth problems, Hawke's uranium policy. \$2.00.

BACKSTAGE

More on the funding saga.

Chain Reaction Cooperative was unsuccessful in its application for funding under the Victorian government's Cooperative Development Program, so we are back to operating on a fairly restricted budget. As a consequence, we no longer are able to employ any fulltime staff. The magazine has also lost the services of a couple of valuable employees - Richard Shelton and Susan Mueller.

Richard worked on *Chain Reaction*, both as a volunteer and a paid co-ordinator, for over three years, and at one time or another was involved in almost all areas of the magazine's production, distribution and administration. He is now taking a well-earned break, and looks a lot healthier.

Moving on from the Franklin campaign, Susan Mueller worked as office coordinator for over a year, and developed many useful links with activists around Australia. She is now organising the Otway Action group at the Victorian Environment Centre.

Both Susan and Richard are being missed. We are making an effort to involve more people in the magazine to replace them, but it will not be easy. If you have any time and you live in Melbourne or Sydney, why not contact *Chain Reaction* collective and find out what you can do.

We are also facing increased production and distribution costs. Registered publication postage rates are due to rise by 30% early next year for example. These increases have forced us to lift the subscription rate to \$15 a year - except for low income earners.

Donations of your time or money would be greatly appreciated, now more than ever. Likewise your comments or suggestions for improving *Chain Reaction*. Or consider taking out a subscription to *Chain Reaction* as a new year's gift to a friend.

The next edition is due out in late November. Your letters, news, reviews, articles and photographs are welcome, but try to get them to us early, preferably before the end of October so we have sufficient time to consider them for publication. Especially if you wish to write a long piece, please contact us first with an outline of what you plan to do so we can let you know if it's suitable or if we have room for it. (Our lack of money means we cannot afford to pay for contributions, as much as we'd like to in the long term.)

Jonathan Goodfield

ENVIRONMENT, ETHICS AND ECOLOGY II



CONFERENCE

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 - Action for Change -

Friday 26th to Sunday 28th October

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If you recognise that present social structures and personal psychologies will have to change for the earth to remain habitable; if you recognise the dawning awareness that such change is occurring then this Conference will help you explore the possibilities.

It will begin by examining some blocks to change embodied in present ways of thinking and perceiving the world then focus on action to promote change:

- psychological and social aspects,
- constraints and connections between personal and institutional change,
- the importance of context in change and some problems we face in understanding context.

Heavy scene? Yes, but our speakers take it on with verve and optimism. For example, Robyn Williams on 'Balmalm Basketweavers and the Volvo Set', the 'deep ecologists' Naess from Norway and Devall from the US on their deep ecology platform and anthropologist George Silberbauer in 'The Currency of the Pay-off' looks at the very issue this advertisement has to provide.

Curious? Join us! Papers are short and there will be plenty of opportunity for questions and discussion.

Conference Fee: \$45 (including lunch each day)

Enquiries, registration and detailed program:

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Up on the Downs

By Val Sparks

Since 19 August 1984 the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia (CNFA) has maintained a base camp just outside the lease area of the Roxby Downs uranium mine in South Australia. The camp has been the scene for the coordination of services to support the actions aimed at 'hindering and frustrating' the workings of what is expected to be the largest uranium mine in the world. That is, of course, if it goes ahead. This is the second blockade of Roxby Downs that the CNFA has organized. How did it differ from the 1983 blockade?

The political circumstances that surround the issue of uranium mining have changed dramatically over the last year. The 1983 blockade pushed the uranium issue back into the public eye. The Australian community were made aware of Roxby Downs as well as the contradictions in the Labor Party uranium policy. Opposition to the industry erupted and ALP rank and file opposition was reaffirmed. In November 1983, in a heated caucus debate, the ALP government voted to give the go ahead to Roxby Downs and allowed Ranger and Nabarlek mines to fulfil existing contracts despite intense opposition within the party and the community. This decision

**THINK GLOBALLY
ACT LOCALLY**



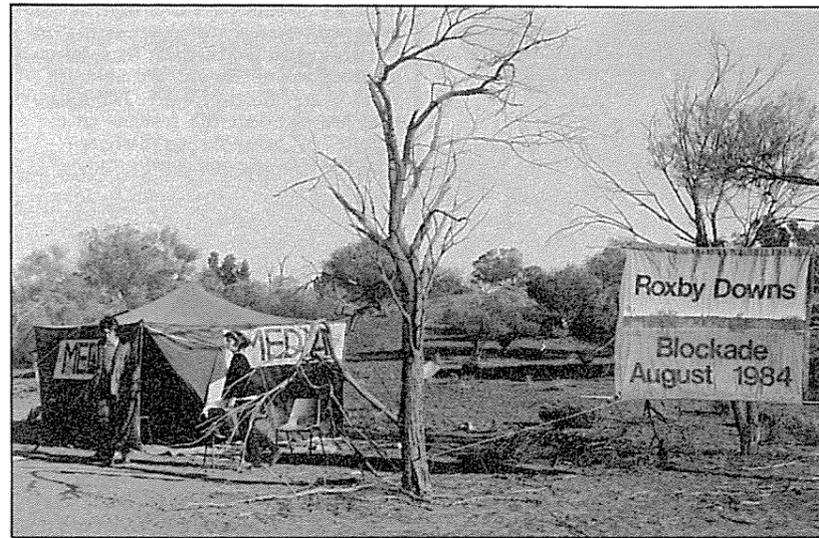
**BLOCKADE
ROXBY**
AUGUST 19TH... '84

FOR FURTHER INFO: CANE SA 08 215221 CANE WA 09 221222
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Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia

Val Sparks is active in the anti-uranium movement in Melbourne and has been a blockader at Roxby in 1983 and 1984.

12 Chain Reaction



The media tent at the 1984 blockade.

became policy in July 1984 at the ALP national conference.

The anti-uranium movement no longer has the support of a major political party and whilst vowing to continue the struggle within the ALP the movement has shifted its focus to the companies and the mine itself and stepped up the organisation of the 1984 Roxby blockade. The aim was to:

- hinder and frustrate the production schedule of the pilot plant;
- delay completion of the feasibility study beyond the scheduled completion date of December 1984;
- cause political embarrassment to the state and federal governments for their pro-uranium stance; and
- encourage maximum collective civil disobedience and non-compliance with politically motivated laws.

When comparing the 1983 blockade to the 1984 the most obvious difference is the location of the blockaders' camp. Roxby Management Services (RMS) requested of the state government that a 'buffer zone' be declared 13 km around the mine. Blockaders were faced with the possibility of a trespass charge if they entered the buffer zone. Last year the first three days of the blockade were spent breaking camp and pushing through RMS road blocks, in order to set up camp closer to the Whenan

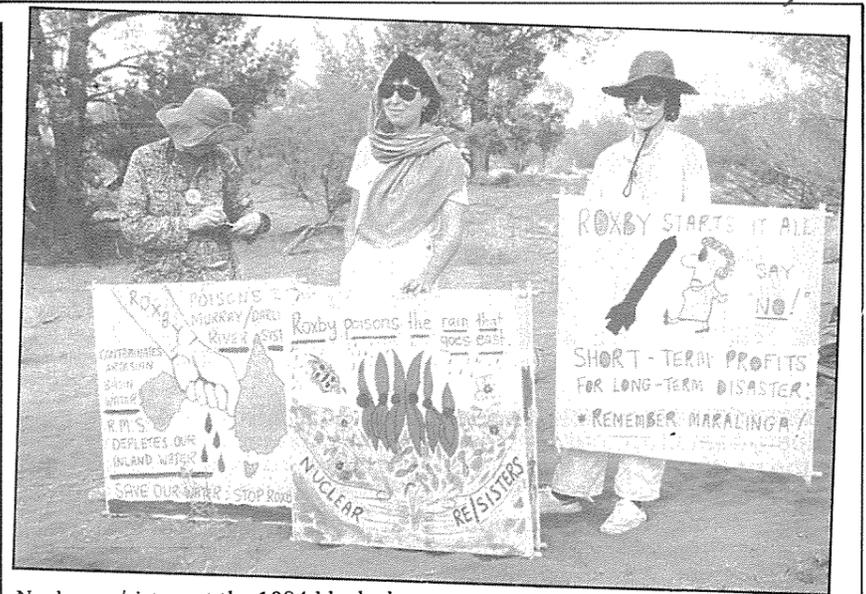
Shaft. This year, however, given that blockaders would most certainly face eviction if they attempted to establish a base camp within the area, it was decided that action would still happen in the mine area, but that a staging camp would be set up outside the buffer zone. This meant that actions in sensitive areas of the mine also involved an overnight hike across desert sand dunes, which many blockaders were prepared to do.

Many people were disillusioned by the media coverage of the 1983 blockade. Whilst recognizing a certain amount of dependence on the media to reach the general public, blockaders were confident that it would not be essential in determining the success of this year's actions. The priority was not to cater to the media's expectations, it was to hinder and frustrate the workings of the mine. This attitude has been reflected in the nature of the actions, many of which were carried out by small groups at night which limited media coverage. In one night action, which was the inspiration for many such actions, three blockaders left the base camp at 11.30 pm, travelled cross country to arrive at the Whenan shaft at dawn where they jammed numerous locks, graffitied and then returned to the base camp without being arrested. Numerous attempts were made to have contact with workers and families to express concern over

the health risks of the uranium industry.

Civil disobedience was an important tactic of the 1984 blockade as people involved in planning the action recognised that activities must involve challenging the laws that protect the nuclear industry and the institutions that enforce them. By making statements in court about opposition to uranium mining, by spending time in jail rather than paying fines or agreeing to bail conditions, by not complying with the system that tries to silence opposition, the blockaders used that very system to carry their opposition further.

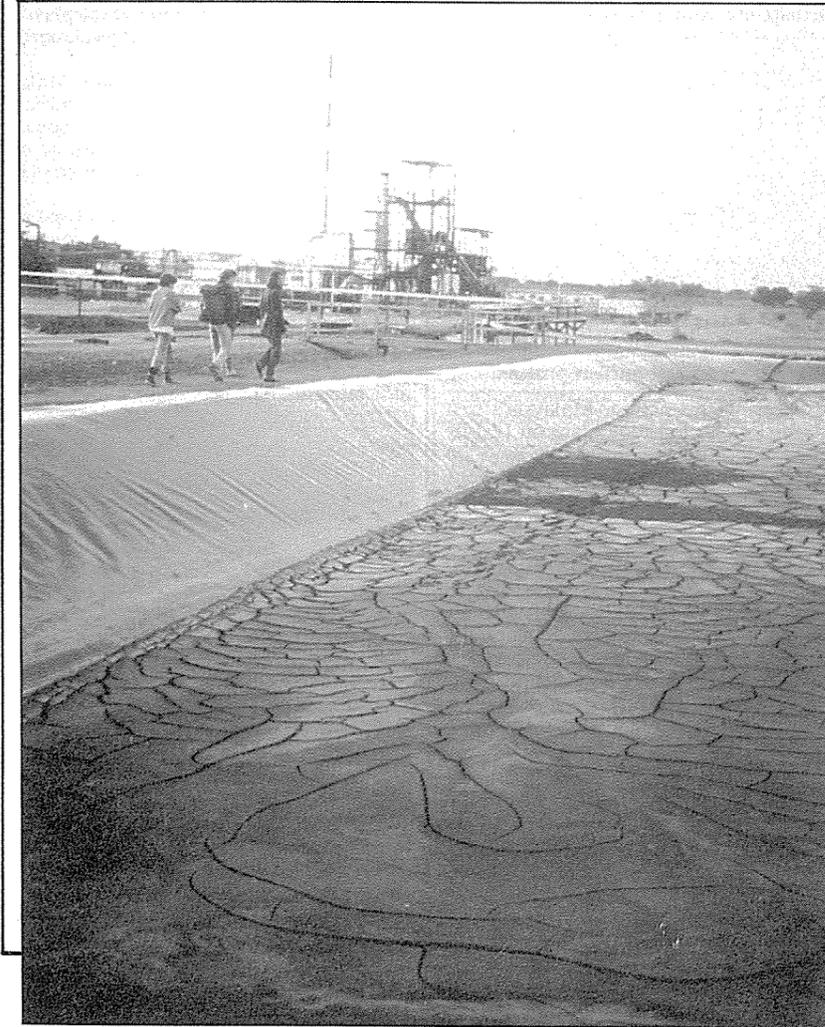
It was decided by the CNFA that the 1984 blockade would be a 'rolling blockade' with no set closing date. The longer the blockaders put themselves forward as obstacles to the mining operations the more it cost the company, and the longer the opposition could be heard in the media. A rolling blockade also gave people the opportunity to join once they knew it was happening. The 1983 blockade was only one week long. This short time span



Nuclear re/sisters at the 1984 blockade.

demand a sense of urgency for achieving stated goals. The week was extremely intense and rushed. This year, however, more time was allowed.

Four 1984 Roxby blockaders approach the Whenan shaft early one morning.



The first week was specifically for the purposes of consolidating the base camp and service groups, to establish communication links with Adelaide and other major cities and to test the laws that would be faced in the weeks ahead.

During the first week a community developed comprising people from a variety of political beliefs and experiences. As the blockade continued it gave participants a unique opportunity to learn about many aspects of social change. Mobilisations like the 1983 and 1984 blockades not only help to strengthen the movement on a national level, but also serve to deepen people's commitment to the anti-uranium movement. A greater number of people are exposed to the issue when blockaders share their experience with people back home.

BLOCKADE ROXBY
STOP URANIUM MINING

NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

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PERTH 227 4209
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PERTH 221 228

Chain Reaction 13

CNFA

FOE

FOE

RUTH BERMAN

CNFA

Papan says no to thorium

Papan, a small agricultural town in the north-west of Malaysia, is at present in the throes of controversy following a proposal for a radioactive waste dump near the town. **Eileen Goodfield** reports on residents' opposition to the plan.

Papan was once a prosperous town, with the largest population in the Kinta Valley, built by the pioneers of the tin industry. Crisis hit nine years ago when tin was discovered in the town. The company with the lease on the land proposed an eviction. Negotiations were stormy and two years elapsed before agreement on compensation was reached.

Today, Papan is once again the centre of controversy. In April 1984 a site in Papan was proposed for a radioactive waste dump of the Asian Rare Earth Company (ARE). This company was set up in 1974 by BEH Minerals, a local company, and Mitsubishi Chemicals, of Japan. By processing some of the minerals associated with tin mining, especially monazite, and by refining them, the company found it could triple the value of its exports.

It applied for a licence to 'crack' monazite, a process which extracts rare earth chlorides which are used in the electronics and computer industry. The process inevitably produces a thorium waste, a heavy grey slurry material containing radioactive thorium hydroxide with a half-life of the order of ten billion years. ARE approached the Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment for advice on disposing of the waste and was recommended to store it for future use as a substitute for uranium as nuclear fuel.

(Recent developments indicate that the nuclear industry is seriously considering thorium as an important alternative reactor fuel. To 1982, no less than 23 reactors around the world have used thorium in conjunction with uranium).

The proposed 5 hectare radioactive dump site is located only a half kilometre from the nearest residential area, surrounding

Eileen Goodfield is a member of the Chain Reaction collective. This report was compiled from information supplied by Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysia).

farms, fishponds and a reservoir. Papan residents are extremely concerned in spite of reassurances from government authorities and officials from ARE. Their fears are supported by scientists' warnings that even low-level radioactive exposure could be hazardous over a long period of time.

Opposition to the dumpsite has been mounting ever since the site in Papan was announced. On 28 May the Papan Anti-Radioactive Dump Action Committee built a shelter along the road leading to the dump site and blocked the road with rocks and tree branches. Construction was stopped temporarily in early June and a vigil was maintained near the site joined by participants from neighbouring towns.



Malaysia's first anti-nuclear protest.

Following this action, Malaysia's first anti-nuclear protest took place on 12 July with a peaceful demonstration by 3000 people. The protest was jointly carried out by Papan Action Committee and Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM).

The Minister of Environment, Datuk Amar Stephen Yong called on residents of Papan and the environment groups to prove that the dumpsite is not safe. The groups threw back the challenge to the government to prove the dumpsite safe. The Minister was asked why the residents of Papan were not consulted; and what assurances are there that there will be no leakage of radioactive materials.

Malaysia, despite being one of the most industrialised nations in the Third World, does not have comprehensive laws covering manufacture, handling and disposal of toxic wastes. Papan has a history of uncontrolled dumping of hazardous wastes.

The government proposes to store the radioactive wastes in plastic bags which are

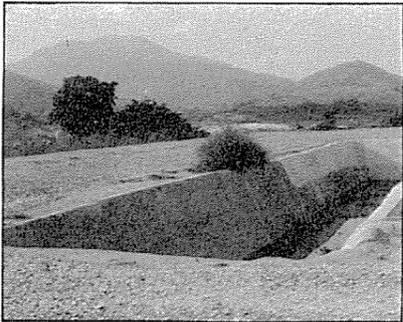
to be buried in trenches 4.5 m deep and covered with impermeable clay. The trenches are supposed to be reinforced with a 10 cm layer of concrete and lined with thick plastic.

A representative from SAM found cracks in a trench that had been constructed. The bottom was only 1 cm thick and the whole ditch was not built with concrete but with a mixture used for plastering walls. SAM and the Papan residents contend that a geological survey should have been carried out at the site to find out the strength and stability of the ground surface, especially since the surrounding area has been used for mining. They also express concern about the durability of the plastic and its ability to withstand mechanical handling.

SAM emphasises that although Malaysian authorities speak with confidence of safety and harmlessness, even developed countries are not able to safely dispose of their radioactive wastes. They propose that the government:

- stop the work at the dumpsite immediately and permanently;
- Refuse permission to ARE to produce thorium hydroxide; and
- review Malaysia's future energy program and place a ban on nuclear energy.

The health and safety of the people of Papan must take precedence over the commercial gains. The people must decide.



The controversial dump site.

Action: Letters in support of the opponents of the radioactive waste dump should be sent to:
 • Dr Mahathir, Prime Minister of Malaysia, Jatan Dato Onn, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
 • News editor, *New Straits Times*, 31 Jalan Riong, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.
 • Sahabat Alam Malaysia, 37 Lorong Birch, Penang, Malaysia.

Mining the stockpile

The government expects the USA to be the major market for uranium from the Roxby Downs mine. But, argues **Ron Leeks**, Roxby will only fill a temporary shortfall in USA supply. Whatever happens — genuine disarmament or a continuation of the arms race — large quantities of uranium will be available from USA domestic stockpiles in the 1990s. Roxby Downs, the world's biggest uranium mine — a mine with no market?

Uranium demand and supply considerations, on which the economic viability of the Roxby Downs mine will be based, are likely to place an emphasis on the requirements of the American market in the 1990s. It is generally believed that the USA will be the major purchaser of Australian uranium when its present large stockpiles are run down to supply levels over the next five years. The most recent OECD/IAEA study on uranium resources, production and demand, the so-called 'Red Book' gives USA uranium requirement estimates which average 2500 tons in excess of production capability well into the 1990s. Yet it acknowledges actual production is expected to be from 1800 to 4300 tons lower than this maximum capability. Some analysts believe that this situation was foreseen by the USA Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) as early as 1975 and resulted in the phasing out of the embargo on foreign uranium imports for domestic use by 1984.

Ronald K Leeks is a graduate of the University of Montreal, Queens University at Kingston, Ontario, and the University of Queensland. He has worked as an organiser for the Campaign Against Nuclear Power (Qld) and maintains an active interest in the global nuclear fuel and weapons system and the anti-nuclear and peace movement.

The longterm oversupply of uranium, combined with the cancellation of over 100 nuclear units in the USA since 1973, has contributed to economic pressures against American uranium miners. As summarised by Greenhalgh and Jeffs:

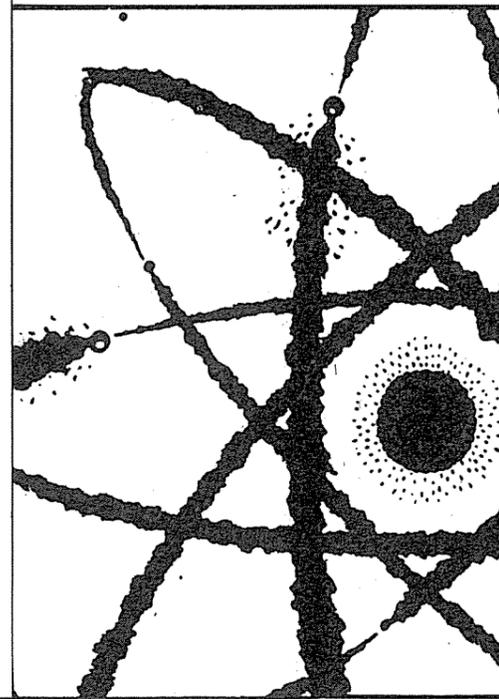
This has led to the market being dominated by prevailing weak spot market prices with the utilities not taking the risk of making any longterm contracts and seeking to reduce their inventories. This has brought about the closure of mining facilities at an unprecedented rate. But since only about 30% of the utilities' requirements are covered in 1990 it seems likely that the United States will lose its self-sufficiency and become a net importer of uranium. . . .²

The USA will be the major purchaser of Australian uranium when its present large stockpiles are run down over the next five years.

Decreasing grades of uranium ore in the USA is a major factor favouring the more competitively priced Australian uranium in the American market. Decreasing ore grade, which concerns many American government and industry officials, is largely connected to the nuclear arms race. As a result of the tendency to mine and process the higher grade ore first, much of the highest grade ore in the USA was mined to comprise the 175 033 short tons domestic procurement by the USA government up to 1970 for use in its military and nuclear weapons programs.

Present contracts by Energy Resources of Australia (ERA) with American electricity utilities for uranium from the Ranger mine in the Northern Territory amount to only 7% of the total to be supplied up to 1996. However, new contracts are presently being negotiated.

Much of the production from the Ranger mine is committed under existing longterm contracts. Although ERA could add another 3000 tons per year capacity, it seems probable that the Labor government would favour the Roxby Downs project to pick up the anticipated influx of orders to Australia. That the USA will form a proportion of the future demand has been acknowledged by the government through



Do the longterm investment and planning strategies of the uranium industry and the government totally discount the possibility of disarmament?

the Australian Science and Technology Council (ASTEC) report:

A large part of the uncommitted demand for uranium will come from the United States market. This has been supplied to a large extent in the past by domestic mines, but many of these are now uneconomic and some have ceased production. In this situation, United States utilities will turn increasingly to Canada and Australia for future supplies.³

The nuclear debate has tended to centre on the question of non-proliferation as it relates to the spread of nuclear weapons to new countries. This has spawned major international attention and organisations, a deluge of literature, and, in the Australian case, is connected with the government's peace and disarmament initiatives.

However, if Australia is to be a significant supplier to the USA, new questions arise which concern the inter-relationships of uranium supply with the production of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race generally. In fact, the supply and enrichment of uranium are at the heart of the past and future of nuclear weapons production around the world.

AMERICA'S NUCLEAR STOCKPILE

The history of uranium procurement for weapons use in the USA has been largely forgotten in Australia for several reasons. The AEC, which was responsible for obtaining the material, completed its buying program in 1970, several years before the nuclear issue became prominent in the public debate. Since that time it has been anathema for the civilian nuclear industry to mention any aspect of the military fuel cycle and a curtain of secrecy is put around the issue by the USA departments of state concerned, although for little reason since much of the information is readily available. By the time the AEC had completed its buying program in 1970, it had acquired 175 033 short tons of uranium oxide (U₃O₈) from domestic sources and slightly over 129 000 short tons from imports, for a total of more than 304 000 short tons. This is about three times the quantity of uranium oxide in the Ranger uranium deposit.

Exact details of the use made of this material is not provided but it is possible to derive fairly accurate estimates from available data. Many hundreds of tons were used to produce plutonium for the weapons stockpile and research reactors. A small percentage was enriched at various levels but mostly less than 20% uranium-235 for research, government and private reactor fuel, and for distribution to foreign governments under the Atoms for Peace program.

So large was the stockpile that 50 000 tons was disposed of by the AEC by processing through its enrichment plants along with civilian material, reducing the costs and energy requirements of the plants over several years in the mid-1970s.

However, by far the largest amount, which I estimate to be about 180 000 short tons, was processed through the USA diffusion enrichment plants over the period 1947 to 1967 to produce about 1000 short tons of weapons grade uranium (in excess of 93% uranium-235, and delivered to the weapons stockpile. A small quantity was also been used in naval reactors.

It must also be noted that depleted uranium, which is the enrichment plant tails of from 0.2% — 0.3% uranium-235, even by 1974 was estimated to contain an additional and very large source of uranium.⁴ The balance of the uranium is believed to be held in stockpile 'to meet needs . . . of the government uranium enrichment plants, other government uses, and as an emergency source of supply for the industry'.⁵

MINING THE STOCKPILE

Based on this analysis we can conclude that the USA has the equivalent of approximately 200 000 short tons of uranium oxide, much of it in enriched form, used in its nuclear weapons and strategic military stockpile. This represents a substantial resource of nuclear material which, if released for use in the civil nuclear fuel cycle, would have a dramatic effect on the uranium supply industry, including Australia's, for decades to come.

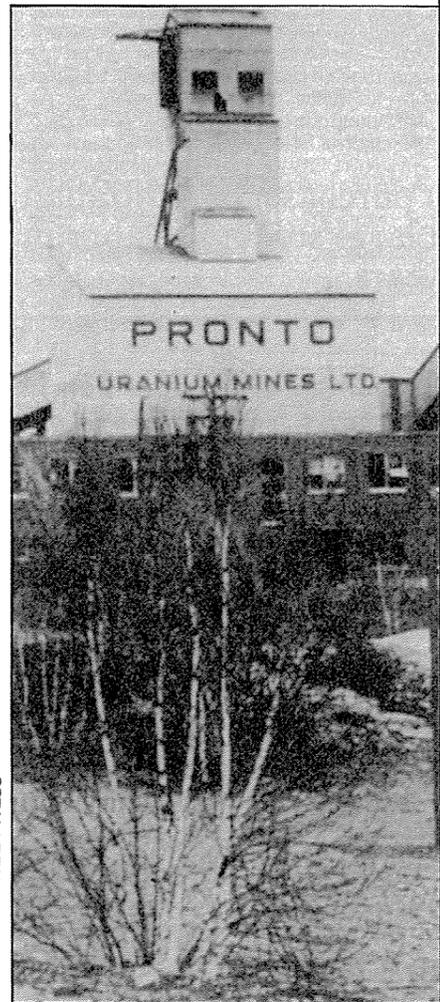
The possibility of using the nuclear weapons stockpile as a source of uranium for civilian use was raised in 1977 by B M Casper:

A program of converting weapons grade uranium in 'obsolete or otherwise expendable nuclear weapons to reactor grade material could provide a substantial source of fuel for nuclear power plants. Such a program has been suggested by Harold Agnew, director of Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. He calls it 'mining the stockpile'.⁶

If 'mining the stockpile' is to be viewed as politically impossible, then so must be the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) upon which the Australian government has based its case for proceeding with uranium mining. Recall the text of Article VI of the NPT.

Each of the Parties to the Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

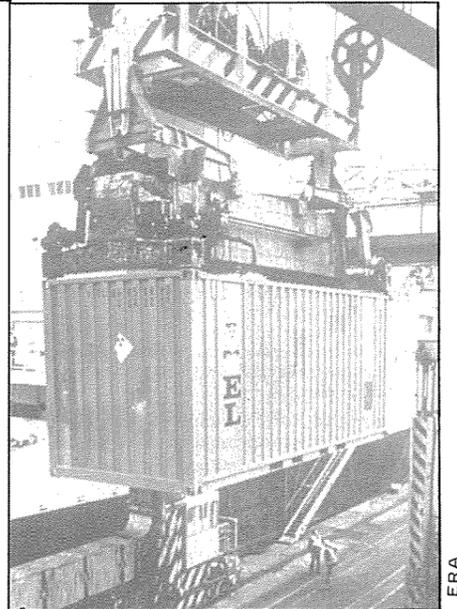
The year 1995 will be a crisis one for disarmament. If the NPT is to survive the 1995 compulsory conference which is to decide if 'the treaty should continue in



Abandoned Canadian uranium mine, victim of falling USA demand in the 1960s.

NUCLEAR FREE PRESS

Loading yellowcake.



ERA

force indefinitely or be extended for a period',⁷ some significant progress will have to be made towards implementing Article VI.

The Labor Government's policy to continue the marketing of uranium and allow the development of the Roxby Downs mine must presume an optimistic outlook towards nuclear disarmament. For the purpose of this discussion, therefore, we may describe such a scenario:

Assume that by 1995 an agreement is in place to phase in total and complete nuclear disarmament over a period of 20 years with material from the strategic nuclear stockpile being used and 'burnt up' by civilian reactors. By 1990, if all reactors currently under construction are completed, the USA will operate about 130 nuclear power plants. The total annual feed requirement for these reactors would be about 15 860 short tons uranium oxide. Thus, if 5% of the 200 000 short tons uranium oxide equivalent contained in the weapons and strategic stockpile were released each year for 20 years of the phased disarmament program 10 000 tons equivalent or 60% of the USA requirement will be made available.

It is clear that any meaningful steps taken towards nuclear disarmament, even if not as 'optimistic' as the one described above, could result in substantial quantities of nuclear materials being made available in the USA market. Yet the ASTEC report and every industry survey on uranium supply and demand ignores such a possibility. Do the longterm investment and planning strategies of the uranium industry and government totally discount the possibility of disarmament? Is the decision of the Labor government to continue the marketing of uranium a policy which fits into the planning of the USA government for a very longterm continuance of the nuclear arms race? These, and other related questions, have yet to be addressed in the uranium debate in this country.

The question also arises to what extent are such factors being included in the economic viability study on the Roxby Downs mine. If the American component of demand is being viewed as a significant factor, which it is likely to be in the medium term, then considerable sums of money may be invested in the Roxby venture only to find new forms of competition in the long term. Billions of dollars of investment capital at risk, and the threat of job losses, will pressure the government to allow the project to remain competitive and sell in a market which in the post-1995 period may no longer be controlled by even the limited safeguards regime currently in place.

MINING THE TAILS

If 'mining the stockpile' is an option which appears unlikely, there is another, 'mining the tails', which is also closely related to the USA military program and which, although ignored by the industry and government, is even more likely to affect longterm uranium

supply considerations in Australia.

The history and future of USA nuclear warhead design is closely connected to the technology of uranium enrichment. Making plutonium in 'production reactors' is a relatively slow process, but the requirements of the USA nuclear arsenal were primarily for highly enriched uranium-235 from its diffusion enrichment plants.

Containing a mixture of uranium-235 and plutonium in a ratio of about 6 or 7 to 1, some 30 000 warheads went into the USA nuclear stockpile from 1955 to 1967 when the arsenal reached a peak of over 32 000 weapons. The period from 1967 to 1980 saw the stockpile stabilise and be progressively refined. In the 1980 Nuclear Weapons Stockpile Memorandum, President Carter called for a 'drastic increase in warhead production'.⁸ *The Nuclear Weapons Databook*, in detailing future USA warhead production, concludes:

It is estimated 16 000 new warheads will be produced through 1990 . . . and an additional 12 000 are identified in current research and development programs through the 1990s.⁹

These new generation weapons require a different 'mix' of uranium-235 and plutonium, with plutonium replacing uranium as the primary constituent. To meet this demand, old plutonium producing and refining facilities are being restarted and upgraded. But it is believed that even this will not produce sufficient plutonium to meet the growing demand for the escalation in the arms race required by the Five Year Defense Plan.¹⁰

To overcome this problem, the USA Department of Energy has accelerated the development of its plutonium laser isotope separation program and has indicated that it would like to use the spent fuel from civilian nuclear reactors to obtain between 30 and 40 tonnes of pure plutonium-239. This is estimated to be sufficient to produce between 6 000 and 8 000 weapons. In addition, the department has indicated that it would like to use some 4 tonnes of plutonium obtained from the UK now being used in civilian research and development reactors.

A continuation of the arms race along its present path would introduce technological developments which may release significant quantities of uranium to the American market.

The USA Congress has responded to this proposal to use spent civilian fuel for military purposes by enacting legislation to prohibit it. However, as Palmer and Bolef point out:

It does not tax the imagination to visualise the nuclear contingents of the Departments of Energy and Defense marching up to Capitol Hill later in the decade to 'tell Congress that they need to build X number of warheads and to do that they need X amount of plutonium. What

they do have is reprocessed reactor grade plutonium and a plutonium laser isotope separation plant. Why not use them? In the event, there would be great pressure on Congress to capitulate and allow such an eminently 'sensible solution'.¹¹

There may in addition be economic incentives for a hard-pressed American nuclear industry:

With these capabilities in hand, if the Government were to proclaim that it needed and was willing to purchase the reprocessed and upgraded plutonium for national security purposes, part of the albatross of waste disposal would be lifted from the nuclear industry and a sizeable expense would be transformed into a source of revenue. Nuclear power would stand in a vastly improved economic position.¹²

Palmer and Bolef conclude, 'The development of laser isotope separation technology ... will mark a re forging of the connection of civil nuclear power to the military will.' There is a close connection between uranium and plutonium laser isotope separation technology. The military impetus given to laser research at the Lawrence Livermore weapons laboratory has enabled it to advance several years ahead of schedule, with a demonstration plant expected to be completed by 1987. This has implications for uranium enrichment:

The Energy Department has accepted a proposal by Union Carbide and Livermore to have the uranium program ride piggyback on its plutonium counterpart through the demonstration plant phase, thereby hastening the uranium effort by three years.¹³

The consequences of a significant advancement in laser enrichment technology on the uranium supply industry are given by Casper:

... it would make the enormous stockpile of uranium tails that have been accumulated by the enrichment facilities since World War II a useable source of nuclear fuel.¹⁴

The estimated quantity of recoverable uranium-235 is at least as great as the weapons stockpile. A continuation of the arms race along its present path would thus introduce technological developments which may also release significant quantities of uranium to the American market.

TIDING OVER AMERICA'S SHORTFALL

This brief paper has just examined some of the issues involved in the anticipated sales of uranium to the USA market. Much more research is needed, however. Although temporarily suspended, sales of uranium to France are also likely to be resumed in the future. Between them, the USA and France will constitute about 60% of the total annual demand for uranium. A close examination of the French nuclear military programme is also warranted.

Genuine disarmament initiatives or a continued arms race both spell longterm

uncertainty for the uranium supply industry in Australia. The implications of both possibilities, however, are being essentially ignored by the relevant planners and policy makers in Australia.

The supply of low-priced uranium to the USA market from Australian reserves will help fill the American demand during a shortfall phase while its own domestic sources develop competitiveness. It would take a fertile imagination, however, to argue that by so supplying uranium to the USA, Australia will develop 'leverage' which will help push the American government on the path to disarmament.

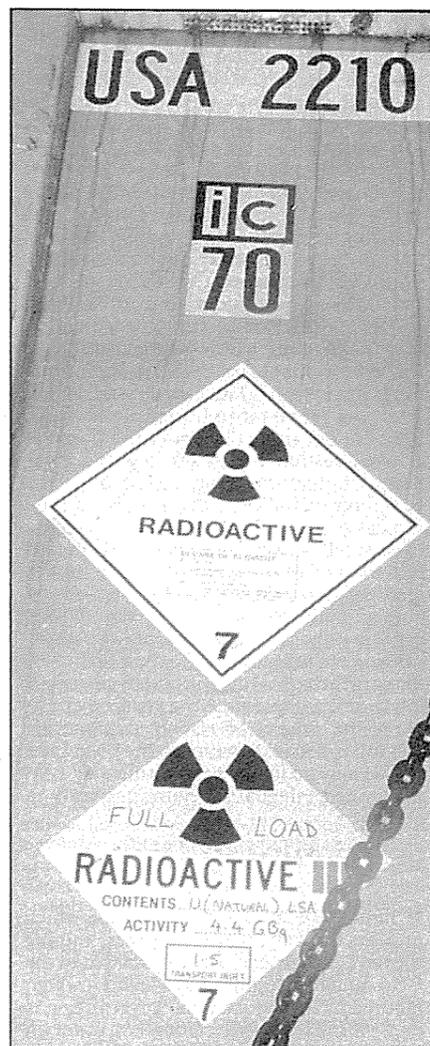
Genuine disarmament or a continued arms race both spell uncertainty for the uranium supply industry in Australia. The implications of both possibilities are being ignored.

Notes

Short ton: USA weight measure, equivalent to 2000 lb (approximately 0.9 tonne)
Uranium-235: Radioactive isotope of uranium, present in small concentrations in uranium ore. The proportion of uranium-235 must be increased in the material for use in reactors and nuclear weapons, by separating out the non-radioactive isotopes in 'enrichment' plants.
Laser isotope separation: A method of enrichment of uranium and plutonium presently under development, which is much faster and efficient than present technology.

1. Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)/International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC), *Uranium Resources, Production and Demand: 1983*. ('Red Book')
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4. USA Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Facts and Problems: 1975*, USA Government Publishing Office, Washington DC.
5. 'Red Book': 1975 (see '1')
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7. ASTEC, *op cit*.
8. T B Cochran, W M Arkin, H M Hoenig, *Nuclear Weapons Databook: Volume 1: US Nuclear Forces and Capabilities*, Ballinger Publishing Co, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1984.
9. *Ibid*
10. See: C Paine, 'Nuclear Combat: The Five-Year Defense Plan', *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, November 1982.
11. G Palmer & D Balef, 'Laser Isotope Separation: The Plutonium Connection', *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 1984.
12. *Ibid*
13. *Ibid*
14. Casper, *op cit*

A full list of references for this article is available from *Chain Reaction*.



Shipment of uranium ore from Roxby Downs, Port Adelaide, May 1984.

BRUCE MARQUIS

The Portland saga

By Sue Armstrong and Jonathan Goodfield

On Wednesday 1 August 1984, the Victorian government and the aluminium multinational, Alcoa, signed a joint venture agreement on the Portland smelter. Alcoa will take a 45% share, and the government 25%, with the remaining 30% available to other investors. The agreement marks another stage in the Portland saga, and its timing is reminiscent of the unveiling of the smelter proposal by Liberal premier Hamer shortly before the 1979 poll. Labor premier Cain faces an election in 1985.

In April 1979, Alcoa announced plans for a new smelter development in Victoria. In June, a site at Portland, 375 km west of Melbourne, was chosen. The site at Point Danger, on coastal heathland near Portland township, was considered suitable by the government because of its potential for expansion and its proximity to Portland's deep water port. What was ignored was the importance of the area to local Aboriginal people, the Gourditch-Jmara. Despite an occupation and a successful High Court challenge, the site was bulldozed and Aboriginal relics destroyed.

Due consideration was also not given to the environmental importance of the heathland. A species unique to the heathland, the Spider Orchid is now extinct in its natural state due to bulldozing and burning.

Alcoa's interest in Victoria was based on the availability of low-priced electricity generated from Victoria's substantial brown coal reserves in the Latrobe Valley to the east of Melbourne. A Victorian Treasury report criticised the choice of the Portland site as it required the construction of costly transmission lines.

The then Liberal government encouraged Alcoa by offering very

Sue Armstrong and Jonathan Goodfield are Chain Reaction collective members in Melbourne.

favourable electricity tariffs, with the hope that the smelter would provide economic stimulus for the state. The Labor opposition was very critical of the tariff agreement. They were concerned domestic and small industrial users of electricity would end up subsidising the cost of Alcoa's power.

Another area of concern was that the encouragement of energy intensive industry such as aluminium smelting would eventually lead to the need for nuclear power. In the Liberal government's Green Paper on Energy, it had been suggested that Victoria may have to consider the possibility of introducing nuclear power. Interestingly, Portland was suggested as a reactor site.

A decline in world aluminium demand of 13.7% from 1979 to 1982, and delays in the negotiations over longterm power tariffs with the newly elected Labor government, led to the deferral of construction of the smelter in July 1982.

Despite its earlier misgivings, the Labor government were under pressure not to let the smelter be abandoned. Due to the blunderings of the Liberal government, Victoria would be left with a new \$5000m power station at Loy Yang in the Latrobe Valley with no major customer for its electricity if Alcoa decided not to go ahead. A complete halt to the project would also damage Victoria's international reputation as a safe investment region. In addition, early in 1984 Hawke warned that abandonment of the smelter would damage Labor's electoral prospects, both state and federal.

Amid much flag-waving and pouring of beers, the joint venture agreement was signed on 1 August 1984. As Tony Faithful of the Conservation Council of Victoria said shortly after:

We could have more sympathy with the government's handling of this matter if it was honestly acknowledging that it was seeking to cut the losses of Victorians ... Instead ... the government is boasting about the way it has elevated error into a package of principles.

The agreement followed was a result of two years of secret negotiations between Alcoa and the government. As well as the state taking a share in the project, the deal includes tying electricity tariffs to the USA spot market prices for aluminium. However the smelter will be required to pay at least the production cost of electricity from Loy Yang, in the event of aluminium prices falling too low.

By buying into the Portland project the state government may have saved itself some immediate difficulties, but it has also brought Victoria deeper into a game in which the aluminium multinational corporations are the winners. With world trends towards over-production of aluminium, governments with interests in retaining the aluminium industry in their region will be increasingly forced to provide incentives to the multinationals. We have already witnessed fierce competition between state governments within Australia for the favours of industry.

With their control of all aspects of the aluminium industry, from bauxite mining to marketing, the multinationals can manipulate the situation to maximise their profits. The state government has no such bargaining position.

The government is also ignoring important questions of Victoria's resource use. Victoria's brown coal reserves are substantial, but they cannot last forever. Is there a better use for the coal and the vast amounts of capital required for the smelter?

The number of jobs it creates is extremely small. For the same investment more jobs could be created in labour-intensive industries, producing more socially useful products. Most aluminium ends up in throw-away containers or in products where other metals would be appropriate.

In opting for a resource exploitative economic strategy, as the smelter agreement illustrates, the government is pushing Victoria further from a sustainable, environmentally sound economy for the sake of short term political expediency.



ENERGY ACTION GROUP

Sharp talk, no violent action

Violence, more than any other single factor, is at the heart of the contemporary world. Modern political life is unthinkable without it. Much of this violence is overt and obvious. Military violence, wars and guerilla warfare affect the lives of millions of people every day. Violent repression of dissent and political movements, and the many kinds of violent response to it, from terrorism to rioting and armed insurrection, forms the basis of political life in many nations around the world. Those of us who don't live with it are affected by it through the concentration on it in our news services, and in our understandings of the world.

Much, even most, political violence is not so obvious, consisting of the threat and fear of violence from the police and from fascist, racist and other groups in societies such as ours. Everybody feels this and is affected by it. More frightening and just as ever present is the threat of nuclear war. This is the central element in a violent world, the constant immediate danger of one last violent apocalypse.

Gene Sharp has been studying alternatives to violence for many years. His central concern is how to abolish as many types of violence as possible by replacing violent responses to repression; replacing violent paths to achieving political goals by non-violent action; and replacing military and nuclear defence policy by non-violent, civilian-based defence.

He has had a distinguished, though atypical, academic career. His commitment to non-violence and its wide dissemination and acceptance has led him to teaching and research positions around the world. Since 1972, he has divided his time as a scholar and teacher between the Centre for International Affairs at Harvard University, and his chair of Sociology and Political Science at South-eastern Massachusetts University. In 1983 he was appointed to head the Programme on Non-violent Sanctions at Harvard. The program will undertake wide research into all forms of non-violent action and non-violent defence options. However Gene Sharp is not just an academic. He spent four years, from 1951 to 1955, independently studying the history of non-violent action. In 1955, he was imprisoned as a conscientious objector during the Korean war, and served nine months of a two-year sentence. He worked as personal secretary to AJ Muste, a leading christian activist and preacher, and from 1955 to 1958 was assistant editor of the weekly *Peace News* in London. He has also helped to organise and participate in many conferences.

Sharp's writing combines careful and thorough research into non-violent action and its history with a theory of non-violent action — how and why it works or fails. As well as many articles and pamphlets, he has published five major books. In *The Politics of Non-violent Action**, his major work of nearly 1000 pages, hundreds of historical examples are given, a theory of political power is developed, 198 methods are discussed, and the dynamics of non-violent action are explained. The theory is clearly neither ill-conceived nor half-baked.

Non-violent action is both a theory and a practice. It is neither pacifism nor inaction. It is, rather, a specific method



of struggle for political objectives. It is not merely the absence of violence, but properly understood and applied, it involves a range of strategies and tactics which can be planned and applied in the same ways as violent means.

The methods of non-violent action cover a broad range of different activities — protest and persuasion; social, political and economic non-cooperation, including strikes, boycotts and rejection of authority; and non-violent intervention. The key element of all non-violent action, and what sets it apart from all forms of organised violence, is that it empowers the populace and relies on them and their actions, rather than being controlled by a political or military elite. Thus non-violent forms of struggle are implicitly democratic.

While non-violent action can be used to achieve a large variety of political and social objectives, one that Sharp is particularly concerned with is its use as an alternative defence policy. His vision is to replace the military with a thoroughly trained civilian population capable of applying any of the methods of non-violent action to both deter and overcome a potential attacker.

In Sharp's view, since any invader relies on the co-operation and assistance of the population of the country invaded (even if that is achieved through various means of force and coercion), if that assistance and cooperation were not given an attacker could not achieve its objectives and any invasion would fail. A public perception of an ability to resist would deter a potential aggressor, and if that deterrence failed, the non-violent strategy could be applied and the invader, if successfully resisted would withdraw. Not only would such a policy reduce the amount of suffering caused by violence, but would make nuclear war less likely as there would be no motive for nuclear attack on a (military) unarmed enemy.

Gene Sharp was recently in Australia to address conferences on alternative defence strategies and to travel and speak with interested Australians. He spoke with *Chain Reaction's* Keith Redgen in Melbourne about non-violent action and defence, and some of its problems.

*Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Non-violent Action*, Porter Sargent Publishers, Boston, 1973.



THE WAR IN PICTURES

War, what is it good for? Absolutely nothing! London, 1945.

A small motel in Box Hill . . .

You've been studying non-violent action for a long time. What were your ethical or ideological motivations?

I was concerned about not only the problems of war but the problems of dictatorship. The Nazi system was fresh in our minds and the Stalin regime still existed. It was very clear that one could not responsibly simply repudiate military means and deal with the other problems, however unsatisfactory military means might look. That led to a search to find other kinds of struggle.

But why the repudiation of military means in the first place?

War had just become nuclear. There was an awareness even when there were relatively few atomic weapons that the longterm consequences could be extremely dangerous.

Also I'd had a comparatively protestant religious background. Although I don't share the theology, I tend to say that you should act according to certain principles.

These concerns led to an interest in the tiny bit of non-violent struggle that we knew about.

The more you investigated it, the more you realised its power and effectiveness?

Yes, that's clearly the case. We once thought that non-violent struggle was something historically new, that had been invented by Gandhi. We gradually learned that there had been a great deal in history from which we could learn.

Although I haven't read all of your work, what I have read suggests non-violent action could be used for almost any political objective.

That's a little extreme. I think you'd have trouble carrying out genocide or establishing a dictatorship by non-violent action.

Although you can practice certain kinds of oppression using social boycotts and disapprovals of people, it is a fragile type of oppression. Non-violent struggle, with these exceptions, can be used for a great variety of purposes.

The exploration of the nature of power in your *Politics of Non-violent Action* suggests that non-violent action by its nature must withdraw sources of power and authority from society.

Yes, it has the consequence of defusing power. It does this by the nature of the action and the requirement for large scale participation. In the long run it has democratising effects upon a society.

It also seems to me that it doesn't have to be something as extreme as dictatorship that is challenged, but all sources of power, for example, economic or bureaucratic power.

That may be true, but on the other hand powerful economic groups can use it too. For example, banks can call in loans from protestors prematurely.

And would you put that under the category of non-violent action?

Yes. Just because it's non-violent doesn't mean it's ethical, and it doesn't mean it's completely desirable. Non-violent simply describes the nature of the action.

Why forbid violence?

Why forbid violence? Is it because something in the nature of violence means that it's inappropriate to achieving the ends it sets out to?

It tends to produce not only death and suffering, but centralisation of power in societies. And today's violence leads to a series of potential disasters, most obvious in the nuclear form.

There are people glorifying non-violence for its own sake, but very few glorify violence as such. It's always regarded as something that is necessary to achieve an objective. If one could achieve desirable objectives in other ways, then an awful lot of people who support violence by military means would be very pleased.

Most readers of *Chain Reaction* would support the violent independence struggles in Zimbabwe, Nicaragua and El Salvador. Do you think all these actions are doomed not to achieve their aims because they use violence?

It's very dangerous to be entrapped in the use of violence, which is not to say that the cause is wrong. Guerilla struggles tend to not only produce immense civilian casualties among the people for whose liberation one is supposedly fighting, but you also have vast social disruption, weakening the ordinary institutions of society which contributes to vastly increased political centralisation.

In most cases guerilla warfare does not remain a decentralised type of struggle. Mao's theory suggests that it moves almost inevitably towards more and more centralised and regular military actions, as in Viet Nam at the end when there was a regular army sweeping down from the north which is far from the hit-and-run tactics of earlier years. When you've succeeded that way you've created a powerful military establishment. It is able to wield considerable political clout within the society for its own purposes and objectives. In Algeria, for example, Ben Bella and the other nationalists — the idealists — were thrown into gaol and the military officers took over, which was not the dream of Algerian independence originally.



Fighting violence with violence. Beirut, 1982.

You mentioned that guerilla warfare tends to break down the social institutions. Wouldn't that also be true of non-violent action?

No, not generally. Non-violent struggle tends to strengthen the regular institutions of society — family structure and villages, small groups of workers, and economic and political groups that are located at the bottom end of the power structure. It puts the tools of power in the hands of ordinary people throughout society, whereas military struggle tends to put power in the hands of those who command the military structure and those who control the supplies of ammunition.

And will even the theorists of decentralised guerilla warfare find that ultimately the strategy is not successful?

Yes. All you have to do is study Mao's basic principles of strategy. If you're going to be successful in the long run, unless your enemy is very weak, you're going to have to move into regular, conventional military forms of struggle.

The dictatorship of the proletariat?

Well I wouldn't call it the dictatorship of the proletariat at all, but the dictatorship of the commanders of the military system, which is very different. Dictatorship by those that have the guns, and eventually tanks and airplanes.

Non-violent defence

One thing that struck me listening to you in Brisbane and Melbourne, was that the kind of defence through non-violent action that you were talking about are things that have just happened anyway and would continue to happen if, for example, Australia was invaded by Indonesia. Would you say that the Australian population would undertake this kind of struggle?

That would be hard for me to judge. I would predict that Australians would struggle, but I would think that unless there is specific preparation, there would be a great tendency to use violent struggle especially because of the availability of guns.

In the examples you've unearthed, especially in situations of invasion, was there organisation for non-violent resistance, or was it something that people almost spontaneously undertook?

There was no advance preparation. Sometimes it took a year, as in Norway during World War II before people recovered from

the shock of the invasion and began to figure out what to do.

Were the Norwegians simply submissive at first?

To a high degree. Then little by little resistance began. Sportspeople had a significant role in developing non-cooperation not allowing the Germans to participate in their sports meetings.

Should non-violent defence preparations be undertaken in a country like Australia, or the USA?

Yes, in peacetime, in advance of attack.

And who would be responsible for undertaking those preparations?

There are a variety of possible models for that. If we're talking about using existing political systems, the policy would need to be seriously considered and discussed by the whole society and all of its institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, and the military.

There is in my judgment a role for coordination of planning and preparations on a national level. But is also very clear that could not be done solely by some central office of bureaucrats. What we would need to do, as the Swedes planned, is to include non-governmental institutions.

By giving control over non-violent defence to various bureaucracies, both civilian and military, are you allowing what should be a progressive social force to become bureaucratic?

That expresses very little confidence in the power of non-violent struggle by thinking that it can be co-opted. I think that the co-opting is going to be the other way around. In using non-violent struggle, you spread knowledge and you can't take it back again. It doesn't place final control in the hands of any particular group.

But by involving bureaucracies you have a process by which the people and institutions which otherwise might oppose non-violence accept the change because they are involved in it. And that's extremely important.

Another possible model is a mass uprising against military systems by the general populace who are fed up with war. But there is absolutely no historical evidence that that's realistic. In fact it might be very dangerous because it could lead us to frantic acts with no capacity to actually change society.

Well perhaps you could just run through how you envisage non-violent defence policies being introduced into a nation's



Violence and non-violence. Top: revolution in Nicaragua — a family affair? Centre: street theatre in Melbourne, 1984 — effective and entertaining non-violent action. Bottom: Czechs talking to invading Soviet soldiers — an alternative to war?

defence policy.

First we need an awful lot of self-education. We need to do a lot of study and preparation individually, then to broaden out to study groups, to articles in newspapers, to public meetings, to conferences, in order to get more and more people considering the idea.

The next stage is to involve the institutions of the society — religious, economic, educational, and the like. Then you can move onto the political level, including parliamentary committees and hearings, research by both private and government-funded sources, and a process of involving the military. Many military officers are not intrinsically committed to military means and to war.

You suggested that some USA military officers are quite enthusiastic about non-violent defence.

That would be an exaggeration. But there are a few who have said they really don't have confidence in it as a substitute policy but it certainly should be investigated. At this stage they're more likely to see it as relevant for some other country.

Hasn't Sweden adopted non-violent defence as a part of their defence policy?

One part, a small part. The commission on non-military defence which has been working within the Swedish ministry of defence reported at the end of February, recommending adding a non-violent resistance component to Sweden's total defence policy, and then restructuring the policy into military and non-military divisions. If the recommendations are accepted, they would start with one section of Sweden.

A geographical section?

Yes, a large one, the eastern district, which includes Stockholm. The recommendations include plans for protection in case of war, such as civil defence and air-raid shelters. The district could be used as a preliminary development area for those kinds of resistance, in conjunction with preparations for psychological defence and economic defence.

Would there be some kind of compulsory training scheme?

No, there's been no decision or even a proposal that I've seen or heard of in Sweden for conscription.

So will it be a voluntary training scheme?

Yes it would be voluntary, but there would be social pressures to participate. For example, trade unions, which play a very important role in resisting economic exploitation, would encourage their members to participate in this kind of preparation.

You've said there's nothing wrong initially in coupling non-violent action with traditional means of military defence.

I wouldn't phrase it that way, in terms of a coupling. I think that it's inevitable that if you're going to work towards replacing the military order with a civilian-based or non-violent system of defence, then you're going to have to begin on a small scale. There's no way around that, unless one has some utopian conception that some great power is going to descend from the heavens and transform human society without human effort.

One has to develop policies for the introduction of the non-violent strategy while the military is in place. There are, however, incongruities between the way military means work and non-violent means work, and that is a very uneasy condition. I wouldn't call it a marriage, it's more a case of temporary cohabitation. One would move towards further development of the non-violent component until society has sufficient confidence in it to be prepared to phase out the military.

Are you confident that it's possible?

It's possible. I don't see any other model to end military systems and abolish war. We have cases in the past of improvised struggles where there has been complete reliance on non-violent forms of struggle so we know that it's possible. By deliberate advance planning, we would increase our own capacity to use non-violence and non-cooperation as an instrument of defence.

On a number of occasions you have argued that, say in a post-invasion situation, violent resistance, should be forbidden, and

that if it wasn't then any non-violent resistance would be greatly weakened. Why do you think that is?

It's because they work in different ways. For example, guerilla resistance always produces tremendous civilian casualties, and sophisticated guerillas know that. It's in Maoist theory, that your hit-and-run tactics are designed in part to cause the regime to inflict brutalities upon the innocent civilian population, guerillas do that in order to turn the political loyalties of the civilian population against the regime. But if your objective is to subvert the reliability of the enemies troops so that they eventually mutiny, it's highly counter-productive to be blowing them up or shooting them in ambushes. They're going to be willing to shoot every last civilian they can get hold of.

Do you think it's up to those that want non-violent resistance to try to prevent violence occurring?

I think you should strongly discourage it. I don't think it's inevitable that the violence will happen. People can learn that often violent resistance facilitates repressive measures, and for the maximisation of their own power they must avoid violence.

Political struggle

With respect to the Franklin blockade, nearly all of the participants went through a long process of non-violence training. Would you see that as positive?

Yes, it's a very great help. If responsible groups really want to change policies, they should do the best they can in terms of preparation and training.

The basis of that training was preparing people for a situation where they were going to be confronted by the police and by workers at those sites. That kind of training only seems to cover a part of the, as you say, 198 different methods of non-violent action. It seems much more difficult to train people in the kind of non-violent action that isn't that kind of confrontationist situation.

Yes, but it appears from your television news and newspapers that many Australians already know something about other means of resistance. Whether it's your doctors resigning or your nurses or your teachers on strike, the idea of using other forms of resistance which don't put you in a straight line with the police, is something that many Australians have some experience with.

Forms of resistance which are not directly confrontational are probably much easier to carry out, because there's not the threat of somebody smashing your skull in. Slowing down of production in a factory, or losing files, going out on strike and staying home — those are much easier to undertake.

It strikes me that many movements in Australia have developed an obsession with non-violent action as a method of confrontation, because of all the publicity it receives. Do you see this as being a dangerous development in the understanding of non-violent action?

I couldn't comment on the conditions here specifically, but I think that in general publicity should not be seen as an end in itself. One really has to develop a more sophisticated strategy of how actual change might be achieved. If there's something you're trying to block, identify what institutions or people could make decisions to cancel the plan that you're objecting to and then focus on them.

It seems to me that non-violent action in Australia developed out of a concern that lots of demonstrations often turned nasty and caused violence. Non-violent action was something to gain more favourable public opinion. That seems to involve a fairly limited understanding of what non-violent action is for.

Yes I would agree in principle.

Means and ends

There are groups in Australia, for example, promoting non-violent action as an end in itself. They're obsessed with the means of struggle and lose sight of what objectives they had.



Greenham Common, 1983. Women form a human chain as police look on.

I would say two things which might appear to be opposites.

On one hand, every group which is going to do something should seriously consider what its goals and objectives are. On the other hand, it is preferable that any group which may be taking direct action uses non-violent means rather than violent means. I would argue that even if you disagree with the goals of the group, it's better for society as a whole if the group, the struggle, is conducted with non-violent means. There is something to be said for having the general skills of non-violent struggle widely dispersed.

Is undertaking all of our actions in a non-violent way a means to a non-violent society, independent of individual struggles?

Generally I would agree with that.

Is a non-violent society the ultimate objective?

Yes. But we have to move towards it by working with people who do not share that vision, and that means that they may only be able to work on very specific parts of that goal at a given time. But one does not ask that people agree with the whole of the non-violent imperative before they use non-violent struggle at Roxby Downs or before they're willing to use this form of resistance to deter foreign invasion. If you work with people on basic achievable goals, that contributes towards moving the whole society out of reliance upon political violence.

I think I probably wouldn't be too far from Gandhi in saying that the means that you use are your ends in the process of creation. Since you cannot know the full characteristics of an ideal society you would like to have, you don't have to work out the details of the ultimate goal. The increasing adoption of non-violent political struggle will help create a new situation which is a major advance upon what we had.

Concentration upon means has potential to get us out of the trap that many dreamers have been in for decades. They could create a beautiful dream but they either had no means to get there or the means produced absolute disasters.

KEEPING THE PEACE

The dangers of eco-feminism

By Terri Seddon

Open debate is crucial in the new social movements, as Ariel Salleh (Letters, *Chain Reaction* 38) so rightly notes. To that end it is good to see the letters in response to my polemic in *Chain Reaction* 37, although it is unfortunate that Salleh appears to misunderstand the polemic nature of my letter. This weakens her response and has the effect of muddying the issues I raised.

The intention of my letter was not to engage in an exclusive debate about the epistemological foundations of eco-feminism, for which it seems, we readers of *Chain Reaction* must turn to *Thesis 11*. Rather, my concern was to draw attention to the political implications of a set of ideas common in the new social movements and presented in *Chain Reaction* 36 as 'eco-feminism'. My unease stems from both the general understanding of the world offered by such sets of ideas, as well as the particular issues raised by eco-feminism itself.

In the honourable tradition of polemic, I took as starting points the major elements of the eco-feminist position presented in *Chain Reaction* 36 and then drew the personal and political conclusions which followed logically from them. I finished saying that:

- eco-feminism provided an oversimplified view of the world because society was seen just in terms of man's oppression of woman in an ahistorical and individual way; and
- such an understanding of the world could misinform our political action.

At a general level, our understanding of the world is limited by individual and ahistorical views. The emphasis on individuals focuses attention on individual experience which tends to neglect the social world existing outside our emotions and feelings. Yet that social world is the reality of potential nuclear catastrophe; the reality of structural violence experienced as material poverty, economic exploitation, political oppression, social pollution and ecological destruction.

It is this reality which forces us to ask what moves are necessary to ensure global survival and human emancipa-

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tion, and to act for social change. When we talk of social change we are talking of change in the framework of society which perpetuates structural violence. This will entail a changing consciousness, but alone this is not enough. There must also be change in structures which are located outside our feelings and emotions.

An ahistorical understanding leads to the generalisation of our present experience across history. As a result we fail to see important social changes and the actions which brought them about. We fail too, to see the often brutal struggles as people worked for social change. Such history provides important lessons for us. It shows that through history mass movements have been weakened:

- by beliefs that social change flows from good intentions alone;
- by understandings that fail to make links between apparently disconnected social issues;
- by being unprepared for the probability of resistance to social challenges; and
- by fragmentation.

Brian Martin (Letters, *Chain Reaction* 38) is right to argue for links between the feminist and environmental movements, but wrong to uncritically accept all strands of those movements including those which can undermine fruitful connections.

Simple eco-feminism I believe, could undermine our efforts toward social change in four ways. First, by seeing the world in simple woman-man terms we lose sight of structural violence which is common to both men and women resulting from their place in relations of class, race, religion and age. The emphasis on features which differentiate, over those which are common between us, reinforces the gender split which Salleh sees in society — a split which is not simply cultural, but profoundly real. This gender over-emphasis reduces the possibility of change by displacing attention from the complex roots of structural violence and by fragmenting, weakens movements for social change.

Second, seeing the world in woman-man terms in which woman is the trans-historical injured party, leads to a celebration of woman as woman. Conversely,

man becomes the trans-historical injurer. Such trans-historical notions deny the changing patterns of oppression through history. But it is these changing patterns which allow us to see and understand the roots of structural violence — to see that social change has, and will occur through people's struggles for a better world. Such trans-historical notions also mask the cracks and fissures, the points of tension and weakness, which can be important focuses for our action.

Third, the celebration of woman can become an end in itself. Salleh comments on the 'joy and empowerment, a sense of their place in history' that eco-feminism has given women activists. Such feelings are socially important, particularly in a group challenging the status quo. But does social change occur just as a result of people feeling good? I think not. Further, the danger is that priority is given to ensuring that one feels good, at the expense of action which may be less pleasant but never the less necessary in making a serious challenge.

Finally, the celebration of woman as trans-historical victim of man, has closed debate. Too often debates about feminism are taken as attacks on woman. If women are critical of feminism they are dismissed as de facto men, still locked into the system of male domination. Men's criticism is explained in terms of their need to dominate, or their 'prick logic' which prevents them from understanding. This leads to a no-win situation, in which the differentiation of male and female rationality allows the denial that there is any ground on which debate could occur and that any criticism exists.

This series of letters commenced because women reacted, very properly, to some men's narrow environmentalism which ignored the interrelations between different forms of structural violence. But their responses entailed a narrow feminism locked into an oversimple woman-man view of the world. The challenge for the future is to develop an understanding which sees commonalities and links between different forms of structural violence and social protest, which can inform appropriate action and further our efforts for social change.

DEBORAH KELLY



Something to keep you awake

Coffee is very much a part of transnational companies' control of developing nations. By drinking a cup of your favourite brand, you may be adding to the exploitation of those countries. **Colin Jones** and **Sheril Berkovitch** look at the workings of the world coffee industry in this article, the first of a series on important cash crops.

Coffee is the most valuable agricultural commodity traded in the world, with an export value in 1980 of £11 600 million (approximately \$A18 000 million), and is the second most valuable primary commodity, the first being oil. Coffee is far more important as a commodity than gold or bauxite. It is estimated that in total 20 million people in developing countries work in the world coffee economy.

We tend to dismiss coffee as simply a breakfast drink, rather than questioning how it is that only a handful of transnational companies control the coffee market. Firstly we will look at which countries are dependent on coffee as a cash crop and, later, how the world coffee market functions.

Coffee, like most agricultural cash crops, but unlike commodities such as oil, is consumed outside of the producing nations. Of all the coffee produced, only 22% is consumed in the producing nations and half of this is in Brazil.

Brazil is historically the major producer of coffee, but there are many countries in the world who have a far greater reliance on coffee. Some countries which are not considered in the West as coffee producers,

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earn almost all their foreign exchange from its sale. For example, in 1978 coffee contributed 93% of all export earnings of Burundi and 69% of export earnings of Ethiopia. There are twelve other countries which earn more than 25% of their foreign exchange from the sale of coffee: the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Tanzania, Madagascar, Rwanda, Uganda, Central African Republic, Brazil, Columbia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatamala and Haiti.

There is no universal system of cultivation of coffee, so that in some countries it is grown predominantly by smallholders, sometimes in conjunction with other crops, whilst in other countries it is predominantly grown on large plantations. Generalisations cannot be made, although it appears that in Central and South America the crop is grown largely by smallholders who are increasingly being forced to change crops, or forced off the land totally, and being replaced by large farms and plantations. In Africa, coffee is predominantly a smallholder undertaking, except in the Congo, Kenya and Tanzania, where plantations play a more important role. The trend in Africa as a whole is for estates to produce a declining proportion of total output as new coffee plantings are being made by smallholders.

The marketing of coffee in the producing countries is often overseen by a government or quasi-government agency, which acts as a coffee marketing board. This occurs especially in Brazil and Africa. Before World War II, the marketing of coffee in Africa was controlled by foreign firms, acting as agents, or through direct purchase by the processors, the money flowing inland to the producers through a chain of shippers, wholesalers and so on. Because of the producers' distrust of these agents, the colonial governments decided to create monopolistic marketing boards. These boards normally buy from the producers at a price calculated from an average of world prices, allowing for transport and handling costs.

The actual pricing of coffee is not determined simply by consumer demand and

the level of annual production, but rather through the workings of the International Coffee Agreement (ICA), the 'futures market', and the operations of the major coffee transnationals. Coffee, unlike other major agricultural commodities, has a relatively long storage life and can be stored in warehouses for up to three years before processing. This means that many of the major producing countries have considerable stockpiles and a serious crop failure will not necessarily mean that a country will not be able to sell coffee that year, although this may entail sales of some of its stockpile.

Sometimes the price of coffee is said to be affected by adverse weather conditions such as drought or frost, especially in relation to Brazil, and you may have heard of droughts in Brazil which have affected their coffee crop this year (1984). We can look at the famous frost of July 1975 as an example of a natural disaster in that country and how it affected coffee trade.

The July 1975 frost destroyed nearly three-quarters of the Brazilian crop which amounted to almost 35% of the total world coffee for that year. However, although many small farmers switched from coffee to soya, the larger farmers had large stockpiles, many with the equivalent of five years of crops in store. The harbour of Santos shipped an all-time record amount of coffee in 1975 and would have shipped an additional 500 000 bags if the port had not been so congested. In July 1976, Brazil possessed twenty-five million bags (one year's crop) before the 1976 crop was added, which was the frost-affected crop, and this crop was estimated to amount to ten million bags.

The frost is often blamed for a rise in coffee prices at that time, but they would not have risen at all without threats of a large reduction in supply. Unfortunately the price increases were not channelled to the poorest producers but into the hands of the Brazilian plantation owners.

The major influence on the price of coffee and the amount of coffee a producing nation may sell is the International

Coffee Organisation, which is a cartel created to negotiate the ICA. The ICA allocates sale quotas for each producing nation for each year. The negotiations which set quotas are attended by both consuming and producing nations, although the influence that each country has is a gerrymander, with the numbers of votes allocated to each country being based on the quantity of coffee bought or sold as at the late 1950s and early 1960s. This results in the USA having 392 votes and Brazil 336, whilst Burundi, which earns 93% of its foreign exchange from coffee sales, has only 8 votes.

The first ICA was signed in September 1963, having preceded by a period of price fluctuation and excess supply, and was the result of a special United Nations conference, held in July 1962, to study the problems of the world coffee market. The ICA covers about 99% of the world's coffee market. The agreement has been renegotiated twice since, in 1976 and 1981. Many of the countries in Africa that were developing coffee production were unhappy with the agreement but felt forced to sign it. The largest importer of coffee, the USA, was going to sign and therefore commit themselves to buying only from countries who were party to the ICA. With the loss of the USA market, most coffee producing nations could not survive. These countries were also afraid of Brazil, which has considerable coffee stockpiles and the ability to dump coffee on the world market to wipe out African trade.

However, the price of coffee is not fixed by the ICA, which only deals with the supply of coffee. Prices are fixed by the price on the spot market, where the price quoted is for immediate delivery, and also by the 'futures market', where coffee is bought in advance of delivery, sometimes a year or more. These options to purchase at some time in the future are the basis of the term 'future market'.

The final major link in the chain of production leading to the consumer is the transnational companies who process coffee into the instant form we see on the supermarket shelves. The marketing of coffee is controlled by a few large transnational companies. Twenty-three companies control 83% of the world coffee trade, with the major four being General Foods, Nestles, Procter and Gamble, and Coca Cola. The largest is General Foods, whose brand names are Maxwell House, Maxim and Copper Kettle. The second largest is Nestles who use the brand names Nescafe and Taster's Choice. Nestles is the company which developed instant coffee, using the technology they developed for the production of powdered milk. Nestles, which ranks forty-second in the world's 'Top Fifty' companies, has annual sales greater than the export earnings of most of the countries from which it buys coffee. Its total annual sales are twenty-one times greater than Tanzania's total exports.

You may think that you are seeing more brand names in the supermarket than this. However, the large companies produce instant coffee for the major retailers' own

brands. Bushells also sell their coffee under the Pablo brand name, for instance. Our choice of coffee is limited to just three manufacturers, aside from that available from one or two European transnationals, imported into Australia.

The major coffee companies maintain their monopoly through spending large amounts of money to encourage you to drink their product or one of their more expensive products. A bombardment of advertising appeared with the introduction of freeze dried (granular) coffee. The companies also maintain their market hegemony through the control of technology. They invest large amounts of money in research and technical development. General Foods (Maxwell House), for example, spend several million dollars each year solely on coffee development research. General Foods and Nestles control most of the patents existing on the technology needed to produce good quality, cheap instant and freeze-dried coffee and they protect this technology fiercely.

This means that developing nations are unable to develop their own processing industry as the technology they can obtain is outdated/or requires expensive machinery from the West. Even if they can develop an industry, as Tanzania has tried to do, they will be in fierce competition with the transnationals on the world market.

An even more distressing example of the transnationals protecting their markets occurred in the USA in the late 1960s. Brazil decided to try and sell instant coffee

in the USA and by 1967 had captured 14% of the market, due partly to the Brazilian government exempting soluble coffee products from the taxes charged on green coffee bean export. General Foods enlisted the USA State Department to crush this trade. The USA government then refused to renew the ICA until the Brazilian government imposed an export tax on soluble coffee. Brazil needed the lucrative USA market and gave in. However, the USA government also pressured Brazil into exporting half a million bags of tax-free green coffee as compensation. Fifty percent of these beans were given to General Foods at that time (1971) were valued at US\$5 million.

The developing nations are simply unable to obtain an equitable deal in the coffee market, a trade that is mostly destined for Western palates, and are unable to develop their own brands of instant coffee. There is no way of formulating a strategy against the transnationals, other than by refusing to buy their coffee. However, this would affect the producing countries as their only coffee market is the transnational companies. Any substitution crops would be another cash crop, and would involve dealings with the same or other transnationals.

Further reading

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C Clutterbuck & T Lang, *More Than We Can Chew*, Pluto Press, London, 1982.



Brazilian dockers load a cargo of coffee to be shipped to Britain.

Talking Russians

In 'What about the Russians?', in the last edition of *Chain Reaction*, Phil Shannon looked at the actual and ideological nature of the 'Soviet Threat' and its implications for the peace movement. Here, Harry Davies replies to Phil's analysis.

Phil Shannon's article, far from suggesting ways of strengthening the struggle for peace, would lead us to a weakening of a broad anti-war movement and further into the quagmire of the Cold War and all its inherent dangers. It must be understood that we are talking about peace, not just nuclear weapons or disarmament, and that the peace movement combines many different ideological groupings. We must recognise the legitimacy of all these paths to peace and not allow any single philosophy to dominate the movement. It is essential that we energetically discuss all these different aspects of the peace movement and try to find common denominators which will strengthen our effectiveness nationally and globally.

But to do this we must be absolutely honest with ourselves, and be seen by the people we hope to influence, as being absolutely honest. We must identify, and address ourselves to people's fears, doubts, hopes and aspirations, and above all not act as if we in the peace movement are somehow morally superior to those who are not committed to the struggle for peace. We are people.

Phil Shannon, by the very nature of his article, recognises that there is a great degree of fear and mistrust throughout the non-communist world of the policies and actions of the USA; but also that there is an even greater degree of fear and mistrust of the policies and actions of the Soviet Union.

The main points of Phil Shannon's article seem to be:

- We need to inject more of the 'class struggle' into the peace movement, for example, by involving trade unions.
- The way to succeed is not through moral outrage, but through a more left political line.

Harry Davies has been an activist in the anti-nuclear and peace movements in Melbourne since the mid-1970s.

- We should understand the Soviet Union's motives better, by emphasising their international failures.

- The USA should be made 'public enemy number one', by underplaying the SS-20s and other Soviet technological achievements.



I would suggest that his analysis is an attempt to come somewhat closer to the World Peace Council's position than a dialectical analysis of the world today.

To suggest that the flavour of the peace movement has been a moral one is not correct. The very firm policy here in Australia, of 'No bases' and 'No ANZUS', and in the UK of 'No Cruise' and 'No NATO', is very much an anti-American political line, which I will argue later, does not make any contribution to world peace, but may actually endanger it.

Moral versus political input is not really an argument, as every action we take is political, whether we are campaigning against shit food, seed monopoly, environmental issues or whatever. The saving of the Franklin, the declaration of Nuclear Free Victoria

and even the fact that in the last decade, governments have seen the necessity to establish environment and conservation ministries, are all culminations of what Phil Shannon calls moral issues.

The real issue is that political parties, especially on the left, have not understood the potential for these campaigns, dismissing them as single issue campaigns. The left has consistently left it too late to participate, and when they eventually realised the potential (but not always the necessity) they attempted to polarise it and substitute the 'class struggle'.

Expansionism, imperialism, call it what you will. The fact remains that the people of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Ethiopia, have had no say as to their takeover by the Soviets. And as witnessed by Hungary and Czechoslovakia, are not free to leave. The fact that the Soviets have lost important allies and political influence over a number of countries, does not belie expansionist claims, but reinforces them.

The intent of the Soviet Union was to establish hegemony and control. If they had succeeded in this intent, they would have been an even stronger superpower. The USA also has lost spheres of influence which has been reflected in voting patterns in the United Nations, but their intent to expand their influence is as great as ever.

The policies of militarism in any country are not independent, but interdependent. Any escalation, any numerical change, any technical change, any strategic or tactical change, is immediately countered by the other side. For example, the Typhoon nuclear submarine is the USSR's answer to the Trident.

Technologically, the Soviet Union has always been advanced in the military sense. They initiated paratroopers, Katushka rockets, Sputniks, space stations etc. The SS20s were not marginally superior to the SS4s and SS5s, but technologically far superior and more devastating. They are a mobile missile deploying three nuclear warheads of intermediate range. Using the same number of missiles, three times as many targets in a far wider range could be taken out at once - approximately

1000 cities in Europe. By any reckoning this upset the strategic balance in Europe. No wonder European governments, ever fearful of the USSR's intent, 'requested' Pershing and Cruise missiles as a counterbalance. No wonder the USA so happily supplied them.

For the peace movement to be seen as genuine, they had to campaign against Cruise, Pershings and SS20s. There should have been an encircling of the Soviet embassy as well as of Greenham Common. At a time when the Soviet Union was militarily imposing a government of its choice on Afghanistan, the pro-nuclear parties won comfortably in Germany, France and the UK.

'No US bases' is a beautifully simple slogan for the peace movement to use. Unfortunately that's what it is - a simple slogan. We are living in a world situation controlled by a nuclear terror balance. However precariously we may teeter near the edge, until now we have averted the nuclear annihilation of Earth. Therefore we must think terribly hard about any action which we may incite; that by altering this balance of terror to the detriment of one side, we don't initiate war. Especially when the rhetoric and global behaviour of both adversaries is so loathsome.

By linking together uranium mining, nuclear vessels, bases, withdrawal from ANZUS, anti-Americanism

'ANZUS, anti-Americanism et al, we have so totally confused the people of Australia that in the July 1984 Gallup Poll they overwhelmingly rejected the peace movement's position on these issues.

I have argued for a number of years that to attack ANZUS was suicidal, because the Australian people would not accept it. Similarly with the USA bases issue. What is achievable and

very desirable is a ban on uranium mining and no nuclear vessels and weapons on Australian territory, whilst maintaining our membership of ANZUS. Lo and behold! This is exactly what New Zealand has been able to achieve.

I would suggest that the people who have used the anti-uranium and peace movements for their own political ends, have done humanity a disservice. If we are ideologically motivated, we should pursue these motivations in the appropriate political party. The anti-uranium and peace movements are there to serve all people.

How to achieve peace? I believe only a non-sectarian and non-party attitude to the peace movement, allied to an uninhibited worldwide/nationwide on-going debate and educational program is our only hope. Coupled with this is the hope that some day the people under Soviet rule will be allowed to demonstrate against their SS20s.

One thing is perfectly clear. However imperfect 'Western democracy' is, we are able to obtain a great deal of information about what's happening as regards the military complex. And when this information displeases us, as with MX missiles, Cruise, Pershings, Trident, etc., we are able to demonstrate, debate, write and occasionally obtain electronic media coverage. Remember the massive demonstrations in Australia and the USA over Vietnam? Remember the massive European peace demonstrations? Remember the quarter of a million on 15 April in Australia? Remember the existence of Friends of the Earth, an organisation dedicated to obtaining a healthier world? Remember the open debate at the recent Labor Party conference? But above all, remember none of this is possible in the Soviet Union.

Below and previous page: Chernenko and Reagan puppets at Palm Sunday rally, Melbourne, 15 April 1984.



PONCH HAWKES

Phil Shannon replies:

Like all people, and the articles some of us write, Harry Davies' article too has its strengths and weaknesses.

His path to peace shares the weaknesses of the post-war peace movements. The peace movement has always won the moral argument, but has failed to halt the arms race because of its down-playing of politics. Davies rejects the 'anti-American political line' yet, in the West, this is how we can have an immediate, practical effect. They are, after all, USA, not Russian, bases on our soil serving USA military and foreign policy. We have little practical choice but to act against the concrete symbols and facts of US imperialism. Britain can't withdraw from the Warsaw Pact but Romania, for example, can. If Britain leaves NATO and Australia leaves ANZUS, Romania might be encouraged to leave the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and there will be less justification and need for Russia to send in the tanks if they do.

Davies' avoidance of a political analysis of the arms race disguises the realities of power. The USA is the biggest threat to peace because of USA economic and political needs of USA imperialism whose multinationals must continually expand or perish. The USSR, with a different economic system, is concerned with security within manageable borders (borders which expand in the face of USA belligerence).

If breaking our USA links "alters the balance of terror", presumably allowing the Russians to invade us, then even this unlikelyhood is preferable to maintaining Australia's support for USA policies which threaten nuclear oblivion as we 'teeter near the edge'.

Davies is right to stress that peace depends on militarism weakening in the USSR. We can give the Soviet democrats and doves room to move by starting the 'disarmament East and West' process in the West. As the Greens (no World Peace Council dupes these) believe, current USA policy strengthens the militarists in Moscow and motivates the

Russian people to support more Russian weapons which they see as defensive. Unlike Davies, I believe that protest and change is possible in the West and the East. History shows that people and political systems can change for the better. If the USSR is seen as impervious to change then Peace activists may as well give up and allow the Cold Warriors to nuke the Russians (and us) out of existence.

Davies' suspicion of organised politics in the peace and environment movements is partially justified. Manipulation by some narrow brands of socialist party has occurred and should be rejected but this should not mean a rejection of class politics itself. Class power exists. It accounts, in part, for war and environmental problems and should be part of the peace and environment movements' analysis and action.

The left needs the environment movement but the environment movement also needs the left. The Communist Party of Australia seeks to develop the creative co-operation of the two.

LETTERS

On Russians



Continued from p 3

► Under construction

I was extremely annoyed and dejected by the article 'What about the Russians' in the last issue of *Chain Reaction*. In it, Phil Shannon, a member of the Communist Party of Australia, makes the following statement:

The Peace movement should be very clear about the actual and the ideological nature of the 'Soviet Threat'. The Bolshevik Bogey has cluttered Western thinking for 67 years. The profit-makers and their protectors have made enormous ideological and capital gains through successfully equating the Stalinist totalitarianism of the Soviet Union with genuine socialism.

In my opinion, this statement is nonsense. One only has to listen to Ronald Reagan's continual denigration of the Soviet Union as an 'evil totalitarian dictatorship' to know that Reagan plays on Phil Shannon's own biased unqualified fear — fear of Soviet style socialism. This fear of loss of freedom and liberty is the theme Reagan is always raising as he did in his much publicised 'censored' visit to China this year.

Phil Shannon, by describing the Soviet Union in terms like 'Stalinist totalitarianism' does nothing to allay that primitive fear of the 'real

menace'. It is obvious that it is he and not the peace movement who is objectifying the threat of the Soviet Union through such myopic statements. Any comparison with the USSR as it is now with the USSR as it was under Stalin is gross generalisation and rather too simplistic. As for his claim that 'genuine socialism' doesn't exist in the USSR; this is tautology at best. The Soviets themselves are adamant that they are still on the road — 'building socialism' — and it hasn't been completed. After all, it has only been 67 years.

He then goes on to give economic justification for his claim that the 'Ruskies' are not much of a threat to the existing world order:

Economically, the gross national product (GNP) of the USSR is less than 50% of that of the USA, its per capita GNP is only one-third of that of the USA and equivalent to only the most underdeveloped countries of the 'advanced' West — Ireland, Spain and Greece.

When Phil Shannon chooses to compare the USSR's 'centrally planned - command economy' against the Western world's 'supply and demand-government modified' - laissez-fair economies, there can be no fruitful results. GNP is often a poor indicator of how well a country is doing financially.

Nearly every country in the Western world has a worsening deficit and sooner or later the international banks and financiers will demand the money owed them and the financial system will crumble; witness the huge problem of Third World debt and the near collapse of Continental Illinois Bank, one of the largest banks in America. The Western world appears headed for a disastrous depression. So I ask, what useful purpose does it perform comparing the Soviet Union's economy with the USA's?

I too agree with Phil's view that the USA under Reagan is the main threat to world peace, but for different reasons. In the simplest terms, my rationale is that, as the USA needs an ever-expanding world economy for USA capitalism to survive, conquest and annihilation of revolutionary socialist movements both at

home and abroad is essential. The Soviet Union on the other hand has 'enough on its plate' supporting its own economic monolithic economy. It doesn't have time to think about exporting its own type of socialism as the arms race spirals and puts economic pressure on the Kremlin to 'match it with the Yanks' in defence of their nation and national pride; a nation whose border is by far the longest and perhaps most vulnerable in the world.

Ken Bedow
Reid, ACT

► Support group

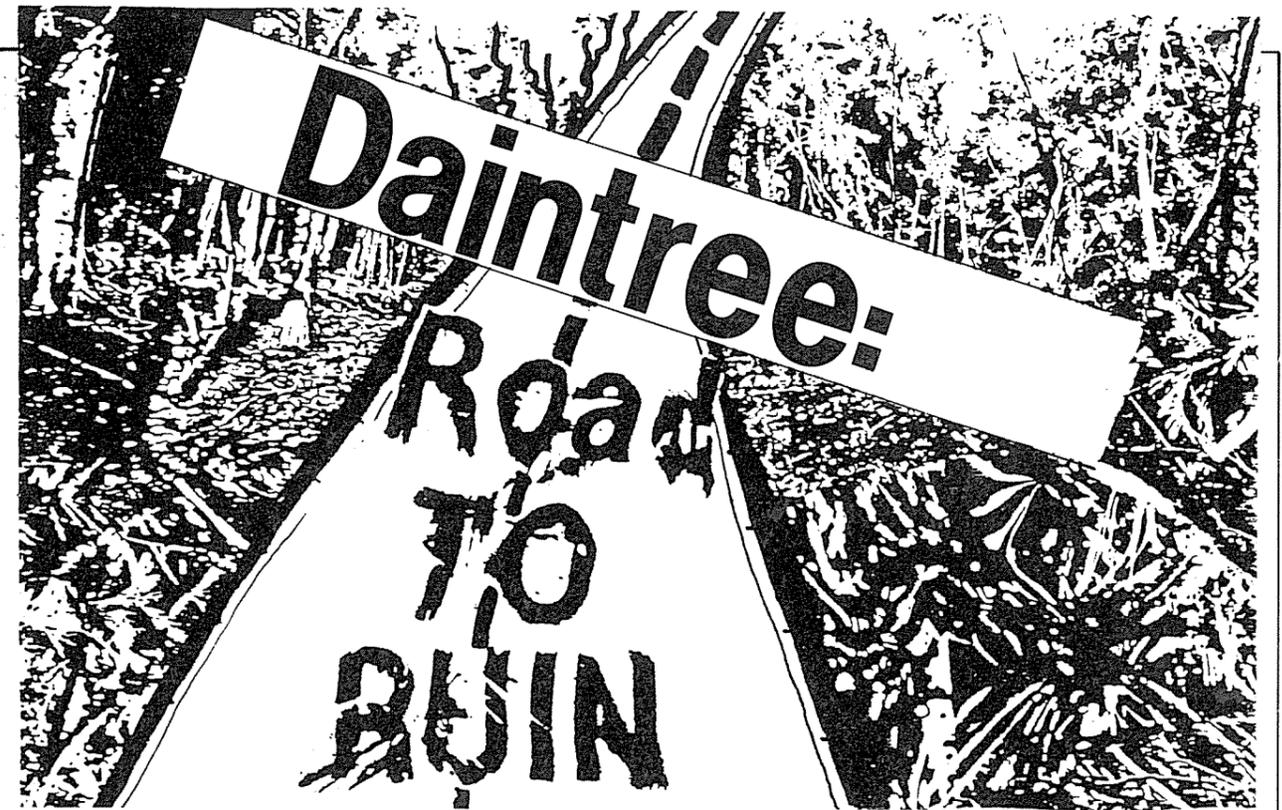
Phil Shannon's article 'What about the Russians' was not only useful as a balance for those who blame the arms race equally on the USA and the USSR, but also for those who seek to lay the entire blame for the arms race on the USA and end up as apologists for the Soviet Union.

The only dimension I found missing was an attempt to point out the difference between the official Soviet concept of 'peace' and the concept we usually have. This is fairly vital as the pro-Soviet wing of the peace movement seeks to cover up this important difference under the catch phrase 'the unity of the peace forces'. In essence, there is no difference between the Soviet concept of peace and Ronald Reagan's definition — both mean 'Peace through Strength'.

It is important for peace activists here to realise that since June 1982 there has been an independent peace movement in the Soviet Union, 'The Group to promote trust between the USA and the USSR'. They have been bitterly persecuted by the Soviet authorities, jailed, deported, put in psychiatric institutions and threatened, but they continue to be active. They ask us to continue support for them at the same time as we continue dialogue with the official Soviet Peace Committee.

We have now set up a support group for this small but courageous movement as well as other independent peace groups in East Europe. Contact: Ken Enderby, P O Box A243, Sydney South, NSW 2000.

Peter D. Jones
O'Connor, ACT



By Karen Porter

From the Daintree River north to Cooktown is the largest single block of rainforest in the humid Australian tropics. Its genetic diversity rates it amongst the most important of our coastal lowland rainforest. A 38 kilometre road is currently being slashed through this pristine wilderness. A road funded by the Queensland government and, despite their earlier claims to the contrary, apparently sanctioned by our federal government.

The road has been opposed by conservation groups and concerned individuals. In August 1984 some 150 local residents of the Cape Tribulation area staged a blockade in an attempt to halt the roadworks. The road was not stopped, but neither was the opposition. The Daintree Rainforest issues has since become one of the most politically contentious issues today.

What makes rainforests so unique is the enormous diversity of species, both plant and animal, that it contains. The area between the Daintree River and Cape Tribulation contains the richest mangrove community in Australia, with possibly all 27 species of mangrove considered indigenous to Australia, found here. Six new species of vertebrates have been identified in the area; four species of frog, the Thornton Peak melomy and an as yet unidentified species of skink. Although most of the mammals and birds have been identified, the majority of the animal species — insects, frogs, spiders, worms — are still largely unknown.

Karen Porter is a volunteer with The Wilderness Society in Melbourne.

Lowland rainforest is the preferred habitat of the cassowary, a member of the ratites, the most primitive group of birds on earth. Development elsewhere on Cape York has meant that the habitat of these birds has become more and more constricted. One of Australia's most beautiful and rare birds, the white tailed kingfisher, is also common in the Greater Daintree area. Bennetts tree kangaroo and the Thornton Peak melomy, are found nowhere else in the world. Botanists have also discovered refuges within the area where rainforest plants have survived relatively undisturbed for 100 million years.

I could go on and on. The list is endless. So little research has been done that we are a long way from realising the full potential of the area. It seems we are going to destroy what we have not yet discovered.

Australia is the only developed country to possess large tracts of tropical rainforest. Low population density, economic strength and scientific expertise make it easier for Australia to adopt policies that preserve, rather than destroy. Barry Cohen, Minister for Home Affairs and Environment, told the National Rainforest Conference in Cairns in 1984 that

While we have economic interests in utilizing rainforests, it is not a matter of human survival as argued in other countries. Therefore in my view, we have a particular opportunity and responsibility to adopt sound conservation policies here.

Like most politicians, he has an extremely short memory.

In 1981 the Queensland government declared the Cape Tribulation National Park. The Queensland Premier, Mr Bjelke-Peterson said of the area that it was

a 'living museum of plant and animal species in what is one of the few remaining examples of undisturbed coastal rainforest in the world'. Yet in 1983, the Queensland government gave the Douglas Shire Council \$100 000 for the road. In 1984, this funding was increased by a further \$500 000 during the period up to 1986.

During the 1984 Labor Party conference the federal government recognised the importance of the Greater Daintree region by amending their environmental platform to declare that they were opposed to 'any environmentally damaging roads' and to fund research to determine the value of the area. The Heritage Commission had already had consultant reports prepared by various scientific bodies and these were then given to four overseas scientific referees for comment. The reports were released on 13 September 1984 and they presented a nearly unanimous case for the nomination of the North Queensland rainforests to the World Heritage list. The report concludes that:

... the wet tropics region of north-east Queensland is one of the most significant regional ecosystems in the world. It... adequately fulfills all four of the criteria defined by the World Heritage Convention for inclusion in the World Heritage List.

Despite the Environment Minister, Mr Cohen's, earlier protestations against the carnage being wreaked in the Daintree rainforest, despite the resolutions passed at the July conference, after the release of the report, Mr Cohen announced that the federal government would not nominate the Daintree Rainforest for World Heritage listing without the approval of the Queens-

land government. Instead, he proposed a 'management plan' for the area which consisted of a \$1 million package deal whose terms he would negotiate with the Queensland government. Mr Cohen refused to rule out further road and land development, logging or mining in the area. Considering that Mr Bjelke-Petersen's reaction to the proposal was such that he had 'no intention of delegating to Canberra or the World Heritage part of Queensland', federal government is, in effect, sanctioning the wholesale destruction of the Daintree rainforest.

The government has the power to intervene and save the area under the World Heritage Properties Protection Act. It lacks not the legal power, but the political will. Their current stance is evidence of the worst type of political pragmatism. With a federal election looming before the end of 1984, the federal government is not thinking about past promises or the fate of the environment. Mr Cohen has publicly conceded that the government is concerned that a 'states rights' battle with the Queensland government could cost Labor seats during the election.

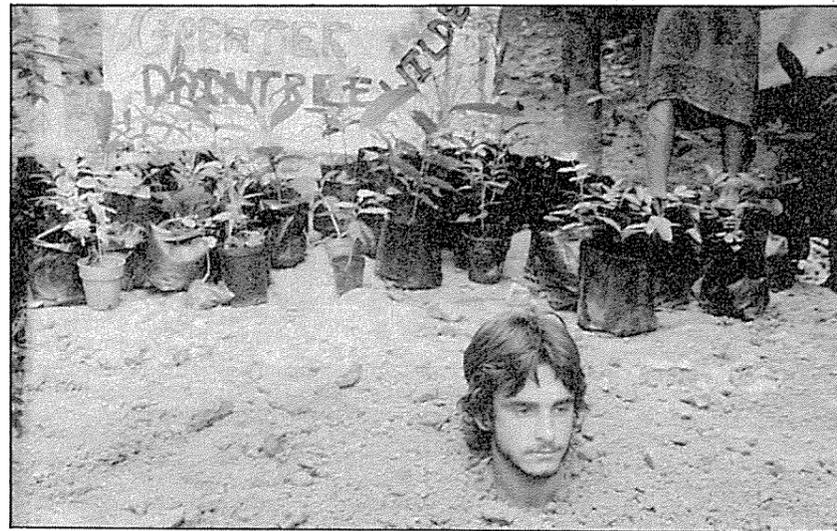
The current attempt to open a road through the Daintree Rainforest is not the first. Since 1968, there have been several attempts to 'open up' the area by the Douglas Shire Council. All attempts have been unsuccessful and during the intervening years the track has quietly regenerated. In 1976 an illegal road was bulldozed by Quaid Real Estate Developments through the rainforest to the Bloomfield River. This road was officially gazetted in 1978. This was before the council supported the Queensland government declaring the area a national park in 1981, even though three-quarters of the track was within the park's boundaries.

In 1983, the Queensland government increased the existing road reserve to 100 metres. In doing so, they placed somewhere between 10-20% of the precious lowland rainforest in the path of the bulldozers. This percentage can only increase, as the current road route has never been surveyed. Its path is being decided on an ad hoc basis; where the bulldozer can plough it's way, that's where the road will go.

But why do they need this road? Doesn't the already existent Mulligan Highway serve the needs of the shire's residents? According to the Douglas Shire Council, the answer is a resounding 'no!' They claim that improved access for the residents of Bloomfield to the southern towns is justification enough to allow a road to be bulldozed through a national park. What they forget to mention is that this 'road' will in fact be a fourwheel drive track, accessible only during the three or four months of north Queensland's monsoon calendar. In 1975, the Queensland Main Roads Department estimated that the cost of an all-weather, sealed road between Cape Tribulation and Bloomfield would be \$70 million. As it is, the steep and rugged terrain of the area, high annual rainfall and erodible soils, will ensure that the funds the Queensland government have

allotted to the project will all be poured into the maintenance of the track.

The Queensland National Parks Minister, Mr McKechnie, has also justified the road on the basis that it would increase tourism in the area, improve surveillance against drug trafficking and illegal immigration, and improve the nations defence! All are equally spurious; all overlook the fact that the Cape Tribulation to Bloomfield area which this road will plough through, is the only substantial wilderness region within the existing national park. It is within this relatively small area that the highly prized lowland rainforest exists. Within a national park of 17 000 hectares this is believed to be as minute as 1100 hectares.



Leave it in the ground. Protester at Daintree blockade.

There has been much talk about the road and its effects. But it is not the road that is seen as being the biggest longterm threat to the rainforest. The major threat comes from land development and, to a smaller extent, logging and mining interests, that will benefit from the existence of a road. In the past decade the pressures to carve up the area have increased. A former chairperson of the Douglas Shire Council, George Quaid, owns several thousand hectares of subdivided blocks along the North Queensland coast. These subdivisions went ahead only after the Queensland Minister for Roads, Racing and Local Government pressured the Douglas Shire Council to overturn their original opposition to the rezoning of the rural land. Subsequently, you can now buy your own one hectare 'piece of wilderness' for a pricey \$25 000. Pricey when you consider that there is no sewerage, water, power or road. At the moment, at any rate.

When considering the road and the whole contentious issue of development in northern Queensland it is impossible to ignore the logging and tin mining operations that have been carried out in rainforest areas. Small scale, highly damaging tin mining has been existent in the Greater Daintree for almost a century. The lack of strict guidelines regarding environmental

standards and regeneration programs has meant that where rainforest has been cleared and the land mined, the aftermath has been one of devastation. A century of mining has left its scar on the rainforest, but it is the logging industry that poses one of the most insidious threats.

The trees are still falling on the Mt Windsor and Mt Carbine tablelands, west of the Daintree River. Of the proposed Greater Daintree National Park, 62% is currently zoned 'timber reserve', and well over half of this has never been logged. Five timber companies are due to finish their first cut on the Mt Windsor tableland in 1986 and after that, timber availability will fall by 40%. The most substantial areas of virgin rainforest lie across the Daintree

River (Timber Reserve 165) which until now the Queensland Forestry Department has considered uneconomic to cut due to high access costs and low timber yields. They are now reconsidering.

The federal government has justified its failure to intervene because they claim the road is already completed. Such fallacious reasoning is far from correct. Only 20 kilometres of the planned road has been built and this section of the road is still in its most basic stage of development. As the past failed attempts have shown, the damage is not irretrievable and regeneration is possible. The Daintree Rainforest is under threat and time is running out, but as the Franklin River campaign showed victory can be achieved.

Action: Send letters and telegrams, or visit your federal members of parliament. For further information on the Daintree campaign, contact your local branch of The Wilderness Society or environment centre.

TWS is organising public meetings on the Daintree rainforest. The speaker will be David Bellamy.

- Brisbane City Hall, 8.00 pm, 31 October 1984.
- Sydney Town Hall, 8.00 pm, 1 November 1984
- Melbourne, Nicholas Hall, Lonsdale St., 8.00 pm, 2 November 1984.

Green ideals, German realities

What happens when a grass-roots movement enters the parliamentary arena? Peter Mares reports from West Germany on the progress of the Green Party over the last year, and reviews the party's platform.

In June 1979, when the newly formed Further Political Association of the Greens won 900 000 votes (3.2%) in the elections to the European parliament, everyone was surprised. The Greens appeared to have sprung from nowhere and most commentators predicted they would disappear into nowhere just as fast. They called it a protest vote that would not be repeated.

The formation of a federal electoral organisation and this initial success were much more significant than conservative analysts had realised. This was an expression nationally of processes which had been going on at regional and local levels for considerable time. To be sure, the Greens are a protest party, but not merely in the sense of voter protest at the increasingly empty and rigid politics of the Social Democrats (SPD). The Greens spring from various movements in West German society — movements which focus on the problems and threats stemming from militarism and industrial capitalism, and which, through organised protest, critically challenge existing structures. Such movements are not a passing phase, but a reaction to very real contradictions and deficiencies in the functioning of the capitalist economy and parliamentary democracy.

Since 1979 the Greens have proved their political durability in the parliamentary sphere with consistently improved results in federal, state and local elections. In March 1983 they secured 28 seats in the West German federal parliament with 5.6% of the vote. This year, in state elections in Baden-Wurttemberg with 8.0%, and in the recent European elections with 8.4%, the Green Party has eclipsed the Free Democratic Party (FDP) as the third major party in the country.

Action and ideals

The program of the German Green Party is now available in English*, but it is already outdated in many ways. When I visited the Frankfurt office of the party and asked for a copy of the program, the office worker gave it to me with some reluctance, stressing its need of updating. He was much happier to fill my arms with bundles of documents about recent city and state activities, indicative of the fact that the Greens are best to be understood in the context of their daily organisation and activities at all levels, rather than from a somewhat abstract formulation of their overall ideals.

Actual policy differs in different regions,

Peter Mares is an Australian currently living and studying in Frankfurt. He has worked with the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy and public radio station 5MMM-FM in Adelaide.



NO NUCLEAR NEWS

as it is decided upon independently by branches, according to make-up and priorities. Thus, the program cannot be read as a concrete and specific statement of the party's aims and methods, and provides only limited insight into the Greens' actual activities and achievements. It is a bit like a manifesto of the ultimate eco-socialist utopia and is in places aggravatingly simplistic. The program does make interesting and inspiring reading however, and gives an overall picture of the *Gedankenwelt*, the world of ideas and thoughts, upon which the party draws.

In reading the program it must be remembered that the Green Party, just like the social movements from which it grew, contains extremely various elements. A meeting of over 1000 delegates, each representing 10 members, had somehow to combine widely differing perspectives in a consistent and functional party platform. That precise theoretical rigour often gives way to compromise and generalisation, is hardly surprising. It is perhaps here that the greatest hope for the Green Party come together; the difficulty arising from the lack of a precise and overwhelmingly supported political position, and the hope which springs from the depth and variety of green ideas and supporters.

Central principles

The Green Party's platform is based on four central principles — their politics are 'ecological', 'social', 'grassroots democratic' and 'nonviolent'.

Ecological politics centre on the simple idea that a limited ecological system cannot provide for unlimited economic growth. The aim must be to create systems of production and consumption which maintain, rather than destroy, natural ecological cycles; 'partnership' with nature instead of exploitation.

The word '*social*' has an economic aspect, it expresses the Green's opposition to the inequalities present in West German society. The power relationships of a capitalist economy mean that a few (those owning and controlling the means of production), decide over the existence of many (those who must sell their labour), and that economically weaker sections of society (those not represented by capital or organised labour — notably women, unemployed, children, youth, old-aged, disabled, guest-workers), are the first to suffer discrimination and economic hardship, especially in times of crisis. Contemporary society is seen as 'increasingly unstable'; green social politics must aim to create a stable social system that encompasses comprehensive democratic and human rights. This change must come from below, not from above: 'The ecological, economic and social crisis can be countered by the self-determination of those affected.'

The social politics of the Greens should be made possible through a system of *grassroots democracy*:

[This] means the increased realisation of decentralised and direct democracy. We start from the premise that priority must always be given to the decision of the base. Surveyable and decen-

tralised basic units (local community, district) should be given extensive autonomy and rights of self-government. Grassroots democracy, however, requires comprehensive organisation and coordination if an ecological policy is to be carried through at the level of public decision-making against strong opposition.

Referendums at all levels are seen as a central aspect of decision-making in critical issues. The system of basis democracy begins in the Green Party itself. All party representatives, office bearers and committees are directly responsible to the base and all dealings within the party are kept open. To minimise the separation of functionaries from the base, all positions within the party have a set time span after which the holder must be rotated.

The principle of *nonviolence* refers to individuals, groups and states. It does not however, disclude the fundamental right to self-defence, and positively includes manifold forms of social resistance and protest:

We aim at a nonviolent society where the oppression of one person by another is abolished. Our foremost principle is that humane goals cannot be achieved by inhumane means.

That these central principles are disputed is clear. The concept of nonviolence for example, is for some a quasi-religion and for others a strategic tactic. The rotation principle has also proved difficult; many want to hold on to their positions and others are not always there, prepared to take their place. Although there are many more women active in the Greens than in any other party, grassroots democracy has of course not brought instant equality. Despite positive discrimination policy, which often requires a minimum of 50% of positions to be filled by women, the problems of sexism and male domination remain.

Sticker from the Hessian state branch of the Green Party. The lion is the symbol of the state.



Green utopia

In the program, the party's central principles are applied to develop policy in four basic areas: 'Economy and Work', 'Foreign Policy and Peace Policy', 'Environment and Nature' and 'Individual and Society'.

Many of the stated aims are longterm and would necessitate fundamental structural change. Upon reading the program, an overall image of the ideal green society emerges . . .

Cities would be human places with adequate living space, clean air, lots of parks and trees and no high-rise. Public transport and bicycles would have superseded private cars and inland travel would essentially be by rail. Large industry would have disappeared, replaced by small-scale, worker-administered manufacturing units with a renewed concentration on skilled trades and a democratically organised form of social ownership (ie not private and not state). Energy generation would be similarly small-scale and localised, and recycling would be implemented wherever possible. The countryside would be characterised by stands of mixed forest and small, collectively-run organic farms. It would once again be healthy to swim in German rivers and lakes. There would be no army, no weapons, no wars, but the population would be trained in methods of social defence and resistance. Government would be open and actively democratic, involving all members of society and emphasising local instead of national politics. In the 'lesser developed nations' hunger and poverty would be eradicated and stable social systems set up with the application of ecological principles and appropriate technology. Relations to other nations would be friendly but neutral. Discrimination and disadvantage on the basis



Petra Kelly, Green member of the West German parliament, during a recent visit to Australia. In July 1984, the Bavarian section of the Green Party, which she represents, voted against extending her term, confirming their wish to stay by the 'rotation' principle. It is possible she may decide to go against her branch and retain her seat.

of gender, race, age or class would be non-existent; each person would have equal right and opportunity to develop their creative and sexual desires . . .

The program is utopian, but this Green idealism should be recognised as a motivating force and not taken as an evaluation of the party itself. As the German socialist Kurt Tucholsky wrote in 1919 (the year of the German 'revolution' and the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht):

We know well, that ideals cannot be made reality, but we also know, that in this world, nothing has taken place, nothing been changed or influenced, without the flame of an ideal.

Concrete demands

The Greens are not a bunch of naive dreamers who believe they can transform the world overnight. On the contrary, most members are only too aware of the difference between the goals strived for and the small steps taken. The program hides the fact that the Green Party has a lot of very aware, very clever and very analytical

people in it; Green activists are aware of the boundaries within which the party functions but are also prepared to constantly challenge and extend these limits.

The Greens' program is of course not only constructed in terms of worth but far off objectives. In each section and subsection concrete and immediately applicable demands are also listed. Many could be achieved by parliamentary means, and while not fundamentally altering the structure of society, they would constitute a positive step towards an improved ecological and social situation.

Although the Greens make up only minor 'fractions' in the parliaments, some of these immediate steps may well be taken with the support of other parties. This is especially likely in issues arousing intense public concern, like dioxin or acid rain. While left to themselves, the other parties would have attempted to suppress or ignore such issues, but through their presence in parliament, the Greens are able to force debate and introduce bills. The occasional success of such bills is made possible by public pressure, focused in the extra-

parliamentary movements which the Greens both belong to and support.

To achieve goals which more essentially threaten opposing forces, like getting rid of Pershing and Cruise missiles, or closing down the nuclear industry, the Greens would require, *at the very least*, a large parliamentary majority. Obviously, West German society would have to change very drastically before the Greens, in their present form, could hope for such a state of affairs, but even if they were to provide this sort of electoral challenge to the major parties, a Green government would be prevented in other ways. West German and foreign capital would sacrifice a no-longer useful parliamentary democracy before their own interests.

It is here that one of the major theoretical weaknesses of the Greens' program becomes clear. There is very little analysis of how the forces of local and foreign, financial, industrial and agricultural capital can be confronted, to work radical change.

Strategies for change

In the final section of a recent publication, roughly translated 'Meaningful Work — Life in Solidarity: Against Unemployment and Social Cuts' (January 1983), strategies for the political realisation of far-reaching economic change are discussed. Social resistance via protest, civil disobedience and boycott, the build-up of alternative projects and autonomous organisations (self-help), an effective, intense information flow and the labour struggle on the factory floor and in unions — these nonviolent methods are to be supported with 'appropriate parliamentary action' and would succeed only 'with the support of the majority of the population':

The principle of nonviolence means that all conceptions which involve dictating to the majority of the population 'for their own good', are alien to us. We trust that the majority will grasp at the wish to work and live in a different way, and will be strong enough to make clear to the opposing minority, the superiority of an economy which has no longer itself, but the ecological and social needs of all, as its goal.

This does not explain however, how even an active Green majority would either convert or defeat power instruments such as the police, the army or the CIA, or combat the ideological weapons of mass media and advertising.

The strategic importance of labour is recognised — 'Through strength of numbers and direct seizure of the means of production, the workers and unions have now, as always, the greatest possibility to directly influence economic relations' —, but the Greens' relationship to wage-workers is inadequately discussed. Some, especially younger workers, are Green voters or members, but the unions remain firmly loyal to the Social Democrats (SPD) and regard the Greens (who are more often unequivocally supportive of union demands than the SPD) with distrust. One in seven jobs in West Germany is connected with the automobile industry — even if public transport systems would eventually create

more work, it is not possible to win over workers with calls to dismantle the industries upon which they are dependent.

The Greens require a mass movement with worker support in order to achieve their aims, but this takes time and the ecological and social situation is urgent. This dilemma produces an uncertainty as to how to proceed, which is reflected in the predominance of the words 'must' and 'forbid' in the program. The Greens require a huge change in the majority's environmental consciousness and control over capitalist interests. Written under present conditions, the program falls back on legislative measures to institute reforms. If all the called-for laws were implemented, the result would be an immensely expanded bureaucratic-legal apparatus, exactly the opposite of the free society the Green's would like to achieve.

(There are other examples of this somewhat schizophrenic relationship to the law. On one page, the Greens demand absolute freedom of speech, a few pages later they call for the banning of 'all activities of fascist and other terrorist organisations'.)

People not politicians

The problems of transition to a new society are problems faced by all movements calling for radical economic and social change. They will not be solved in theory, but in practice, and hence the great importance of the party's autonomous, grassroots functioning. This is the Greens' real dynamism;

they are approachable, directly responsive to real social needs and successful in generating active involvement. They concentrate energy on local issues and at the same time provide a link, demonstrating how separate problems generate from the same fundamental causes. The Greens remain a party of *people* not politicians.

But it is exactly this aspect of the Greens which could potentially be threatened by parliamentary activities. The establishment of the Greens as a parliamentary party can defeat the individual's sense of democratic responsibility — at least transfer it to the ballot box. On the other hand, the stimulus effect of the Greens' seats in parliament should not be underestimated. Green members of parliament can often aid extra-parliamentary organisations with information, and more essentially, with publicity. Many social and environmental issues that may otherwise have been ignored, have been brought to light via their parliamentary position. The Greens provide a new hope amongst the prevailing political greyness, a hope that can wake people out of disillusionment and defeatism to get them active for change.

The political maturity of the Green Party is defined, in the eyes of conservative politicians, as their willingness to work together with the SPD. This is a central question for the party both in numerous city councils and in the parliaments. It is distinctly possible that after the next elections (1987), the SPD and the Greens will

be presented with the opportunity to form a coalition government. Exactly this situation has already occurred at state level and caused a storm of discussion within the party. In Hessen, after two state elections, the SPD, despite being the major fraction in parliament, were unable to govern without Green 'tolerance'. After negotiations which produced a long list of gains for the Greens, the Hessen base voted to support an 'ongoing working agreement' with the SPD.

In many people's opinion, these 'gains' amount to relatively minor concessions by the Social Democrats; it is true that so much has never been 'won' by the Greens in one hit before, but the list is not only spectacular for what it includes, but also for what it leaves out. While many progressive projects will be undertaken with state money, the Green Party will also be passively supporting the continuation of a government to which they are ideologically opposed. There is a great deal of bitterness toward the SPD state government in Hessen, the same government responsible for brutal police actions during the years of protest against the new western runway of the Frankfurt airport. Despite this, and despite loud criticism from many sections of the party — including the federal parliamentary fraction — the basis decision was a convincing two-thirds in favour, an indication that the general membership of the party is perhaps more reformist than many of its most vocal figures.

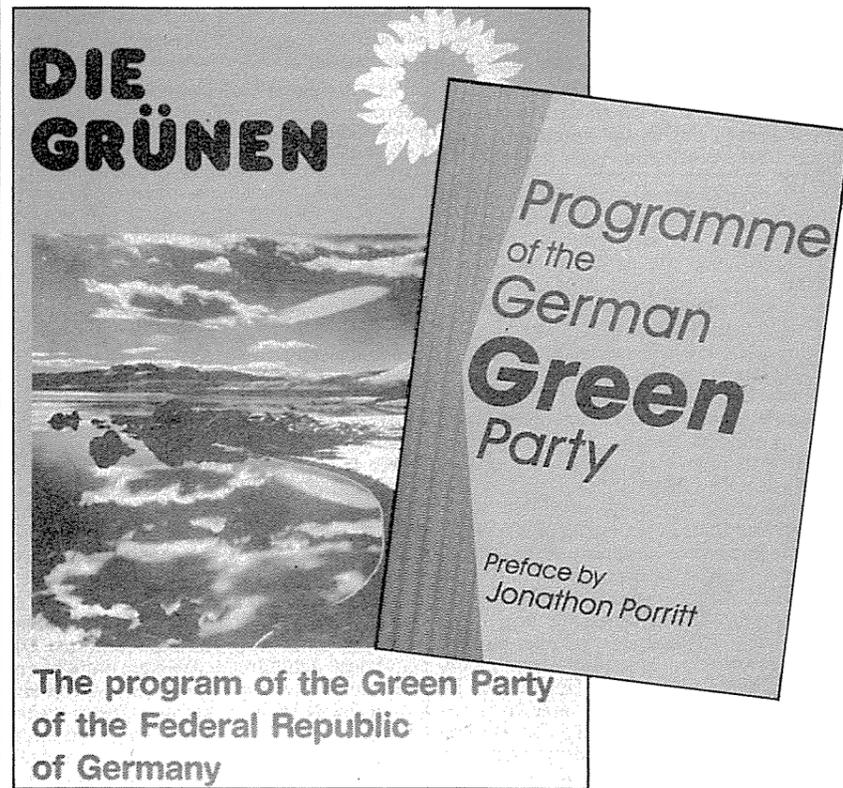
Whether and/or when to work with the Social Democrats will be a decisive question for the party's future. In many ways this is a question of to what extent the Greens become 'established'. If they do become too 'establishment' (and in many ways this seems inevitable, the process appears to have already begun), the Greens will continue to win small reforms, but at the price of their former idealism. The spontaneity, the challenge, the dynamic of the party will be less, and the Greens will become the new 'lesser evil' in the old game of party politics. A few fresh players, but the same old rules.

Nevertheless, the Greens have shaken West German democracy. They have brought a new challenge, new colour, and new ideas to a system stranded in rigidity, and attempted to get that system to work in the way its makers say it should. Granted, they thus lend credibility to a fundamentally inadequate institution, an institution which represents the interests of the very powers they oppose, but they also inject new life and vigour into West German society. The Greens are in themselves, a positive and exciting social change.

**Programme of the German Green Party*, Die Grunen, preface by Jonathon Porritt, Heretic Books, London, 1983, 54 pages, \$4.50 (soft cover). This pamphlet is a translation from the second edition of the Federal Program (*Das Bundesprogramm*) of the Greens, as published before the general election in March 1983.

For further discussion of the policies and organisation of the Green Party, see 'Springtime in West Germany' by Ally Fricker in *Chain Reaction* 33 (August-September 1983).

Two English versions of the Green Party program. Left: the pamphlet published by the Green Party in West Germany. Right: the Heretic Books booklet, available in Australia.



REVIEWS

Film

Nicaragua — No Pasaran, directed and produced by David Bradbury, 16mm, colour, 73 minutes. Available from Ronin Films. Tel: (062) 48 0851.

Reviewed by Stephen Radic.

The ethereal voice of Laurie Anderson swells up over a shot of an American troop-carrying plane sweeping low over the skyline of a sleepy Honduras town. Huge planes lumber across the tarmac of a hidden airport like giant, dangerous insects. 'Here come the planes,' she sings, 'they're American planes...'

This is the closing moment of David Bradbury's most recent political documentary *Nicaragua — No Pasaran*, literally, *Nicaragua: They will not enter*. Bradbury, maker of *Frontline*, has turned his attention to the contemporary politics of Nicaragua, and the struggle against attacks from dissidents and, most importantly, from continual blockades and unofficial military incursions sponsored by the USA.

The film presents its arguments through the use of contrast and contradiction. In one section an accusation is made against the Sandinista government and is later repudiated. Moscow and Cuba — President Reagan maintains that the Sandinistas are funded by, aided by, and are indeed an arm of Soviet policy. Catholicism in Nicaragua — Reagan maintains that socialism is an implant on this Catholic country, a destructive burden, a foreign philosophy not accepted by Nicaraguans but forced upon them. Another Vietnam — Reagan denies such intentions, yet covertly USA foreign policy seems to be pursuing an all too familiar course. Contrast by contrast the film unfolds.

The film focuses on Tomas Borge, one of the nine-member collective Sandinista government. Considerable government help enabled Bradbury to interview Borge, most memorably in a harrowing re-enactment of his torture and imprisonment by the previous Somoza regime. Contrasted with this is a scene where Borge visits a remote prison farm, housing men and women accused of acts of violence associated with the USA-backed contras, a guerilla movement dedicated to the destruction



From the film *Nicaragua — No Pasaran*.

of the Sandinista government. The prison, although Spartan is in no way barbarous — or so the film would have us believe. Open and airy, and prisoners work the land as farmers, a far cry from Borge's fate at Somoza's hands.

Bradbury's graciously partisan commentary glides from one contrast to another. In one particularly funny sequence, the Pope suffers badly at the hands of his Nicaraguan faithful when he fails to appreciate realities in the country. Catholicism continues in Nicaragua, and Borge himself expresses his 'admiration' for Christ in the film. Priests fill two seats in the National Directorate and yet when the Pope visited Managua in 1983, he was shouted down by a crowd of half a million Nicaraguans, displeased with his appeal to address themselves to the affairs of heaven and the spirit rather than the politics of socialism and the Earth. All wanted peace in Nicaragua, but peace of quite differing natures.

'They have no elections, no democracy, censorship of the media and', Reagan is quoted as saying, 'they continue to be poor despite the change of government.'

But as the film points out, complicity between successive USA governments and the previous regime of General Somoza makes hollow any breast-

beating on the part of the Americans. Funded, aided and supported, Somoza's brutal government free-wheeled through Nicaragua's political life for three decades of violence and extraordinary corruption, to the extent that Somoza was able to bomb rival capitalist enterprises in Managua in order to advance his own. Somoza received this support by being a 'yes' man for American interests. Put bluntly, Americans found Somoza's violence forgivable as long as their own interests remained stable.

Reagan, again shown in an address to Congress, claims that the Sandinistas are mere puppets of Cuba and the Russians. He affirms a need to maintain USA interests in Nicaragua, but as Borge says quite simply: 'Who gave him the right?' In support of this statement English TV journalist John Snow found the American picture of Nicaragua quite fallacious. Cuban aid was paltry, extending only to a few guns. Snow found the quiet atmosphere of poorly trained, poorly equipped soldiers in Nicaragua in no way resembled the image of an impending revolution threatening to destabilise all the countries from Panama to Mexico. Peace and self-sufficiency is all Nicaragua asks, Bradbury seems to be saying. But a Sandinista peace is not in America's interests.

The film is propaganda, unashamedly

REVIEWS

so, and Bradbury's point of view is clear-cut. If we are to believe the arguments and the facts presented in this film then we must accept that Nicaragua's troubles come from the outside rather than within, that USA's trade blockades and military involvement is at the heart of their fragile economy. Rather than being a totalitarian regime in the Kremlin mould, socialism seems indeed to be the only logical answer.

The film's arguments are very persuasive, and a considerable number of Reagan's 'facts' do not stand up as 'truths'. 'Will this become another Vietnam?' Reagan is quoted as saying. 'No. We have no plans for a military presence in Nicaragua. Besides we have not been asked.' Yet, as the conclusion of the film shows, over the border in Honduras, the planes are massing...

Stephen Radic is a filmmaker who is currently working on band clips and design for the ballet.

Books

Corporate Crime in the Pharmaceutical Industry by John Braithwaite, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1984, 440 pages, \$49.50 (hard cover).

Reviewed by Denise Russell.

Braithwaite paints a bleak picture of a vast array of socially irresponsible practices within the pharmaceutical industry, particularly in the USA but also in Australia and the Third World. At this stage research is limited to case studies rather than statistical surveys but the comprehensive range of studies included in the book testify indeed to a social problem of huge proportions. Braithwaite does not adopt a naive approach of simply exposing and punishing the individual criminal in matters of corporate crime, but is concerned to point out the limitations of criminal law and the need to develop a range of legal and non-legal strategies to diminish the extent of irresponsibility. Eradication or even equity are in this area of impossible ideals.

Braithwaite claims that the incidence of bribery in the drug industry is higher than in other industries. Bribes may be given to union officials to prevent strikes, to doctors to use certain drugs, to health inspectors, customs officials, police and other government personnel.

In this industry bribes are routine and widespread, involving large amounts of money, often tax deductible.

Millions of animals and thousands of people each year are involved in the testing of drugs, yet Braithwaite contends that even in the 1980s we should have a priori reservations about data supplied by the pharmaceutical industry on this testing. He claims that sometimes reported tests have never been conducted. This is the graphite method: invention with a pencil, or 'dry-labeling': reporting on non-existent experiments.

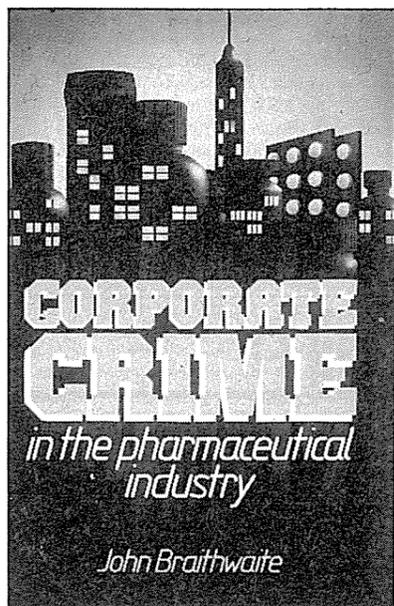
Sometimes test results are falsified, sometimes only positive findings are reported while negative findings are covered up. Most testing is carried out on 'me-too' drugs - drugs which are only slightly different (in molecular structure not in therapeutic value) from those manufactured by another company. They are developed to circumvent patent laws which give individual companies control over marketing for 16-20 years. Thus most new products which are approved for marketing are not medical advances. Only 1% of drugs tested in the USA on humans between 1975 and 1977 had any therapeutic gain.

Unsafe manufacturing practices outlined in the book include mislabelling; inclusion of other substances such as mould, bacteria, or metal particles; incorrect quantity of drug in the tablet (the 'bathtub' manufacturers in the Third World produce antibiotics at less than half the required strength. These drugs don't cure anything but they build up an immunity to full strength antibiotics); contaminated intravenous solutions; reuse of pace-makers and unsafe working conditions such as chemical overexposure.

Large drug companies go in for price fixing in more and less obvious ways, helped of course by the patent laws previously mentioned. They are impervious to market forces as doctors, not consumers purchasing, make decisions. Mark-ups are huge, sometimes 7000% - the wholesale price of Valium is 25 times the price of gold and the selling price is 20 times the total production cost.

So-called 'wonder drugs', Braithwaite claims, benefit a very small proportion of the world population, yet paradoxically, the developed nations remain over medicated. We are sold drugs that we don't really need: 'Valium and Librium have been promoted as solutions to almost every psychological state which falls short of total serenity'. There are numerous instances of false or misleading advertising yet in the USA controls have been lifted, rather than strengthened.

Accounts of the activities of drug companies in the Third World are horrific and include the dumping of lethal drugs, known carcinogens, defective



medical devices and drugs whose shelf life has expired or which failed to meet the quality specifications of the manufacturing country. The use of Third World people as guinea pigs is not uncommon; especially for drugs which are thought to be too risky to test in developed countries. There is little likelihood of being sued. There is no informed consent.

Interspersed with this survey of the problems in the drug industry Braithwaite includes suggestions for control. He presents strong evidence of the limitations of legal processes even though these processes have a role in deterrence, in imposing rehabilitation on corporate offenders and in requiring restitution of victims of corporate crime and reparation to the community. In place of heavy reliance on the law, he favours: negotiation between regulators and the industry; dissemination of knowledge and power within the companies to make self-regulation more possible; allotment of some decisions on risk/benefit to groups of scientists rather than lawyers; exposure of bad practices particularly to relevant public interest groups, eg information on problems with contraceptives to feminist groups; speedy international reporting on adverse reactions to drugs; and much more.

These are all sound points, with exception perhaps of an unjustified hope that science-based decisions are an improvement on law-based ones. Lawyers seem to have a better track record in keeping questions of moral responsibility to the forefront. This ties in with another problem in the book where questions of guilt become dissipated to some extent. Braithwaite may be right in playing down the effectiveness of the criminal law in this area but if people are going to be motivated to change, it is imperative

that we still see the practices as morally wrong.

Braithwaite makes only passing mention of alternatives to drug use, yet it seems obvious that some of the human and financial resources used to control the drug industry might be better diverted elsewhere, eg into preventative medicine and preventative psychiatry, or non-medical approaches in these fields. My final criticism is that insufficient acknowledgement is made of the often useless suffering incurred in animal experimentation in the drug industry. Nevertheless, I would unhesitatingly recommend this book to anyone who wants to be informed about the drug industry and of some imaginative control strategies.

Denise Russell teaches philosophy at the University of Sydney and is actively involved in local groups working for psychiatric reforms.

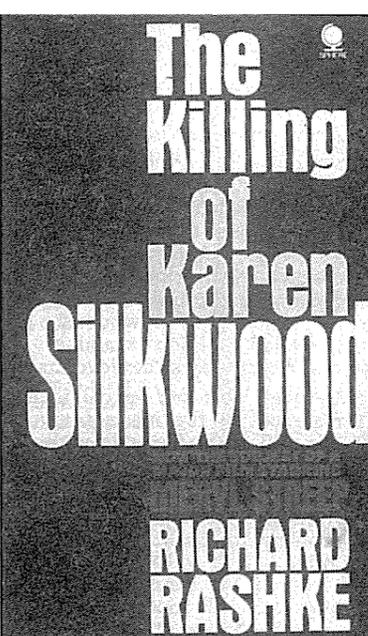
The Killing of Karen Silkwood: the story behind the Kerr-McGee Plutonium Case by Richard Rashke, Sphere Books, London, 1983, 407 pages, \$5.95 (soft cover).

Reviewed by Phil Shannon.

That the United States should produce so many investigative journalists (or muckrakers as they are called) is perhaps to be expected - IF Stone, Woodward and Bernstein, Jessica Mitford and now, deservedly, Richard Rashke. As befitting the greatest capitalist power, there is more corruption, cover-ups and crime per corporate and political square inch than anywhere else in the world.

As Rashke reveals in *The Killing of Karen Silkwood*, Bob Kerr, politician and founder of the Kerr-McGee Corporation (K-M) was covered in muck. Politics for Bob was simply business by another name. With political graft, kickbacks and bribes he built K-M up to number 120 of the top 500 corporations in America. America, which has the best politicians that money can buy, was an ideal environment for the K-M uranium interests. State subsidies rolled in as safety was thrown out - the plutonium plant at Cimarron was built cheaply in a tornado-prone area. Karen Silkwood was a worker at this plant and an Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union (OCAW) activist. She threatened to upset the smooth relationship between K-M's politics and business.

The Silkwood story is widely known, thanks to the women arrested at Pine Gap and Meryl Streep. Silkwood gathered evidence of the fudging of K-M's quality control records, their 'unexplained' losses of plutonium and their blatant disregard for health and safety. For her pains she was 'inexplicably' contaminated with plutonium, had her flat bugged and 'mysteriously' died in a car crash on her way to deliver the documentary evidence (which disappeared without explanation from the wreckage)



to the OCAW and a New York Times journalist.

Lovers of detective fiction will relish the book with its undercover investigations, red herrings, lucky breaks, shady spooks, surprise twists, mystery and intrigue. Healthy key witnesses die suddenly just days before they are to testify on Silkwood's death in the courts. Chandler and Hammet could not have done it better.

Some aspects of the book, however, are frustrating. The ruthless attention to detail demands (but also repays) immense perseverance. The broader nuclear issues although never far away, are often submerged by the forensic attempt to find the 'smoking gun' of responsibility for Silkwood's contamination and death.

The book is also dominated by men. As essential and skilled as their role was in the investigation and the courts, I felt much more could have been made of the women involved. Many were mobilised by the National Organisation of Women which supplied the equally essential money and popular impetus for the Silkwood campaign.

So where does all the evidence lead? The Silkwood case succeeded legally on the grounds of K-M's negligence of health and safety. It also points to a conspiracy in her murder and its cover-up by 'her enemies, all the men and the powerful institutions they run - the police, the FBI, the Kerr-McGee Corporation, the Atomic Energy Commission' and the CIA. As 'Echo', Rashke's source in the FBI's Washington headquarters, reveals 'the CIA had been diverting plutonium from nuclear plants and giving it to countries friendly to the United States'. Several agents had been contaminated and died and K-M managed to 'lose' a lot of plutonium.

The reason for the massive cover-up lies buried in the FBI's 'June Mail' - their super-top-secret files - which show, according to 'Echo', that 'Karen

Silkwood was run off the road, and the FBI knows who did it to her'. If the cap fits...

If the 'mystery' of Silkwood's 'death', the 'lost' incriminating documents, the 'strange' deaths of witnesses and the 'missing' plutonium have to be hedged in quotations, it is because the crucial evidence in the case remains a CIA and FBI secret. These spook outfits are a law unto themselves and ensure that Silkwood's murder will never quite be conclusively proved in the courts.

Karen Silkwood, like Joe Hill, never really died. The Pine Gap Silkwoods (and even in its own limited kitchen-sink way, the Hollywood nuclear soapie which is based on the book) are keeping Silkwood's opposition to the deadly, dirty uranium business alive. They are threatening to go further in a mass way than the lone investigative nose can in unravelling the dark, sticky conspiracy surrounding Silkwood's murder.

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

Video

Tissue, produced and directed by Ros Horin, from the play written by Louise Page, 3/4 inch U-matic and 1/2 inch VHS videotape, 57 minutes. Available from Sydney Filmmakers Co-operative. Tel: (02) 33 0721.

Reviewed by Karen Myers.

Tissue is a story of Sally Bacon - a young woman who goes into hospital to have a cyst removed from her breast - and comes out of the anaesthetic to discover she has had a mastectomy.

From *Tissue*



REVIEWS

Based on a play of the same title, *Tissue* examines the way Sally comes to terms with the abrupt and unexpected loss of her breast.

The film is also a sad, but true portrayal of the emphasis placed on breasts by both men and women. A breast is not, as a doctor says to Sally, just a 'pound of flesh' or 'tissue', it is a symbol of womanhood.

Through use of flashbacks, we see Sally's development as a woman paralleled with the development of her breasts. Images of Sally's childhood and teenage years, intercut with the present, add to the sense of Sally's loss following the mastectomy: Sally in the bathtub washing her breasts with her mother imploring her to use a flannel, not her bare hands ('but daddy does it this way'); Sally with friend, Zoe, exercising frantically to the chant of 'I must, I must increase my bust' and the race to see who can grow their

breasts more quickly; and Sally's brother Simon offering her rides on his bike if she will show her breasts to his friends ('they don't have sisters').

There are also recent memories: Sally telling her lover that she has a lump in her breast and his initial refusal to feel for the lump - telling her to see a doctor so 'he can feel you'. The first doctor she approaches fails to find anything. The doctor to whom she goes for a second opinion examines her, almost as reluctantly as her lover had.

Sally feels that her sexual identity is threatened by the mastectomy and that she will be undesirable with only one breast. 'Can a lover bury his face between a lone breast?' she asks.

Adjusting to her changed appearance is a problem for Sally. She cannot, at first, bring herself to look at where the breast should be. Even though with a prosthesis she will look like a 'whole' woman, Sally is aware that the time will come when she will have to reveal her body. How she will cope - and her lover's reaction - concern her.

From the time she feels she has a lump in her breast, Sally's relationship with her family strengthens and she returns home to stay after the mastectomy. She and her mother talk about breast cancer openly and honestly and Sally teaches her mother how to examine her breasts.

Other relationships are not so enduring. Sally's ex-lover visits her in hospital, bringing chocolates, because he says, as they are no longer lovers, he does not care about her appearance. Through the use of to-camera presentation, Sally and her ex-lover tell us what they would be saying if they were communicating with each other rather than talking to us. Both the ex-lover and Sally's friend, Zoe, who also visits, are more concerned about their own feelings, what they should do and say, than about Sally.

The possibility of the cancer returning is not broached by the medical staff. The doctor says 'we got it all', but does not make clear whether he is referring to the cancer, or to Sally's breast. A nurse comments on how difficult it is to care for women who have had mastectomies, because it requires her to confront the fact that one day she may have to face the same situation.

Tissue is about much more than Sally's cancer and mastectomy. It is about loss - something to which none of us is immune - and how we cope with it. To quote Sally: 'Live each day as though you are going to die tonight - and then, hopefully, you don't.'

Karen Myers cared for a friend who died of cancer and co-authored Who Cares? - a NSW and ACT resource book about caring for the ill at home.

KEMIRA DIARY OF A STRIKE

The film deals with one of the most determined attempts by workers to challenge the right of companies to make mass dismissals of workers on solely economic pretexts. In September 1982, at the height of the economic recession, Australian Iron and Steel, a subsidiary of Australia's largest company BHP, announced its intention to retrench 400 miners from six coal pits which supplied the company's Wollongong steelworks. Worst affected was Kemira pit, where 206 workers - 2/3 of the workforce - were to lose their jobs.

20 days before the sackings were to take effect, a group of rank and file workers at Kemira Colliery, deciding that arbitration would get them nowhere, arranged a clandestine operation which resulted in 31 of them occupying the pit and establishing themselves 5 kilometres underground.

Produced and Directed by
Tom Zubrycki

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16mm colour 62 minutes at 24fps. Editor Gil Scrine
Photography Fabio Cavadini Original Music Elizabeth Drake
Sound Recording Russ Hermann Tribunal Adaption Graham Pitts
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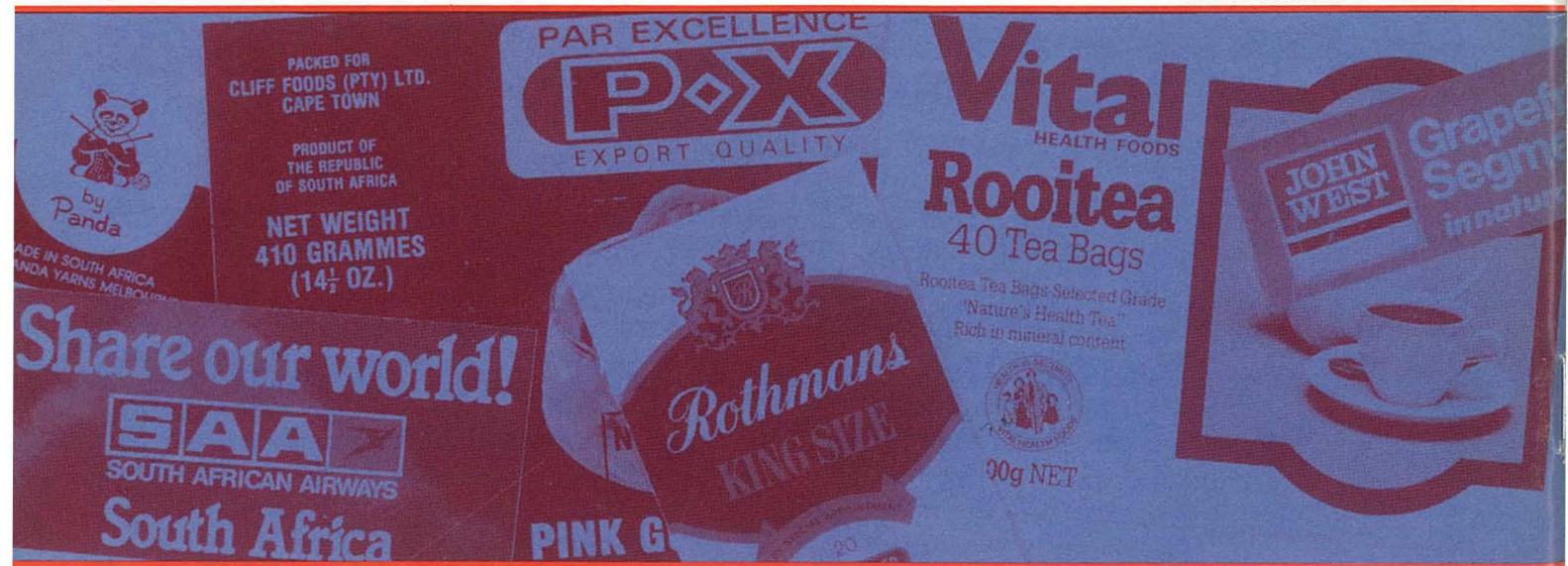
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