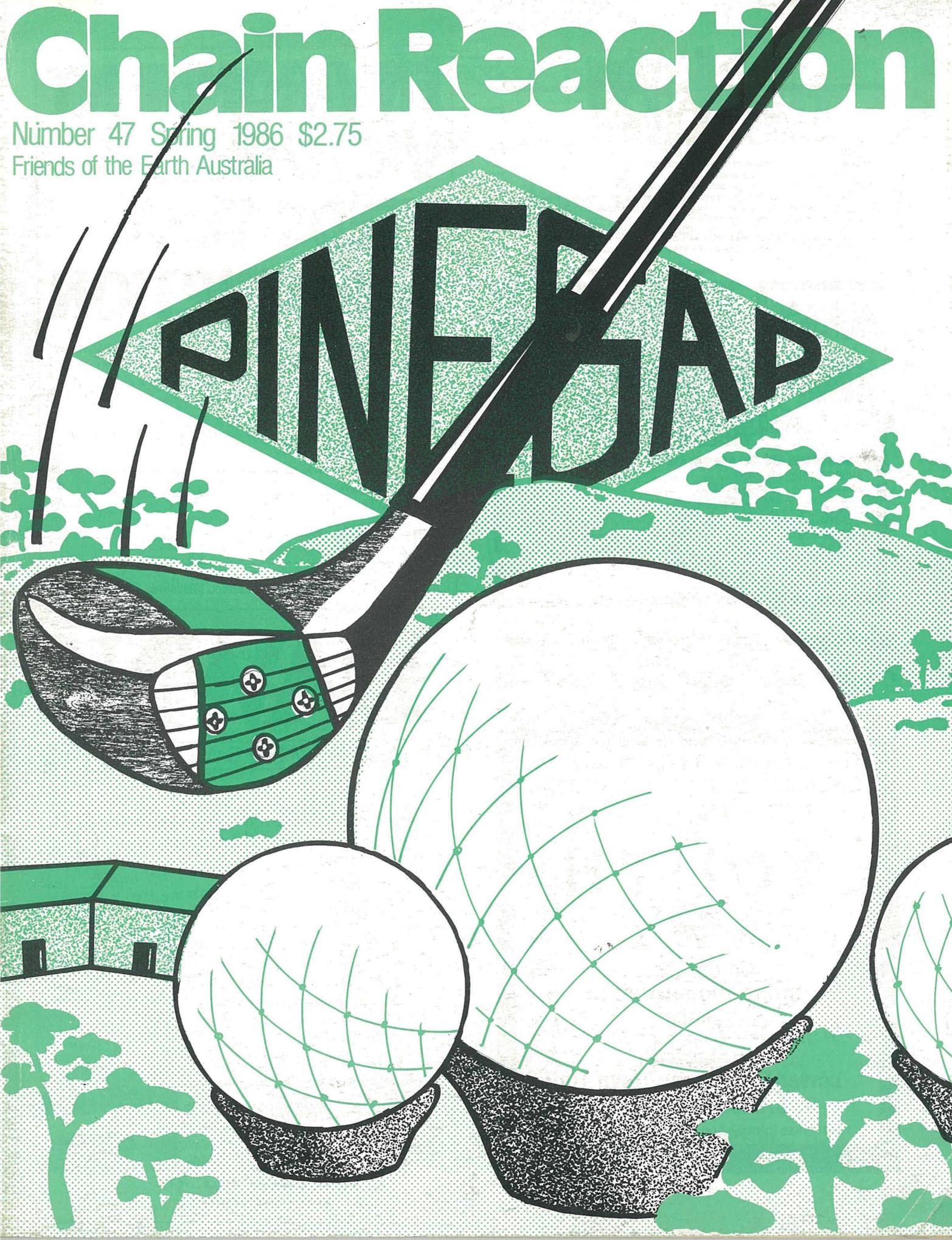


Chain Reaction

Number 47 Spring 1986 \$2.75
Friends of the Earth Australia



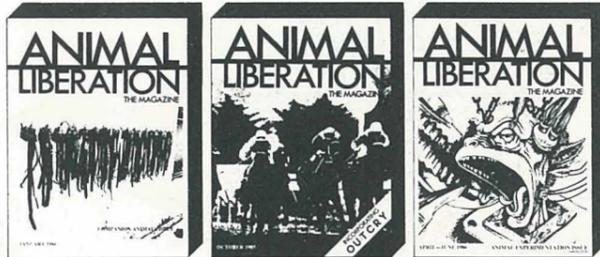
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The stories are there, our job is to get them on paper and get that paper to you. This takes time and money. We believe in wages, but we don't have the money for them. The money we do have is dwindling as we continue to ensure that you receive a regular, readable magazine. We are currently living in a shed which we may have to vacate soon, as the building has been sold.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

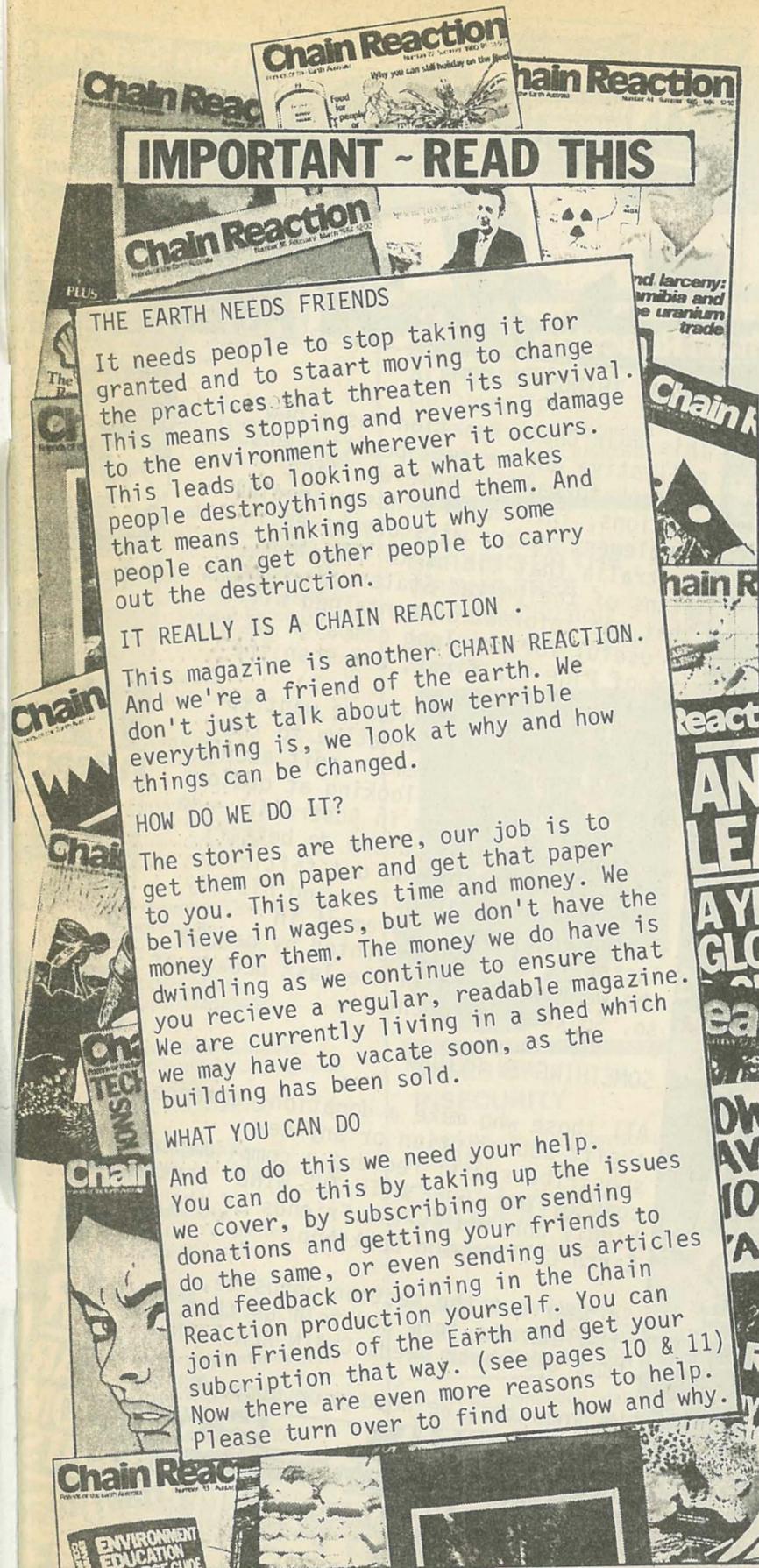
And to do this we need your help. You can do this by taking up the issues we cover, by subscribing or sending donations and getting your friends to do the same, or even sending us articles and feedback or joining in the Chain Reaction production yourself. You can join Friends of the Earth and get your subscription that way. (see pages 10 & 11) Now there are even more reasons to help. Please turn over to find out how and why.

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GREAT THINGS TO COME

This year Chain Reaction has a new collective and we feel positive enough to look forward to some exciting editions. This edition has a special supplement on the military bases in Australia that tie us to the war plans of the United States. We hope that the information contained will be useful for the long campaign to get rid of Pine Gap first, and then the others.

Then in the next edition we want to feature the only alternative to the world's energy problems - soft energy. And we will soon be looking at options for political change in Australia - do we stop voting, or can we do better? This all leads towards our fiftieth edition when perspectives and history of the environment movement in Australia will be presented by people who were involved in the last decade or so. So keep in touch.

SOMETHING IN RETURN

All those who make a donation, arrange a gift subscription or any new subscribers will receive a complimentary copy of the 'GONE WITH THE WIND' poster, kindly donated by the Friends of the Earth Collingwood Bookshop.

So tear out the section opposite, complete the form and tell us that you that the earth needs CHAIN REACTION.

We know that we need your support.

Chain Reaction

Established in 1975
Number 47
Spring 1986

Publisher
Friends of the Earth
Australia/Chain Reaction
Cooperative Ltd.

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Special thanks to the anti-
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Alice Springs Peace Group
and Richard Bolt.

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Reprographics
Melbourne Media Services

Typesetting
Courier Typesetters
Kasia Graphics

Printing
Newsprinters Pty Ltd

**All correspondence and
enquiries**
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GPO Box 530E
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**Registered by Australia Post
Publication Number VBQ2034**

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Supplement

Cover: Trudy Hayter

**Back cover: Design by Chain Reaction. Photograph of East Gippsland forest
by David Tatnall, courtesy of East Gippsland coalition.**

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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 as we do not have sufficient resources to return manuscripts. These few guidelines help in bringing out the magazine better and faster.

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LETTERS

The following letter was received by one of the members of the Chain Reaction collective who is now also an ex-member of the ALP.

Dear Comrade, Re: YOUR MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALP FOR 1986.

The strength of the Australian Labor Party is derived from the support it gets from affiliated trade unions and from branch members. They are the life blood of the Party.

Our electoral success in recent years can be directly related to the support given to the Party by people like yourself. Without a large and strong branch membership the Labor Party will suffer in organisational terms and ultimately in electoral terms.

According to our records you were a member of the Victorian Branch during 1985 but did not renew your membership in 1986.

I would like you to strongly consider taking out your 1986 membership ticket now as a tangible expression of your support for this great Labor Movement. You can do this by completing side A of the enclosed form. However, if you wish to also apply for continuity of your ALP membership please complete side B as well. Simply act as follows:

1. Take this letter to your local branch Secretary and obtain your 1986 membership ticket.

or
2. Sign and complete the enclosed form, attach a

cheque or complete the Bankcard form and return to ALP Head Office, 23 Drummond Street, Carlton South, 3053.

This letter has been based on information supplied by your local Branch Secretary and if you feel you have already purchased your 1986 ticket please contact Karen Bingham at ALP Head Office.

The Victorian Branch needs people like you. So please act now to keep our Party strong.

Peter Batchelor
State Secretary
ALP — Vic. Branch

Maybe Peter Batchelor should send a copy of his membership letter to Bob Hawke. He might be interested to know that branch members are the 'life blood of the party' and that 'without a large and strong branch membership the Labor Party will suffer in organisational terms and ultimately in electoral terms.' Maybe Peter hasn't noticed Bob Hawke's respect for the branch members and their role in forums within the ALP!

► Sorry

A couple of corrections to my article which was published in the last issue, 'Making a Stand', (*Chain Reaction* 46).

The photos were lent to me by the Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos in Manila. I'm sorry if I hadn't made that clear.

Also I can't imagine why I would say that in the Cordillera the people removed a bust of Marcos which is a monstrous thing made out of cement. There was an idea to dismantle it but the people chose not to in case of loyalist reprisals. Instead they 'exorcised' it.

Dianne Lucas
O'Connor ACT

We apologise for the errors within the article. The mistake was ours and was made during editing.

The CR Collective.

► The \$64 000 question

In the three decades of nuclear powered vessels three nuclear-armed and powered submarines have gone to the bottom of the ocean, two of them American and one Russian. All of them contain not only high-grade uranium fuel rods and plutonium in their nuclear engines but plutonium armed missiles. The latest to sink is said to contain at least thirty-two warheads.

A spokesman for the US Navy says that there is no danger of radio-active leakage into the sea and that monitoring of the water surrounding the US accident sites confirms this. If this was an incontrovertible fact there would be no need for monitoring, so there is after all a real element of doubt in this prognosis.

We are all aware that, given sufficient time and sufficient corrosion by sea water, the radio-active

materials in these fuel rods and warheads will be fully exposed to all forms of life in their vicinity. As they will be dangerously radioactive for thousands of years and if we continue to average one submarine every ten years and as every warhead is many times more contaminating than Chernobyl the \$64 000 question is when will the people of the world get rid of the god-fearing megalomaniacs who are destroying all chance of the continuation of life as we know it?

C.M. Friel
Alawa, SA

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*, GPO Box 530E, Melbourne, Vic 3001, Australia.

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EARTH NEWS

JONATHAN GOODFIELD



Walking away from the ALP

A rally attended by 300 people was held on Friday 12 September 1986 outside the ALP headquarters in Drummond St, Melbourne. The event organised by the Movement Against Uranium Mining (MAUM), was held as a reaction to the August Federal Budget which included the decision to sell uranium to France.

Before 'walking away from the ALP' the crowd was entertained by some very topical street poetry and street theatre. Speakers from many different interest groups affected by the Budget spoke on such issues as

the uranium decision, student fees, education costs and the introduction of the ID card. A handful of anti-uranium members attempted to enter their headquarters as an action to voice their opposition but of course nobody was at home. People who tried to occupy the offices before the rally had also discovered this fact but rather than be foiled managed to graffitit the front of the building without harassment.

Walking into the city the rally drew much support from people in cars who tooted on their horns and passers-by who

shouted support. By the time we reached Bourke Street it seemed we had actually gained in numbers as the procession stretched out the length of a city block. the Bourke St Mall where there were more speakers. Two effigies of Hawke and of France's President Chirac were beheaded by guillotine after being given a 'fair trial' by the crowd — a great way to finish a successful and positive rally.

Reported by Robert Williams, a member of Young People Against Global Violence (YPAGV)

Roxby school bites the dust

The proposed area school for children of the Roxby Downs mining site is causing some controversy about health hazards for teachers and children.

The site was initially proposed to be, at maximum, twelve kilometres from the mining area and at issue is whether mining dust can travel that distance. According to the environmental impact statement

the chances are minimal. However in 1979 gale force winds of 167 kph were recorded at nearby Woomera. Dust will be controlled by water sprays during drilling and on the roads, but there is no provision for enclosure of ore storage piles.

There is then the question of whether radioactive dust could enter the food chain through rain water tanks. Rain water is

a back-up supply for every other nearby area. However, Roxby Management Services have refused to install rain water tanks, maintaining that an adequate supply of treated bore water is being pumped 100 and 150 kilometres from the two bore sites.

Source: *The South Australian Teachers Journal*

Ecofund focus

Following on from an earlier report 'Endangered Species Legislation — a Review with Suggestions for Reform', Peter Prineas, solicitor, will complete a report for Ecofund which thoroughly reviews all Commonwealth and Queensland environmental legislation, as it pertains to endangered species habitat protection.

This review is a part of Ecofund's continuing national endangered species campaign and funds for this particular Queensland project were raised by highlighting the dangers to species in the Daintree Rainforest area. The Queensland report will be used to mount a campaign for the introduction of endangered species habitat protection legislation in that state. The earlier report by Prineas helped to secure a commitment from the NSW Government to introduce similar legislation.

Source: *Technical Bulletin, Ecofund Australia.*

Come to the Fair

The Movement Against Uranium Mining (MAUM) is holding a Christmas Fair at the Church of All Nations, 180 Palmerston St. (near Lygon Street) Carlton, on Saturday 29 November 1986 from 10 am to 4 pm. Bargains galore, lots to eat (including vegetarian). Come and buy your Christmas presents. For enquiries or if you have any goods to donate to the Fair, please contact the MAUM office on (03) 663 1428 or Val (03) 555 5625.

Archaic Bill

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage has become a burning issue in the Koori community in Victoria at the moment. Jim Kennan, the Minister with responsibility for Aboriginal affairs is attempting to push through a Bill that has not got the support of all communities in Victoria. The State Labor Government may well get its first piece of 'Aboriginal' legislation through Parliament but the devious methods it has used to get it this far is not doing anything for the bad relations it has with most Aboriginal people in Victoria. This Labor government by using the old trick of 'divide and rule' has placed itself at the latest end of a long list of colonial administrators.

The Cultural Heritage Bill is nothing more than an amended version of the old Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Act 1972. On the relationship between the Aboriginal community in Victoria and the European derived law, Justice Jenkinson said (in the Alcoa case):-

No guidance to legal recognition of such a relationship is in my opinion to be found in the provisions of the Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Act, 1972, which seems to me to manifest no legislative concern for such a relationship, but rather to be directed to facilitating the scholastic and educational activities of a Western Europe community planted on alien soil.

What you can do:-

Write, call or talk to your state MP or Jim Kennan demanding that he drop the current Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Bill and commence meaningful dialogue with the Aboriginal Community with regard to appropriate Cultural Heritage Legislation.
Source: *Aboriginal Rights Solidarity Group Newsletter*, October 1986

Nuclear Free Food



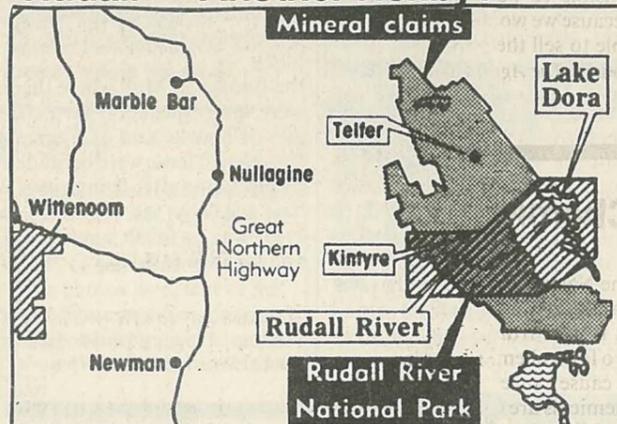
Over the past six months many groups around Australia have taken up the issue of food irradiation. Friends of the Earth groups in Canberra, Adelaide, Sydney and Collingwood (Vic) as well as a number of groups and coalitions in Queensland, NSW, SA, Tasmania, ACT and WA have been gathering information, contacting politicians, distributing petitions, getting involved in media debates and taking actions against companies which are promoting food irradiation.

In line with the opposition to food irradiation overseas and around Australia, the Campaign for Nuclear Free Food formed in Victoria on 3 October 1986. The Campaign, which was brought together by representatives of anti-nuclear, union, church, yoga, environmental and community health organisations, will be officially launched at a public meeting at the end of October.

Also a public enquiry by the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Environment and Conservation into food irradiation, chaired by Peter Milton, will be taking submissions from interested persons in all states. Submissions may be sent to the above Committee at Parliament House, Canberra.

Contact: Friends of the Earth, Tel: (03) 419 8700

Rudall — Another Roxby?



Mining giant CRA is test drilling for uranium in Western Australia's biggest national park. The current French uranium debate has highlighted CRA's activities in remote Rudall River National Park in the Great Sandy Desert, 500 km south-east of Port Hedland. The millions of dollars being poured into CRA's Kintyre prospect near the park's northern boundary has sparked rumours of 'another Roxby Downs'. Uranium samples from four CRA drilling rigs some 500

ern boundary are said to be highly promising.

Rudall River was made a national park about ten years ago following recommendations by the Conservation Through Reserves Committee, the study that created System 6. It was considered an important area for preservation because it represented typical ecosystems from two converging deserts, the Great and Little Sandy Deserts.

Source: Daily News, Western Australia.

No MSG please



A global 'No MSG Please' Action Network has been formed to work individually and jointly to organise and take part in national and international actions.

MSG (monosodium glutamate) is an unnecessary, wasteful and even hazardous substance. Its use is not good cooking practice nor does it lead to better nutrition. It can create economic dependency through manipulation by transnational corporations and cause displacement of local, natural and traditional flavouring and loss to society through transfer of national wealth abroad or away from the poor and disadvantaged groups of society. Manufacturers often engage in misleading marketing, encouraging use and especially overuse of MSG, without any care for vulnerable groups such as infants, young children and women who are pregnant or are planning families.

Public awareness campaigns to inform consumers that MSG is unnecessary, wasteful, unsafe and socially and economically undesirable would be launched and intensified by all groups involved in working for better nutrition and health.

Contact: International Organisation of Consumer Unions, PO Box 1045, 10830 Penang, Malaysia.

Nuclear phaseout?

According to the opinion of Solomon, the author of *The Conserver Solution* and director of utility reform for Energy Probe, Toronto:

From 1991 on, the nuclear industry is likely to begin a slow phaseout. It's a safe bet that by the year 2025, in our children's lifetimes, nuclear power, the unnecessary technology, will be remembered as a relic of the past.

In an article 'Nuclear power not essential' he contends that if Canada shut down all her Candu nuclear reactors no one would know the difference. Industry would keep running, street lights would still light up, and consumers would find their TV sets, refrigerators and air conditioners ran as always without so much as a flicker.

Contrary to the perception of many Canadians who worry about reactors in the wake of the USSR's Chernobyl disaster — and who think that Canada has gone too far along the nuclear path to turn back now — Canada is not dependent on nuclear power plants. Seven provinces have none at all. New Brunswick and Quebec each have only one that's operating.

Even Ontario, which has four stations in full or partial operation and obtains 40% of its power from them, has so many non-nuclear power plants in reserve that it could just about get by without any nuclear plants at all and still be able to export electricity to the US most of the year. But even if those backup plants weren't available, phasing out nuclear power in Ontario would be possible by doing only two things:

- Switching to energy efficient technologies that get the job done with only a fraction of the power.
- Encouraging industries to produce electricity as a by-product of their industrial activities through a process called cogeneration.

Dam not needed

The Tasmanian Hydro-Electric Commission's annual report has shown that there were over-estimated power demands while it was fighting to build the Franklin dam. The Wilderness Society says the figures prove the dam was never needed. The Tasmanian independent MP and former Wilderness Society director Dr Bob Brown, said yesterday the campaign to save the Franklin River had been completely vindicated. 'The Franklin dam case will go down in history as a classic but typical case of development gone crazy' he said. The Tasmanian Opposition Leader, Mr Neil Batt, agreed with Dr Brown that the HEC had made a serious miscalculation in predicting power needs. 'On the demand now, it clearly would not have been sensible to build the Franklin because we would not have been able to sell the power'.

Source: *The Age* 4 October 1986

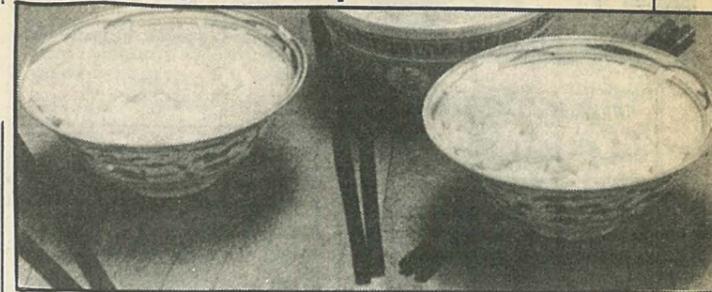
Chemicals ban

The National Health and Medical Research Council has moved to ban from Australian use two farm chemicals now known to cause cancer in animals. The chemicals are Carbadox — well established and widely used in Australia to promote growth in pigs — and Alachlor, a pre-emergent herbicide widely used in North America but not popular in Australia.

The NH&MRC has agreed to remove the maximum residue limits — effectively preventing farm use in Australia. Carbadox and Alachlor both have been shown to be carcinogenic in laboratories and are potentially dangerous to people using and handling them as well as those who eat food containing the toxic residues.

Source: *Consumer Views*

Chipping for chopsticks



John Holliman, a spokesperson for the Japan office of the Friends of the Earth, said that only five per cent of Japan's timber comes from sustainable sources. The rest is being 'mined' and it will take decades, even centuries for the forests to recover.

Chopsticks aren't very big and don't weigh much, but the Japanese used more than eleven billion pairs of disposable wooden ones last year (1985) and people who take stock of the world's forests are very concerned. Marion Hara, spokesperson for the Japan Consumers' Union stated that even though disposable chopsticks represent only 0.3% of all wood consumed in Japan, it can be seen as a symbol of a much larger problem. Thrown into the garbage along with the chopsticks are thousands of bento, or disposable wooden

lunch boxes. Japanese builders used more than 7.8 million cubic metres of wood for plywood in construction. According to Japanese conservation groups, a lot of it was needlessly discarded after being used for forming concrete.

Japan's voracious appetite for other people's wood is causing some governments to take notice. Indonesia, in a move aimed at Japan as well as other wood importers, was the first Asian nation to impose export limits on its wood. The Philippines recently followed suit.

'The point is it's totally unnecessary to use wood like this and throw it away,' Ms Hara said. 'They have alternatives. They can use plastic, or they can use reusable chopsticks.'

Source: Friends of the Earth, Japan.

Television Unlimited

For a little over a year a group of 40-50 Melbournians from all walks of life and backgrounds have been meeting regularly with the aim to show that public TV can and will be done.

According to the Television Unlimited (TVU) public TV is a local affair, a local broadcasting system, for and by a local community, to make use of the UHF band, through a low powered transmitter. This means that a local station will have a radius of up to 20 km and that it will not interfere with any other signal. The TVU volunteers are based in Fitzroy and their transmitter will be

installed on 3RRR's roof top. The launch of the station took place on 3 October 1986, and community organisations, individuals, film and video makers have given support. A tape was shown in a closed circuit.

Although provision for public TV exists in government legislation, the Australian Broadcasting Tribunal is not in the position to issue licences as the government has yet to formulate a policy. So the TVU Group are in a position of a lobbying group and will be soon launching a fund raising campaign for a transmitter. The campaign is to be aimed at a very wide range of people.

Contact: Debby Henry
 Tel: (03) 481 4868

EARTH NEWS

Black deaths in custody



A successful rally was held in Melbourne on 28 September 1986 to commemorate the death of John Pat. This coupled with the public forum on 15 September signalled the Aboriginal Rights Solidarity Group's first involvement in the campaign against black deaths in custody, which has now become a truly national campaign. The public forum was attended by approximately 200 people who heard the relatives of the men in custody speak of their reasons for actively pushing for Royal Commission into the deaths.

The latest on the campaign is that the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs has asked the relatives of the Aboriginal people killed to attend a meeting with him in Canberra on 8 October 1986 to discuss the campaign's demand for a Royal Commission into the deaths. We will not be holding our breaths in expectation as this seems like a move to diffuse the momentum of the campaign. The Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and the first secretary of his department Mr Harles Perkins are well known for their delaying tactics and their 'unorthodox' methods when dealing with uncomfortable issues. Support the call for a Royal Commission by writing to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs c/- Parliament House, Canberra, ACT 2600.

Source: *Aboriginal Rights Solidarity Group Newsletter* October 1986

Digging up Christmas Island

An agency of the Federal Government of Australia is planning to destroy one of the most spectacular coastal rainforests and richest seabird colonies in the world. Because it is on the isolated Australian Territory of Christmas Island in the Indian Ocean, its plans have so far escaped public attention that they deserve.

The agency is the Phosphate Mining Corporation of Christmas Island (PMCI). It is wholly owned and operated by the Australian Government through the Minister for Territories and is essentially moribund. For years it has experienced severe financial difficulty as markets have decreased, costs have risen and competition has increased. A private company would have folded years ago, however, because mining is the only industry on the island, the government has permitted it to continue while numerous inquiries have sought an alternative future for the island.

Need for atom?

Nuclear power advocates claim we will need the atom sooner or later because our fossil fuels are running out and ultimately their claim may be right. But 'ultimately' could be a long way away, at least one or two centuries, even if we continue to rely on non-renewable fuels. Amazing as it seems, the world still has about as much oil at its disposal as it did in 1974. Since then we have not only found as much oil as we consumed, but also we have found more coal and natural gas. However most of these centuries-worth of fossil fuels supplies, which are nice to have as backups, won't be needed if we continue to make progress in using our energy efficiently and switching to renewable fuels which will never run out on us.

Source: Energy Probe, Toronto, Ontario.

For sheer massive destruction, the proposal by the Corporation to clear and mine the South Point shore terrace is without parallel in the island's recent history. Currently this terrain is accessible only to the four-wheel-drive vehicles and few islanders have seen or know of its beauty, let alone those off the island who are deciding its fate. The habitat has the highest concentration of nesting seabirds on the island (14,000 or more) which would be destroyed by the clearing. The greatest concern is that the displaced birds' attempt to nest in other areas would not be successful and would even threaten the survival of the unique Christmas Island Frigatebird (world population 1600 pairs). It seems that at best, the mining could produce one to two years production of phosphate from the enrichment plant. Is it really worth it?

The decision on the matter is now being made, primarily by two Government Ministers.

Action: Please write to Mr. G. Scholes, Minister for Territories, Mr. B. Cohen, Minister for Arts, Heritage and Environment c/- Parliament House, Canberra, ACT 2600

Pollution



A £600 million scheme to reduce the emission of sulphur from three of Britain's largest coal-burning power stations was recently announced in London. Norway has repeatedly protested to Britain at the amount of acid rain which falls as a result of pollution from British power stations. The first of the three power stations to be fitted with flue gas desulphurisation plants on a programme from 1988 to 1997 is likely to be the newest 2000 megawatt unit, Drax B, in Yorkshire. Coupled with plans to fit filters to all new power stations, the programme aims to reduce Britain's sulphur emission by 14% by 1997.

The announcement was attacked by Labor and environmental groups as 'a little too late' and no more than an admission of guilt over Norwegian acid rain problems.

Source: *The Guardian Weekly*.

Banking on poverty



Barber Conable President World Bank

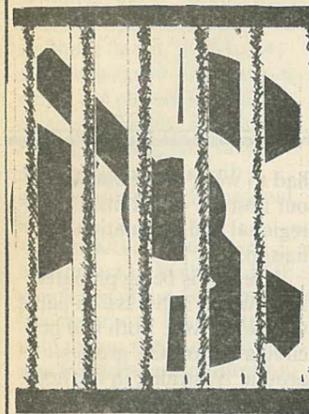
Tucuruí, in Amazonia, Brazil, the world's biggest dam in a tropical rainforest, has now become a symbol of the bankruptcy of World Bank econom-

ics and ideology.

Originally the World Bank refused to get involved with the US\$4 billion project because of its shaky economics and the uncertainties of the technology of hydro-reservoirs in tropical areas. The project is nearly complete with appalling environmental and social consequences. It is having problems selling the electricity. The World Bank has decided to buy in. Their logic is that Brazil has a US \$110 billion foreign debt and cannot meet its payments and in a desperate effort to keep loans afloat has caught on to any pretext on which to lend to Brazil so that loans can be recycled as interest payments to the lending banks. The major reasons for Brazil's huge debt are redundant megaprojects such as Tuluí (US\$4 billion) and Itaipu (US\$20 billion).

Source: *International Dams Newsletter*.

Prisoner speaks out



One of the best-known prisoners from the peace/anti-nuclear movement in Australia fears for his life in the Victorian prison system.

John Dixon-Jenkins was jailed for six years in 1984 on charges relating to threats. He spent time in Melbourne's Pentridge jail including the notorious punishment section, H division, and has since been in the 'medium-security' Bendigo jail.

He has recently released correspondence sent to the state ombudsman detailing incidents he believes indicate a threat to his life. He says he was told by a fellow-prisoner that that prisoner had been told by the jail's governor that he would 'do himself some good' if an 'accident' were to befall Dixon-Jenkins. This 'accident' would have occurred in H Division, where twice someone had come to his window to say 'Dixon-Jenkins, we're going to kill you.' He writes that the time and position of the cell window

would preclude anyone but prison officials from access to that area.

Dixon-Jenkins feels he has been generally well-treated at Bendigo until recently, when as part of a crackdown on a perceived drug problem, prison officers began ordering some prisoners to 'bend over and spread your cheeks'. Dixon-Jenkins objected to this command as particularly humiliating, demeaning and dehumanising and has refused to comply. His remissions have been taken away, his 'privileges' threatened, and the next step is either forced compliance, or another term in H Division.

Dixon-Jenkins says his fears 'are exacerbated by the fact that I am not a convicted criminal, I am a political prisoner.' He cites the fact that he was not allowed to present his own case at his

trial and that his cause is a peaceful nuclear free world. He believes that his case will soon be well-publicised as he has written a book in jail which will have worldwide distribution by the end of the year.

Support is now needed to ensure his life is not endangered. Contact: The Hon Jim Kennan, Director-General, Correctional Services, 20 Albert Road, South Melbourne, Vic. 3205.

1. that you have heard of Dixon-Jenkins' allegations and that steps be taken to ensure his safety.
2. that the practice of ordering prisoners to bend over and spread their cheeks cease immediately.
3. that the H Division of Pentridge be not used as a punishment section as this allows arbitrary movement of prisoners into potential danger.

Plight of Penans



Penan hunter

The Penans of the Long Seridan area, Penang, Malaysia, have been told not to lodge any complaints if their drinking water is polluted and to allow a logging company to interrupt jungle growth in the area within which the indigenous people live.

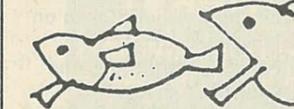
Ironically the Penans in Long Seridan signed an agreement with Wan Abdul Rahman Timber Sdn. Bhd. — the logging company concerned — to that effect. This was revealed by a Sahabat Alam Malaysia (SAM) investigation which recently uncovered the agreement signed

in 1982 and brought it to the attention of the Sarawak state government. Article 3 (h) of the said agreement says 'The Penans of Long Seridan areas shall not lodge any complaints in respect of the pollution of drinking water or any form or usage of water from rivers, streams and canals with the customary land or soil or damage and interruption of wildlife, jungle products or jungle growth in the area'. The agreement was written in English and the condition was not actually discussed and agreed with by the people of Long Seridan. Penan leaders from Long Seridan told SAM that their ignorance and illiteracy had been taken advantage of by Wan Abdul Rahman Timber Sdn. Bhd.

The Penan leaders also told SAM that the graves of their relatives and loved ones, their farmlands and fruit trees have been bulldozed by the logging companies. When the Penans complained to the companies of their predicament, they were either ignored or accused of telling tales to claim for compensation.

Source: *Suara Sam* — Newspaper of Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth).

Ocean harvest



In the small sea-side town of Nio, Japanese scientists have harvested their first uranium from the ocean. Although it seems unprofitable, the Japanese will persist as they have no other internal source of uranium.

Japan depends on uranium to drive the 32 nuclear power plants that provide nearly 25% of its electrical power but its dependence on the outside world has been a major stumbling block to achieving energy self-reliance through atomic power. Japan's commitment to nuclear energy development is firm. It plans to nearly double its nuclear plants by 1995 and raise nuclear power's share of total generating capacity to 35%. However extracting uranium from the oceans to run the nuclear plants will not be an easy task. The sea contains an estimated four billion tonnes of uranium, but the mineral exists in very low concentrations of only about three parts per

billion. In its first year it is hoped that the Nio plant will extract a mere 10 kg of uranium, about 1/10,000 of Japan's annual needs.

To achieve this modest amount, the Nio plant must pump about 24,000 litres of sea water every minute through a network of criss-crossing, multi-coloured pipes. Water flows into the system through a huge funnel 500 metres out at sea, then through a debris filter and finally into enormous tanks where uranium is extracted. The tanks are filled with titanite (titanium) acid granules, the uranium sticks to the acid molecules and the water flows back into the sea. The uranium is then separated from the titanite acid by treating it with hydrochloric acid and further concentrated and purified by running the liquid through a filter of plastic beads — called an ion exchange resin — that specifically attracts uranium. The final product, a dark yellow liquid, is 28% uranium. For commercial use, the uranium must be further processed to make fuel rods used in a nuclear power plant.

Source: *Revealing Japan*.

FOE International

The 1986 Friends of the Earth International (FOEI) Conference was held on the island of Penang, Malaysia from 10 — 12 September 1986 hosted in a very generous way by Friends of the Earth Malaysia (Sahabat Alam Malaysia — SAM).

Representatives attended from Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, England, Hong Kong, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, The Netherlands, Portugal, Scotland, Spain, Sweden and the USA.

Observers from Bangladesh, Denmark, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and the UN Environment program stayed on from the 'Forest Resources Crisis in the Third World', held immediately prior to the FOEI conference, organised and also hosted by SAM. Many FOEI representatives, including Australia's attended the earlier conference, which was of great

impact and of special relevance to FOEI's tropical rainforest campaign. The FOEI schedule was intensive. The Agenda ranged over the issues such as acid rain, the nuclear industry, wetlands, deforestation, the wildlife trade and the Nuclear Free Independent Pacific. Workshops were held (eg. the media, campaigning) and there were sessions on topics such as the activities of non-government organisations (NGO's) in the Third World and the varying approaches to environmental politics (eg the German Greens' v. FOE London's). FOEI administrative reports were given and decisions taken on proposals, strategy, campaigns, resolutions and new member groups.

The spectrum and depth of information was evidence of the volume of hard work being done by FOE groups all over

the world and the urgency of the issues facing us all. Whilst the size, structures and approaches of groups varied greatly, what was held in common, as usual, was lack of money, resources and activities and an overburden of work that needs to be done.

One of the most productive aspects was that of learning about the cultural and social characteristics which define the way in which each national group approaches its situation. FOE Japan was of particular significance to the Asian-Pacific Groups. On the debit side, it was obvious that work needs to be done to equalise the weight given to issues of the Asian-Pacific Region, as well as to women's participation. Also obvious was that the Australia — South Pacific is a gap in the global network. Only Australia attended from this region and the representative

had to work in the vacuum of our absence of national, regional and international liaison.

A report is being prepared from which a discussion paper will be derived. Both will be circulated to FOE groups around Australia, in the hope that we will all be able to participate in the decisions as to our involvement with FOE International.

A resolution put to and passed by the conference; we strongly urge:—

That the Australian Government immediately reinstate its ban on the export of uranium to France and that France cease nuclear testing in the Pacific. That all uranium mining be stopped entirely and that companies which have engaged at any time in uranium mining be made accountable for environmental damage and alienation of indigenous people's land.

Willunga

Willunga, about 70 kilometres south of Adelaide, is near the southern ocean, the Murray and the lakes of the Coorong, which are cut off by a sandy spit from the sea. It is in the fastest-growing part of South Australia, overrun with shacks, suburban homes and farms.

Gina Kellett and Dave Nurton are in Willunga FOE, which has about 50 members (most come to big events and help to run regular stalls but don't come to every meeting). The group has been established for two years.

They have been trying to save the Aldinga coral reef offshore in St Vincent's Gulf from being choked by silt washed down by concrete stormwater drains, and poisoned by oil, petrol and agricultural chemicals carried in the runoff from farms and roads.

Last year they held a public meeting, and now they are waiting for a report from the Fisheries Department, who is surveying the reef. Gina says the Fisheries Department fears the whole of St Vincent's Gulf is dying. FOE Willunga plans to hold another public meeting when the survey results are known. In the meantime, FOE Willunga is holding a kite festival to celebrate wind energy, on Sunday afternoon, 26 October 1986.

This is the second FOE wind energy day: the last was a serious two-day seminar. This will be fun. There will be kite-making, kites for sale, and probably a display of exotic kites from other countries. The South Australian coast is ideal for wind generators.

The group has also been involved in local campaigns, such as trying to stop Aldrin from being sprayed at the kindergarten. ('We failed in that one'.) Many of the members in the area have children, and it makes them feel the issues much more strongly at the gut level. 'You've got to think globally but act locally — that's the whole idea of FOE isn't it?'

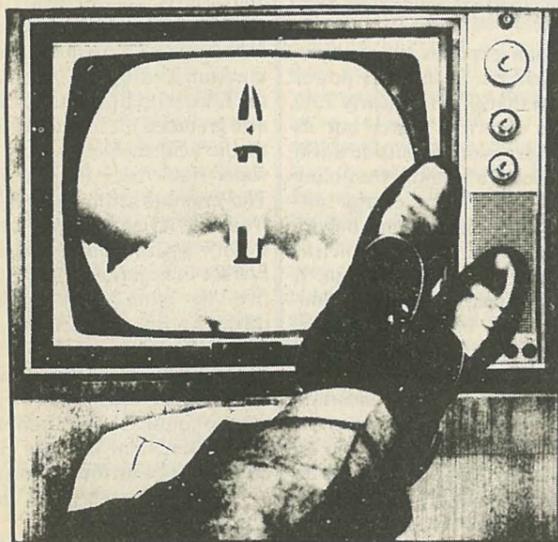
While the current FOE members run campaigns, some people who were involved with the anti-uranium FOE bike rides to Canberra ten years ago have settled down as a community. They have a 30 hectare piece of land, once cleared for grazing, called the Willunga Village Community. The 'village' is on a creek in the Adelaide Hills.

Dave Clark, a musician, is one of the six people who live there. He says they have planted three to four thousand trees, and let the natural bush regenerate. After the Ash Wednesday bushfires a lot of native plants germinated. They have kept grazing animals off them, and now half the land is starting to look like a forest again.

On the other half they have built a mud brick house, set up a wind energy system and a composting toilet (so water in the area will not be polluted). They also have playing areas for the children, an orchard with 100 trees and some hay pasture, gardens, chickens and dogs. They are working to persuade the State Government to allow legal multiple occupancy for people who genuinely want to share as opposed to developers who want to subdivide rural land.

The Willunga Village Community is also involved in a shop selling soft energy equipment in Prospect, on the outskirts of Adelaide, and they hold joint bush dances with the people more actively involved in Willunga Friends of the Earth. Friends of the Earth members from around Australia are welcome to visit the Willunga Community, but please contribute something to the finances and ring first on (085) 56 7372. The address is Willunga Village Community Co-op, Adam's Gully Road, Kuitpo Valley, via Willunga 5172.

FOE Willunga PO Box 438, Willunga, SA, 5172. Tel: Gina Kellett (085) 56 2252.



'DON'T JUST SIT THERE'
Join Friends of the Earth

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CANBERRA: PO Box 1875, Canberra, ACT 2601

★ NEW SOUTH WALES

BLUE MOUNTAINS: c/- 156 Megalong St, Leura, NSW 2780

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY: c/- SRC, Union Building, Macquarie University, North Ryde, NSW 2113

NEWTOWN: PO Box 169, Newtown, NSW 2042, Tel: (02) 517 2139

RYDE: 18 Kokoda St, North Ryde, NSW 2113, Tel: (02) 88 2429

SYDNEY: 787 George St, Sydney, NSW 2000, Tel: (02) 211 3953

UNIVERSITY OF NEW ENGLAND: c/- SRC, University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY: PO Box 364, Wentworth Building, University of Sydney, NSW 2006

★ NORTHERN TERRITORY

DARWIN: PO Box 2120, Darwin, NT 5794, Tel: (089) 81 6222

★ SOUTH AUSTRALIA

ADELAIDE: 120 Wakefield St, Adelaide, SA 5000

ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY: c/- Clubs Association, Adelaide University, 5000, Tel: (08) 228 5852

WILLUNGA: PO Box 438, Willunga, SA 5172

WILLIAMSTOWN: c/- Willunga FOE above.

★ VICTORIA

COLLINGWOOD: 366 Smith St, Collingwood, Vic 3066, Tel (03) 419 8700

OAKLEIGH: 69 Waratah St, South Oakleigh, Vic 3166

ORGANIC FRUIT AND VEGETABLE COOPERATIVE: 408 Smith St, Collingwood, Vic 3066,

Tel: (03) 419 9926

PENINSULAR: PO Box 319, Seaford, Vic 3198

CHAIN REACTION: PO Box 530E, Melbourne, Vic 3001,

Tel: (03) 419 8700

Bon voyage to ALP policy

As Federal Treasurer, Paul Keating announced during his budget speech that uranium exports to France would be resumed, three ALP backbenchers rose to their feet in protest and stormed out of Parliament. The three, Lewis Kent, Peter Milton and John Scott, were attempting to maintain their credibility as the ALP deserted yet another policy plank. **Glenn Foard** examines the decision in terms of the budget and ALP policy.

The 1982 ALP National Conference adopted a policy stating any contract with the French Government (for the sale of uranium) could only be contemplated subject to that government ceasing all nuclear testing programmes in the Pacific.¹ Two years later this position was unequivocally restated: A Labor Government will refuse to allow the supply of Australian uranium to France until France ceases testing nuclear weapons in the South Pacific region.² Significantly the same conference also voted to provide no subsidies, tax incentives or compensation of any kind to the uranium industry either directly or indirectly. . . .³ At the 1986 conference, held just six weeks prior to the budget decision, both policies were unanimously reaffirmed. The Hawke Government, whilst continuing to alienate many previous supporters, had at least to all intents and purposes, reached an accord with the Liberals and mining companies on uranium.

France has been testing at Muroroa atoll in the South Pacific (approximately 7200 km due west of Rockhampton) for two decades. The French attitude to the health and safety of Pacific islanders has been

Glenn Foard is a member of the Steering Committee of the Movement Against Uranium Mining.

evident from the outset. In May 1966, France announced the first Pacific nuclear test and indicated the 'danger zone'. When it was pointed out this 'danger zone' included seven inhabited atolls, a mistake was acknowledged. A new 'danger zone' of smaller radius was drawn including only one inhabited atoll.⁴ Since 1966 the region has been subjected to radioactive fallout from 41 atmospheric (above ground) nuclear explosions. To ensure an increase in cancer amongst islanders was not recorded, public health statistics were not published on a regular basis in French Polynesia after June 1966, and persons requesting such statistics were reported to the secret police.⁵ Whilst France finally bowed to world pressure including injunctions obtained by the Australian and New Zealand Labor Governments at the International Court of Justice and ceased atmospheric tests in 1975, underground tests have continued unabated. Over 100 nuclear weapons have been exploded at Muroroa. As Rosalie Bertell indicates in her book *No Immediate Danger*, Muroroa is now sinking into the Pacific, its coral pedestal blown apart. Plutonium and other long-lasting poisons washed into the oceans by cyclones, are mixing freely with the currents and are entering the spawning grounds for the coastal fisheries of South America and Pacific Islands.⁶

Despite the drastic consequences for all those who live in the South Pacific, France is showing no inclination to end its testing or nuclear weapons programme. To the contrary, France is intent on enlarging its nuclear arsenal by placing multiple-warheads on its submarine launched missiles, increasing the number of nuclear submarines, providing its bomber force with new nuclear missiles and building large numbers of tactical nuclear weapons. . . .⁷ The question then arises, how is France intending to produce the plutonium needed for its expanding nuclear force? Will Australian uranium be involved? Several statements made by prominent French politicians and officials strongly suggest that fast-breeder reactors, and in particular the Super-Phenix fast-

breeder, will provide plutonium for the military.⁸ This is despite the fact that the Super-Phenix is ostensibly a 'civilian' facility. Australian uranium could enter the Super-Phenix either as enrichment tails or reprocessed reactor fuel.

It must be understood that the French nuclear energy and nuclear weapons programmes are run by the same organisations — Electricite de France and the Atomic Energy Commission (CEA). Each is wholly owned by the government and heavily subsidised, explaining to a large extent why the nuclear industry is so large in France.

France has not hesitated in using so-called 'civil' facilities for military applications in the past. Nor has France been shy about supplying 'civil' nuclear technology and equipment to countries such as Israel, South Africa, Pakistan and Iraq and so furthering each country's nuclear weapons ambitions. France has not even been willing to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Yet our government is prepared to accept bland assurances that our uranium will only be used for 'peaceful' purposes. France made assurances that it had nothing to do with the bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* until evidence uncovering their lies was compiled. At best, supply of uranium from Australia will provide indirect support for the French weapons programme by allowing uranium from other sources to be used for military purposes. At worst, Australian uranium bound for France will return to pollute and contaminate the Pacific via Muroroa or the next likely site for French testing, Fangataufa.

In light of the above, how has the Hawke Ministry (no back-bencher has been willing to defend the decision) attempted to justify the resumption of uranium sales to France? In a press statement issued immediately after the budget, Gareth Evans, Minister for Resources and Energy, stated the decision

was taken in the light of the need to explore every available avenue to achieve spending reductions and revenue returns . . . the government will save \$25.4 million in 1986/87 by not purchasing uranium from Queensland Mines

Ltd. (QML), and will receive a further \$40.8 million through repurchase of uranium bought by the Commonwealth from QML last year as a result of the ban."

Clearly every available avenue did not include ASIO and espionage (expenditure up \$9 million), defence (up \$730 million) or abandoning the planned 18% tax cut for Australia's highest income earners. More likely though, budget savings, despite the Evans' rhetoric, had nothing whatsoever to do with the uranium decision.

As indicated previously, Labor policy should have dictated that compensation was not paid to QML. Mining of any description is a speculative business both in terms of the quantity and quality of any mineral deposit in question, and in relation to potential markets. Mining companies accept these risks. QML chose to proceed at Narbalek recognising that a Labor government may restrict uranium exports given policy opposing the industry dating back to 1977. Budget savings could have been achieved merely by adhering to party policy.

A much more plausible motive for the government's action lies in the leadership's determination to expand the uranium industry wherever possible. The contract between QML and Electricite de France would, it is understood, have lapsed later this year if supply commitments were not met. It was imperative then, from the government's viewpoint, that the French ban be lifted. It is also likely that the quandary facing Western Mining Corporation (WMC), joint owner of the Roxby Downs uranium mine, was in the forefront of Federal Cabinet members' minds. WMC has yet to negotiate a single contract for the sale of Roxby uranium and is desperately seeking buyers in a depressed uranium market. France represents one of the last

possible hopes. Senator Evans' statement that France will be, in the longer term, a market for further uranium exports must be understood in the context of Roxby's difficulties.

The Hawke Government has bent to the demands of mining companies who naturally, have welcomed the move. But in most other quarters the decision has met with resounding opposition. The governments of Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands have all expressed disappointment at the resumption of uranium sales to France by Australia. The Foreign Affairs Minister of PNG, Legu Vagi said the decision further confirmed his country's misgivings about the shortcomings of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone treaty. It makes a mockery of the protests that Governments in the region have consistently made against the testing by France in the Pacific.⁹

An opinion poll conducted amongst voters in Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney showed a clear majority opposed to uranium sales to France. Some 60% favoured maintaining the French ban and interestingly, 44% of respondents stated they did not approve of the export of uranium for the purpose of generating electricity.¹⁰ No doubt the fact that over 8% of respondents indicated that the resumption of sales to France will affect their voting at the next Federal election has made a number of Labor parliamentarians more squeamish about the decision.

The anti-nuclear movement can take some heart at the strength of community feeling on this issue. Clearly though, the challenge is to mobilise the large number who hold such opinions behind a promise of something better — a tangible alternative which is intelligible to the average Australian. 'Solar not Nuclear' is an attractive slogan but hardly forms a sufficient argu-

ment alone. In a year in which we have witnessed the worst nuclear accident, clarifying for all the horrific consequences of nuclear power, there is no doubt a receptive public is only too ready to be convinced of the virtues of alternative energy sources and conservation strategies; of the economic and employment benefits to be gained from establishing such industries in this country rather than supporting capital intensive and environmentally destructive mining ventures; and the value of divorcing the control of energy sources from multinational corporations.

The way forward is never clear but the present Government has performed one valuable task for those contemplating strategies to achieve a nuclear-free Australia. Putting faith in the ALP to implement decisions of principle, decisions which challenge the entrenched interests of capital, is bound, as hindsight shows, to lead to disappointment.

Notes

1. *ALP Platform, Minerals and Energy*, Clause 66, 1982.
2. *ALP Platform, Minerals and Energy*, Clause 60, 1984.
3. *Ibid*, Clause 62.
4. Bertell, R., *No Immediate Danger*, Womans Press, London, 1985, p. 99.
5. *Ibid*.
6. *Ibid*, p. 306.
7. Albright, D., 'Stopping Any Militarisation of the Super-Phenix', Quoted in MAUM's (MELB.) *Background Briefing on Nuclear Issues*, No. 6, August 1985.
8. MAUM, *Ibid*.
9. Quoted in Bacon, W., 'South Pacific Harsh on Uranium Decision', *National Times On Sunday*, August 24th, 1986, p. 3.
10. Market Survey Centre, *Tables to 7.30 Report On Uranium — August/September 1986*. Percentages quoted include distribution of respondents' answering 'don't know' or 'uncertain'.



Barking up the wrong tree

In August, the Victorian State Government released its long-awaited Timber Industry Strategy. Expensively produced, laden with colour photographs and soothing language indicating economic and environmental concern, the document is a skillful attempt to sell its product visually and rhetorically. It also represents what the Minister for Conservation, Forests and Lands, Ms Joan Kirner, claims is a balanced approach between timber production and environmental protection.

Peter Christoff reports.

On a superficial reading, the claims of balance in the Victorian Government's Timber Industry Strategy may seem convincing. The Strategy aims to be economically viable, environmentally sensitive, sustainable, and open to public participation. On the one hand, the Strategy offers the industry:

- five and fifteen year licences to harvest in native forests (currently licences are only available for up to three years), in order to secure greater industry flexibility and investment responsiveness;
- the prospect of 'integrated harvesting' in East Gippsland;
- the additional prospect of the proposed regional trial 300 000 m³/per annum woodchipping scheme being expanded to something much larger at the end of the three trial period;
- substantial assistance in marketing,

Peter Christoff is an activist working for the Victorian National Parks Association.

research and development, training, and investment assistance;

- the creation of a more efficient hardwood log allocation system — the Value Added Utilisation System (VAUS) — to be tested initially in East and Central Gippsland — again to increase the industry's efficiency; and

- full cost recovery to the Government.

For balance, on the environmental side, the Strategy appears to offer:

- the cessation of clearing of native forests for pines by mid-1987;
- the creation and legislation for a Code of Forest Practices, to govern implementation of forestry activity;
- exclusion of rainforests from logging;
- general sensitivity to and adherence to:
 - the Government's Conservation Strategy
 - a legislated Flora and Fauna Guarantee
- substantial new parks in the Rodger River and Errinundra Plateau;
- the introduction of sustainable yield throughout the timber industry, over a ten year period;
- trials of alternatives to clearfelling;
- support for plantation forestry (hardwood and softwood);
- assurances that the timber industry will remain 'sawlog driven' rather than dominated in the future by the woodchipping

The intended schedule for the introduction of woodchipping into East Gippsland looks roughly as follows:

1986-87: Environmental Effect Statement (EES) for VAUS system, some production of chips for Australian Paper Mills (APM).

1987-88: Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) for the export of woodchips from East Gippsland through Eden.

Mid-point evaluation of VAUS, production up to 300 000 m³. Expressions of interest sought for a more extensive regional woodchipping scheme.

1988-89: Further combined Environment Effect Statement/Environment Impact Statement (EES/EIS) for increased volume.

1989-90: State Election. Introduction of 600 000-800 000 m³ per year woodchipping scheme with export either through Eden or woodchip mill at Westernport including an export of a total of around 1 000 000 m³ chips per year produced Victoria wide.

industry — as it has become in all other States; and

- public participation in the creation of forest management plans;

Certainly makes the Greenies sound like unreasonable whingers. doesn't it? Yet on closer examination, the major failings of the Strategy become clear. The balancing act becomes a juggling act, where rhetoric and falsehood replace substantial environmental programmes and clear-sighted economic analysis. With regard to the environmental issues, the more prominent imbalances and misrepresentations in the Strategy include:

- **Code of Forest Practices — does not yet exist:**

The Code was originally promised in the first Draft of the Strategy, circulated in November 1985. Yet, even with the presentation of the final Strategy, no completed Code exists. A draft *has* been circulated, with the Government's intention that this be completed in time for the 1986/87 logging season . . . several months from now.

The Government has been prepared to override opposition from the environment movement to introduce integrated harvesting over increased areas of forest not necessarily economic for sawlog harvesting alone. It has also introduced industry measures such as fifteen year licences in order to provide the industry with resource guarantees which have no economic justification.

Yet, despite the Strategy's push for intensified and extended forestry operations, the Government explicitly refuses to give the environment movement a guarantee that Code will meet conservation requirements, at a time when rigorous prescriptions are most required. Implementation of any rigorous Strategy or Code would be made difficult by Industry opposition — but this is a job for the Government in terms of selling its environmental policies to generate public support for such measures. The draft of the Code seen thus far is merely a bad rehash of existing regulations, without any form of stringent controls attached. Business as usual over an increased terrain.

- **State Conservation Strategy and legislated Flora and Fauna Guarantee — exist only in draft form after four years of State Labor Government:**

Nor is there any guarantee that these will be adequate or that the Flora and Fauna Guarantee will pass through the Upper House. Yet this Labor Government will lubricate the passage of industry practices which require strong regulation (and some, such as woodchipping, which should not proceed at all).

While the Strategy pays lip-service to the draft Flora and Fauna Guarantee's commitment to the retention of genetic diversity and species, it does nothing to strengthen the recognised inadequacies of surveying these qualities. This is also the case with the Code of Forest Practices — up to 25% of Victoria's threatened species require or depend upon mature forests for their habitat. There is no indication as to how the Strategy will cater for these factors, for instance through the introduction of new and more adequate forestry prescriptions.

- **Substantial new Parks in the Rodger River and Errinundra — do not yet exist:**

'Substantial' has no clear definition. The Industry has every intention of gaining access to the relatively small volume of remaining mature ash in the Rodger River area, despite its record of squandering relatively vast quantities of this valuable timber on green house framing while it was plentiful. There is every expectation that despite the Minister's supportive statements on this issue, her Department will recommend for the further reduction of the Land Conservation Council's draft recommendations in favour of industry interests. If this occurs, this will also be with the Minister's support.

- **Logging in Rainforests — a positive step, but no agreement on definition of these forests**
- **Sustainable yield and 'sawlog dominant' timber industry — the resource estimates are dubious, the definitions are dodgy:**

Some of the resource estimates offered in the Strategy are in fact *not* sustainable, even if full integrated harvesting of all available areas is included. For instance, while the Strategy advocates a reduction of the (redefined) East Gippsland region's cut by one third, this will still lead to the resource running out about ten years short of the region's regrowth becoming available — unless the Department in fact intends to permit logging to occur on a 65 year rotation cycle.



Logging on the way out: the strategy favours big mills and woodchipping

Yet the Strategy repeatedly states that a minimum of 80 years will be adhered to — and even this is regarded as environmentally inadequate in certain circles. The potential 'errors' in these figures were repeatedly ignored by the Department and the Minister when indicated during consultations.

With the introduction of integrated harvesting into areas such as East Gippsland, the respective ratio of sawlog to pulplog produced will be between 1:3 (sawlog to pulplog) to around 1:0 for certain 'lower quality' timber areas, coupes which would certainly not be economic for sawlog harvesting alone. This can occur because the Strategy refuses to define how exactly sawlog production will continue to drive the industry in the face of the huge volume of pulplog extraction untied to sawlog requirements.

- **Clearfelling trials — no programme for implementation of their results:**

There is no clear commitment in the Strategy to have the results of the proposed alternative silvicultural trials implemented by the Industry. The brevity of the trial also casts doubt about their seriousness.

It is regarded as ominous by some conservationists that the Strategy consistently reproduces the statistic that only 29% of hardwood forests harvested in this State are subjected to clearfelling as a 'regenerative silvicultural technique'. The definition used to produce this figure has not been discovered, and there is concern that what is regarded by the Department as 'shelterwood harvesting' would be defined by most others as clearfelling.

- **Economic failings**

There is little space here to fully explore the Strategy's economic failings. However, among the more prominent are included the following:

- the Strategy fails to integrate adequately into its analysis and content, projections for future demand and supply for softwoods and hardwoods. On this basis, it is still prepared to support an (increased) softwood planting scheme of approximately 3400 ha per annum — in the face of massively increasing long term import competition from pines.

The Strategy is also still prepared to pander to industry arguments about the need to expand hardwood forest availability. This occurs in the face of a projected decline in demand for house framing material outstripping the actual decline in its sustainable availability because of substitution of softwoods and other products. Demand will increase for quality hardwood — and quality hardwood sawn timber products.

- the Strategy fails to provide adequate direction for the sawn timber industry to make it capitalise on opportunities in the area of timber further processing.

In particular, its stress on product and market development is insufficient to do justice to the need to develop competition with the approximately \$750 million imported processed sawn timber and furniture trade. While this is where domestic employment and economic gains could best be generated, the Strategy spends approximately two pages on these industries, but many more on establishing the basis for a capital intensive woodchipping industry.

This failure results in part from the inadequacy of the Strategy's licencing criteria, which despite consistent criticism, fail to award special consideration to more efficient and labour intensive operations. The proposed tendering system is structured to favour highly capitalised larger mills gaining long term resource guarantees, and compressing the industry through amalgamations and takeovers — with resultant major losses in sawmill employment and potentially also in industry efficiency.

The granting of fifteen year licences to the industry provides the industry with a powerful hold over the timber resource while simultaneously weakening the Government's flexibility to manage public forests. There is no economic justification for licence periods of such length.

- the Strategy's log allocation system, VAUS, is a positive step which, however, is entirely undermined through its use to facilitate the introduction of integrated harvesting. The cost of removing huge volumes of pulpwood and marginal sawlog timber will be a major financial burden and risk borne by the Government. This will impel the Government to capture contracts for this 'residual timber', and to acquiesce rapidly to industry pressure if it refuses to mill marginal logs and instead wishes to see this material chipped.

VAUS will quickly be dominated by the woodchip industry's contract requirements in certain regions. This will particularly be the case in East Gippsland, where the lesser financial risk of investing in woodchipping will encourage the local sawmilling industry to head for this apparently safer commercial option — thereby foregoing potential employment through the sawmilling of 'marginal millable material'.

The weakness of the proposed licencing criteria will ensure that the Government and VAUS will remain powerless to direct the industry to effect further processing and increase its investment and overall efficiency.

- the Strategy overstates the importance of the timber industry to the State economy — and then proceeds to justify itself out of making long-needed structural adjustments on this basis.

The timber industry ranks approximately seventh of the twelve manufacturing industry sectors in terms of employment. It employs less than 1.7% of Victoria's total employment, and produces a fraction of the State's income. Even in terms of the timber industry's importance to various rural communities, the Strategy gets its facts wrong. In the East Gippsland Statistical region (not the smaller Shire of Orbost, East Gippsland as we know it) wood-products employ approximately 40% of total manufacturing sector employment, not 52%.



The Strategy is evidence of the State Government having been either seduced or intimidated by its own rhetoric of effective economic management and reflects a fear of antagonising Capital in any quarter of the economy, no matter how insignificant.

Woodchipping — Labor slips it in?

Much has already been written and said elsewhere about the proposed woodchipping scheme to be 'tested' in East Gippsland. Even if VAUS is found to be inadequate, the commitments developed around the proposed 300 000 m³/per annum 'residual roundwood' trial will ensure that the woodchipping scheme's dynamic is difficult to counter in a region facing economic downturn. Even before the trial of VAUS is complete, the Government intends to call for 'expressions of interest' for the expansion of the woodchipping component to maximum productive capacity.

Public participation or political incorporation?

Beginning with the Ferguson Inquiry in 1984, two and a half years have been spent in 'helping' formulate the current Timber Strategy. This process has seen a progressive watering down of drafts of a Strategy which could have effectively redirected the

Industry — making it both more environmentally responsible and also genuinely more efficient and productive.

Simultaneously, the industrial lobby has strengthened its hold over the 'Conservation' Ministry, through the Department (with the reassertion of the power of the Forest Commission lobby), through industry and union representation, and through the dominance of the ideology of 'economic development and management'.

The consultative process has also involved an ongoing drain on the time and limited resources of the environment movement. This should be viewed as a deliberate and partially effective tactic to mute hostile criticism through exhausting but ultimately fruitless 'consultation'.

Certain points must now be considered as a result of this experience. On the one hand, it is true that public access has been gained to information about the timber industry (especially through the Timber Inquiry) and much has also been learned about the process of policy formulation during the course of this period. The environment movement has been able to 'lift its game' to meet the challenges afforded it, and several individuals have had the opportunity of developing a close relationship and familiarity with Government processes as a result.

Yet it is also true that the refined analysis brought to bear has had little real positive benefit — and has perhaps had a negative effect — on the final formulation of the Strategy which incorporates environmental language and postures to neutralise criticism, while remaining an industry document. Its ideological strength derives from the opposition's capacity to learn from and draw upon our arguments.

The false pluralism and unequal participation of the different groups has been veiled by the Department and the Minister, in whose interests it is to be seen to be able to balance out all parties. Structurally, the environment movement will almost always lose in such unequal encounters and consultations unless it is adequately resourced and informed, with certain guarantees of action and with access to genuine decision-making forums. All of these factors were lacking in its 'public participation'.

In the absence of these guarantees, the environment movement should in future be very careful of the losses it can sustain while supping with the long spoon — while weighing these losses against the disadvantages of being seen to 'not play the game' in an increasingly corporatist political climate. We are already being asked to co-operate to make this Strategy work, though many recognise it as a recipe for long term economic and environmental mismanagement. Who's ready to refuse to dance?

Bases of Insecurity

US bases in Australia have a benign, inscrutable appearance which has been exploited by successive Australian governments to claim that the bases are peace-making and defensive. The truth is that they are as essential to plans for global nuclear war as the weapons themselves. They are the eyes, ears and mouth of the nuclear weapons system.

The Australian Government justifies the US bases in Australia by claiming that they have a deterrent function, and that they contribute to arms control verification. The reality is that the primary functions of the bases are to prepare for and participate in nuclear war-fighting. The US has adopted dangerous

counterforce strategies, which are exemplified by the new US Maritime Strategy. This strategy guarantees that any localised conventional (non-nuclear) conflict between the US and the USSR would be immediately escalated to a global, and almost certainly nuclear, war. The Pacific would be a primary theatre of such a war. The US is also striving towards the ability to launch a disabling first strike against the USSR.

These strategies threaten our very existence and the US bases in Australia contribute to this threat. Their verification roles are of questionable value and disguise their true functions. These bases must be dismantled.

1941-45 Establishment of intelligence bases at Watsonia and North West Cape. Australia develops wartime alliance with US.

1947 UKUSA agreement signed between US, Britain, Canada, and Australia to govern intelligence collection throughout world.

1951 ANZUS treaty signed.

1952 US National Security Agency (NSA) established.

1955 Secret agreement to build seismic monitoring station at Oak Tree near Alice Springs. First US facility in Australia.

1960 Two NSA defectors declare that US reads secret communications of more than 40 nations, including allies.

1961 US puts aircraft on alert to remove Special Liaison Office in case of Labor election victory.

1963 Menzies agrees to US naval communications station at North West Cape. Major public debate follows revelation that base to communicate with nuclear weapons carrying submarines.

1964 Australia becomes party to Vienna Convention which states official diplomatic correspondence shall be inviolable.

1966 Agreement to build Pine Gap signed.

1969 Apr. During debate on Nurrungar official admission that it and Pine Gap 'are to be concerned with satellites'. Gorton talks wholly in terms of Pine Gap enhancing ANZUS.

Nov. Nurrungar agreement signed.

1970 Pine Gap becomes fully operational.

1971 Nurrungar commences operations.

1972 US Senate Hearings reveal NSA presence at North West Cape. North West Cape used in mining of North Vietnamese harbours. Dec. Labor government elected.

1973 Feb. Defence Minister Barnard makes first use of word 'joint' to describe facilities. Mar. PM Whitlam admits Pine

Gap and Nurrungar satellite systems for reconnaissance and early warning. Sept. North West Cape on 'red alert' during Yom Kippur War.

1974 North West Cape converted to 'joint' facility. British use Watsonia in 'counter-insurgency' operation in Solomons and other south-west Pacific Islands.

1975 Australian Government signs International Telecommunications Convention to ensure secrecy of international correspondence. Intelligence reports Indonesian military activity in East Timor. Five Australians killed. Government informed but does not tell relatives in belief this would destroy listening operation. 9 Nov. Sir John Kerr briefed at Watsonia on 'crisis' in Australian-American intelligence relationship. 11 Nov. Kerr sacks Whitlam. Dec. Pine Gap lease due for renewal. East Timor invasion announced. Fraser elected.

1977 Apr. Christopher Boyce trial reveals many base secrets. Defence Minister Killen states access to Pine Gap 'American' room 'restricted to preserve national cypher security'. Oct. Pine Gap lease extended 10 years.

1978 Report that US let contracts to upgrade North West Cape without informing Australia. Government takes several days to verify.

1981 Satellite ground terminal installed at Watsonia.

1983 President Reagan makes 'Star Wars' speech. Nov. Women's peace camp at Pine Gap.

1985 PM Hawke 'would stand down' rather than preside over government that closed bases or refused access to nuclear armed/power vessels.

1986 19 Oct. Australia or US can request termination of Pine Gap lease with one year's notice. Australian people give notice...

WORLD WAR 3

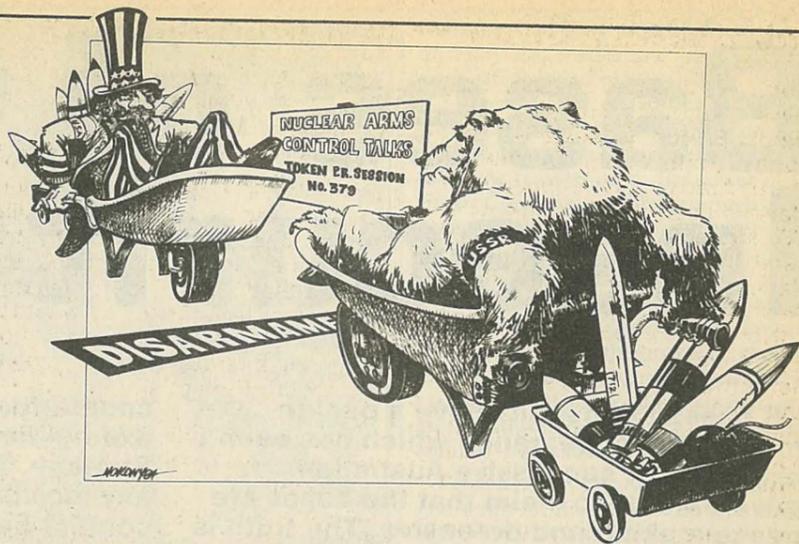
The US expects the next world war to begin with a Soviet invasion of Western Europe. The **Maritime Strategy** commits the US to respond by attacking the USSR in all oceans — particularly the Pacific, which has been described as the second front in the defence of Europe. The US would attack naval and air force bases on the Soviet east coast, and Soviet ships and submarines deployed in the north-west Pacific. This escalation of a local war into global conflict would make the use of nuclear weapons much more likely.

Under the Maritime Strategy, US naval attacks would focus on Soviet nuclear ballistic missile submarines, to tip the nuclear balance in the favour of the US. The USSR would see this as a prelude to a nuclear first strike, and would be tempted to use its missiles before they were destroyed. With both sides fearing a nuclear attack by the other, the temptation to strike first would be irresistible. Global nuclear war would be a virtual certainty. In reality it is more likely that a US-USSR war would begin in Korea than in Europe. Our region is the most likely flashpoint of World War 3, and the risk is growing.

OUR INVOLVEMENT

US bases in Australia would be involved from the outset in any war in the Pacific. **North West Cape** would relay orders to US naval forces to attack Soviet bases, ships and submarines. **Pine Gap** would identify gaps created in Soviet coastal radars, to allow bombers and cruise missiles to enter Soviet airspace undetected. **Watsonia** and its network of electronic spy bases would locate ships and submarines in the vicinity of Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam for destruction by the US Navy. US ships, submarines and aircraft would navigate with the assistance of Omega and the satellites tracked by **Smithfield**.

The bases would continue to play a role in the nuclear war which would almost certainly ensue. Orders to fire submarine-launched ballistic missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles would be relayed by North West Cape. Pine Gap would identify gaps in the USSR's early warning radars, through which a US first strike would be launched. **Nurrungar** would detect any Soviet first strike, providing the signal for a massive US retaliatory



strike. Smithfield and Omega would again assist the navigation of nuclear-armed ships, submarines and aircraft.

Even now the bases are preparing for this war, by identifying potential targets in the Soviet Union, tracking Soviet naval vessels, gathering information on Soviet radar defences and missile capabilities. They are contributing to the development of super-accurate missile navigation systems and Star Wars.

VERIFICATION

The roles played by Pine Gap and Nurrungar in verifying arms control agreements also contribute to the risk of nuclear holocaust — despite claims that verification is a peace-keeping function. It is pointed out that Pine Gap helps to verify the ban on new types of ballistic missiles (SALT II), and restrictions on the location of certain types of radar (Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty), while Nurrungar helps the verification of the bans on nuclear tests in the atmosphere (Partial Test Ban Treaty) and outer space. However, the new NAVSTAR satellites will take over Nurrungar's verification role by the end of the 1980's. In addition, the US has stated that it is no longer bound by SALT II, while Star Wars will violate the ABM Treaty in the near future. Very soon, Pine Gap will have no treaties left to verify.

There is a broader objection to the verification role of the bases. The information they gather is kept secret, and has been falsified to justify escalating the arms race, or abandon existing agreements. An example is the US claim, in the early 1980's, that the USSR was capable of launching a first strike which could

destroy all US land-based nuclear missiles. To "prove" this, the US produced figures on the accuracy of Soviet missiles, supposedly calculated with the help of Pine Gap. These claims were later admitted to be totally false, although the information which disproved them was withheld. Nevertheless, the Reagan Administration achieved its goal and laid the groundwork for Congressional approval of the first strike MX missile.

International opinion will do more to bring the superpowers to their senses than anything else. This will require concrete actions, with nations rejecting nuclear alliances, and creating regional nuclear-free zones which ban all military activities by nuclear-armed nations. These zones would force the US and USSR apart, making the outbreak of war less likely.

To play our part, we in Australia must dismantle the US bases here. Their role in the present drift towards global war is at odds with any commitment to lasting peace. We must also play an active role in finding alternative systems of verification, which promote peace rather than undermine it. An International Disarmament Monitoring Agency (IDMA), run by the United Nations, would be difficult to manipulate for political ends. It would use satellites, seismic monitoring stations and human inspectors to verify future disarmament agreements. Australia could consider hosting IDMA facilities, but for a variety of reasons — technical and political — the existing bases are not suitable for use in international verification.

North West Cape — communications

North West Cape, officially named Naval Communications Station Harold E. Holt, is located 1350 km north of Perth, Western Australia. It is one of three very low frequency (VLF) stations used to communicate with US strategic nuclear submarines beneath the oceans. (The other stations are located on the East and West Coasts of the United States).

North West Cape receives messages from satellite for broadcast to Seventh Fleet vessels in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The huge VLF transmitter broadcasts signals which penetrate seawater to reach ballistic missile and hunter-killer (attack) submarines. Surface ship communications are provided by an assembly of high-frequency (HF) transmitters.

Australian governments have attempted to justify North West Cape on the grounds that it provides communications for the US Navy's ballistic missile submarines and that these submarines are a "powerful deterrent force". This argument has always relied on the assumption that strategic nuclear submarines are not capable of being used in a pre-emptive first strike. If this position was ever tenable, technological and policy developments in recent years have radically undermined it. The doctrine of deterrence, as applied to submarines, has been replaced with counterforce strategies more likely to promote nuclear conflict than prevent it. North West Cape is closely linked to America's efforts to establish counterforce capabilities. More disturbingly, it will have an important role in the US Navy's Maritime Strategy which would escalate localised conventional conflict with the USSR into global nuclear war.

TRIDENT

Claims that submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) lack the accuracy to destroy Soviet missiles in their hardened silos, and therefore have no role in first strike strategies and are simply war deterring weapons, is only relevant to older SLBMs, such as the Poseidon missile. The current Trident I (C4) missile is accurate enough to destroy a wide range of military targets. The US Trident submarines in the Pacific, which will be fitted with Trident II (D-5) missiles from 1989, will be able to destroy even ultra-hardened silos in the Soviet Union. These missiles will have 9-10 warheads, each with a range of

10,000 km, and using the new NAVSTAR satellite system, will be accurate to within 30 metres.

THE MARITIME STRATEGY

North West Cape also communicates with US hunter-killer submarines, which constantly trail and target Soviet submarines, and are armed with anti-submarine nuclear missiles. Their role would be to prevent Soviet submarines from mounting a retaliatory strike against US cities. During any increase in tensions, Soviet submarines could be tempted to strike first while they "still have the chance".

Australian Government and Opposition parties have refused to acknowledge these developments. At the 1984 Labor Party Conference, the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, indicated that if the mission of the US SLBM fleet did become one which could emphasise first strike, then the Australian government might reconsider its support for North West Cape. The US submarine fleet has already taken on this role and the Government's argument for continuing support of North West Cape simply does not hold.

Revelations concerning the new US Maritime Strategy have left the Government's position in complete disarray. The Maritime Strategy is a recipe for escalation to global nuclear war by stipulating that the US Seventh Fleet in the Pacific Ocean attack the Soviet Pacific Fleet at the outset of a US-USSR war anywhere in the world. North West Cape's role would be crucial — it would place US forces in the Pacific and Indian Oceans on alert prior to the outbreak of war and relay directives to commence attacks (including orders to use nuclear weapons).

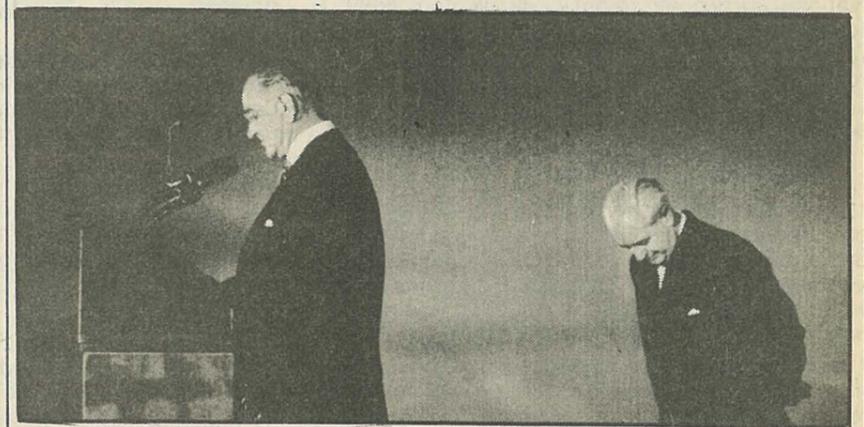
Smithfield (tranet station 545)

The "joint" facility at Smithfield, north of Adelaide, South Australia, is little known but vital for first strike purposes. Called TRANET 545 it receives radio signals from satellites, monitors their performance and corrects their orbits. It was originally established in 1961 to track Transit navigational satellites used by the Polaris submarine. Today it tracks seven NAVSTAR satellites and six geodetic satellites.

Geodesy is one of the earth sciences lavishly sponsored by the US military in its quest to perfect weapons systems and improve the management and fighting of nuclear war. Geodetic satellites can provide the US Air Force with data concerning the size and shape of the Earth, the precise position of points on its surface, and variations in its gravitational field. This information is used to improve the ability of missiles to destroy hardened targets.

NAVSTAR

An increase in the accuracy of missiles is also a function of the NAVSTAR navigational satellites tracked at Smithfield. They will begin to be used in 1986-7 and will eventually comprise a network of 18 satellites (the Global Positioning System). Radio signals sent to NAVSTAR receivers on ships, aircraft, and guided (nuclear) missiles such as Pershing, MX and Tomahawk will enable them to locate their position to an accuracy of 15 metres. Submarine-fired missiles (e.g. Trident I and II) will then be as accurate as those fired from land. NAVSTAR satellites can also locate nuclear explosions and would therefore have a role in 'protracted' nuclear warfare.



Harold Holt — 'All the way with LBJ'.

AN ANTI-BASES CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

The United States maintains a large number of facilities in Australia. Here we only discuss those of greatest strategic significance, and ignore seismic monitoring stations, the solar observatory, portable geodetic posts, NASA tracking stations and others whose strategic roles are less significant. There is also no discussion of three strategically important areas of Australia's co-operation with the US: the Omega station in Gippsland; the ocean surveillance and anti-submarine role of Australia's P-3 Orion aircraft; and Teal Ruby, an advanced infrared sensor designed to track and provide early warning of Soviet aircraft, cruise missiles and ships.

Despite the secrecy which surrounds the US bases in Australia, we know enough to show their undeniable war-fighting functions. Before outlining some elements of a campaign for their removal, we should consider some of the realities that campaign must accept:

- * a majority of Australians, support the ANZUS alliance;
- * the public has a low level of awareness of the bases. Pine Gap is best known, because of media exposure, spy trials (Christopher Boyce), protest actions such as the 1983 Womens' Camp, and allegations of misuse (CIA involvement in Whitlam's sacking, 1985 spying on Greece). There is growing awareness of North West Cape and Nurrungar, but few people know of Smithfield or the bases in the Watsonia spy network;
- * there is great support within the anti-nuclear movement for a campaign to remove the bases. Since launching its own campaign to close Pine Gap, the Alice Springs Peace Group (ASPG) has been inundated with messages of support and offers of assistance;
- * well-planned and co-ordinated mass movements have succeeded in Australia, such as the campaign to save the Franklin River;
- * politically our options seem poor. The present Labor government is committed to retaining the bases. PM Hawke, in an interview with *The New York Times* (8 March 1985), said he would step down rather than preside over a government which opposed the bases or refused port entry to nuclear armed or powered vessels. A Liberal/National Party government would be more likely to open new bases than close existing facilities. Progressive forces in the ALP are calling for the removal of the bases, as are the Australian Democrats, but neither is powerful enough to enforce their demands. The growth of a unified "progressive" party which would remove the bases is a long way off;
- * the consequences of closing the bases would be enormous, including trade sanctions, destabilising activity by US intelligence agencies, and even the possibility that the US would ignore a demand for their removal, as it has for many years with the US base in Cuba;
- * the struggle to rid ourselves of the chains of nuclear oppression is part of a much wider regional struggle for independence and self-determination. Our strongest allies are people

fighting for control of their future in the Philippines, Belau, East Timor, West Papua, Kanaky, and elsewhere in the Asian Pacific region. In Australia our starting point must be the recognition of the demands of Aboriginal people for land rights, compensation and self-determination;

- * a final consideration (the list could go on) is that a movement to close the bases must be genuinely non-aligned. Support and participation from a wide range of groups should be encouraged, but it must be clear that our aim is to remove Australia from the arms race, not to support another participant;

ORGANISATION

Numerous organisations already exist which could give a structural basis to the campaign to remove foreign bases. The movement does not need another organisation, but rather a well co-ordinated campaign network in which a wide range of groups can participate, and with which other individuals and groups can easily identify.

A meeting of anti-bases activists from several states, held in Melbourne in July 1986, proposed the formation of a national campaign network, to be called the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (AABCC). This will provide a means for co-ordinated planning and action, and will be the first stage of a wider mobilization. The AABCC's role will be to:

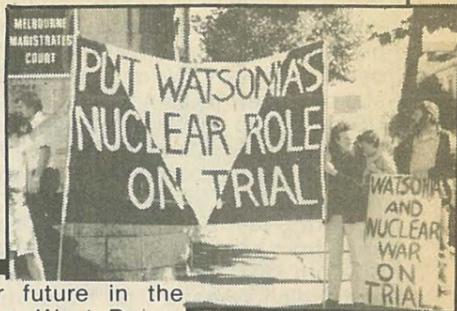
- * provide regular forums for discussion and planning of co-ordinated action;
- * raise funds for the campaign;
- * act as a contact point for information and resources;

The AABCC will be made up of diverse groups and individuals who recognize the need for a concerted effort to remove the bases. Apart from a basic Statement of Unity the AABCC will not need policy.

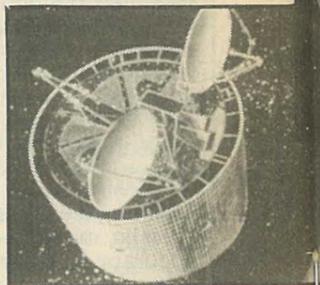
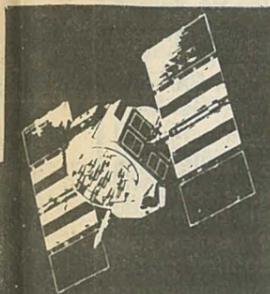
On 6-7 December 1986 a national conference will be held in Sydney to formally launch the AABCC. The primary focus of the conference will be the development of campaign strategy.

STRATEGY

The basis of the strategy for an anti-bases campaign must be co-ordinated action to strengthen our demands. At first this will be as elementary as choosing dates for common action. On 19 October 1986 rallies will be held in



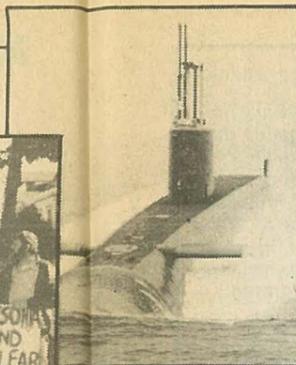
This is the bitterest pain among all, to have much knowledge but no power.
— Herodotus



**ATTEND THE
NATIONAL ANTI-BASES CONFERENCE
DECEMBER 6-7 1986**

**MARCELLIN COLLEGE
195 ALISON RD
RANDWICK, SYDNEY**

Organised by the Interim Committee of the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition.
C/- PO Box 229, Glebe, 2037, NSW.



most Australian capital cities, a number of smaller Australian centres, and also in the Philippines and New Zealand. The rallies will draw attention to and demand the removal of all foreign military bases in Australia and the Pacific. It is hoped that many groups will support these actions.

On 19 October 1987 people from around Australia and the Asian Pacific region are invited by the ASPG to join them at the gates of Pine Gap in a mass action to close the base. In the preceding week forums and workshops will be held at Alice Springs to strengthen the movement, clarify its goals, and prepare for the action. For those who cannot make the journey activities will be organised in other centres.

Other dates of importance include 31 December 1987, after which 180 days notice may be given to terminate the North West Cape agreement, and 28 June 1988 when that agreement lapses.

It is not sufficient to put all our energies into public demonstrations alone. Other initiatives are needed, and could include:

- * an explicit demand from a wide range of groups for a public Parliamentary Inquiry into the bases;
- * public discussion and research of alternative foreign policy, defence and economic initiatives;
- * research and public discussion of further Australian initiatives towards world disarmament, such as participation in an International Disarmament Monitoring Agency.
- * work within trade unions to educate their members, and encourage action denying services to the bases;
- * church leaders calling for the removal of Australia from the spiral to a nuclear nightmare;
- * theatrical and media workers using their talents to educate the public;
- * ALP members sponsoring motions calling for the closure of the bases;

Clearly Australia is at risk. In the event of nuclear war, facilities such as Pine Gap, North West Cape, Nurrungar, Smithfield, and the Watsonia spy network will be prime targets. As long as the machinery of war exists it can and will be used, and only by dismantling it can we make a truly positive contribution to the future of this planet. In Australia, we have no choice but to remove the bases.

Statement by Pamela Ditton on the occasion of the launch of the Close the Bases Campaign, Alice Springs, 6 July 1986.

So long as we are silent, we are assumed to consent.

On the 11th November 1983, 800 women, black and white, from Central Australia, interstate and overseas, and with the support of many others around Australia, marched to the gates of Pine Gap. The next day 111 of us were arrested for trespassing inside Pine Gap.

We were no longer prepared to be silent. We wanted Australia to know how strongly we believed that Pine Gap must be closed down.

Many of us draw our inspiration from the women at Greenham Common. In 1981 a small group of Welsh women, not well known, not political leaders, decided that they could no longer be silent in the face of the British government planning to allow the USA to use England as a base for its Cruise missiles.

They marched to Greenham Common to inspire women who were not necessarily in the women's movement, but who were worried, isolated and anxious. To give their protest a positive focus, they called it 'Women for Life on Earth'. Five years later women are still camping at Greenham Common, enduring evictions but gaining personal strength, and forming links with the women's peace movement worldwide.

In Australia many women's groups came together in a looseknit movement called Women for Survival. We saw nuclear power and weapons as products of a social system that produces colonisation, racism, pornography and wife-beating. We recognised land rights as crucial to the survival of Aborigines.

As Nancy Shelley put it, 'Women across the world are saying to men: no more will we allow you to destroy our children, our children's children. The very survival of the planet and of humanity are at stake this time. We have good cause not to trust your judgment any more.'

The camp was an unforgettable learning experience for me. Several hundred women camping together — committed to a non-hierarchical form of organisation. I feared chaos. But I learnt that we could rely on each other to take personal responsibility for the success of the camp, and not just wait to be told what to do next.

These women's actions have greatly strengthened the peace movement — a strength that makes us believe that we now have the support worldwide to close the bases. There is much inspiration to be gained from the way women's actions are structured — and their creativity.

We hope the insights gained during the women's camp will be carried forward during the next eighteen months. If we are all serious about closing Pine Gap in October 1987, then the peace movement will need the strength that comes from unity. We must guard against allowing our opponents to get away with the old strategy of divide and rule.

Nurrungar— nuclear holocaust hair trigger

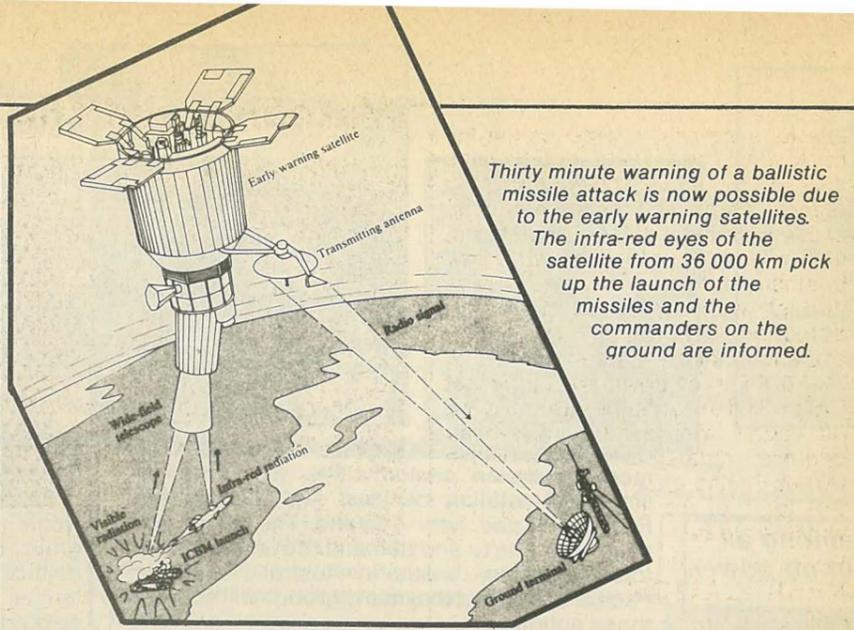
The US facility at Nurrungar, 500 km north-west of Adelaide, receives data from a Defense Support Program (DSP) satellite which can give the US early warning of a Soviet nuclear missile attack. DSP satellites have large infra-red telescopes, capable of detecting the hot exhaust plumes of ballistic missiles. Nurrungar's satellite provides 25-30 minutes warning to the US of the impact of land-based missiles launched from the central Soviet Union. Data is sent to the North American Air Defence Command (NORAD) which provides an assessment of Soviet missile attacks to the Strategic Air Command (SAC). SAC controls US land-based ballistic missiles and strategic bombers.

The conventional justification for Nurrungar is that it contributes to stability by reducing the chance that the US will launch a nuclear strike in response to a false warning of a Soviet missile attack. This presumes that the US subscribes to the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, and will only launch its missiles once a Soviet attack is confirmed by several sources such as Nurrungar and the early warning radars which fringe the North American continent.

HAIR TRIGGER

In reality, the nuclear forces of both the US and USSR would be on a hair trigger in the event of war. Each would strike first rather than wait to be attacked. So if the Soviet Union did strike first, the US would respond immediately, before its command and control system collapsed. It would retaliate on the earliest warning (Launch on Warning), which may come from Nurrungar. The US may not wait to confirm Nurrungar's warning before launching its attack, which maximises the possibility that a false alarm will trigger nuclear war.

There is no doubt that during peace-time, Nurrungar's role in the US early warning system helps prevent the accidental launch of nuclear weapons. During a war, however, it is more likely to cause a nuclear holocaust than prevent one. In an attempt to make its early warning system less vulnerable to Soviet attack, the United States is developing data cross-links and mobile ground terminals for DSP



Thirty minute warning of a ballistic missile attack is now possible due to the early warning satellites. The infra-red eyes of the satellite from 36 000 km pick up the launch of the missiles and the commanders on the ground are informed.

satellites. This will make Nurrungar redundant, but not useless in its primary role. In the event of war, it will be used as long as it is left standing.

STAR WARS

Nurrungar is being used by the US in Star Wars research through the information it gathers on Soviet test missile launches. One important aspect of Star Wars is the destruction of Soviet missiles in their boost phase before they release their warheads. Information gained by Nurrungar on the characteristics of Soviet missiles is essential to the design of the interception scheme.

In the 1990's, the US plans to supersede the current DSP satellites with the Booster Tracking and Surveillance System to assist the targeting and destruction of Soviet

missiles by Star Wars weapons. These satellites will support plans to fight a protracted nuclear war by allowing US nuclear weapons to be targeted away from empty silos. They are likely to foster the notion that it is possible to control a nuclear war and reinforce the present preference of military commanders for first strike strategies. Nurrungar will be a ground station for these new satellites.

Like Pine Gap, Nurrungar has a verification role. Sensors on the DSP satellites can detect and locate nuclear explosions in the atmosphere and in space, which are banned by the Partial Test Ban and Outer Space Treaties. This verification is redundant, however, as it can be done by other satellites and, in the future, NAVSTAR satellites will be the prime source of atmospheric nuclear test monitoring.

Pine Gap — US spy base

Pine Gap, officially known as the Joint Defence Space Research Facility, is one of the largest and most important US satellite ground control stations in the world. Situated in Central Australia, 19 km south-west of Alice Springs, it consists of a large computer complex with eight distinctive white perspex radomes protecting its antennae from the elements and Soviet satellite reconnaissance.

Pine Gap's most important role is processing information gathered by Rhyolite signals intelligence (SIGINT) satellites and transmitting that information to the United States. These satellites act as "vacuum cleaners", sucking up radio trans-

missions particularly from the Soviet Union and China. Military intelligence is obtained, along with economic, political and domestic information from national and international telephone and radio communications. Even allied countries are eavesdropped, with the alleged use of Pine Gap to spy on Greece in 1984-85 being one publicised example.

Before and after war between the US and USSR, Pine Gap's satellites would gather Soviet military radio transmissions, giving information on military readiness, troop and ship movements, and other matters. The satellites would intercept Soviet radar emanations, allowing mapping

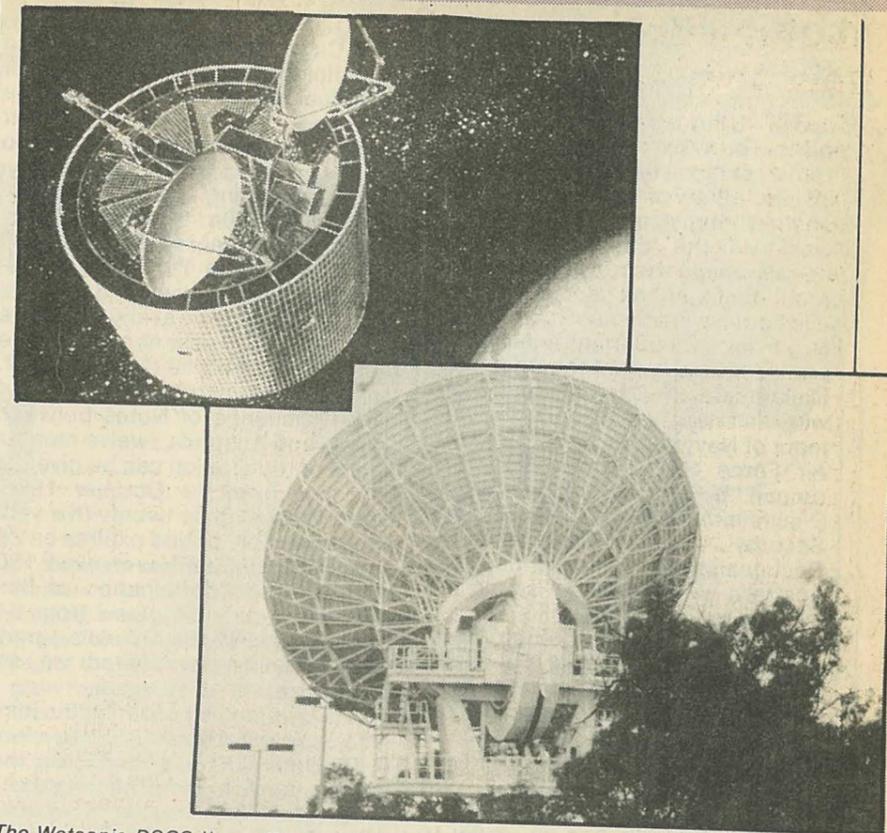
missions across a wide spectrum, of Soviet air defences, anti-ballistic missile radars and early-warning radars. Gaps in these defences caused by radar failure or destruction would be identified to allow bombers and cruise missiles to pass through with a reduced chance of detection. There is increasing evidence that the Korean Airlines jet (KAL007), shot down by the Soviet Union in 1983, deliberately moved off course in order to activate air defence radars around sensitive Soviet Pacific coast bases. Much of this feat of electronic intelligence would have been processed at Pine Gap.

VERIFICATION

Official Australian support for US bases in the verification of arms control agreements hints at one aspect of Pine Gap's function — monitoring test flights of Soviet missiles. Warheads released by ballistic missiles during test flights emit telemetry (radio signals) which provide the Soviet Union, and Pine Gap, with information on missile performance. The technical characteristics of the missile can be determined to verify the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) agreements. Pine Gap is not the only means available to the US for this interception, as a number of ground-based listening posts perform this function and appear to adequately cover the main Soviet missile test ranges.

It has been estimated that only 0.3% or less of Pine Gap's time is spent monitoring missile flights. The US claims that the USSR is encoding its missile telemetry (in violation of SALT II), which, if true, means that Pine Gap is presently unable to contribute to verification at all. The possibility that the Soviets are "jamming" the satellite interceptions adds to this likelihood. This has not prevented the US from monitoring the tests — the COBRA DANE radar in the Aleutian Islands and the COBRA JUDY radar on a ship in the Pacific are used for warhead tracking, along with a variety of other sensors. Pine Gap's verification role is redundant, making a mockery of the official justification for the base. Verification, which is supposed to check the arms spiral by facilitating arms control agreements, has instead become part of the build-up—if Pine Gap is still monitoring Soviet missile tests, the data will be used to design Star Wars weapons.

Watsonia and the spy stations network



The Watsonia DSCS II satellite and its ground terminal.

The ocean surveillance system of the US can locate, identify and track all Soviet ships and submarines on a world-wide basis. It includes a global signals intelligence (SIGINT) system called "Bullseye", one form of High Frequency — Direction Finding (HF-DF), in which intelligence is derived by coastal spy stations intercepting the high-frequency radio signals transmitted to shore by Soviet surface ships and submarines.

Australia participates in the Bullseye network in the Pacific and Indian Oceans through the cooperation of Australia's secret electronic spy organisation, the Defence Signals Directorate (DSD), with its US equivalent, the National Security Agency (NSA). In the late 1970's three DSD coastal HF-DF stations (Cabarlah near Toowoomba, RAAF Pearce near Perth, and Shoal Bay near Darwin), and recently a New Zealand HF-DF station at Tangimoana near Wellington, were fitted with new antennae arrays capable of performing an ocean surveillance role for the US in the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

When a USSR naval ship or submarine in the south-west Pacific

or north-east Indian Ocean transmits to shore using High Frequency (HF) radio, the transmission is received at these four stations in Australia and New Zealand. Each station obtains a directional fix on the vessel and this information is sent to Victoria Barracks, Melbourne, for processing. Victoria Barracks is the HQ of the DSD but also houses a US Liaison Office comprising about ten NSA officers responsible for overseeing the DSD's naval intelligence operations.

Fixes from two or more stations are cross-referenced to calculate the vessel's position (by triangulation). This is sent to the naval intelligence centre in Maryland (USA), using a satellite ground terminal located in the Simpson Army Barracks grounds at Watsonia in suburban Melbourne. The information from Watsonia is combined with data from satellites, underwater sensors, and other sources to calculate the location of the vessel with great accuracy and this is sent to US naval forces. It can then be used for instance to program cruise missiles to locate and destroy the Soviet vessel when fired from over-the-horizon (i.e. out of view).

The politics of the bases

North West Cape, Pine Gap, Nurrungar and Smithfield operate under US-Australian agreements which provide for alleged joint control of those bases — hence their official title of "joint facilities". Australia participates in the management of the bases, has some knowledge of their broad functions and does share some of the intelligence processed at them. However, the important intelligence and control is denied the Australian Department of Defence and rests with American agencies — Department of Navy (North West Cape), US Air Force Space Command (Nurrungar), Defence Mapping Agency (Smithfield), and the CIA, National Security Agency, and National Reconnaissance Office (Pine Gap). Australia would have no say in the messages or first strike orders authorized for relay through North West Cape — it has not been consulted in the past when the base has been placed on a war footing. Australians are denied access to the top secret section at Pine Gap where the intercepted messages are actually decoded and analysed. Similarly Australia has no power to prevent Nurrungar relaying early warning data to the US during wartime or to affect the response to that data, which will be made in the US.

Rather than offering the possibility of control, the bases are an infringement of Australian sovereignty, and, in the first place, the sovereignty of the original inhabitants of the land — the Aborigines. Pine Gap was established on a sacred Aboriginal dreaming track.

TERMS OF LEASES

The agreements covering North West Cape, Pine Gap, Nurrungar and Smithfield all provide the US with perpetual leases, which can only be terminated on notice by either country. Most of the agreements also specify a period, from ten to twenty-five years, during which the agreement cannot be terminated. Nurrungar's ten year non-terminable period expired in 1979; the agreement can be terminated on twelve months notice given at any time. Pine Gap's current 10 year non-terminable period expires on 19 October 1987. Unless a new period is established by an Exchange of Notes between the US and Australia, twelve months notice of termination can be given at any time from 19 October 1986. North West Cape's twenty-five year non-terminable period expires on 28 June 1988. Unless it is renewed, 180 days notice of termination of that agreement can be given from 31 December 1987. Smithfield's agreement may be terminated on six months notice.

The agreements covering the joint facilities cannot be struck or revoked by Parliament. This is done under the Government's external affairs power, which resides in the Executive Council — Governor General, Prime Minister and Cabinet. Agreements are made out of public view, enhancing US influence over acquiescent Australian governments.

THE CULT OF SECRECY

An open and informed debate about the bases would reveal their sinister purposes and dispel the notion that Australia shares in effective joint control. Australian governments have therefore maintained a policy of

official secrecy. There is far more information on public record in the US relating to the technical functions of the bases and the strategies they support than the Australian government will acknowledge. The target of this deception is the Australian public, as the USSR has access to public information in the US, and more through its spying activities. For example, in 1985, the Hawke Government denied that the P-3C Orion aircraft operating from Sale were being used to monitor a GEOSAT satellite, the function of which was to improve the accuracy of the Trident II missile.

No Australian government has acknowledged the central role of US intelligence agencies in the operation of the bases. The secret 1947 UKUSA agreement which governs the co-operation of the intelligence organisations of the English-speaking world, and which has been described as the most important treaty binding Australia, remains sacrosanct. In 1977 Mr Hayden, while Shadow Foreign Minister, asked the Fraser Government to reveal the nature of UKUSA and the extent of the NSA's electronic espionage in Australia. The Hawke Government has refused to discuss the involvement of the NSA with the Watsonia network of spy stations.

Australian governments have themselves been deceived. The Fraser Government was not informed of plans to upgrade North West Cape and it was not until 1975 that it became known that Pine Gap had always been a CIA operation. Allegations by Christopher Boyce (ex-CIA employee) and the *New York Times*, that the CIA was using Pine Gap to spy on Australian communications, have yet to be investigated.

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Produced on behalf of the interim committee of the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign and *Chain Reaction*. Written by members of the Anti-Bases Campaign and the Alice Springs Peace Group.

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Blind eye to animal testing



By Susanna Lobez

Animal experimentation has been the subject of emotional and justifiably heated debate. In the last few months this debate has focussed on the proposed Chemical and Drug Safety Evaluation Centre in Werribee, just outside Melbourne. Complex issues are involved. No-one has the answers. But the Australian Democrats and Animal Rights people are asking the right questions: What types of tests will be conducted? Why are these tests required? How many animals will be involved and what species? What products are to be tested? Are non-animal tests to be developed? The Animal Rights organisations and the Australian Democrats have criticised the Victorian Government's refusal to disclose the information appropriate to informed public debate. The proposals and plans have been shrouded in secrecy.

The Department of Industry Technology and Resources has withheld information requested by concerned animal welfare groups on the grounds that to grant access to any feasibility studies which refer to the proposed International Chemical and Drug Safety Centre would be contrary to the public interest and would have an adverse affect on the economy of Victoria by revealing the consideration and acquisition of a commercial and financial advantage to Victoria. Since large sums of public money have been and are to be invested and since the subject is ethically volatile, the public should have the right to the information and informed public debate should be encouraged.

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The main concern is that any experimentation on animals be justified by a tangible benefit to human society and be conducted as humanely as possible. With regard to the tests, Animal Rights groups main concerns are the LD 50 test and the Draize test. These are particularly nasty in that the LD 50 requires the deaths of 50% of the animals tested and the Draize test uses the eyes of live animals to test for irritancy. Animal Rights groups are disgusted by the possibility of this happening in Australia. Dr. Wirth, President of the RSPCA says 'This sort of testing is not required in Australia. Any testing that is done is done in Europe and that is where it should bloody well stay'.

The tests are determined by requirements of regulatory bodies. According to The Commonwealth Department of Health's paper on Control of Chemicals in Australia, acute toxicity testing in animals is standard procedure. Toxicological assessment of non-therapeutic ingested chemicals is the responsibility of committees of the National Health and Medical Research Council. Some 50 expert committees advise the Council. The three main committees require full details of acute, sub-acute and chronic toxicity studies in *two species*. Requirements for Clearance of Agricultural Chemicals 'are set out by the Department of Primary Industry Document PB310B; toxicity studies 'should include acute, sub-acute and chronic toxicity tests on *laboratory animals*'. Most testing is carried out overseas.

A new Australian Cosmetic Standard is currently being drafted, consisting mainly of lists of known acceptable substances. The Standard will NOT require tests to be done on animals. However NEW substances may require testing. Therapeutic Pro-

ducts are regulated by The Therapeutic Goods Advisory Committee, The Therapeutic Goods Standards Committee and the Australian Drug Evaluation Committee. Under the Therapeutic Goods Act and ADEC's document NDF4 — *human or clinical and animal studies are required*.

It seems that the aim of the Werribee laboratory is to conduct tests required by the multitude of regulatory bodies. (Perhaps there would be value in delving further into the reasons for these required tests which would be carried out in any event even in another location.)

If there is anything more revolting than force-feeding animals with lethal doses of poisons until half of them die or dripping concentrated chemicals into rabbits' eyes to measure how long before blindness occurs — it is that public money is subsidising these cruel and inhumane procedures. An interesting comparison can be made between the Government's well publicised policies on Wildlife, and their attitudes to 'Lablife'.

The Democrats are adamantly opposed to the Government's attempt to make money from the suffering of animals says Ken Peake, their Victorian spokesperson on Animal Welfare, '... they must place the welfare of animals before the lucrative economic aspects of such a centre.' Animal Liberation groups fear that enormous numbers of animals will suffer and be sacrificed on the altar of commercial technology, greed or speculation. Professor Peter Singer, President of Animal Liberation, speaks for all animal rights groups, 'There is no justification for setting up a centre which will carry out painful, lethal and unnecessary poisoning tests on animals.'



The Government's position is that the economic value does justify the establishment of the centre. Close to \$50,000 has been spent on expenses and consultancy fees for British toxicologists who came to advise as to the viability of a toxicology centre in Victoria. The State Government is investing \$12 million in the project. An anticipated \$100 million profit per year from the Testing Centre is the Government's optimistic prognosis.

An anonymous Sydney toxicologist who advises the Australian Association for Human Research, believes the centre is not needed as the Australian market is insignificant. *The Age* reported in May this year that nine out of eleven drug companies consulted would continue to use their own toxicology laboratories. However the Australian Economy does need a shot in the arm and Mr Robert Fordham, Minister for Industry, Technology and Resources, believes the proposed International Drug and Chemical Safety Centre could be just what the dollars doctor ordered:

'The proposed centre would stimulate commercial developments of Australian research and potentially attract research from overseas... the State Government's economic strategy had identified Victoria's scientific research capabilities as a major economic strength'.

Despite these economic considerations, Animal Rights groups would still prefer that any tests required be done overseas, despite the fact that this often entails a two year waiting period and could have an inhibiting effect on the Australian development of pharmaceuticals and biotechno-

logy. A 'gap' certainly exists in Australia for such a centre 'to cut costs and reduce the number of animals being tested' according to Dr. Ken Coghill, Cabinet Secretary and member for Werribee. No doubt if the government doesn't instigate some commercial technological enterprises the private sector will. Bruce Nussbaum in *The World After Oil* identifies the three industries of the future as being: robotics, telecommunications and **Biotechnology**. Can we afford not to compete?

It should however be noted that research into alternative toxicity testing procedures are being worked on overseas. Given the shift in public opinion away from animal tests this area of research should be given high priority. Mr Fordham speculates that the testing centre could encourage all kinds of biotech research. One of the major obstacles to the further development of biotechnological research identified in the 1984 report of the Government's Technology Task Force was the lack of facilities for the complex process of testing proposed new drugs, medicines, industrial, domestic and agricultural chemicals and veterinary medicines... the Victorian centre could become one of the leading centres in the world to develop tests using immunotoxicology methods.

What are some of the alternatives being currently worked on? In vitro tests (mutagenicity, cytotoxicity, culture of embryos) and some theoretical considerations (based on physico-chemical properties, structure activity relationships, mathematical models) are exceptions to most toxicological investigations, which use animals treated with different doses of a compound. A NSW research company is conducting a feasibility study into the development of alternatives to the Draize eye and skin tests. It aims to further biological research in the areas of in vitro alternatives to standard toxicity assays, in particular to the Draize test. The researchers will evaluate the toxicity of compounds with a known toxicity index by the CAM assay in a fertile hen's egg. Results will be correlated and compared. They will also evaluate compounds as human skin irritants and compare with the corresponding Draize index in order to describe species differences. The research costs are anticipated to be \$170,000.

In the U.K. research into alternative testing procedures is being conducted by FRAME (Fund for the Replacement of Animals in Medical Experiments) and is investigating cell and tissue culture, keeping material alive outside the body for the testing of toxicity or carcinogenicity of new drugs, pesticides and food additives. Human tissue, available from operations, biopsies or post mortems is preferable although animal and plant cells cultured in

the laboratory are already commercially available. Information received from tests on bovine eye tissue has compared favourably with that from the Draize test.

Obviously the closer the tested material is to human tissue the more accurate and applicable it is to human use. This could be an area of concern. In vitro cellular material could conceivably include foetal material obtained from hospitals or created in a laboratory. Already women participants of the IVF programme have been asked if 'spare eggs' can be used for medical research. This material may be used instead of or in preference to tests on animals. Computer tests simulating body conditions and chemical analysis are being studied. These methods are advancing more quickly than expected but are still in their infancy and as yet do not meet the standards required of the regulatory bodies in most countries.

There is also the question of whether current tests are stringent enough to protect human consumers. Australia has accepted drugs and chemicals from overseas that are legislated against in some countries, eg Germany. Are our standards high enough?

A draft report on pharmaceutical products released by the Industries Assistance Commission (IAC) has come under criticism from Australian Federation of Consumer Organisations and the Australian Consumers Association. It centres on the proposal to relax controls over the approval of new drugs from overseas. If any one of a number of unspecified countries has approved a drug for marketing, the IAC recommends that Australia should approve it automatically. The consumer organisations applaud the cautious approach taken by the Australian Drug Evaluation Committee which, in the prevention of unnecessary suffering, rejected a number of dangerous drugs.

Thus, the central conflict is a philosophical one. It hinges on the nexus between economic expediency and ethical justifications. The government has claimed that the centre could become a major source of income for the state by attracting research from overseas and conducting the tests for an anticipated \$100 million per year profit. But is the state so desperate to make this profit that it is prepared to throw public opinion, human considerations and ethics to the winds?

What will be the impact of commercialisation on technology? How does the kind of society we live in affect the technology we produce? How do we begin to bridge the gap between what is necessary and what is possible especially with consumer drugs and chemicals clamouring for more market consumption? In 1985, the World Health Organisation Conference in Nairobi

concluded that 70% of pharmaceuticals on the world market may be neither essential nor desirable. In the US health reformers estimate that 80% of patients hospitalised may be there because of catrogenic disease, disease caused by the doctor and/or medications. Ultimately part of the responsibility for any product testing must be taken by the consumers. We want new chemicals to make life easier, new drugs to make us feel healthier or to combat the effects of an unhealthy lifestyle and new cosmetic products to beautify ourselves. We have a right to benefit from scientific advances, don't we? We are more important than animals... well, aren't we? But are we really more human than animals when we ignore or encourage the suffering of other species?

In the USA the Food and Drug Administration determines which foods and drugs are harmful on the basis of prolonged experimentation and the expert opinion of scientists in various fields. So far so good. Why not a panel of psychologists, anthropologists, philosophers, theologians and representatives of various social and consumer groups to determine whether a product is ethically valuable and justifies research and experimentation of any kind; perhaps a new humanist body of experts offering guidelines to regulatory bodies.

Dr. John Braithwaite in his book, *Corporate Crime in the Pharmaceutical Industry* spells out the extent of bribery, negligence and fraud in the industry. The consumer groups submit that the IAC recommendations would expose Australia to the effects of this criminal activity. Perhaps Dr. Braithwaite or sociologists like him should have some involvement with the proposed Australian Testing Centre. Should we simply take the overseas manufacturer's word for a product's safety (on the basis of overseas tests) or should we test a product here to our standards.

Basic research on the nature of needs is also required. Scientific research must be separated from application in industry and defence. Profit must not be the only determinant of the application of scientific research.

Should experiments be done on consumers? Drugs are frequently tested on patients in hospital prisons and other institutions. Dr William Sargant, eminent British psychiatrist emphasised the need for 'controlled testing' of drugs to be brought to the public's notice and for the rights of the patients and the ethics involved to be openly discussed. He recommended guidelines to preserve the rights of people subjected to medical experiments including informed consent and that laboratory and animal experiments should have preceded trials on humans.

There are numerous complicated issues involved in the toxicity testing centre plans. Australia needs industry and technology but we should have a care to the ethics of such technology. Perhaps guidelines could be borrowed from the UK Ecology Party Manifesto.

- Priority to preventive medicine, coupled with immediate legislation to ban the use of known toxic substances, to introduce stringent controls on the further development and use of drugs.

- Co-operation between medical and social services of Medicines.

- Policies aimed in the short term at combatting all forms of cruelty and neglect to animals and eventually at reducing our reliance on animals to provide our needs.

- Support to genuinely progressive animal rights organisations seeking legislative reform to alleviate or prohibit animal suffering and mistreatment.

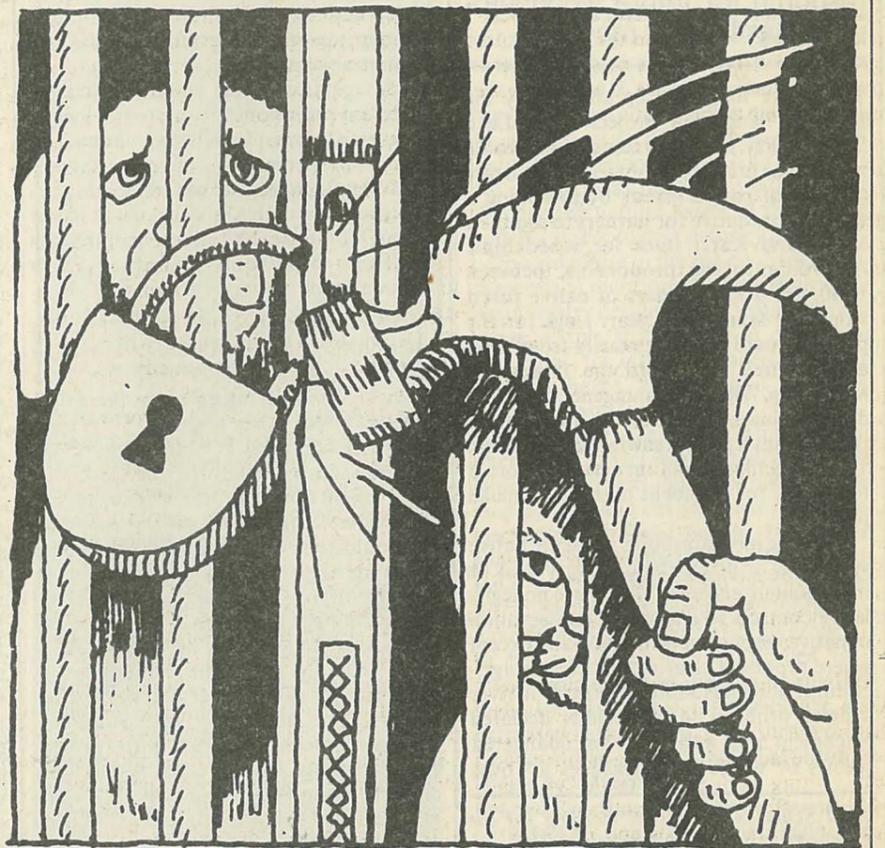
- Existing legislation on animal rights to be stringently enforced, voluntary codes made mandatory.

- Eventual abolition of vivisection. Research and testing should continue to discover alternative non-animal tests and procedures backed by adequate government funding.

- The use of animals for tests on cosmetics, for tobacco and alcohol research and in weapons or biological/chemical warfare programmes should be outlawed immediately.
- 1876 Act relating to animal experiments should be amended to ensure that no painful experiments were performed on living animals without the use of anaesthetics at all stages, including experiments carried out by government.

When economics stands against ethics, nobody has the answers. But let's all ask the right questions.

RESS STOP PR
The Victorian Government has recently announced that it is banning the LD50 and Draize tests. What effect this will have on the plans for the toxicology lab is yet to be seen.
OP PRESS STO



Chipping WA

McLean Sawmills Pty. Ltd. of Denmark Western Australia proposes to establish a new woodchip industry based on hardwood materials taken from the South Coast region of Western Australia. The company has applied for a federal licence to export 200 000 tonnes of woodchips each year. It proposes to base the project on existing privately owned Karri and Jarrah-Marri forests and claims that farmers will establish plantations, mainly of Tasmanian Blue Gum, to provide the eventual resource for future woodchipping. **Basil Schur** reports.

The native forests to be affected by the proposed woodchip project of McLean Sawmills Pty. Ltd. have many irreplaceable values. The project would greatly accelerate the loss of native forests by providing a financial incentive for farmers to sell their Marri and Karri trees for woodchips. According to the proponents, between 1 000 and 5 000 hectares of native forest would be felled each year. Logs for the project would come primarily from privately owned forests in the Denmark, Manjimup, Albany, Plantagenet, and Boddington shires and would be processed at the company's present sawmill at Denmark. The woodchips would then be transported to Albany for shipment overseas to make paper.

Existing mechanisms to conserve native vegetation on private land are very weak or inadequately enforced. There are no legislative controls to ensure the conservation of native vegetation on private land except where proposed clearing involves an agricultural soil degradation hazard, a river salinity problem in a specially declared catchment area, a threat to an endangered species or where it contravenes a Town

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Planning scheme. The only possible governmental controls at the present time to retain native vegetation on private land in cases other than those mentioned above appears to be through land purchase, compensation, by voluntary agreement with the land owner or by the indirect control over woodchip operations through conditions imposed on woodchip companies in the granting of export licences.

As a consequence of the very inadequate mechanisms or regulatory safeguards available to conserve native forest communities on private land and the improbability of farmers establishing Blue Gum plantations on already cleared land, the proposed woodchip project would:

- accelerate the loss of native forests from private land.
- compound the deleterious impacts of the existing giant woodchip industry based at Manjimup.
- aggravate already serious land degradation problems.
- damage freshwater resources outside protected catchments.
- destroy or displace native fauna and flora communities.
- accelerate the spread of dieback disease.
- damage estuaries on the south coast through biological pollution arising from fertiliser run-off from the increased area under agriculture.

The project also would have damaging social consequences. Although providing short to medium term employment for a relatively small number of workers, the project would have negative long term employment effects. It would rapidly displace the approximately ten small spotmills in the region which are presently dependent on the remnant private sawlog resource, and could detrimentally affect the viability of future hardwood sawlog operations in the region by providing a market for immature trees. The proposed chip mill at the existing mill site on the edge of Denmark is badly placed in terms of noise pollution, traffic movement and other factors. The heavy log and woodchip transport trucks to be used in the project would damage public roads as well as creating dangerous conditions for road users, affecting the growing tourist industry in the region.

There are several other major problems connected with the McLean Sawmills proposal. These include:

- the absence of a land use regional plan for the region.
- the absence of information on farmers' attitudes to the management and retention of native vegetation in the region.
- the lack of independent estimates for the size and availability of the privately owned native forest resource in the region.
- the present lack of commitment of farmers to establish commercial woodchip tree plantations, and the financial unattractiveness of private forestry schemes that involve only lump-sum payments on harvesting of plantations.
- the timing of the proposal coming out just prior to a major public review of the controversial Manjimup woodchip industry.
- the likelihood that State Forests in the area will be eventually forced open to provide resource for the industry.

CORPORATE TAKEOVER

There is a serious threat of the takeover of McLean Sawmills by Bunnings Ltd, should McLean Sawmills Pty Ltd obtain an export licence. Such a takeover would expand Bunnings Ltd's present fully used woodchip quota but would threaten the continued existence of McLean's Denmark sawmill. The evidence suggesting a future takeover includes:

- the present level of dealings between the two companies, with McLean Sawmills selling to W.A. Chip and Pulp Co Pty Ltd (WACAP), which is owned by Bunnings, about 10 000 tonnes of hardwood chips obtained from sawmill residue each year.
- the historical fact that WACAP applied for an extra 200 000 tonnes export quota in the late 70s, prior to the development of McLean Sawmills present proposal in 1980/81. This increase was not granted at the time.
- R. & N. Palmers (also owned by Bunnings Ltd) is the main logging and transport contractor for McLean Sawmills and has exclusive rights to the Boddington area, where Bunnings Ltd is clearing potentially chippable Jarrah-Marri forest for pine plantations on its own land.

- the recent history of takeovers by Bunnings Ltd of several major companies in the last three years.
- the history of takeovers of woodchip companies in Eastern Australia by interstate or Japanese interests.
- the small size of McLean Sawmills Pty Ltd to be taking financial responsibility for a major industrial development.
- the South Coast region within the economic range of transportation of chip logs to the Manjimup woodchip mill.

The possibility of this takeover has very serious ramifications for the South Coast community, including a redirection of chip and sawlogs from the region to saw and chip mills owned by Bunnings Ltd in the Manjimup shire, and the possible closure of McLean Sawmill's Denmark mill.

The establishment of woodchipping facilities in the area would only be acceptable if a project proposal involved establishing tree plantations first, and provided no native forests would be felled for woodchipping, or cleared for plantations. In addition plantation establishment programs would not have to conflict with present or future agricultural use requirements to the extent that they create pressure for the alienation of further Crown Land or State Forest for agriculture. Associated secondary processing of forest products from such an acceptable woodchip project would also have to be carried out in the Great Southern Region.

ALTERNATIVES TO EXPORT WOODCHIPPING

There are viable alternatives to the Denmark Woodchip Project. These include encouragement of developments already underway in the South Coast Region. There are several good employment generating and environmentally sustainable projects in the tourist, timber and agriculture industries being pursued or investigated. In addition there are further projects that have not yet been considered but which have great potential.

One alternative development is government and private actions to protect remnant private forests left on farms. This should include the adequate funding of local projects that involve proper management of remnant native forests. The economic values of these adequately protected native forests could then be available in the long-term to the farmer and the whole community.

In agroforestry there is already a recently introduced pine sharefarming scheme available for land owners in the South Coast Region. This government-sponsored forestry scheme has much job creating potential, is very financially attractive to farmers,



and is generally aimed at converting already cleared land for pine planting. This scheme ought to be expanded to encompass the planting of eucalypt and other hardwood timbers, including fine quality timber species. In Tasmania a diverse range of forestry incentive schemes are operating that could be applied in the West Australian context. Besides job creating schemes in agroforestry and plantation establishment there is the possibility for labour intensive environmental rehabilitation programs particularly in the lower rainfall areas of the Great Southern, parts of which need major tree planting programs to address land degradation problems.

In the timber industry there are opportunities available in value-added processing, particularly in further seasoning of hardwoods sawmilled in the region which are presently sold green for scantling or sleepers. There are also possibilities in establishing a Model Mill which would provide a training facility for the development of a fine timber industry, and also be an active workplace servicing the local craft industry. An associated possible development is a woodcraft centre, as the present loss of potential timber for woodcrafts in present Karri region logging operations is perceived by many local Denmark and Pemberton residents to be a major resource loss.

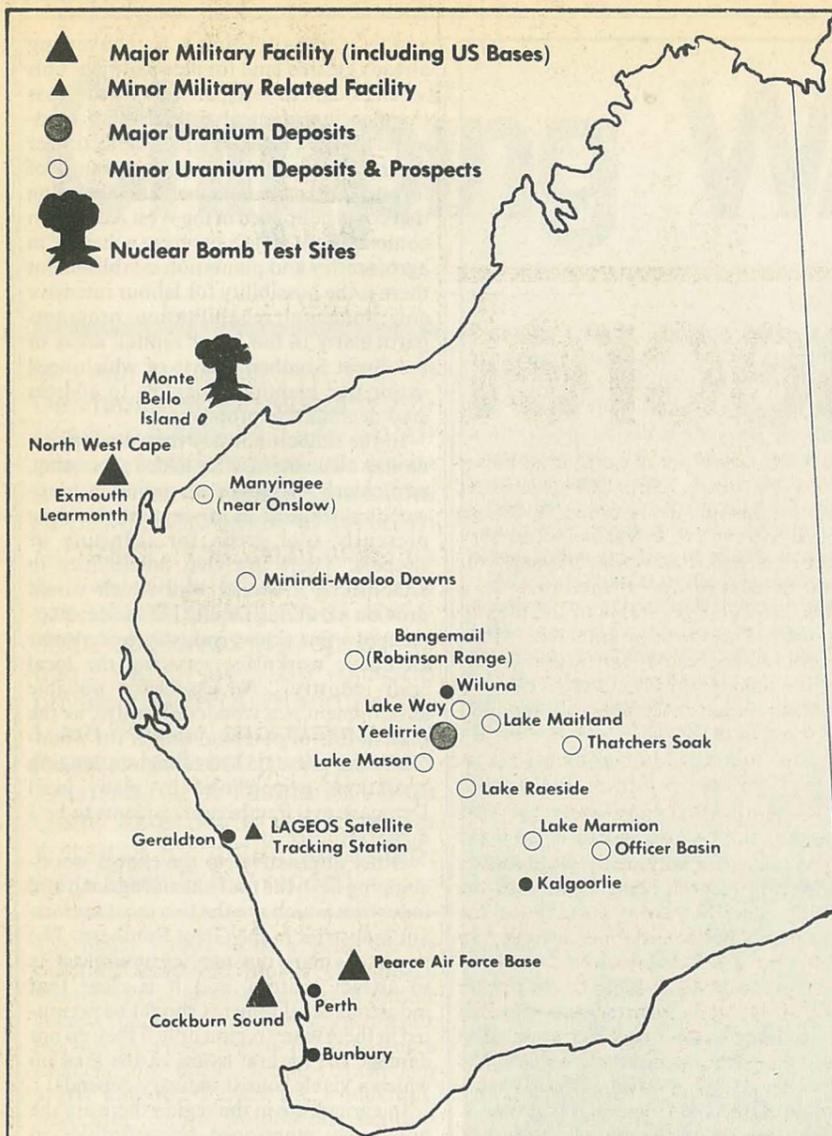
Other alternatives to the export woodchipping lie in the tourism and agricultural industries which are the two most important industries in the Great Southern. The region has many outstanding natural assets to attract visitors, and it is clear that industrial developments should be permitted in the Albany region only if they do not damage the natural assets of the area on which a viable tourist industry depends.

In agriculture in the region there are the previously mentioned opportunities in agroforestry developments using a diverse range of tree species, and in developing new crops, for instance in specialist crops such as herbs, flowers and specialist vegetables and fruits.

Thus there are viable and exciting alternatives to McLean Sawmill's Denmark Woodchip Project that offer much greater employment and environment related opportunities for local people. However it should be stressed that Denmark's population is growing very rapidly because of the attractiveness of its climate and the natural environment. It is essential if this growth is to be maintained and channelled in a responsible direction that major environmentally destructive industries are not permitted in the region. Only then will the great potential of this beautiful area and its people be realised.

Contact: Campaign to Save Native Forests, c/- Environment Centre, 794 Hay St, Perth, WA 6000. Tel: (09) 321 2269.

France's TOTAL secret



The Western Australia Minister for Minerals and Energy, David Parker has said that 'Uranium exploration in WA should be encouraged, to provide full information on the states resources'. One region that is being investigated is Manyingee where a consortium of companies which include a good deal of French backing are using leaching methods to extract uranium. This article outlining the situation at Manyingee is edited from information gathered by **Carl Drury** and **Rick Humphries**.

At Manyingee in Western Australia's Pilbara region TOTAL Mining Australia, which is 100% French owned, the German company Urangesellschaft Australia and Elf Aquitaine Triako Mines which is partly French owned have established a trial uranium mine. At this mine uranium has been removed using the controversial 'in situ' leaching method. This consists of a series of bores drilled in a configuration around a central extraction bore. The process consists of pumping a leaching solution through the ore body and leaching out the mineral. The solution is then drawn up through the central extraction bore and passed through ion exchange cylinders which extract the required minerals.

The leach used at Manyingee was an alkali solution consisting essentially of hydrogen peroxide, sodium bicarbonate and hypochlorite. Injection occurred over a 169 day period at the rate of 10 000 L/hr and involved a total of 40.5 million litres of leaching solution.

This form of mining releases radionuclides previously captive in the ore body. Elsewhere in Australia (Honeymoon) and overseas (Wyoming USA) this process, using different solutions, caused considerable environmental problems. In Australia, this being the driest continent, groundwater contamination of any form is of particular concern. Some of the problems encountered include:

- difficulty in controlling and predicting ground water hydrology ensuring containment of leaching solution in ore body;
- restoring the original groundwater conditions after cessation of mining;
- monitoring the operation.

In Australia, the Semaphore branch of the South Australian Labor Party called for a halt to the 'in situ' leaching at Beverley due to the potentially disastrous

Chris Drury is an anti-nuclear activist. Rick Humphries is the campaigns officer with the Australian Conservation Foundation in Western Australia.

environmental effects. For similar reasons the Honeymoon project, also in SA, was stopped. The Department of Environmental Quality in the US state of Wyoming identified several serious problems with the 'Irigaray Ranch' mine in 1979. It concluded that it is essential to identify all the hydraulic properties of the process and the ore body so as to be able to identify any excursions of leach solution.

In a letter to the editor of *Environment WA* dated 24 April 1986 the WA Minister for Minerals and Energy, David Parker, said:

there is no doubt of the containment of the leach solution within the ore body because of the thorough manner with which the containing geological formations have been defined.

Compare this with the Environmental Protection Authority of WA (EPAWA) assessment:

the fact that the groundwater system is reasonably well known and will be tightly monitored would suggest that the project is environmentally acceptable at this scale.

Well, what about the monitoring? Twelve monitoring wells were sampled on a weekly of fifteen day basis and this is clearly inadequate. If an excursion of the radioactive leaching solution was to occur it could be at least a week and at worst a fortnight before it was detected. Many thousands of litres of leaching solution may have been injected. If such an accident did occur it is also unlikely the public would be informed. This brings us to the next point.

It appears a veil of legislative secrecy has been lowered over Manyingee under the guise of corporate confidentiality. Conservation organisations have repeatedly and without success tried to get information on two aspects of the operation:

- The whereabouts of between a half and one tonne of uranium produced at Manyingee and of 24 kilos of radioactive waste generated by the operation.
- The groundwater monitoring records.

Regarding the first enquiry the consistent

answer has been 'out of state'. Enquiries in the east by certain journalists has revealed that this destination is probably Ranger Uranium Mine in the Northern Territory. Our primary concern is what measures will be taken to ensure that the yellowcake will not be lost in the general pool and illegally exported. Parker, in an interview with a Melbourne journalist, Ian Wood, stated that it would be simply stored. Regarding the waste, it is conceivable that it will be deposited in the Ranger tailings dam and released into Kakadu National Park as part of the Ranger waste disposal plan.

The question that must be asked is, if the standards are being adhered to why the secrecy? Likewise, why are the groundwater monitoring records being kept from the public's view? If there is nothing to hide there should be no need for any secrecy. In a letter to the Conservation Council of W.A. on the 24 April 1986, David Parker stated 'It is totally incorrect to claim that the company has not been accountable to either the government or the public'. The Australian Conservation Foundation's dossier of repeated denials of access to information under the guise of corporate confidentiality would indicate that Total's Manyingee operation is *not* accountable to the public. Total's attitude to the public's right to know is similar though perhaps a little more blunt than that of the Departments. This was amply demonstrated by a phone call to Mr Bob Cousins in Sydney on 4 September 1986. When asked if Total had commenced Stage Two of their operation the ACF was told "that is none of your business". Corporate citizenship?

Obviously the question that must be raised is where does corporate confidentiality end and the public right to know commence. In areas of environmental quality and the destination of highly radioactive substances it is *in the public interest* that the population is informed for health and safety reasons. Legislation, elected persons and senior bureaucrats are here to serve the public not to work for large foreign corporations.



Aaaargh! It's . . .

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NOVEMBER 14th, 1986



Government's panic budget

FOR MY NEXT TRICK, I
WILL RESOLVE THE INHERENT
CONTRADICTIONS OF THE
CAPITALIST ECONOMIC SYSTEM!



Alley-oop!

When Paul Keating handed down the Labor Government's 1986/87 budget on August 19th, 1986 we had been softened up for a tough budget. But as the dust settled, it became obvious that the horror in this budget was the government's.

The weeks leading up to the budget were seen in dramatic terms by some observers and participants. The Ministerial Committee preparing the budget was said to be 'in a bunker' as the dollar kept falling and the noise level rose about cuts to welfare expenditure. The drama went to farce the weekend before the budget when Hawke emerged to say that the economic crisis facing Australia was akin to a wartime situation.

But perhaps he was right. War tends to be something that politicians declare and encourage others to fight while they then run around puffing themselves up and looking tough. And look at the enemies they chose — foreign exchange markets and overseas investors. These things needed to be impressed, according to some budget commentators, and a budget deficit of \$4-4.5 billion would be impressive. The Government chose to look really tough and brought down a deficit of \$3.5 billion. The deficit is actually a symbolic figure and can be juggled, so the Government also had to look tough in other areas.

One of the most obvious was to lift the ban on the sale of uranium to France. Michael Gill, business editor of the *National Times on Sunday* described this as a trick. 'It's an ideological bone to the baying hounds. It demonstrates panic, does almost nothing for trade and only produced a slightly lower deficit figure.' The government also decided to reduce real wages by 2% and although some unions would like to say something about that, the current ACTU operators seem to be compliant. The pre-budget apprehension about welfare cuts was based on predictions that were '... highly exaggerated, to the point where it is possible to wonder whether Mr Brian Howe was a conscious part of the Keating-Treasury pre-sell or whether he was simply being used' (*Australian Financial Review*, editorial the day after the budget).

However, the government made large 'savings' in the welfare area, not by taking away but by whittling down. The deferral of indexation increases in pensions and benefits means that when an increase actually occurs, it relates to price rises up to a year old. The eight month deferral of action to ease the poverty traps in the

Social Security system are particularly obnoxious. The government gains nearly \$148 million by not allowing pensioners to earn an extra \$10 per week per adult or an extra \$6 per week per child before their pension is affected. There will also be another crackdown to ensure that people on the dole aren't messing up the balance of trade.

The Government has a commitment to raising the level of pensions to 25% of Average Weekly Earnings. Pensions are close to this target now but, says Kate McNeil of the Victorian Council of Social Service, this is only because Average Weekly Earnings have fallen and the pension percentage is dipping again anyway.

The deregulation of the financial system and the floating of the dollar have created new problems the government is not addressing. Money coming into the country is not being used in productive areas, but in takeover of existing companies — and this expenditure is tax deductible. Between 1981 and 1985 Elders made \$334 million profit and paid only \$18 million net tax. (Federal Budget 1986/87 VCOSS information kit). Yet it has been estimated that between them, Elders and Bell, the BHP raiders, have a debt of \$4 to \$5 billion, mostly in overseas borrowings. Money is also flowing out of the country at an increasing rate. Not only does the interest on the overseas debt go back to the lenders, but private investment abroad had increased from \$2200 million in 1983 to \$6900 million in 1985/86.

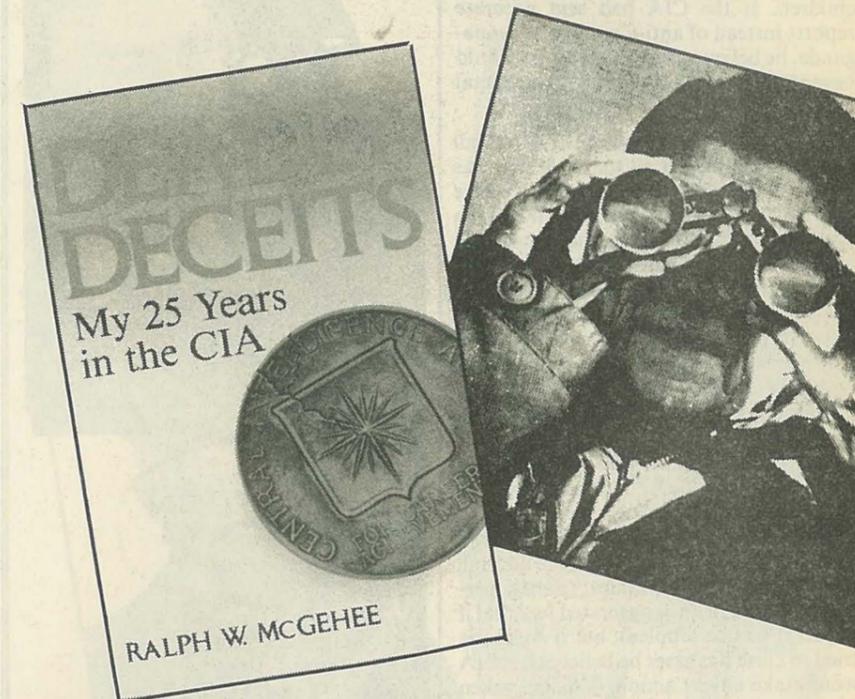
The real problem with the budget is that it does not have any strategy or sense of purpose beyond building an image to impress financial markets. Throwing away the few policies that the ALP Government does have will not impress anyone in the long run.

There is a real danger that as long as it is in this panic, and as long as there is no growth in the economy, social and environmental issues will be given a low priority by the Government. There are a number of things that we can do about this. We can begin and sustain an argument about the sort of economy we need. Do we need growth? Should we have a different measure of what is important in an economy, for example our long term environment and adequate food, housing and activity for all people.

The economy in any case can not just be left to governments. The current Federal Government has shown itself incapable of running an economy they have helped shape, they could not handle something more difficult. They must still be worked on, but our activities must include pressure on and discussion with the companies and individuals who are exercising power almost without account to anyone.

INTERVIEWS

Ralph McGehee "My 25 years in the CIA"



What would happen if Australia refused to renew the licence for the American bases on our soil? Would the US staff quietly pack their bags and leave, or would there be a coup, like the CIA-backed coup against President Allende of Chile in 1973? Would the Labor Government go down like the Whitlam Government in 1975, sacked by a Governor-General who was widely believed to be involved with the CIA?

The CIA's role in Whitlam's downfall has never been precisely revealed, but it is known that the CIA feared the Whitlam Government would make details of the secret spy facility at Pine Gap public. The Labor ministers were seen as a security risk. Just before the Whitlam sacking, the CIA sent a telex to ASIO, urging it to take immediate action against the Government. The rest is history.

Ralph McGehee is a former CIA spy with 25 years direct experience of its methods. In Vietnam, he saw the false information the CIA supplied about the war. He was sickened by the napalming of children. If the CIA had sent accurate reports instead of anti-Communist propaganda, he believes the United States would never have begun this unwinnable, brutal war.

McGehee had gone from college football star almost straight to the CIA. He was naive, enthusiastic, seizing on the chance to travel and serve his country. When the truth hit him in Vietnam he considered suicide, but decided instead to make honest reports about the situation in South East Asia, and change the CIA from inside.

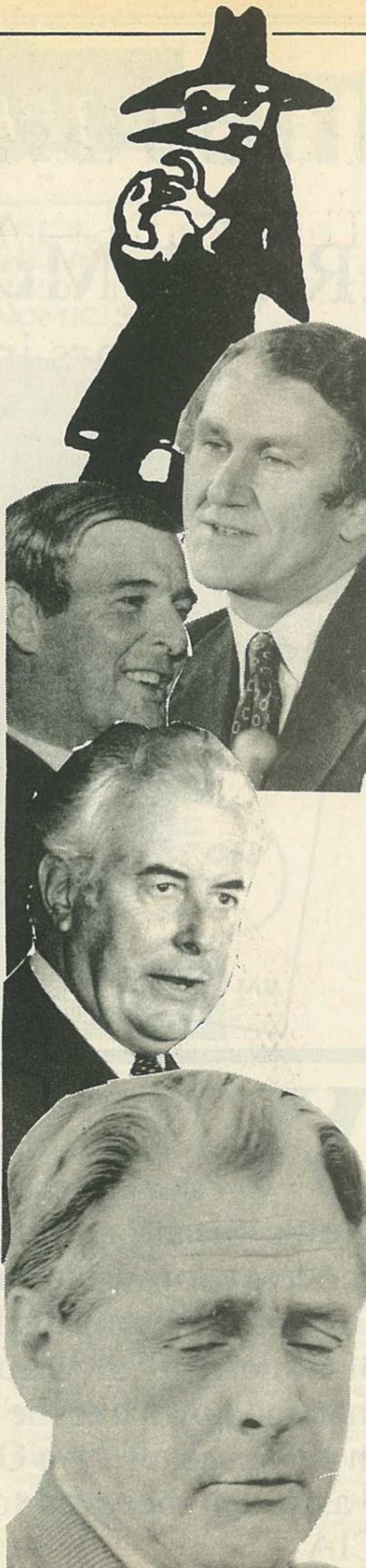
Forlorn hope! McGehee was seen as a troublemaker. His promotion was blocked and in 1977 he left the CIA. Since then he has been trying to warn the public about CIA activities.

In September McGehee arrived in Australia, as a guest of People for Nuclear Disarmament. He warned Australians to be alert to the danger of CIA infiltration. The present government has done nothing to offend the United States, (partly, perhaps, because of an exaggerated fear that if it does it will be toppled), but if Australia tried to close the bases he believes the CIA would take covert action. This unspoken fear has silenced many Labor members, especially on the Left, who remember the painful end of the Whitlam Government.

McGehee rejects this fatalism. He says Australians should not be 'paranoid' about the CIA. 'You have to stop being afraid: education is the primary defence against CIA destabilisation.'

New Zealand and Australia must be on guard against CIA infiltration but are not in danger of military intervention. He doubts whether the CIA would worry about uranium mining. 'Does the United States need Australian uranium?' he asks.

Covert action is only successful while it stays covert. If Australians wish to act independently they must confront the probability that the CIA has spies here. 'Who do your security services watch?' he asks suddenly, in the middle of the interview. 'Do they watch the peace movement?' I answer that as far as I know ASIO has admitted placing phone taps on people in the peace and anti-nuclear movements.



seems unthinkable that ASIO would watch ordinary American citizens in Australia. Yet Americans could be CIA agents destabilising a democratically elected government, while peace activists are probably harmless.

McGehee says the CIA has more money and more staff now than at any other time in its history, even the Vietnam war days. He doubts if there is much KGB activity in the Pacific.

Before the Australian tour, McGehee visited New Zealand where he warned the CIA could be trying to undermine the Lange Government because of Lange's stand on US nuclear ships. During his three week stay in New Zealand he noticed there were a series of damaging press leaks about the Lange Government. McGehee says leaks to the press, of true but embarrassing information or of forged documents are common CIA ploys. He says the New Zealand peace movement is keeping an eye on CIA activities and blew the whistle when the CIA tried to set up a front in the labour movement.

McGehee believes the CIA worked to destabilise the Whitlam government. For example:

- Tirath Khemlani's company, Commerce International, had CIA links. Khemlani was the shady financier who offered to arrange a \$2 billion loan for the Government, working through the resources minister, Rex Connor. Khemlani then revealed the whole deal to the press and destroyed Connor's career. McGehee suggests Khemlani might have been sent by the CIA to ensnare Connor.

- After Connor's authority to raise the money was revoked, Jim Cairns took over the task. His career was destroyed when a letter bearing his signature was released to the press. The letter offered an acquaintance of his 2½% brokerage fee to raise the loan.

Cairns does not remember ever writing this letter. He said at the time that he sometimes signed piles of letters presented to him by his secretary, without reading them. McGehee points out that the CIA often uses forged letters. In this case they could have been passed on to ASIO agents, who were sympathetic to the Opposition.

McGehee quotes CIA sources: Ray Cline, former deputy director of the CIA, said that during the Whitlam period there was a 'period of turbulence to do with Alice Springs' and the CIA passed damaging information about the Government to its enemies. 'If we provided a particular piece of information to the Australian intelligence services, they would make use of it.' (This has been quoted in *Covert Action* no. 16 and Robert Lindsey's *The Falcon and the Snowman*).

McGehee also quotes the CIA internal publication, *National Intelligence Daily* which commented that the most incriminating evidence on the Loans Affair 'may have been fabricated'. McGehee says there would be no surviving evidence of the operation. 'The beauty about covert operations is that you don't leave a lot of evidence. Deliberately.'

McGehee also suspects the CIA forged the telexes used as evidence that Libya was behind the West German disco explosion in April 1986, which killed one American serviceman and wounded 204 people. At the time the United States warned that if a 'smoking gun' were found linking the terrorist act to Libya, President Gaddafi would be punished.

It took two days for a cable to the Libyan People's Bureau in East Berlin, congratulating it on its success in West Germany to come to light,' he says. 'All the CIA has to do is type up the fake evidence.'

Straight away, the US bombed Gaddafi's headquarters, killing his little adopted daughter but failing to kill Gaddafi. McGehee predicted that if the United States wanted to hit Gaddafi again they would first 'find' further evidence of Libyan terrorism.

Interestingly in September 1986 just after this interview with McGehee, hijackers captured a plane in Karachi killing a US citizen, and Libya was at first blamed. The *Melbourne Age* carried a heading, 'Gunmen Grab Jumbo: American killed by "Libyan Group".' This was based on a phone call to a news agency in Nicosia from a man claiming to speak for an unknown group, the 'Libyan Revolutionary Cells'. The hijackers themselves never claimed to be Libyan and Libya condemned the hijacking.

If this was an attempt by the CIA to blame Gaddafi for the hijacking it did not work: European governments were uniformly unimpressed with the US 'evidence' that Libya was planning terrorist attacks. The hijackers are now believed to be Palestinian.

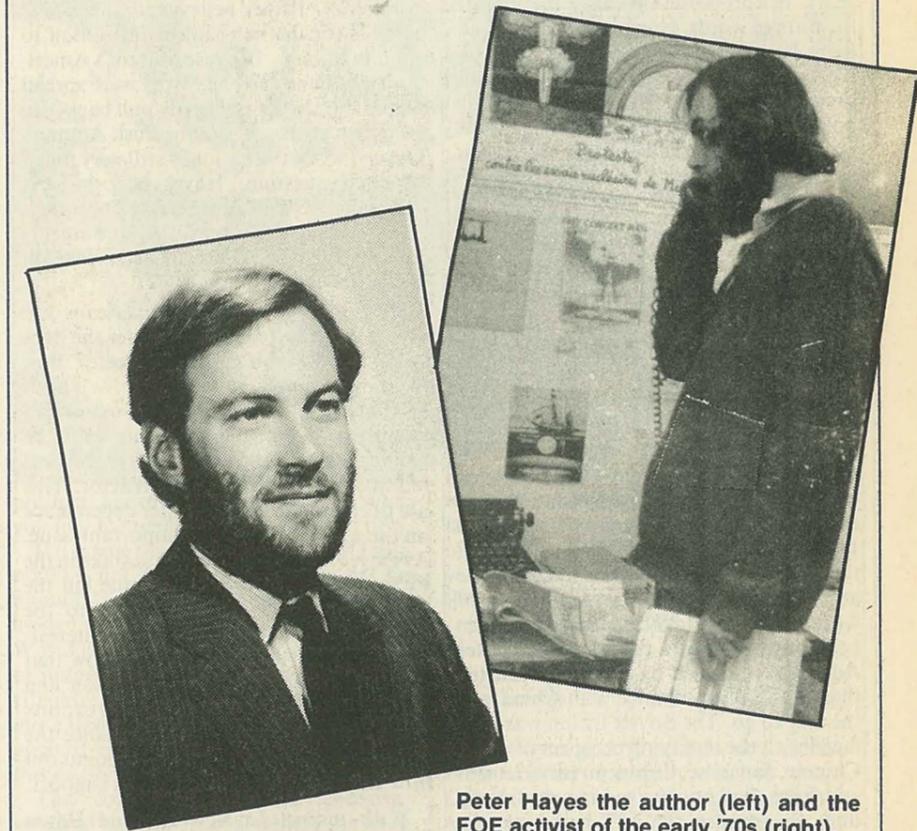
The most disturbing aspect of all this is McGehee's claim that the CIA fabricates evidence, then passes it on to the US President and military as fact. He says he wrote CIA intelligence reports based on articles in local papers, but was never told what stories the CIA had planted in the press. There was no way he could tell fact from fiction.

The danger is that the United States believes its own propaganda. In a nuclear age, that is just too risky.

Ralph McGehee's book, *Deadly Deceits: My 25 years in the CIA* is available from **People for Nuclear Disarmament**, 39 Gertrude Street, Fitzroy for \$15.

Peter Hayes

The Pacific — America's nuclear lake



Peter Hayes the author (left) and the FOE activist of the early '70s (right).

Peter Hayes was a founding editor of *Chain Reaction* and one of the people who put FOE Australia together back in the early 1970s. With co-authors Lyuba Zarsky and Walden Bello he has just finished writing a book, *American Lake*, which details the hazards associated with the American nuclear force in the Pacific.

Peter Hayes

The purpose behind the book was to sensitise the American population to the fact of the US presence in the Pacific. Hayes describes the US as being Eurocentric, the general consensus in America being that the threat of nuclear war lies in Europe. Whilst not ignoring this possibility Hayes points out that the European situation has maintained a stability over the years. 'In Europe the lines have held despite the wars of words. However, in the Pacific there have been two major conflicts, the Korean War and the Indo-China War; he says, 'and in Korea the situation is still politically and militarily volatile in the midst of which are all these nuclear weapons.'

Hayes believes that this, coupled with the offshore American and Soviet naval nuclear arms race, creates the inherent possibility of a spillover from a war in Korea to a naval shoot-out in the Pacific.

The threat to the allies in the Pacific lies in the fact that in the areas adjacent to the Soviet Union the Soviets have a vast military machine. Hayes does not deny that the Soviets have shown expansionist tendencies but believes that the Soviets would not fill the vacuum if the US pulled out of the region. He uses as an example the period between 1975 and 1978. 'Between 1975 and 1978 it was the peak of detente, there was talk of arms control in the Pacific and America was going to pull out of Korea. It was in 1978 with the Iranian hostage crisis when a faction of the Carter Administration, led by Projinsky, insisted that to make an alliance with China was the way to go. The Soviet Union was then faced with the terrifying prospect of a US, Chinese, Japanese, European encirclement and from then on engaged in arms racing only to counter the US being on the offensive in the Pacific.'

Whilst the Soviets are inferior in conventional terms and do not have the significant capability to project their forces far from their shores there is a very real risk in the nuclear peril. The Soviets do have a huge nuclear force which Hayes describes as a sledgehammer ready to slam down on the American forces operating out of host nations such as Japan, South Korea and so on. 'We are trapped between these two giants and if they go to war we will be crushed by the Soviet nuclear weapons.' The problem is how to intervene in that situation from a Pacific perspective.

Hayes argues that the Pacific nations need to become much more assertive in

separating the Soviet and US forces by creating nuclear free zones and non-intervention zones at a regional level. This, he says, would create a collective unity amongst the Pacific nations and bring about a regional framework excluding the US and Soviet military. 'What is happening in the Philippines is a very important example of how people in the Pacific can assert themselves against the external control of their own security environment.'

At present the Philippines are torn between two opposing options for their future. One is symbolised by the insurgency in the rural regions, the other by the presence of the US Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base. It was the insurgency, Hayes believes, that made it possible for the non-violent revolution to occur in Manila. 'Because Marcos's American armed and trained forces were spread so thin they could not easily pull back into the urban areas and simply crush Aquino.' The end of this situation is still very much an open question. Hayes believes that either the US will re-assert its control or Aquino will share power with the insurgents which would probably lead to the eviction of the US bases.

In the Philippines the Americans are saying that they won't reconsider the debt from the Bataan nuclear reactor that Marcos ordered to be built — about \$100m/year — unless Aquino orders it to be turned on. For her to do this would be political suicide. In North Korea the Soviets recently agreed to supply a reactor. This use of economic aid to bolster dependence on the super powers is an important issue. As Hayes says 'What is really at stake in the Philippines is not a military issue but the political prestige and credibility to the other major allies in the Pacific.' Interestingly though New Zealand did show that you can disagree with a super power and survive economically. New Zealand exports to the US have in fact doubled since the warships ban. Once again Hayes points out how crucial it is to have regional support.

With respect to New Zealand Hayes believes that the strategy of the Lange Government is not directly applicable to Australia. 'We have a great deal more bargaining power and leverage with the US if we care to use it. We have the bases, warship visits and a greater economic power.'

Given the existence of the nuclear threat in the Pacific and given what has occurred in the Philippines and in New Zealand the question to be asked is 'What can Australia do?' Hayes points to three possibilities.

To have an influence on arms racing and crisis behaviour one can be a 'willing accomplice', that is, continue with business as usual. However he points out 'there is no evidence that you can exercise any

influence and there is in fact a great deal of contrary evidence such as the irrelevance of the 1958 ANZUS talks during the Taiwan Straits crisis when the US came to the brink of dropping the bomb on China. Admiral Felt, then Commander-in-Chief Pacific, dismissed these discussions as 'talk talk'. Again during the Cuban Missile crisis when allies such as Australia were not consulted and again in 1973 the Middle East crisis when a global nuclear alert went through North West Cape, Australia wasn't even informed let alone consulted.'

A second option is that of an 'honest broker'. 'You attempt to mediate between the super powers to the maximum extent possible'. This would not necessarily entail stepping outside the alliance but would require action. Hayes recommends the eviction of Northwest Cape. 'Having indicated how serious we were we could then use Pine Gap and Nurrungar as bargaining chips to the request real progress in arms control and disarmament in a time period that we would specify.'

Finally there is the stance of 'activist-peace maker'. 'In this stance you decide at the outset that it is futile to try to dictate to a super power and evict the bases, demilitarise our foreign policy and abolish our long range strike force. We could then seek a regional concert of our natural allies and seek collective restraints from both the super powers to force them out of the Pacific.' Hayes believes that the most realistic action is a mixture of the last two options.

It took six years to write *American Lake*, a massive exercise in researching and translating military jargon and entailed what Hayes describes as a personal anthropological expedition in that one had to change ones own persona. When he spoke to *Chain Reaction* he was wearing a suit which he says he doesn't normally wear and had recently shaved his beard off so as to be allowed into the Pentagon. 'One has to become something other than oneself and this can be very psychologically damaging.'

Hayes emphasised the importance of the fact that *American Lake* was written by a group of people working as a team and that the group contained an Asian as well as two Caucasians, and a female as well as two males.

American Lake is published by Penguin books and has a recommended retail price of \$14.95. It is available from most bookstores including the FOE bookshop 366 Smith St Collingwood, Vic 3066 Tel. (03)4198700.

Peter Hayes is also featured in a video produced for schools along with Dr Rosalie Bertell, author of *No Immediate Danger*, and Admiral Gene La Rocque (Ret.) of the Centre for Defence Information in Washington, entitled *Nuclear Conversations*. The video is available from Open Channel Tel (03)419 5111.

REVIEWS

Books

The Bhopal Tragedy — One Year After
An APPEN Report
Sahabat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth Malaysia) 1986, 235 pages, \$18.95.

Reviewed by Bert King

There was no place to run on 2 December 1984. In due course a multitude of books will appear on the Bhopal chemical accident. It was such a catastrophic, momentous event, the repercussions are so vast and will continue to raise so many issues. Just as Three Mile Island and now Chernobyl have led to so much questioning of the nuclear fuel cycle, Bhopal and Chernobyl have this in common — they both raise questions about the ultimate path of our way of life. This book has been produced by the Friends of the Earth organisation in Malaysia, Sahabat Alam Malaysia, which is the coordinator of Appen, the Asia-Pacific People's Environment Network. So it is a Third World view of a Third World disaster, India's tragedy through Third World eyes.

There are just 51 pages of descriptive material of the event itself, with some heart-rending photos. This section covers the event, the aftermath, the horror, the plight of survivors and interviews with affected people. The material is written by the knowledgeable journalist Claude Alvares, who has researched the subject well. The remainder of the book features appendices, a whole series of varied documents. There is medical evidence by doctors and by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), the evidence of Union Carbide (UC), the legal battles — will compensation be decided in US or Indian courts? And there are environmental and citizens groups' calls for action or hazardous industries and chemicals.

A list of UC's world-wide organisations shows the vastness of this international and their wide array of products. They operate in 39 countries in North America, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe and here in Australia too 'Eveready is the UC symbol — eveready to exploit a



product, ahead of human needs. So when you buy Eveready batteries think of this.

If it is true that the dead teach the living, we must not let the subject of Bhopal die. Should Third World countries adopt outmoded western technology, because Third World leaders are 'hooked' on the concept of industry at any cost? Question Indira Ghandi's statement — 'development is more desirable than safety, poverty is our greatest environmental hazard.' But does this justify development at any price?

The complexities of the chemistry involved at Bhopal are shown in the book. Was methyl, isocyanate (MIC) itself the killing agent, or was cyanide gas released and was it responsible for the deaths? The valuable work of Prof. Heeresh Chandra is highlighted as Director of the Medical Legal Institute, Bhopal. He showed the role of cyanide in the accident and of the value of sodium thiosulphate as an antidote.

But if the medical questions are complex to the layperson, the legal questions are even more so. There is much data presented on this in the appendices. Where will it all end? Victims of aircraft accidents can get speedy compensation but not the victims of Bhopal or their relatives. There are the competing forces of UC, the Indian government, the Madhya Pradesh state govern-

ment, the bureaucratic forces, and the lawyers waiting in the wings for their rake off. This legal nightmare may drag on for years. Certainly UC lost enormously at Bhopal — it is now a dirty word forever — by storing dangerously large quantities of MIC, for failing to refrigerate this reactive chemical, and for not having an adequate system for neutralising escaping gas.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki's victims have been studied medically for 40 years, Chernobyl's victims will be studied for the next 40 years and so Bhopal's victims will be studied. But this is no comfort to the poverty and suffering of Third World peoples. This report was compiled in an effort to call for international condemnation of multinationals who put profit before human lives. As such it is a valuable reference.

But as the reviewer has said before, the ultimate remedy for Bhopal lies in the hands of the Indian people themselves — social change. Congratulations to FOE Malaysia for producing such a good book. Just as Chernobyl is a synonym for nuclear disaster, so Bhopal is a synonym for industrial disaster.

Bert King is an experienced engineer

REVIEWS

Global Challenge: From crisis to Co-operation: Breaking the North-South Stalemate. Report of the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy, Chaired by Michael Manly, President Willy Brandt. Pan Books, London and Sydney, 1985, 222 pages, \$

Reviewed by **Dr George Venturini.**

Those like myself who grew up in admiration of Willy Brandt may forgive him the romantic notion that his prestige could influence the Soviets, who have persistently refused to join the North-South dialogue. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko said in 1974:

We shall never accept, either in theory or practice, the false concept of the world being divided into 'rich' and 'poor' countries, which equates the socialist countries and certain other states that have extracted so much wealth from countries under colonial yoke.

Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm was no ambidextrous social democrat; he battled the Nazis in the streets of Berlin, and when the lights went out in Germany he fled to Norway where he later fought in the resistance as Willy Brandt. His North-South Report sparked an unprecedented international interest in most, but not all, capitals of the world.

As the economies of the North staggered under the double blow of recession and monetarism of the Reagan, Thatcher and Fraser (and successors?) regimes, and the failure at the Cancun summit, the Socialist International began to consider the need to re-examine basic issues and plan new approaches to development, democracy and the world economy. Between Brandt's *North-South Report* and *Global Challenge*, the *Palme Report on Common Security* drew the connection between disarmament and development.

While the second Brandt Report, entitled *Common Crisis*, mirrored the bleaker perspectives of 1983 and the *Holland Project* became part of the thinking of the European Left, *Palme*, *Common Crisis* and *Holland* all contributed to the book under review; *Global Challenge*. It is not possible to take issue with any of the points made in it, or its main conclusions and recommendations: the desire for 'a multi-lateral solution' to world problems; the 'challenge to the domination of the world economy by a handful of giant transnational corporations; the establishment of a New International Economic Order; the faith in new 'indications of an interest in dialogue' by Eastern Europe; the identification of conservatives and monetarist policies as the cause of global slump; the 'mutual interests' of both North and South in disarmament which at present 'are

blocked by global militarism,' and the condemnation of military expenses which sap the energy and resources of the world. All that *Global Challenge* says, 'implies major changes in the current policy approach and reform of international institutions, as well as a realignment of the global development agenda.'

Unfortunately much depends upon 'the North [beginning] the process of resolving its own crisis'. Until then:

... there are only limited prospects for development of the South. But so long as multilateral solutions are blocked by individual powers or superpowers, like-minded countries in both North and South should work together and through their regional institutions, create a new model of development and pioneer joint recovery programmes.

In *Global Challenge* the sanguine commitment of Brandt, Palme and Holland seems to be diluted in a lot of airy-fairy propositions. One cannot help the melancholy thought that this report of the Socialist International carries the signatures of the Australian Labor Party, of the chronically splintered Italian Socialists, of one of the Socialist parties of France, and of the two Japanese Socialist Parties (confined forever, it seems, to permanent opposition.)

Global Challenge is dated August 1985. A few months earlier, the Hawke Government (in which prominently sits Ralph Willis whose contribution to *Global Challenge* is dutifully acknowledged) yet again abandoned principle for a pragmatistic *pirouette*. The 'Labor show' demanded an act of obeisance to the money market men. The British Labour Party had performed (unsuccessfully as it turned out) in 1976. The French Socialists will shortly see whether their *demarche* in 1983 was adequate. The month before *Global Challenge* was sent to the press, the Italian 'Socialists' had seen their lira losing almost 20% against the American dollar in less than a market day. An enraged but impotent prime minister spoke of 'monetary terrorism'. It was not so, unless one wishes to so label the activity of the Italian State super-holding, Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI) the third-largest non-American corporation in the world, which had chosen that day to gamble on its own currency by speculating on a much-rumoured, forthcoming devaluation.

As the Report warns, the North must begin 'the process of resolving its own crisis' and then direct its attention to the *Global Challenge*. Within it, Australia seems another world, another problem.

Dr Venturini is a Friend of The Earth and was a Senate candidate for The Nuclear Disarmament Party in the December 1984 election.

The Handmaid's Tale by Margaret Atwood, Jonathon Cape, London, 1985

Reviewed by **Larry O'Loughlin.**

This one was not a freebie from the publishers, but a gift from a friend who seemed to think it was relevant because we had just had an experience with viable ovaries.

We are not immediately told why, but there are very few fertile women in the republic of Gilead. Those with viable ovaries are known as handmaids and attached to high-ranking 'Commanders' from whom they take their name. The storyteller is Offred and her tale is a chilling account of a time which seems designed by T.V. evangelists and the Right to Life. Roles are clear-cut and seem quite fixed. Women have their places as domestic servants, handmaids or official Wives of the Commanders. The Wives have power only in that they are able to relatively freely congregate with other Wives and they direct their households. This is the highest position in society for a woman, as evinced by Serena Joy, Fred's wife, who was a former religious T.V. star. The Wives superficially accept their role, while waiting for their Handmaids to give birth, when they go through a ritual symbolic birth and eventually adopt the child as their own.

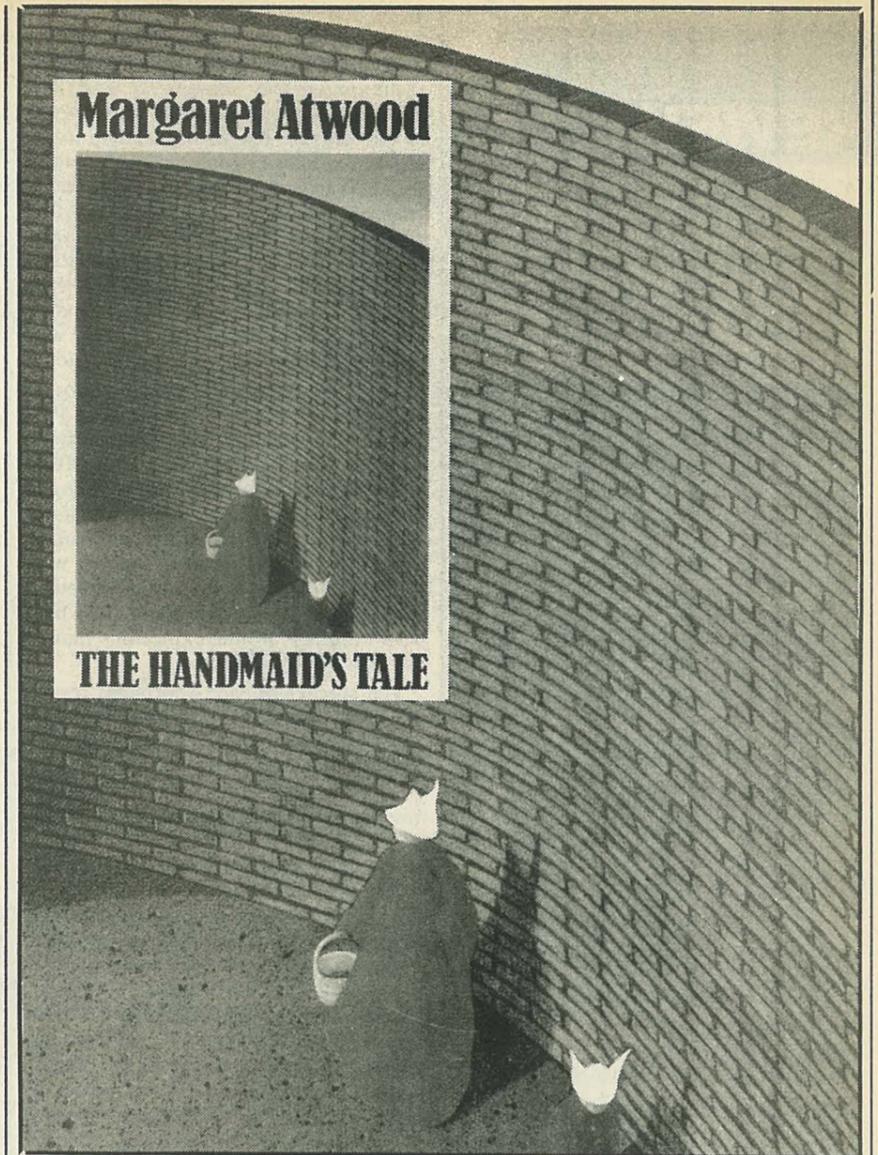
The Handmaid's life is one of isolation. Dressed in red habit-like garments, they are the new nuns, their lives devoted to procreation. They are fed and watched and undergo the monthly 'ceremony' with their Commander and the wife in a bizarre form of intercourse.

But underneath the suppression there lives a world of humans — individual lives distorted by their environment. Offred has memories, and an imagination. She remembers her daughter and her husband/lover, Luke. And she has seen resistance and escape and she starts to believe that she too can get away. But what are her choices?

The Commander wants to see her secretly, without his Wife knowing. The reason? He wants someone to talk to, to play games with, to show things like banned pornography. He wants to please Offred and she realises that she is gaining power and she savours it.

Serena Joy arranges for Offred to fuck with the Commander's driver Nick, to increase the chances of a successful pregnancy. More power, and Offred uses it to take human comfort and continues to fuck with Nick even after Serena Joy's arrangement has finished.

There is a further surprise when Offred finds that Ofglen, with whom she shops, knows of an underground femaleroad with the code word "Mayday". But Ofglen reveals her politics and is taken away by



the Eyes, who cruise in black vans with a white-winged eye on the side. But the story is not as important as what it says about people's basic need for love and human contact. Ofglen remembers Luke and relives him through Nick. The Commander seeks forbidden contact with Ofglen and Serena Joy seeks the other wives and waits for a baby.

Margaret Atwood attracts me with her style which is at once vivid and spare. I had a great sense of the desolation felt by Ofglen as she lay in her room which had been carefully adjusted to remove all means of suicide. She begins to realise the fate of the previous Offred and she finds a message scratched on the bottom of the wardrobe which she doesn't understand — 'Nolite te bastardes carborundorum'.

The only thing I didn't like about the book was the final chapter which provided

a context and rationale for the book and its characters, but which answered questions which were quite satisfactory as questions. It smacked of a happy ending and the book deserved better than an academic discussion, however much it was a parody.

This is a fascinating and absorbing book and when I have re-read it I could produce a very different review. I will also have read more of Margaret Atwood's work as immediately after the *The Handmaid's Tale* I went to *Bodily Harm* and I'm looking for more.

The Handmaid's Tale is set in a world where the environment has gone wrong, but it's also a world where the politics have gone to the right to cope with the crises. That makes it a book relevant to us all.

Larry O'Loughlin is a member of the Chain Reaction collective.

REVIEWS

NO CONCEIVABLE INJURY

The story of Britain and Australia's atomic cover-up

ROBERT MILLIKEN

No conceivable injury to life, limb or property could emerge from the test that has been made at Woomera . . . conducted in the vast spaces in the centre of Australia . . . with all our natural advantages for this purpose.
Robert Menzies, 1953

No Conceivable Injury
by Robert Milliken.

Penguin Books, Melb., 1986, 382 pp, \$7.95
Reviewed by Larry O'Loughlin.

Robert Milliken has written 'the story of Britain and Australia's atomic cover up' and he has also written the story of the Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia in the same book. They are both very good stories and I suspect that he has saved us the trouble of reading the actual Commission report itself. I can only suspect this, because I have not read the report.

I like the way he has constructed the story, he works chronologically, tracing back and forwards as necessary to explain points, but also manages to address themes in each of his chapters.

The book's title comes from a Robert Menzies quote (did that man die of cancer? he deserved to) where he said of the tests 'No conceivable injury to life, limb or property could emerge . . .'. The British, desperate as they were after the Second World War to regain some of their former

glory, had little concern for life or limb as they strove to develop their own nuclear weapons after the Americans had snubbed them for security reasons. It was these reasons that led to Australia being chosen as the test site. The British wanted to use the well equipped US sites in Nevada or the Marshall Islands but highly publicised spy trials stopped that. So British PM Atlee, cabled Menzies asking for permission to use the Monte Bello Islands. Menzies took three days to say yes. He did not even barter even though the Australian Government had been seeking British help with the development of its own nuclear reactor.

Britain made the 33rd nuclear explosion in the world on the 3rd of October 1952 after 29 US and three Russian. Australia then played host for five years for a total of twelve explosions with the largest being 60 kilotons at the Monte Bello Islands in 1956. We will never know how many people were killed or died early or were maimed by the bombs. I wonder whether, after Japan, more people in Australia have been killed by atomic explosions than in any other country.

The chapter on the Aborigines reveals the 1950's attitudes which must have sent many to their death. However, in that geographical area, Aborigines do not speak of those who are dead. The Royal Commission was very concerned about effects of the tests on Aborigines, due in part at least to the presence amongst the Commissioner of William Jonas, an academic in geography whose grandfather had an Aboriginal parent. Other Commissioners were Jill Fitch who had been a health physicist and former Senator, 'Diamond' Jim McLelland. McLelland had a refreshing approach to being a Royal Commissioner, he had said about the British Government in an interview just before the release of the report 'Frankly, my approach was "fuck you bastards, we'll get what we can out of you, even if we have to shame you into it by going public and showing what you're about." And it worked.' It worked in that 38 tonnes of previously classified material was delivered to the Royal Commission after he went on TV and into the papers in Britain.

True, the governments of Britain and Australia took just seven weeks to shelve the report, but the Royal Commission had more value than just its recommendations. It showed 'the alliance of politics and science was never so successful as in the 1950's, when it laid the groundwork for [the] arms race . . .'

Milliken's book is another successful 'product' of that Royal Commission, and it is an excellent resource in itself.

Larry O'Loughlin is a member of the Chain Reaction collective.

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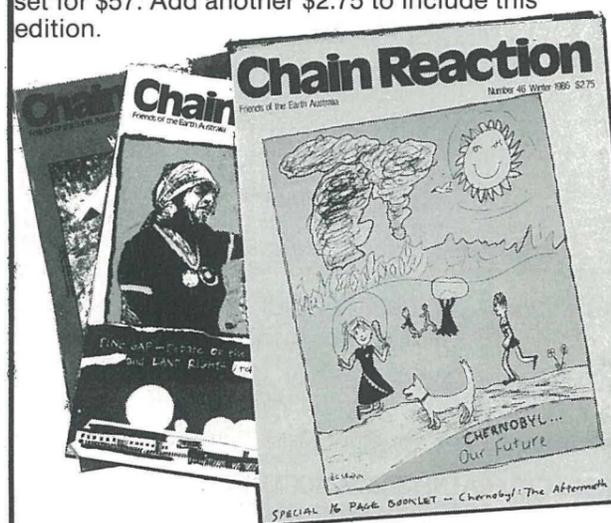
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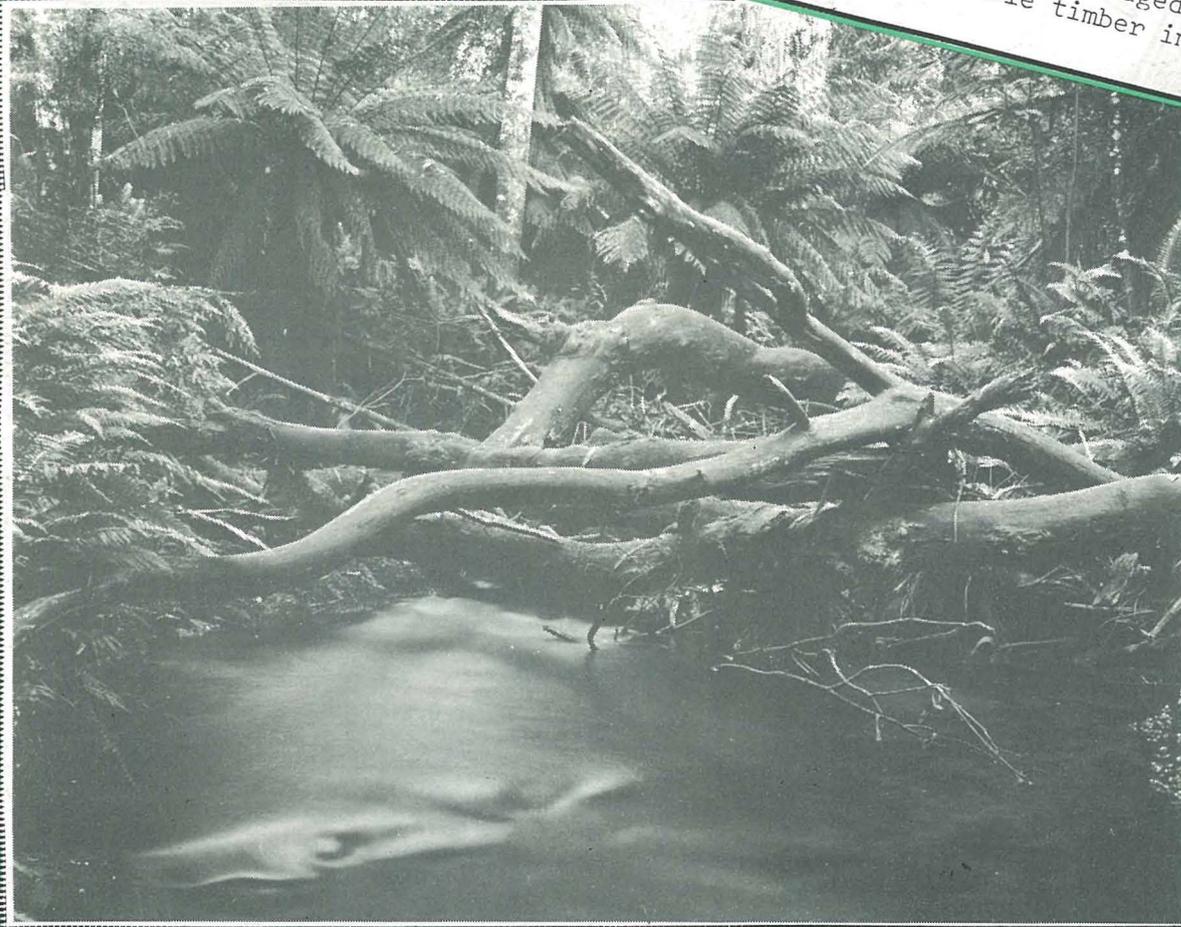
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