

Chain Reaction

Friends of the Earth Australia

Number 52 Summer 1987-88 \$2.75

Burning Issues

**Incineration
of toxic
waste**

**Is the CES
working?**

**Pine Gap
revisited**



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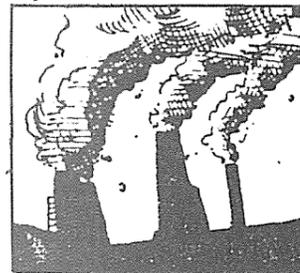
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LETTERS



The start of the problem

We notice that a lot of the writing in *Chain Reaction* aims at saving the environment by political reform through elections or by appeal to an existing political party. At the same time Peter Christoff in 'A Long Drought Ahead' (CR50) protests that 'the environment movement had developed no new strategies for extra-parliamentary action'. The creative ideas between elections that he is looking for seem to me to suffer from a type of fragmentation inherent in industrialism. That sounds a bit vague but isn't really. In medicine it fails to grasp the significance of total bodily health, in education the significance of broad understanding, in technology the long term benefits, and so on. Nothing is broad-based. Isn't saving the environment rather like that?

If we save rain forests and national parks through parliamentary action it is likely that reactionary forces will modify or rescind the good work, and this is a very depressing thought. Environmental decay is not a disease in itself. It cannot be, since all its problems are the result of industrialism, of producing as many goods as possible by the fastest and most efficient technology. The technology of industry is violent, — its chemical

agriculture, its industrial effluent, its transport, its mining, its poisonous treatment of metals, its particulates and gases, its unwanted heat and CO₂. We can't hope, as improved technology increases the output of goods, to cope effectively with all these violences, even if we lower them by efficiency and research. The time allowed by science before the planet becomes unviable as a dwelling place, is not enough.

If this is so then we are starting in the middle of the problem by trying to cure pollution and not to prevent it by attacking it at its source. The philosophy of industrialism gives unquestioned priority to manufactured goods. Any recessions from this creates panic so that the thought of thermal pollution, factory effluent, mining inroads into the earth's crust are whipped out of mind. Under industrialism, Earth's friends are fighting a losing battle.

The Meinels conceived of a plan for using the whole of the Arizona Desert as a heat trap for supplying America with power for all its industrial needs. With all its advantages of a 'clean' source of power, of water desalination in a water-short area etc., what is the ultimate effect? Two hundred million people become dependent on a single source of power which must take the earth's

crust to pieces to feed its machines, dependent on those machines for a living and a lifestyle, dependent without option of protest on whatever establishment controls it. What chance has the earth against such a situation? Is it worthwhile to destroy the earth even though, with a clean source of energy we take 200 years instead of 100? We might say yes to that if what we are doing seemed so enjoyable that it was worth sacrificing tomorrow's generations just to wallow in the resplendence of today. But are we capable of so much self-deception? Today is not at all resplendent. It is loaded with problems, anxieties, injustices, industrial illness, wrecked nerves, cancer and cardiac failure. For two thirds of this industrialised world there is deprivation and despair.

Yet even more illogically we panic at the thought of a world without industrialism. Without industrialism, we say, we would have earth toilets and backbreaking labour, unchecked disease and no television. We find it inconceivable that a post-industrial age will be comfortable, sophisticated, healthy and free of the clockwork day. It will also have television.

If the earth can't sustain today's mass production methods they're still not likely to fade away of their own accord unless there is the prototype of a lifestyle that is obviously better, and not just a vaguely defined social change full of unspecific promises. If people can't visualise a comfortable sophisticated and progressive society without the all-electric home, jet travel and the automobile it is not exactly their fault. They need evidence or else any description of such a society seems like the ravings of a

nut. Are not unemployment, AIDS, a collapsing stock market, etc. leaving blank areas in people's minds which will be open to new ideas? Is this the field where Christoff's new strategies can be practised? Some years ago Professor Birch wrote that unless we educate for survival the race will not survive. This is true, and it must also be true that education for survival must primarily be concerned with the great cycle of Nature without which we cannot survive. Yet scientists who are concerned with the environment, agreeing in theory, at the same time muff the application of it. When physiology was abandoned in high schools in favour of biology on the grounds that the former wasn't leading to higher studies, these same concerned scientists never suggested what was obviously true, — that this same physiology course could have been taught effectively spread over seven years of primary school in conjunction with a practical and theoretical gardening course. These two together are the basic substance of the cycle of nature. Not only that, they can be introduced easily without disturbing the present educational set-up, before the great farcical education for the big machine begins, and before the industrial hierarchy looks with suspicion on change.

As a strategy for extra-parliamentary action this has a lot of advantages. What is taught in primary school is more readily noted by parents of all walks of life, since at that stage the child and parent communicate more easily. (True as a general statement) It becomes acceptable to them as both respectable and credible. This is not so very surprising. These parents

have not yet developed the anxiety neurosis about whether or not the offspring is learning the right things to fit into a job in the big machine. Everything the primary school child learns comes within the compass of the parents power to comprehend. Just from observation and not from authority, it seemed to me that this fact has been used in Third World countries to help in the struggle for adult literacy. Just so I am inclined to believe that this is the right field for our own struggle towards an understanding of the cycle of nature.

Parallel to this is the problem of convincing people that post-industrialism can and must hold more advantages for them than their present lifestyle does, that in *owning* less they will have a great deal more and that what they have will be sophisticated and technologically developed. Moreover, they will acquire it without a lifetime struggle for possessions. Prototypes for post-industrial technology exist in isolated forms everywhere but we are not trying to fit them into a whole pattern. It is time we put our heads together and did it.

I am not a nut or an alternative lifestyle groupist and both I and my husband would be very pleased to have more literature from you.

Jessie Holdsworth
Seacliff Park SA.

Energy to burn

At last some of the world's governments are taking seriously predictions of the onset of the greenhouse effect — that is, the gradual increase in the mean temperature of the

atmosphere and consequences such as the melting of the polar ice-caps and glaciers, increases in the intensity and amounts of rainfall and a possible general change in worldwide weather patterns.

This warming of the atmosphere is commonly attributed to the increased rate of consumption of fossil fuels such as coal and oil contributing to both the amount of solid particles in the air and a change in its gaseous composition with an attendant decrease in the amount of heat radiated to space.

Modern society contributes to this state of affairs not only by burning fossil fuels for energy but by the consumption of energy in the form of electricity from whatever source, including nuclear energy and hydro-energy. Whatever the source of the excess energy that we use over and above that required for the maintenance of society at a reasonable standard, and however clean and non-polluting we believe it to be, its generation makes a contribution to the heat store of the atmosphere.

In this instance, the problem facing humanity is the natural desire of the poverty-stricken peoples of the world to attain living standards of the order of those in the technologically advanced nations.

Unfortunately for all concerned, including other forms of life, this would entail a ten-fold per capita increase in energy consumption, from some thirty Gigajoules per head per year to three hundred Gigajoules.

Even if these energy requirements were both available and sustainable, not only would there be disastrous climatic consequences from the conversion of all this energy

to heat, we would be swamped in industrial effluent and domestic garbage.

As the aspirations of the ordinary people are obviously unattainable, what is the solution?

It is obvious from the forgoing simplification of the situation that the major inescapable cause is over-population.

The American solution, armed intervention, direct or indirect, to prevent the development of the economies in the countries that class themselves as being recently politically liberated, must be rejected on humanitarian grounds. Besides, poverty and war stimulate birth rates.

Certainly, a narrowing of the range of living standards is attainable right now, but such action will not be taken by governments controlled and owned by the extremely rich.

Consumption of energy and energy intensive products could be made prohibitively expensive, a thought which is anathema to factory owners,

politicians in power and those in opposition, all of whom seem to show a pathetic desire to convert raw materials into rubbish, via a temporary stage as consumer goods, at as fast a rate as possible and with no obvious concern for the needs of future generations.

Ideally, those of us with relatively high standards of living would all reduce our consumption, but human nature being what it is, we will leave that to someone else.

Despite the increased political awareness over the years of our teachers, the students our schools are turning out seem to be less and less concerned with the welfare of their fellow beings, but the education system must remain a major avenue through which to attempt to change attitudes.

If the majority of humanity does nothing, which appears to be highly probable given present day attitudes to issues of concern, time will provide its own drastic remedies.

CM Friel
Alawa NT



LETTERS

Where theories fail

As a sincere, and longtime supporter of FOE's aims, I recently subscribed to your journal, only to be confronted, in the very first issue I received, with this pathetic bit of nonsense.

I am writing, in all friendship, to urge you to be more discriminating in choosing the material that goes out in FOE's name. Ignorant and illiterate articles such as this one will only serve to turn off many deeply concerned people — just think of what this sort of badly edited rubbish will do for the support from members of SANA and other scientists, and other educated, scientifically oriented people in general!

A Van Rood
Gilberton, SA

Maralinga lingers on

The recent revelation by Senator Evans that the radioactive contamination in some Maralinga test sites is one hundred times greater than previously admitted, has hardly caused a ripple. Is it because people have by now become so conditioned to being told lies by the nuclear establishment, that disclosures of this sort are not considered to be newsworthy anymore?

The Australian Government was being advised by both the Atomic Weapons Test Safety Committee and the National Radiation Advisory Committee on the safety of the nuclear tests. Some of the committee members were even rewarded with

knighthoods for their supposedly meritorious services. Did any of these committees deliberately mislead the Government, and the people, on the extent of contamination, or were they so incompetent, or indifferent, as not to know, or even care, what the levels of radioactivity were at the test sites?

Some of these so-called watch dog committees are still alive today. They must be brought to book for their misdeeds. If, as seems likely, the Government turns a blind eye to the whole affair, then whatever little confidence people may still have had in experts, and nuclear experts in particular, will go right out the window. If members of Government appointed committees are not seen to be accountable for their actions, then nobody could ever take any of their pronouncements seriously again.

Peter Springell
Clifton Beach, Qld

Bridgehead

In response to Ted and Roman in Letters *CR51*, I agree strongly that the majority of Australians and other world citizens have to see the necessity for a sustainable society and act accordingly.

In Australia we have a political bridgehead in the Senate, won over ten years, of a Party with the fundamental tenet of moving to a sustainable society.

Roman, in regard to the Australian Democrats, says 'They are not seen as a radical alternative'. My reply is: 'There are none so blind as those that will not see'.

It seems to me madness not to capitalise on the Democrats' political influence to help speed up

the awareness in society of the needed changes.

The participatory nature of the Democrats allows members to make the running — so the opportunity is there for political exposure of our long-term objectives for those willing to enter the fray.

Lois Loftus-Hills
Lower Plenty, Vic

The next step?

The analyses and proposals of such writers as Ted Trainer and Joseph Camilleri are important for New Left/Environmental action.

Perhaps *Chain Reaction* readers generally agree that capitalism and current economic practices are destructive of human values — that they promote inflation, inefficiency, unemployment — that they reward greed and callousness — that they impose poverty and despair on the disadvantaged — that they use diminishing resources and high technology for military terror and to destroy or pollute fragile environments. It is scarcely credible that any economic system could persist in such destructive error.

CR51 raised so many issues — military spending and world development; uranium mining and land rights; ecological disaster and Roxby Downs; Pine Gap etc. and the American alliance. It is difficult to know where, or how, to start putting things right. We seem to be wringing our hands — 'These things should not be' — 'They ought to reform economics and social practice'. Everybody applauds education; the long and slow task to raise public

awareness. But where is the action? Where is Ted Trainer's 'Simpler, co-operative and self-sufficient' society that will save us? It is easy to understand John Dixon-Jenkins' impatience and his endorsement of violence to stop the violent society.

We still have a dilemma: The violent society feeds his fears and invites his counter violence. Is it not likely that his violence stimulates more fears and violence? Fifteen years ago many idealists discarded the same values discussed in *CR51* and began to live out their 'new age' culture. Perhaps all the correct analyses had then been made, and the pattern for the healthy, simple and sustainable society had already been set out.

Perhaps we are now faced with the next (final?) problem. What can people in this simple, sustainable society do about their own egos? This is the tricky question. But we need to answer it within our simple, direct relationships before we can neutralise this self-interest thing at the more distant national and international levels. Perhaps we are not individuals and separate parts, but all members of one body. Perhaps consensus is our way to solutions and organic growth.

If we of the economic and ecological left are concerned about the grim future of this acquisitive society we have nothing to lose by immediately withdrawing our commitment to it and practising our simple alternatives: If we demonstrate our rich viability the collapsing world will accept our rhetoric.

There are right now real opportunities for all the diverse readers of *CR*.

Continued on page 39

EARTH NEWS



Nativity Blockade

The *US Hoel*, a nuclear armed guided missile destroyer berthed in Brisbane on 23 December. The *Hoel* was returning from active duty in the Persian Gulf where the US Navy has escalated its interventionary presence. The *Hoel* is armed with first strike ASROC nuclear depth charges. They are short range anti-submarine devices launched from rockets on the destroyer. They play an important role in knocking out the opponents submarine capacity in the event of launching a first strike.

As the *Hoel* docked in Brisbane it was met by members and friends of the Catholic Worker community. Dressed as angels, shepherds and wise magi, the Catholic Workers kept a vigil as a manger scene near the wharf. As the US sailors stood on the deck, a litany of the names and actions of the imprisoned war resisters in the US were read to them. When the sailors finally disembarked they were blocked at the wharf exit by angels, shepherds and magi carrying a banner that read 'Peace on Earth — Disarm the Seas'.

Eight people were arrested by State police and charged with resisting a police officer in the Execution of His Duty. They were all released on their own undertaking and will appear in the Brisbane Magistrates court on February 22nd.

Source: *Catholic Community Worker* January 1988

Scenes from the 3CR First Fleet De-Enactment. Events included the abdication of Captain Phillip and the Queen, an anti-bicentennial boat race across the pool, the prize, Australia, and a First Fleet De-enactment. No boat remained unturned!

Chlordane Banned in USA

The United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has banned further use of the pesticides chlordane and heptachlor to kill termites but environmentalists say that the EPA has not gone far enough fast enough. The EPA was preparing to ban chlordane outright in August, 1987 but cut an eleventh hour deal with Velsicol Chemical Corp., the nations only chlordane and heptachlor manufacturer. It would allow applicators to use up existing stocks. At the time, EPA estimated that the

outstanding stocks would last about two months and were sufficient to treat 100,000 homes.

A number of environmental organisations including FOE USA sued the EPA. They argued that since the EPA had concluded that chlordane is harmful to health there is no basis to allow applicators to use up the inventory.

The EPA estimates that about 30 million homes have been treated for termites. The agency has known for years that chlordane probably causes cancer. Chlordane and heptachlor were banned, by the EPA, for used in agriculture and general homes uses in the mid 1970's.

However the EPA still allowed chlordane for subterranean uses against termites. In the 1980s scientific consensus developed that applying chlordane below grade did not stop the chemical from getting into the house and exposing people to an increased risk of cancer. At the same time, the EPA approved a number of alternative termiticides that looked safer than chlordane and heptachlor.

Yet it still allowed the use of chlordane and heptachlor.

Source: *Not Man Apart* October 1987

EARTH NEWS

Zambian Pesticide Problems

The Zambian Government has banned people from buying milk direct from farmers because of the high concentrations of the pesticide dieldrin found in unpasteurised milk and other dairy products.

Dieldrin has been recognised by the United Nations as being linked to cancer, yet it is still used widely in Zambia to control termites. Dieldrin runs off from the fields into the water supply where the cattle drink the water.

Since the ban, many farmers have been selling their dairy produce to pig farmers. However this may merely shift the problem from milk to pork.

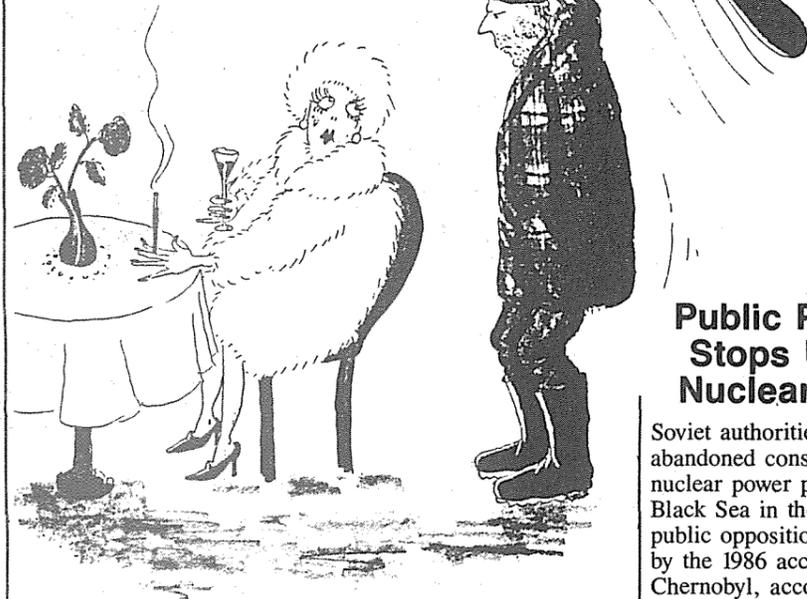
Source: *Panscope* October 1987

Nuclear Testing at Mighty Oak

An underground nuclear test blast held in 1986, at Mighty Oak, accidentally vented radiation into nearby tunnels at the Nevada Test Site. As a result, \$32 million in equipment was destroyed. US Department of Energy officials said they don't know what went wrong with the test and might never be able to find out. And this is where some important members of Congress want to store the nations high level nuclear waste!

Source: *Not Man Apart* December 1987

Sealing Ban



Australian citizens have been banned from taking part in any commercial exploitation of seals in Antarctica.

Announcing the ban, the Minister for Science, Mr. Barry Jones, said the Government had formally approved the ratification by Australia of the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctica Seals.

'The Convention is designed to ensure the protection of Antarctic seals whilst allowing their scientific study and rational use' said Mr. Jones. 'However Australia has gone a step further by implementing regulations which specifically prohibit Australian citizens from any sealing in Antarctica which is directly or indirectly for commercial purposes.' Mr. Jones said that the

Antarctic Seals Conservation Regulations, which incorporate in Australian law the provisions of the convention, provided that Antarctic seals could not be killed or taken except in accordance with a permit issued by the Minister for Science. Such a permit could only be issued where the Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (an international body based in Hobart, Tasmania) had recommended the sealing; or to provide indispensable food for man or dogs; or to provide for scientific research; or to provide specimens for museums, education or cultural institutions.

Source: *Traffic Bulletin* November 1987

Public Protest Stops USSR Nuclear Plant

Soviet authorities have abandoned construction of a nuclear power plant near the Black Sea in the face of public opposition generated by the 1986 accident at Chernobyl, according to *Pravda*.

The newspaper also disclosed that all twenty of the operating nuclear power plants in the country, and most of those under construction, were 'bitterly opposed' by local residents.

The report on the abandoned project near the city of Krasnodar was the strongest official acknowledgement that since the Chernobyl accident, public opinion had turned sharply against nuclear power and posed a serious threat to the country's ambitious nuclear power program.

Pravda said the abandonment of the project was 'unprecedented' and had caused nuclear power officials to fear 'a chain reaction' that would threaten other projects.

Source: *Financial Review* January 1988

Daintree Update

The Greater Daintree Action Group and the Daintree Blockade Information Centre have recently produced the Blockade Report, a 40 page submission to the Federal Government World Heritage Inquiry regarding the future of the track between Cape Tribulation and the Bloomfield River in the Daintree coastal wilderness, North Queensland. This report outlines the dangerous nature of the new road, the damage caused to the forest, the spread of vandalism, introduction of feral animals, silting of the fringing coral reef and the loss of the wilderness character of the area.

The recommendations of the report include:

- the total closure of the vehicular track and appropriate measures to ensure swift establishment of natural regrowth
- the blockade site should be the end of the road, from where a Coastal Walking Track should begin
- the upgrading and sealing of the Mulligan Highway to Cooktown



- purchase of available freehold land in the Daintree area for inclusion in the National Park
- replacing the present Douglas Shire Council by an Administrator who can sympathetically co-ordinate environmental protection, tourism, primary industry and the needs of local people.

Copies of the report are available from Greater Daintree Action Centre, Cape Tribulation, via Mossman Queensland 4873. Cost \$7, including postage.

Source: Greater Daintree Action Centre Dec 1987

Dunce of Paper Recycling

New Zealand could have the worst record in the world for recycling paper. a survey by the United Nations of all OECD nations and several Third World countries has found that New Zealand has the worst recovery rate for paper. The recovery rate is less than a quarter of that in countries such as Thailand, Mexico and Egypt.

The results of the survey suggest that millions of dollars worth of paper are needlessly dumped in New Zealand each year, says Barry Weeber, a director of FOE New Zealand.

He believes that the poor recycling record could be a result of the Government subsidies that timber companies have enjoyed in New Zealand.

Source: *Friends of ECO* Dec 1987

South Australian ID card

The South Australian government is apparently setting up its own, more limited, version of the ID Card. Known as the Justice Information System, it will keep track of people known to various departments which have some law enforcement role. As well as the Department of the Attorney-General and the Police, this includes the Department for Community Welfare — which polices laws about child protection and deals with young offenders, and the Department of Labour and Industry — which has responsibilities relating to the Industrial Court. The purpose of this database, which has been in development since at least 1981, has not been made public.

The existence of this project within the Department of the Attorney-General was disclosed recently by the

Amalgamation Action Group. This is a group of health and welfare workers who are concerned at the nature of proposals to amalgamate the SA Health Commission with the Department for Community Welfare. One of the recommendations for creating a more efficient organisation is that their client information systems will be able to be shared. The Group say that this raises serious issues of confidentiality in relation to health data being linked in to the Justice Information System. More generally, the application of information technology in the health, welfare and judicial areas raises important questions of confidentiality and due process, which the SA government must deal with publicly.

Source: *Chain Reaction* reader, SA

EARTH NEWS

Dirty Tactics

A British company, W&E Products, is planning to manufacture soap containing mercuric iodide for export to Third World countries. The soap is popular in some African countries where it is used to lighten the skin and can be purchased illegally in the UK for the same purpose.

The European Economic Community (EEC) has banned the sale of soap containing mercury because the chemical can cause a wide range of health problems if absorbed over a period of time. The ban however does not extend to the manufacture of toiletries containing mercury.

Source: *Consumer Views* October 1987

Brazil Producing Thalidomide

Thalidomide, the drug which caused thousands of children to be born with severe handicaps during the 1960's is being produced and prescribed to pregnant women in Brazil. It is a powerful painkiller, and is still prescribed for treatment of the acute stages of leprosy. In Brazil 40,000 women of child bearing age suffer from leprosy. Brazil is the only country that continues to manufacture the drug, but it is being exported to France and the Middle East for use in leprosy treatment.

Source: *Panscope* October 1987

Energy: renewable sources winning favour

Renewable energy sources could provide for 5 to 6 per cent of the needs of the European Community by the year 2000, compared with 1 to 2 per cent now.

European Community Energy Ministers agreed recently that their governments would take measures needed to better evaluate the possibilities offered by renewable energy and to eliminate the legal, financial, or administrative obstacles to their development.

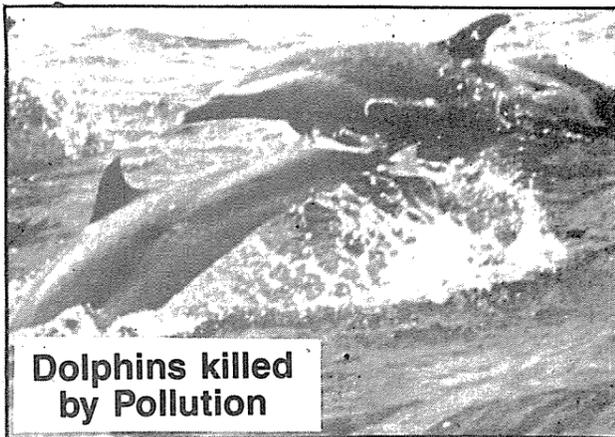
Source: *EC News* December 1987

Nuclear Industry Scandal

The leading handler of enriched uranium and nuclear waste in West Germany, the Nukem GMBH Group, is under investigation following allegations of:

- bribery of power industry officials to obtain contracts to remove nuclear waste
- having illegally transported nuclear waste across the Belgian border
- illicitly storing more than 2,000 barrels of nuclear waste throughout West Germany, many of which were falsely labelled, disguising highly radioactive contents
- conspiring to ship weapons-grade nuclear material overseas, allegedly to Pakistan and Libya.

Source: *Financial Review* January 1988



Dolphins killed by Pollution

A group of researchers from Ehime University in Japan have found that dolphins and other sea mammals are endangered by Polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) which have found their way into the sea.

PCBs were first produced in the United States in the 1930s for use in electrical transformers. The compound is difficult to dispose of and is known to accumulate in fish, shellfish and the human body. Now the research team have found that liquid PCBs evaporate and re-enter the atmosphere to become dispersed throughout the globe and find their way into the seas.

Dolphins and other marine animals are particularly at risk as they

cannot metabolise the chemical which interferes with the reproductive processes. In Dalls Porpoise of the Bering Sea the team found levels of 2-3 parts per million but in the Blue White Dolphin of the North Pacific they found levels of up to 50 parts per million, indicating that if things continue as they are there will be a severe reduction in dolphin numbers over the next few decades. Even if 50 per cent of the remaining PCBs stocks are disposed of in the next five to ten years, the present concentrations in the seas will remain unchanged for at least another century.

Source: *Earthwatch* October 1987

Statistics on Animal Experiments

A report is now available which provides statistics on the use of animals for scientific experiments in Victoria for the year ending 30 June 1986. The report costs \$2.50 (including postage) from Dept. of Agriculture Bookshop, 166 Wellington Pde, East Melbourne 3002.

Source: *Victorian Update* December 1987



Disarmament Door Knock

A National Door Knock on Disarmament is being planned for 1988 by People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND) in various states. Discussion with people from local groups have shown much support for the idea. It is starting to shape up into the biggest national campaign for peace for many years.

The doorknock will allow PND to engage the community in a dialogue, and will provide them with the views of the Australian electorate on these issues to present to the government and to the general community. It was agreed by representatives from PND that the 'questionnaire' would focus on three areas: Global security and disarmament; Perceptions of national security; and Australian Sovereignty.

A core questionnaire will be used so that the same information is collected all around the country. However local groups will be able to add questions to canvas opinions on local issues. Householders will be left with information about PND, the local peace group etc. They will be asked to sign a petition. It is proposed that the doorknock be launched on Palm Sunday 1988 (27 March) Results will be publicised on several landmark dates. Possible ones include: 28 June 1988, when the North west Cape agreement comes up for renewal; in time for the ALP Conference; in time to send a message to the 3rd United Nations Special Session on Disarmament; Maralinga Day 1988.

It is hoped that around 100,000 households will be contacted around Australia over a four to six month period.

Source: People for Nuclear Disarmament NSW.

Production of 2,4,5-T to cease

Ivon Watkins-Dow Ltd. (IWD), the only known producer of the herbicide 2,4,5-T left in the world is scheduled to stop production of the herbicide. Used in the control of brushweeds, 2,4,5-T has been the target of intense environmental

lobbying in the past years. Criticisms of the herbicide have centred around the potential health effects it has on humans and the highly toxic chemical, dioxin, which is a by-product during the manufacture of 2,4,5-T. The company which is based in New Plymouth, New Zealand, was the subject of a Ministerial inquiry into the correlation between the company's operations and its effects on the health of the residents of New Plymouth. The inquiry recommended continued manufacture of 2,4,5-T but that pesticides containing it be banned from use in public places pending further study. IWD will be introducing a replacement product for 2,4,5-T based on the herbicide triclopyr.

Source: *Consumer Currents* October 1987



Anti-nuclear Victory for Amici Della Terra

In three referendums held on 8/9 November in Italy, a broad majority of voters said no to nuclear power, which represents a big victory for Amici Della Terra (FOE Italy) and the rest of the environmental movement.

The Italians were asked to repeal three laws concerning:

- the choice of a site for nuclear or coal-fired plants
- financial contributions or incentives from nuclear authorities to local authorities to encourage the acceptance of nuclear

or coal-fired plants in their regions

- the participation of the State energy utility ENEL in international projects involving the construction and operation of nuclear plants

Between 72 and 80 per cent voted to repeal the laws.

The Italian Parliament then had 120 days to prepare new laws to replace the repealed ones. Given that, in the aftermath of Chernobyl, there is no longer a majority in Parliament in favour of nuclear power, it is unlikely that any new laws passed will restore what the great majority of Italian people have rejected.

Source: *FOELink* December 1987





FOE International

The meeting place was the Kosmos Building, Amsterdam — an apt name — Kosmos meaning 'a complete and harmonious system' inasmuch as it was a coming together of people who had a common interest — Friends of the Earth, defenders of the environment.

The three days of the Conference were a great experience — October 12, 13 and 14. The various sessions were different in so many respects from group meetings 'back home' largely, I suppose, because except for Mileudefensie Amsterdam, 'back home' was a formidable distance so no one was looking at their watch with some other appointment in mind. The sessions were expertly chaired and facilitated, any heatedness in the discussions skillfully manoeuvred to constructive debate and although there were no professional interpreters the language differences were no problem.

The majority of FOE groups all over the world were represented — diverse people with their own particular story to tell, some quite affluent, others fundless, but all dedicated to their areas of concern.

Close friendships were established in an amazingly short time and everyone felt that their contribution was worthwhile.

Thank you Milieudefensie Amsterdam for your friendly reception, marvelous organisation and looking after us. We will always remember you, Jaap, Ton and everyone else at Damrak 26. If you would like an account of all the business, phone or write to Eileen or Jane at 222 Brunswick St, Fitzroy, Victoria 3065, phone (03) 419 8700.

FOE Australia

The Friends of the Earth national meeting held in Sydney 16-17 January, 1988, once again demonstrated the variety of organisations which come under the umbrella of the name, Friends of the Earth.

Although the actual number of groups who attended was small, there were reports from most of the groups that are listed in each *Chain Reaction*. Sydney, Newtown, Fitzroy, Willunga and *Chain Reaction* each sent delegates. The reports will be covered in detail in future issues of *Chain Reaction*, and only brief discussion is possible here.

FOE Willunga is continuing to campaign on coastal and wetland environment issues relevant to their locality south of Adelaide in South Australia. The group recently organised a public meeting on the proposal to re-establish a lagoon, which has been crudely drained to be used for farming, firefighting practise, Bicentennial bonfires and rubbish dumping. The meeting filled the venue with twice its usual capacity and will put further pressure on the local council which has come up with a proposal to develop the site as a marina edged with high-priced building blocks.

FOE Fitzroy has established itself in its new premises at 222 Brunswick Street Fitzroy, and is now building up its campaigns and businesses.

FOE Sydney is continuing to be involved in energy and sewerage and

other issues, as well as supporting research on uranium issues. They are looking forward to developing their membership this year and received money at the national meeting to that end.

The meeting considered issues relating to Friends of the Earth having national spokescreatures and eventually nominated Stuart White from FOE Sydney to speak on behalf of FOE Australia on energy issues. It is possible that FOE could nominate other spokespeople in the same area and there are a number of conditions to be met before national statements can be made, including extensive consultation with other FOE groups who express interest in the subject. A disputes mechanism was put in place in case there is ever any disagreement with any statements made and if the dispute is not settled, then there will be no further statements on behalf of FOE Australia. Local groups will continue to speak as local groups as they always have.

Stuart White was also nominated to be the Friends of the Earth representative at the meetings between environment and conservation organisations and the Federal Minister for the Environment. He replaces Peter Brotherton who has done good work at those meetings, and it is hoped that Stuart will be able to build on Peter's work.

The next ordinary FOE national meeting will be January 20-22, 1989 at 222 Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, with FOE Fitzroy as the host group.

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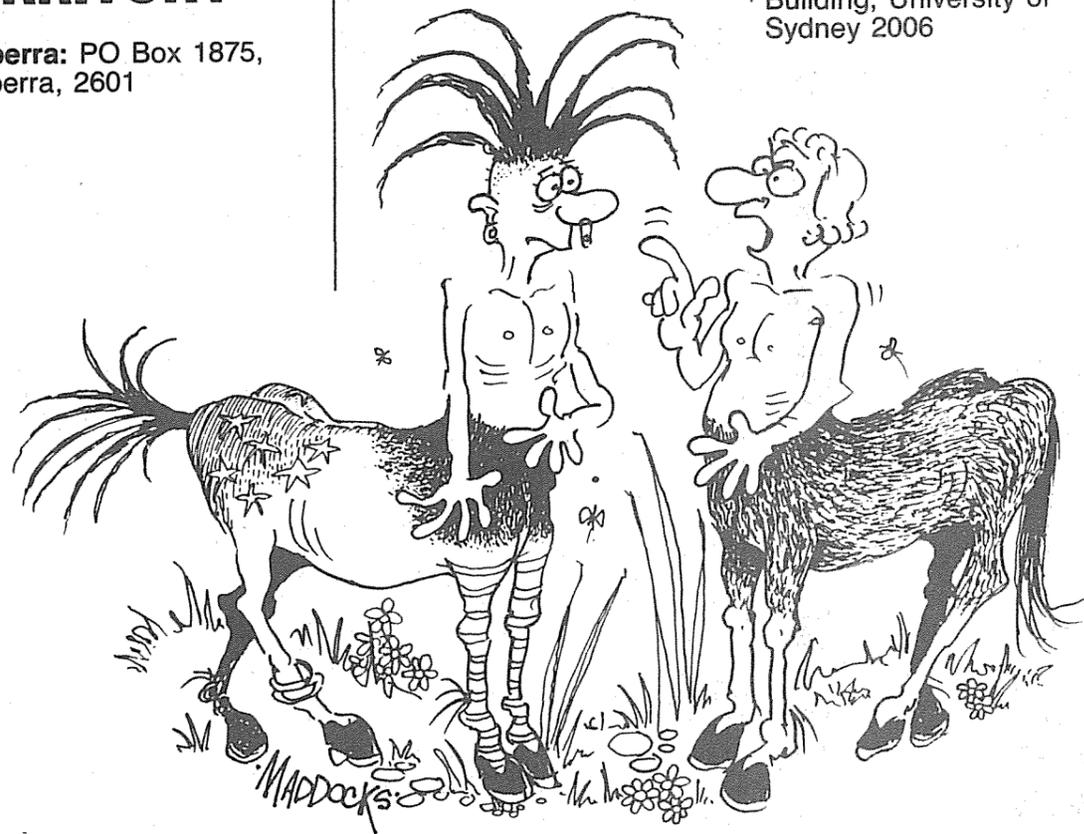
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"DRESSED LIKE THAT YOU'RE NOT HELPING OUR CAMPAIGN ABOUT US BEING AN ENDANGERED SPECIES..."

Wasteful Problem, Hazardous Solution

There is considerable debate within the environmental movement over whether environmentalists should support the establishment of a high temperature incinerator in Australia. It seems that governments are dependent on this support to be able to site such a facility. Previous attempts have been thwarted by protests from local communities who do not want a high temperature incinerator and all the accompanying hazardous traffic in their vicinity.

On the one side, environmentalists argue that the storage of intractable wastes poses a potential hazard which responsible environmentalists should help solve. For this reason they support the construction of an incinerator and will lobby to make such a facility as environmentally sound as possible.

Here Sharon Beder argues that the establishment of a high temperature incinerator in Australia to burn intractable wastes will be counter-productive to the ultimate goal of minimising hazardous waste generation. She points out some of the risks associated with high temperature incinerators and explains why the short-term risks involved with the storage of intractable wastes are preferable to the long term risks associated with the continual waste production which will occur if industry is helped to solve this problem in a way that does not alert the public to the folly of indiscriminate industrial growth.

Sharon Beder is a member of FOE Sydney and Engineers for Social Responsibility

The establishment of a high temperature incinerator in Australia to destroy intractable wastes such as polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) and hexachlorobenzene (HCB) will provide industry with a relatively cheap solution to some of its more worrying waste disposal problems. At present intractable wastes which are generated by industry must be stored as there is no environmentally safe way of disposing of them.

The storage of intractable wastes poses an ever increasing and on-going cost to industry as wastes take up more and more space and are subject to higher and higher insurance premiums. ICI Australia which generates most of Australia's intractable wastes (76 per cent) and is responsible for the largest part of Australia's existing stockpile of these wastes, has been forced to spend considerable amounts of money on research aimed at minimising their wastes. This research would not have been undertaken if a high temperature incinerator was available.

The incinerator as an incentive for waste production

Until the mid-1970s ICI Australia directed its research and development towards recycling liquid wastes from its Ethylene Dichloride (EDC) Plant. By 1977 2400 tonne/year of liquid organochloride compounds from the EDC plant were being recycled. There remained a stock of 1500t of liquid waste which had been produced before the recycling operation and was unsuitable for recycling. This was incinerated by the incinerator ship, *Vulcanus* which was chartered for a once off visit in 1982. (Cumming, 1986; 103)

ICI was still, in 1977, producing 600 t/year of a heavy tarry liquid waste and the heavy ends material from the solvents plant was also accumulating. Further research led to the establishment of a heavy ends treatment plant in 1977 to recycle the liquid portion of the waste from the solvents plant leaving only the solid hexachlorobenzene (HCB) and in 1983 a thin film evaporator facilitated the recycling of a further 350 t/year of liquid waste. A flash evaporator was planned for 1987 to recover the rest of the liquid waste. (Cumming, 1986; 103)

ICI Australia has therefore been forced to solve its liquid waste problem in a way that its operations overseas have not because a high temperature incinerator was not available. Rather than recycling

the liquid waste from EDC Plants overseas, high temperature incinerators were just slotted onto the end of the manufacturing process. At present ICI is directing research towards solving the remaining problem of the solid HCB waste. An ICI spokesman stated in 1986 that:

During the 1970s and early 1980s HTI (high temperature incineration) was regarded as the most appropriate disposal option for both technical and economic reasons. The economic justification is not so obvious now by comparison with recycling processes. (Cumming, 1986; 104)

ICI may not come up with an ecologically sound alternative for dealing with HCBs or a more efficient process which eliminates the production of these hazardous wastes, but one thing is for certain, once a high temperature incinerator is made available, the research will stop. An incinerator will remove any incentive there may now be for recycling intractable industrial by-products, for changing manufacturing processes that will minimise their production and for seeking out substitute products which can be made without creating hazardous by-products.

An incinerator would not only act as a disincentive for research, but there is some evidence that it would compete directly for industrial by-products. A high

temperature incinerator is associated with high capital costs and running costs. It is only economical if it operates constantly. Some waste disposal operators in the US have expressed concern that high temperature incinerators may face shortages of, and competition for, wastes as energy and resource costs increase and recycling becomes more viable.

The establishment of an incinerator, by keeping the price of the related industrial products down, may also challenge the economic viability of new substitute products which could be competing with products like those from ICI's Solvents Plant in the near future. Substitute refrigerants and solvents which do not rely on chlorine for a feedstock would not only overcome the problem of creating intractable organochlorides as by-products but would also be less threatening to the planet's ozone layer and climatic balance.

Risks associated with a high temperature incinerator

Proponents of the establishment of a high temperature incinerator in Australia are careful not to mention any of the uncertainties or risks associated with such a facility. Rather they emphasise the burning efficiencies that are possible

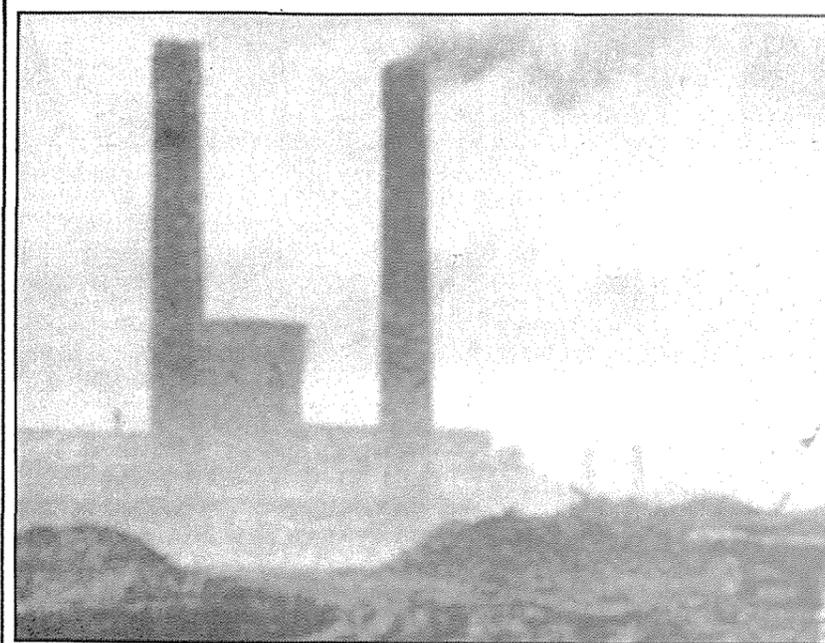
given unlimited amounts of money and ideal conditions. Environmentalists who want to promote incinerations should at least inform themselves of the risks and be openly public about them if they are to retain any integrity.

Combustion is largely an uncontrolled chemical reaction and it is conceivable for any organic material to be formed, especially when feedstocks are not pure. An Australian incinerator is likely to be fed with impure liquids and mixtures of chemicals. Moreover, it is not just the composition of the input which is of concern. All variables, including rate of input, must be kept relatively constant if high processing efficiency is to be achieved. For this reason, the solid HCBs generated by ICI are a problem since they cannot be fed into the incinerator in a smooth continuous flow as a liquid could be. (Cumming, 1986; 103).

Problems are created if all the waste is not burnt uniformly at a high temperature. In particular, a molecule trapped in a particulate matrix may not be heated to the incinerator temperature or attacked by a reactive radical (Tsang & Shaub, 1982; 55). This is significant because new compounds may be formed during incineration if combustion is not complete. For example, if PCBs are not burnt at high enough temperatures, dioxin is formed and this substance, which is even more toxic than the PCBs, would be released into the atmosphere.

Scrubbers do not solve this problem. The scrubbers associated with incinerators are designed to prevent the simpler compounds formed as a by-product of incineration, such as hydrogen chloride (HCl) from being emitted. Incinerators with pollution control devices have not been shown to consistently and effectively destroy or remove organic hazardous constituents from stack emissions (Greenberg & Anderson, 1984; 35). Moreover, substances containing volatile metals such as lead, mercury and arsenic form fumes which are difficult to remove (Wilson, 1981; 390).

It should also be noted that the fundamental combustion characteristics of chlorinated hydrocarbons are not completely understood. It is known, however, that some chlorinated compounds can produce intermediate species that are more stable than the parent chlorinated hydrocarbon molecules (Exner, 1982; 90). Not only can the ash and the waste sludge from the stack scrubber contain hazardous components (Piasecki, 1984; 118) but also the



emissions consist of extremely fine particles that can be extremely dangerous because they can be carried huge distances whilst suspended in the air and are small enough to penetrate the natural defences of our lungs (Miller, 1982; 424).

Past experience overseas has shown that incomplete combustion is commonplace. Chlorinated dibenzofurans and dioxin have been identified in stack gases in low concentrations when PCBs are burned and there have been reports of ill-health downwind of high temperature incinerators. For example, at Bonnyridge in Scotland concern was expressed after an unusual number of cases of rare congenital eye deformity were identified in babies born in the vicinity. Similarly at Pontypool in South Wales, several cases of other types of uncommon congenital eye malformations were discovered. (Pearce, 1985)

At Bonnyridge, there was also an increased rate of cancer amongst people and an unusual number of deaths, illnesses and birth deformities, including blindness, amongst local cattle. A local farmer claimed the symptoms suffered by his cattle were very similar to those suffered by animals given feed contaminated with a relation of PCB, PBB in Michigan, US. Dioxins and furans were found in soil from his farm, and from milk and fat samples from his cattle. (Pearce, 1985)

Government reports have found that neither incinerator is to blame. The increase in cancer since the mid-1970s was said to be due to changes in

diagnostic procedures; more notification of cancers by doctors and 'chance'. The reports admitted the 'unusual state of morbidity' amongst cattle but argued that it was unusual because of the numbers that had died rather than because the diseases contracted were unusual. (Pearce, 1985)

The promise that an incinerator will burn to 99.99 per cent or higher efficiencies is not as certain as it sounds since standardised monitoring procedures are still being developed. Moreover less harmful by-products such as carbon monoxide are monitored as an indicator of combustion efficiency rather than the whole range of compounds that are of concern all being monitored. (Piasecki, 1984; 177)

Public perceptions

The risks associated with the storage of intractable wastes are also very real, although not necessarily greater than those of incineration combined with transport of wastes from all over Australia to a central national high temperature incinerator. There are two major differences however. The risks associated with an incinerator relate to a continuous emission and are concerned with the health effects from the everyday operation of a facility rather than, as in the case of storage, the possibility of an accident.

Secondly, and more importantly, an accident at a storage facility, be it a fire or a flood, is immediately obvious to everyone. Action can be taken, blame can

be sourced. An accident or a continual dangerous emission at an incinerator is invisible and, as in the case of Bonnyridge, can be denied. The people who are the victims of such emissions are in the situation of suspecting the cause but being unable to get redress, or support; of having the whole thing ignored, hushed up and denied.

A major chemical accident makes headlines and becomes a social problem; a miscarried baby, even if it is the tenth that month in the town, is seen as a personal problem. A major chemical accident causes questions to be asked about the generation of hazardous waste and a reappraisal of our way of doing things; no one wants to know about an unproven health risk in a remote locality from a facility that they are told is necessary. The dangers or faulty operation of such a facility are too easily hidden.

It is only when everyone becomes painfully aware of the stores of intractable wastes all over the city that the real costs of our industries will be weighed against the increasingly marginal benefits of economic growth. Whilst the environmental costs of our affluent lifestyles remain hidden, they will never be fully taken into account. If the politicians are looking to environmentalists to come up with a solution to hazardous waste problems, surely our first priority must be the long-term minimisation of wastes rather than a short-term technological fix that will allow everyone to breathe easier for a while — but not too deeply!

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What are they incinerating?



Geoff Evans attended the Second National Hazardous Waste Management Conference in Sydney in November 1987 as a representative of the NT Environment Centre. The conference was attended by about 200 people, mostly from the engineering and chemical industries, but also representatives from various federal, state and local government bodies and various environment groups from around Australia. Here he discusses the problems and proposed solutions to our hazardous waste problem.

Hazardous chemicals and their 'management' is a growing industry. Thousands of new and toxic chemicals are released onto the market each year, and into industrial, domestic, agricultural and other processes which become interwoven with contemporary industrial/consumer lifestyles. To solve the problem effectively involves a long-term strategy tackling the whole direction of dominant economic, political and social relations, and taking on the vested interest of some of the world's most powerful corporations and their cosy relationships with governments.

The problem of toxic chemicals in Australia is small compared to that of larger industrial powers and many developing nations. However, in response to community and environment movement concerns the Australian Government has recently set up a National Hazardous Waste Task Force to

examine the problem and make recommendations.

The problem of toxic chemicals, and participation of the environment movement and its activists in Government-sponsored committees raises serious moral and tactical dilemmas. These dilemmas are similar to those faced in the early days of the anti-uranium/anti-nuclear movement, regarding dealing with a problem at its source, and the relationship between short-term goals and long-term objectives. The anti-nuclear movement decided to raise the demand 'stop uranium mining' rather than, for example, 'develop safe re-processing or waste disposal sites and technologies'.

The issue of eliminating the problem at its source is also relevant for campaigns around domestic hazardous chemicals and garbage, agricultural chemicals and ozone-destroying chemicals. The availability of 'disposal' technologies,

provides the illusion of a technological 'fix', and rather than assisting to reduce the amount of toxic chemicals provides instead an incentive for rapidly expanding production of more, and more toxic, products. The absence of disposal options, in particular high temperature incineration, has been a major incentive to corporations to implement elimination, minimisation and recycling strategies.

This has been illustrated most clearly in the Australian context by the position taken by ICI, the major producer of toxic chemicals in Australia. Spokespeople for ICI now state 'the consistency and intensity of opposition to incineration... led to the conclusion that disposal (of hexachlorobenzene) by incineration was not socially or politically feasible'. ICI is now looking at alternatives including source elimination, recycling and chemical and biological disposal methods.

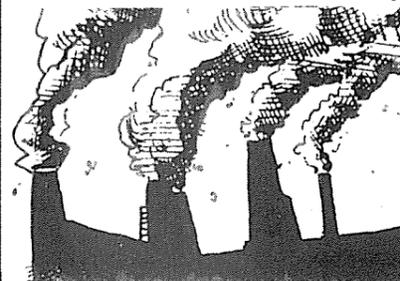
Unfortunately there is an assumption, stated by the Federal Minister for Environment, Senator Graham Richardson, and supported by the 'industry', but also some environment organizations and activists, that a high temperature incinerator will be built somewhere in South East Australia. This assumption seems to be carried over into the guidelines and likely outcomes of the National Task Force.

Only when the elimination of toxic chemical production has been achieved should the environment movement consider proposing disposal strategies. Once 'disposal' facilities are established it is extremely difficult to remove them or withdraw dependency on 'in place' technologies and promote alternatives.

This is likely to be the case even where incinerators are established as a temporary or mobile facility, or originally proposed only for chemicals no longer in production such as PCBs. Governments have been known to break promises, and communities have become locked into development strategies dependent on hazardous industries. In the meantime we can pressure for alternative production processes, monitoring and safe storage.

Chemical and waste management companies have developed very sophisticated techniques for winning support for incinerators, land-fills or other facilities in various government departments and in some communities, especially in economically-depressed areas.

The town of Emelle, in Sumter County, Alabama, USA is an example. In this depressed area of the South, ChemWaste Inc., a subsidiary of the world's largest waste disposal company Waste Management Inc., established a land-fill for toxic wastes, with the support of the US Environment Protection Agency. Years later, with a legacy of accidents, leakages, hidden shipments and lack of information to the community, the region is heavily dependent on the taxes from the waste disposal facility. Opposition to the facility has united black and white people in the region for the first time, as did a proposal for a toxic waste incinerator in my own town of Tennant Creek in Australia's Northern Territory.



Wendell Paris, a black civil rights activist from Sumter County identified the processes at work when he stated 'ten years ago ChemWaste came in and started buying people up. Then they built a day-care centre and that little park in Emelle. Now the whole county is addicted to toxic waste. They've turned Sumter County

into America's pay toilet'. (*Greenpeace, Vol. 12, No.3*). Toxic waste jerked this rural corner of Alabama (and other places) into the 20th century — into the age when people distrust government and corporate interests and look to each other for knowledge, preservation and support.

Environmentalists should not support a technology which puts constant toxic pollutants into the environment. To do so involves us in dodging the source of the problem and identifying victims to bear the burdens (usually working class, black or remote communities). The credibility of our movement in working for all people is threatened.

Governments and the chemical industry see problems and solutions in a different light from most environment activists. In this day and age of 'participatory democracy' and 'community consultation' the environment movement needs more to discuss how to deal with existing problems, without become co-opted and losing sight of long-term goals.

Like other areas of political struggle the environment movement needs to develop guidelines on the extent its members and organisations can participate in task forces and committees operating within ruling-class parameters. At the very least, there should be a moratorium on proposing high temperature incineration of toxic chemicals until the more basic problems are resolved.

While at the Conference I was told that a report commissioned by the NT Department of Mines and Energy, from Bechtel corporation, regarding a high temperature incinerator proposal for the NT has been completed, but has not been released to the public as was promised by the Government. I urge your support to get the report released.

An indication of the crassness of the industry was shown by a game played at the Conference, entitled 'Identify the site of Australia's high temperature incinerator'. This game, a variation of 'pin the tail on the donkey' involved conference-goers being invited to close their eyes and place a pin on a map of Australia, to see if their pin happened to be placed at a pre-selected, 'imaginary' site of Australia's incinerator. Blow me down if the winning pin didn't happen to be placed in the NT, just north of Tennant Creek. Just a humorous game for the enjoyment of the conference-goers we were told. Some joke!

Geoff Evans is an activist with the Northern Territory Environment Centre.

Earthquakes end plan for toxic waste

The Northern Territory Government has abandoned proposals for a high-level toxic waste incinerator in the Tennant Creek area in the wake of a series of earthquakes.

The Northern Territory Chief Minister, Mr Hatton, decided that the proposal should be abandoned after touring the area during the long weekend.

The former Chief Minister, Mr Ian Tuxworth, the local member of Parliament and a long-time advocate of the toxic waste plant agreed. "The earthquakes have shown the area is not geologically stable, as previously thought," he said.

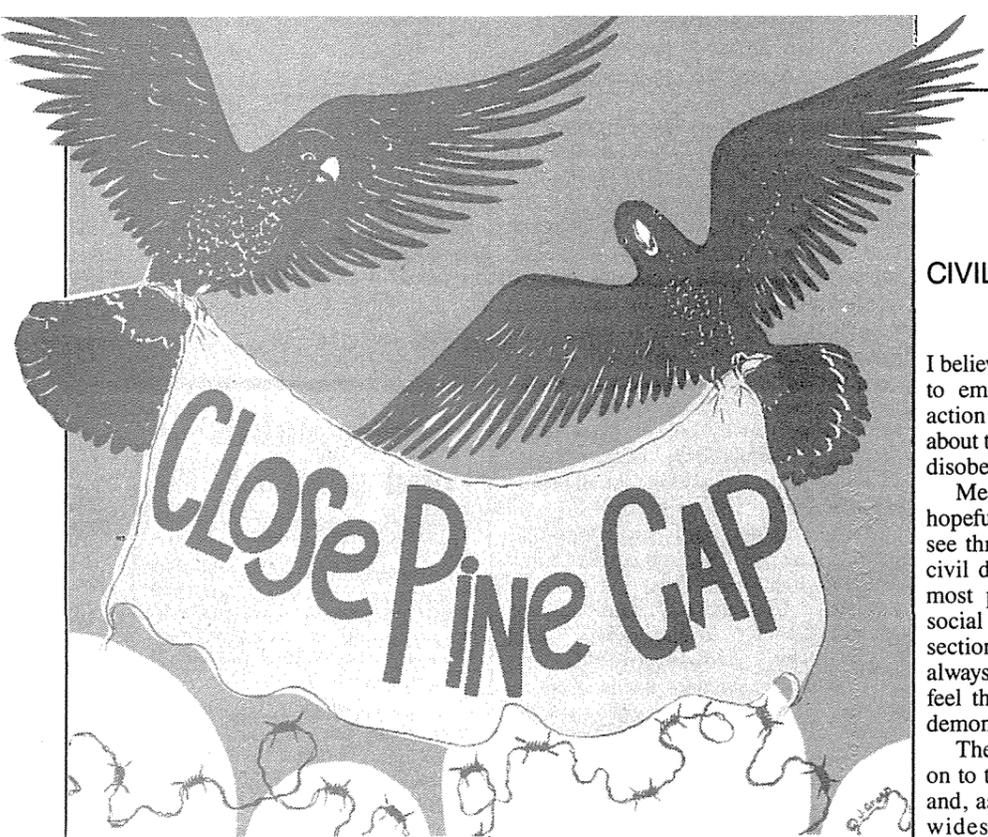
The Northern Territory Government has been investigating the possibility of establishing a toxic waste incinerator near Tennant Creek for the past two years.

The earthquakes recorded on Friday and Saturday registered up to seven on the Richter scale and were the strongest recorded in Australia this century.

A team of scientists who investigated the earthquakes at the weekend said they produced a scarp 25 kilometres from Tennant Creek. It was 20 kilometres long and more than 80 centimetres high in places.

More small tremors were felt in Tennant Creek at the weekend. One seismograph recorded more than 100 shocks, most of which were too small to be felt.

The Age, 27th January 1988



CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE — THE PINE GAP ACTION by Jo Vallentine

I believe one of the most important points to emerge from the recent Pine Gap action in Alice Springs was a message about the effectiveness of nonviolent, civil disobedience.

Members of the peace movement and, hopefully, the wider public were able to see through the events at Pine Gap that civil disobedience on a large scale is a most powerful and necessary tool for social change. There is, of course, a section of the peace movement that has always acted upon that knowledge. But I feel that Pine Gap was an empowering demonstration of this belief.

The organisers and participants held on to their commitment to non-violence and, as a result, were able to prevent the widespread and destructive confrontations that have sometimes happened in the past.

It was obvious that the authorities were on their best behaviour as well and, in the main, were well organised and even helpful!

This all helped to encourage favourable media coverage throughout Australia — and there certainly was a great deal of coverage. In this regard, the action succeeded in raising the level of debate in the community about the function of bases such as Pine Gap.

I was very impressed with the decision making process employed at the Pine Gap action. In fact, there was good attention paid to process in general. There were a number of workshops before the direct action took place which covered topics such as decision making processes, group facilitation, and strategies for nonviolent direct action. There was also an excellent session providing information on the function of the bases in Australia so that everyone was well informed.

The events of the week were then followed up by evaluation meetings which generally were very positive. Given that there were so many different groups involved at Pine Gap, these workshops and meetings were very valuable, and indeed essential, for the smooth running of the week's events.

Pine Gap near Alice Springs is the site of a so-called 'joint facility' which symbolises for many people Australia's role in nuclear war planning and its subservience in the US-Australian alliance. Situated in the centre of Australia, this satellite communications station became a focal point in October 1987 for hundreds of people from around Australia and the Pacific region who gathered for meetings, forums and protests. There were also support actions throughout Australia and overseas.

The occasion was the expiration of the original ten year lease signed by the Government in 1977. Under its terms the US could be given one year's notice after nine years, and this notice was given by a number of community representatives in 1986.

A number of the participants at the actions opposing Pine Gap's role have written about various issues and implications relating to the base and the protests.

Jo Vallentine believes that the success of the actions was based on the use of non-violent direct action, and will be legally challenging her arrest by using the Nuremberg principles to justify breaking domestic law to support international law against crimes against peace.

The relationship between law enforcement and protest actions gives an indication of the nature of the protest, according to Ariel Couchman and she suggests that the idyllic nature of this protest could have allowed action other than non-violent direct action.

There have been many theories underpinning nuclear war planning, and Les Tate has a look at some of these and suggests that they have had an impact on Australia's role.

Recent history and future directions of the anti-bases campaigns are described by Dora Berenyi, who invites participation from interested people.

If the Government will not tell Australians what is happening at these foreign military installations then we are denied the chance of debating whether we want them here or not. A national event such as the Pine Gap action, as part of an ongoing education campaign, is therefore vital if we are to have any say in our future.

Of course, along with a commitment to civil disobedience is an understanding of the guiding Nuremberg principles. During my time at Pine Gap I invoked these principles and even tried to educate members of the media to their significance.

Nuremberg obliges us to act. According to these principles, the Australian Government is guilty of crimes against peace through its hosting of a military base that contributes to preparations to fight a nuclear war.

Our government makes it possible for another country, the US, to track and target millions of human beings with nuclear weapons. This is an immoral act and we are condoning it unless we act against it.

As many readers will be aware, I was arrested at Pine Gap and charged with trespass. I am still to appear in the Alice Springs court to face these charges.

In an effort to see that the debate and the pressure on the Government continues with regard to Pine Gap (and other foreign military bases in Australia) I am planning to appear in the Alice Springs court to argue my case under the guidelines of the Nuremberg principles.

I have asked for and received the assistance of Sydney QC Michael Adams. I anticipate, therefore, that this case will attract a great deal of interest. So if the Government thought that the Pine Gap action was over, they were wrong.

I hope to argue under international law that I am not guilty of any offence as charged. I will argue that in this case, I had a moral duty to break domestic law (trespassing on land occupied by the base) because the Government is breaking international law by allowing the base to operate.

I hope that this case will be an important contribution to the ongoing action around the country opposing

foreign military bases. Hopefully, it will once again focus attention on the individual's moral duty to act and to speak out about our future.

With regard to other campaigns, PND in WA has been working for about twelve months to Take Back the Cape in '88, aiming to see the US Naval Communications station at Exmouth in WA removed from American control and returned to Australia for use by the Australian Navy.

The base is an integral part of the US Maritime Strategy. Under the current agreement, in the event of a nuclear war, North West Cape would be able to

transmit the signal for the US submarines to fire their long range nuclear missiles.

The PND campaign aims to educate the community about the functions of North West Cape so that people can then lobby the Government not to renew the agreement which covers the base and which falls due on 27 June, 1988.

In terms of my involvement in this campaign, I hope to be able to get North West Cape on the parliamentary agenda at every opportunity in 1988.

Jo Vallentine is the West Australia Senator for Nuclear Disarmament in the Federal Senate.

The Nuremberg Principles

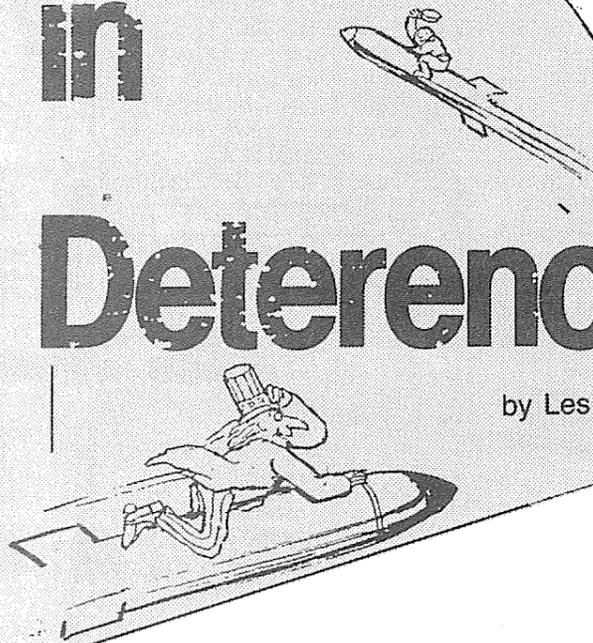
- I. Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefore and liable to punishment.
- II. The fact that internal (i.e. national) law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed that act from responsibility under international law.
- III. The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law.
- IV. The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of the Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him/her.
- V. Any person charged with a crime under international law has the right to a fair trial on the facts and law.
- VI. The crimes hereinafter set out are punishable as crimes under international law:
 - a) Crimes Against Peace:
 - (i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;
 - (ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (i).
 - b) War Crimes:

Violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor, or for any other purpose of civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.
 - c) Crimes Against Humanity:

Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.
- VII. Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity as set forth in Principle VI is a crime under international law.

Holes in Deterrence

by Les Tate



Perhaps one of the most revealing and sinister aspects of the deterrence debate is that it seems possible to make jokes on the subject. Nikita Krushchev was quoted as saying that although the United States 'may be able to destroy us two times over, we're still capable of wiping out the United States, even if it's only once.' Another example from an unknown source — 'Deterrence must be the only public arrangement that is a total failure if it is successful 99.9 per cent of the time.' These jokes are revealing because the subject is not in any way funny; so why the need to make it palatable with comedy?

Nuclear weapons are not funny. Jokes about them are not appropriate. In fact, they're a giveaway.

A different example — one of the likely effects of an atomic blast on a city is a firestorm (the one at Hiroshima burned for half a day), in which every substance, including the oxygen in the air, is burned. Many people consumed in such a phenomenon, before dying from

burns, would suffocate. Now, suffocation does not mean that lungs stop operating — if a person drowns, their lungs suck in water in an attempt to obtain oxygen. In the firestorm of a nuclear blast, then, 'suffocation' would mean something like sticking your head in a blast furnace and taking deep, desperate breaths. Nuclear deterrence is a concept developed to stop human beings deliberately doing this to each other. That human beings feel in need of a concept to hold them back from this sort of action is not within the bounds of this article.

From Pre-History to MAD

Deterrence is not an idea limited to the nuclear age. Last century, Napoleon's armies and the British navy were the most formidable deterrent forces. Before that, Caesar, Alexander the Great, and Attila the Hun all went about threatening people with 'massive retaliation'. World War One was one of the most embarrassing failures

of deterrence in modern history. As a result, the League of Nations, with its notion of appeasement, was set up to handle conflicts between nations. This, too, failed dismally, and at the end of World War Two, a feeling of a need for a more positive and aggressive method of subduing any other aspiring Hitlers put deterrence back at the top of the list of war-prevention doctrines.

Yet from the inauguration of the age of nuclear weapons on 6 August, 1945, deterrence was vastly altered. The initial American policy of nuclear deterrence, immediately after World War Two, was known as 'massive retaliation'. An unambiguous phrase, really — any show of hostilities by an aggressor would bring down a storm of very large bombs which would do a great deal of damage. The United States could get away with this excessive approach for three reasons — it had just successfully ended a war with nuclear weapons; Cold War ideology helped all red-blooded Americans feel that the Russians deserved this anyway; and the United States did possess significant nuclear superiority, allowing them to make any rules they wished. The temptation to use nuclear weapons on an enemy who could not respond in kind must have been great for some military strategists. Fortunately this situation didn't last too long; once the Soviets had demonstrated themselves to be nuclear capable, the doctrine had to be modified to 'mutually assured destruction' (MAD).

This situation is what is usually being referred to if pure, classical, or minimal deterrence is mentioned — both powers are certain that even if they strike first, their adversary will be capable of inflicting unacceptable costs upon them in a second strike. Hence both powers are

'deterred' from using their weapons. This has supposedly been the basis of all developments, whether positive or negative, in the nuclear relationship between Russia and the US. It is supposedly the basis of Australia's involvement in ANZUS. It is a lie.

Flexible Response

MAD, like massive retaliation, was a transitory phase of the nuclear weapons balance. It has long since been superseded. Soviet parity was, of course, quite unacceptable to American pride. Disintegration of the nuclear balance of the early fifties, to a nuclear imbalance in the seventies, was motivated by this pride, and by fear (not knowledge) of 'falling behind' in the already accelerating arms race. Further, it was justified in relation to minimal deterrence, as described above — constant modification was supposedly needed to ensure a second strike capability was maintained. The result of these factors was technological innovations that gave missiles greater distance and accuracy, more warheads (and hence more targets) per missile, and a wider range of delivery options (most importantly, from submarines).

Such changes went hand-in-hand with changes in deterrence theory. Some theorists (notably Herman Kahn) had been wondering how to make nuclear weapons usable for some time. The continuing innovation of weapons brought this possibility ever closer. Being able to realistically threaten to use nuclear weapons was seen as imperative. At the time, all the US could threaten to do if Russia dropped one bomb on, say, Munich, was initiate a full-scale nuclear

holocaust. Europeans were probably doubtful that the US would do so. (Having big bombs was no good if the enemy didn't believe you would use them.) Developing nuclear weapons technology so that some types were available for use in varying levels of conflict was essential for the US to provide its NATO allies with a credible commitment of protection. So the doctrine of using nuclear weapons was adopted, and veiled under the term 'flexible response'. Minimal deterrence, and all that stuff about a balance of power, was deliberately left behind. Smart boffins who picked this up were hopefully appeased with the notion that a more usable threat was synonymous with a more credible threat, which was less likely to be actually used. If you missed the logic there, it's a healthy sign.

Counterforce

Once nuclear weapons had achieved the status of usability, the question became how and where to use them. Groundwork laid down by the theorists in earlier years now began to show real promise. Even a 'deterrence' moderate, Bernard Brodie, offered thoughts (in 1959) on the next step to be taken. Imagining a scenario in which Soviet forces successfully struck first at US military targets only, he then saw US nuclear forces, aimed at Soviet cities, as only able to serve one purpose — 'to initiate an exchange of city destruction'. The obvious inference from this is to aim your weapons at the enemy's weapons — 'counterforce' was Kahn's word for this. He, however, took these ideas much further, into the realm of fighting and winning a nuclear war, by destroying the enemy's ability to retaliate in the first exchange.

Technology designed for this purpose has been produced in frightening quantities ever since. Waves of armament innovations and build-ups have coincided with official US endorsement of Kahn's 'applied deterrence' by McNamara, Schlesinger, Nitze, and of course, Reagan. Modifications have been made to satellites and their ground stations, including those in Australia, to bring them into line with the doctrine of nuclear war fighting.

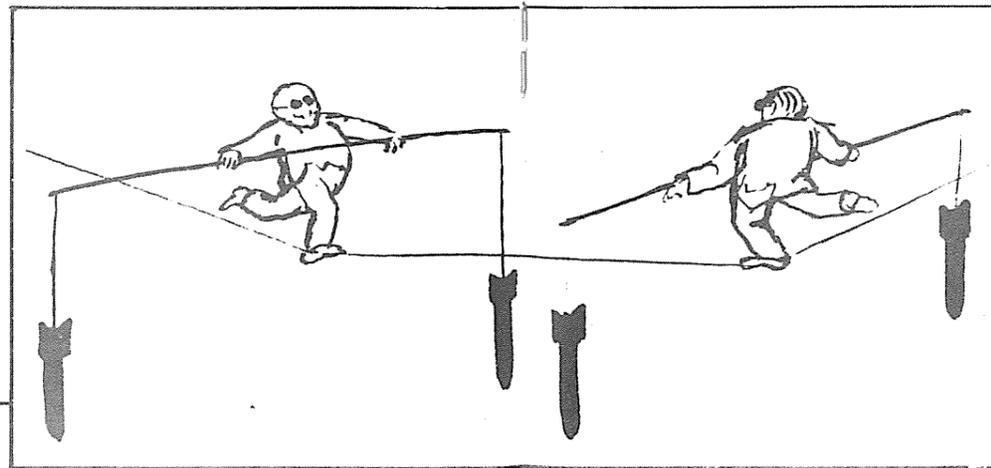
So the lesson of nuclear history is that for our political leaders to be still mouthing phrases such as 'deterrent value' and 'stabilising effects' in an age of nuclear war fighting plans, is for them to be engaging in a pretty sick program of mass deception. So much for history.

Some writers have picked up on this, and come out strongly against flexible response and counterforce, with good reason. They worry about just how much of today's global political tension stems from the sheer number and size of nuclear weapons waiting to participate in any crisis. Communication via weapons of mass destruction is a tricky business — one side builds a sophisticated weapon it never intends to use, and yet threatens to use it. In today's climate of political scepticism, how can the adversary not respond in kind? The other great fear expressed about flexible response is that of escalation. Flexible response carries with it the notion that nuclear war can be 'limited' in scope and force, but if nuclear war broke out in the Persian Gulf next week, does anyone really believe it would — or could — stay there?

In desperation and despair, such writers cast their minds back to a forgotten golden age; that of minimal deterrence, when everyone knew that if one missile went, we all went. 'Yes', they sigh, 'the MAD days were the good ol' days'. If only it was that easy.

Holes in the Theory

The problem with minimal deterrence as compared to flexible response or counterforce, is that it is not really any 'better'; it's just 'less worse'. Minimal deterrence theory is simple enough. A deterrer must make clear what the prohibited action is, what the penalty is for ignoring that prohibition, that s/he possesses the requirements for carrying out the stated penalty, and that s/he will most certainly do so if the situation arises. An adversary or challenger, in turn, must correctly understand the deterrer's prohibition and threat, and believe that the deterrer both could and would respond if tested. A breakdown in any one of these conditions makes the deterrence arrangement highly unstable.



Pondering Polite Police

by Ariel Couchman



At the end of the week of actions against the US spy base at Pine Gap organised by the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (AABCC) in October 1987, over 200 arrests had occurred.

Despite this large number, the *heavy* hand of the law had been largely unsighted. Both the Territory and Commonwealth police were paragons of virtue. There was little violence, provocation or even crowd control to be seen. Many participants have since argued that the behaviour of the police was a positive result of our use of Non-Violent Direct Action (NVDA).

Others have argued that the civility of the police was no more than a reflection of our political ineffectiveness. Put in the extreme the argument goes that if we consider that gaol is the ultimate sanction against political activity then what does it reflect on our political campaign that we are not being beaten or gaoled?

How then should we assess the police response and what does it mean in terms of our political effectiveness? How should we organise future demonstrations and what should be our attitude to the police?

I think that for a start there are a number of contributing factors, not only those suggested above, which explain the behaviour of the police. I also think that demonstrations need to be viewed in terms of our objectives both short *and* long term.

The police as I see it are empowered to use violence to enforce compliance with the laws of the state and to deter actions which threaten the interests of dominant sections of society. Whilst individually police might attempt to apply the law equally they are constantly informed by the Government which sections of society are more worthy of their protection, and which sections pose a threat.

At Pine Gap, whilst the police had a vast array of draconian laws to choose from, including the *Commonwealth Defence Special Undertakings Act* and the *Territory Protection of Persons and Property Act*, all demonstrators were charged with relatively minor offences. These included trespass, wilful damage (for digging under and cutting the fence) and the antiquated charge of 'failing to cease loiter' for blocking the Pine Gap

work bus.

During arrests the police accepted obvious aliases such as Christopher Boyce, Mordachii Vananu and Karen Silkwood and had obviously been directed to avoid violent confrontation. Once arrested we were escorted to our custom built shaded lock-up complete with access to portable toilets, iced water and a varied selection of fruits!

The official charging and bail proceedings at the watchhouse were done by Territory police with somewhat less civility than our preceding treatment by the Commonwealth security guards. However, compared with the treatment usually meted out to 'real' criminals, (harassment, intimidation, physical abuse, delays etc.) we were given the proverbial royal hand-shake. Furthermore the police indicated to some protesters that they were not going to be overzealous in pursuing the charges.

The court cases resulted in penalties which were very moderate when viewed within the context of the maximum allowable (although not moderate in terms of many protesters' income). However the magistrates appeared to take it upon themselves to provide ideological instruction to protesters, an example being — 'Why don't you use Parliament instead of illegal means to voice your concerns?'

The choice of minor offence, the generally civil behaviour of police during arrests, and the leniency of punishment meted out by the magistrates (with the addition of the aforementioned ideological instruction), must be seen as a reflection of the fact that we did not pose a real threat to dominant interests in society. We were obviously not about to close Pine Gap or hamper its proper functioning. Our actions were largely symbolic as we walked into the arms of arresting officers with no attempts being made to avoid detection or arrest. We trespassed in full public view and the wilful damage that occurred was very minor and specific to the objective of being arrested for trespass.

However in pursuit of our long term aim of opposing all foreign military and intelligence bases in Australia and Asia-Pacific we do pose a threat to those who benefit from their continued presence.

Why then were the police so lenient?

I think that we were demonstrating in somewhat idyllic conditions produced by previous political action against Pine Gap. Not only was the current Federal Labor Government a little sensitive about Pine Gap being raised on the country's political agenda because of their Labor predecessors' opposition, but the general public was already familiar with Pine Gap given the sympathetic and extensive media coverage of the Women's Camp in 1983.

We should add to this that there was very probably a directive from the Federal Government to the police force to avoid confrontation, given the complaints made of police violence and lack of adherence to basic legal rights, by the women in 1983 to the Human Rights Commission. The Commission found these complaints to be substantiated although they had very little power to effect any change.

With this background as well as a number of demonstrations organised against Pine Gap in 1986 around Australia, I think there was an expectation on the part of the media that there could be a showdown and quite possibly a violent one at that. Pine Gap was certainly on the public agenda.

Given this, I think that either non-violent or more confrontationist methods of demonstrating would have been equally effective. We were somewhat protected not only because of the factors mentioned but also by our numbers, by the extensive media presence and by our respectability as representing a broad spectrum of 'middle' Australia.

As to whether the methods we chose were the most politically effective, I think that non-violence with consensus decision making was well chosen as it challenged the media to take up the issues in the absence of violence. It was also successful in encouraging people to participate. Many more were prepared to be arrested because it could be done in such a respectable way and they had the safety of numbers.

It was also well chosen for building support from outside the 'converted' as it generated such a positive atmosphere and was not alienating. One goal in planning a demonstration must surely be



to achieve the greatest political effect on the audience we are seeking to influence.

For future actions, in deciding our methods we nonetheless have to use what we have, the material conditions, alliances, well known identities and so on.

Unlike many who are sold on 'non-violence' as the new demonstrating 'mode', I do not deplore the use of more confrontationist methods and I do not think that it has ever been convincingly argued that our 'audience' out there is automatically alienated by violence. My experience has been that views on violence are generally influenced by views on the issue.

Having said this I do not support

indiscriminate violence particularly directed at persons and regard violence against persons as a last resort.

We were in a privileged position to air our views on Pine Gap. For those who have less access to voicing their concerns or whose struggles are largely ignored, violence is only the only means to fight back. Ultimately also non-violence as an ideology relies on moral persuasion. It is unfortunately the reality that those with vested interests have few morals.

Ariel Couchman was a member of the legal support group at the anti-Pine Gap actions in October 1987.

Action ahead

Inspired by the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific conference in April 1986, and a Melbourne production 'Pine Gap on the Agenda', anti-bases activists around Australia began linking together.

Members of the Alice Springs Peace Group, who live only 18km from the sinister white radomes of Pine Gap were very conscious of the base's presence. A number of protests had already taken place there, including the Women's Camp in 1983.

Contact between the Alice Springs Peace Group and the Melbourne Anti-Bases Campaign led to a National Consultation in July 1986 when about 70 people gathered together to discuss the feasibility of campaigning nationally against US bases in Australia. At this meeting the proposal to form a national anti-bases coalition was forged, with a conference to launch this coalition planned for December that year.

The conference, held in Sydney, was an important step in the history of the anti-bases campaign. A Statement of Unity was accepted as the political basis for affiliating to the coalition. In this statement the bases struggle was put into a regional perspective, where the struggle of indigenous people, especially Australian Aborigines, was seen as an integral part of the campaign.

In February 1987 the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (AABCC) came together for its inaugural meeting. Here, the structure of the AABCC was

determined, and every effort made to develop a non-hierarchical style of operation, characterised by consensus decision making. The first campaign of the AABCC was to be Pine Gap. Already anti-bases groups, which had developed around the country during the previous year, had held protests nationally on 19 October 1986, highlighting the renegotiation of the Pine Gap agreement. These protests, the largest of which was held in Melbourne (4,000 people), set the flavour of the campaign. Colour, humour and an innovative style were to become hallmarks. A new campaign had hit/developed within the peace movement, lifting it up, and inspiring many people to action.

The struggle against the bases gained momentum in the months leading up to October 1987. The week of action held in Alice Springs and at Pine Gap strongly reflected this new movement. Decisions at mass meetings were arrived at by consensus. The action was non-violent, but still inspiring, empowering and (importantly for the Coalition) faithfully portrayed in the media. Television and newspaper coverage was uniformly positive. For once protesters were taken seriously as responsible women and men concerned about the future of the world, rather than members of a loony fringe.

At the same time as mass protests were taking place at Pine Gap on 18 October, there were support actions throughout Australia, and as far afield as Aotearoa

and England.

What next for the AABCC?

The next main event on the calendar of the AABCC is its Annual General Meeting, in the form of a conference, to be held in Melbourne on 27 and 28 February this year.

The Coalition is committed to a focus on North West Cape in 1988. This is not a household word in the way that Pine Gap is, but will be before long, if the plans of the AABCC succeed.

Several working groups were established at the AABCC meeting in October '87 — an indigenous Peoples Group and a Regional Links Group. The February conference will address the way in which these groups can work within the anti-bases campaign. Other campaigns, including one calling for a Public Inquiry into the bases, will be discussed at the conference.

Those who wish to learn more about the bases will be able to view videos on the evening of 26 February, and see an excellent slide set *US Bases In Australia* during the weekend of the conference. Reading material will also be available.

On behalf of the Coalition, I would like to extend an invitation to all interested people to attend this conference.

Dora Berenyi is a member of the Anti-Bases Campaign in Victoria.

nuclear situation. However, if he said the bases were used to enhance US nuclear war-fighting abilities, there would be uproar.

Alternatives

While we are working to remove nuclear weapons from this innocent planet, we need to adopt the safest way of (temporarily) surviving with them. On such grounds, minimal deterrence is far more preferable to flexible response or counterforce. One obvious way to ensure that the bases in Australia are performing positive verification roles, and not dangerous war-planning roles, is to remove them from US control. Australia needs no help to operate the bases to verify arms control agreements. A commitment to global disarmament, instead of a commitment to either nuclear bloc, would be far more valuable to us all.

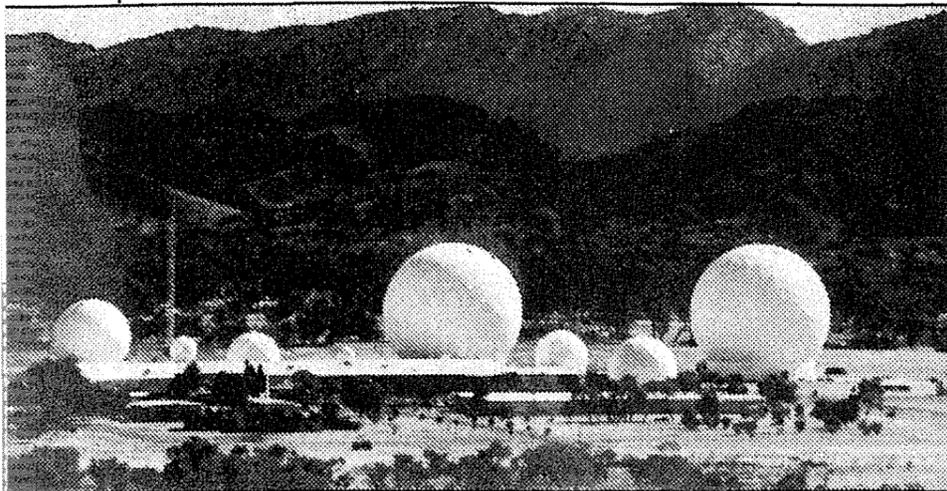
Of course it is unlikely that the Australian government would take this initiative itself. On such issues, the government often feigns an appeal to 'harsh reality' and superior knowledge. This is a form of 'psychological deterrence', designed to keep normal, intelligent people from participating in this debate. It is our collective responsibility to open the problems of deterrence up to the public forum. Our silence gives tacit approval for our involvement in global nuclear war-fighting doctrines.

Further Reading

Jim Falk's *Taking Australia Off the Map* (Penguin) is an excellent introduction to the nuclear debate, from a helpfully Australian angle and is widely available, even from public libraries. For the historical theorists, a good collection is J. Garnett's *Theories of Peace and Security*. The alternative theorists should find flipping through Johan Galtung's huge *The True Worlds* quite mind-expanding.

Finally, many thanks to Myrine and Wendy for their skills and hours.

Les Tate is a member of PND in Victoria and attended the anti-Pine Gap activities at Alice Springs in October 1987



The possibilities for misunderstanding are very great. Military strategists spend willions of hours simply trying to work out precisely who will do what to who if they do such-and-such. And their game-plans never involve just the two actors of the above theory — Congress, the Politburo, to some extent the voters, Pakistan, Poland, perhaps Israel, or South Africa, terrorists, and maybe even Hawke or Beazley may all be involved. The 'risk calculations', made so easily by theorists in journal articles, then begin to look a little more tricky.

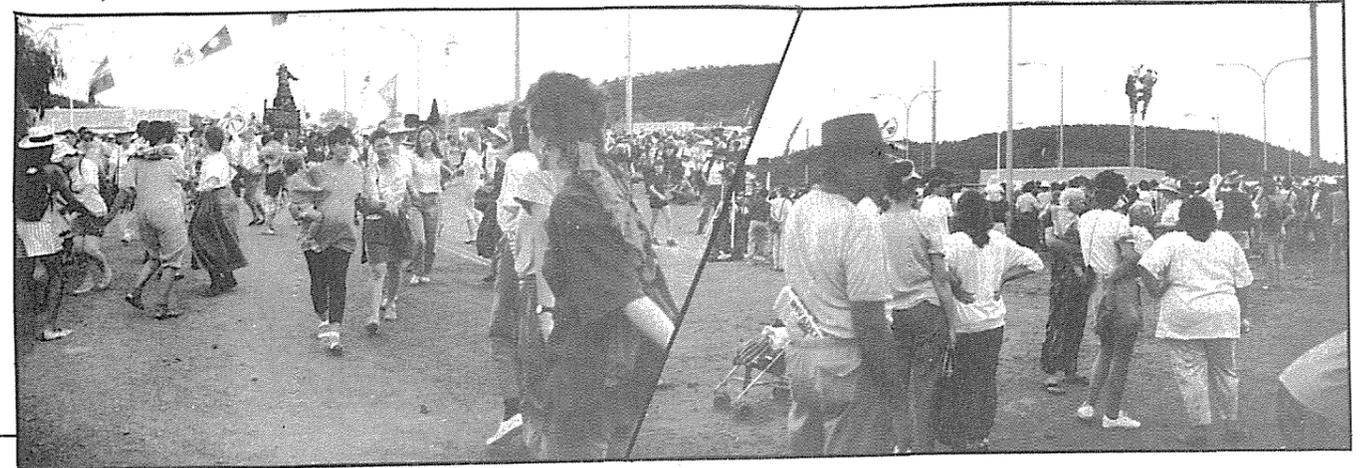
Besides this, the game-plans contain a fundamental flaw; they presume rational actors divorced from reality. This reality may well include factors such as an atmosphere of crisis, constrictive time limits on decision making, or accident due to technology failure — all of which could easily happen simultaneously. Minimal deterrence theory imagines rational actors having plenty of time to quietly 'weigh up' the pros and cons of a possible action. What any of this has to do with real political situations is anyone's guess.

Metaphorically speaking, flexible response and counterforce are 'standing on the crumbling edges of the precipice of holocaust'. Minimal deterrence is not — but it is still close enough to the edge to jump, if required. At any moment we can still all die ghastly deaths, or, worse still, try to survive beyond a holocaust.

By taking away humanity's faith in the continuation of the future, deterrence has made a mockery of our past. We huddle, frightened and disempowered, in our present. This fear of instant death is what we are supposed to call 'peace', and is how deterrence is supposed to have been proved stable. But deterrence cannot be proved stable or unstable until it either lasts forever, or fails. Neither is acceptable or pleasant to consider.

Australia's Involvement

The dilemma of nuclear deterrence encroaches into Australian politics via our US bases. Although the problem is the same, the use of different terms has clouded the issue. When Beazley talks of 'verification', he is referring to minimal deterrence; when he talks of 'deterrence', he is referring to flexible response and counterforce. The reason for this is that Australia has no control over the uses of the data that is collected at the bases. Beazley is correct to claim that the bases are needed to verify adherence to arms control and disarmament agreements. But this is not how they have been used, for at least ten years. As the US has continued to develop nuclear war-fighting doctrines, the data from our bases has been put to increasingly offensive uses. So Beazley is wrong to claim that the bases stabilise the doctrine of deterrence, because that doctrine no longer applies to the global



Warriors and terror

The articles by John Dixon-Jenkins in *Chain Reaction* and his continuing incarceration in Victorian gaols has led to a number of responses which are printed here. There are a number of important issues being discussed here, including the meaning of non-violence, the use of fear, and the relationship between individuals and movements. There are also the issues raised by Dixon-Jenkins, namely the continuing threat of nuclear holocaust, the defence of necessity and the conditions in prisons. The *Chain Reaction* collective believes that these issues are important and complex and need public discussion. Further contributions are welcome and *Chain Reaction* will attempt to keep readers up-to-date with developments in Dixon-Jenkins' situation.

Terror is terror

John Dixon-Jenkins is in gaol for threatening to kill school children and other people in the week following the 1984 Palm Sunday rally. He signed the death threats 'the anti-nuclear warrior', and demanded the Australian Government meet his demands for nuclear disarmament. Recently he repeated the tactic by threatening to blow up himself and other inmates in Bendigo prison.

Dixon-Jenkins maintains (*CR 51*) he is guilty of no crime, describing his actions as 'non-violent terrorism'. 'The logic of the situation', he maintains, 'dictates that there is virtually no act, no matter how terrible, which would not be legally justified if it could be used to put an end to the nuclear threat . . .'

In a world saturated by violence and acceptance of cruelty Dixon-Jenkins voices the true tone of the terrorist. He maintains, with feigned reluctance, that it is 'the logic of the situation' that leads him to threaten death to hundreds. If he were more honest he would be clear that it is his decision, his preference.

Dixon-Jenkins maintains that he is guilty of no crime. This is self-serving and immoral nonsense. He made clear in the design of his mock bombs that he placed in schools and shopping centres that he knew how to kill. He was threatening to kill. He was intentionally seeking to induce terror amongst those children, their parents, the workers in the shopping centres. And he was successful. He made many feel immediately and palpably afraid for their lives and for the lives of their children and friends.

The matter is not an abstract one: What would be your attitude were your child amongst the Melbourne school-children Dixon-Jenkins threatened to kill? If you worked in the shops and offices he threatened to blow up? Under what

conditions would you accept that Dixon-Jenkins has the right to terrorise them or you? Or by implication of his announced intention in his notes, to kill them?

The world we live in has been a violent one for a long time; wars are as old as states. But this century is history's charnel house: never has a reconsideration of our civilization's love of violence been more urgent. Non-violence is the peace movement's logos, its guiding principle, the goal towards which, however haltingly and with however many setbacks, we must move the world. It is obvious that there are many places in the world today where the immediate and daily experience of actual state terror leaves the oppressed with no option but the resort to violence. For those forced by history to make that desolate choice, we can only offer our help and hope that the outcome will be an enduring and just peace of the people, and not beginning of another 'revolutionary' regime of embedded violence and secret police. That is the struggle of which the Sandanistas are only too aware.

But let us be crystal clear: that has nothing to do with the majority of people in this country today. For us, there is no direct experience of nuclear violence. It is a threat, a threat which dominates and terrifies and controls, to be sure. But that is no justification for violence in response. Invoking the desperate struggles of Third World revolutions is a tawdry and contemptible misleading parallel which only trivialises the choices those people have had to make.

Let us be equally clear, the non-violent means of resistance are not exhausted. Despite all, Australia remains a country with a remarkably wide area of popular political influence. If we are honest as a peace movement, we must admit that we have hardly scratched the surface of serious militant non-violent nuclear

resistance. The real struggles, the unavoidable sacrifices, have not yet begun. Dixon-Jenkins' ploy of hiding behind what he claims is 'dictated by . . . the logic of the situation' doesn't stand up to any honest scrutiny. It is a trick of rhetoric used to justify what he would prefer to do anyway — threaten to kill people if he doesn't get his way.

Is Dixon-Jenkins so very different from those who have produced the nuclear terror? In the Pentagon and the Soviet nuclear bunkers, the men who are skilled in separating their rationality from their moral sense similarly feel impelled by the 'logic of the situation' to threaten the annihilation of millions. Like Dixon-Jenkins, they invoke the oldest of male codes, the duty of the warrior. The time has come to repudiate those men who cloak their preference for and fascination with violence beneath the ethic of the warrior, anti-nuclear or otherwise.

As I write this I am thinking about the five young men whose horrifying experience in Jika Jika prison lead them to sacrifice themselves in an attempt to make us hear their plight. And then I remember that Dixon-Jenkins threatened to kill other prisoners to make a comparable point about his objections to Bendigo prison. Both actions draw our attention to what we would otherwise avoid seeing — appalling state of our prisons, and the reluctance of all of us to take the issue seriously. But there is a revealing difference that must not be obscured by Dixon-Jenkins publicity-seeking preferences for threatening the lives of other people, almost always powerless innocents.

In the week I write this, another three young Aboriginal men have died in Australian gaols — by accident, suicide, or murder. I cannot conceive of my fears were I an Aboriginal man thrown into a West Australian gaol today. The 'logic' of which Dixon-Jenkins boasts becomes more compelling then. But Aboriginal resistance to almost unimaginable white oppression remains non-violent. It is time we learned not to listen to the sly paranoia of warriors, and turned to the true and arduous task of long run non-violent change.

Richard Tanter
Nth Fitzroy, Vic.

Whoops!

Whoops! Joe Nicholas is right: I've re-read my letter about John Dixon-Jenkins and agree it was a bit of a tirade and could have more usefully included more facts. Which only goes to show (again) that anger and concern may be great stimulants to action, but don't necessarily lead to greatest effectiveness. I'm glad you've filled my omissions somewhat with the articles in *CR51* from John D-J. Since the previous letter, of course, he has staged a further bomb-hoax at Bendigo gaol, in an attempt to get a hearing for his personal case, and for the anti-nuclear case, but was thwarted again, and I last heard he was in solitary confinement in Jika Jika, Pentridge. He was refused a visit from a friend from the country, intent on getting more information...and after the latest Jika Jika protest against inhuman conditions, in which other prisoners were involved but not J D-J, he will have been shifted again. Dixon-Jenkins' original hoax was aimed to present a precedent defence which could

be used by social movement people facing arrest for future action against existing 'order' (see Jo Vallentine, p17, *CR51*)... a defence previously accepted at law, exonerating people who have breached law in acting to defend themselves or others from a 'reasonable expectation' of being killed etc. He was not allowed to present that defence, or to appeal against this prevention. He was defied hearing by a Jury, although he requested it (what price our civil rights!) He is now being swept even deeper 'under the carpet'; only the interest and intervention of the peace movements and other movements for social change, can ensure that the issues of his case are fully examined; because the system is about power, and he, as an individual is powerless. But there I go again... all upset! I cannot reach Dixon-Jenkins to personally inquire further; but surely the peace movements in Victoria have some lawyers etc. who can get to the bottom of it all?

Eric Mack
Glen Osmond, SA



John Dixon-Jenkins (right) with fellow prisoner 'Chopper', inside Pentridge Gaol, Melbourne.

Dixon-Jenkins Committal Hearing

John Dixon-Jenkins came up for a committal hearing in respect of the Bendigo Prison Hostage Siege on 21 January 1988 at the Melbourne Magistrate's Court but the case was adjourned until April 11 1988. The reason was vague — that 'someone' requested an adjournment. It would seem that the police had not got their act together, but since there is not much involved in the preparation of a committal hearing, they have already had an excessively long time and the need for another two and a half months seems incredible.

For the Earth!

May I add one more letter on the subject of John Dixon-Jenkins, held in maximum security at Pentridge Jail for bomb hoaxes, and the Bendigo siege of August this year.

Dixon-Jenkins has argued that although his actions were morally wrong, they were nonetheless legally defensible. In his book, *The Unified Theory of Existence* he argues that we have to accept the moral wrongness of any act that involves violence to another. He poses the case of a man seeing another person attack his child with a knife. 'The parent shoots and kills the attacker, thus saving the child's life' (p212). The moral dilemma in this case is absolute. Whatever action one takes will be wrong. What is important is that the consequences flowing from either action be accepted without qualification.

He writes that, 'as long as we hide behind the supposed necessity of circumstances we give up our free-will.' (p214). Although an action may be morally wrong, there may be circumstances which render it legally defensible. Dixon-Jenkins argues 'I would take great risks to remove the threat of a loaded gun at my head. Risks I would never take otherwise. I would take even greater risks to remove the threat of the

nuclear 'gun' pointed at every person on this planet' (The Tactics of Non-Violent Terrorism: a personal statement). Thus 'the defence of necessity' — that given one's sense of personal (and universal) threat to all life on the planet, there are certain actions that one might deem necessary to attempt to remove that threat. He therefore proposes 'non-violent terrorism' — a tactic designed to arouse prominent figures and the public from their torpor.

It is not hard to see enormous difficulties with the theory of non-violent terrorism. Firstly, 'non-violent' only makes sense if we confine 'violence' to physical acts. But bomb hoaxes and threats cause severe mental strain and may well result in physical manifestations of stress and heart attack.

Secondly, if these tactics were seen as defensible in a court of law, others with desperate causes (who would not act out of Dixon-Jenkins sense of moral imperative) may be encouraged.

My personal feelings towards John Dixon-Jenkins through reading his work and speaking with him across wire barriers at Pentridge Jail, are that he is a very courageous and highly moral person, acting from the roots of a fundamental vision of life, a vision that most people on this planet share.

Dixon-Jenkins may well have misjudged the situation to have embarked on such a dangerous course of action. His theory and his tactics may be abhorrent (in fact he has always admitted this himself). However he should not and must not be abandoned by any of us working for deep social change in our society.

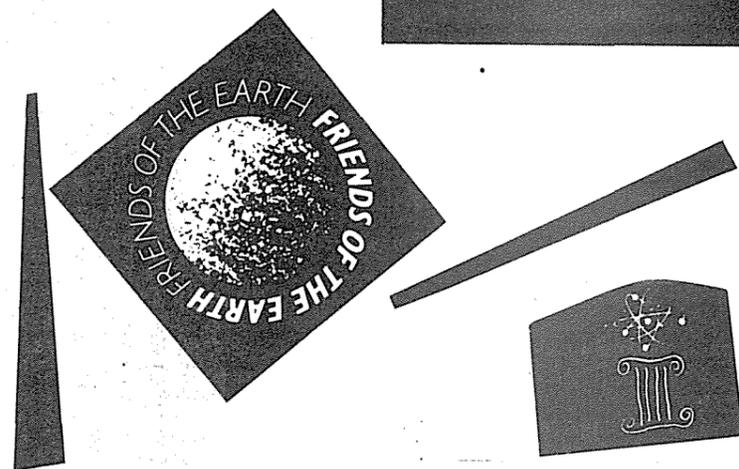
- I suggest three courses of action —
1. Write to Mr. J. Kennan, Attorney-General of Victoria, c/- Parliament House, Melbourne, requesting a fair trial.
 2. Write to the Victorian Ombudsman on the same basis.
 3. Contact — The Committee for Justice for the Anti-Nuclear Warrior, coordinated by Eileen Goodfield. Address: 344 Stephenson's Road, Mount Waverley, 3149. Phone (03) 277 2066. For the Earth!

John Martin
Warracknabeel, Vic

FOE

BOOKSHOP

MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS GAYMEN
CALENDARS DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION
DIARIES PEACE EDUCATION
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222 Brunswick St Fitzroy
3065. Tel. 03. 4198700

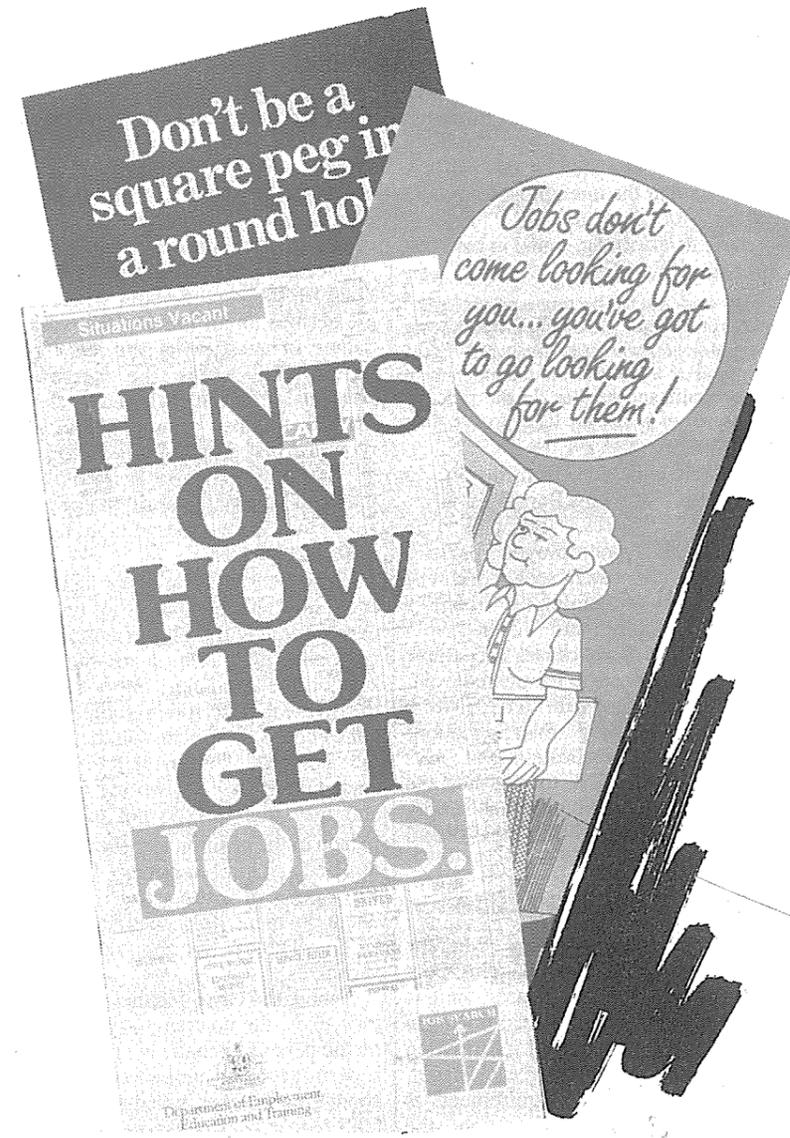
Is the CES working?

by Stewart Dawson

The CES has two distinct functions. It acts as a 'work test' register and employment agency for the Department of Social Security (DSS) to monitor compliance with the provisions of Section 107 of the Social Services Act. This is concerned with the eligibility of unemployed persons for benefit and with the steps taken to secure employment. Second, the CES administers a variety of employment and training programs — JOBSTART, Training for Aborigines Program, Youth Access Centres, Career Reference Centres etc. But it has a third function; the evidence available suggests that the primary reason for the existence of this large and costly bureaucracy is that the Government must be seen to be doing something about unemployment and that it soaks up on the government payroll persons who would otherwise be unemployment statistics.

Thirty-two per cent of CES staff time is concerned with administration, management and staff training. In the financial year 1985-86 (latest available figures) this cost the taxpayer over \$50.5 million. Sixty-eight per cent of staff time was spent on 'client servicing' — jobseeker servicing, servicing employers, self service job seeking etc., at a cost of more than \$108 million, of which \$11 million were spent on supervision of labour programs, that is, employment and training programs, which took 7 per cent of staff time.

What do the public get for this colossal expenditure? Only 7 per cent of staff time is spent on direct, constructive employment and training programs, the



intentions of which are laudable but the effectiveness of which are questionable. The rest is spent in running an artificially maintained and funded employment agency which does not have to compete with private agencies in terms of efficiency, results, expertise or budget, at which the unemployed must register and which frequently creates hardship and suffering for its clientele.

The CES, according to its own literature, is required to provide an equitable employment service to jobseekers and employers, develop and deliver employment training programs and provide the government and CES clients with information on the labour market. It is supposed to respond to changing labour market pressures, varying community expectations and government priorities. It fails dismally and in 1985-86 it cost the taxpayer \$828 million.

The Work Test

The 'work test' is a check on unemployment benefit claimants as to whether they satisfy the Social Services Act. This specifies that claimants must be actively seeking work to the satisfaction of both the CES and the DSS (Section 107c and 107d). The fortnightly income statement returned by claimants contains a declaration that this requirement is being adhered to.

In 1985 an appeal was lodged with the Administrative Appeals Tribunal (AAT) against the DSS policy of compulsory CES registration in order to qualify for unemployment benefit on the grounds that, at the time, registration was a matter of DSS policy, not law (This requirement became law in 1986); that the CES failed as an employment agency, and that the DSS already work-tested benefit recipients via the initial benefit claim and the fortnightly statements. The AAT conceded on the legal point but said that it was unprepared to support it because it had the potential for chaos. The Tribunal did, however, state that if the CES did not operate effectively that this should be examined. As far as can be determined, no notice has been taken of this recommendation. The Tribunal did not address the question of existing DSS work testing as it was clear in a legal context that the DSS was entitled to check records held by the CES. Consequently, this point was glossed over. The CES now occupies a unique position as an employment agency in that its staff cannot readily be dismissed for incompetence, rudeness, harassment or inefficiency.

In the context of criticisms of the work test, it is important to note that the AAT's point that it would not rule against compulsory CES registration on the grounds that it had 'potential for chaos' indicates an awareness of widespread dissatisfaction with the CES work test and, in the context of the appeal, the CES in general. The work test is also used (unofficially) to harass and control persons that CES officers take a dislike to, notably anyone who attempts to speak up for their right to decent treatment.

Most importantly, however, the work test in its daily application results in confusion and intimidation for the thousands who have been wrongly taught that their best chance of finding employment lies with the CES. The only survey on the effectiveness of the CES as an employment agency, produced by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) in 1983, showed that of all those who obtained work during the survey period, less than twenty per cent did so through the CES.

The work test is based on the assumption that the unemployed are dole bludgers. As the now ALP Federal Secretary, Mick Young, noted in his book *I want to work* (1979):

(The) work test has become a psychological necessity not for the unemployed, but for the politicians who ask bureaucrats for the impossible: a reduction in unemployment of a significant number. In the process, thousands of people are likely to lose their entitlement.

All available evidence, from the Fraser Government's Williams Report onwards, using ABS figures, indicates that practically all unemployed persons actively and desperately seek work. The backward logic of blaming the victim by a bureaucratically and insensitively administered work test causes irreparable psychological damage to the unemployed. It causes financial ruin and distress through its bungling misapplication, selective malicious application, and above all, in its application to the average jobseeker to whom it presents simply another form of mindless and unnecessary harassment.

Job Self Service

Self service is the process whereby persons attend the CES and enquire about jobs posted on the job boards, and is modeled on newspaper advertisements in which a minimal amount of information — type of work, age requirements, wages, and sometimes special requirements is provided. After selecting a job, the

unemployed then write down the coded information number, see reception and wait to be interviewed. The name, address and phone number of the prospective employer are not listed on the job boards. At this stage, the applicant cannot assess for themselves whether it is actually worth the wait to investigate the job advertised. It may be a company they have previously worked for; it may be a place they have already been sacked from. It may be located well away from public transport — as the address is not given it is impossible to make a realistic decision. And because the phone number is not given, the unemployed cannot make their own enquiries as mature adults.

When a clerk is available, the jobseeker is taken to a booth, where the clerk examines the person's CES file. Invariably, if the person has been unemployed for more than about four months (the average term of unemployment is now approximately a year) the interview is first and primarily concerned with the person's previous attempts to obtain employment. This has two effects: first, the person's self confidence is shaken as they are made aware of their previous failures at job applications. Second, the clerk will question the person about whether they are serious about looking for work, the degree of questioning varying with the number of times the person has previously been interviewed by the CES for other jobs — each interview is recorded and dated. Note that this does not indicate how many times the person has been to the CES in search of suitable work: only the number of times they have been interviewed.

Only then will the clerk key the job code into the computer to reveal the name, address and phone number of the position. Other criteria for the job are kept on the computer, but not given on the brief job description available on the notice board. The clerk will then examine the person's employment history to determine if they are worthy for the job and may then decide not to refer the person to the position for which they have applied. This happens frequently. Because of the high rate of unemployment, this does not affect the CES's claimed 'success' rate at filling vacancies.

Where the clerk decides to 'assist' the jobseeker, the company will be phoned on the person's behalf. No independence is permitted. The clerk tells the company about the jobseeker, based on the person's CES record — it is like being at a child-

NOTICE

TO AVOID CONGESTION ON STAIRS
AND PASSAGEWAYS EACH MORNING
CLIENTS OF COMMONWEALTH EMPLOYMENT
SERVICE ARE REQUESTED TO WAIT
OUTSIDE THIS DOORWAY UNTIL THE
C.E.S. OPENS AT 8.45 AM.

mind center for grown-ups — and arranges an interview time. The time is usually, but not always, checked with and agreed to by the jobseeker. This is because people are sometimes sent off to job interviews to verify their 'seriousness' about looking for work. In these circumstances the clerk is wasting the time of the jobseeker by insisting they apply for work which they do not consider suitable — the penalty is loss of benefit. It is wasting the time of the employer who must interview a reluctant employee. And it is wasting the communities money on a pointless exercise in harassment. It is a common practice to send three or four jobseekers for a position they have sought, and to send another couple of jobseekers along to satisfy the CES that they are 'genuinely seeking work'.

In the case of the jobseeker who has selected a position that they are keen to

obtain, they then suffer the stigma of being 'referred by the CES'. The Meyers Report noted that 'the CES is losing the confidence of employers, many of whom prefer to recruit from other sources' (Sections 4.11.8 — 4.11.14). With the rise of unemployment and the lengthening of duration of unemployment since the Meyers Report was written, this situation has deteriorated further. The CES will not co-operate with requests to simply hand over the job contact information. Again, because of the high level of unemployment these facts do not affect the CES's claimed 'success rate' in filling vacancies.

Employers have learned over time that CES 'matching' procedures do not lead to applicants who meet their criteria. Consequently, the job boards cater predominantly to low-skill employment and to employers looking for subsidised labour via 'training' programs. Further,

an undue percentage of CES jobs are for cheap labour by age — under 21 and frequently 16 and 17 year olds. One wonders at the ongoing employment prospects of those employed on a full time basis due to their age.

As a result of these and other problems, the CES job boards were famed for being nearly empty. The CES then introduced regionalisation as a procedure dressed up as a service. Each CES now stocks jobs from at least half a dozen surrounding zones and the city. Despite this, jobs are still often sparse on the boards.

The CES does not respond to complaints from jobseekers who have found gross discrepancies between the nature of jobs advertised and the reality of the situation at the job interview. Frequently, job cards are not replaced when the position vacant has been filled. Jobseekers are eternally applying for jobs which no longer exist — a bit like accidentally using last weeks newspaper. Employers frequently do not notify the CES when they have filled a vacancy, particularly when they have filled it from another source.

Job matching is the procedure whereby the CES checks incoming vacancies against files categorised by occupation of its registered jobseekers. This is distinct from the 'matching' done at interviews where someone has asked for details of a particular job. Job matching occupied 7 per cent of CES staff time on the latest figures. It should be noted that this figure also includes the 'services' of the Professional Employment Office run by the CES, which does nothing else. Consequently the prospects of the CES 'finding you a job' are remote. Long term unemployed (defined as those on benefit for more than 6 months — the average times is now 56.2 weeks) have their files put into a gradually growing pile labeled inactive. These files are not job matched. The people most in need of assistance do not receive it.

Jobstart

This is the successor to NEAT and SYETP. All these programs have two main assumptions. One is that employers cannot afford the 'high cost of labour' while they train somebody to do their job properly. The other is that by subsidising the employer during the training period they will be happy with the employee, having had sufficient time to train them without undue cost, and will then retain the services of the employee. Both these assumptions are totally wrong and have

cost the taxpayer millions of dollars for nothing — but the employment figures look better, for a while.

According to a study made in 1986 by the ANZ Bank, 'for years, a common complaint from employers has been that labour was too costly in Australia. That situation exists no more. The study indicated that on a proportionate basis Australian workers were paid less for their skills than those in several other comparable countries. Similarly, labour on-costs are substantial but not exorbitant on a world scale' (*The Age*, 16/9/86). A report by the Committee for the Economic Development of Australia has also questioned the assessment by many Australian businesses that labour costs prohibited expansion (same source). The assumption of labour programs is that 'high labour costs' must be subsidised during training.

SYETP subsidised for 17 weeks, Jobstart subsidises for 6 months. Most people on training are 'trained' to fill supermarket shelves etc. This takes at most two days. Mick Young again: 'Not only has the training element been a farce, but the poor young person has been subjected to what the Brotherhood (of St. Lawrence) rightly calls "a disintegrating personal effect"'. Perhaps his opinions have changed now that he is in office. The training programs are used by employers not to train staff but to pocket the difference between the subsidy and the wage they would have paid.

CES 'marketing' of Jobstart is not concerned with the effect on the trainee, but with the financial saving to the prospective employer. Employers often do not retain the services of 'trainees' after the subsidy finishes. SYETP was notorious for this. A round robin of subsidised labour is created — one 'trainee' is sacked when the subsidy finishes, another 'trainee' is applied for. Nearly a quarter of Jobstart trainees are not retained. The CES does not wipe employers off the books for this sort of abuse because to do so would effectively eliminate thousands of people on such 'training' programs. The Community Employment Program (CEP), which paid all of a person's wage, was a total failure and scrapped in April 1987. (For more details, see footnote.)

These subsidies effectively lower the unemployment figures by precisely the number of are persons on the program. Nearly all on Jobstart who are retained would have been employed in any case without the subsidy. Priority One is concerned with keeping the government

in office, not with training and restructuring.

The CES is successful in filling vacancies (around 80 per cent are filled each year), only because of massive unemployment and its promoted but unrealistic image as a large employment agency. In filling these vacancies, much undue harassment of the unemployed jobseeker occurs. On the only available figures, the CES filled less than 20 per cent of all job vacancies. Most obtained work through newspaper advertisements and through direct approaches to employers. The government would do better to pay the papers for space in employment sections giving employers free recruiting space. Employers do not prefer to recruit through the CES and jobseekers are harassed by the CES if they show reluctance to use its services.

The total cost of running the CES and its programs was \$828 million in 1985-86. Only 14 per cent of staff time was spent jobmatching and administering labour market programs. Although there are significant problems in both these areas, the biggest and most unnecessary expenses are on administration, worktesting, and on duplicating the function of a newspaper advertisement — the most effective method of securing employment. The CES worktest creates massive hardship in the community. Because of its low position in the overall job market, the CES is not effective as an employment agency.

The CES should be abolished in its entirety and the few special projects it runs given to the Department of Industry, Technology and Commerce. The problem however is that scrapping the CES would lead to 6000 clerks and bureaucrats on the dole queue, and this is politically unacceptable to the government. The best solution is probably for both jobseekers and employers to treat the CES as an undesirable relic, and hope that it fades into oblivion.

This article intended to include other sections which have been deleted for reasons of space. For more details you may contact the author through *Chain Reaction* and these will be forwarded to you.

Stewart Dawson is an unemployed research assistant trying to find a job — any offers?



Wednesday 10 February 1988

Gloom keeps shares falling

Australian share prices fall again as gloom about the international gold price and falls on world markets deter local investors.

The all ordinaries index loses 22 points to close at its second-lowest level since October.

PAGE 21

Meanwhile, the ANZ Bank reports that the sharemarket crash continues to weaken the job market. The number of jobs advertised last month fell by 9.6 per cent, the largest monthly drop since May 1986.

PAGE 15

Gun rebellion warning

From *The Age* warn that they

UNEMPLOYED? NEED OTHER HELP?

Well, after all of this good advice, if you still can't crack a job, remember the good ol' CES.

They know more about getting you started than practically anyone else.

Feel free to front up and ask for advice. Like how to go for jobs that suit you or will further your career, or what to do in an interview, or how to approach a potential employer.

It's simple. You think up the questions and the CES can help you get the answers.

And remember, there is much more the CES can help you with, aside from only telling you about vacancies.

Keep asking, keep trying.

If you have been out of work for a while, ask about special CES programs.

Like Job Search Training. It's a CES scheme that'll help improve your job search skills and show you how to get going (especially if you've been unemployed for 6 months or more.)

Or Community Programs like CYSS and CVP (that's Community Youth Support Scheme and Community Volunteer Program to you!) They're programs that have been specially devised to encourage your personal skills to help you GET AND KEEP A JOB.

From a CES pamphlet

SAM goes to jail



We are not interested in human rights infringements you stupid Gingo womans. We are only interested in human lefts infringements. We catch them and they disappear and are never seen again... ha ha ha ha... a little joke. And your wonderful country it is helping us make them never seen again... huh ha ha ha

Seven anti-nuclear and environmental activists involved in the protest against the siting of a radioactive dump first at Papan, and then at Bukit Merah, have been prominent amongst those arrested in the recent Malaysian governmental crackdown. They include Mr. Tan Ka Kheng, the Vice-President of the Environmental Protection Society of Malaysia (EPSM), an ardent campaigner in the Papan-Bukit Merah anti-radioactive movement; Ms. Meenakshi Raman, one of the lawyers acting for the residents of Bukit Merah; Mr. Hew Yoon Tat, the President of the Papan Anti-Radioactive Committee (PARC) and other ordinary residents of Papan and Bukit Merah.

The protest first began in November 1983 when the residents of Papan (a small agricultural town of about 2,000 people) discovered trenches being built near their vegetable farms and the tin mines where they were employed. These trenches, they soon discovered were to be dump sites for radioactive waste from a nearby factory Asian Rare Earth Sdn. Bhd. (ARE). The main principals of the company are the Japanese corporation Mitsubishi Chemicals and two Malaysian concerns: the Pilgrim Management Fund Board and BEH Minerals. Set up to extract rare trace elements and yttrium from tin tailings, the factory however, also produced thorium hydroxide, a radioactive waste product.

Anxious over the location and reliability of the trenches, the people of

Papan and the surrounding towns of Pusing and Lahat formed the PARC. The committee expressed its fears to politicians to little avail. They next began their campaign of protests which drew much media publicity.

At their own expense, they invited foreign and local experts to inspect the trenches which were found to be of poor standard. Even as the trenches were being built, the walls were already cracked. It was also noted that no measures were taken to prevent soil erosion. There was therefore a danger the experts said, of contamination of the Sungei Johan which flows near Papan. They further warned that if that should occur, more than 100,000 people who live around the river would also be affected.

After obtaining a year's licence from the Malaysian Atomic Energy Licensing Board however, ARE started production again on 5 February 1987, in defiance of the court.

On 12 April 1987, 10,000 residents from five villages surrounding the ARE factory staged a protest march. This followed the resumption of production by ARE and the visit of Dr. Rosalie Bertell, the internationally renowned scientist, who found that radiation levels in the area were extremely high. A subsequent study by another radiation expert revealed that 40 out of 60 children in Bukit Merah suffered from abnormal bloodcount.

Consequently, the residents of Bukit Merah filed a suit against ARE on 8 September 1987 seeking:

- a declaration that the company is not entitled to produce and keep toxic and radioactive wastes on its land and adjoining land which has resulted in the escape of radioactive gases;

- an injunction restraining the company from producing, storing, and keeping the toxic and radioactive wastes upon its land and adjoining lands;
- an injunction to restrain the company from repeating or continuing the nuisance set out above or any similar nuisance;
- a mandatory injunction for the renewal and proper disposal of the toxic and radioactive wastes in ARE's land and adjoining lands;
- damages, interest and costs, plus other relief deemed fit by the court for the residents affected.

During the five-day hearing, protestors marched from Bukit Merah to the High Court wearing PARC T-shirts with anti-radioactive slogans. On the grounds that the march and assembly were illegal, some protestors were arrested.

On 19 September 1987, the residents of Bukit Merah applied for another court order seeking to commit the deputy managing director of ARE, to prison for contempt of court. They claimed that ARE had produced and stored radioactive wastes on its land adjoining land, despite a court injunction issued two years ago preventing ARE from doing just that.

It is significant that the arrests of the seven people involved in the Papan-Bukit Merah protest has occurred at this time. Court hearings on the on-going suites are to be conducted very soon. Tan Ka Khng, one of those arrested was reportedly going to be a prime witness on the plaintiff's behalf.

The author of this article and is a member of Aliran and wishes to remain anonymous for fear of retribution on relatives and friends in Malaysia.

--- ACTION ►

Dear friends,
We are grateful that so many have sent letters of protest to the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr. Mahathir Mohamed, against the arbitrary detention of 106 Malaysians (including leading environmentalists) under the Internal Security Act (ISA). The ISA allows for detention without trial for up to sixty days. The detention can then be extended for another two years.

As of 26 December 1987:

- 55 of the 106 detainees have been released
- 33 have been served detention orders of up to 2 years and sent to Kamunting, a prison camp for political detainees in Perak
- Eight have been released but placed under restriction orders
- Two have been released but relocated from their original place of residence
- Eight are still under investigation.

International protests have been effective. Most of the environmental activists involved in the campaign against the locating of a radioactive waste dump in the State of Perak have been released.

In late December 1987, Ms Meenakshi Raman (a lawyer acting for the residents of Bukit Merah) and Mr. Phang Kwai Yew (member of the Perak Anti-Radioactive Committee — PARC) were released unconditionally.

Another three detainees Mr. Hew Yoon Tat (Chair of PARC), Mr. Hew Yew Lan (adviser to the Papan Action Committee) and Mr. Lee Koon Ban (PARC Secretary) were released but were placed under restriction orders for two years. These include evening curfews, restriction to their district of residence unless permitted otherwise, fortnightly reports to the Police and other curbs on their civil liberties.

However, environmental activist Mr. Tan Kha Keng (vice-president of the Environmental Protection Society of Malaysia), an ardent campaigner in the Papan-Bukit Merah anti-radioactive movement remains detained. With at least 30 others, he has been served with two year detention orders and has been sent to the Kamunting Detention Centre.

Meanwhile, the issues surrounding the continued production and dumping of radioactive wastes products by Asian Rare Earth Sdn. Bhd. remain unresolved. Under their restriction orders, the three major PARC leaders recently released are

not allowed to speak, demonstrate, participate, involve in or be seen agitating on any social issue.

The court case seeking injunctions to restrain Asian Rare Earth Sdn. Bhd. from producing and storing radioactive waste on the surrounding lands of Papan and Bukit Merah, has been postponed. Tan Kha Keng, the key witness in the suit, remains detained.

We urge you to continue to:

- send letters and telexes expressing your concern and requesting:
 - the release or trial of the remaining detainees including environmental activist Tan Kha Keng;
 - the removal of the restriction orders on three of the anti-radioactive activists;

to

Datuk Seri Mahathir Mohamed
Prime Minister of Malaysia
Jalan Dato Onn
5052 Kuala Lumpur

and:

Tan Sri Haniff Omar
Inspector General of Police
Bukit Aman
50560 Kuala Lumpur

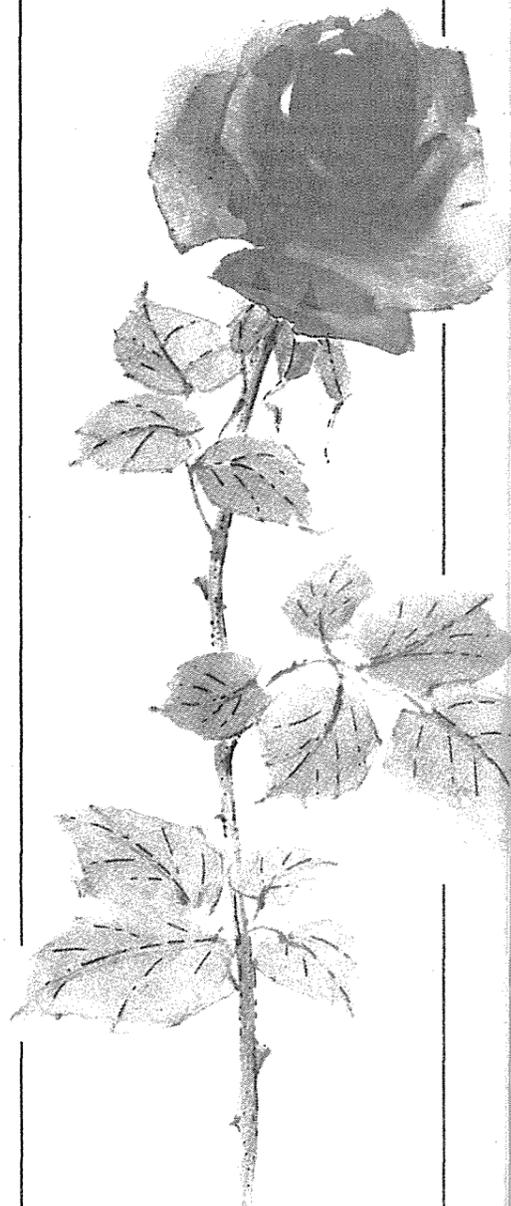
Please send copies of letters and telexes to Aliran, P.O. Box 1049, 10830 Penang, Malaysia; and to the Melbourne Support Group, P.O. Box 225, Abbotsford, Victoria, 3067.

- lobby your local members of Parliament to raise the issue with the Australian Government and the Malaysian High Commissioner in Canberra.
- send cards and letters expressing your concern, support and solidarity to:
 - environmental activist Mr. Tan Kha Keng;
 - the people of Papan and Bukit Merah

PLEASE ACT NOW

Thank you.

Contact:
Support Group for Malaysian ISA Detainees
PO Box 225,
Abbotsford,
Victoria, 3067



The white rose action

In the early hours of 2 June 1987, Katya Komisaruk broke into Vandenberg Air Force Base in Southern California and dismantled an IBM mainframe computer used for NAVSTAR, a guidance system for targeting missiles. A 28 year old woman of Russian Jewish descent, Katya named her action after the White Rose, a group of university students executed in Nazi Germany for leafletting and protesting at the treatment of Jews. In an interview she described the similarity between the Third Reich and US Government today with the degree of xenophobia, distrust of other nations, expanding militarisation, the fact of a demagogic leader who bemuses the public, uses the media in a particularly effective way, who presents very simple answers to complex questions and who somehow maintains popular support despite evident corruption.

The action was carried out alone and only after much careful planning. Katya had no difficulty getting into the base after studying government survey maps and was surprised to find the gates open. After entering the base she locked the gates, leaving behind a note saying she was unarmed and that her action was non-violent. She also left some flowers and cookies. Once inside, Katya entered a building labeled NAVSTAR by breaking a window, located the computer terminal and proceeded to remove the chip boards and damage them beyond repair. She then drilled holes in the satellite dish and sprayed slogans on the buildings.

The original plan allowed five minutes to elapse before Katya was arrested but after two hours she realised that the security were still unaware of her

activities and so she hitch-hiked home and joined the rest of San Francisco at that time of day and had a shower and breakfast.

The following morning at a press conference, Katya described her actions inside the base and explained her reasons. She was then arrested by the FBI.

Katya was charged with destruction of government property and destruction of national defence materials (sabotage). The only civilians successfully prosecuted for sabotage in peacetime are the four Silo, Pruning, Hooks and Martin Holladay, all of whom damaged nuclear missile silos in Missouri.

Her defence involved the Nuremberg Principles which state that a citizen not only has the right but the duty to interfere with a government when it is preparing for a war of aggression, a crime against humanity. However, during the trial the judge ordered that the words 'nuclear missile' and 'first strike' were not to be uttered in the courtroom and Katya was precluded from talking about her motivation in destroying the computer.

On 13 November, Katya was found guilty and on 13 January this year was sentenced to five years jail and ordered to pay \$US500,000 (\$A700,000) to cover damages to property. The defence lawyers feel that the judge made a number of reversible errors and there are grounds for an appeal. Katya is at present in a women's prison in San Francisco.

The NAVSTAR Global positioning system (GPS), when fully operational later this year, will consist of eighteen orbiting satellites broadcasting navigation signals to any point on the planet. These signals will provide *Trident II* and other

nuclear missiles with the necessary guidance to give warheads unprecedented accuracy to knock out hardened targets like Soviet missile silos and command centres in a nuclear first strike. The satellites and their ground based support system are integral to any US plan for first strike.

In an answer to a question from Australian Democrat Senator Norm Sanders last May, Senator Gareth Evans, representing the Minister for Defence, said that the Australian Defence Force will use the NAVSTAR/GPS for survey, navigation of sea, air and land platforms and expects it to increase the effectiveness of the Australian Defence Forces. The Smithfield TRANET station in South Australia, according to Senator Evans, is involved in the research and development of NAVSTAR as is the School of Surveying at the University of NSW in a program initiated by the Australian Science and Technology Organisation.

For more information, to express support and/or make donations to Katya's defence, contact:

Katya Komisaruk Defence
Collective
1716 Felton St
San Francisco
CA 94134
USA

or,

Liz Denham
c/- Peace Centre
102 Bathurst St
Hobart 7000
Tasmania, Australia

REVIEWS

Films

Ground Zero Directed by Michael Pattinson and Bruce Myles, based on the original idea by Jan Sardi, Mac Gudgeon and Michael Pattinson, released 1987

Reviewed by **Chris Sanderson**

Skimming briefly over the surface of Australia's nuclear history. In an old red Holden. Magic cars, those Holdens, blasting round the outback in the search for truth — but sadly it didn't make it to the end of the movie. *Ground Zero* is a film which is not short on righteous indignation in its search for truth, yet it never really hits the targets despite taking potshots at a few good ones . . . Menzies, ASIO, the Royal Commission on Maralinga, the Brits, the Americans and our 'joint' facilities.

Ground Zero seemed to have everything — the 'Mad Max' landscapes, the 'Newsfront' Movietone footage, the Peter Weir style sacred sites, (looking, incidentally, like a Celtic throwback out of the old collective subconscious) and lots more. I am not the only viewer who felt as though they'd seen a careful blend of archetypal Australian movie images. A pastiche which could never quite burst out of the sense of familiarity to create an atmosphere of real threat.

The problem is partly with the genre. The 'action thriller' recipe has an utterly recognisable roller-coaster pattern which we are all programmed with from an early age. There are no surprises, because we expect everything to be exactly as it is, with the twists, the treacheries, the car chases, the deaths. We respond to it in the same stereotyped way as we respond to twists, treacheries, car chases, and deaths when they are reported on the evening news. Or rather, fail to respond. Unless radically warped or subverted the action thriller is a profoundly unchallenging genre, and this is sadly the case with *Ground Zero*. The clues it dangles in front of us get subsumed for the relentless purpose of driving the film forward — out into that extraordinary country where all the secrets are. But the plot falls down, and the clues float apart, and the connections don't get made. There are several speeches about nuclear hell, but not ones that will sear you with any sense of regret or foreboding. Nor any intimation of why, or how, only who dunnit.

A film about Maralinga should have got you by the guts. It didn't. It should have had the stink of corruption and mortality on it, and it didn't. It wanted to advocate for the Aborigines and for the nuclear veterans, but it has abused both of these groups in the process of turning them into movie-fodder. That's very sad. Maralinga as a story-opportunity. Wow, what great country for a car-chase. What on earth can the helicopter crash *into* around here? How do we get the hero back to the east coast where the real action is? These questions, and many more, are the ones that stay in your mind after watching this film, but knowing the answers changes nothing.

Chris Sanderson is a Chain Reaction reader.

Books

Political Blues by Peter Garrett, Hodder and Stoughton, Sydney, 1987, \$14.95(paperback)

Reviewed by **Fran Macdonald**

Peter Garrett's book, *Political Blues*, is primarily for young people who are seeking to develop a political consciousness and understanding of social and environmental issues in Australia. For anyone seriously involved in politics, it may appear at first to be fairly light reading. However, it provides a refreshingly clear, assertive and often startlingly direct approach to our political climate. For anyone interested in reaching into the personality of this influential and prominent Australian, it is also a real insight. As Garrett states in the book: 'It is time to draw the line. To say quite clearly what we believe to be right and wrong and why we believe it.' This is exactly what he does.

The book is a collection of short articles which Garrett originally wrote for the weekly column of a capital city newspaper on topical issues and aimed at young readers. As such, it covers a wide range of subjects from land rights and US bases in Australia to advertising and the In Vitro Fertilisation program.

Garrett does not provide much more factual information than you would be able to read in the general papers, but he does explain, simply and succinctly, how these issues have been manifested in our society which is especially useful for young people who are just introducing themselves to the wider political world and want an overview of what's going on.

However, the articles are not meant to be merely neat summations of the facts. Garrett is an activist in earnest against what he sees as the injustices of this 'bankrupt, militarised, mixed up, shook up world' and his writing is really a passionate, fist thumping appeal to Australians to shake ourselves out of complacency, to stop accepting media and advertising hype, seriously question our government's compromising social, economic and foreign policies and realise that we have a responsibility to the wider world. He does not offer many immediate practical solutions to the problems except the most fundamental solution — a dramatic change of attitude, 'a major shift in values'.

In this, he has a good chance of success with his readers because his eloquent arguments are nothing more if not forceful and his anger infectious. The style shifts and changes throughout the series of essays. It is often personal and anecdotal, as in the article entitled 'Visits by nuclear-armed ships' where he describes his own involvement in the peace fleet. Sometimes, he presents a more direct submission based on the general state of things, as in the article about the 1986 Budget and the one about the Bicentenary where, in the space of only a few hundred words, he details the decline of Western civilisation, growing poverty, youth unemployment, over-development of industry and high technology, gene engineering, destruction of the environment, urban congestion and our politicians' lack of integrity, among other things, as the issues we have to face in 1988. Often Garrett's polemic is scary although he maintains his sense of humour. Witness this description of what the Australia Card would have enabled the powers that be to find out about us:

Where you lived, where you worked, number of traffic offences, last time in hospital, length of time receiving unemployment benefits, what you bought at the supermarket, last time you visited a counsellor, what motel you stayed in when you last visited Melbourne, what you said when you called up your friends to complain that Hunters and Collectors weren't playing in town and so on and so on.

Always, he displays a trenchant sense of irony. My favorite article is the first one in the book, about the plight of Australia's original inhabitants. Garrett's sardonic wit is put to best use in this satirical precis of 200 years of history.

His style has always been confrontationalist and hard hitting and he has never been afraid to tackle issues he feels are important. In his music, political

activities and now in his writing, he appeals directly and passionately to our sense of responsibility for our society and our environment and the need for change. As a result, Peter Garrett has become a real force on the Australian political scene. This book, in Garrett's usual luminous and persuasive way, confirms the breadth of his interest and the extraordinary depth of his commitment.

A last mention should be made of the book's graphics. It is illustrated throughout with drawings by first year students at the School of Design, Randwick College of TAFE. Apart from adding to the book's colour, the graphics strengthen the idea that this book involves young people who will hopefully carry the 'major shift in values' Garrett sees as essential to the future.

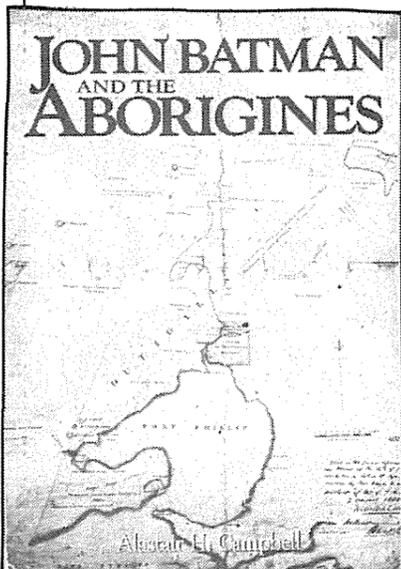
Fran Macdonald is a volunteer with FOE Fitzroy.



REVIEWS

John Batman and the Aborigines by Alastair H Campbell, Kibble Books, Malmesbury, 1987. \$26 (paperback) \$50 (hardback)

Reviewed by Cam



This is an excellent book which gives a different perspective to the traditional history of white settlement of the Port Phillip region. It dispels a lot of myths about how Melbourne was settled, how the land was obtained from the traditional land owners and about the motives and character of the early pioneers.

Perhaps the major point of this book concerns the treaty which John Batman is supposed to have made with local Aborigines. Batman claims to have obtained around 600,000 acres from eight

'chiefs' of the Dutigalla tribe, in exchange for blankets, knives, beads, scissors, axes, etc. as well as a yearly tribute or rent. This land was between (and includes) what is now Melbourne and Geelong. The Bellarine Peninsula was obtained in a second treaty.

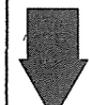
However, there are considerable discrepancies between the account which Batman wrote in his journal, and in his official report which was written some time later. There is also other evidence to suggest that the treaties were forged; for instance, the Sydney Aborigines which acted as interpreters when explaining the treaty to the local Aborigines would not have been able to understand their language. William Buckley, an escaped convict who had lived for many years amongst the Port Phillip tribes, commented on a number of occasions that there were no chiefs — it appears that Batman met a single family group of one tribe and mistook the men for chiefs. As well as this, the land he proposed to buy covered the territory of at least five tribes. There is considerable other evidence to suggest that the treaties were forged.

Most biographies of John Batman have drawn on the work of earlier historians. This book uses many unpublished letters, diaries and documents which enables the author to cast new light on Batman, the treaties, his role in the early days of Melbourne (which appears to have been exaggerated by previous historians) and white dealings with the aborigines.

As well as documenting the early exploration and settlement of the Port Phillip district, there is an excellent section of the Batman families life in Tasmania and their involvement in the war against the Koories and their resistance to white occupation which was nothing short of heroic. There is also a short but very interesting chapter which attempts to reconstruct what life was like for Koories in the Port Phillip district before the arrival of white settlers.

In summary, this is an excellent book which deserves to be widely read and it contains information and views which needs to be put alongside orthodox history of Melbourne as it is taught in Victorian schools. The publishers, Kibble Books, are a small printing group which deserves and needs the support of progressive-minded people and they should be congratulated for publishing such a book.

Cam is a secondary school teacher in Melbourne and an active supporter of *Aboriginal Land Rights*.



All the books reviewed in Chain Reaction are available through the FOE bookshop. You can order a copy by sending a cheque for the listed price plus \$2.00 for the first book and 50c for each additional book to cover postage and packaging to: FOE Bookshop 222 Brunswick St, Fitzroy 3065.

For any other books, ring (03) 419 8700 and we can order them in for you.

LETTERS

From page 4

People of medium affluence can establish immediately in many rural areas, in comfortable housing and in fertile, beautiful acres.

People with initiative and the dole as their resource (there is much more) can cooperatively find employment and self-sufficiency.

This would be an active Chain Reaction.

Anyone for doing it now?

Bill Latona
Johns River, NSW

Spies and non-violent violence

Thank you for publishing my letter about *Spycatcher*. (A fairly tedious and uninteresting book, by the way, which would probably have sunk without trace if the UK Government hadn't attempted to make an example of its author. The accusations that MI5 were busy undermining the Labour governments of Harold Wilson and James Callaghan notwithstanding — as many people have pointed out these chapters are conspicuously lacking in details, particularly the names of the agents concerned, that distinguish all the others; and one theory is that these chapters are fakes, inserted by the ghostwriter at the behest of MI5 to throw us off the real scent. But that sounds almost a mirror image of the paranoia in which the far right habitually indulge!)

And thank you, too, for replying to my postscript with two short articles by John Dixon-Jenkins —

although, having read them, I have to say that I am not convinced of his case. In the first place, he can't possibly know what the government thought of the defence he proposed to bring for the simple reason that they never told him; any argument which thus claims to offer a reason for their actions, as his does, is sheer speculation. In the second place, there is no guarantee that, had he been allowed to present his defence, the jury would have found him innocent, since it may have considered that the acts he appeared to be threatening to commit posed a more immediate danger to public safety than the threat of nuclear war. Lastly, a statement that 'there is virtually no act, no matter how terrible, which would not be legally justified if it could be used to put an end to the nuclear threat' ignores the point that, whether we like it or not, there are bounds beyond which morality and common humanity do not permit us to tread, and that if we do break them then at the very least we are likely to alienate those with whom we're trying to communicate. Never mind the obvious absurdity and contradiction in peace, environmental and social justice movements resorting to bomb hoaxes, hostage-taking, and other quasi-terrorist acts — if we have to stoop that far then we don't deserve to win.

Joseph Nicholas
London UK

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.

Please Computer

and other thoughts, but not so logical

I started writing this because of a recent message to Chain Reaction readers from the collective. It was a request which reminded me of old jokes where people all too readily slip into mock Germanic accents. Even worse, the request was about the machine which has brought us to the brink of the last war.

The collective has a small one of those things — a damnable computer. In case you think you have picked up a spelling error the author's memory can tell you that computer was originally spelt with an o. He thinks that the reason why it has come to be spelt with an e is because that sounds nice. Compute-OR has a certain hardness about it. ees somehow sound softer.

(Comput-ER? ERR!!)

That minor example shows how the language has been changed, and is still being changed, by the spread of the computer. Disk (as in a storage for electronic data) is coming back into fashion after 25 years or so of disc (a storage for recorded sounds) which was popularised by the popular music companies after disk (a flat, circular object) seemed somehow unsuitable to the ephemeral world the fashion-dependent live in. The fact that people who live in a computer-dependent world find it necessary to rewrite parts of the English language, and even impute entirely different meanings to many words in common usage, is no different to the thoughtlessness of any other 'professional' group anxious to make their mark in a cruel world. I suppose.

But it goes far beyond that. It is necessary, in using computer, to think differently to the way one would explore and record experiences of life through conversation, writing, sculpting, painting, composing. (And the design of the computer means we have to change our natural working rhythms and surrender control of our pace of work. Which means a distortion of our sense of time). All this means that computers' use must begin to influence the way we experience and think and treat with other people. It is important that we think about this side of the computer, because it has become the arbiter in so much of our lives already.

Amid all this very few people seem to be even comfortable with computers. And, in my experience, those who are seem to have closed themselves off from the opportunities to experience a deeper sense of themselves and others. They are remote minds; the kinds that enable people to kill others in cold blood, to drive cars recklessly; to follow orders unthinkingly; to make selfish decisions. These people making decisions for and about us. And they are neither responsible nor accountable to us or the people we elect.

This all began coming to mind after reading that Collective message about floppy disks. The message seemed so much like one of those creeping strategies. The ones used by public servants who want to increase

their remoteness and mask the dishonesty of their purpose. The creeping strategy takes as long as the length of our memories. It is done with a little nudge here, a little nudge there, whittling away access, transferring staff, limiting funds, making useful and thoughtful people dispirited. And now the collective has entered the world of electronic isolation with a request which can only be met by owning, or having access to, what is an expensive and complicated machine. Now, I don't know much about the people at the collective. I can only go by what I read. But surely pens, pencils and paper are the most accessible means of sending our thoughts to others, and that should not be discouraged in a magazine which represents access and freedom of opinion?

The worst thing about a computer is its convenience. And most people are into convenience. Yet there are few tasks that a computer can do conveniently or satisfactorily. And in most cases computer usage means far more, and onerous, work for the people who are subjects of the tasks.

So why are we moved so rapidly from a quirky, hand-written society to a logical electronic version? It is a great big confidence trick. Worse, the push for this particular machine is coming only from those minds who want to limit our use of our own. If this sound fanciful ask yourself what computers have ever done which gave you greater control over your life? How many keyboard users have RSI? How do you feel getting a computer's "print-out" instead of a letter written by hand or, at least, typed and signed by a human being. And the seemingly participatory collective has joined the computer club! So much for friendship and accessibility! It's not all as bad as it seems, I'm sure. But I do question where convenience should take over from thoughtful and kindly efficiency.

My own experience of computers is probably much the same as other people. I took little notice of them, even when they turned up in offices where I would work. Then I came down to a new Earth with a thump. In the past 18 months I've wrestled with three different computers and their programs. If you could have seen this letter you would have recognised a computer printer as its immediate source. Yet I have never felt the computer and its use to be in more urgent need of thorough discussion.

My experience of working with groups which use centralised computers is that they slowly get ground down (and little computers are 'centres'). Say goodbye in the modern office to banter and affection in the workplace; touching and feeling. Now it's all cold and oh, so clear logic with its relentless insistence on accuracy. And slowly but surely people begin to emulate it; to start using the language differently; to surrender the individual humanities which make them who they are and what they are to others. They become apprehensive and uncertain, or callous and unthinking. The 'central person' feels besieged. But by what, exactly?

When you think about it the computer is the natural mate of the "neat" and uncritical mind. You know, the corporate neatmindedness that makes the

public services and large corporations what they are; vacuum cleaners of the poetic and humorous world which we have all made helped to make liveable. But what about the way we would come to think as we come use computers more and more? It's going to be a world of the abstract and logical. It's a world of human beings running on one side of their minds. Do abstract thinkers ever picture with their minds? Can they imagine entirely different worlds, full of laughter and joy. Of clean waters and sunlit snows. Of green valleys and mysterious seas. Of people singing at their work. Of younger lovers and older lovers. Of courageous and critical citizens. Places of danger, but no fear, of threats yet no favours.

Computers never work quite as the makers and the minders imply that they can, so the results are flawed. Never has it been so hard to prove one has been misrecorded, or that a miscommunication occurred at the wrong moment and was sighted by the wrong person in the wrong context. Do you know what I mean?

Yet for all the millions of individual examples of deceit and disdain and plain rudeness that we have all experienced on the end of computers and operators how much effort has gone into public debate of their use and effect. Until recently I felt that my experiences were just another example of the intrusive and repressive commercial and administrative sides of our society...that little could be done. But then I read about a computer specialist in the USA who asked all these questions and more. His name is Joseph Weizenbaum and he has written a book called "Computer Power and Human Reason". The most chilling part of his writing is his description of the subtle way that computer-affected minds begin to change. It is an insidious process and one that eventually makes them very hard to 'reach' to bring about reasonable debate about the use of the machine they have devoted themselves to. After experiencing the aching desperation of a man who did not know how to describe what was happening to himself Joseph's book is a wonderful reassurance. It says that there are others facing the same problems and trying to come to grips with them.

That's good to know. For no longer are these minds hiding solely under mountains in Russia and America. They are no friends of Earth. In these circumstances it would be wrong for Chain Reaction's collective to think of demanding computer disks from contributors for administrative convenience.

Let's talk and write thoroughly about this subject and understand precisely what we require of the technology before a change of mind commits us to a course we may regret.

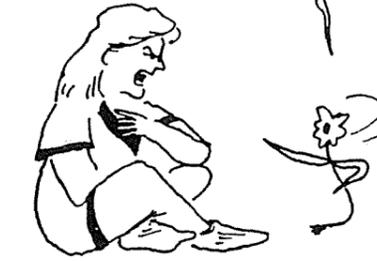
Russell Griffin

Note to Editor: This letter is available on a returnable 3.5 inch Apple disk.

WE PEOPLE AREN'T ALL BAD FLOWER.



IF NOT FOR US YOU WOULDN'T BE HERE!



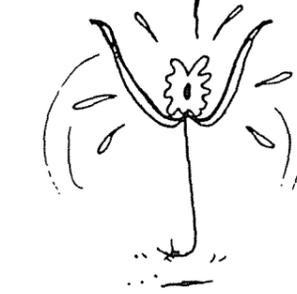
WE GIVE YOU HOMES. WHAT ABOUT POT PLANTS?



SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FORCED UPON US BY THOSE WHO HAVE NO UNDERSTANDING OF OUR FLIGHT!



STICKING US IN RESERVATIONS TO CONTROL OUR GROWTH!



AND THEN IT'S NOT FOR OUR BENEFIT! IT'S SO YOUR GARDEN-YOUR STATUS-LOOKS GOOD!



YOU, DIDN'T BOTHER ASKING!



IT'S NOT YOUR FAULT YOU'RE A PEOPLE.



YOU CANT APOLOGISE FOR AN ENTIRE HISTORY OF OPPRESSION...



...ALTHOUGH YOU COULD TAKE ME OUT TO LUNCH.

HELLO FLOWER BY KEVIN PENLEY.



FORGET IT. YOU'RE PROBABLY VEGETARIAN.



IN EACH ISSUE OF CHAIN REACTION



Australia
1788-1988

**BICENTENARY
FREE ZONE**