

## chapter fourteen

### CONCLUSION

#### 14.1 ACTIVE RESISTANCE

Nonviolence in the Australian eco-pax movement during the period 1983-2003 has developed considerably. This development has been in two major directions. One was in the development of more active techniques of resistance, involving a determination to be more effective in the physical sense of blockading. Increasingly militant tactics, often involving physical obstructions in conjunction with activists, resulted in new (or significantly developed) techniques. The use of tripods, 'lock-ons', burials, 'going black wallaby', tree-sits, and militant occupations of forests, mines, roads, city streets, offices and (sometimes moving) bulldozers helped to secure the immediate goals of campaigns against environmental destruction and indigenous dispossession. Despite the condemnation of these new techniques by parties both outside and within the movement, they should be regarded as nonviolent, albeit under an expanded definition of nonviolence that is apace with the realities of modern activism. This definition shows nonviolence not as a dogma but as an evolving and diverse praxis owned by the activists who use it.

Among the feedback I have received when giving illustrated seminars about active resistance to people from other disciplines, is that both the actions and images thereof are violent. However, there is a need to identify exactly who is causing the violence. Burying oneself is not a violent act *per se*, but its element of resistance is liable to expose the violence that is inherent in state structures (see Kumarappa in Powers and Vogeley 1997:152). So too must we distinguish between *conflict* and *violence*. Violence is rarely if ever healthy, whereas conflict is an inevitable and even healthy component of human interaction (see Liebmann 1996:3); it is suppressed or denied at society's peril. Finally,

## Conclusion

violence can never be wholly eradicated (for example, the violence of accidents, or infants, or nature); the aim of nonviolence is to **minimise** it. The quest for global peace (see below) requires strong, open resistance to militaristic elites, resistance which may push nonviolence to the limits or involve disturbing images. Such resistance may be characterised under the holistic Taoist philosophy of *yin* and *yang*<sup>1</sup> (see Figure 147), wherein the softer (*yin*) or more oblique expression of dissent that is artistic activism is complemented by a harder (*yang*) core of active resistance.<sup>2</sup>

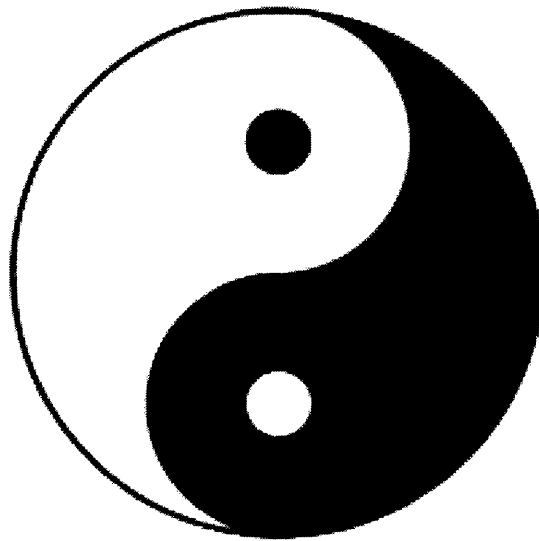


Figure 147: Yin Yang symbol.

### 14.2 ARTISTIC ACTIVISM

The other major development was in the burgeoning use of the arts as a tool of nonviolent social change, in both civil disobedience actions and other campaign activities. The arts assisted the conversionary and educative aims of nonviolence through their holistic and

---

<sup>1</sup> In this philosophy, the state of being is regarded as primarily consisting of two opposing but complementary forces. Each, however, contains a small element or seed of the other, and there is a constant and complex interaction between the two (see Ebrey 1993:77-79; Tsai 1999).

<sup>2</sup> The paintings of George Gittoes (see Hart 1995) can be viewed in the same way: although their imagery is often harrowing, they make a strong statement in favour of peace.

## Conclusion

often spectacular nature, and through their ability to create a liminal, celebratory atmosphere of dissent. They were an important tool in exposing the inconsistencies and hidden agendas of elites. They also aided movement development and sustainability because of their highly-social, inclusive nature. The further nonviolence tenets of parallel institutions, avoidance of violence, egalitarian group structures and dynamics, openness, multiple foci and decentralisation were also enhanced by the arts. The element of 'fun' or 'play' that the arts have brought to protest has been a strong factor in the growth of mass campaigns, as protest moved from the activities of the committed few to the mass spectacle seen in the marches for the Franklin, Jabiluka and peace. This has also contributed to the extraordinary phenomenon of youth activism, evidenced during the Jabiluka campaign, of masses of schoolchildren walking out of school to protest.<sup>3</sup>

At times, these two main developments appeared diametrically opposed. Where orthodox nonviolence was imposed on blockaders by a hierarchy, the arts developed considerably. This was because activists needed to find new and creative ways of showing dissent and attracting media attention, and - as we saw in the Franklin chapter - nonviolence and the arts complemented each other well. In blockades where nonviolence was less obvious, active resistance flourished, but there was less use of the arts. The machismo of these actions was a probable factor in favouring active resistance over artistic activism.

### 14.3 MOVES TOWARDS HOLISM

Both developments are considerable. Both boost the potential for nonviolence to be an even more powerful agent of social change. There is no reason why they should not work together, and further increase the effectiveness of nonviolence. Indeed, despite the different directions the two developments took nonviolence, a further level of analysis shows that both the developments are a move towards holism, in a cultural and spiritual sense. A major thematic emphasis in this thesis has been on overcoming dualism and reaching towards holism, particularly with regard to Aboriginal land rights and social justice issues. The early tentative steps at the Franklin towards a unified movement saw much criticism by

---

<sup>3</sup> Scalmer too notes an explosion of youth activism in response to the racism of the One Nation party (2002:167-8).

## Conclusion

Aboriginals about the notion of 'wilderness', and the lack of respect by TWS towards land rights. Roxby Downs saw stronger relationships being forged between indigenous and non-indigenous activists, a move which was crystallized by the creation of a Green-Black alliance during the NEFA blockades. The culmination of this tendency towards holism occurred at Jabiluka, where traditional owners in a remote region demanded, and largely achieved, control over a national campaign.

Both holism and an indigenous influence can be seen on the nonviolence developments detailed here. Active resistance sees non-indigenous activists developing a stronger connection and commitment to the land our forebears invaded. These forebears tried to make Australia into a 'new England', a 'new South Wales' a 'Queensland', or a 'Victoria'; they cleared the land of native people and vegetation<sup>4</sup>, and installed livestock, crops and trees from their ancestral countries. Active resistance shows their descendants doing the opposite: resisting further clearing of Aboriginal land, and doing it by actually embedding ourselves into the land through burials and cement and metal, 'locking-on' to the trees with chains, fixing ourselves into place with tripods. These actions demonstrated and further deepened our connection to this land, as we left the cities and travelled to remote but breathtaking areas (see Figure 150), as we abandoned the polite lobbying of early conservationists and went to extraordinary lengths to preserve forests, rivers, desert country and Kakadu.

This was a holistic move towards identification with where we live now, with our **present** rather than **ancestral** home. It moved some way towards the deep spiritual, cultural and physical connection to country that Aboriginal people have enjoyed for millennia (Bayet 1994:27; Gilbert 1994), a change no doubt influenced by Aboriginal people as we worked closely with them. This shift answers social ecologist Martin Mulligan's (2000:6) call for a more sensuous, *embodied* relationship with nature (see also Plumwood 2000; Read 2000; Cameron 2001). It also accords with the findings of spirituality researcher David Tacey (2000), who writes that many non-indigenous Australians have been influenced by both

---

<sup>4</sup> See O'Dowd (2003) for the connection between genocide and vegetation clearing.

## Conclusion

Aboriginal people<sup>5</sup> and the land itself to develop a unique form of ‘down-to-earth’ spirituality,- subtle and understated yet oft-present, a spirituality more embodied than the Judeo-Christianity many have moved away from, with its Cartesian mind-body dualism that prioritises the spiritual over the corporeal, the human over the environmental, and the academic over the manual. The NEFA blockades showed clearly we were prepared to ‘get our hands dirty’, and not hide this fact from the cameras. The actions can be viewed as a form of the rituals which deep ecologists Joanna Macy, John Seed and Arne Naess (1988; see also Seed 1994) have argued are necessary to overcome our separateness from nature.

The important development of active resistance emanated largely from rural areas. This is evidence of a success that ‘alternative lifestylers’ have had in attempting to redress the imbalance of *koyaniskaatsi* (Hopi for ‘life-out-of-balance’),- of a dualistic society where the city dominates the country, as Tonnies (1964) wrote in his influential work on *Gemeinschaft/ Gesellschaft*<sup>6</sup>. Rural-based activists have shown that the bush is not always a ‘Redneck Wonderland’, to use the *Midnight Oil* term; it **can** be a source of considerable radical activity and innovation. Just as activists changed ‘passive resistance’ into active resistance, we could term this ‘rural disobedience’ rather than ‘civil disobedience’<sup>7</sup> (see also Agnew 1997).

Chapter Twelve showed considerable interaction between the once-separate worlds of the arts and nonviolent activism, with a dynamic reciprocal process leading to impacts on each other, including enhancement of the social change agendas of both activists and artists, expansion of the definition of the arts through multi-arts innovations, and contributions to the cultural heritage of Australia (see Figure 149). Each discipline became more holistic,

---

<sup>5</sup> Indigenous structures that employ both secrecy and hierarchies of Elders are likely influences on eco-pax moves away from the complete openness and anarchism of orthodox nonviolence.

<sup>6</sup> See also Galtung ‘s (1971) work on *centres/ peripheries*.

<sup>7</sup> The Latin root of ‘civil’ is *civis*, meaning ‘city’ (The Macquarie Dictionary 1999:403-404). English words such as ‘civilized’ or ‘urbane’ indicate a bias existing since at least Roman times that views cities as places of sophistication and modernity, whereas words such as ‘heathen’ - referring to the countryside (The Macquarie Dictionary 1999:989) - became pejorative terms.

## Conclusion

with art moving further from its aloof position with the elites where it was separate from everyday life, and devalued except for a few highly-commodified masterpieces. Nonviolence too has been shifted by art away from lobbying, letter-writing and the serious, relatively-drab marches evidenced prior to the explosion of 'dissent events', to the riots of colour, music and performance described in the case studies. Again, an indigenous influence can be seen on this confluence of art and nonviolence, given the way many indigenous cultures view art as an integral and holistically-interconnected part of culture, spirituality and material existence (Lenzo 2001/2002; Chatterjee 2004).

This increasing holism is also evidence of an important trend towards principled nonviolence<sup>8</sup>. It shows that nonviolence has not just taken hold in Australia with a significant number of people, but it has now moved from the mere *pragmatic* to *principled nonviolence*, nonviolence that is lived, deep-seated, maintained under pressure and in everyday life, and not just assumed and discarded like a mantle in a dualistic fashion. This principled nonviolence, which I have attempted to embrace, is a dynamic philosophy of social change, and an ethos that impacts profoundly on lives. Artistic activism, as an important manifestation of this, provides a method of achieving its aims through one's daily work.

### 14.4 ADDITIONAL FINDINGS

Other nonviolence developments were noted in more efficient consensus decision-making, and in technology, whereby faster communication via the internet enabled better coordination of national campaigns such as Jabiluka, and an increasing globalisation of the peace movement in organising actions and sharing ideas. Modern Australian protests are thus significantly different, in many respects, to earlier ones both here and overseas. Clearly, nonviolence in Australia has evolved to suit local conditions, and has also been influenced by a changing global situation and emergent technologies. It has also been very influential on protest techniques overseas, such as with the tripods, lock-ons and tree-sits now used in road protests in Ireland, the UK and the US.

## Conclusion

This work has also added to the historical record by describing some important Australian events as yet little researched by historians, particularly from an emic viewpoint. It has theorised retrospectively what usually occurred spontaneously, as activists prioritised practice over theory. It has shown the significant but rarely acknowledged contribution that nonviolence has made to the successes of the Australian eco-pax movement. The eco-pax movement has also benefited from nonviolence in terms of its maintenance and growth, in the promotion of holistic philosophies such as ecofeminism, in radically-democratic group dynamics, and in the personal development and fulfillment of many individuals.

The thesis has also shown that hierarchical enforcement of orthodox nonviolence has been counter-productive, dividing campaigns and discrediting nonviolence. Furthermore, where nonviolence has been absent or poorly-articulated, there have been obvious failures. Finally, the thesis has noted a continuing paucity of informed theoretical dialogue on nonviolence issues by the movement generally, and the minimal nonviolence training prior to many actions, despite the proven efficacy of such training in keeping actions nonviolent and thus effective.

### 14.5 RELEVANCE OF DEVELOPMENTS

The question may then be asked: what is the relevance of these developments to the world? As noted above, nonviolence has contributed significantly to social change in Australia. This finding complements the many works showing the efficacy world-wide of nonviolence in all manner of struggles (see figure 148), including those against extremely repressive regimes (eg Powers & Vogele 1997; Ackermann & Duvall 2000; Branagan 2004b).

---

<sup>8</sup> Principled and pragmatic nonviolence were discussed in sections 4.5.1 and 4.7.1.



Figure 148: Massed nonviolent protest in 1989 ends totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia.

I have argued elsewhere that nonviolence could be even more effective were it better resourced and planned. On an international scale, for example, it could prevent wars, such as that begun in Iraq in 2003, by providing the international community with a *middle path*<sup>9</sup> between appeasement of a dictator and military intervention (see Branagan 2003c). Logically, the next assumption that can be made is that war – or at least the State-sponsored, massively-resourced, institutionalised and bureaucratised form of it (see Porter 1994) – could largely be eliminated from Earth.

#### 14.5.1 World Peace

This idea is not new amongst nonviolence theorists; many authors have long made the point that war is not inevitable, and could be eradicated (eg Worcester 1817; Dolci 1962). What this thesis has contributed to the debate is further evidence of the efficacy of nonviolence, **evidence that it continues to be effective in modern times and changing global circumstances, and perhaps most importantly, that it is a praxis which continues to**

---

<sup>9</sup> 'The middle path' is a concept of moderation central to Buddhism (Buddha Dharma Education Association 1996).



## Conclusion

**evolve.** This is vital when considering the opposition which nonviolent movements face globally. As Barnett and Müller (1974:79), George (1990:21-27) and Porter (1994) have shown, militarism is entrenched in most systems of governance, with strong links between major political parties and powerful corporations, many of which are involved in the military-industrial complex. These groups thus have a vested interest in continuing militarism and inequitable economic systems, and as the last chapter showed, they have developed subtle mechanisms to control public opinion, using manipulation of language and vast media empires (see also Andreas 2004:56-60).

It is important then for social change movements to realise the techniques of intellectual manipulation used by their corporate and political opponents, and develop their own methods to subvert and resist these. A hierarchical, dogmatic or rigid praxis cannot achieve this; rather, resistance movements need to be flexible, innovative and using the synergism of a wide grassroots network of activists, organised but anarchistic, unified but tolerant of diversity. Movements must also better utilise, recognise and theorise the many efficacious benefits that the arts bring to nonviolent action, as discussed in the previous chapter. It is a struggle not of brawn but for the mind of the public, and movements need to be constantly evolving artistically and tactically to stay one step ahead of elites, if we are to continue to make gains, and if we are to eventually replace unjust, violent and environmentally-unsustainable systems of globalised capitalism with truly democratic, peaceful and sustainable societies. Using a permacultural analogy, each act of artistic activism can be seen as the sowing of a small seed of change, some of which produce trees and fruit, and nourish whole ecosystems. The more widespread this is, and the more empowered and conscious we are of the synergies of the many, the sooner we recreate 'Gardens of Eden'.

Movements must also be more radical and effective in our methods. The active resistance techniques discussed here are, despite their controversial nature, developments that can assist the cause of global peace, justice and sustainability. For example, in order to stop actions such as prime minister John Howard's dictatorial act in sending - without the consent of the public or parliament - Australian troops to invade Iraq in 2003, nonviolent resistance needs to be stronger than weekend marches and letters to newspapers. The peace

## Conclusion

marches of February 15-16, 2003, were enormous and extremely impressive, both on a national level and globally, as evidence of a growing and increasingly-globalised peace movement. However, they were not enough to prevent the war. Stronger action could include national strikes and boycotts of government departments and corporations involved; they could also involve actions using the active resistance techniques pioneered in the eco-pax movement. Such actions, particularly if widespread and involving many groups, could make popular resistance stronger, effectively slowing or stopping troop departures. Disrupting 'business as usual' in parliament and military establishments through blockades, lock-ons, occupations and other mass civil disobedience would force public debates on such important issues. As argued here, however, Australian nonviolence needs to resolve a number of critical issues and to continue to develop, so that action is persistent, concerted, radical, and adheres more strictly to a disciplined albeit diverse nonviolence. We need to create more effective, contemporary and relevant methods of nonviolence.

### 14.6 FINAL (POETIC) WORDS

This work has pointed to areas of recurring problems in Australian nonviolence such as racism, sexism and urban/rural, bureaucracy/grassroots power relations, and suggested some solutions, such as increased emphasis on nonviolence training and education. It has also pointed to the need for further research, particularly emic and qualitative, but also quantitative. The work has also argued that the use of the arts in nonviolent campaigns in the Australian eco-pax movement has been an under-examined but extraordinary development in nonviolence. It is the continuing use of these artistic actions, and the linkage between these and the huge number of non-aligned artists who also work towards social change in the wider community, that can perhaps contribute most to winning over the minds and hearts of the wider public. In addition to their important tactical and strategic roles within the movement, the arts have displayed great potential to communicate to, educate and convert wide audiences.

It is perhaps fitting to conclude this work with some of the lyrics featured on the 1998 'Uranium: Don't dig it! Stop Jabiluka Mine' compact disc. On this album, Paul Spencer's song 'Make some music' encapsulates the changed nature of Australian nonviolence. It

## Conclusion

refers firstly to the political dilemma faced by many activists, of disdaining the Liberals, being sold out by the ALP, and having the coalition win over a divided opposition. It notes too, how traditional campaigning methods can be ineffective, with letters being shelved by junior clerks. With a reference to earth-based spirituality that “the trees are calling”, it moves on to the notion that if the forests are to be saved, it is up to ordinary people to take direct action. This, however, is also tied in with the notion of play:

If you want to change the laws  
The power’s mine and yours  
It’s time to have some fun (Spencer 1998).

One verse advocates positive alternatives and coordinated mass actions, in extolling the virtues of ‘critical mass’ bike rides:

It’s very widely known that if you cycle on your own  
The motorists will try to run you down  
But nothing ever feels quite as free  
Than to ride on two wheels  
When a hundred bikes are taking over town (Spencer 1998).

Another verse introduces the concept of civil disobedience, and the need to break unjust (and often laughable) laws:

If you stand up for your rights  
Or for someone else’s fight  
You break the law which says you can’t complain  
But civil disobedience is never ever tedious  
It’s ‘aggravated trespass’ time again (Spencer 1998).

Most tellingly, the chorus refers to the need for nonviolence, while at the same time including lock-ons and tripods as acceptable acts,- thereby showing how they have become popularly accepted under the rubric of nonviolent action. Importantly, Spencer associates these actions with the need to use the art-form of music, both in the forests and in the cities, and holistically he shows the way by creating this chorus:

Oh banner drops and lock-on pipes, tripods and canoes  
A smoke-in at the cop shop<sup>10</sup> nearly always makes the news

---

<sup>10</sup> This refers to Nimbin’s annual ‘Mardi Grass’, where crowds of activists calling for legalisation of marijuana have smoked a ‘joint’ outside the police station, and demanded to be arrested (see Bearup 2002).

## Conclusion

We can safely leave the violence in the hands of the police  
Let's go and make some music in the forests and the streets (Spencer 1998).

Conclusion

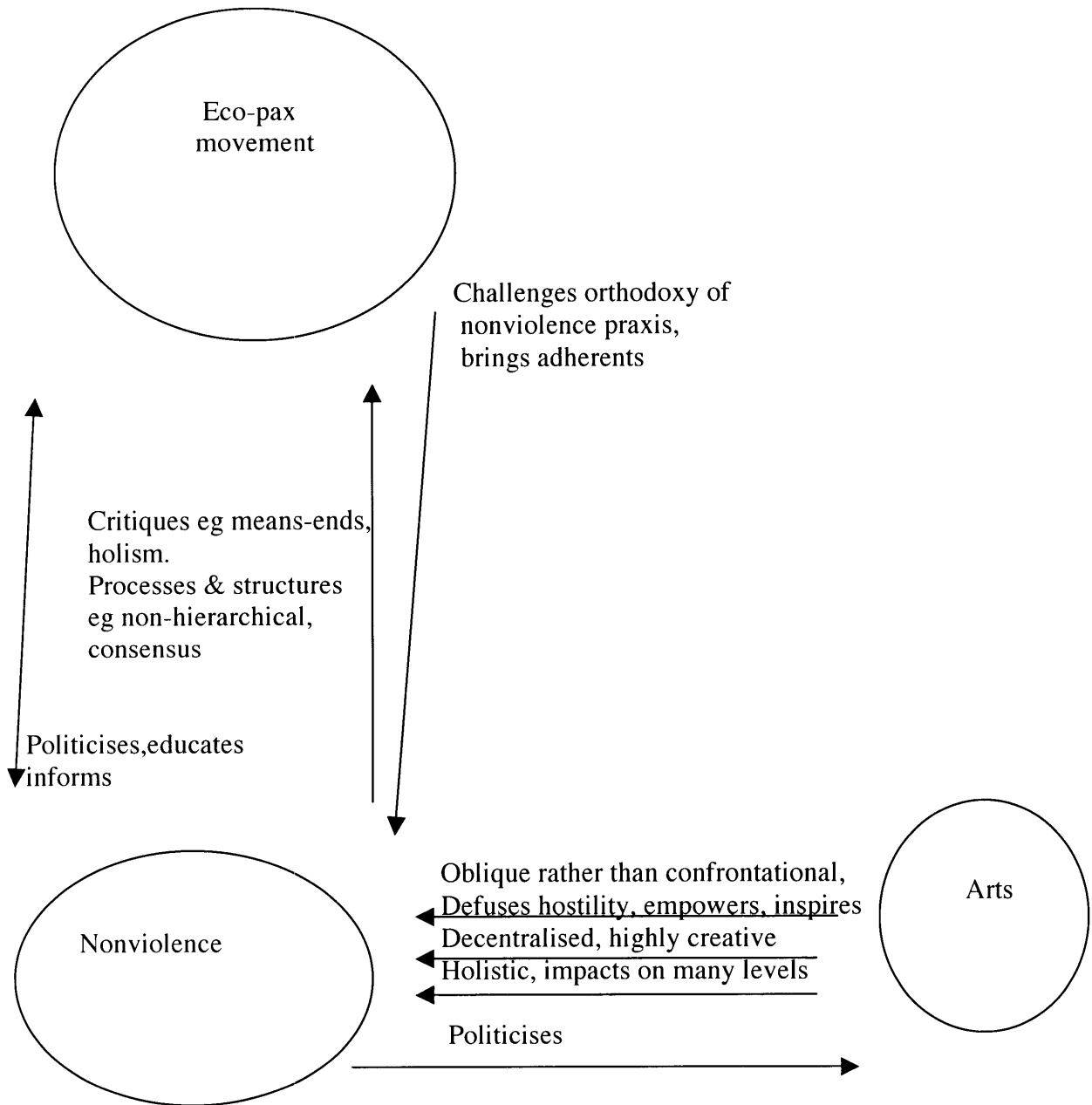


Figure 149: Shows the symbiotic and dynamic relationship of the arts, nonviolence and the eco-pax movement.

Conclusion



Figure 150: Above the Cauldron, Great Ravine, Franklin River.

**LIST OF REFERENCES**

- Abby, Edward 2000, *The Monkey-Wrench Gang*, reprint, HarperCollins, New York.
- Ackerman, Peter & Duvall, Jack 2000, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, Palgrave, New York and Hampshire.
- Adams, Peter 1989, 'A gleam of green', *Age Extra*, 7 October, p. 2.
- Adamson, Greg 1999, *Stop Uranium Mining: Australia's Decade of Protest 1975-85*, Resistance Books, Chippendale.
- Agnew, John A. 1997, 'Geography and Nonviolent Action', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 210-213.
- Andersen, Peter A. (1999), *Nonverbal Communication: Forms and Functions*, Mayfield Publishing Company, Mountain View, California.
- Anderson, Peter 1992, 'Wilderness Society says forest ad is wrong', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 75, 14 October, p. 3.
- Andreas, Joel 2004, *Addicted to War: Why the U.S. Can't Kick Militarism*, 3rd edn, AK Press, Oakland.
- Angus, Ian (ed) 2001, *Anarcho-Modernism*, Talon, Vancouver.
- Anti-Nuclear Alliance of Western Australia 2004, 'Jabiluka blockade' *Anti-Nuclear Alliance of Western Australia Online*. Retrieved 16 Feb. 2004 from [www.anawa.org.au/ntjabiluka-blockade.html](http://www.anawa.org.au/ntjabiluka-blockade.html)
- Archer, Robyn 2002, Keynote address, Art of Dissent Conference, Melbourne Arts Festival, 20 October.
- Armstrong, Keith 1998, 'Confessions of a Green Blockader', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 60, September/October/November/December, pp. 6-11.
- Aronson, Marc 1998, *Art Attack: A Short Cultural History of the Avant-Garde*, Clarion Books, New York.
- Australian Conservation Foundation 2003, 'New SA uranium spill highlights need for urgent changes', *Australian Conservation Foundation Online*. Retrieved 27 May 2005 from

List of references

<http://www.acfonline.org.au/asp/pages/selectlist.asp?strFilterNmValue=State&strFilterValue='SA'&IdDocTyp=1>

- Background Briefing: CFMEU State Secretary Gavin Hillier* (audio recording), 19 March 1995, ABC Radio National.
- Bailey, Paul 1991, 'A cherry-pickin' logging protest', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 July, p. 1.
- Baldry, Eileen & Vincent, Tony 1991, *Actions Speak: Strategies and Lessons from Australian Social and Community Action*, Longman Chesire, Melbourne.
- Bambery, Chris 1996, 'Marching against time', *Socialist Review*, no. 200, September. Retrieved 6 July 2005 from <http://pubs.socialistreviewindex.org.uk/sr200/orange.htm>
- Barnet, Richard J. & Muller, Ronald E. 1974, *The Power of the Multinational Corporations*, Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Bayet, Fabienne 1994, 'Overturning the Doctrine: Indigenous People and Wilderness – Being Aboriginal in the Environmental Movement', *Social Alternatives*, vol. 13, no. 2, July, pp. 27-32.
- Bearup, Greg 2002, 'Roll up, roll up', *Good Weekend*, 8 June, pp. 18-22.
- Beatty, Bob; Perinotto, Tina & Tarlo, Keith n.d., 'Exploding the Hydro Job Myth' (pamphlet reprinted from *Chain Reaction*), Tasmanian Wilderness Society, Melbourne.
- Beck, Charlotte Joko 1989, *Everyday Zen*, Thorsons, London.
- Bedau, Hugo Adam 1997, 'Civil Disobedience', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 83-86.
- Begg, Alex 2002, 'Earth First' in *Challenge to Nonviolence*, ed. Michael Randle, University of Bradford, UK, pp. 96-104.
- Begg, Zanny 1994, 'Mass arrests at Wild Cattle Creek', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 165, 2 November, p. 3.
- Behr, Shulamith 1988, *Women Expressionists*, Phaidon Press Ltd, Oxford.
- Bell, D. & Klein, Renate (eds) 1996, *Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed*, Zed Books, London.



## List of references

- Bennett, Brad 1997a, 'Salt march (India), 1930', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, p. 455.
- Bennett, Brad 1997b, 'Kapp Putsch (Germany), 1920' in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 283-284.
- Bennett, Brad 1997c, 'Hungarian National Movement, 1848-1867', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 236-237.
- Bennett, Brad 1997d 'Fasting', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 177-178.
- Bernard, JRL (ed) 1989, *The Pocket Macquarie Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, The Jacarandah Press, Milton.
- Berrier, Sharee & Worsoe, Hanne 1984, 'Media Rocks Roxby – Information vs Implication', *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p. 16.
- Bevis, W.W. 1995, *Borneo Log: The Struggle for Sarawak's Forests*, University of Washington Press, Seattle & London.
- Bierbaum, Nena (ed.) 1991, *Towards Ecological Sustainability*, Flinders University, South Australia.
- Big Times* 1993, 'Old growth Dreaming', no. 9, August, Bellingen Environment Centre, Bellingen.
- Biko, Steve (ed. Arnold Millard) 1979, *Black Consciousness in South Africa*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Bitá, Natasha 1995, 'Forest industry chief shrugs off PM's suggestion he be charged', *Australian*, Thursday 16 February, p. 4.
- Bleile, Bea 2002, 'Women in black', letter to the editor, *Armidale Express Extra*, 20 February, p. 9.
- Blockaders, The 1983, *The Franklin Blockade*, The Wilderness Society, Hobart.

## List of references

- Blomfield, Geoffrey 1986, *Baal Belora: The End of the Dancing*, The Alternative Publishing Co-operative Limited, Chippendale.
- Blunden, Verge 1983, '4-3 vote stops Tasmania's dam', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 2 July, p. 1.
- Boal, Augusto (trans. C.A. & M.O.L. McBride) 1979, *Theatre of the Oppressed*, Urizen Books, New York.
- Bock, Jennie-Maree; Tilley, Elizabeth; O'Loughlin, Tim & Brewer, David 1983, *Franklin River Blockade Songbook*, vol. 2, Tasmanian Wilderness Society, Hobart.
- Bonyhady, Tim 2000, *The Colonial Earth*, Miegunyah Press, Carlton.
- Boughton, Bob 2004, *Learning in Social Movements: Study Guide*, University of New England, Armidale.
- Boughton, Doug 1993, 'Shaping the National Curriculum: Issues for Australian Art Educators' in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp. 19-30.
- Boulding, Elise 2000, *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, USA.
- Bouma, G.D. 1993, *The Research Process*, revised edn, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, pp. 86-113.
- Bourne, Phil 1999, 'Confessions of a Sycophant', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 62, March/April/May, p. 3.
- Bowker, Lee H. 1998, *Masculinities and Violence*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.
- Bowraville Aboriginal Lands Council 1993, Media release, 15 September, Bowraville Aboriginal Lands Council, Bowraville.
- Boyce-Tillman, June 1996, 'Getting Our Acts Together - Conflict Resolution Through Music' in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 209-236.
- Boyd, Andrew 1999, *The Activist Cookbook: Creative Actions for a Fair Economy*, United for a Fair Economy, Boston.
- Branagan, D.F and Cairns, H.C. 1994, 'Marks On Sandstone Surfaces – Sydney Region, Australia: Cultural Origins and Meanings?', *Journal and Proceedings of Royal Society of NSW*, vol. 126, pp. 125-133.

## List of references

- Branagan, Marty 1983a, 'The Roxby Stomp', *Union Recorder*, vol. 63, no. 12, 17 October, p. 21.
- Branagan, Marty 1983b 'Letter to the editor', *Honi Soit*, issue 17, 31 October, p. 2.
- Branagan, Marty (pseud. 'Anna Kee and Moonshine McBrez') 1984a, 'Sumthing fun to do in your holidays!', *Union Recorder*, vol. 64, no. 8, 24 July, p. 17.
- Branagan, Marty (pseud. 'Moonshine McBrez') 1984b, 'Week 2 or 3 or 4 at Roxby', *Union Recorder*, vol. 64, no. 10, 25 September, pp. 4-5.
- Branagan, Marty 1986, 'The Bike Ride for Peace', *Honi Soit*, no. 11, 9 September, p. 22.
- Branagan, Marty 1988, 'Thou Shalt Not Kill', *Northcoaster*, vol. 2, no. 12, October, p. 6.
- Branagan Marty 1990, 'Richard [sic] and Paula's visit to Sarawak', Northern Territory Environment Centre Newsletter, October, p. 7.
- Branagan, Marty (pseud. 'Sum-One Else') 1991, 'Chaelundi: Who Cares about the Long-nosed Potoroo?', *Neucleus*, vol. 44, no. 3, 18 June, p. 6.
- Branagan, Marty 1992a, 'Press release', *Wombat* (The Wilderness Society newsletter), no.44, 2 November, p. 3.
- Branagan, Marty 1992b 'Armidale Update', *Wombat* (The Wilderness Society newsletter), no.44, 2 November, pp. 3-4.
- Branagan, Marty 1993, 'Big Mistake', *Wombat* (The Wilderness Society newsletter), 1 November, pp. 1-2.
- Branagan, Marty (pseud. 'Simon Ellis') 1994, *Horizontal Lightning*, Gaia Ink! & Fast Books, Glebe.
- Branagan, Marty 1996, 'The almighty car' (letter to the editor), *Green Left Weekly*, no. 229, p. 10.
- Branagan, Marty 1998a, CJAG slams media over Jabiluka, press release, Arid Lands Environment Centre, 1 September.
- Branagan, Marty 1998b, Jabiluka, email to environment groups and supporters, Arid Land Environment Centre, Alice Springs, c. 15 October.
- Branagan, Marty 2000a, 'Jabiluka Response', *Nonviolence Today*, no.65, May-August, p. 7.
- Branagan, Marty 2000b (7 September), 'Hi Peaceniks', *Nonviolencenet*. Message

## List of references

- posted to  
<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/nonviolencenet/message/89>
- Branagan, Marty 2001a, 'Campaign for a Freeze on Genetically Engineered Food', *Graduate Post* (University of New England Postgraduate Association journal) vol.9. no.2, May, p. 8.
- Branagan, Marty 2001b, 'Green Coalition Calls For A Freeze on Genetically Engineered Foods', *Neucleus* (University of New England Students Association journal), April, pp. 8-9.
- Branagan, Marty & Spence, Rebecca 2002 (29 January), 'A Peace of Black Earth', *Nonviolencenet*. Message posted to  
<http://www.egroups.com/groups/nonviolencenet>
- Branagan, Marty 2002a, 'Rally for Refugees', *Justice for Refugees*. Available from  
[www.new-england.org/jfr](http://www.new-england.org/jfr)
- Branagan, Marty 2002b, 'The Art(s) of Nonviolent Protest in Australia: 1982-2002', paper presented at the Art of Dissent conference in Melbourne, 21 October. Available from  
[www.ArtofDissent.com/downloads.html](http://www.ArtofDissent.com/downloads.html) 2003
- Branagan, Marty 2003a, 'The Art(s) of Nonviolent Protest in Australia: 1982-2002', *Dissent*, no. 11, Autumn/Winter, pp. 36-40.
- Branagan, Marty 2003b, 'The Art of Nonviolent Activism', *Social Alternatives*, vol. 22, no. 3, Third Quarter, pp. 50-55.
- Branagan, Marty 2003c, 'Can the International Community End a Dictatorship Nonviolently?', *Teach In Abstracts*. Available from  
[www.une.edu.au/sat/peace/archive/bran.html](http://www.une.edu.au/sat/peace/archive/bran.html) May 2003
- Branagan, Marty 2003d, 'The Role of the Arts as a Tool of Nonviolence in the Australian Protest Movement 1982-2002', *Campus Review (Postgraduate Forum)*, vol. 13, No. 17, 7-13 May, p. 9.
- Branagan, Marty 2003e, 'The Art(s) of Nonviolence', paper presented to 2<sup>nd</sup> global Transformations in Politics, Culture and Society conference, Vienna, 9 December. Available from  
<http://www.inter-disciplinary.net/transform/s4.htm> 2003
- Branagan, Marty & Boughton, Robert 2003, 'How Do You Learn How to Change the World? Learning and Teaching in Australian Protest Movements', *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, vol. 43, no. 3, November, pp. 346-360.

## List of references

- Branagan, Marty 2004a, 'We Shall Never Be Moved', *Journal of Australian Studies (New Talents 21C:Write/up)*, no. 80, pp. 201-210.
- Branagan, Marty 2004b, 'The Toppling of Slobodan Milosevic', *Neucleus*, no. 6, pp. 12-13. Also available from [www.thechangeagency.org/research\\_articles.htm](http://www.thechangeagency.org/research_articles.htm)
- Branagan, Marty 2004c, 'International Nonviolent Action: a Middle Path between War and Appeasement', *Neucleus*, no. 1, February, pp. 11-13. Also available from [www.thechangeagency.org/research\\_articles.htm](http://www.thechangeagency.org/research_articles.htm)
- Branagan, Marty 2004d, 'Any reputation for tolerance Australia may have had is rapidly disappearing' (letter to the editor), *Neucleus*, no. 2, March, pp. 7-8.
- Branagan, Marty 2004e, 'GM: Biotech Godzilla?', *Neucleus*, no. 4, March, pp. 10-12.
- Branagan, Marty 2005, 'The Art(s) of Nonviolence', *Community Development Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 23 – 27.
- Brazil, David 1991, 'Court victory on Chaelundi forest', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 30, 2 October, p. 6.
- Brock, Peter 1991, *Freedom from War: Non-sectarian Pacifism 1814-1914*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Brock-Utne, Birgit 1994, 'Listen to Women, for a Change', in *Rethinking Peace*, eds R. Elias & J. Turpin, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, pp. 205-209.
- 'Broken Head Dance a Raging Success', *Northcoaster*, 14-20 December 1988, vol. 3, no. 6, p. 1.
- Brouillette, Kathy; Baker, Judy; Donkers, Adrian & Lockwood, Michael 1983, 'TWS Tactics: An NVA Scenario', *Groundswell*, no. 3, March. Retrieved 15 September 2005 from [www.uq.net.au/~zzdkeena/NvT/28/28.3.txt](http://www.uq.net.au/~zzdkeena/NvT/28/28.3.txt)
- Brown, Bob 1979, *The Franklin and Lower Gordon Rivers: A Pictorial*, Tasmanian Wilderness Society, Hobart.
- Brown, Bob 1986, 'Protest as a Political Strategy', in *The Right of Peaceful Protest Seminar*, Canberra 3-4 July 1986 Papers, Human Rights Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 119-130.
- Brown, Judith M. 1997, 'Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (1869-1948)', in *Protest, Power*

## List of references

- and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 195-203.
- Buckley, Amanda 1983a, 'Advertisements contested', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday 29 August, p. 3.
- Buckley, Amanda 1983b, 'Dry, bored, burnt at the mine site: Even the arrested are recycled at Roxby', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 3 September, p. 3.
- Buckley, Amanda 1983c, 'Coming: Women's day at Pine Gap', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday 5 September, pp. 1-2.
- Buddha Dharma Education Association 1996, 'Buddhism - The Middle Path'. Retrieved 17 August 2005 from [http://www.buddhanet.net/cbp2\\_f4.htm](http://www.buddhanet.net/cbp2_f4.htm)
- Builders' Labourers' Federation (and Australian Building Construction Employees) 1975, *Builders' Labourers' Songbook*, Widescope, Camberwell.
- Bulbeck, C 1993, *Social Sciences in Australia*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Sydney.
- Bulmer, Martin 1984, *Sociological Research Methods*, MacMillan, London & Basingstoke.
- Burgmann, Meredith & Burgmann, Verity 1998, *Green Bans, Red Union: Environmental Activism and the NSW Builders Labourers' Federation*, UNSW Press, UNSW.
- Burgmann, Verity 1993, *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards.
- Burnheim, John 1985, *Is Democracy Possible?* Polity Press, London.
- Burns, Robert 1991, *Introduction to Research Methods*, 2nd edn, Longman Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Burrowes, Robert J. 2000, 'The Persian Gulf War and the Gulf Peace Team', in *Nonviolent Intervention Across Borders: A Recurrent Vision*, eds Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan & Thomas Weber, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, pp. 305-316.
- Burrowes, Robert J. 1996, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defence: A Gandhian Approach*, State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Burrowes, Robert J. 1989, *Nonviolence*, self-published pamphlet, September.
- Burrowes, Robert J. 1989, 'Nonviolent Struggle – A Strategy for Total Revolution', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 11, October/November, pp. 6-7.

List of references

- Burrowes, Robert J. 1990, 'Nonviolent Struggle For The Rainforests', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 15, June/July, p. 2.
- Buzzacott, Kevin and the Arabunna People 2005, 'Opposition to National Radioactive Waste Repository being located at Billa Kalina, in Lake Eyre basin', *Wisdom from the Oldest Culture in the World*, Aboriginal Tent Embassy, Narrabundah, ACT. Retrieved 27 May 2005 from [http://www.lakeeyre.green.net.au/keepers\\_of\\_lake\\_eyre.html](http://www.lakeeyre.green.net.au/keepers_of_lake_eyre.html)
- 'Call for better air quality standards', *Green Left Weekly* 1997, no. 297, 12 November, p. 4. Retrieved 11 December 2004 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1997/297/297p4b.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1997/297/297p4b.htm)
- Callaghan, Karen 1996, 'Torture – The Body in Conflict: The Role of Movement Psychotherapy', in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 249-272.
- Cameron, Dorothy F. 1996, 'Conflict Resolution Through Art With Homeless People', in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 176-206.
- Cameron, John 2001, *Changing Places: Reimagining Sense of Place in Australia*, University of Western Sydney, Richmond.
- Cameron, Marcel 1998, 'Anti-Jabiluka mine activists take action', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 322, 24 June, p. 4.
- Camilleri, J.A. 1984, *The State and Nuclear Power: Conflict and Control in the Western World*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.
- Campaign Against Nuclear Energy 1984, untitled pamphlet, Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, Adelaide.
- Cancian, Francesca M. & Gibson, J. 1990, *Making War/ Making Peace*, Wadsworth, Belmont, Calif.
- Capra, Fritjof 1990, *The Tao of Physics: An Exploration of the Parallels between Modern Physics and Eastern Mysticism*, 17<sup>th</sup> impression, Flamingo, London.
- Carson, Clayborne 1997, 'King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929-1968)' in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 287-291.
- Carter, April 1990, 'Nonviolence as a Strategy for Change', in *A Reader in Peace Studies*,

## List of references

- eds Paul Smoker, Ruth Davies & Barbara Munske, Pergamon Press, Oxford, pp 210-216.
- Carter, April 1992, *Peace Movements: International Protest and World Politics since 1945*, Longman, Harlow, UK.
- 'Cash for comment - I vs II' (video recording) 26 April 2004, *Media Watch*, ABC-TV. Retrieved 28 September 2004 from [www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/s1095125.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/mediawatch/transcripts/s1095125.htm)
- Casey, Andrew 1983, 'Students man battlements in echo of the '60s', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 16 June, p. 2.
- Ceresa, Maria 1998, 'Jabiluka owner guilty of trespass', *Australian*, Wednesday 2 September 2, p. 3.
- Chandler, J. 1992, 'Green Guerillas', *Age Extra*, Saturday 18 January 1992, pp. 1 and 6.
- Chanter, Alaine 2004, 'Rent-a-crowd—on the possibilities of postmodern politics and Anti-globalisation Struggles', *The Second International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities*. Retrieved 9 January 2005 from <http://humanitiesconference.com/ProposalSystem/Presentations/P000918>
- Chatfield, Charles 1997, 'Vietnam War Opposition', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 547-555.
- Chatterjee, Gautam 2004, 'Glimpses of Naga Life and Culture'. Retrieved 15 September 2004 from [www.ibiblio.org/gautam/index.html](http://www.ibiblio.org/gautam/index.html)
- Chief Seattle 1849 (1854), 'He treats his mother, the Earth', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October, p. 6.
- Chisolm, Michael & Smith, David M. 1990, *Shared Space: Divided Space: Essays on Conflict and Territorial Organisation*, Unwin Hyman, London, UK.
- Chomsky, Noam 1992 (1977), 'Politics and the Intelligentsia', in *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts*, eds Francis Francina & Jonathan Harris, Phaidon, London, pp. 32-35.
- Clark, Howard 1986, 'Nonviolent Resistance and Social Defence' in *Articles of Peace: Celebrating Fifty Years of Peace News*, eds Gail Chester & Andrew Rigby, Prism Press, Bridport, Dorset, pp.49-69.



## List of references

- Clark, Toby 1997, *Art and Propaganda in the Twentieth Century: The Political Image in the Age of Mass Culture*, Orion Publishing Group, London.
- Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia 1983a, *Roxby Blockade Handbook*, Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, Adelaide.
- Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia 1983b, Media release, 10 July, CNFA, Adelaide.
- Cockcroft, Eva 1999, 'Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War' in *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts*, eds Francis Francina & Jonathan Harris, Phaidon, London, pp. 82-90.
- Cohen, Ian 1997, *Green Fire*, Harper Collins, Pymble, NSW.
- Cohen, Ian & Ruby, Felicity 1997, 'All the way with NVA', in *Green Fire*, ed Ian Cohen, Harper Collins, Pymble, NSW, pp. 244-249.
- Collings, Matthew 2000, *This is Modern Art*, Seven Dials: Cassel & Co., London.
- 'Column Eight', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1984, p. 1.
- Community Relations Commission 2005, 'Languages Spoken at Home: Australia 2001 and 1996 Census'. Retrieved 8 March 2005 from <http://www.crc.nsw.gov.au/statistics/Sect1/Table1p04Aust.pdf>
- Comte, Martin 1993, 'Multi-arts: issues and implication for schools and teacher education', in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp 157-163.
- Conger, Lucy 1994, 'Zapatista Thunder'. Retrieved 30 September 2004 from <http://www.indigenouspeople.net/thunder.htm>
- Conway, Janet 2002, 'Adult education and the production of knowledge for politics: Praxis and pedagogy in the Metro Network for Social Justice', Ryerson University Online. Retrieved 8 March 2005 from [http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/CASAE/cnf2002/2002\\_Papers/conway2002w.pdf](http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/CASAE/cnf2002/2002_Papers/conway2002w.pdf)
- Cook, S. 1991, 'Ethical Implications', in *Research Methods in Social Relations*, eds C.M. Judd, E.R. Smith, & L.H. Kidder, 6th Edn, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, Sydney, pp. 477-528.
- Cooke, Geoff; Fulton, Jill; Rayner, Ann & Wallace, Dee 2000, *Look at Me Now: A Community under Siege*, LAMN Arts Project Committee, Emerald Beach, NSW.
- Coper, Michael 1988, *Encounters With the Australian Constitution*, CCH Australia Ltd, Sydney.

## List of references

- Coper, Michael 1983, *The Franklin Dam Case: Commentary and Full Text of the Decision in Commonwealth of Australia v State of Tasmania*, Butterworths, Sydney.
- Cortright, David 2002, 'The Power of Nonviolence', *The Nation*, 18 February. Retrieved 2 February 2004 from <http://ssl.thenation.com/doc/20020218/cortright>
- Cortright, David 1995, 'The Peace Movement's Role in Ending the Cold War', in *Why the Cold War Ended: A Range of Interpretations*, eds Ralph Summy & Michael E. Salla, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, pp. 81-90.
- Costello, Judy 1982, 'Beyond Gandhi: an American Feminist's Approach to Nonviolence' in *Reweaving the Web of Life*, ed Pam McAllister, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, pp. 175-180.
- 'Covert or Open', *Nonviolence Today*, January/ February 1999, no. 61, p. 7.
- '"Cowardly Act" leads to arrests', *Armidale Express*, 22 July 1992, p. 1.
- Coxsedge, Joan; Coldicutt, Ken & Harant, Gerry 1982, *Rooted in Secrecy: The Clandestine Element in Australian Politics*, Committee for the Abolition of Political Police, Balwyn North.
- Croft, Brenda L. 2001, *Indigenous Art*, Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.
- Cubby, Ben 1992. 'Residents save Erskineville parks', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 67, 19 August, p. 5.
- Curtis, David 2005, *How the Visual and Performing Arts Influence Environmental Behaviour: Perceptions from Overseas*, Institute of Rural Futures, University of New England, Armidale.
- Curtis, David and Curtis, Fran 2004 (under review), Performance and Environmental Awareness, *The Universal Mosaic of Drama/Theatre: The IDEA 2004 Dialogues*.
- Curtis, David 2005 (under review), Mobilising Rural Communities to Achieve Environmental Sustainability Using the Arts, *Agricultural Economics Review*.
- Dalai Lama, The 2004, 'Kindness is my religion', *Free Tibet from Chinese Death. Pray for Peace*. Retrieved 22 November 2004 from <http://www.poonja.com/Tibet.htm>
- Danaher, Geoff; Schirato, Tony & Webb, Jen 2000, *Understanding Foucault*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards.

## List of references

- Daraghmeh, Mohammad 2003, 'Nonviolence and art — life emerging from the rubble', *Jordan Times*, 6 August. Retrieved 10 November 2004 from [www.aljazeeraah.info/Opinion%20editorials/2003%20Opinion%20Editorials/August%206%20o/Nonviolence%20and%20art%20%20life%20emerging%20from%20the%20rubble,%20By%20Mohammad%20Daraghmeh.htm](http://www.aljazeeraah.info/Opinion%20editorials/2003%20Opinion%20Editorials/August%206%20o/Nonviolence%20and%20art%20%20life%20emerging%20from%20the%20rubble,%20By%20Mohammad%20Daraghmeh.htm)
- Darby, Andrew 2002, 'Saved by those who gave a damn', *The Age*, 24 December. Retrieved 14 February 2005 from [www.theAge.com.au](http://www.theAge.com.au)
- Davidian, Dee 2003, 'Lost Ecology' in *Shades of Green: 2003 University of Sydney Environment Handbook*, eds Nilushi Disanayake, Amy Hankinson, Purdey Wong, & Jon Spring, University of Sydney Union, Sydney.
- Davidson, Rjurik 1998, '5000 rally against Jabiluka', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 336, p. 5.
- Davinski, R., Hubbard, A., Kendrick Jr, J.R. & Noll, J. 1994, 'Social Change as Applied Social Science. Obstacles to Integrating the Roles of Activist and Academic', *Peace and Change*, vol. 19, no 1, pp. 3 – 24.
- Davis, Francesca 1998, 'International support for Jabiluka campaign grows', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 336, 7 October, p. 5.
- Day, Richard 2001, 'The University as Anarcho-Community' in *Anarcho-Modernism*, ed Ian Angus, Talon, Vancouver.
- Dayton, Leigh 1996, 'For children, making music makes them smarter students', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 June p. 8.
- Dearling, Alan (with Hanley, Brendan) 2000, *Alternative Australia: Celebrating Cultural Diversity*, Enabler Publications, Dorset, UK.
- de Blas, Alexandra 1999, 'Terania Creek Twentieth Anniversary' (audio recording), *Earthbeat*, ABC Radio National, 21 August. Retrieved 24 May 2005 from [www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s45829.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s45829.htm)
- de Blas, Alexandra 2001, 'Global Greens 2001' (audio recording), *Earthbeat*, ABC Radio National, 7 April. Retrieved 2 June 2005 from [www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s273401.htm](http://www.abc.net.au/rn/science/earth/stories/s273401.htm)
- De Brito, Kate 1999, 'The power of protest', *Australian Good Taste*, October, pp. 44-49.
- Deitz, Milissa 2004, 'In this resistance movement, literacy is the weapon', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April, p. 11.
- De Launey, Carol 2003, 'A Cannabis Economy', in *Belonging in the Rainbow Region:*

List of references

- Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, ed Helen Wilson, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, pp. 83-100.
- Dellinger, Drew 2001, 'The Total Thrust is Global Justice', in *Uprising*, eds Neva Welton & Linda Wolf, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, Canada, pp. 57-59.
- Demant, Anna 2001, 'Work in Progress', *Chain Reaction*, no. 84, Summer, pp. 6-7.
- Deming, Barbara 1982, *On Anger/ New Men, New Women: Some Thoughts on Nonviolence*, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- Demon Fault, The* (video documentary) 11 July 2003, SBS Television.
- Denborough, Michael (ed.) 1983, *Australia and Nuclear War*, Croom Helm Australia, ACT.
- Devine, Miranda 1995, 'Miranda Devine', *Telegraph Mirror*, 16 February, p. 10.
- Desmond, Michael & Dixon, Christine 1995, *1968*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
- 'Diana Ingram: Activist 1948 – 1999', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1999, p. 29.
- 'Diary for Saturday', 20 June 1998. Australian Associated Press. Retrieved 15 September 2005 from [http://global.factiva.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/en/eSrch/ss\\_hl.asp](http://global.factiva.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/en/eSrch/ss_hl.asp)
- Dickinson, Dee 2002, 'Learning Through the Arts', *New Horizons for Learning*. Retrieved 22 September 2004 from [http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/arts/dickinson\\_lmarts.htm](http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/arts/dickinson_lmarts.htm)
- Diggelmann, J. 2001, 'M1: Editor's reply', *Neucleus*, no.6, July, p. 11.
- Dixon, Beverley R. & Bouma, Gary D. 1984, *The Research Process*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne
- Doherty, Brian; Alexandra Plows & Derek Wall 2003, "'The Preferred Way of Doing Things": The British Direct Action Movement', *Parliamentary Affairs*, no. 56, pp. 669-686.
- Doherty, Denis 1990, 'Nurrungar - Theory in Magnificent Practice', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 15, June/July, p. 4.
- Dolci, Danilo 1971 (1962), 'Danilo Dolci Asks Humanity to Cure Itself of Violence', in

List of references

- Instead of Violence: Writings by the Great Advocates of Peace and Nonviolence throughout History*, eds Arthur Weinberg & Lila Weinberg, Beacon Press, Boston, pp. 22-5.
- 'Don't be too polite girls', *Honi Soit*, no. 24, 15 October 1984, p. 13.
- Doran, Chris 1999, 'North Shareholders Call Extraordinary General Meeting: Over Investment in Jabiluka', *Wilderness News*, no. 155, June, pp. 17-19.
- Doyle, Timothy 2000, *Green Power: The Environment Movement in Australia*, University of NSW Press, Sydney.
- Doyle, Timothy 1994, 'Dissent Within the Environment Movement', *Social Alternatives*, vol.13, no.2, July, pp. 24-26.
- Duggan, Dave 1996, 'Arts Approaches To The Conflict In Northern Ireland', in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 335-346.
- Duncombe, Stephen 2002, 'Stepping off the Sidewalk: Reclaim the Streets/NYC', in *From ACTUP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalisation*, eds Benjamin Shephard & Ronald Hayduk, Verso, London & New York, pp. 214-228.
- Eagleton, Terry 1999, 'Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism', in *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts*, eds Francis Francina & Jonathan Harris, Phaidon, London, pp. 91-100.
- Ebrey, Patricia 1993, *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, 2nd edn, Free Press, New York.
- Edwards, Betty 1999, *Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain*, Tarcher/Putnam, New York.
- Elgar, Dietmar 1989, *Expressionism: A Revolution in German Art*, Taschen, West Germany.
- Elias, R. & Turpin, J. 1994, *Rethinking Peace*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London.
- Elster, Jon (ed) 1986, *Karl Marx: a Reader*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 'Emily Kame Kngwarreye' 2004, *Indigenous Art of the Dreamtime*. Retrieved 15 September 2004 from [www.jintaart.com.au/pass/Indigenous Art of the Dreamtime/artists emily.htm](http://www.jintaart.com.au/pass/Indigenous%20Art%20of%20the%20Dreamtime/artists%20emily.htm)
- Emma 2000, 'Emma and the Lorax', in *Alternative Australia: Celebrating Cultural*

## List of references

- Diversity*, ed Alan Dearling (with Brendan Hanley), Enabler Publications, Dorset, UK, pp. 167-170.
- Engisch, Bob 1984, 'Return to the Wild', *Australasian Post*, 9 February, p. 5.
- Environment Centre Northern Territory (updated 20 September 2003), 'Why Jabiluka Should Not Proceed'. Retrieved 15 June 2005 from [http://www.ecnt.org/uranium/jabiluka\\_shouldnt\\_proceed.htm](http://www.ecnt.org/uranium/jabiluka_shouldnt_proceed.htm)
- Environment Defenders Office 2005, 'Oshlack v Iron Gates Pty Ltd and Richmond River Shire Council [1997] NSWLEC 89'. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from [http://www.edo.org.au/edonsw/site/casework\\_key.asp](http://www.edo.org.au/edonsw/site/casework_key.asp)
- Erickson, Brad (ed.) 1990, *Call To Action: Handbook for Ecology, Peace and Justice*, Sierra Club Books, San Francisco.
- Errington, Edward Peter (ed.) 1993, *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, Deakin University Press, Geelong.
- Eskew, Glen T. 1997, 'Civil Rights Movement (United States)', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 86-98.
- Evans, Martin & Lunn, Ken (eds) 1997, *War and Memory in the 20th Century*, Berg, Oxford.
- Evans, Rachel 2005, 'Bob Brown and the rise of the Greens', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 618, 9 March. Retrieved 2 June 2005 from <http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2005/618/618p21.htm>
- Evans, Sue 1998, *Copse: The Cartoon Book of Tree Protesting*, Orange Dog Productions, Biddestone near Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK.
- Fahey, Joseph J. 1994, 'Peace Studies and the American Ethos', in *Rethinking Peace*, eds R. Elias & J. Turpin, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, pp. 178-183.
- Fahey, Warren 2000, *Ratbags & Rabblers: A Century of Political Protest, Song and Satire*, Currency Press, Strawberry Hills, Australia.
- Fang, Li 1997, 'China', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 73-80.
- Ferrell, Robyn 1984, 'The Doves Have Been Nesting', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August, p. 40.

## List of references

*Fight for the Franklin* (video recording) 16 August 2001, ABC Television.

Figueroa, Maria & Voegelé, William B. 1997, 'Dharasana Salt Works Raid (India), 1930', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 151-152.

Flanagan, Tom 1992, 'Greens launch election campaign', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 40, 22 January, p. 5.

Flanagan, Tom 1998, 'Jabiluka struggle intensifies', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 319, 27 May, p. 7.

Flannery, Tim 1994, *The Future Eaters*, Reed Books, Port Melbourne.

Fleming, Michael 1998, *Starting Drama Teaching*, David Fulton Publishers, London.

Foley, Gary 2001, 'Black power in Redfern 1968 – 1972', *The Koori History Website*. Retrieved 18 May 2005 from <http://www.kooriweb.org/foley>

Foley, Griff 1999, *Learning in Social Action: A Contribution to Understanding Informal Education*, Zed Books, Iiz-Dvv, Bonn.

Foreman, Dave & Haywood, Bill (eds) 1987, *Ecodefense: A Field Guide To Monkeywrenching*, Ned Ludd Books, Tucson, Arizona.

*Four Corners* (video documentary) 20 August 2001, ABC Television.

'Four held in Roxby clashes', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 August 1983, p. 3.

'14 protesters complete 4500 bike ride which took 52 days', *Sun Herald*, 6 September 1998, p. 39.

Fox, R.W (Presiding Commissioner) 1976, *Ranger Uranium Environmental Inquiry: First Report*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Franklin, R.L. 1987, 'Two Perspectives on Peace: Inner and Outer', in *Perspectives on Peace*, ed Raja Jayaraman, University of New England Seminar in Social Science, Paper 2, pp. 25-36.

Franzi, Cathy 1984, 'I used to think someone should do something', *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p.17.

## List of references

- Fredericks, Karen 1992, 'Activists occupy NSW Forestry Commission', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 81, 25 November, p. 5.
- Fredman, Nick 1992, 'Free education and NUS', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 69, 2 September, p. 9.
- Freeland, Cynthia 2002, *But is it art?* Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Friel, Col 1998, 'Jabiluka 1', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 323, 1 July, p. 21.
- Friends of the Earth, 1983, untitled pamphlet, FoE, Sydney.
- Freire, Paulo & Faundez, Antonio 1989, *Learning to Question: A Pedagogy of Liberation*, Continuum, New York.
- Freire, Paulo 1972a, *Cultural Action for Freedom*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Freire, Paulo 1972b, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, trans. M.B. Ramos, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Gaard, Greta 1998, *Ecological Politics: Ecofeminists and the Greens*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Galtung, Johan 1969, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol.6, pp. 167-191.
- Galtung, Johan 1971, 'A Structural Theory of Imperialism (excerpts) in *Geographies of Peace, Resource Book 1999*, ed Bernard Swan, University of New England, Armidale, pp. 47-65.
- Galtung, Johan 1990, 'Cultural Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol.27, no.3, pp. 291-305.
- Galtung, Johan 1995, 'Europe 1989: The Role of Peace Research and the Peace Movement'. in *Why the Cold War Ended: A Range of Interpretations*, eds Ralph Summy & Michael E. Salla, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, pp. 91-105.
- Gandhi, Arun 1997, 'Satyagraha', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 460-462.
- Gandhi, Arun 1997, 'Constructive Program', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 128-130.



List of references

- Gandhi, M.K. 1948 (1927, 1929 reprint), *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, Navajivan House, Ahmedabad.
- Gaze, Beth & Jones, Melinda 1990, *Law, Liberty and Australian Democracy*, The Law Book Co.Ltd, Sydney.
- Gee, Helen & Fenton, Janet 1978, *The South-West Book: A Tasmanian Wilderness*, Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne.
- George, Susan 1990, *A Fate Worse Than Debt*, Penguin, London.
- George, Susan 1977, *How the Other Half Dies*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- 'Germany: poor TV memory', *Courier Mail (World section)*, 30 July 2004, p. 16.
- Gilbert, Kevin 1994, *Black from the Edge*, Hyland House, South Melbourne.
- Goodall, Heather 1996, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, Allen and Unwin and Black Books, St Leonards.
- Goongerah Environment Centre 2001, *Ancient Forests of East Gippsland: A Campaign Overview*, Goongerah Environment Centre Office, Goongerah.
- Gordon, Derek E. 2004, 'Why arts education matters'. Retrieved 22 September 2004 from [www.artsedge.kennedy-center.org/](http://www.artsedge.kennedy-center.org/)
- Gosper, Carl 1997, 'Government gags EDOs', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 279, 25 June, p. 6.
- Gott, Ted (comp.) 1994, *Don't Leave Me This Way: Art In the Age Of AIDS*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
- Graeber, David 2002, 'The New Anarchists', *New Left Review*, no. 13, Jan-Feb, pp. 61-73.
- Green, Jim 1998, 'Australia's Anti-nuclear Movement', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 330, 26 August, pp. 14-15.
- Green, Jim 1999a, 'Activists create JAILS', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 345, 20 January, p. 6.
- Green, Jim 1999b, 'Jabiluka World Heritage nightmare for government', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 351, 3 March, p. 3.
- Green, Jim 1999c, 'World Heritage Commission caves in on Kakadu', *Green Left Weekly*, Issue 368, 21 July p 3.

## List of references

- Green, Jim 1999d, 'Arrests at Jabiluka Westpac protests', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 357, 21 April, p. 3.
- Green, Jim 2002, 'The high-tech trashing of Asia'. Retrieved 4 Nov 2004 from <http://www.geocities.com/jimgreen3/hitechtrash.html>
- Green, Jim n.d., 'Media and the environment'. Retrieved 4 Nov 2004 from <http://www.geocities.com/jimgreen3/>
- Green, Roger c1984, *Battle For The Franklin*, ACF Melbourne and Fontana Books Sydney.
- Greenpeace Australia 1998, 'Sun Shines on Kirribilli', *Greenpeace Bulletin*, no. 3, Summer, poster page.
- Grele, R.J. 1991, 'A Surmisable Variety: Interdisciplinarity and Oral Testimony' in *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, ed R.J. Grele, 2nd edn, Praeger, New York, pp.197-239.
- Grenfell, Jenny 1993, 'A Womb with a View: Visual dialogue in a Cultural Context', in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp. 41-56.
- Grishin, Sacha 2001, *Garry Shead and the Erotic Muse*, Fine Art Publishing, St Leonards.
- Grossman, Michele 2003, 'After Aboriginalism: Power, Knowledge and Indigenous Critical Writing' in *Blacklines: contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians*, ed Michele Grossman, Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation 1998a, 'Endorsement letter' (sent to all Jabiluka Action Groups), 20 July, GAC, Jabiru, Northern Territory.
- Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation 1998b, 'New directions' document, 2 November, Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation, Jabiru, Northern Territory.
- Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation 1998c, 'Gundjehmi disappointed at "Ploughshares" protest action', press release, Sunday, 9 August, Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation, Jabiru, Northern Territory. Retrieved 22 September 2005 from [www.mirror.net/media/archive/1998-08-09.html](http://www.mirror.net/media/archive/1998-08-09.html)
- Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation 1999, 'Submission from the Mirrar People to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee', April. Retrieved 15 September 2005 from [www.mirror.net](http://www.mirror.net)
- Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation 2004, 'Mirrar'. Retrieved 10 March 2004 from

List of references

- <http://www.mirrar.net/index.html>
- Hacktivists, The* (video recording) 2 May 2002, ABC Television.
- Haldane, Superintendent 1995, *Document: C: \DATA\DWP5\DOC\DAILY\16-03-95.NEW*, Victoria Police, No. 2 Division, Bairnsdale.
- Hall, Colin Michael 1992, *Wasteland To World Heritage: Preserving Australia's Wilderness*, Melbourne University Press, Burwood, Victoria.
- Hallam, John 1998, 'How on Earth: an historical account of Jabiluka', *Chain Reaction*, No. 77, November, pp. 10-11.
- Hannam, Cindy 1984, 'Roxby Diary', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October, p. 7.
- Hannon, Kerry 2003, 'Healing the Soul' (video documentary), *Compass*, ABC Television, 17 August.
- Hansen, Derek 1998, *Blockade*, HarperCollins, Sydney.
- Hansen, Herman Mogens 1974, *The Sovereignty of the People's Court in Athens in the Fourth Century B.C. and the Public Action against Unconstitutional Proposals*, Odense University Press, Odense.
- Happ, Steve 1992a, *Logging under Martial Law* (video documentary), Feral Productions, Lismore,
- Happ, Steve 1992b, *Visions of Killiekrankie* (video documentary), Feral Productions, Lismore,
- Happ, Steve 1993a, *NEFA Goes to Sydney* (video documentary), Feral Productions, Lismore.
- Happ, Steve 1993b, *Forestry Siege* (video documentary), Feral Productions, Lismore.
- Harding, Neil 1996, *Leninism*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke.
- Hardy, Frank 1962, *Power Without Glory*, T. Werner Laurie, London.
- Hart, Deborah 1995, *The Realism of Peace: George Gittoes*, Museum & Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, Darwin.
- Haseman, Brad 1993, 'Adaptation in the Arts – to Beg, Steal or Borrow?', in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp. 147-155.

## List of references

- Haslett, Betty J. 1976, 'Dimensions of Teaching Effectiveness: A Students Perspective', *Journal of Experimental Education*, no. 44, pp. 5-10.
- Hawken, Paul 2001, 'Seattle', in *Take It Personally: How Globalisation Affects You and Powerful Ways to Challenge It*, ed Anita Roddick, HarperCollins, London, pp. 23-29.
- Hawley, Janet 2003, 'Tree Amigos', *Good Weekend*, June 28, pp. 18-23.
- Hay, Peter 1987, 'Will the "Tasmanian disease" Spread to the Mainland', *Current Affairs*, vol. 64, no. 3, August, pp. 4-12.
- Hayward, Philip (ed.) 1992, *From Pop to Punk to Postmodernism: Popular Music and Australian Culture from the 1960s to the 1990s*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Heartney, Eleanor 2001, *Postmodernism*, Tate Publishing, London.
- Henri, Adrian 1974, *Total Art: Environments, Happenings, and Performance*, Praeger, New York.
- Heylighen 1999, 'Change and information overload', *Principia Cybernetica Web*. Retrieved 14 September 2005 from [www.pespmc1.vub.ac.be/CHINNEG.html](http://www.pespmc1.vub.ac.be/CHINNEG.html)
- Hinman, Pip 1998, 'Jabiluka campaign debates perspectives and plans national day of action', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 341, 18 November, p. 7.
- Hinman, Pip 1999, 'Debates in the Jabiluka campaign', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 350, 24 February, p. 9.
- Hintjens, Helen 2000, 'Environmental Direct Action in Australia: The Case of Jabiluka Mine', *Community Development Journal*, vol. 35, no.4, October, pp. 377-390.
- Howell, Signe & Willis, Roy (eds) 1989, *Societies at Peace: Anthropological Perspectives*, Routledge, London & New York.
- Human Rights Commission October 1986, *Complaints Relating To The Protest At Pine Gap, November 1983*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Human Rights Commission, November 1986, *The Right of Peaceful Protest Seminar, Canberra 3-4 July 1986 Papers*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Hunter, Lois 1990, *The Australian Art Companion: A Selection of Influential Artists*, Reed Books, Balgowlah, NSW.

List of references

- Hutton, Drew (ed.) 1987, *Green Politics in Australia*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde.
- Hutton, Drew & Connors, Libby 1999, *A History of The Australian Environment Movement*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Hymans, Jacques E.C. 2000, 'Isotopes and Identity: Australia and the Nuclear Weapons Option, 1949-1999', *The Nonproliferation Review*, Spring, pp. 1-23.
- 'Ignore the Masqueraders', *New England Times*, 21 July 1992, p. 1.
- 'I like the flowers', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October 1984, p. 6.
- Illich, Ivan 1971, *Deschooling Society*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Illich, Ivan 1975, *Tools for Conviviality*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow.
- Ingram, Diana 1984, 'Roxby – One Woman's View', *Honi Soit*, no. 20, 18 September, p. 5.
- Institute of International Peace Studies 1983, *A Road to World Peace*, Kyung Hee University Press, Seoul.
- Irvine, Graham 2003, 'Creating Communities at the End of the Rainbow', in *Belonging in the Rainbow Region: Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, ed Helen Wilson, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, pp. 63-82.
- Jabiluka blockaders and Gundjhemmi Aboriginal Corporation 1998, *Uranium: Don't Dig It! Stop Jabiluka Mine* (audio recording), Leave it in the Ground Sounds, Festival Records.
- 'Jabiluka has no value', *The Third Opinion*, no. 93, Winter 2000, p. 3.
- 'Jabiluka: don't miss it', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 327, 6 August, p. 27.
- Jackson, Larry R. & Johnson, William A. 1974, *Protest By The Poor: The Welfare Rights Movement in New York City*, Lexington Books, Lexington, Massachusetts.
- Jeffries, Dean 1988/1989, 'Boycott Rainforest Timbers', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 6, December/January, pp. 12-13.
- Jeffries, Dean 2005, *Shamans of The Amazon - A Documentary by Dean Jeffries*. Retrieved 11 March 2005 from [www.shamansoftheamazon.com/](http://www.shamansoftheamazon.com/)
- Jeffries, Dean & Simon, Peter n.d., *Amazon - the Invisible People*. Retrieved 11 March 2005 from

## List of references

- [www.rainforestinfo.org.au/amazon-video.html](http://www.rainforestinfo.org.au/amazon-video.html)
- Jeppesen, Sandra 2004, 'Anarchist action as an epistemological site in Ann Hansen's direct action', *Institute for Anarchist Studies: Where Does Anarchist Theory Come From?* Retrieved 20 December 2004 from <http://www.anarchist-studies.org/article/articleview/51/1/7/>
- Jezer, Marty 1993, *Abbie Hoffman: American Rebel*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick.
- Johnston, Peter 1998, 'ERA office firebombed', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 335, 30 September, p. 2.
- Johnston, Peter 1999, 'Jailings and victories in Jabiluka campaign', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 351, 3 March, p. 2. Retrieved 2 December 2004 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1999/351/351p2b.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1999/351/351p2b.htm)
- Jones, Lynne (ed) 1985, *Keeping The Peace*, The Women's Press, London.
- Jones, Peter 1986, 'The Political Effectiveness of Protest', in *The Right of Peaceful Protest Seminar, Canberra 3-4 July 1986 Papers*, ed Human Rights Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 131-143.
- Jones, Peter; Pestorius, Margaret & Law, Bryan 1995 'The Story of the Australian Nonviolence Network', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 43, March/April, p. 9.
- Joppke, Christian 1997, 'Nuclear Energy Opposition', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 374-377.
- Judd C.M., Smith, E.R. & Kidder, L.H. (eds) 1991, *Research Methods in Social Relations*, 6th edn, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, Sydney,
- Junankar, Kamini and Schmid, Eva 1994, 'Forest Embassy', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 169. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from <http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1994/169/169cenb.htm>
- Katona, Jacqui 1997, 'Why we oppose Jabiluka uranium mining', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 284, 6 August, p. 13.
- Kay, Alan 2000, 'Art and Community Development: The Role the Arts Have in Regenerating Communities', *Community Development Journal*, vol. 35, no.4, pp. 414-424.
- Kellehear, Allan 1993, *The Unobtrusive Researcher: A Guide to Methods*, Allen & Unwin

List of references

St Leonards.

- Kelly, Anthony 2004, 'Political surveillance in Victoria - a recent history', *Activist Rights*. Retrieved 6 December 2004 from [http://www.activistrights.org.au/surveillance\\_of\\_activists.asp](http://www.activistrights.org.au/surveillance_of_activists.asp)
- Kendell, Jenny & Buivids, Eddie 1987, *Earth First: The Struggle to Save Australia's Rainforest*, ABC Enterprises, Sydney.
- Kerbo, Harold R. 1982, 'Movements of "Crisis" and Movements of "Affluence": A Critique of Deprivation and Resource Mobilization Theories', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, no.26, pp. 643-663.
- King, Martin Luther Jr 1986 (1958) 'The Power of Nonviolence', in *A Testament of Hope*, ed James M. Washington, Harper, San Francisco, pp. 12-15.
- King, Ynestra 1985, 'All is Connectedness: Scenes From the Women's Pentagon Action USA', in *Keeping The Peace*, ed Lynne Jones, The Women's Press, London, pp. 40-63.
- Klepac, Lou (ed) 2000, *Australian Painters of the Twentieth Century*, The Beagle Press, Sydney.
- Kripalani, Krishna (ed.) 1992, *All Men Are Brothers*, Continuum, New York.
- Krishnapillai, Sarojini 2000/2001, 'Jabiluka: we're not going away, Rio', *Friends of the Earth Journal*, Summer, pp. 5-6.
- Lambert, Geoff c1984, 'The National Stage: Geoff Lambert' in *Battle For The Franklin*, ed Roger Green, Australian Conservation Foundation and Fontana Books, Sydney, pp. 201-209.
- Land, Jon 1997, 'Yes to land rights; no to uranium mining', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 301, 10 December, p. 30.
- Langton, Marcia 1998, *Burning Questions: Emerging Environmental Issues for Indigenous Peoples in Northern Australia*, Northern Territory University, Darwin.
- Larson, Jeanne & Micheels-Cyrus, Madge (comp.s) 1986, *Seeds of Peace: A Catalogue of Quotations*, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- Law, Bryan 2000a, 'The Blockade', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 65, May-August, pp. 5-6.
- Law, Bryan 2000b, 'Nonviolence Gathering 2000 report', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 65, May-August, pp. 3-4.

## List of references

- Lee, Chris & Maddock, Leith 2000, 'Love Letter from the Trees', in *Alternative Australia: Celebrating Cultural Diversity*, ed Alan Dearling (with Brendan Hanley), Enabler Publications, Dorset, UK, pp. 163-167.
- Lee, A., Green, B. & Brennan, M. 2000, 'Organisational Knowledge, Professional Practice and the Professional Doctorate at Work', in *Research and Knowledge at Work: Perspectives, case studies and innovative strategies*, eds J. Garrick & C. Rhodes, Routledge, London, pp. 117-136.
- Lennon, June M. 1999, 'Enough is enough', *ENUFF SAID* (Everyone for a Nuclear Free Future), no. 1, April, p. 2.
- Lenthall, Treena 2000 (14 August), 'Jabiluka Ploughshares heading to S11', *Nonviolencenet*. Message posted to <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/nonviolencenet/message/59>
- Lenzo, Amy 2001/2002, 'Sandart - Ancient & Modern', *Gatherings*, no. 6, Winter. Retrieved 15 September 2004 from [www.ecopsychology.org/gatherings6/html/Overview/overview\\_sand\\_art.html](http://www.ecopsychology.org/gatherings6/html/Overview/overview_sand_art.html)
- Leslie, Paul 1984, 'Roxby Story', *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p. 17.
- Levinge, Alison 1996, 'Discord or Harmony: Issues of Conflict in Music Therapy', in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers. London, pp. 237-245.
- Liebmann, Marian (ed.) 1996, *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, Jessica Kingsley Publishers. London.
- Lindisfarne Institute 1987, *Gaia - a Way of Knowing*, Lindisfarne Press, New York.
- Lippmann, Lorna 1994, *Generations of Resistance (Mabo and Justice)*, Longman, Melbourne.
- Lloyd, Christopher 1995, *The Structures of History*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- 'Logging destroys water sources', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 160, 21 September 1994, p. 7.
- Lovell, D.W. et al 1998, *The Australian Political System*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Longman Chesire, Melbourne.
- Liotard, Jean-Francois 1994, 'Defining the Postmodern', in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed Simon During, Routledge, London, pp. 170-173.
- McCauley, Martin (ed) 1975, *The Russian Revolution and the Soviet State 1917-1921*, Macmillan, London.



## List of references

- McCausland, Sigrid 2003, 'Movement and Class: The Anti-Uranium Movement in Australia'. Retrieved 18 May 2005 from <http://www.edgehill.ac.uk/research/smg/pdf%20%20Conference/SigridMcCausland-AntiUraniumMovement.pdf>
- McCulloch, Jude 2002, '“Counter terrorism”, human security and globalisation – from welfare to warfare state?', *Statewatch News online*. Retrieved 6 December 2004 from <http://www.statewatch.org/news/2003/aug/17judem.htm>
- Macdonald, Lisa 1996, 'Students and Sustainability '96', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 235, 19 June, p 2. Retrieved 11 December 2004 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1996/235/235p2b.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1996/235/235p2b.htm)
- McGuinness, Kate 2002, 'A Feminist Critique of Gene Sharp's Approach', in *Challenge to Nonviolence*, ed Michael Randle, University of Bradford, UK, pp. 105-131.
- Macy, Joanna 1991, *World as Lover, World as Self*, Parallax Press, Berkeley.
- Macy Joanna & Seed, John 1983, *Despair and Personal Empowerment in the Nuclear Age*, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- McIlroy, Fran 1998, 'Jabiluka Blockade', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 328, 13 August, p. 22.
- Macquarie Dictionary, The* 1999, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Macquarie University, Sydney.
- McQueen, James 1982, *Hook's Mountain*, MacMillan, South Melbourne.
- McQueen, James 1983, *The Franklin - Not Just A River*, Penguin Books, Ringwood, Victoria.
- Maddox, Graham 1991, *Australian Democracy (In Theory and Practice)*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Longman Chesire, Melbourne.
- Majors, Val 1996, 'Exploring Conflict with Classroom Puppets', in *Arts Approaches to Conflict*, ed Marian Liebmann, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, pp. 299-317.
- Maher, Rachel & Fox, Juliet 2000, 'But Will It Get On The News?; Questioning the Use of the Media in Social Justice Campaigning', *Arena* magazine, no. 46, April-May, pp. 15-16.
- Malloch, Lachlan & Fulcher, Ray 1998, 'Jabiluka: how can we win?', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 344, 9 December, p. 9.
- Mansell, Michael 1990, 'Comrades or Trespassers on Aboriginal land?', in *The Rest of the*

## List of references

- World is Watching*, eds Cassandra Pybus & Richard Flanagan, Pan Macmillan, Chippendale, NSW, pp. 101-106.
- Markus, Andrew 1994, *Australian Race Relations 1788-1993*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW.
- Marsh, Colin 2001, *Society and the Environment*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Pearson Education, Frenchs Forest.
- Marsh, Julie 2003, 'Submission to the senate inquiry', submission no. 83, in *Inquiry into the Environmental Regulation of Uranium Mining*, 14 October, ed Commonwealth of Australia, Parliament House, Canberra.
- Martin, Brian 1984, 'Environmentalism and Electoralism', *The Ecologist* (UK), vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 110-118.
- Martin, Brian 1988, 'Education and the environmental movement', in *Radical Approaches to Adult Education: A Reader*, ed Tom Lovett, London: Routledge, pp. 202-223.
- Martin, Brian 1989, 'Gene Sharp's Theory of Power', *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 213-222.
- Martin, Brian; Anderson, Shelley & Larmore, Janet 1991, *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*, War Resisters International, London.
- Martin, Brian 1999, 'Nonviolence Versus Capitalism,' *Gandhi Marg*, vol. 21, no. 3, October-December, pp. 283-312.
- Martin, Brian 2001, *Technology for Nonviolent Struggle*, War Resisters International, London.
- Martin, Brian 2005, 'Researching Nonviolent Action: Past Themes and Future Possibilities', *Peace & Change*, vol. 30, no. 2, April, pp. 247-270.
- Martin, David 1984, *Armed Neutrality for Australia*, Dove Communications, Blackburn, Victoria.
- Martin, Fiona & Ellis, Rhonda 2003, 'Dropping In, Not Dropping Out: Evolution of the Alternative Media in the Rainbow Region 1970-2002', in *Belonging in the Rainbow Region: Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, ed Helen Wilson, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, pp. 179-201.
- Marwick, Arthur 1998, *The Sixties*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Masterton, Andrew 1998, 'A Long, Hard, Leg-aching, Bum-bruising, 55-Day Bike Ride.... Just to Make a Point', *Sunday Age*, 21 June, p. 11.

List of references

- Mathews, Graham 1997, 'Students & Sustainability Conference a great success', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 282, p. 9. Retrieved 22 September 2005 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1997/282/282p9.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1997/282/282p9.htm)
- Maxted, Olivier 1999, 'Timbarra: Stuttering frog joins the fight,' *Green Left Weekly*, no. 351, 3 March, p. 6.
- May, Erskine 1861, 'Anti-Slavery: Trades Unions: the Chartists: the Anti-Corn Law League', *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. 2, Chapter 10, pp. 404-420. Retrieved 7 January 2005 from <http://home.freeuk.com/don-aitken/emay2v404.html>
- Meckelburg, Rebecca 1998a, 'Jabiluka activists protest prison conditions', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 326, 29 July, p. 4. Retrieved 2 December 2004 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/326/326p4c.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/326/326p4c.htm)
- Meckelburg, Rebecca 1998b, 'Jabiluka camp under siege', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 333, 16 September, p. 5.
- Meckelburg, Rebecca & Green, Jim 1998, 'Jabiluka's political prisoners', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 325, 22 July, p. 5.
- Meikle, Jeff 1984, 'What a Goanna Won't Tell You about Roxby Downs', *Union Recorder*, vol. 64, no. 11, 9 October, pp. 24-26.
- Mendilow, Guy 2004, 'Art In Education Project'. Retrieved 22 September 2004 from [www.guymendilow.com/vision.html](http://www.guymendilow.com/vision.html)
- Miller, David 1984, *Anarchism*, J.M. Dent & Sons, Melbourne.
- Miller, Russell 1979, *The Resistance*, Time-Life Books, Alexandria, Virginia.
- Milsom, Rosemarie 2000, 'I Was There' (Bob Brown interviewed), *Sunday Life*, 16 July, p. 35.
- Minichiello, Victor; Fulton, Graham & Sullivan, Gerard 1999, 'Posing Qualitative Research Questions', in *Handbook for Research Methods in Health Sciences*, eds Victor Minichiello; Gerard Sullivan; K. Greenwood & R. Axford, Addison-Wesley, Sydney, pp. 36-55.
- Mitchell, Liam 1997, 'Iron Gates' threat to wetlands, sacred sites', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 260, 29 January, p. 13.
- Mockridge, Tom 1983, 'Tent City for Uranium Protesters', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 October, p. 2.

List of references

- Mollison, Bill & Holmgren, David c1991(sic), *Permaculture One*, Tagari, Tyalgum.
- Montgomery, Jill 1984/5, 'Defense d'Afficher: Loi du 29 Juillet 1881...Paris, May 1968', *Art & Text* ("Burnout"), no.16, Summer, pp. 32-42.
- Moon, Celia 1993, 'Addressing Social Issues in the Drama Classroom', in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp. 135-143.
- Moon, Jacqui 1999, 'Walkout planned against Jabiluka', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 355, 7 April, p. 25.
- Moore, Michael 2002, *Stupid White Men*, Penguin, Camberwell.
- Moore-Lappe, Frances 1971, *Diet for a Small Planet*, Ballantine, New York.
- 'More arrests at Jabiluka', 1998, *Green Left Weekly*, no. 334, 23 September, p. 5.
- Moser-Puangsuwan, Yeshua & Weber, Thomas 2000, *Nonviolent Intervention Across Borders: A Recurrent Vision*, Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, Honolulu.
- Mosley, Geoff 1999, *Battle for the Bush: The Blue Mountains, the Australian Alps and the Origins of the Wilderness Movement*, Colong Foundation/Envirobook, Sydney.
- Mosley, J.G. & Messer, J. (eds) 1984, *Fighting for Wilderness*, Australian Conservation Foundation and Fontana Books, Sydney.
- Mudd, Gavin 1998, 'The scars Don't Show: The Environmental Consequences of In Situ Uranium Mining', *Chain Reaction*, no. 77, November, pp. 12-13.
- Muller, Jean-Marie 1991, 'Why and How to Work with Governments', in *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*, eds Brian Martin, Shelley Anderson & Janet Larmore, War Resisters International, London, pp. 11-14.
- Mullin, Sharon & Vincent, David 1984, 'The Aims of Roxby', *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p. 17.
- Mulvaney, John 2001/2002, 'Uranium and cultural heritage values', *Dissent*, no. 7, Summer, pp. 47-50.
- Murdoch, Lindsay 2004, 'Uranium drinkers say mine cut them loose', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 April, pp. 1 & 4.
- Murphy, Danny 2004, 'You Rang', *Sydney Morning Herald (Metro)*, July 2-8, pp. 4-5.

## List of references

- Murray, John 1986, 'Protest: A Police Perspective', in *The Right of Peaceful Protest Seminar, Canberra 3-4 July 1986 Papers*, Human Rights Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 203-217.
- Murray, Peter 1998, 'No return to education just for the elite! Student sit-ins protest government drive to increase fees', *Freedom Socialist*, vol. 18, no. 4, January-March. Retrieved 10 June 2005 from [www.socialism.com/fsarticles/Vol18no4/184datelineaustralia.html](http://www.socialism.com/fsarticles/Vol18no4/184datelineaustralia.html)
- Musgrove, F. 1974, *Ecstasy and Holiness: Counter Culture and the Open Society* Methuen, London.
- Myers, Allen 1995, 'Laughing with Australian samizdat' (book review), *Green Left Weekly*, no. 208, 25 October, p. 26.
- Myers, Norman (ed) 1985, *The Gaia Atlas of Planet Management*, Pan, London.
- National Gallery of Australia 1993, *Surrealism: Revolution by Night*, NGA, Canberra.
- National Union of Students Women's Collective, 2002, untitled poster, November, NUS, Sydney.
- National Union of Students c2003, 'A brief outline of the impact of national student unionism in Australia'. Retrieved 14 June 2005 from [http://www.unistudent.com/about/1065769294\\_23595.html](http://www.unistudent.com/about/1065769294_23595.html)
- Nature Conservation Council 2002, 'Protection for Wollumbin and Whian Whian on the Agenda at last', *NCC Media Release Index*. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from [http://www.nccnsw.org.au/forests/news/media/byorgsubject\\_index.html](http://www.nccnsw.org.au/forests/news/media/byorgsubject_index.html)
- Neale, Margo 2000, *Urban Dingo: The Art and Life of Lin Onus 1948-1996*, Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane.
- Near, Hollie 1984, 'Singing for our lives', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October, p. 6.
- Nelson, Adam 1998, 'Doing time for Jabiluka mine', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 328, 13 August, p. 7.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal 1970 (1941), 'Toward Freedom (condensed excerpt) in *Family Treasury of Great Biographies*, vol. 2, Readers Digest, Pleasantville, USA, pp. 247-250.
- Nepstad, Sharon Erikson 1997, 'Nicaragua, Nonviolence and Revolution', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 351-353.

List of references

Neret, Gilles 2002, *Dali*, Taschen, Koln.

Nesbit, Terence 1999, 'Globalization from a Marxist Perspective'. Retrieved 5 December 2004 from  
<http://terrykidd.home.att.net/PAGES/GLOBAL.htm>

Newbury, Paul W. (ed.) 1999, *Aboriginal Heroes of the Resistance: From Pemulwuy to Mabo*, Action for World Development, Surry Hills, Sydney.

New Internationalist 1996, *Seeds of Change*, NI, Oxford and Sydney.

'New Jabiluka video', *Green Left Weekly*, 1998, no. 328, p. 22. Retrieved 22 September 2005 from  
[www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/328/328p22b.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/328/328p22b.htm)

Newman, M. 1995, 'Adult Education and Social Action', in *Understanding Adult Education and Training*, ed G. Foley, St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin, pp. 246-260.

Nonviolence Training Project 2005, *Trainers' Resource Manual*, Pt'chang Nonviolent Community Safety Group Inc., Fitzroy.

North East Forest Alliance 1992, 'Mummel Gulf War', *Armidale Wilderness Society Newsletter*, 25 June, pp. 1-6.

North East Forest Alliance c1993, *The Inter Continental Deluxe Guide to Blockading*, NEFA, Lismore.

North East Forest Alliance 2003, 'Intercontinental De-luxe Guide to Blockading'. Retrieved 9 July 2003 from  
<http://www.nefa.org.au/icdgb>

Nossal, Kim Richard & Vivian,Carolynn 1997, *A Brief Madness: Australia and the Resumption of French Nuclear Testing*, Australian National University, Canberra.

Nugent, Monica 2001, 'Jabiluka: An Example of Ecofeminist Activism', *Earth~Born*, no. 1, October, p. 6.

O'Donnell, C. & Carney, J. (eds) 1982, *Australian Studies: Family Violence in Australia*, Longman Chesire, Melbourne.

O'Dowd, Mary 2003, Legacies of invasion: A war with the land and people and a warrior curse, paper presented at the School of Professional Development and Leadership seminar series, October, University of New England.

O'Dwyer, Belinda & Branagan, Marty 1995, 'Forest industry lies', *Green Left Weekly*,

List of references

- no. 196, 2 August, p. 28.
- Offe, Claus 1985, *Disorganised Capitalism: Contemporary Transformations of Work and Politics*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- O'Keefe, Georgia 1985, *Georgia O'Keefe*, The Viking Press, New York.
- Oldroyd, Melissa 1984, 'Civil disobedience at Roxby', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October, p. 7.
- 'On the box', *Green Left Weekly*, 1999, no. 367, p. 24. Retrieved 22 September 2005 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1999/367/367p24b.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1999/367/367p24b.htm)
- O'Reilly, Ciaron 1998, 'The Blockade that was Blocked: A Critique of the Jabiluka Blockade', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 60, pp. 3-5.
- O'Reilly, Ciaron 1999, 'Taking Bail, Remaining Vigilant', *Nonviolence Today*, no. 61, January/February, pp. 3-4.
- O'Reilly, Ciaron 2000, 'Closing Crown, Blockading the World Economic Forum', *Radical Tradition: An Australasian History Page*. Retrieved 6 December 2004 from [www.takver.com/history/s11.htm](http://www.takver.com/history/s11.htm)
- Ostergaard, Geoffrey 1977, 'Duality in Nonviolence', in *Geographies of Peace, Resource Book 1999*, ed Bernard Swan, School of Education Studies, University of New England, Armidale, pp. 169-170.
- Painter, Steve 1991a, 'Chaelundi blockaders call for support', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 21, 31 July, p. 3.
- Painter, Steve 1991b, 'Chaelundi: Fight for the forest', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 23, 14 August, p. 24.
- Painter, Steve 1992, 'Commission backs off over Killiekrankie', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 54, 6 May, p. 2.
- Painters and Blockers affinity group 1984, 'The People Fought the Battle of Roxby Downs', *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p. 17.
- Pakulski, Jan 1991, *Social Movements: The Politics of Moral Protest*, Longman Chesire, Melbourne.
- Parbury, Nigel 1988, *Survival: A History of Aboriginal Life in New South Wales*, Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs, Sydney.
- Paasonen, Karl-Erik 1995, 'Anzac Day', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 190, 7 June, p. 25.

## List of references

- Retrieved 26 January 2005 from  
[www.greenleft.org.au/back/1995/190/190p25c.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1995/190/190p25c.htm)
- Paasonen, Karl-Eric 2002a 'Jabiluka and its effects' (doctoral project website), University of Queensland. Retrieved 5 January 2005 from  
<http://www.uq.edu.au/~uqkpaas1/project.html>
- Paasonen, Karl-Eric 2002b, 'Statement of personal involvement', *Jabiluka and Its Effects* (doctoral project website), University of Queensland. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from  
<http://www.uq.edu.au/%7Euqkpaas1/persinv.html>
- Paasonen, Karl-Eric 2004, Knifing your nearest: Internal conflict dynamics in the campaign against Jabiluka uranium mine, Statement of results, University of Queensland, 4 November.
- 'Parliament House Protest over Uranium Mining', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 November 1983, p. 3.
- Patterson, Eleanora 1982, 'Suffering', in *Reweaving the Web of Life*, ed Pam McAllister, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, pp. 165-174.
- Pearce, Barry 1993, *Arthur Boyd: Retrospective*, Art Gallery of NSW & Beagle Press, Sydney,
- Pearce, Barry 2000, *Australian Art in the Art Gallery of NSW*, AGNSW, Sydney.
- Peart, Sarah 1998, 'Blockade, rallies to stop Jabiluka', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 306, 18 February, p. 24.
- Peatling, Stephanie 2004, 'Gone missing: household paper and glass', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 22 June, p. 5.
- Peatling, Stephanie 2003, 'Boring greenies hope to be next year's black', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July, p. 3.
- Peavey, Fran (with Levy, Myra & Varon, Charles) 1986, *Heart Politics*, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- Peavey, Fran 2000, *Heart Politics Revisited*, Pluto Press, Annandale.
- Pelaez, Michael P. 1996, 'The EZLN: 21st Century Radicals'. Retrieved 30 September 2004 from  
[http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/reports/pomo\\_ezln.html](http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/reports/pomo_ezln.html)
- Penan leaders 1989, Statement by Penan leaders and representatives, press release, 29



## List of references

- January, Marudi, Sarawak, Borneo.
- People for Nuclear Disarmament (NSW) 2005, Membership renewal letter, 3 January, PND, Surry Hills.
- Perkins, Julia 1991, 'Tactics and effective protest', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 39, 11 December, p. 9.
- Pestorius, Margaret 1997, 'Aboriginal Nonviolent Struggle', *Nonviolence Today*, July/August, p. 9.
- Peters, Ian c1987, *Australian Non-Buyers Guide*, Rainforest Information Centre, Lismore, Australia.
- Peterson, Nicolas & Langton, Marcia 1983, *Aborigines, Land and Land Rights*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Phipps, Jennifer 1997, *I Had a Dream: Australian Art in the 1960s*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
- Pilling, Geoff 1980, 'Marx's Capital — Philosophy and Political Economy' (Chapter Three), *The Concepts of Capital*. Retrieved 20 December 2004 from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/pilling/works/capital/pilling3.htm>
- Piercy, Marge 1980, *Vida*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- Plowman, Cathie c1984, 'The National Stage: Cathie Plowman, in *Battle For The Franklin* ed Roger Green, ACF Melbourne and Fontana Books, Sydney, pp. 247-253.
- Plowman, Cathie & Harries, Chris 1988, 'Ahern – The Mt Etna Cave Bomber', *Wilderness News*, vol. 9, no. 10, December, p. 8.
- Plumwood, Val 2000, 'Belonging, Naming and Decolonisation', *Ecopolitics: Thought and Action*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 90-106.
- 'Police and protesters head for Roxby showdown', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 August, 1983, p. 5.
- 'Police get friendliness prize at Roxby protest', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 August 1983, p. 3.
- 'Police win the day in the battle of Roxby Downs', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September 1983, p. 2.
- 'Police Hold the Reins in protest at Roxby', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 August 1984, p. 4.

## List of references

- Porter, Bruce D. 1994, *War and the Rise of the State: the Military Foundations of Modern Politics*, The Free Press, New York.
- Powers, Roger S. & Vogele, William B. 1997, *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, Garland Publishing, Inc. New York & London.
- Pradhan, Arun 1998, 'Dance, ride and rally to stop Jabiluka', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 318, 20 May, p. 9.
- Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph 1980 (1840), 'The Birth of Anarchy: The Death of Property', in *The Anarchist Reader*, ed George Woodcock, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, pp. 65-72.
- Pybus, Cassandra & Flanagan, Richard (ed.s) 1990, *The Rest of the World is Watching*, Pan Macmillan, Chippendale, NSW.
- Rabinow, Paul (ed.) 1997, *Ethics: Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984*, vol 1, Penguin, London.
- Ramachandra 1978, 'Blessed are the Peacemakers', *Messenger of St Anthony*, April, pp. 19-22.
- Rainbow Alliance 1989, An invitation to the public launch, leaflet, February.
- Rainbow, Stephen 1993, *Green Politics*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Rainforest Information Centre 1999, 'Medal worth more in Protest'. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from [http://www.nccnsw.org.au/forests/news/media/19990927\\_medal.html](http://www.nccnsw.org.au/forests/news/media/19990927_medal.html)
- Randle, Michael 2002, *Challenge to Nonviolence*, University of Bradford, UK.
- Rawicz-Oledzka, Elzbieta 1991, 'A New Style of Polish Protest', in *Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence*, eds Brian Martin, Shelley Anderson & Janet Larmore 1991, War Resisters International, London, pp. 55-58.
- Read, P. 1990, 'Come On In, The Water's Fine', *Australian Historical Association Bulletin*, no.s 64/65, October/December, pp. 33-42.
- Read, P. 2000, *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Reardon, Betty 1990, 'Feminist Concepts of Peace and Security', in *A Reader in Peace Studies*, eds Paul Smoker; Ruth Davies & Barbara Munske, Pergamon Press, Oxford, pp. 136-143.

List of references

- Rebecca 2000, 'Jabiluka Blockade- An Open Letter', in *Alternative Australia: Celebrating Cultural Diversity*, eds Alan Dearling & Brendan Hanley, Enabler Publications, Dorset, UK, pp. 136-141.
- Reich, Charles 1972, *The Greening of America*, Penguin, Harmondsworth.
- Reinhartz, Shulamit 1992, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford.
- Resistance 1999, *Dollars for Death: Why Uranium Mining and the Nuclear Industry Must Be Stopped*, Resistance Books, Chippendale.
- Reynolds, Henry 1981, *The Other Side of the Frontier: An Interpretation of the Aboriginal Response to the Invasion and Settlement of Australia*, James Cook University, Townsville.
- Reynolds, Henry 1998, *This Whispering in our Hearts*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, Australia.
- Ricketts, Aidan 1992, 'Forest blockade in northern NSW' in *Green Left Weekly*, no. 66, 12 August, p. 7.
- Ricketts, Aidan 2003, '"Om Gaia Dudes": The North East Forest Alliance's Old-Growth Forest Campaign', in *Belonging in the Rainbow Region: Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, ed Helen Wilson, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, pp. 121-148.
- Rigney, Viginia 1984, 'Women's actions at Roxby', *Honi Soit*, no. 24, 15 October, p. 13.
- Rigney, Andrew 1974, *Alternative Realities: A Study of Communes and Their Members*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London & Boston.
- Rivkah 2000 (18 October), 'Dear fellow troublemakers', *Nonviolencenet*. Message posted to <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/nonviolencenet/message/105>
- Roberts, Robert 1984, 'Class Structure in Early Twentieth-Century Salford', in *Sociological Research Methods: An Introduction*, ed Martin Bulmer, MacMillan, London & Basingstoke, pp. 192-205.
- Robertson, B 1994, *Oral History Handbook*, Oral History Association of Australia (South Australia), Adelaide, pp.70-71.
- Robertson, Margaret; Vany, Kevin & Brown, A.J. 1992, *Wilderness In Australia: Issues and Options*, Australian Heritage Commission, Canberra.

## List of references

- Robson, Colin 1993, *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, Blackwell, Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA.
- Robson, Colin 2002, *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Blackwell, Oxford UK and Cambridge USA.
- Roddick, Anita 2001, *Take It Personally: How Globalisation Affects You and Powerful Ways to Challenge It*, HarperCollins, London.
- Rogers, Nicole (ed.) 1998, *Green Paradigms and the Law*, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore, Australia.
- Rooke, Margaret Anne 1971, *Anarchy and Apathy: Student Unrest 1968-70*, Hamish Hamilton, London.
- Rosenhek, Ruth 2002, Local activists bring Gandhi to the forests, press release, 2 August, Rainforest Information Centre, Lismore.
- Roszak, Theodore 1969, *The Making of a Counter-Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition*, Doubleday, New York.
- Roy, Arundhati 2004, *The Ordinary Person's Guide to Empire*, Flamingo, London.
- Roxby Action Collective 1998, *Uranium mining: How it affects you*, pamphlet, September, Friends of the Earth, Fitzroy.
- 'Roxby workers break blockade', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 August 1983, p. 5.
- Runciman, Claire 1986, 'The Right of Protest: Responses to the Franklin Blockade', in *The Right of Peaceful Protest Seminar, Canberra 3-4 July 1986 Papers*, ed Human Rights Commission, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, pp. 153-180.
- Runciman, Claire; Barber, Harry; Parlane, Linda; Shaw, Gill & Stone, John 1986, *Effective Action for Social Change: The Campaign to Save the Franklin River*, unpublished book.
- Ryan, Chris & Ryan, Melissa 1998, 'PM lookalikes take protest to the mine face', *Age*, Wednesday 30 September, p.12.
- Sachs, Aaron 1995, *Eco-Justice: Linking Human Rights and the Environment*, Worldwatch Institute, Washington D.C.
- Saito, Jun 2000, 'NGOs Link Military To Environmental Damage', *Global Policy Forum*. Retrieved 7 January 2005 from

List of references

<http://www.globalpolicy.org/ngos/docs00/envrn.htm>

Salla, Michael; Tonetto, Walter & Martinez, Enrique (eds) 1995, *Essays on Peace: Paradigms for Global Order*, Central Queensland University Press, Rockhampton.

Sanders, Norm & Bell, Chris 1980, *A Time To Care: Tasmania's Endangered Wilderness*, Chris Bell, Blackman's Bay, Tasmania.

Sanderson, Rachel 2004, 'The Battle for the Daintree', *National Library of Australia News*, July, pp. 7-9.

'SA – Pedal pushing activists cycle to Jabiluka', 3 July 1998, *Australian Associated Press*. Retrieved 14 September from [http://global.factiva.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/en/eSrch/ss\\_hl.asp](http://global.factiva.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/en/eSrch/ss_hl.asp)

Sarup, Madan 1993, 'An Introductory Guide to Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism', 2nd edn, Harvester Wheatsheaf, Sydney

Saul, John Ralston 1997, *The Unconscious Civilization*, Penguin, Ringwood. Victoria.

Saunders, Malcolm & Summy, Ralph 1986, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History*, Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, Canberra.

Sayer, A. 1995, *Radical Political Economy: A Critique*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Scalmer, Sean 2002, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press.

Scarce, Rik 1990, *Eco-Warriors: Understanding the Radical Environmental Movement*, Noble Press, Chicago.

Schauerte, Tara 2004, 'Cultural Differences', *Study Abroad: Learn Overseas: The EI Group*. Retrieved 3 Jan 2005 from [http://www.learnoverseas.com/article\\_view.cfm?artId=3087](http://www.learnoverseas.com/article_view.cfm?artId=3087)

Schmah, Kristina 1998, *Ecofeminist strategies for change: A case study in Western Australia*, Honours thesis, Deakin University, Perth.

Schmah, Kristina 1998, *The evasive flavour of ecofeminism*, pamphlet and email circular, 22 September, Arid Lands Environment Centre, Alice Springs.

Schmah, Kristina (Jarrah) 2001, 'Ecofeminism - Sexist Greenies and Anthropocentric Feminists', *Earth-Born*, no. 1, October, p.2.

Schmah, Kristina 2002, *Revolutionary nonviolence - a force more powerful: A weekend*

## List of references

- workshop for activists*, emailed workshop advertisement, 22 September, Rainforest Rescue, Lismore.
- Schumacher, E.F. 1973, *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Matter*, Blonde and Briggs, London.
- Schweingruber, David 2002, *Mob Sociology and Escalated Force: Sociology's Contribution to Repressive Police Tactics*, Wildcat Collective, Adelaide.
- Scott, David 1990, *Beyond Bans: Australia, Malaysia and Sarawak Rainforests*, background report no.1, Community Aid Abroad, Fitzroy.
- Sedgwick, Peter 1973, 'Guevara's other great love', *Socialist Worker*, 12 May. Retrieved 24 January 2005 from <http://www.marxists.org/archive/sedgwick/1973/05/guevara.htm>
- Seed, John; Naess, Arne, & Macy, Joanna, 1988, *Thinking Like a Mountain: Towards a Council of All Beings*, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia.
- Seed, John 1994, Ecopsychology, paper presented to the Ecopsychology Symposium at the 28th annual Australian Psychological Society conference, Gold Coast, Queensland, 2 October. Retrieved 12 July 2005 from <http://www.rainforestinfo.org.au/deep-eco/seed.htm>
- Selling Australia* (video recording) 14 August 2001, ABC Television.
- Senate of Australia 1999, 'Jabiluka: The Undermining of Process: Inquiry into the Jabiluka Uranium Mine Project', senate report, June, Senate Environment, Communications, Information Technology and the Arts Reference Committee, Parliament House, Canberra.
- Seriously Funny Politics: Background Briefing* (audio recording) Sunday 1 August 2004, ABC Radio National.
- Sharma, Arvind 1981, 'Gandhi as a Feminist Emancipator and Kasturba as a Martyr', *Gandhi Marg*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 214-220.
- Sharp, Gene 1973, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Porter Sargent, Boston Ma.
- Shaw, Brad 1995, 'History', *Ecology Tutorial*. Retrieved 11 January 2005 from <http://www.rpi.edu/dept/chem-eng/Biotech-Environ/ECOLOGY/History.html>
- Sheean, Vincent 1970 (1954), 'Mahatma Gandhi' (condensed version), in *Family Treasury of Great Biographies*, Readers Digest, Pleasantville, USA, pp. 149-245
- Shephard, Benjamin & Hayduk, Ronald 2002, *From ACTUP to the WTO: Urban Protest*

List of references

- and Community Building in the Era of Globalisation*, Verso, London & New York.
- Shields, Katrina 1993, *In The Tiger's Mouth: An Empowerment Guide For Social Action*, Millenium Books, Newtown.
- Shivers, Lynne 1982, 'An Open Letter to Gandhi' in *Reweaving the Web of Life*, ed Pam McAllister, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, pp. 181-194.
- Silverman, S. 1975, *Three Bells of Civilization*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- Sinn Fein 1997, 'Profile of Gerry Adams', *Sinn Fein*. Retrieved 16 January 2005 from <http://www.sinnfein.org/documents/gerry.html>
- Skinner, Ian 1981, 'South West Tasmania - The Dying Wilderness?', *Landscape Australia*, no. 3, August, pp. 247-257.
- Smekal, Denise 1984, 'On Consensus', *Honi Soit*, no. 23, 9 October, p. 6.
- Smekal, Denise & Branagan, Marty 1987, 'Unique tribe: "Don't let them vanish forever"', *Borneo Bulletin*, 2 May, letters page.
- Smith, Campbell 2002, 'Backpackers Inc.', *Sydney Morning Herald* (Travel), 8-9 June, pp. 1 & 4.
- Smoker, Paul; Davies, Ruth & Munske, Barbara 1990, *A Reader in Peace Studies*, Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- 'So what is Resistance?', *Green Left Weekly*, 1998, no. 340, 11 November, p. 29.
- Somerville, Margaret 1995, *The body/landscape journals: A politics and practice of space*, Ph.D thesis, University of New England.
- Sorensen, Tracy 1992, 'New campaign to save old growth forests', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 62, 15 July, p. 62.
- South East Forest Alliance 1995, *A Guide For Activists on Handling Claims of "Eco-Terrorism"*, SEFA, Goolengook.
- Spence, Rebecca 1995, *Towards Azania: a socio-political and historical examination of the process and progress of nonviolence as used by the non-white community in South Africa, 1900-1993*, M. Litt thesis, University of New England, Armidale.
- Spence, Rebecca 1999, *Promises of peace: Processes of community participation in building peace in Down District*, PhD thesis, University of New England, Armidale.
- Spence, Rebecca (ed) 2000, *The Philosophy and Practice of Nonviolence: Resource Book*

List of references

- PEAC 301/401, University of New England, Armidale.
- Spence, Rebecca; Chantrill, Paul & Reid, Jo-Anne 2001, 'Towards A Professional Doctorate for Peace and Community Development Studies', in *Doctoral Education and Professional Practice: The Next Generation?*, eds B. Green, T.W. Maxwell & P. Shanahan, Kardoora Press, Armidale, pp. 187-203.
- Spence, Rebecca & Branagan, Marty 2002 (29 January), 'A Peace of Black Earth', *Nonviolencenet*. Message posted to <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/nonviolencenet/message/219>
- Spencer, Jon Michael 1990, *Protest & Praise*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis.
- Spencer, Paul 1998, 'Make Some Music', in *Uranium: Don't Dig It! Stop Jabiluka Mine* (audio recording), comp Jabiluka blockaders, Leave it in the Ground Sounds, Festival Records.
- Spender, Dale 1983, *Feminist Theories: Three Centuries of Women's Intellectual Traditions*, The Women's Press, London.
- Stafford, Andrew 2004, *Pig City: From the Saints to Savage Garden*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.
- Stafford, Christine 2000, *Practising Research: Resource Book*, University of New England, Armidale.
- Standfield, Rachel 2004, 'A remarkably tolerant nation?: Constructions of benign whiteness', *Borderlands e-journal*, volume 3, number 2. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from [www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no2\\_2004/standfield\\_tolerantnation.html](http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol3no2_2004/standfield_tolerantnation.html)
- Starr, Alli 2001, 'Art and Revolution: Revitalizing Political Protest', in *Global Uprising*, eds Neva Welton & Linda Wolf, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, Canada, pp. 33-37.
- Starhawk (Miriam Samos) 1993, *The Fifth Sacred Thing*, Bantam Books, New York.
- Starhawk 2002, 'How we really shut down the WTO', in *From ACTUP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalisation*, eds Benjamin Shephard & Ronald Hayduk, Verso, London & New York, pp. 52-56.
- Stefani, Lisa 2004, 'Nonverbal communication: messages without words'. Retrieved 4 August 2004 from [www.grossmont.edu/lisastefani](http://www.grossmont.edu/lisastefani)



## List of references

- Stevens, Kay 1993, 'Personal Development as a Means to Quality Music Education', in *Arts Education: Beliefs, Practices and Possibilities*, ed Edward Peter Errington, Deakin University Press, Geelong, pp. 87-96.
- Stewart, Tim E. 1998, 'Japanese anti-nuclear activists visit Jabiluka blockade', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 313, 8 April, p. 13.
- Strong, Pete & Strong, Faith 2000, 'Oms not Bombs', in *Alternative Australia: Celebrating Cultural Diversity*, eds Alan Dearling & Brendan Hanley, Enabler Publications, Dorset, UK pp. 142-146.
- 'Student Environment Activist Network' 2001, *ROAR*, National Union of Students, Orientation week, p. 17.
- Summy, Ralph 1993, Nonviolent action in Australia, unpublished paper, Department of Government, University of Queensland.
- Summy, Ralph 1997, 'Australia, A History of Nonviolent Action', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Vogeleson, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 25-32.
- Summy, Ralph 2000, 'That Nasty 'N' Word', *Social Alternatives*, vol.19, no.4, December, pp. 4-5.
- Summy, Ralph 1995, 'Nonviolence and the Case of the Extremely Ruthless Opponent', in *Essays on Peace: Paradigms for Global Order*, eds Michael Salla; Walter Tonetto & Walter & Enrique Martinez, Central Queensland University Press, Rockhampton, pp. 159-184.
- Suoranta, Juha & Tomperi, Tuukka 2002, 'From Gothenburg to Everywhere: Bonfires of Revolutionary Learning', *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, no. 24, pp. 29-47.
- Suter, Keith D. 1981, *A New International Order: Proposals for Making a Better World*, World Association of World Federalists, North Ryde.
- Suzuki, David (with McConnell, Amanda) 1997, *The Sacred Balance: Rediscovering Our Place in Nature*, Greystone, Vancouver.
- Swan, Bernard 1997, *Peace in Perspective*, UNE Centre for Peace Studies, University of New England, Armidale.
- Swan, B. 1999, *Geographies of Peace: Resource Book*, School of Education Studies, University of New England, Armidale.

## List of references

Sydney Walk Against The War Coalition 2003, Statement on the violence at the recent student march, emailed press release, 3 April, SWATWC, Sydney.

Syvret, Paul 2001, 'Eco-war & Greenpeace', *Bulletin*, 10 July, pp. 20-23.

Tacey, David 2000, *ReEnchantment: The New Australian Spirituality*, HarperCollins, Sydney.

Taylor, Miriam 2001, Pebbles: Towards an understanding of peace activism through our elders' eyes, M.Litt thesis, University of New England, Australia.

Taschen, Benedikt 1991, *Pop Art*, Tilman Osterwold, Germany.

Tasmanian Wilderness Society 1982a, *The Franklin River Blockade Handbook*, TWS (Melbourne Branch) Handbook Collective, Melbourne.

Tasmanian Wilderness Society 1982b, *Franklin River wilderness*, pamphlet, TWS Melbourne.

Theobald, Maria 1984, 'Stopping uranium takes good vvbes', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 August, p. 40.

'The whole world is marching', *Socialist Worker*, 21 February 2003, pp. 6-7. Retrieved 12 July 2005 from [http://www.socialistworker.org/2003-1/441/441\\_06\\_WorldMarching.shtml](http://www.socialistworker.org/2003-1/441/441_06_WorldMarching.shtml)

Thomas, Martin 1984, 'Lakeside Lakeside Lakeside: Australian Crawl', *The Great Miff* (combined Sydney student's issue: Arena, Honi soit, Newswit, Tharunka), August, p. 10.

Thomas, William 1995, *Scorched Earth: The Military's Assault on the Environment*, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, Canada.

Thomas, William 1998, 'A movement that can stop Jabiluka uranium mine', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 311, 25 March p. 14.

Thompson, Dorothy 1997, 'Greenham Common Peace Camp, 1981-1993', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 219-220.

Thompson, Peter 1984, *Bob Brown of the Franklin River*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Thoreau, Henry David 1980 (1849), 'Civil disobedience', in *The Anarchist Reader*, ed George Woodcock, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow, pp. 197-204.

## List of references

- Thornton, Phil; Phelan, Liam & McKeown, Bill 1997, *I Protest (Fighting For Your Rights - A Practical Guide)*, Pluto Press, Annandale.
- Tobin, Bruce 1992, 'Coode fire was an accident, police find', *Age*, Thursday 11 June, p. 5.
- Tomlinson, John 1997, 'Jabiluka', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 297, 12 November, p. 27.
- Tönnies, F. (ed.) 1964, *Community & Society*, The Michigan State University Press, East Lansing.
- Tsai, Allen 1999, 'Where does the Chinese Yin Yang symbol come from?' Retrieved 20 September 2004 from [www.chinesefortunecalendar.com/yinyang.htm](http://www.chinesefortunecalendar.com/yinyang.htm)
- Tune! FM* 2004, 'Program Guide'. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from <http://2une.une.edu.au/index.php?page=programs>
- Turner, Ann 2000, *In Their Image: Contemporary Australian Cartoonists*, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- Turner, Victor 1969, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, Routledge & K. Paul, London.
- Turner, Victor 1982, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, Performing Arts Journal, New York.
- United for Peace and Justice 2003, 'The World Says No to War', *Stop The War on Iraq*. Retrieved 13 January 2005 from <http://www.unitedforpeace.org/feb15.html>
- United Nations Association of Australia (Environment Programme) and the Earth Repair Foundation 1995, *Earth Repair Charter and Global Solution Strategy*, UNAA & ERF, Hazelbrook, Australia.
- University of New England Student Association 2000, *Neucleus*, no. 1, UNESA, Armidale.
- Van den Zandt, Pia 2000, *Women and Violence*, Department of Women, NSW Government, Sydney.
- Varney, Robert William 2000, The British nuclear tests: Was the test policy indifferent to human suffering? Master of Professional Studies (Honours) thesis, University of New England, Armidale. Retrieved 9 January 2005 from [http://www.country-liberal-party.com/pages/Bob\\_Varney\\_Thesis-Ch9.htm](http://www.country-liberal-party.com/pages/Bob_Varney_Thesis-Ch9.htm)
- Vayrynen, Raimo 1987, *The Quest for Peace*, Sage, London.

## List of references

- Vermunt, Paula 1990, 'A visit with the Penan', *Big Scrub Environment Centre Newsletter*, 10 January, page 11.
- Voronoff, Daniel 1998, 'If I Only Had a Brain: The Spread of the Nuclear Industry in Oz', *Chain Reaction*, no. 77, November, pp. 14-17.
- Wabeke, Willy 1983, 'Down with Downs: The Reason Why It Must Stop', *Honi Soit*, no. 14, pp. 10-11.
- Wadsworth, Yoland 1997, *Do It Yourself Social Research: The Bestselling User-Friendly Introduction to Social Research Methods*, 2nd edn, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW.
- Walker, Cam 1999, *Solutions: Environmental Justice and Community Campaigning*, Friends Of The Earth, Fitzroy.
- Walker, Cam 2000, 'La Resistencia: Resistance as a Strategy for Sustainability', *Arena* magazine, no.47, June/July, pp. 48-52.
- Walther, Ingo F. 1986, *Pablo Picasso*, Benedikt Taschen, Germany.
- Wangyel, Sonam; Biaro, Jackson & Galey, Karma n.d., Action research, seminar presentation, University of New England.
- Warren, Karen J. 1997, *Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- 'War of the words', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February 2003, p. 3
- War Resisters' League 1999, *The Nonviolent Activist*, May-June.
- Watson, Ian 1990, *Fighting Over The Forests*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Waud, Pam c1984, 'The National Stage: Pam Waud', in *Battle For The Franklin*, ed Roger Green, Australian Conservation Foundation, Melbourne and Fontana Books, Sydney, pp. 254-260.
- Watt, Else 2003, 'Confessions and Confections of a Postmodernist', *Neucleus* no. 3, April, pp. 10-11.
- Weber, Thomas 1993, 'The Marchers Simply Walked Forward Until Struck Down: Nonviolent Suffering and Conversion', *Peace and Change*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 267-289.
- Weil, Simone 2002 (1933), 'From "Reflections on War"', in *The Power of Nonviolence*, ed Howard Zinn, Beacon Press, Boston.

## List of references

- Weinberg, Arthur & Weinberg, Lila (eds) 1971, *Instead of Violence: Writings by the Great Advocates of Peace and Nonviolence Throughout History*, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Weiner, Bernard 2003, 'Artistic Sign Language: Symbols of the Coming Bush Fall', *CounterPunch*, February 12. Retrieved 18 November 2004 from <http://www.counterpunch.org/weiner02122003.html>
- Welton, Neva & Wolf, Linda 2001, *Global Uprising*, New Society Publishers, Gabriola Island, Canada.
- Wesley Mission 2001, 'Surfrider Foundation', *Green Conscience*. Retrieved 20 December 2004 from [http://www.wesleymission.org.au/publications/green\\_c/surfrider.asp](http://www.wesleymission.org.au/publications/green_c/surfrider.asp)
- Western Kokatha Weenamooga Aboriginal Corporation 2000, 'Children's First Conference (9-11 August)'. Retrieved 8 March 2005 from <http://www.acwa.asn.au/wf2000/Papers/9COLEMAND'ANGELO.doc>
- Western Mining Corporation 1997, *Environmental Progress Report*, WMC Ltd, Melbourne.
- Whelan, James M. 2002, *Education and Training for Effective Environmental Advocacy*, PhD thesis, Griffith University. Retrieved 21 November 2005 from [www.thechangeagency.org](http://www.thechangeagency.org)
- Whip, Rosemary 1992, 'Strategies for Social Research', in *Society and Gender*, eds G. Lupton, P.M. Short & R. Whip, Macmillan, Melbourne, pp. 38-65.
- White, Mary E. 2000, *Running Down: Water in a Changing Land*, Kangaroo Press, Sydney.
- Wilcox, Fred A. 1997, 'Plowshares movement', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 414-416.
- Wild, Margaret & Argent, Kerry 1998, *Miss Lily's Fabulous Pink Feather Boa*, Puffin Books, Ringwood, Victoria.
- Wilderness Society, The 2002, 'Tree Facts' in *Spreading the Word: Environment Handbook 2002*, eds Kelly Ngo; Rhonda Luo & Anne O'Brien, University of Sydney Union, Sydney, pp. 17-18.
- Wilderness Society, The 2003, 'The end of the Jabiluka Uranium Mine - campaign update', 18 September. Retrieved 22 September 2005 from

List of references

[www.wilderness.org.au/campaigns/northernaustralia/kakadu/endjabiluk/](http://www.wilderness.org.au/campaigns/northernaustralia/kakadu/endjabiluk/)

- Wilkie, Rob 2003, 'Video Games and the (De)Skilling of Labor', *The Red Critique*, no. 9, Fall/Winter. Retrieved 18 October 2004 from <http://www.geocities.com/redtheory/redcritique/FallWinter2003/printversions/videogamesprint.htm>
- Williams, Raymond 1999, 'When was Modernism?' in *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts*, eds Francis Francina & Jonathan Harris, Phaidon, London, pp. 23-27.
- Wilmot, Eric 1987, *Pemulwuy: The Rainbow Warrior*, Weldons, Sydney.
- Wilson, E. O. 1999, *Consilience: The Unity of Knowledge*, Abacus, London.
- Wilson, Helen (ed) 2003, *Belonging in the Rainbow Region: Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, Southern Cross University Press, Lismore.
- Wilson, John 1997, 'Timbarra crisis', *National Parks Journal*, vol. 41, no.6, December, p. 11.
- Wilson, Sarah 1997, 'Campaign against Jabiluka mine continues', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 287, 27 August, p. 3.
- Wilton, J. 1993, 'Chinese-Australians Talk, We Theorise!' in *A Question of Power and Survival*, ed Siri Gamage, UNE Symposium Group on Assimilation, Pluralism and Multiculturalism, University of New England, Armidale, pp. 163-166.
- Windschuttle, Keith & Windschuttle, Elizabeth 1981, *Fixing the News: Critical Perspectives on the Australian Media*, Cassell Australia, North Ryde.
- Wingham Forest Action c1996, *A Walk on the Green Side* (video documentary) Wingham, New South Wales.
- Winterson, Jeanette 1995, *Art Objects*, Jonathan Cape, London.
- Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael (eds) 2002, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California
- Woitto, Robert 1997, 'Nonviolence, Principled', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Vogeleson, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp 357-364.
- Wood, Lesley J. & Moore, Kelly 2002, 'Target Practice: Community Activism in a Global

## List of references

- Era', in *From ACTUP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalisation*, eds Benjamin Shephard & Ronald Hayduk, Verso, London & New York, pp. 24-24.
- Woodcock, George 1963, *Anarchism*, Penguin, Harmondsworth,
- Woodcock, George (ed.) 1980, *The Anarchist Reader*, Fontana/Collins, Glasgow
- Woodley, Brian 1991a, 'Sabotage "an option in logging protest"', *Australian*, Thursday 2 May, p. 5.
- Woodley, Brian 1991b, 'Police clear anti-logging blockade at Chaelundi', *Australian*, 1 August, p. 4.
- Woodley, Brian 1991c, 'Showdown at Chaelundi: Fun and games on the front lines', *Australian (Review)*, 17/18 August, p. 3.
- Worcester, Noah 1971 (1817), 'Noah Worcester Shows that War is the Effect of a Popular Delusion', in *Instead of Violence: Writings by the Great Advocates of Peace and Nonviolence Throughout History*, eds Arthur Weinberg & Lila Weinberg, Beacon Press, Boston, pp. 401-403.
- World Heritage Publishing 1997, *Australia's World Heritage*, World Heritage Publishers, Glebe, NSW.
- World Information Service on Energy 2002, 'International nuclear dump plan shelved', *WISE /NIRS Nuclear Monitor*, 15 February. Retrieved 4 November 2004 from <http://www.antenna.nl/wise/563/5373.html>
- Worsoe, Hanne 1984, 'Why spend \$750 on "a bus of ratbags" to go to Roxby Downs?' *Honi Soit*, no. 22, 2 October, p. 16.
- Wright, Micah Ian 2003, *You Back the Attack, We'll Bomb Who We Want: Remixed War Propaganda by Micah Ian Wright*, Seven Stories Press, New York.
- Wunsch, Bernard 1998, 'Activists call on Carr to stop Timbarra mine', *Green Left Weekly*, no. 328, 13 August, p. 11. Retrieved 12 January 2005 from [www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/328/328p11.htm](http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1998/328/328p11.htm)
- Wyman, Miriam 1999, 'Sweeping the Earth (Women Taking Action for a Healthy Planet)', reviewed in *Solutions: Environmental Justice and Community Campaigning*, ed Cam Walker, Friends Of The Earth, Fitzroy. p. 10.
- Yin, Robert K. 2003, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, California.

List of references

- Yolton, L. William 1997, 'Conscientious Objection', in *Protest, Power and Change: An Encyclopaedia of Nonviolent Action from ACT-UP to Women's Suffrage*, eds Roger S. Powers & William B. Voegelé, Garland Publishing Inc, New York & London, pp. 124 –128.
- Young, Nigel 1990, 'Nonviolence and Social Change', in *A Reader in Peace Studies*, eds Paul Smoker; Ruth Davies & Barbara Munske, Pergamon Press, Oxford, pp. 217-220.
- Zable, Arnold 2001, *Café Scheherazade*, Text Publishing, Melbourne.
- Zald, Mayer N. & McCarthy, John D 1979, *The Dynamics of Social Movements*, Winthrop Publishers Inc, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Zashin, Eliot M. 1972, *Civil Disobedience and Democracy*, The Free Press, New York.
- Zinn, Howard 2002, *The Power of Nonviolence*, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Zippy 1999, 'Are you gonna let them', ENUFF SAID, no. 1, April, p. 4.
- Zirngast, Natalie 1998, 'Jabiluka activists clogging up the system', *Green Left Weekly* no. 327, 6 August, p. 8.



**Appendix 1**

**Anzac Day**

by Karl-Erik Paasonen, 1995

I've seen the diggers marching under flapping flags  
Flanked by police on repression-trained nags  
And when I think of what it means my jaw just sags  
And I want to march on Anzac Day  
Cos I've done my share to make this country great  
I've been arrested in nearly every state  
For forests, uranium and the right to demonstrate  
And I want to march along on Anzac Day  
Anzac Day, Anzac Day  
I want to march along on Anzac Day  
I've defended this land in my own peaceful way  
And I want to march along on Anzac Day  
I've been flattened by a horse by Nurrungar's gates  
I've been dragged off by the coppers in quite indecent haste  
And I've copped my share of spit for saying war's a bloody waste  
And I want to promenade on Anzac Day  
Anzac Day, Anzac Day ...  
I've spent some time in prison (though not really very much)  
And I've blockaded my share of dams and trucks and such  
And I burned my foot at Roxby and I've been strip-searched up my crutch  
And I want to stomp along on Anzac Day

I've tried to show the world Australians love peace  
I've confronted Israeli and Iraqi police  
I've said "We're not like Bruce Ruxton -- will wonders never cease?"  
And I want to mince along on Anzac Day  
Anzac Day, Anzac Day ...  
I want Bill Hayden to pin the medals on  
"You're saving our heritage -- keep it up son!"  
And he'll feed me rum and milk just to keep me keeping on  
And we'll transform the dominant paradigm on Anzac Day  
Anzac Day, Anzac Day...  
Anzac Day, Anzac Day  
I want to march along on Anzac Day  
But get up at four o'clock? No bloody way  
Maybe next year I'll march on Anzac Day.

**Appendix 2**

**From Little Things Big Things Grow**

by Kev Carmody and Paul Kelly

Gather 'round people, I'll tell you a story  
An eight year long story of power and pride  
British lord Vestey and Vincent Lingiari,  
Opposite men on opposite sides

Vestey was fat with money and muscle  
Beef was his business and broad was his door  
Vincent was lean and he spoke very little  
He had no bank balance  
Hard dirt was his floor

Gurindji were working for nothing but rations  
Where once they had gathered the wealth of their land  
Daily the pressure grew tighter and tighter  
Gurindji decided they must make a stand

They picked up their swags and started off walking  
At Waddy Creek they sat themselves down  
Now it don't sound like much but it sure got tongues talking  
First in the homesteads and then in the towns

From little things, big things grow  
From little things, big things grow

Vestey man said 'I'll double your wages  
Eight quid a week you'll have in your hands  
Vincent said 'uh uh we're not talking about wages  
We're sitting right here till we get our land'  
Well Vesteyman roared and Vesteyman thundered  
'You stand stand a chance of a cinder in snow'  
Vince said 'if we fall, others are rising'

From little things, big things grow  
From little things, big things grow

Then Vincent Lingiari boarded an airplane  
Landed in Sydney, big city of lights  
Daily he went round softly speaking his story  
To all kinds of people from all walks of life

And he sat down with those big politicians  
'This affair', they told him 'it's matter of state,  
Let us sort it out cos you're people are hungry'  
Vincent said 'no thanks, we know how to wait'

From little things, big things grow  
From little things, big things grow

Then Vincent Lingiari returned in an aeroplane  
Back to his country once more to sit down  
And he told his people 'let the stars keep on turning,  
We have friends in the south in the cities and towns'

Eight years went by, eight long years of waiting  
Till one day a tall stranger appeared in the land  
He came with his lawyers and he came with great ceremony  
And through Vincent's fingers poured a handful of sand

From little things, big things grow  
From little things, big things grow

That was the story of Vincent Lingiari  
But this is the story of something much more  
How power and privilege can not move a people  
Who know where they stand, and stand in the law

From little things, big things grow  
From little things, big things grow

**Appendix 3**

Branagan. Marty 2002a, 'Rally for Refugees', *Justice for Refugees*. Available from [www.new-england.org/jfr](http://www.new-england.org/jfr)

Ten Armidale people travelled to the refugee protest rally in Canberra earlier this month, timed for the start of parliament. Equipped with banners, placards, chickenwire (for street-theatre) and a guitar, we made our way down in several vehicles, Karl and I being entertained by Bar's tales of the Pine Gap women's protest in 1983. After visiting the Aboriginal tent embassy, which has expanded but is still struggling, we joined the growing crowd at the Parliament House lawns, where people were invited to speak at an Open Mike. The place was crawling with police and security, most of whom were friendly, one even showing me the best place to sketch the rally! People were arriving from cities and towns, the most enthusiastic being a busload of youths from the south coast, who chanted their way up the hill.

It was great to see the rally opened by a local Elder, who welcomed everyone to her land, expressed concern over the plight of asylum seekers, but rightly noted that it would be good to see such a crowd at a Land Rights rally. A variety of speakers followed, most very emotional because of the horrendous nature of the jails/concentration camps in which the refugees are kept. Some stories were heartbreaking, involving drownings and self-immolation. It was good to hear, however, speakers publicly disputing the lies and propaganda that have been spread by people from Howard down for their own political gain. Bob Brown spoke for the Greens, and Natasha Spott-Destoja for the Democrats, and there was a showing from the last ALP politicians with a conscience. There were no Liberals or Nats to my knowledge.

The sun grew stronger; the crowd swelled with workers on lunch-breaks. Serendipitously, the speeches ended just as the Governor-General arrived; this anachronism was greeted with a thousands-strong crowd chanting "Free The Refugees!" He must have heard the message, despite competition from a military brass band. At this point passions began to rise, and the crowd tried to surge forward but were held back by a line of police, who were soon joined by a paramilitary outfit. An Aboriginal protestor I'd met in the morning was dragged off, and there were other scuffles as chanting became a little hysterical. This was a little counter-productive, as any hint of violence inevitably attracts bad media. Fortunately there was some light relief as someone began singing "We Are The Champions of The World" and shortly afterwards one of the organisers announced the end of the rally.

The march to Civic didn't eventuate, so Armidale's JFR regrouped. We listened to a Refugee Rap about the government's racist policies, did some networking, and held a post-mortem over tea at Old Parliament House, before commencing the long trip home. It was great to voice our concerns and express our sadness, anger and shame. And I believe that the rally helped to ensure that the issue remains at the forefront of the political agenda.

**Appendix 4**

**Old and Strong**

traditional

Old and strong  
She goes on and on and on  
You can't kill the spirit  
She is like a mountain

## Appendix 5

Branagan, Marty 1993, 'Big Mistake', *Wombat* (The Wilderness Society newsletter), 1 November, p. 1.

# The Wombat

WEEKLY NEWSLETTER OF THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY

The Wombat is for internal TWS circulation only

Send all Wombat contributions via Pegasus to twswombat

The opinions expressed in Wombat are not necessarily those of the Editor, although you never know...

Monday 1st November 1993

45/93

## Big Mistake

Marty Branagan

Mistake State Forest is a magical moonlit mixture of Old Growth Forests (OGFs) and rainforest recovering from the onslaught of the British invasion. It rides the ridges from the Great Divide almost to the sea, towering above the denuded plains and smoky cities of the coast. It contains 2140 ha of OGFs, 1800 of which State Forests (SF) plan to log.

It is the home of at least 24 endangered species, including koalas, spotted tailed quolls, yellow-bellied gliders, sooty owls, sphagnum frogs, rufous scrub birds, parma wallabies, lung nosed potoroos and rare bats. I have just returned from a month in 'The Mistake' - a name which aptly describes its continued logging.

At least 5 different environment groups have been involved there, in scientific surveys, media work and what has variously been described as a Stockade and an Enforcement Action. Ecologists (such as Potts and Oulson) trapped in the forests since early this year have verified the OGF's importance, with occasional sightings of koalas, spotted-tailed quolls, glossy black cockatoos and other rare fauna. An amended harvest plan for Compartment 357 was submitted to SF, in which areas of OGF brushbox were added to the wildlife corridor, filter strips widened and further koala surveys were to be done by experts. This was rejected out of hand by regional SF boss, Kayson.

We moved swiftly into blockade mode, on the grounds that the National Forests Policy Statement was being violated. This policy, signed by Keating, Fahy and all other Premiers except Tasmania's, calls for a moratorium on the logging of OGFs until they have been comprehensively surveyed. Other motives were the threat to endangered species, further damage to rainforest gullies, and the continuation of erosion due to logging of steep slopes (up to 35 degrees). According to the South Arm Catchment Protection Group: "It is crazy that Landcare groups with government funding are working on river bank restoration projects downstream at Taylor's Arm, while a government department, State Forests, continues creating the problems by their upstream activities". There is also violation of the International Greenhouse Convention to which Australia is a signatory (ANZEC, 1990). This and the Federal Government's Resource Assessment Commission call for the restoration of OGFs as a major way of combating the rise in greenhouse gases.

Still further factors were the almost total absence of liaison between SF and the local Koori community, particularly the traditional custodians, the Ombabgengeric people. Mistake is a very significant to them, with mountains sacred to wintamin and areas to which the Clevermen retreated for medications and rituals prior to British occupation. There are sacred sites, bore rings and marked trees. The investigation and protection of these sites - supposedly part of SF policy - has not occurred. A Koori Embassy/United Nations camp has been established on Bowra/Sugarloaf Mountain. They fully support the Stockade, and it's great to see the Koori/conservation alliance continuing to blossom. With so much in common, hopefully there will be a synergistic effort of joint action here, with the Bundjalung Alliance on the coast, and with the Starcke elders/TWS confluence on Cape York. An end is long overdue to gubba maltreatment of this ancient land.

We moved the Stockade focus from the Embassy down to Dead Man's Gully Rd, a creepy place to be alone at night I can assure you. We strengthened our solar-powered radio/mobile phone communications network. We built a kitchen, pantry and numerous humpies. We dug compost holes and sleepers. We set up inpods and bopods, dug trenches and personholes, concreted 'dragons' into the road, flew the land rights colours and erected barricades and barriers. We assembled padlocks, chains, safety belts and iron tubes, ready to lock on! We established secret camps, and stashes of supplies and equipment in anticipation of the State locking up the forests for the short term economic gain of a few wealthy corporations. People poured in overnight. Camp became one long informal meeting, with child-minding, wintamin's self-defence workshops, gourmet vego meals and the daily constant on the boil. Media releases were worked out fanatically and put out. We prayed for rain, and got it.

It should be noted that as usual, the majority of Stockadeers were the much-maligned non-aligned 'locals'. They maintained a presence over many a bleak week, living on the breadline and with minimal comforts. Without them, the Stockade would almost certainly have collapsed, and SF would have wreaked eco-havoc virtually unimpeded.

Experienced campaigners like Rob climbed ripods and prepared for a nerve-wracking stay. Contractors had left a dozer nearby, ready to trash the compartment. Like a rug, I volunteered to lock-on, and after a dawn billy at (Secret) Sunrise Camp, padlocked my hands inside a pipe section that was wrapped around the dozer's axle, just as the contractors arrived.

They freaked, and went off to get the police. The police, however, never arrived, probably because they had already wrecked 2 vehicles - one a spanking new 4 wheel, drive - in smashing out the Embassy. Another possible reason is that the Green movement has come of age, and our dedication is now matched by our level of organisation. Recently productive meetings have been held between greens, deforesters and police, an initiative of the latter to resolve forest conflicts more smoothly. The police simply can't afford to prop up the continued destruction of the forests by big business, given the widespread public opposition to it.

We held the deforesters until Monday 26th September, when National Parks and Wildlife Service and SF were allowed into the compartment to survey it. Surprise, surprise, I'd been to school with one of the NPWS guys. In the afternoon we gave them a guided tour of koala habitats and remnant OGFs deserving of retention. After some deliberation they agreed to most of our original harvest plan amendments. Celebration time! It was also Spring Equinox, and the great journey (largely paying out on Artoo and Ewok, younger members of the Bowra Action Tribe) and fabulous live music until the wee hours, under the huge moon that sprinkled through the wise old forest.

It was great that we would move out of the compartment. Official TWS policy calls for an end to all logging of native forests, and that there is no room for compromise. In theory this is spot on. The actuality of Mistake was that Siruan and myself were the only Tweezers involved at ground level, from Armidale branch or anywhere. Our presence helped to save

**Appendix 6**

**Legality of Jabiluka uranium mine: email from Karl-Eric Paasonen (2004 pers.comm., 15 December).**

...[T]he mismatch between the actual legal situation and activists' understanding of the situation is one of the most noticeable aspects of the conflict.

The Aboriginal Land Rights (NT) Act 1976 created the Land Councils to act as intermediaries between TOs and mining companies/government. Below I include a bit from a draft of mine (just to speed things up). Justice Fox in the Fox report had noted that Aboriginal opposition was continuous and strong.

“The response to this of the Coalition federal government was to amend the Aboriginal Land Rights Act. The original Act required that traditional owners had to give their permission before the Ranger uranium mine (or any other mining project) could proceed. This was subsection 40 (1). However the amendment inserted a further clause, subsection 40(6) of the Aboriginal Land Rights Act, which says:

If the land, or part of the land, described in Schedule 2, being the land known as the Ranger Project Area, becomes Aboriginal land, subsection (1) does not apply in relation to that land, or that part of the land.

In other words, the Ranger lease was excised from the jurisdiction of the Act. Traditional owners never had the opportunity to reject this mine, neither directly nor through the Northern Land Council: all they could do was negotiate over royalties [Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation, 1997 #107]

The fact of this legal excision of Ranger was mentioned in the set of fact-sheets distributed nationally, but not in any detail (Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation 1998a, Sheet 2); but the legal background to Ranger *was* discussed in more detail in ‘The Duress Document’ [...] which was also distributed nationally.”

There was also a legislative change with regard to Jabiluka, though the effects of this were harder to confirm, it seems:

“The process with regard to Jabiluka was different. Jabiluka was not directly covered by the terms of the Fox Report. The proponent, Pancontinental Mining [...] was keen to proceed as soon as possible. Under the *ALRA*, two factors came into play. The first of these was that of Aboriginal involvement. For this, lands needed to be granted to an Aboriginal Lands Trust. If that happened, the second factor came into play: namely, the need for mining proponents to gain permission of traditional owners via the Northern Land Council. Leases that had been granted before the date the *ALRA* came into effect did not need traditional owner permission under the requirements of the Act. Parts of the area that later came to be known as the Jabiluka lease were covered by this exemption, but since no application covering the whole lease was made until 1977, the issue arose of the relationship between the Land Trust that traditional owners were attempting to establish and the claims of Pancontinental. The result was a drawn out negotiation process over several years, a process that Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation have dubbed ‘duress’. The NLC, the Commonwealth and ERA have continually asserted that the traditional owners gave



## Appendix 6

permission in 1982 for the Jabiluka mine to proceed, and claim that they have satisfied the requirements of the *ALRA*. Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation claim differently. They claim that the agreement was made by the NLC and the company and forced upon the traditional owners, and that to expedite this

(t)he Australian Government amended the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act [...]* in 1980 so that mining agreements would stand even if it could be proved that informed consent was not given. (Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation 1999, 34-35; Senate of Australia 1999, 5.62)

The relevant text from the *ALRA* is at Section 11A(6):

Where a Land Council, in entering into an agreement under subsection (2), fails to comply with subsection (3), that failure does not invalidate the entry by the Land Council into that agreement.(Commonwealth of Australia 1976)

In other words the insertion of this clause in 1980, some two years before the conclusion of the Agreement between the NLC and Pancontinental, effectively removed the requirement that consultation between the NLC and the Mirrar have any substance at all.

Appendix 7

'New directions' document, 2 November 1998, Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation, Jabiru, Northern Territory.

1. JAG groups are requested by the Gundjehmi Aboriginal Corporation to ensure that their activities **primarily focus** on **directly** benefiting the Mirrar fight for survival. In this way JAG groups are requested to **adopt a project-driven** Aboriginal human rights focus.

"Directly" does not mean activating public dissent about uranium mining and therefore benefiting all people including the Mirrar.

"Directly" does not mean conducting a rally or action. Rallies and actions are viewed as mechanisms in gathering support amongst people who can then conduct activities which directly benefit the Mirrar. This does not mean 'do not conduct rallies or actions' rather do not conduct ONLY rallies or actions. As a component of an overall campaign rallies and actions can be used very effectively. Utilise the numbers generated at rallies to recruit campaigners, encourage people to do more for Mirrar than turn up to a rally once a month. (Just turning up to a rally does not directly benefit Mirrar.)

"Directly" does include conducting, performing and completing research tasks at the direction of the Mirrar.

"Directly" does mean achieving official/financial support from trade unions for the Mirrar (as opposed to support for the anti-uranium campaign)

"Directly" does mean raising funds which are directly transmitted to the Mirrar. The proposal is to have a 70% to Mirrar 30% to JAG split. This is entirely negotiable and need not be an across the board figure. Individual JAGs are invited to propose variations on this if they prefer.

"Directly" does mean creating regional groups which can further conduct activities which directly benefit the Mirrar.

2. It is correct to conceptualise Jabiluka Action Groups as Mirrar Support Groups rather than Anti-Uranium Mining, pro-Kakadu or even Anti-Jabiluka Mine Groups. That is to incorporate the fight against the Jabiluka mine within the broader objectives of the Mirrar Support Network.

3. If all members in a particular JAG do not wish to primarily focus on directly supporting the Mirrar in the manner described above they should dissolve.

## Appendix 7

4. If some members in a particular JAG do not wish to primarily focus on directly supporting the Mirrar in the manner described above they should leave the JAG and allow those who do wish to work in this manner to maintain the JAG. There are groups in existence working on the issue of uranium and the expansion of that industry in Australia such as the Friends of the Earth Anti-Uranium. Collective. These groups are where some people may prefer to put their energies. We respect this choice and wish those activists well.

5. Groups which do not primarily focus on directly supporting the Mirrar in the manner described above but continue to operate under the JAG name will be disendorsed and will no longer function with the support of the Mirrar.

6. The existing endorsement process will remain in place.

7. JAGs are encouraged to appoint coordinators to liaise with G.A.C. Please consider doing this soon and let GAC know who these people are so that a functional communication system can be put in place.

### **8. Where to from here?**

\* Find out who in your group wants to directly support Mirrar as their prime focus - restructure accordingly.

\* Arrive at one or more suggestions for projects/areas of expertise which your JAG can offer to directly benefit the Mirrar.

\* Send these offers in writing to the Guudjehmi Aboriginal Corporation.

\* Work with G.A.C. to shape and progress these offers.

\* Conduct outreach work (including utilising rallies/actions, public education etc.) to draw in a wider membership based on a Aboriginal human rights perspective

\* Work with other JAGs conducting similar projects to your own.

\* Complete and evaluate projects with G-A-C.

## Appendix 7

### **Some Examples of Projects Required to Support the Mirrar Fight**

- \* International Legal Research Team
- \* International United Nations Agency Research Team
- \* International NGO Liaison Team
- \* International Fundraising Team
- \* Domestic Fundraising Team
- \* Trade Union Liaison Team
- \* Council of Churches Liaison Team
- \* Economic Risk Analysis Research Team
- \* Hydrology Research Team
- \* Geology Research Team
- \* Actuarial Research Team
- \* Legal Research Team
- \* Surburban and Regional Outreach Team
- \* Political Party Liaison Team
- \* Gundjehmi Webmaster/mistress
- \* Direct Action Identification & Gundjehmi Liaison Team
- \* Graphic Art and Design Team
- \* Multi-Media Advisory Team
- \* Health and Medical Advisory Team

## Appendix 8

**Article by Ciaron O'Reilly in *Nonviolence Today*, no. 61, January/February 1999, pp. 3-4.**

## Action

3

## Taking Bail, Remaining Vigilant

*In the early hours of Sunday morning, August 9, 1998 (the 53rd anniversary of the bombing of Nagasaki), Ciaron O'Reilly and Treena Lenthall carried out the nonviolent disarmament of uranium mining equipment on Energy Resources Australia's Jabiluka lease in the Northern Territory of Australia.*

*On Monday December 14, the pair were convicted and sentenced. The magistrate sentenced the pair to the two week mandatory sentence for Criminal Damage. The magistrate ruled that they had already served this time and so were not required to return to gaol. They were also ordered to jointly pay court costs of \$1,415 and restitution of \$5,258, and given one month to pay. They stated that they had no intention of paying and face a further sixty-six days imprisonment in default of payment.*

After five and seven weeks as remand prisoners, Treena and I took bail. The population of the women's jail had passed maximum capacity and the lists of transfers to Alice Springs (1,200 kms away) were on the wall. Darwin being a small (60,000) isolated (2,000 miles to the nearest city, Brisbane) town with little familiarity with Ploughshares, the movement bureaucrats having denounced us and with our oversight of putting any other support in place to organise jail & court solidarity, coming out pretrial to organise was the only option.

The jail experience is a totalitarian one, when you're in you're very very in and when you're out you're very very out! Sitting here this morning surrounded by tropical gardens with lots of options it feels like I was never in. I know after a few days of returning to the old cell block it will feel like I was never out. The human psyche has an amazing capacity for denial as a means of coping with trauma. This probably goes a ways to explaining why there isn't a strong vibrant social movement of ex-prisoners

demanding justice in our prison system. It probably goes a long ways to explaining a lot of things! How does one remain vigilant, awake, while there is so much geared to our sedation and distraction?? This is one of the big questions for radical discipleship in the First World context.

I was released on the eve of the national elections in which the conservative government was returned and the Labor leader Beazley seemed pretty happy about not winning. I assumed the ALP would have sold out the anti-nuke movement as they did in '83 - but we didn't get to find out this time. Since the election the single issue, anti-Jabiluka campaign has been downsized by its leadership which has requested that Jabiluka Action Groups (JAG) no longer identify themselves as "anti-uranium" but as solely support groups for the "human rights of the traditional owners (Mirrar)." Taking the anti-nuclear dimension out of the campaign sounds like setting the scene for a sell-out or committing political suicide. Why would sympathetic people in the cities prioritise the human rights of the Mirrar (twenty-seven people) when they have indigenous human rights struggles a lot closer to their homes or more serious violations (detentions, torture, killings by Indonesian troops) just a little north of here in East Timor and West Papua. All

this remains a mystery to me; as I'm sure we remain a mystery to them!

We moved into a Darwin house of East Timor solidarity activists. I've been sleeping on a verandah under a mosquito net with a fan going, surrounded by palm, bamboo and tropical vegetation. The place crawls with life - geckos on the ceiling, frog in the toilet bowl, snake in the laundry, frilly lizards in the backyard. The house shares a fence with 140-strong Aboriginal housing estate containing many and varied language and clan groups.

The vibe of Darwin is very indigenous, very Asian with a chunk of hardcore white siege mentality reaction to these realities. Growing up on the east coast I was under the geo-delusion we were located somewhere mid-Atlantic with the U.S. & U.K. as our terms of reference. In Darwin, one definitely has the feeling that Australia is a lot older than 200 years and is located in an Asian neighbourhood.

In some ways the indigenous community is the most integrated in Australia. In other ways the indigenous poverty is more extreme than any state capital, folks suffering from a fast forward cultural displacement compacted by predictable alcoholism and homelessness. The long

grass folks live and die in Third World conditions in the precincts of suburban Darwin. The Fish Camp mob squat on some land in the landing flight path of the local airport, the visual contrast as one of these international flights comes in is striking. We were privileged to attend their flag-raising ceremony as they replaced an old land rights flag with a new one. The ceremony, the dance, the singing, the weeping were so intense complemented by a thunderstorm. It was a scene full of pathos, spirituality, dignity, struggle and from which I am still reeling.

The scale of Darwin lends itself to familiarity - you become quite familiar to people in the streets and they to you. It is truly amazing how many former fellow prisoners and prison officers we run into downtown. Yesterday, we ran into a senior officer who told us that due to our activism while on remand that fans and televisions have been installed in all the men's remand cells and the transfers of Top End women prisoners to Alice Springs has been halted. So a couple of small victories!!

Three times a week we have been maintaining a vigil outside the Department of Mines & Energy in downtown Darwin with a litany of observations and demands... "Nuclear Weapons Kill," "Nuclear Waste Kills," "Depleted Uranium Kills," "Close Ranger," "Stop Jabiluka" and "Stop Uranium Shipments." To vigil is to remain awake while society slumbers to surrounding peril. We are joined by Vaughn (who has worked at uranium mines), and Stuart Highway (a local anarchist whose pseudonym leads straight out of town!). Our interactions with passers-by are many and varied. Former fellow prisoners, blockaders wanting to know more about our action, a former "Mother Teresa brother" who used to volunteer at the Catholic Worker Kitchen in L.A. a guy who went to school with my brother, supportive church folks, our arresting officer from mid-July trespass at Jabiluka, an old man with throat cancer who cannot speak takes time to give us the finger!

We host a "Film Festival Celebrating Nonviolent Resistance" in downtown Darwin one evening. Over 200 folks at-

tend to see Robin Taubenfield's fine one hour video on the Jabiluka Blockade "Minds & Energy" the latest "Undercurrents" from the U.K.; Neil Goodwin's documentary video on the "Seeds of Hope Ploughshares" Trial in Liverpool (Eng.) following the \$3m disarmament of a British Aerospace Hawk Fighter being sold to Indonesia; and Zippy's recent fifteen minute video explaining our Jabiluka Ploughshares action. It was a great night.

Last year on the anniversary of the Dili Massacre I was with a group of East Timorese and English folks vigilling through a freezing night outside British Aerospace military aircraft factory in northern England. This year I was at the closest point to East Timor in the humidity of Darwin outside the huge Indonesian consulate. The genocide in East Timor is so close. It is the same distance to this point of the Australian mainland as the Martin Bryant's rampage at Port Arthur, Tasmania was to Melbourne. Statistically the genocide in East Timor is equal to those thirty-five killings on a daily basis over the twenty-year period of Indonesian occupation. The Australian government's response to the Bryant atrocity was to outlaw semi-automatics and buy back a huge amount of privately held weapons at great political cost to itself (eg. the growth of "One Nation"). The government's response to the same atrocity on a daily basis for twenty years at a similar distance to the mainland was to train to the Indonesian military perpetrators in killing efficiency. That is the difference between high crime and low crime, state sanctioned murder and those who mimic without a license.

Thirty East Timorese and solidarity activists gathered outside the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin to mark the seventh anniversary of the Dili Massacre. We built a shrine to the dead with candles, a flood of plants and flowers, with the centrepiece of a traditional East Timorese sword resting on a shroud with the names of the dead woven into it. A huge East Timorese flag was carried as well as signs demanding the release of political prisoners.

The liturgy was lead by Darwin-based East Timorese elder Veronica Miam who

grieved, admonished the consulate and prayed in her traditional language. Jose Gusmao (Xanana's cousin), whose two sons, brothers and father had been killed by the Indonesian military led the protest. He spoke passionately about the sufferings of his people. We also reflected on Western complicity in, and nonviolent resistance to, the genocide in East Timor. We remembered the courage of Max Stahl, Russell & Saskia in smuggling out the footage of the massacre and alerting the world. Footage of our demonstration was carried around Australia and South East Asia on "Australian Television International."

In the evening over eighty members of the East Timorese community gathered at a Darwin Catholic church for a mass remembering the dead. Over 10,000 East Timorese crowded into the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to remember the massacre with prayer and reenactment. This followed a memorial mass celebrated by Bishop Belo at the Cathedral. Footage of both these events was carried nationally on Australian television. This was the first year since the massacre that the residents of Dili have been able to mourn the massacre victims publicly on the anniversary.

Meanwhile in London my Maubere, Scouse and Anglo brothers & sisters were taking the message to the Indonesian Embassy. This week before court we will head back to Jabiluka, the scene of the crime, check out the beauty of Kakadu and prepare for the next step on this witness. Many thanks for keeping us company.

*Ciaran O'Reilly*

- Ciaran and Treena would like to thank all who supported them during their time in prison
- If you would like to receive a booklet about the Jabiluka Ploughshares action and trial, send a request to c/- O'Reilly's, 36 Elbury St, Mitchelton, Brisbane Qld 4053. Phone (07) 3355 0384
- You can order the Jabiluka Ploughshares video by sending a \$10 cheque to Grant Focas, PO Box 693, Lismore NSW 2480.
- Look at the Jabiluka Ploughshares website: <http://www.freespeech.org/ploughshares>

**NVT**

## Appendix 9

### John Howard's "I have a Dream!" speech (delivered via puppet to National Tertiary Education Union rally at the University of New England, 1 June 2005)

My foolish er that is to say my fellow Austrayins, I'm very excited to be here today at this rally of young liberals for the monarchy, or to use their full title: Spoilt little rich kids for an undemocratic outmoded system of governance, whereby power is passed down from God Himself to her maggoty er majesty, and some of that power is then passed down to her objects er subjects such as myself, which is why I have values whereas teachers in public schools don't have any.

And I hope you will later join with me in a rousing rendition of God Save the Queen, which is my favourite song after the Carnival is Over, which it certainly is in this country thanks to me. Indeed my colleagues and I often sing those very songs in the party room when we're relaxing in exciting Canberra after a hard day of dismantling universities and destroying unions. There's Abbot and Costello, who are a barrel of laughs, and Amanda Vanstoneage who brings a flagon of millon dollar paralytic port paid for by the public, which we all guzzle liberally, except for Downer who's usually taking uppers and playing with stockings in the corner. But sometimes we get a bit rowdy, and just last night I spilled some port on Mr Rabbit's suit – don't worry, it wasn't his paternity suit – and he said to me I think you should apologise for that Mr Prime Meanie Stirrer. And I said "no blooming way, **I never say sorry**. Never ever!" And he said 'Is that an ironclad rock-solid promise?' and I said 'Have you seen Cardinal Pell lately?', and we had a good old guffaw about some children who've been in detention centres for four years. I tell you what, forget about Costello, when I get downstairs Old Lucifer is going to have an almighty leadership battle on his hands!

Speaking of the vile stench of corruption, I would like to congratulate my young colleagues here at UNESA who have bribed, lied, cheated, and vilified their way into power, and then silenced dissent and imposed an extreme right wing agenda. They have learnt well from me and have a great future in my party. I thank them especially for supporting Anti-Student Organisation Legislation, better known as ASOL.

But as much as I love power...walking, Mr Speaker, I have a dream... a dream of a meaner colder Austraya, which is balanced by the global warming which I am actively encouraging, along with Mr Carr. I have a dream of smashing all unions – the NTEU, PSA, CPSU, NUS, the Australian Rugby Union, because unionists are the evil henchmen of Stalin. They would have us eating our babies, and surrounding everything in red tape, unlike in Austraya under the GST, public liability requirements and the 33 000 pages of new legislation I have created. And if we worried about unfair dismissals, Gough Whitlam would still be in office, pushing free education and other communist nonsense.

There's been a great kerfuffle about workplace relations: but it's simply not right that some people should use their office to engage in sexual shenanigans. And this is a matter my wonderful wife Jane – er, Jean - something like that – has attempted to raise time & again without success. And unions tell us that the govment only provides

40% of university spending, yet wants to control 100% of workplace relations. Well so what? Who cares? We only got 50% of the vote but we control 100% of the country, we control your campus so you ferals can go and fu-nd yourselves! Indeed if Mr Downer had his way we would control the entire southern hemisphere, and he'd still be fighting for freedom in Vietnam. Well not Mr Downer personally, because he went to a private school and has values, but unimportant young poor people. And Mr Downer is not a blanc mange as some have suggested. He is in fact a creme brulee with pink jelly, but **he's not as soft as Menzies was!**

Yes Ladies and Ferals, I have a dream, actually it's more like a nightmare, where I will decide how much money you peasants get. You can't have your yellowcake and eat it too. Bring back the 80 hour week! Reintroduce child labour and conscription and the workhouse! Bring back Aboriginal slavery and the White Austraya policy and feudalism and *le droit de seigneur* for Prime Meanie-Stirrers!

And secondly, at the end of the day and compassion etc etc etc, and fourthly at this point in times of going overboard with the truth and gobbledegook and blah blah blah and keep the dream alive and so on and so forth. Finally Mr Speaker, I would like to address the scurrilous allegations made by the ideology-issuing pseudo-proletarians of the gay BC, with regard to military intelligence and weapons of massive distraction. Mr Speaker, when I decided to help the Iraqi people establish a democratic system of governance such as our own, whereby power is passed down from God Himself etc etc, help them that is by bombing the shifting spanner out of them, when I made that decision Mr Speaker I had no intelligence whatsoever. I still have no intelligence and am unlikely to ever have any, even at the end of the day. So as that famous joint paper by Albert Einstein and George Orwell may or may not have said, all truth is relative<sup>1</sup>, but war is definitely peace!

Marty Branagan 1 June 2005

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper also made the point that the further one travels from reality, the more one can bend the truth.



**Appendix 10**

**Artists With Social Change Agenda or Contents**

Internationally

Avant garde, social realists, dadaists, surrealists, situationists, yippies, Nina Simone, Frieda Kahlo, Woody Guthrie, Marcel Du Champ, Bertold Brecht, Pablo Picasso, John Heartfield, Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Ursula Le Guin, Joan Baez, Dario Fo, Bob Dylan, Pablo Neruda, Mitchell, Beuys, Tracey Chapman, Philip Glass, Michael Franti, Jenny Holzer, Rita Donagh, Immendorf, Wodiczko, Mona Hartoum, Sakoguchi, Romero, Judy Chicago, Sembene, Jamaal, Youhan, Gerz, Nancy Spero.

Australia

**Painters**

Bronwyn Bancroft, Lin Onus, Bergner, Counihan, George Gittoes, NT Yirrkala bark painters, Arthur and David Boyd, Albert Namatjirra, Margaret Preston, Whitely, Clifton Pugh, Daphne Wallace, Wendy Sharpe, Bennett

**Musicians**

Tiddas, LJ Hill, Warumpi Band, Yothu Yindi, Kev Carmody, Judy Small, Penelope Swales, Midnight Oil, Tree Los Lantana, Paul Kelly, Ted Egan, Coloured Stone, John Seed, Jarrah

**Actors**

Bob Maza  
Rachael Maza

**Playwrights**

Louis Nowra  
David Williamson

**Photographers**

Tracey Moffat  
Peter Dumbrovskis  
Olegas Truchana

**Children's Books**

Dailan Pugh  
Tohby Riddle

**Circus Acts**

Circus Oz

**Film-Makers**

Rachel Perkins  
Rabbit Proof Fence  
Jedda  
One Night the Moon  
Barbecue Area

**Cartoonists**

Mary Leunig  
Michael leunig  
Kaz Cook  
Bruce Petty

**Poets**

Meg Vivers  
Michael Sharkey

**Performance Art**

Benny Zables

**Writers**

Helen Garner  
James McQueen  
Frank Hardy  
Germaine Greer

**Dancers**

Bangarra Dance Company  
Robbie Griffen

**Artists Who Have Used Their Fame in Social Change Movements**

Peter Garrett, Roger Woodward, Paul Robeson, Jane Fonda, Robert Redford, Bob Geldof, Bono...