Conclusion

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 Voge 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\(^1\) (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.\(^2\)

\[\text{Figure 147: Yin Yang symbol.}\]

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 though their holistic and

\(^1\) 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).

\(^2\) 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.

402
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.³

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

³ 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\(^4\), 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

\(^4\) See O’Dowd (2003) for the connection between genocide and vegetation clearing.
Conclusion

Aboriginal people\(^5\) 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 lifestyles’ 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\(^6\). 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’\(^7\) (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,

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\(^5\) 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.

\(^6\) See also Galtung’s (1971) work on centres/peripheries.

\(^7\) The Latin root of ‘civil’ is cìvis, 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 nonviolence⁶. 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).

\[8\] Principled and pragmatic nonviolence were discussed in sections 4.5.1 and 4.7.1.
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*\(^9\) 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**

\(^9\) ‘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 shop¹⁰ nearly always makes the news

¹⁰ 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).
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.
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Appendix 1

Anzacs 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
Appendix 1

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 Lendiari,
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


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


The Wombat

WEEKLY NEWSLETTER OF THE WILDERNESS SOCIETY

The Wombat is for internal TWS circulation only.
No copy of Wombat contributions is to be published by newspapers.

The opinions expressed in Wombat are not necessarily those of the Editor, although you may think they are.

Monday 1st November 1993

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Big Mistake
Marty Branagan

Mistake State Forest is a marginal rainforest remnant of Old Growth Forests (OGF) remaining unlogged from the onslaught of the British invasion. It rides the fringes from the Great Dividing Range to the sea, surrounding the demarcated plant and forest areas of the coast. It is made of 2,190 ha of OGF, 1,600 of which State Forests (SF) plan to log.

It is home to at least 26 endangered species, including koalas, southern tailess quolls, yellow-bellied gliders, onion snails, epiphyllum frogs, fungus-shovelling beetles, parma wallabies, long-nosed bandicoot and rare bats. These have just returned from a crouch in “The Mistake” - a name which aptly describes its concealed location.

At least 5 different environment groups have been involved in scientific surveys, media work and legal actions to save Mistake State Forest. Ecologists such as Peter and Linda camped in the forest and early this year have verified the OGF’s uniqueness, with occasional sightings of koalas, southern tailess quolls, glossy black cockatoos and other rare fauna. An amended harvest plan for Coorong Forest has added to SF, in which area of OGF bushland was added to the ecological corridor. Other groups widened and further Koala movements are to be done by experts. This was praised out of hand by explaining SF bands, Rupert.

We received some into blossom mode, on the grounds that the National Forest Policy Statement was being validated. This policy, signed byanning, Fawcett and all others promises change Tasmania, calls for a moratorium on the logging of OGF until they have been comprehensively surveyed. Other actions were the threat to endangered species, further damage to rainforest gullies, and the continuation of erosion due to logging in upstairs sections. As many sections as possible to be converted to a forest reserve. A letter from the United Nations groups with governments to be working on various basic conservation projects downwards to Taylor’s Arm, where a government is present. Forests, extensive corridor design and the protection of wildlife are key goals.

SF Forests, Forests for Wilderness and the Wilderness Conservation Group were also invited to the International Conference on Conservation at the Karachi Conference. The meeting has been held between green, forest reserves and plans, as far as we have to reduce forest fires for forest conservation purposes.

SF Forests are to be lifted out of green patches. OGF are the most “green” plants in the world.

The national forests are the main source of timber for logging, and with no stations in place to help ensure these forests are not logged, the situation is critical. The situation is deteriorating, with over 70% of OGF forests being logged in the past two years. We are not taking any chances.

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Appendix 6


...[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
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

(1)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


1. JAG groups are requested by the Gundjeemi 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 Guijdjehmi 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
* Suburban 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
Taking Bail, Remaining Vigilant

In the early hours of Sunday morning, August 9, 1998 (the 53rd anniversary of the beheading of Nagasaki), Ciaran O'Reilly and Zrenna Lenthall carried out the nonviolent dismantlement 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 two weeks' mandatory sentence for Criminal Damage. The magistrate ruled that they had already served this time and were not required to return to court. They were also ordered to jointly pay court costs of $1,415 and restitution of $2,258, and given one month to pay. They stated that they had no intention of paying and face a further six-to-six days imprisonment in default of payment.

After five and seven weeks as remand prisoners, Zrenna 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) rule of the nearest city, Brisbane) town with little familiarity with Pughsharers, 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??

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 (twelve-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 150-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 wins meat mortality 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
Appendix 8

Three times a week we have been maintaining a vigil outside the Department of Mins & Energy in downtown Darwin with a litany of observations and demands... "Nuclear Weapons Kill." "Nuclear Waste Kills." "Depleted Uranium Kills." "Close Rangers." "Stop Jabiru." and "Stop Uranium Shipments." To vigil is to remain awake while society slumbers to surrounding peril. We are joined by Vaughan (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 LA, a guy who went to school with my brother, supportive church folks, our arresting officer from mid-July trespass at Jabiru, 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 attend to see Robin Taubenheim's fine one hour video on the Jabiru Blockade "Minin & 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 Zappy's recent fifteen minute video explaining our Jabiru 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 the Indonesian military perpetrators in killing efficiency. That is the difference between high crime and low crime, state sanctioned murder and those who eschew without a license. Thirty East Timorese 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 reeling on a plaid 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 Vonniea Mian who

graced, admonished the consulate and prayed in her traditional language. Jose Gusmao (Xarnara's cousin), whose two sons, brothers and father had been killed by the Indonesian military led the process. 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 & Saska 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 remembrance. 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 Manber, Sioucs and Anglo brothers & sisters were taking the message to the Indonesian Embassy. This week before court we will head back to Jabiru, 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 Terena would like to thank all who supported them during their time in prison.
• If you would like to receive a book about the Jabiru Ploughshares action and trial, send a request to C.O'Reilly, V6 Elbury St, Mitchelton, Brisbane Qld 4053. Phone (07) 3355 0384.
• You can order the Jabiru Ploughshares videos by sending a $10 cheque to Grant Projects, PO Box 693, Lismore NSW 2480.
• Look at the Jabiru Ploughshares website: http://www.freeppech.org/ploughshares.
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 Australians, 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 million 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 government 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-n-d 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 gobbledygook 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 relative¹, but war is definitely peace!

Marty Branagan 1 June 2005

¹ This paper also made the point that the further one travels from reality, the more one can bend the truth.
Appendix 10

Appendix 10

Artists With Social Change Agenda or Contents

Internationally

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…