<u>WARNING</u>

Aboriginal and Torres Straits Islander people are warned that this document contains photographs and names of people who may now be deceased.

PART ONE

'The more there is of real revolution the less there is of violence; the more violence, the less of revolution.'
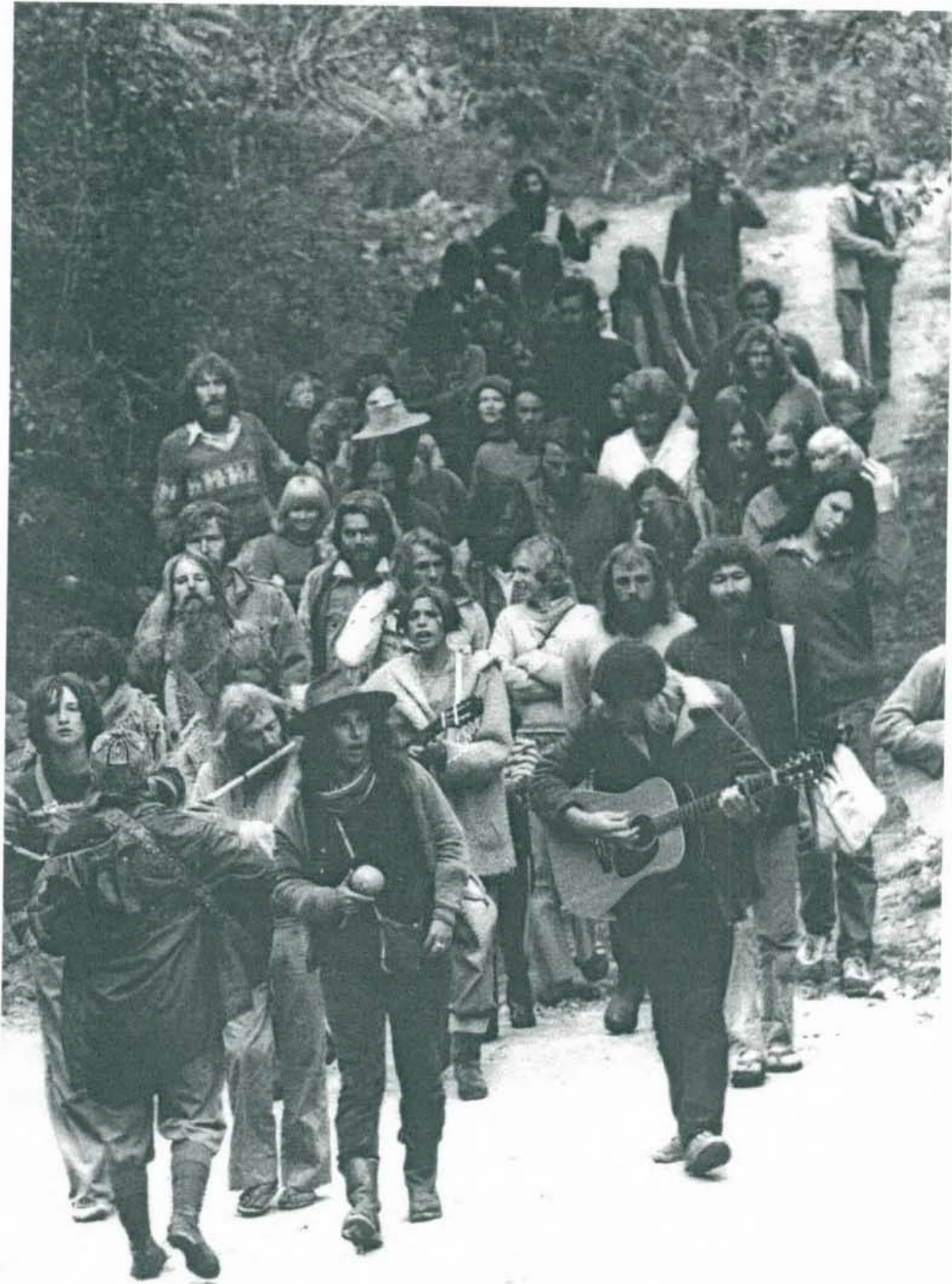Barthelemy de Ligt (quoted in Larson & Micheels-Cyrus 1986:133).

Figure 3: Musicians lead protest over rainforest logging.

chapter one

INTRODUCTION

1.1   INTRODUCTION

The rationale for the thesis is presented in this chapter. The objectives of the thesis are outlined, and six major questions or groups of questions to be addressed are presented. After an introduction to the methodology, there is a description of the thesis structure, and an outline of each chapter and how it addresses particular questions.

1.2   RATIONALE

Despite much evidence of its effectiveness, nonviolence has not gained widespread recognition by the public or the media, with the success of major campaigns being attributed to their leaders or some ill-defined 'people power' (Summy 2000:4-5). Yet nonviolence is a key element in successful social change. It creates long-term solutions, whereas violent change often creates as many problems as it solves (Young 1990:217-220). It has been practiced for thousands of years (Fang 1997:73; Woito 1997:358), being successful in resolving interpersonal conflicts (Peavey 2000:340-343), and on the macro-level in toppling brutal regimes throughout the world (Ackermann and Duvall 2000). Nonviolence could thus be used far more widely, to reduce injustice, poverty, environmental destruction, war and other forms of violence, but this partly requires that its successes are publicised and analysed. This thesis is, in part, an attempt to do just that, by exposing and analysing the role of nonviolence in a number of Australian protest campaigns.

Effective use of nonviolence also requires a thorough knowledge of what nonviolence is, its strengths, its weaknesses, and how the weaknesses can be rectified. What is the best way to come up with such theory?

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"Practice precedes theory", writes Canadian anarchist Sandra Jeppeson (2004:para 6). This thesis has risen directly from my practice as a long-term activist in Australian protests. It is an attempt to address a number of questions that arose from this practice. In particular, it examines and engages with a version of nonviolence that has become known as 'orthodox nonviolence' (defined in Chapter Four). Much of this orthodox theory was reliant on Gandhi and Martin Luther King, whose successes in India and the United States are well-documented (see Powers & Vogele 1997). Little, however, has been written on nonviolence in Australia, particularly about campaigns that were orchestrated over the past two decades. During twenty-plus years of activism I have confronted the following questions: Where and how was nonviolence used here during that time? How successful was it? Was it changing to suit Australian situations? Is it still effective in modern times, or is it outmoded? What is its future?

This thesis also examines the questions that continually arose because many dissented from this orthodox version of nonviolence,- at first in theory and then increasingly in practice. These questions included: Was it nonviolent to chain oneself to a bulldozer so that it could not be used, or to erect and occupy a tripod on a public road? What about digging up that road and burying oneself in it? Was hiding or running from police a valid nonviolent act? And when other activists claimed these were in fact violent acts, was their word to be accepted? If they tried to stop those acts, was their authority valid? If not, were there similar situations when such authority *was* valid? Further questions that suggested themselves included: What exactly is nonviolence? Who determines this? Who are the experts, and is their word law? Are there one or many forms of nonviolence? Is nonviolence a fixed or a mutable praxis?

Major conflicts were occurring within Australian protests such as the Franklin River blockade of 1982-1983, causing division and bitterness, and reducing the protests' effectiveness. Schisms over nonviolence formed between city-based organisations and nomadic or rural ones, with other tactical differences and accusations of racism and sexism complicating the mix. I wondered what were the effects of these schisms on perceptions

and actualities of nonviolence. Did these schisms discredit and weaken all nonviolent praxis? Were some beneficial elements being thrown out with the problematic ones?

In the literature, there appeared to be a major difference between the academic writings on nonviolence, and what was actually occurring on the 'front-lines' of protest. Highly theoretical, little of this literature was written from an insiders' perspective, that is,- emanating from direct actionists[1], particularly current ones. Since the literature largely came from overseas (with a few notable exceptions – such as that of Ralph Summy, Robert Burrowes, Brian Martin and Rebecca Spence (see Chapter Four) - and dealt with different situations and different times, I wondered whether its authoritativeness had eroded somewhat. Had the practice of nonviolence changed over time? Did people now perceive it differently? Are modern needs different to past ones?

Similarly, I had observed and experienced that the arts feature in many nonviolent campaigns, yet have gained little credence as an effective tool of nonviolence. They are often mentioned in the media; for example, at the 1979 anti-logging protest at Terania Creek, NSW, the *Good Weekend* reported that

> ... bead-wearing hippies and rainbow greenies... blocked the road and played flutes, mandolins and drums. They danced, sang, wailed and chanted to the frustrated police and furious loggers wielding chainsaws and still cutting down huge trees' (Hawley, 2003:19; see Figure 3).

Yet these arts have rarely been studied in depth, particularly with regard to how they benefit nonviolence praxis. Even writers within the movement accord them little attention, while my experience has been that many activists do not consider the arts as radical, revolutionary or 'hard-core' activism. Artistic actions have therefore remained on the margins of study of activism.

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[1] Direct action differs from purely symbolic action, aiming to physically impede opponents (see Doherty et al 2003; Sharp 1973:537).

This led to further questions. Which arts have been used in recent Australian protest, by whom, and for what purposes? How effective have they been, and how can their use be systematically categorised according to nonviolence theory?

1.3   OBJECTIVES

The primary aim of this thesis is to examine the role of nonviolence in the Australian eco-pax movement (a combined environmental and peace movement described in Chapter Three), and to attempt to answer the numerous questions raised above, such as whether nonviolence has evolved. The thesis documents the struggle to understand, practice and adapt nonviolence praxis to suit modern Australian situations, focusing on the period from 1982 to 1998, with some further examination of later important actions. This period has been chosen both because it is the period of my closest involvement in activism, and because it is a period of many and successful nonviolent actions. The thesis aims to provide a detailed analysis of some significant campaigns, leading to a broad-brush overview of important developments and trends in Australian nonviolence.[2] Recurring problems are also examined and solutions suggested, in the hope of aiding further development of nonviolence.

The role of the arts in activism is examined to determine their functions in social change and for movements, and how they have benefited nonviolence praxis. A final aim of the work is to tell a story,- narrating the events and campaigns to fill some large gaps in the historical record.

The thesis thus attempts to contribute to a theoretical and historical understanding of the Australian eco-pax movement within the discipline of Peace Studies, over a period of some failures but also remarkable successes, and immense societal change[3] with regard to our perceptions of the environment. More particularly, the thesis tries to contribute to nonviolence praxis, especially as it relates to 'blockading' (see Powers & Vogele 1997:46-

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[2] Many issues must of necessity be excluded from the body of the work; some are included in appendices, others use the work as a signpost to relevant literature, or suggest further research.

48) and to the arts; it does this not from a detached academic viewpoint, but from 'real world' action research (see Robson 2002) undertaken during social change activism.

1.4   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To examine the role of nonviolence and the arts in the Australian eco-pax movement six main questions or groups of questions were framed. These are:

Broad nonviolence questions

1.   **Is nonviolence in Australia evolving? If so, how has it developed: tactically, in the areas of holism and group dynamics, and in the use of emergent technology?**

2.   **What are some of the problems Australian nonviolence praxis has encountered, and how have they been dealt with? How can they be better overcome, so that nonviolence becomes more effective and widely-used?**

3.   **How effective has nonviolence been in the Australian eco-pax movement?**

Arts question

4.   **What roles have the arts played in Australian nonviolence praxis?**

Linking question

5.   **Are there links between major nonviolence developments and the use of the arts?**

Applications question

6.   **What are the implications and possible applications of this research for nonviolence praxis, for protest movements, and for social movement research?**

As discussed below in section 1.6, these questions are answered incrementally through the case studies, with the findings crystallizing in the final four chapters. Many issues arise

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[3] I elaborate on this change in section 13.4.

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from these questions, however, so it is worth prefacing these findings now, so as to clarify the reading of this work. A primary issue involves the struggle between different groups over nonviolence tactics and technology, including the use of militant techniques to aid physically blockading. It was a struggle between 'orthodox nonviolence' and 'active resistance' (defined in Chapter Eight). Related to this struggle were issues of hierarchy versus radical democratic structures and processes, and mainstream urban groups versus more 'alternative' rural groups (Chapter Three first explores these issues).

The role of the arts in nonviolent action is another primary theme, particularly its assistance in the nonviolent process of 'conversion' (defined in section 4.6.2). The use of the arts to obtain mainstream media coverage is part of this process, as is activists' use of art-forms such as film-making (aided by new information technologies) to influence mass audiences via independent media outlets. The case studies will also show how the arts assist movement development and solidarity, and aid in the prevention of violence at protests.

Of the secondary themes, the striving of many in the movement to act in a 'holistic' fashion (defined in section 4.6.3) is important, as evidenced by their inclusion of social justice issues such as Aboriginal land rights and women's issues on their agenda as well as eco-pax issues. I also discuss the problems caused by those protestors who acted in a racist or sexist manner. Other secondary themes explored include the benefits of training and disciplined, well-articulated but flexible nonviolence, and the need for respectful communication and embracing of diversity within the movement. Learning in protest movements (including radicalisation through experiencing state repression), as well as my own personal journey, are also explored.

These many and seemingly disparate themes may be confusing at first, but this reflects both the complexity of the study area and my own feelings of overwhelming emotion, information overload and confusion during the protests, feelings which became clearer to me upon reflection. The final four chapters should bring similar clarity to the reader.

1.5   'ARE YOU EXPERIENCED?'[4]: METHODOLOGY INTRODUCTION

The field of peace studies is both relatively new and multidisciplinary, and appropriate research methods are still evolving (Fahey 1994:178-183: Spence et al 2001). It is fitting that a work on protest and the arts should employ a methodology that deviates slightly from the norm. This work presents a particular challenge, because it aims to narrate the personal journey I have made as an activist and as a peace researcher and theorist over the last four years. It also narrates the evolution of the Australian eco-pax movement, by bringing my own experiences within that movement into a critical dialogue with other accounts of the same developments, both personal and academic. On a further level, it seeks through this process to observe and reflect upon the way my own philosophy of nonviolence evolved through participating in this movement, a process that occurred contemporaneously with the wider events being described. Finally, it contributes to the academic discipline of peace studies through producing valuable insights into Australian nonviolence praxis from a relatively unique, longitudinal perspective.

As Chapter Two shows, this is an entirely valid methodology for peace studies, with a number of precedents. It also accords well with recent recommendations for research into nonviolent action by noted Australian nonviolence theorist Brian Martin (2005), who argues for more case studies, particularly those which pioneer participatory methods of research. Martin also advocates work oriented towards activists and "new areas of investigation including the role of technology, the absence as well as the presence of action, and new action arenas including cyberspace and organisational struggles" (2005:247), all of which accord with the aims of this thesis.

This insider-based research has been termed 'emic' (Kellehear 1993:21); it contrasts with 'etic' work which is done by those outside the group[5]. The thesis uses a qualitative, ethno-inductive data collection method of participant-observation as a 'complete participant' (see Kellehear 1993:21-28). The results are recorded using case studies which feature personal,

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[4] This was the name of an album by First Nation/African-American musician Jimi Hendrix.
[5] I hope to avoid a repeat of characterising, as I did in a 2002 seminar at UNE, my work as 'emetic'!

narrative accounts (primarily based on articles published at the time) of several key blockades and direct actions. These accounts are triangulated by document analysis, informal information-gathering and peer review. The document analysis is multi-disciplinary and involves other emic literature about the same and similar actions, and more theoretical or academic literature in the fields of peace studies and protest history, New Social Movement (NSM) theory, adult education and art theory. With similarities to action research, this method is better categorised as 'reflection-on-action', producing a reflective, analytical critique of the Australian eco-pax movement over twenty-one years, and eliciting applied learnings as to how to improve nonviolence praxis.

Richard Day asserts that academics "could in many cases benefit from contact with those whose learning and experience have been accrued in other realms" (2001:337; see also Conway 2002). This work takes his suggestion further, by bringing that learning and experience *directly* into the academic realm. In fact, one of the important lessons that emerges from this work is that it is precisely because there is insufficient reliance on participant-perspective writings to inform nonviolence theory that schisms appeared in the eco-pax movement. That is, the backlashes against 'nonviolence orthodoxy' were in part due to the impracticality of theory that was inappropriate, overly academic, dogmatic and out-of-touch with the realities of present-day blockading. As Chapter Eleven will show, this theory was based on actions in other countries, at other times, and with different situations, aims and actors, and was thus ill-suited for 'front-line' activism in Australia during the period examined. There was clear evidence of what David Graeber calls "a gulf between intellectuals and activists" (2002:61).

It would be difficult to rectify this chasm between theory and practice using more traditional methodologies. Academics rarely climb tripods, chain themselves onto bulldozers, sing to angry loggers, deliberately experience arrest or deliver satirical monologues to cordons of police, so how can they understand what people who do this can? How can they even know what questions to ask? Having been in the 'eye of the cyclone' as a 'feral'[6] blockader and a green bureaucrat, I can bring valuable insights to this

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[6] This term is discussed in section 3.6.

field that an etic or outsider researcher trying to enter such communities would have much more difficulty obtaining. I have seen patterns emerge through reflecting on diverse experiences at a variety of levels over two decades of intense, intimate engagement with Australian nonviolent direct action and artistic activism,

In particular, I examine major actions in which I was involved as a *complete participant*, focusing on case studies of

- the 1982-3 blockade against damming of the Franklin River in Tasmania,
- the Roxby Downs anti-uranium blockades of 1983 and 1984,
- blockades of old-growth forest logging in NSW in the 1990s, and
- the 1998 land rights blockade of the proposed Jabiluka uranium mine.

Also examined in depth are political bike rides associated with the anti-nuclear protests (1986 and 1998), and, in lesser detail, a range of other protest actions, particularly peace and rainforest protests.

1.6   SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE/CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter One includes the rationale, research questions, introduction to methodology, thesis structure and outline.

Chapter Two comprehensively explains the methodology, showing how the questions are addressed.

Chapters Three, Four and Five are introductory chapters on the Australian eco-pax movement, nonviolence and the arts. These chapters include definitions, historical backgrounds, and discussions of theory pertinent to each area. Since these areas are quite diverse, there is no overall literature review; instead, a specific literature review is incorporated in each of these chapters. **Chapter Three** sets the boundaries of the research as the Australian eco-pax movement, using Pakulski's (1991) observations. It also gives a short discussion of the key characteristics of the different organisations within the movement, so as to contextualise later discussions of the arguments between them over

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nonviolence. I also narrate how I came to be involved in the movement. There is also some description of other campaigns, to aid later discussions.

The most important introductory theoretical chapter, **Chapter Four**, sets the framework for the study. Here 'orthodox nonviolence' is defined, and its key tenets described. Resistance to this form, both traditional and incipient, is described, setting the scene for a more detailed exploration of this theme throughout the work.

The role of the arts in nonviolence praxis is the thesis' fourth focus. **Chapter Five** defines the arts and describes the main protest arts used. To provide context, some history of the use of the arts in social change and education is given, and the important theory of postmodernism is discussed.
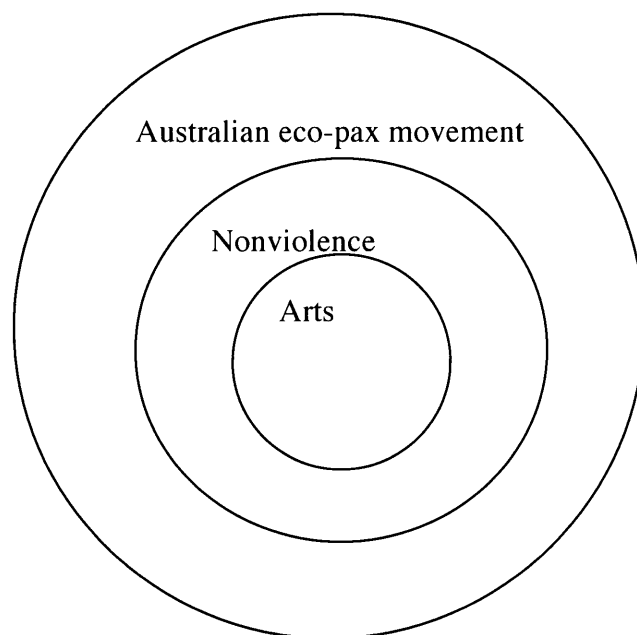
Figure 4: Shows how the introductory theoretical chapters (Chapters Three, Four and Five) set the parameters for this study, examining first the Australian eco-pax movement, then nonviolence, and then the arts' use in nonviolent social change.

The next five chapters, Chapters Six to Ten inclusive, contain case studies which describe and analyse the aforementioned campaigns[7].). The case studies introduce the literature specifically about these campaigns, and provide backgrounds to them. Then they tell the story of the actions, contextualising the later discussions on nonviolence and the arts. As the stories are related, important incidents are mentioned and relevant issues raised, which are then further discussed at the end of each case study. All five case studies show developments as well as problems in nonviolence, and give examples of artistic activism. **Chapter Six**, the first of the case studies, concerns the Franklin River blockade (FRB), where I was introduced to large-scale, organised nonviolent activism. The chapter argues that there was much dissent over the 'orthodox nonviolence' (and its enforcement) at the FRB, but also that the blockade remained virtually entirely nonviolent,- a fact which was a major contributor to the FRB's success. The unique nature of the FRB is discussed, with its success a vindication of nonviolence theory and a considerable boost to the practice of nonviolence. The role of art-forms such as singing at the FRB is also mentioned.

Chapter Seven is a case study of two uranium mine blockades at Roxby Downs (South Australia) in 1983 and 1984, as well as a protest in-between at the national Australian Labor Party conference in Canberra. An in-depth background to and rationale for anti-uranium activism is given here; this is also pertinent to Chapter Ten: the Jabiluka anti-uranium blockade. A movement away from nonviolence orthodoxy to new and sometimes dangerous or violent tactics is described. The blockade's limited effectiveness is also discussed. Art-forms such as street-theatre are described, and there is a suggestion that the changing nature of the tactics had an impact on the amount of art employed.

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[7] These studies are presented in chronological order except for the chapter on anti-nuclear bike rides, which describes a 1986 ride together with one in 1998, in order to better compare and contrast them, and to show the longitudinal development of the movement.

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Chapter Eight covers a number of forest blockades, primarily those organised by the North East Forest Alliance (NEFA) in northern New South Wales in the early 1990s. Here we see a further and dramatic evolution of tactics, as 'orthodox nonviolence' is rejected in favour new forms of resistance, and significant successes occur. This chapter describes in detail those new forms which emerged after the Franklin blockade, and were significantly developed in the forest blockades. However, an ambivalent, confused conceptualisation of nonviolence ensued, leading to the failure of one blockade and intra-group problems such as machismo. There is further evidence of links between these developments and a reduced use of the arts.

Two related anti-nuclear actions - a bike ride from Adelaide to Alice Springs in 1986, and a bike ride from Melbourne to Jabiluka in 1998 are discussed in **Chapter Nine.** This chapter provides clear evidence of the evolution of the movement. The numerous problems of the first ride had been largely resolved by the second ride's superior group dynamics, understanding of nonviolence, and use of art-forms such as film-making. This second ride also contributed to the successful Jabiluka campaign.

In **Chapter Ten** the 1998 Jabiluka (Northern Territory) blockade is described, and improvements in nonviolence praxis in holism, group dynamics and diversity of tactics are observed. These led to an improved artistic practice, and ultimately, a successful outcome. However, the continuation of racist and sexist attitudes by some is also noted. Chapters Ten and Seven discuss more fully the role (and development) of the arts as a tool of nonviolent activism, based on my observations as a participant in street-theatre in the Roxby and Jabiluka blockades. They raise problems - physical, logistical, emotional - faced by the performance artists, writers and prop-makers, and how these were dealt with.

The case study chapters thus begin to address the thesis questions, critiquing the literature and making a number of small findings, which aggregate into a growing 'big picture'. This theoretical process continues more comprehensively in the final four chapters, with Chapters Eleven and Twelve drawing together the various strands which have run through the case studies into a detailed discussion of nonviolence in the Australian eco-pax

movement, and formulating an understanding of nonviolence developments over those twenty-one years. **Chapter Eleven** summarises the evolution of tactics known as 'active resistance', explores its successes, and also notes its problems. I argue that active resistance should still be considered nonviolent, albeit under a revised definition of nonviolence that embraces flexibility, diversity and autonomy. I conclude that these innovations are a major benefit to the movement, having widened the range of options for activists.

Chapter Twelve is another important theoretical chapter, summarising the findings from the case studies on the thesis' first three questions on nonviolence evolution, problems and effectiveness. It also explores the implications of activist ownership of praxis, and advocates further participant-driven research.

Chapter Thirteen is the most important arts chapter, again using examples in the narrative accounts to articulate a nascent theory. It summarises the findings of the arts' role in nonviolence, showing how many of the nonviolence tenets introduced in Chapter Four – 'conversion' in particular - are significantly enhanced by the use of the arts.

Chapter Fourteen draws the thesis together, and reiterates the primary conclusions distilled from the work's many smaller findings. It also addresses the thesis' fifth focus, by examining the relationship between the move towards more militant forms of nonviolence, and the use of the arts. It discusses the implications of the findings, and suggests the applications to which they may be put in both activism and research. Table One shows which questions are addressed by each chapter.

1.7   CONCLUSION

This chapter has given the rationale for the study, and posed six major questions relating to the development, problems and effectiveness of nonviolence, the role of the arts and their relationship to nonviolence developments, and the implications of this research. It has also introduced the methodology, and given the structure of the thesis and a chapter-by-chapter outline showing where the questions are addressed. The next chapter describes the methodology in greater depth.

Table One

CHAPTER	QUESTIONS ANSWERED
Six (Franklin River blockade)	Two, Three and Four
Seven (Roxby Downs blockades)	One, Two, Four and Five
Eight (forest blockades)	One, Two, Three, Four and Five
Nine (anti-nuclear bike rides)	One, Two, Three, Four and Five
Ten (Jabiluka blockade)	One, Two, Three, Four, Five and Six
Eleven ('active resistance')	**One** and **Two**
Twelve (nonviolence conclusions)	**One, Two, Three** and **Six**
Thirteen (arts conclusions)	**Four**
Fourteen (conclusion)	**Five** and **Six**

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chapter two

METHODOLOGY

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter elaborates on the methods I have used to make a reflective, analytical critique of the eco-pax movement over twenty-one years, focusing on several primary case studies, and eliciting applied learnings as to how to improve nonviolence praxis. The chapter is categorised according to its research design and methods of data collection, reporting and analysis. Section 2.2 shows the value of qualitative, multi-disciplinary, longitudinal research in addressing the thesis' questions. Section 2.3 elaborates upon essential concepts such as emic, ethnographic-inductive, participant-observation, and shows how validity is added to the work through triangulation involving document analysis, informal information-gathering and peer review. Section 2.4 discusses narrative accounts, and section 2.5 defines 'reflection-on-action'. The chapter also notes the work's uniqueness, its explicit biases and limitations, its contribution to radical history, its strong visual component, and its ethical considerations.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

2.2.1 Qualitative

Peace studies is a relatively new field, and research methods are still evolving. Ideally, they are transformative, participatory, emancipatory and holistic, involving "critical reflective research which stimulates and encourages strategies and visions of change" (Spence 1999: 106). Peace studies is critical of rigid, hierarchical approaches (Lee et al 2000:124).

Methodology

When trying to make sense of twenty-one years of protest scattered across the country, it is difficult to encapsulate through quantitative methods[1] the nuances of the phenomena under investigation because of the complexities of human behaviour:

> Human beings are not physical objects but, rather, conscious, decision-making and often irrational beings. Order is often unstable and changeable (Kellehear 1993:27).

Qualitative methodology is increasingly recognized as a valid way to penetrate more deeply and sensitively into the subtle world of social and personal meaning. This is particularly relevant for peace studies, given the often extremely personal and spiritual nature of this field (see Franklin 1987). A commitment to peace is, among other things, a question of personal philosophy and the way an individual develops that philosophy over time is surely a legitimate subject for inquiry. If the way that philosophy develops is through research and analysis drawing on the social sciences, as well as reflection on personal experiences, then this is both legitimate, and a process worthy itself of study. Descartes' famous dictum, "I think, therefore I am" helped form the ontological and epistemological base of those social sciences, giving rational thought a pre-eminence in our understandings of what it is to be human (and this was also a continuation of a much longer tradition of meditative inquiry, going back to the ancient world). We now live in a world where the slogan 'Protest and survive!' has been a catch-cry with an element of truth, a world whose survival nonviolent protesters have already contributed to by helping to end the Cold War[2] and avert the mutually-assured destruction (MAD) it threatened (Cortright 1995:81). Nonviolent protesters have also done more than any others to alert the world to its imminent ecological collapse through global warming (Suzuki 1997:3-4), pollution, over-consumption and the greatest crisis of species extinction ever (Myers 1985:154). Is it therefore any less valid to suggest that 'I protest, therefore I am' is a worthy beginning to the process of discovering a way out of the current emergency?

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[1] Because of the paucity of literature in the areas examined, qualitative research is important as this stage to determine in which direction research should proceed. Once the general questions are established, quantitative research will be valuable in answering them (this is further discussed in section 13.2.6).

[2] The Cold War is over in Europe but a similar version is far from over in the Pacific theatre (see Galtung 1995:91-92).

If it is, then it is legitimate for me to examine how my intellectual development as a theorist of nonviolent direct action has occurred through participation in the actions described herein, and to present the results of these deliberations as a contribution to our understanding within the academic field of peace studies. This work is aimed as much at activists as at theorists; it is intended to be of practical use in aiding nonviolence praxis. It does not intend to provide all the answers, but hopes to stimulate questions that can later be examined using other methods.

2.2.2 Longitudinal

This study is longitudinal (see Bouma 1993:93-96: Robson 2002:160-161), seeking to address the thesis' first objective - that of tracing the evolution of nonviolence praxis - by describing and analysing changes, significant occurrences and evolution in the Australian eco-pax movement over the period 1982-2003. Arts developments over this time, and sub-groups within the movement are also examined. For example, I examine the same group at different protests – the Nomadic Action Group - which I encountered at the Franklin River blockade in 1983 and at Roxby Downs in 1983 and 1984. I also look at different groups who did a similar action twelve years apart – 'The Bike Ride' of 1986 and the 'Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle' in 1998. In addressing the thesis' second question of nonviolence problems, I describe how each group faced and dealt with similar problems. I discuss whether the size and structure of the group made a difference, and whether there had been any evolution of philosophies or tactics. This longitudinal approach enables long-term trends and developments to become apparent.

2.2.3 Multi-disciplinary approach

Few if any disciplines stand alone; each intrudes on others, with the boundaries blurred and subjective to some degree (Grele 1991; Reinharz 1992:114-116; Stafford 2000:45). To work in one or two fields only would be to ignore many of the related factors, and would unnecessarily compartmentalise the research. In fact, this is one of the main criticisms of academia made by ecofeminists such as Jarrah Schmah (1998:5-7), that it is dualistic - separating into boxes what are really complexly-interrelated fields. Peace studies relates to and draws from many other disciplines; its boundaries may never be definable (Spence et al

2001:189). This multi-disciplinary approach is increasingly important as protest focuses on globalisation, a process that reaches into people's lives on a number of levels (Nesbit 2003:para 1). Thus, while primarily engaging with nonviolence theory, this work utilises a number of other disciplines, including art theory, adult education, politics, sociology, indigenous studies, environmental sciences, deep ecology, women's studies and community development. It also draws heavily from historical documents and makes a contribution to the historical record (this is discussed in section 2.6).

2.3   DATA COLLECTION

2.3.1   Emic, ethnographic-inductive participant-observation

The ethnographic-inductive mode of social enquiry has a particular emphasis on researchers spending long periods within the group being studied and becoming an insider, so as to better observe and understand the group's symbolic interaction (Kellehear 1993:16-28). This research, known as participant-observation, was originally rooted in the work of anthropologists and particularly associated with the Chicago school of sociology (Robson 2002:310). Through it, one can contribute to social science

> by explaining the meaning of the experiences of the observed through the experiences of the observer. This arises from a perspective that the social world involves subjective meanings and experiences constructed by participants in social situations. The task of interpreting this can only be achieved through participation with those involved (Robson 1993:195).

This emic or insider-based research may be criticised for its subjectivity, but this is countered by feminist post-structuralist author Margaret Somerville's argument that there is "no such thing as objective research" (1995:2). Others in fields as diverse as health and education (Minichiello et al 1999:41) and quantum physics (Capra 1990:306) similarly claim that there is an element of subjectivity in all research. If we accept this, there is a point to be made for being 'upfront' about our subjectivity, about our role in the research (section 2.7 elaborates on this point). There are many advantages to emic research, a major one being that a participant will have less influence on behaviour such as in a supermarket, whereas a pure observer is "more likely to be noticed and questioned than someone who does their observation while pushing a trolley around!" (Wadsworth 1997:54).

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There are two main types of participant-observation: the 'participant-as-observer' and the 'complete participant' (Robson 2002:316-318). A primary problem with the first method is 'reactivity' - the phenomenon of behaviour changing when subjects become aware they are being observed (Kellehear 1993:135), a phenomenon which can render the research meaningless (Cook 1991:487)[3]. As anthropologist S.Silverman writes, "the most telling data will always come from situations in which the anthropologist cannot solicit people's informed consent to be the objects of study" (1975:xiv). Additionally, problems can arise for those on the insider/outsider border, where trust relationships must be developed, and where the researcher may become relied upon as a mediator or disseminator of information (Spence 1999).

2.3.2 'Complete participant' observation

Somewhat circumventing these problems, the position from which I observed the eco-pax movement was that of a 'complete participant', a method which offers flexibility and in-depth information and which does not require one to gain the confidence of the group (Stafford 2000:36). My observations occurred informally during the blockades discussed herein, as part of the significant adult learning which educator/activist Bob Boughton and I (2003) have identified as occurring in protest movements, but which is often overlooked by academia (this is discussed in the next section).

This work examines a selection of numerous conservation, peace and land rights actions around the country and overseas in which I have engaged. At some blockades I lived for periods ranging up to several months. I was arrested as part of civil disobedience[4] actions on nine occasions, and spent time in jail after rejecting bail conditions or refusing to pay fines. I also defended myself in court (largely unsuccessfully) and thanks to some excellent lawyers successfully fought several charges. Within and outside these activities I was involved in street-theatre, in protest music, banner-making, cartooning, radio programmes and in painting and collage with protest themes. At different periods I worked full-time

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[3] Reactivity is not confined to the social sciences,- modern physicists are also increasingly aware both that observation changes what is being observed, and that participatory methods are inescapable (Capra 1990:306).

(usually unpaid) in environment centres, including as Director of the Rainforest Information Centre, Lismore, and as Branch Coordinator of The Wilderness Society (TWS), Armidale, organising campaigns and protests, lobbying politicians, giving talks, and writing submissions and articles. In 1996 I was employed as organiser of the national conference 'Students and Sustainability' at Southern Cross University (see Macdonald 1996). These activities occurred at a number of levels, from grassroots nonviolent direct action to the upper echelons of a national organisation – TWS - when I initiated a national action against export woodchipping (see Wesley Mission 2001:para 5).

Thus I have developed an intimate knowledge of the key issues of this thesis: the strengths and weaknesses of the eco-pax movement. I am in a relatively unique position to compare the more militant rural blockaders with large city-based organisations, and their differing relationships to nonviolence and the arts, and to critique the writings of other activists. This is knowledge which etic research would have difficulties in matching, particularly as the other participants in these campaigns are now scattered around the world, or, in some cases, have died. There is also a suspicion of researchers by many activists (Paasonen 2002b:para 1), unsurprising considering the levels of police surveillance to which many groups have been subjected (see Kelly 2004). This engagement with practice is particularly important since, as we shall see in sections 8.9.3 and 11.2, nonviolence theory in Australia has been criticised for being out of touch with the realities of blockading 'on the ground'. To create a workable theory, engagement with practice is essential – to know the emotions of civil disobedience and arrest, to understand the decisions made in stressful situations, to experience 'consensus' decision-making[5], to create and perform street-theatre in the midst of violence, to be caught up in factionalism, organisational frictions and disputes over tactics; to experience media omissions and distortions, to challenge nonviolence conventions through new methods, and observe how this affects other blockaders and police. In other words, nonviolence theory is most relevant when it emanates from those using it.

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[4] Civil disobedience is described in section 4.6.2.
[5] Consensus is described in section 4.6.6.2.

As activist and academic Rebecca Spence writes, it is difficult to undertake research which makes a change whilst operating in institutions like universities which are rigid, highly structured and hierarchical, and seem to be committed to upholding the status quo (in Spence & Branagan 2002:2). It is unsurprising that suspicion about the academic world is rife within protest movements – particularly the more militant or 'feral' sections - so emic longitudinal studies such as this are rare. Having had a 'foot in both worlds', I have struggled to translate into an academic format experiences which were deeply emotional, social, physical, extraordinary, even life-changing, - experiences far removed from most academic theorising.

2.3.3 Intra-movement learning

This informal participant-observation, it should be noted, is part of a whole segment of adult education that has been accorded little credence within universities. In the *Australian Journal of Adult Education*, Bob Boughton and I argued that significant amounts of teaching and learning occur within social change movements, and in wider society as a result of the educative efforts of activists (Branagan and Boughton 2003; see also Whelan 2002:3, Foley 1999, Martin 1988). We argued that this teaching and learning occurs in an interactive, two-sided manner rather than in a didactic, one-sided or hierarchical fashion, as movement elders interact with newcomers, and the whole movement attempts to convert opponents and third parties. It occurs in a continuous process and largely informally as opposed to formal or institutional education. Although it can be highly effective, it has been accorded little academic research (with exceptions such as Suaranta & Tomperi 2002). Following Newman (1995:253-4), we categorised this educational process as occurring on three levels:- *instrumental*, *communicative* or interpretive, and critical or *emancipatory*. The instrumental level refers largely to learning various practical skills such as two-way radio, abseiling or bus driving. Communicative education focuses on people, on symbolic interaction and the social construction of meaning; it involves problem-solving through discourse, reflection and seeking consensus. This sort of learning may occur as a result of being in a group trying to make important decisions through consensus, or attempting to negotiate solutions with police or industry workers. Emancipatory education involves questioning the psychological and cultural assumptions that underlie our perceptions of the

world. It involves deeper self-reflection or meta-awareness, and involvement in a mass movement challenge to government or vested interests can result in significant changes in a person's worldview.

Instrumental education occurs primarily *within* the movement. The other two levels occur both *within* the movement, and *outside* it as activists attempt to educate audiences about facts and figures, socio-economic and geo-political mores at the communicative level, and also to challenge and change their world views at a deeper, emancipatory level. Audiences perhaps begin to question the sanctity of notions such as 'Science' or 'Government' or the primacy of 'The Market', and see instead the need for nonviolent resistance to injustice. This thesis is an attempt to make visible the learnings I obtained over twenty-one years of activism. It is a case study of learning in a social movement.

In section 4.6.2 I relate this important informal educative process to the nonviolence tenet of 'conversion', while in sections 5.5 and 13.2 I show how the arts enhance this process of conversion/education.

2.3.4 Triangulation of data collection

The importance of triangulation - that is, using a synthesis of multiple methods rather than a single research method - cannot be underestimated as a way of increasing the validity of a study, and to cope with "a world that is becoming increasingly more complex and ambiguous" (Kellehear 1993:viii; see also Robson 2002:190-193). According to Reinharz, multiple methods are feminist-influenced and show a commitment to thoroughness and a desire to be open-ended and to take risks (1992:197). This work therefore uses the triangulation of several methods of data collection: document analysis and informal information-gathering (including through peer review) as well as the *participant-observation* mentioned above.

2.3.4.1 Document analysis

Most of my case studies occurred within the framework of large groups, so to increase the validity of the study through triangulation I also examine the views of other participants.

My primary method of doing this is through document analysis. I also use document analysis to provide overviews of the research areas and to provide background to my case studies. The document analysis involves accessing a wide variety of sources, including academic, protest and arts literature, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, computer-accessed information such as emails and websites, fiction, cartoons, paintings, photographs, video and radio documentaries, police documents, poems and music recordings on cassettes and compact discs. As with participant-observation, document analysis is an example of 'unobtrusive research', which is safe, inexpensive, non-reactive and non-disruptive and a good source of longitudinal data (Kellehear 1993:5-7).

2.3.4.2   Informal information-gathering, peer review

This productive type of data gathering allows the observer

> considerable freedom in what information is gathered and how it is recorded ... This kind of information is relatively unstructured and complex, and requires the observer to perform difficult tasks of synthesis, abstraction and organisation of the data (Robson 1993:194-5).

In addition to participant-observation, research for this thesis has involved four years of informal information-gathering about those campaigns on which little has been written, and to continually update my knowledge of the eco-pax movement. Suiting my low research budget, I held 'unstructured interviews' (see Whip 1992:44-45) and discussions with a number of current activists such as Benny Zable and Jarrah Schmah, with past blockade participants, and with people I encountered at recent rallies. Some of these discussions were continued intensively by email and telephone. Letters from blockades here and overseas also provided useful data.

Some discussions involved peer review, with my writings being intensively scrutinised and critiqued by fellow postgraduates such as Karl-Eric Paasonen and David Curtis. They gave me valuable understandings, information, documents and references. Further peer review occurred through writing refereed articles (Branagan 2003b, 2004a, 2005; Branagan and Boughton 2003), and presenting papers at international and national conferences (eg Branagan 2002b, 2003e) and at a number of seminars and 'teach-ins' at the University of New England (eg Branagan 2003c).

2.4   REPORTING METHOD

2.4.1   Case Studies

The use of case studies allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events (Burns 1991:313; see also Yin 1989; Bouma 1993:89-93). I use case studies to discuss the Franklin, Roxby Downs, North-East Forest Alliance and Jabiluka campaigns, and two anti-nuclear bike rides. These studies discuss the rationales behind the campaigns, the actors and relevant historical factors, and then describe the actions themselves. While attempting to maintain the narrative flow of the accounts, issues of nonviolence and artistic activism are mentioned as they arise, and further discussed at the end of the chapters, with the primary analysis in the final four chapters.

2.4.2   Personal, narrative accounts with visual component

The use of personal, narrative accounts for a number of reasons including to tell a story or as a literary exercise is increasingly accepted by academia (see, for example, Somerville 1995). It ensures an effort to go beyond statistics and "images of mass, periodicity and institutional changes [to] rehumanise a portrayal of experience" (Kellehear 1993:65)[6]. Such accounts may also explore issues which are not preconceived or which may stretch beyond the expected, thus offering or stimulating further theoretical and conceptual processes. This type of research may

- complement and balance portrayals of the many with the few, the personal with the impersonal, the social abstract reality with the personal lived-in one
- clarify and consolidate the understanding of human experience through the technical use of empathy and reader identification
- [and] enliven and enrich any social science discourse making such discourse engaging and compelling, whether for research or for the purposes of teaching (Kellehear 1993:65).

Note-taking is important in research because recall can be unreliable (Wadsworth 1997:40-42; see also Evans & Lunn 1997), so I am fortunate in being able to base my narrative

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[6] A classic example of a narrative account from one intimately involved in his subject is given by Roberts (1984), in which he examines class structure while poignantly describing his working-class childhood in England.

accounts on articles and notes written during or soon after the actions[7]. My early desires to become a writer were given a tremendous boost when articles about my protest activities were first published by university magazines (Branagan 1983a, 1984b). Having such an outlet encouraged me to observe protest actions more astutely, to develop a memory for key events and impressions, to keep notes and diaries, to continue writing for a variety of papers, magazines and websites, and ultimately to complete a novel (Branagan 1994). There is little difference between these writings and the journals employed by phenomenological or action research practitioners (see Wangyel et al. n.d. p. 6).

Excerpts from these articles are included in the case studies; this self-referencing may seem indulgent but is done to express some of the colour, detail and *zeitgeist* of the actions, and my reactions at the time, reactions which may since have changed upon reflection. Hopefully, it also adds a dramatic quality to the manuscript. The reporting is influenced by some elements of post-structuralism, for example its emphasis on ways of seeing and on persuasion rather than proving, and through its emulation of a literary, creative model (thus suited to arts discussions) rather than a formalistic, scientific-academic model (see Kellehear 1993:25-6).

As befits a work with a strong artistic content, there is an eclectic visual component. Drawn from personal and environment centre archives as well as publications, it includes photographs of direct action, artistic protest, paintings, badges and stickers, schematic diagrams, maps of blockade sites, 'calls-to-action', a protest postcard, a bail document and a forest closure notice. These add to the authenticity and richness of the case studies. A sculpture/collage of an 'Ivory Tower' made from thesis notes and other paraphernalia is appended to the thesis as a comment on the academic process (see Figure 5).

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[7] I attempted unsuccessfully to obtain material on these actions (and my involvement) from the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.

2.5 ANALYSIS

2.5.1 Journeys (actual and reflective)

My approach utilised the idea of research and writing as a journey that may lead in unexpected directions rather than work with a specific or fixed end goal (see Burns 1991:325). This open-endedness – as opposed to a linear approach - created greater possibilities of re-evaluating foci, making discoveries and challenging pre-conceived notions.

The work can be envisaged as a two-way journey. In one direction is a chronological account of the blockades and actions. At the end of those particular experiences of direct action and artistic activism, I have had the opportunity to travel back over those experiences, reading literature about them and reflecting deeply about them in the contexts of nonviolence and art theory. This latter journey took me down into the strata of history to retrieve buried treasures and expose them to the light. A vast territory of wild, emotive, turmoil-filled and often traumatic experiences has been examined from a calmer academic standpoint and framed theoretically, with the benefit of hindsight enabling me to better see what was successful and what was not. This too is not linear but cyclical: by remaining an activist and artist during my studies, I have been able to apply learnings in current situations, and view recent actions in the light of reflection on past ones.

2.5.2 Action research/'reflection-on-action'

This approach has elements in common with the 'action research' paradigm, which is participatory, self-reflective, openly political, change-oriented, open-minded about what counts as data, collaborative, and builds the larger picture from smaller ones (Reinharz 1992:180-1; Wangyel et al nd:5-6). Action research involves a "series of cycles that 'begin' and 'end' with action and incorporate research continuously as feedback from and to action" (Wadsworth 1997:60). My understanding of nonviolence theory began in 1983 with an intensive, participatory, two-day course in nonviolent action at the Franklin River blockade (discussed in section 6.4). This theory was immediately tested in the blockade itself, and while much of it was useful, I observed numerous inconsistencies between the theory and the practice. Over the next two decades I was able to further observe

nonviolence practice in a plethora of situations, with learnings aided by the 'sharings'[8] which followed many actions, in which a group evaluated the actions in a synergistic, semi-formal manner, leading to a gradual and grassroots process of praxis development of praxis. More formally, my understanding of nonviolence theory and that of related fields grew through majoring in 1984 in Government (including International Politics, the Political Economy of Women, and Environmental Issues) and Psychology, in a Bachelor of Arts, and while completing a Diploma in Education in 1991. While studying for this PhD I undertook further and more intensive research of the nonviolence literature, and had the time to reflect deeply on those years of action and the learnings I had gained from them. This time for reflection was essential to make meaning of my observations. My evolution as a freelance journalist and writer during that twenty-one years aided my ability to observe, record and synthesise the actions, while my increasing engagement in the arts added different dimensions to this reflection. This methodology is perhaps best categorised as 'reflection-on-action', producing an emic, reflective, analytical critique of activism.

2.5.3   Dialogues with literature (3 layers)

Within the analysis further triangulation occurs through dialogues with three different levels of literature. One is use of my own published articles to give some of the colour and passion of the events. The next layer involves an engagement with the other emic literature about those events such as Cohen (1997), O'Reilly (1998) and Ricketts (2003):- how I had some broad agreements with them whilst interpreting a number of important incidents and aspects quite differently. The third layer attempts to further contextualise my learnings within the more theoretical literature by nonviolence theorists such as Martin Luther King (1958), Sharp (1973), Burrowes (1996) and Cortright (2002). In particular, this dialogue exposes the inconsistencies of 'orthodox nonviolence', showing the results of resistance within the movement to this form. Within this layer is further dialogue with Australian social movement theorists such as Pakulski (1991), Burgmann (1993), Hutton and Connors (1999), Doyle (2000) and Scalmer (2002), and arts theorists such as Liebmann (1996) and Clark (1997). The second and third layers occur to some degree in case studies, but more

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[8] Section 6.4.2 discusses 'sharings'.

comprehensively in Chapters Eleven to Thirteen inclusive, which summarise the work's findings.

2.5.4 Three levels of learning

Also occurring at three levels are the types of learning I underwent during this research. Borrowing Foucault's archaeological analogy of ordering discourses (see Danaher et al 2000:36), these are

1. at bedrock: the action recorded in case studies – the blockade and campaign details – along with lower-level or instrumental learnings.

2. above that, the humus: immediate higher-level learnings by myself and other participants /where these led.

3. at top, the bounteous flowering of native blossoms, bouquets of which it is intended that the reader will take away from this work: what I now make of the action, in the light of sustained reflection, systematic analysis and cataloguing, and value-adding through the dialectic between the different types of literature.

These learnings could be considered as having emerged from my writing in an inductive, phenomenological or even 'grounded theory' fashion, in the sense that such approaches utilise flexible, open-ended methods of enquiry, and let the theory emerge from observation and reflection (Kellehear 1993:21-28; Robson 1993:190-196). The work does not begin with hypotheses but draws inferences from the case studies. The thesis questions are addressed through linking a number of smaller, seemingly-unrelated observations into a comprehensive whole. There may seem a morass of issues and ideas at first, but the final chapters draw these together into a broad-brush assessment of nonviolence in the Australian eco-pax movement.

2.6 RADICAL HISTORY, PERSONAL LIBERATION AND HEALING

Both the document analysis and the informal information-gathering enabled me to complement my own accounts with other voices from those blockades, to create a many faceted crystal and give some voice to activists whose words and thoughts may otherwise

disappear. It is also a bid to communicate to others what we went through and why, as a counter to the vilification we often endured from the media (eg see Devine 1995) and industry groups like the pro-logging Forest Products Association. It is thus a historical record told from below of some radical events, events which history often views from only one perspective, that of the elites in governments and mass media. It is an exposé of what Elise Boulding calls "the hidden side of history" (2000). This history may help in maintaining the continuity of the movement rather than, as so often happens, we continually 'reinvent the wheel', each time feeling we are alone and pioneering, rather than supported by a long tradition of dissent. The work attempts to be comprehensible to the layperson, and tries to avoid the tradition of sexism in social research (see Reinharz 1992:11-13; Whip 1992:60), by frequent reference to publications by women, such as Schmah's 1998 work about women activists in Western Australia.

Another factor has been the feminist-influenced idea of research as personal liberation (see Gaard 1998:5; Schmah 1998:1). My writing has been part of a healing and growing process that has validated for me experiences which societal elites have under-valued while themselves jumping on the 'green bandwagon'. As my activist comrade Ian Cohen notes about his book 'Green Fire', it evolved from injuries, both emotional and physical, "resulting from a choice I made to strike a radical path. Recounting my experiences here is a form of healing, another stepping stone to being able to enjoy the successes won" (1997:29; see also Appendix 1).

2.7   BIASES AND LIMITATIONS

As a writer depending on learnings commenced as a complete-participant, I am intimately involved in my study, so it is important to acknowledge that my narrative accounts are highly personal, and often emotive and biased. According to peace researcher Miriam Taylor this adds rather than detracts from their validity: "in the study of peace and peace activism, it is essential to be biased and to be passionate" (2001:6). As Spence et al note, the peace researcher

> cannot be a passive academic observer and recorder of detail in the research work site. S/he must inevitably be an active and involved participant who is working

towards a shared community and professional goal of finding solutions and effecting change (2001:200).

Such research has been termed 'passionate' or 'engaged scholarship' (Lykes in Reinharz 1992: 181). I have a keen interest in the success of many aspects of the eco-pax movement, and a strong desire for this movement to increase its component of nonviolence. I wish to increase my understanding of nonviolence and social change, and to be a more effective activist. As an artist I have a personal motivation for the arts to be recognised as a key aspect of the movement. As a parent I have a need to work towards a safer, more peaceful world.

My broad-brush approach has limitations. The canvassing of a wide variety of issues in the introductory chapters may seem superficial, but was felt necessary to contextualise later discussions. Even those discussions raise many issues – given the enormous complexity of protest campaigns – and some of these are only briefly discussed, with the hope of stimulating deeper research into them.

2.8   ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Since I was an engaged participant with, at the time, no conscious academic motivations, there was nothing covert about my observing, which Robson argues is the main ethical objection to complete participant observation (2002:316-317). However, ethical issues arise from my later writing about those observations.

2.8.1   Indigenous issues

Most of the actions which I discuss had a preponderance of white middle-class youth; thus are avoided some of the problems of interpretation of observed behaviour that are encountered during traditional participant observation,- for example, western anthropologists observing a Bengali or Bulgarian culture (see Schauerte 2004).

However, despite their small numbers in many protests, Aboriginal concerns are extremely important. I have tried to avoid the neo-colonialist attitudes exposed by indigenous writers Michele Grossman (2003) and Fabienne Bayet (1994), and examined historian Peter Read's

discussion of various codes of ethics which have been drawn up, as well as his observation that "the recognition that 'academic freedom' or the universal right to knowledge are relative values, not absolute, has not been accompanied by a catastrophic deterioration in standards" (Read 1990:40). In particular, I warn Aboriginals and Torres Straits Islander readers that this document contains photographs and names of people who may be deceased (see Elkin in Kellehear 1993:94). I also avoid publication of secret information, or discussion or photographs of secret sacred places or objects.

2.8.2   Confidentiality

There are ethical concerns about writing about people without their knowledge. However, as Kellehear observes, it is doubtful that privacy is invaded by being observed engaged in public acts in a public place (1993:136) as was the case with the actions I describe. Additionally, many of the people involved are already prominently discussed in the literature and in newspaper articles. Nevertheless, I have endeavoured to exercise discretion and respect confidentiality because this is a delicate and complex area. Discussions with fellow activists have convinced me that most people within the movement are highly supportive of my work, are happy to have the movement analysed, and have no problems with being quoted[9], although some requested that their name be changed. Any informants I was unsure of have not been named or quoted. I have tried to acknowledge and reference all sources and images, and to accept the moral and social responsibilities of research.

2.8   CONCLUSION

The methods this thesis employs are qualitative, multi-disciplinary and longitudinal with an emic, ethnographic-inductive format informed by phenomenology. The work is based around several primary case studies which include narrative accounts based on observations made as a 'complete participant' in direct action campaigns and artistic protest over a

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[9] For example, Schmah wrote to me (on 22 August 2004) that "it feels somehow amazing to read all that in academic writing. Activist history. Our history, your history ... [I]t validates it, or makes it realer somehow, reminds me, gives perspective, reflection, affirmation. Thanks for putting in the hard yards ... I valued your perspective on it all rolled into one ... [W]hen I first tried to put into words all the ... intense life activism was, all the skills learnt

twenty-one year period. Document analysis from a variety of sources and long-term informal information-gathering triangulate the data collection. With elements of post-structuralism and action research, the work crosses over into historical autobiography, but my wish to contribute to the field of peace studies gives this a specific form of 'reflection-on-action'. Thus, supplementing the case studies is critical analysis of and reflections on the main issues raised, and dialogues with different levels of literature. Peer review of the work, further adds to its validity in assessing nonviolence evolution, problems and effectiveness, in determining the role of the arts in protest, and in producing applications for this critique.

It is a change-oriented methodology, involving research in the 'real world' (see Robson 2002) rather than from within the safe confines of an institution. It is an account of one of the most important social experiments that an individual can embark upon, the attempt to change the direction in which society is traveling. It shows how through the practice of nonviolent activism, and through a slowly-evolving engagement within that process with more artistic forms of expression, I was, once I had the time to think and study about what had happened to me, able to attain new insights into the way a contemporary Australian and international philosophy of nonviolence is developing.

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etc etc. it's so total and huge, it was hard to go back over it all and see it like that, but I like what you've written".
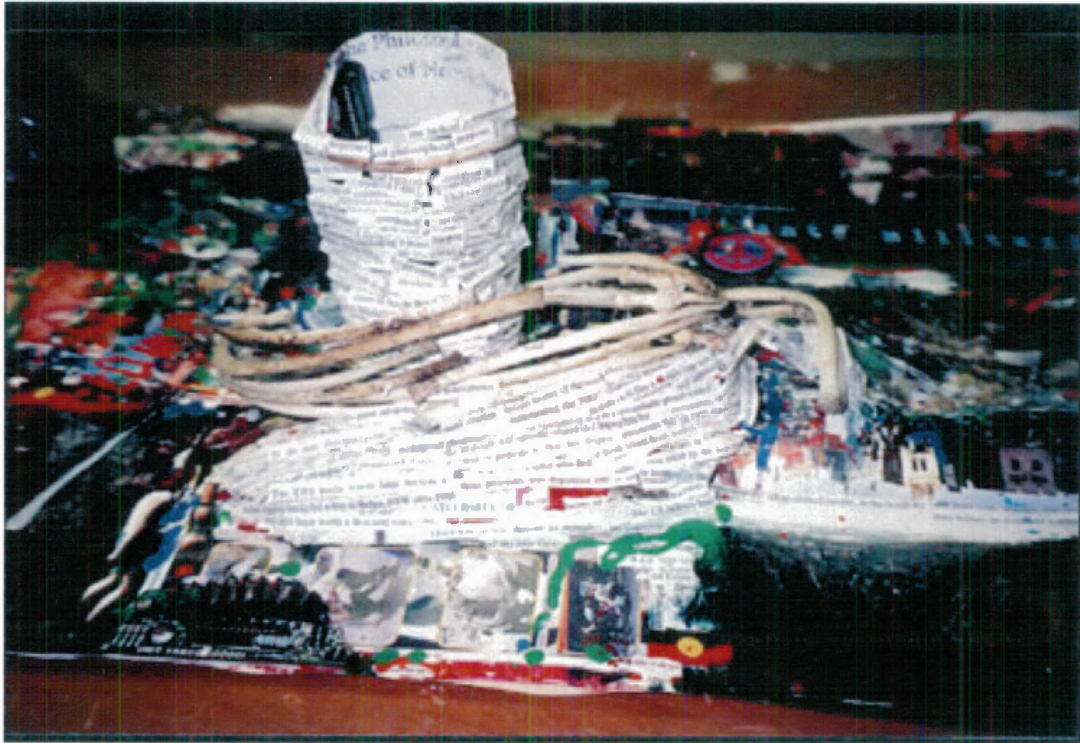
Figure 5: 'Ivory Tower' made by the author from thesis notes, stickers, badges, bones, collage, computer parts, *papier maché*, photographs, matches and paint. Dimensions 90 cm x 52 cm.

chapter three

THE AUSTRALIAN ECO-PAX MOVEMENT

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In order to establish the boundaries of this study, and to understand both the context and the content of nonviolence and artistic developments, it is important to identify the movement within which these developments have taken place. Additionally, as noted in section 1.2, there is a paucity of literature discussing nonviolence in Australia, and the related use of the arts; what literature that exists is embedded, often parenthetically, in social movement or protest literature. Thus it is important to understand that literature, to know what assumptions are being made. This chapter therefore briefly describes the movement which social movement theorist Jan Pakulski has characterised as 'eco-pax' (1991:158-159). Many of Pakulski's observations about eco-pax are valid and incisive, so there is no need to re-argue them in depth here. Nor is it possible here to examine in depth organisations within eco-pax, or the class status of their members. However, brief descriptions of relevant organisations and their key characteristics are necessary, as disputes between them over nonviolence praxis are a major theme of this opus.

There follows a short narrative account of experiences which led to my involvement in the movement, followed by a summary of relevant campaigns not covered by the case studies, to facilitate later nonviolence and arts discussions. Subcultural changes in the period are also noted, for the light they will later shine on nonviolence developments.

3.2   ECO-PAX

Gaard (1998) has described the international green movement that has brought together a shared commitment to animals, the earth and social justice, and notes that a convergence of feminist, ecological and peace groups was already evident in 1980 in the United States, with nature-based spirituality and non-hierarchical structures often features of this movement. Similar trends towards convergence of environment and

peace groups were noted in Australia by Saunders & Summy (1986:68-9), in their comprehensive history of the Australian peace movement.

Although having diverse origins, the peace and environment movements now exhibit so many similarities that they can be seen as a single movement, with the name of the peak group *Greenpeace* a clear reflection of this. This is the movement Pakulski has termed "eco-pax" (1991:158-159). He acknowledges that the term is contentious, with critics pointing to the heterogeneity of the ecological, anti-nuclear and peace movements, yet he argues that such heterogenity is also a characteristic of these smaller movements, with their numerous strands. Despite diversity, frictions and fragmentation, "there are clear signs of coalescence [of these movements] into loosely integrated, national [eco-pax] movements" (1991:159-160). The process, he writes, has occurred on many planes, from joint attendance at rallies, which are no longer mono-thematic but address a polyphony of issues, to a sharing of workshops, publications, networks and electoral alliances. The coalescence is 'horizontal' in nature, with informal and semi-formal networking occurring (see also Doyle 2000:23-44). Centralisation does not occur, and is even actively opposed because of widespread opposition to the hierarchical structures it can lead to. As section 4.6.6.2 shows, this has parallels in both anarchist and nonviolent theory. Nor, concludes Pakulski, is there so much emphasis on tangible outcomes like visible, long-lasting co-ordinating bodies, formal agreements and written strategies.

Like other mass social movements, eco-pax is involved in 'new politics' (see Roszak 1969; Reich 1972; Musgrove 1974; Capra 1990:15), which began to crystallize in the late 1960s and early 1970s and is "less concerned with political authority and more with mass mobilisations, publicising causes, changing mass orientations and transforming the patterns of social life" (Pakulski (1991:41). The movement is united by its anti-systemic character of opposition to the dominant bureaucratic system (see also Doherty et al 2003).

Although environment and peace movements - themselves originating from diverse strands such as suffragettes; early bushwalking, scientific and then conservation groups; activists for Aboriginal rights; pacifists; and social reformers - had existed in Australia since early last century (Hutton & Connors 1999), the coalescence of the two is new. Similarly, while the new movement's radicalism may have emanated from labour and

socialist struggles and radical unionism, later chapters will show that it now exhibits significant differences to them, such as more holistic feminist-influenced philosophies, and a greater commitment to nonviolence. This holism means realising the interconnected and global nature of issues, and seeking to address root causes, as shown in a statement by Australia's Student Environment Activist Network:

> More and more, environmentalists are broadening the scope of their campaigns and putting them in the context of corporate power. While this doesn't mean forgetting about the individual issues it does mean we start to see environment problems as caused by a system, not just particular people and companies. The other effect is that suddenly we have a whole lot more people fighting alongside us, because it's this system that also hurts women, indigenous people, people of colour, queer people and workers all over the world- and when these groups are working together, we really CAN start to challenge corporate rule. There is a growing international movement that is doing just that (2001:17).

Eco-pax has many similarities with that termed the "anti-globalisation movement", but which the members themselves prefer to call the "global justice movement" (Dellinger 2001:57) because despite its concerns with globalised capitalism, it actively aspires to the globalisation of peace, social justice and environmental sustainability. This "movement of many movements" (Suoranta and Tomperi 2002:37) has its diverse but interconnected concerns frequently denigrated (for example by Prime Television News on 11 September 2000) as a hodge-podge of ill-conceived concerns - precisely because of its diversity. So too are eco-pax activists regularly identified by the corporate media as "professional protesters"[1] (see Perkins 1991) or a "rent-a-crowd" (see Chanter 2004) with a seemingly "inexplicable jumble of causes" (Hutton & Connors 1999:10), although this diversity was not in fact an expression of 'unthinking militancy' but evidence of an increasingly sophisticated worldview (Hutton & Connors 1999:10).

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[1] The latter term implied that we were paid to protest (by communists or other subversive groups), which was never the case in my experience.
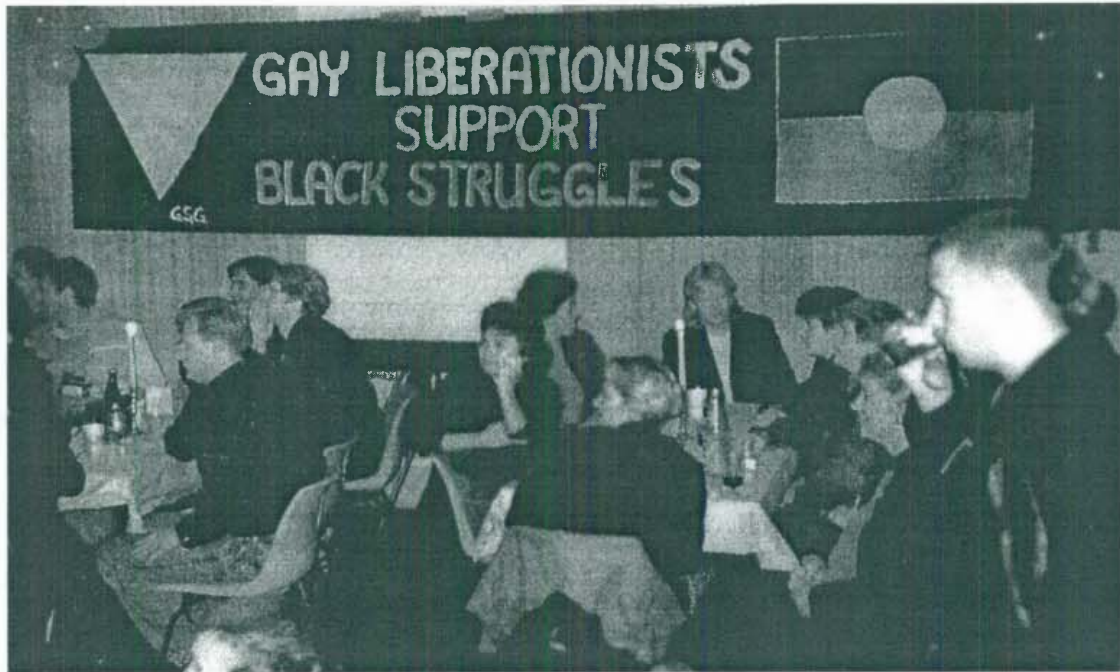
Figure 6: Protest banner shows one oppressed group supporting another.

The blockades described herein could largely be characterised as 'universalist',- supposedly acting on behalf of all in the global community, human and otherwise (see Pakulski 1991:195). They are also generally 'issue-based' being other-directed rather than self-directed. The indigenous movements involved in the same actions (such as the Mirrar traditional owners and their supporters at Jabiluka) would be categorised under this system as 'interest-based' movements because they represent the self-interest of oppressed groups. However, within the eco-pax movement are also interest-based groups (for example, feminists and gays seeking rights while working on issues), and some actions could also be characterised as 'particular' or 'particularistic',- acting on behalf of an identifiable disadvantaged or oppressed section of society, such as the Mirrar. These characterisations go some way to explaining the tensions between different groups within the eco-pax movement, and between it and indigenous movements, although the tensions are primarily addressed herein in the context of nonviolence theory rather than social movement theory. Paasonen's (2004) analysis of the Jabiluka campaign, however, is more reliant on social movement theory and is a valuable contribution to the area, using Kerbo's (1982) characterisation of "Movements of Crisis and Movements of Affluence". I return to this point in section 10.4.2.

3.3   KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF ECO-PAX ORGANISATIONS

Many people at eco-pax actions are only involved in organisations temporarily or loosely. Nevertheless, those organisations wield considerable power within the movement as action organisers, spokespeople and centres for resources. The characteristics of Australian environmental non-governmental organisations such as The Wilderness Society (TWS), the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF), Friends of the Earth (FoE), and Greenpeace are well described by Doyle (2000:74-105), while more informal groups, such as the Nomadic Action Group and wider networks, are described in pages 23 to 44. Further descriptions of eco-pax groups can be found in Saunders and Summy (1986), Burgmann (1993), Cohen (1997), Hutton and Connors (1999) and Ricketts (2003). Thus there is no need here to cover them in depth, but a brief summary of their key characteristics will aid later discussions.

The primary schism that this thesis describes was between the Nomadic Action Group (NAG) and the North East Forest Alliance (NEFA) on the one hand, and The Wilderness Society (TWS) on the other. NAG was[2] a classic example of a group within eco-pax, according to Pakulski's definition. It was informal, strongly opposed to bureaucracy, had no designated positions, and aimed to be non-hierarchical. It was not incorporated, owned few assets, had a transient membership, was reliant on direct action and grassroots networking, and used relatively informal methods of decision-making. NAG emerged from anti-logging campaigns in north-eastern NSW, such as the 1979 blockade at Terania Creek, which was the "earliest direct action in defence of rainforests in the world", according to blockader John Seed (in de Blas 1999). These campaigns drew many members from the 'new settler' movement (described in section 3.6), and their radical, undisciplined but largely nonviolent actions revolutionised Australian environmentalism (Nonviolence Training Project 2005:23). Rainforest logging in NSW was ended primarily by the 1982 actions of the Nightcap Action Group, who then changed their name to the Nomadic Action Group and travelled to the Franklin River blockade (Cohen 1997:59). There they constituted the core of long-term activists upriver, but the more mainstream TWS was often at loggerheads with them.

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[2] The past tense is used because, in my experience, few if any activists now identify as members of NAG. Several similar groups, however, are described in Chapters Eight and Nine.

NAG was suspicious of any authority, and saw themselves as an autonomous body: a powerful extreme wing of the environmental movement, prepared to undertake tasks and survive for long periods in conditions which saw moderates head home after a few weeks (Cohen 1997:65). They were allied to the international hippie subculture in their attitudes, embracing, as well as love and peace, the movement's colourful dress and hairstyles, and permissiveness towards drugs, nudity and sexual relationships (see Reich 1972; A Long Way To the Top 2001). They felt that TWS viewed them as "wild people who had to be controlled. They wanted our support but were fearful of us" (Cohen 1997:60). According to Jones et al (1995:5), NAG continued to travel

> ... around different actions in Australia, charging into ongoing campaigns with little if any respect for those already involved, and usually causing havoc, before moving on as the self-appointed saviours of the Earth (; see also Brown 1986:128).

Others saw them much more sympathetically, as brave and dedicated radicals who were prepared to challenge both governments and corporations *and* the larger conservation organisations like TWS, whom NAG saw as conservative and timid (Cohen 1997:97; see also Runciman et al unpub. pp. 7-8; Doyle 2000:53-54). NAG features in Chapters Six and Seven.

With many similarities to NAG, NEFA was formed in 1989 with the aim of rejecting the 'orthodox nonviolence' (described in Chapter Four) of groups like TWS, and developing new forms of resistance (see Doyle 2000:57; Ricketts 2003). With a similar informal, egalitarian and anti-bureaucratic ethos to NAG, and with its roots too in alternative rural communities, NEFA was less nomadic than NAG, focussing on the old-growth forests of north-eastern NSW. NEFA was complemented by smaller groups such as the Bowra Action Tribe, Wingham Forest Action, Wild Cattle Creek Action Group and Mistake Forest Action Group. NEFA is further described in Chapter Eight, where I critique in detail NEFA's relationship to nonviolence.

The Wilderness Society (originally Tasmanian Wilderness Society) formed in 1976 to oppose the Gordon-below-Franklin hydroelectric scheme (Kendell & Buivids 1987:79), a campaign related in Chapter Six. Formed largely by middle-class bushwalkers, it was relatively informal initially, but developed a hierarchy of long-term insiders as the

Franklin campaigned swelled (see Burgmann 1993:199-200; Hutton and Connors 1999:159-164;). This hierarchy expanded when TWS grew into a national body with full-time employees and a 'chain' of shops, but it was tempered by the use of egalitarian decision-making modes that were forced upon it by the nonviolence trainers that TWS engaged during the Franklin campaign. There is ongoing tension between conservative modes of its hierarchy (see Doyle 2000:93-98) and its grassroots-oriented volunteer activists. This is further complicated by the fact that although its hierarchy is urban-based - unlike NEFA and NAG - it also has a number of rural branches, with the former Armidale branch having serious disputes with urban head offices. TWS features in Chapters Six, Eight and Ten.

Along with TWS, other peak (and largely urban) environmental bodies include ACF, FoE and Greenpeace. There are some overlaps in their work, but they attempt to cover different areas while speaking with a unified voice when appropriate. ACF is a national body like TWS, but is government funded and more conservative in its structure and methods. Initially a centralised, hierarchical lobby group for 'wilderness', it is now coalition-building and calling for more fundamental ecological and social change (Doyle 2000: 88- 93). Its evolution is discussed in section 6.2. Greenpeace is a global anti-war environmental organisation,- hierarchical, centralised and corporate-focussed. It is bureaucratic and conservative of appearance, but has some commitment to headline-grabbing nonviolent direct actions (Doyle 2000:80-84). Section 11.3.2 discusses Greenpeace's nonviolence strategies. FoE is another international body, but relatively poor and with a democratic, decentralised grassroots structure using small numbers of active, committed volunteers. It has a strongly holistic philosophy of commitment to social justice as well as eco-pax issues (see Doyle 2000:84-87). FoE is discussed in Chapters Seven and Ten.

With regard to social justice, it is important to note that indigenous Australians were the first ecologists here (see Burnam Burnam in Burgmann 1993:65) and, given "the state of peace that the tribes of the Australian continent enjoyed" (Blomfield 1986:95), also had a strong commitment to peace. Aboriginal groups that feature in this thesis include Tasmanian Aboriginals (Chapter Six), the Kokatha tribe from South Australia (Chapter Seven), the Gumbaingerri of New South Wales (Chapter Eight), and the Mirrar clan of the Northern Territory (Chapter Ten). These groups are complex because they employ

both traditional structures and decision-making and more western-style organisations using non-indigenous employees – such as the Gundjemi Aboriginal Corporation (GAC) which primarily used lobbying methods while encouraging nonviolent direct action by supportive eco-pax activists (see Chapter Ten).

TWS, ACF and Greenpeace all have somewhat hierarchical structures, as well as methods reliant primarily on lobbying governments and corporations. The following groups are more like NAG and NEFA:- all exhibit (to varying degrees) classic eco-pax traits of informality and non-hierarchical structures, as well as a commitment to direct action. Nonviolence groups feature in the Franklin Chapter; these began with the Melbourne Non-Violence Training Collective which expanded into an informal national network 'Groundswell' in 1981, and began to produce a magazine of same name in 1982. In 1988, this magazine became *Nonviolence Today;* it finished in 2000, whereupon a web forum began: *N o n v i o l e n c e n e t* (www.egroups.com/groups/nonviolencenet). 1990 saw the re-establishment of a national network – the Australian Nonviolence Network, with national gatherings every year from 1992 to 1997, and again in 2000 and 2005 (Nonviolence Training Project 2005:24-26).

Relatively informal groups discussed in the Roxby chapter include the Movement Against Uranium Mining (MAUM) and the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy (CANE – initially the Campaign Against Nuclear Power) which both began in 1975 and were linked to the union movement, students and other environment groups (McCausland 2003:7-8; Kearns 2004:15-29). An umbrella anti-nuclear network the Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Australia (CNFA) formed in 1981 (McCausland 2005:16). People for Nuclear Disarmament demonstrate the breadth of the movement's composition and aims, when they describe themselves as a "coalition of individuals, local peace groups, churches, trade unions, womens, educational and environmental organizations working for social justice, the environment and a non-aligned nuclear free future" (2005; see also Green 1998).

The other chapter on anti-uranium protests, Chapter Ten, discusses the Jabiluka Action Groups (JAGs), which were similar to NEFA and NAG, being highly autonomous (at first) cells of a loosely organised national movement. They often operated out of larger

host organisations such as TWS. That chapter also features 'Ploughshares' (also known as 'Catholic Workers') – a global group of Christian anarchists with a small but vocal chapter in Brisbane. They have a strong direct action component, often damaging military equipment, pouring their own blood over it, and praying as they wait for arrest (see Wilcox 1997). The Arid Lands Environment Centre (ALEC) and the Northern Territory Environment Centre (NTEC) mentioned in that chapter were autonomous environment centres loosely linked by a national network. Temporary and informal anti-nuclear groups also formed for a single long action over several months such as The Bike Ride and the Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle. Their group structures and dynamics are discussed in Chapter Nine. The anti-uranium movement is further introduced in section 7.2.

Other groups which also gain some mention herein include the Rainforest Action Groups (RAGs), a precursor to JAGs, being an informal network of small cells of committed activists with similar *modi operandi,* but working on rainforest issues. Similar groups –with many of the same members – working on peace issues were the Paddlers for Peace and the Sydney Peace Squadron. These groups held few meetings but many water-based actions. The Rainforest Information Centre (RIC) was a precursor of NEFA, being informal and influenced by 'deep ecology' (see Macy and Seed 1983). RIC used a variety of methods from office-based lobbying using the latest computer technology to direct action inspired by US group 'Earth First!'[3]. Student eco-pax organisations were also involved at these blockades. They were informal and not well funded, and loosely allied through the Australian Union of Students, which was later replaced by the National Union of Students[4]. Socialist group 'Resistance', an offshoot of the Democratic Socialist Party, has existed since 1967 and was involved at the Franklin and at Jabiluka (Green Left Weekly 1998); its newspaper the *Green Left Weekly* has been a valuable source of archival material. Other political parties that gain some mention are the Nuclear Disarmament Party and the Australian Greens, while the Campaign to Save Native Forests, Native Forest Network, Australians for Native Title

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[3] Section 4.8.1 discusses 'Earth First!'.
[4] There has been a national student organisation of some form since the 1920s, involved in eco-pax as well as anti-racist, feminist and queer campaigns; the 1973 AUS art and music festival at Nimbin led to the establishment of the alternative community there (National Union of Students c2003; see also Fredman 1992).

and Reconciliation, and Rural Australians for Refugees (formerly Justice for Refugees) also informed my practice.

3.4   ORIGINS OF MY INVOLVEMENT IN PROTEST

Sustained involvement in protest is not a mainstream choice in Australian society, so this section briefly describes the origins of my involvement. In 1982 I took a year off university and hitchhiked to Queensland virtually penniless with a friend, Mick. After several weeks of extreme poverty in Brisbane, living in the Botanical Gardens and sneaking into hotels to iron our clothes to apply for jobs, I was forced to ignore my middle-class prejudices and apply for unemployment benefits. Soon after, we both obtained part-time barwork and experienced some months of life in a working-class caravan park, with plenty of time for discussion and thought. Here I experienced the first of many incidents of police harassment, where I was questioned and threatened for merely walking at night in Brisbane, and later for hitch-hiking and being in 'suspect' vehicles like Kombis. I saw a new-found friend arrested and jailed overnight for 'talking back' to police (see Stafford 2004).

After more formative experiences amongst hippies and surfers in Noosa, Mick and I became nomadic for several months, rarely sleeping indoors. We were befriended by more hippies in far north Queensland, and 'squatted'[5] in rural communes at Hartleys Creek and Cedar Bay[6]. I met a Vietnam veteran, who had been so affected by the war that he had 'dropped out', as well as others who were well-travelled and/or had held influential jobs such as at the British Broadcasting Corporation. During these experiences of communal living, I learned of their harassment as they tried to build more meaningful lives for themselves (see de Launey 2003:95-97; Martin and Ellis 2003). They taught me much about the world, but particularly that one's own actions (eg squatting, self-sufficiency, permaculture, communalism, vegetarianism, using herbal rather than corporate-made medicines) can be a start in healing the world, where previously I had believed that social change required benevolent socialist governments. Politically, I was beginning to augment my vague empathy with socialism with an examination of a more specific strand of libertarian socialism or anarchism. Anarchism

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[5] Squatting in this sense means illegal occupation of land or premises.
[6] Both of these were later destroyed by police evictions and building demolitions (see Stafford 2004:33-35).

seemed to embrace the best aspects of communism while avoiding the latter's tendency to centralisation, authoritarianism and bureaucracy (see Woodcock 1980). I return to anarchism in section 4.6.6.2 .

Mick and I separated in Cairns and I hitch-hiked alone to Darwin and through the Kimberleys, after getting stranded amidst a labor strike at Wave Hill (near the site of the Gurindji Aboriginal walk-off – see Burgmann 1993:47). Where previously I had experienced almost no contact with Aboriginal people, I now found myself in towns like Halls Creek consisting almost entirely of Aborigines. Throughout the journey I witnessed police harassment of and brutality towards Aboriginal people in country towns, where police in 'paddy wagons'[7] would drive onto parks and arrest people who, as far as I was aware, had been causing harm to no-one.

Finally, I travelled down the west coast and back to Sydney. I had talked with anarchists, Aboriginal people of many tribal groups, feminists, a naturist parliamentarian, unionists, miners, farmers and people from many other occupations. Living close to nature over an extended period, talking with people who depended on the Earth and the weather for their livelihoods, and learning from radical communities had alerted me to the extent of the global environmental crisis. I had witnessed and engaged in widespread disobedience of laws against hitch-hiking, squatting, marijuana use, nudity and 'jumping' goods trains, and had shed a number of conservative views. The police harassment I had suffered and the discrimination I had witnessed towards Aboriginal people had further radicalised me, with some similarities – though far less extreme - to the experiences of racism in South Africa which galvanised Mahatma Gandhi (Gandhi 1948:140-141; Sheean 1970:162-165) and later Bantu Stephen Biko into action (Biko 1979).

I nevertheless returned inspired with hope for social change. As a hitch-hiker, I had experienced kindness and generosity from many people who had taken a chance in picking up a stranger, given me strong faith in the inherent goodness of humanity, and caused me to question my Catholic upbringing with its teachings of 'original sin'. As with Australian social change activist Katrina Shields (1993), contact with wise

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[7] This racist term derives from British subjugation of Irish people (see Bernard 1989:746).

individuals and gaining new insights and knowledge led me to seek active solutions to global problems. Furthermore, meeting a wide variety of people enabled me to go beyond intellectually-based solutions removed from or irrelevant to the majority of people to a more inclusive and practical philosophy, an approach advocated by radical educators Paulo Freire and Antonio Faundez (1989). So when Jeremy, the brother of a childhood friend, and I heard about the Franklin River blockade, we decided to travel there and participate (see Chapter Six).

3.5   ADDITIONAL CAMPAIGNS

It is important to show that the blockades in the case studies were not isolated events, but occurred within a fluctuation of focuses and intensity within the movement. Although Doyle claims that the green movement entered "a hiatus" and "a period of intense introspection" from the middle to the end of 1980s (2000:140-141), and that the movement embraced reformist, 'insider' politics in this period, there were also many protest campaigns involving 'outsider' politics with more radical critiques in this period (I discuss this further in section 12.3.2). Only some of these campaigns are analysed here, while others such as at Pine Gap, Werlatye Therre, and Noonkanbah must be omitted. Table Two lists the campaigns I had some involvement with; it shows that while anti-uranium activism was devastated by the failure of the Roxby campaigns and sell out of the ALP (Chapter Seven), it continued at a quieter but still important level through The Bike Ride (Chapter Nine), before the movement's energy moved to the related nuclear disarmament issue (see below) - fuelled by its urgency and buoyed by successes in New Zealand (Powers & Vogele 1997:47) and Europe (Thompson 1997; Cortright 1995:81). There were also enormous national and international rainforest campaigns (see below), land rights support (eg at the Swan River, Perth, site of the Wagyl - see Burgmann 1993:58), and local campaigns such as Mt Etna (see Plowman & Harries 1988) and Broken Head (see *Northcoaster* 14-20 Dec. 1988:1). Thus even this supposed hiatus was for many of us a time of constant protest and travel. The campaigns most relevant to later nonviolence and arts discussions are briefly described below.

3.5.1   Peace

Peace protests were continual in the period examined, usually sparked by visits of U.S. nuclear-armed and -powered warships to Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne and Perth, and

consisting of actions by loose-knit groups like Paddlers for Peace and the Sydney Peace Squadron in all manner of boats, surfboards, windsurfers, and even ultra-light aircraft, along with land-based protests (see Branagan 1988; Cohen 1997:129-148). There were also protests at Australian military bases in Woolloomooloo and Adelaide, and blockades at U.S. spy bases at Nurrungar (mentioned in section 9.1) and Pine Gap, and the AIDEX armaments sale in Canberra in 1991 (Perkins 1991). Numerous mass marches were the less militant aspect of this activism, with, until 2003, the largest being the Palm Sunday marches organised by People for Nuclear Disarmament in the mid-1980s (Burgmann 1993:202).

In February 2003 plans were underway for US troops to invade Iraq, aided by troops from Australia, Britain and elsewhere. Purportedly as part of the 'War on Terror', the invasion was justified because Iraq's Saddam Hussein supposedly had weapons of mass destruction. Many activists, however, felt that the invasion was in reality a neo-imperialist push by the invaders and their multinational backers to secure Iraq's oil fields, with the further advantages of distracting voters from internal politics, appearing to be active against terrorism, and (covertly) advantaging the military-industrial complex (see Andreas 2004; Roy 2004). Some of us argued that dictatorships like Saddam's could be deposed through nonviolent action rather than military strikes (Branagan 2003c, 2004c). To oppose this invasion, a weekend of massive, flamboyant peace rallies occurred around the world on February 15-16, 2003. Being the largest coordinated peace action ever (*United for Peace and Justice* 2003, online), and having a strong artistic component, this was an important recent event, so observations of these rallies are made in Chapter Five (with regard to the arts), and in Chapter Fourteen (with regard to nonviolent tactics).

Figure 7: Poster featuring Sydney peace march, February 16, 2003.

3.5.2 Rainforests

Another important campaign involved support for the tribes-people of Borneo, the Penan, and their rainforest homelands, which were (and still are) being rapidly destroyed through rapacious logging (see Smekal & Branagan 1987; Penan leaders 1989; Scott 1990; Bevis 1995). This campaign was initially centred at the Rainforest Information Centre (RIC)[8] in Lismore, and then spread to numerous Rainforest Action Groups, who organised many marches and concerts as well as more militant actions, such as blockading with kayaks (the same ones used in peace actions) ships bringing rainforest timber to Australia. Some actions blockaded wharves and involved unionist support (eg in Sydney, 1993), others attempted to reload the ships with timber, or occupied the ships themselves (eg Brisbane 1995). High-profile court-cases also aided the campaign. The nonviolence philosophy of RAGs is important, and is discussed in sections 4.5.4 and 4.6.7.

My involvement as a director of RIC and in various RAGs was an important part of my development as an activist, where I learned much about writing submissions, lobbying politicians, organising fundraisers and speaking publicly, as well as blockading, occupying and graffiting ships, infiltrating and speaking at a meeting attended by the Malaysian Minister of State, and undergoing a hunger-strike outside the Malaysian Embassy in Canberra. I also travelled to Borneo twice with activist/photographer Paula Vermunt to meet illegally with the Penan and take them prohibited information and a letter from activist Bruno Manser (see Vermunt 1990; Branagan 1990), an overwhelming experience that led to hospitalisation from a nervous breakdown, and later to a novel (Branagan 1994, reviewed by Myers 1995). Further nonviolence discussions on secrecy and sabotage in those actions follow in sections 4.8.2 and 12.5.

3.5.3 Other relevant campaigns

Other campaigns which are briefly referred to in this work include a 1983 occupation of a building at Sydney University to demand the retention of the Marxist-leaning Political Economy course (see Casey 1983), and a blockade against the mining for limestone of an important cave system (both speleologically and for endangered Ghost Bats) at Mt Etna (see Plowman & Harries 1988). Other blockades were at Exit Caves in Tasmania

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[8] Other centres were Friends of the Earth, Melbourne, and the Campaign to Save Native Forests in Perth.

in 1993 (see Shaw 1995), a gold mine at Timbarra near Tenterfield, NSW in 1997 (see Wilson 1997) and a proposed beachfront development on important Aboriginal land at Iron Gates, northern NSW, also in 1997 (see Mitchell 1997; Gosper 1997: Environment Defenders Office 2005). A series of 'Great Walks' (in which I was an organiser and participant) with an agenda of conservation, land rights, youth and homelessness also provided some data; the longest of these travelled almost a thousand kilometres in three stages through forests along the Great Dividing Range, from above the Gold Coast to Mummel Gulf, east of Tamworth (Branagan 2003b:51). Another walk occurred on Fraser Island; these walks involved some 'street kids', and incorporated ecofeminist workshops and direct action. Table Two briefly notes these and other campaigns in which I participated, to situate the case studies chronologically and give some idea of the actions surrounding them, and as further evidence of the multi-layered and inter-related nature of the eco-pax movement.

Literature on 'anti-globalisation' actions, with which I was not involved, is also quoted in later chapters, because they are a new protest phenomenon whose internationalisation is an important development that cannot be ignored. Similarly, some photographs in this work are taken from a long campaign in the 1990s against an ocean outfall of sewerage near Coffs Harbour (see Cooke et al 2000; Cohen 1997:219-231), because they graphically illustrate the new techniques that emanated from the less well-photographed NEFA forest blockades nearby.

3.6   SUBCULTURAL CHANGE

Finally, it is important to note that the developments in nonviolence and artistic activism summarised in Chapters Eleven to Thirteen occurred at a time of significant subcultural changes in society over the period examined, changes which bear a relationship to differing perceptions of nonviolence. One of the most important subcultural groupings in the Franklin was that of the 'hippies', also known as 'alternates' or 'new settlers' (Kendell & Buivids 1987:48-50). Borrowing heavily from overseas trends, particularly the United States and Britain, which were themselves Indian-influenced, they adopted distinctive dress, hairstyles, language and a set of ideals regarding rejection of Western industrial society and adoption of reverence for nature, and advocacy of peace, love, vegetarianism and simple non-materialistic living (see Roszak 1969; Reich 1972). Many left the cities and set up intentional communities, for

example at Tuntable Falls near Nimbin. Although many of these failed or only partly succeeded, many continue to this day (Irvine 2003; Wilson 2003). At first vilified by local media and authorities, they have increasingly been accepted into the wider communities through establishment of their own media (see Martin and Ellis 2003), through sheer numbers and endurance, and through events like the 1996 'Students and Sustainability' conference at Southern Cross University, where they supplied a wide range of tours, talks and activities and displayed considerable expertise and innovation (Macdonald 1996). These communes provided many of the people who engaged in the early rainforest struggles in northern NSW (see Kendall and Buivids 1987:37-71)[9] and the more mobile and militant of whom then became the Nomadic Action Group (NAG), active at both the Franklin and at Roxby Downs. The less militant members embraced the Gandhian nonviolent methods, also latterly emanating from the United States and Great Britain, where they had been used in the civil rights and nuclear disarmament campaigns (see 4.5). This latter group had a numerically significant presence at the Franklin and no doubt contributed to the 'orthodox' nature of nonviolence there, while NAG were at the forefront of nonviolence developments (see 11.2).

From the late seventies a different subculture - punk rockers – had begun to emerge, primarily in inner-city areas like Newtown and St Kilda (see Ricketts 2003:137). This group derived some of their anti-establishment views from the hippies, but their opposition was more strident. Often with a sophisticated anarchistic politics, they dismissed some of the hippie ideals as too naïve. Dressing in black, with a more aggressive type of defiance, they engaged in squatters' rights activities, and established cooperative music venue/cafes like 'Jellyheads' in Surry Hills. Rejecting some of the hippie methods as ineffectual and passive, their rebellion was more militant, akin to the aspect of 'active resistance' described by Doyle (2000:58), where people have a right to defend themselves.

During the NEFA blockades (Chapter Eight), a new subculture arose in northern NSW. The term 'ferals' was initially used in a derogatory manner towards 1990s blockaders in northern NSW; however, we soon embraced it, despite bumper stickers that exhorted people to 'Shoot ferals'. Combining aspects of both the hippie and punk subcultures, the

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[9] Intentional communities such as 'Serendipity' at Broken Head have continued to supply protesters for many actions (see also Irvine 2003:66).

ferals also created new elements (see Ricketts 2003:136-142). Like the punks they wore black, like the hippies they lived in rural intentional communities, although they did not so categorically reject city life, spending time in inner-city communal squats and shared houses. The punk practice of body piercing was further developed to include natural objects like bones and feathers, while hairstyles often combined the punk 'mohawk' with dreadlocks. As with the other two subcultures primarily marijuana, but also hallucinogens and other illegal drugs (including the newer 'ecstacy'), were used. Like the punks, this group advocated more active resistance, and proceeded to develop the blockading devices described in Chapter Eleven. Many of the ferals were homeless, or nomadic by choice; they formed the backbone of the NEFA blockades by making the forests their home and maintaining a presence there for the months it often took to build up a viable action. Their role was thus central in the movement, and had a profound influence of the development of nonviolence to include more radical new techniques.

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the Australian eco-pax movement, setting the parameters within which this work's discussions of nonviolence and artistic developments take place. This is a *direct action*-oriented movement of protest with a focus on social justice and other concerns in addition to those of the environment and peace. Eco-pax is diverse and informal, and tries to avoid hierarchical structures and bureaucratic methods. It has a polyphonic nature, shared events, publications and resources, and opposition to bureaucratic centralism. Key characteristics of movement organisations were described. Relevant campaigns other than those in the case studies were discussed, to contextualise the latter and to augment later theoretical discussions. The chapter concluded with a brief description of important subcultural change. Further introductory material occurs in the next chapter,- on nonviolence theory.

Table Two

CAMPAIGN	YEAR(S)	DETAILS	REFERENCE(S)
Franklin River	1982-1983	Tasmanian anti-dam blockade	Blockaders 1983
Political Economic	1983	Occupation to save course at Sydney University	Casey 1983
Roxby Downs	1983, 1984	Uranium mine blockades	Branagan 1983b, 1984b; Cohen 1997:106-118
Education rallies	1983-2004	Rallies for adequate, affordable education for all: Sydney, Brisbane, Armidale	Murray 1998
Lakeside	1984	ALP national conference protest	Doyle 2000:136
Palm Sunday marches	1983-1987	Peace and nuclear disarmament marches	Burgmann 1993:202
Daintree	1984	Rainforest road blockade	Sanderson 2004; Cohen 1997:81-95
Warships	1985-1988	Water-based blockades of nuclear warships	Branagan 1988; Cohen1997:129-148
The Bike Ride	1986	Anti-nuclear, peace, land rights action	Branagan 1986
Nurrungar, Pine Gap	1986, 1989	U.S.spy base protests	Branagan 1986; Burgmann 1993:204
Penan, rainforest timber	1987-1995	2 trips to Borneo, blockades of rainforest timber ships, lobbying, concerts, talks, hungerstrike, novel	Jeffries, Dean 1988/1989; Vermunt 1990; Branagan 1994
Broken Head	1988	Campaign against coastal development	Northcoaster 1988
Wagyl	1988-1990	Land rights protest, Perth	Burgmann 1993:58
Mt Etna	1988	Limestone mine blockade	Plowman & Harries 1988
Reconciliation	1988-2004	Rallies for Aboriginal reconcilation and Social Justice	Standfield 2004
Tantawangalo, Coolungubra	1989-1991, 1993	Old-growth forest logging blockade, south-east NSW	Hutton & Connors 188-190; Cohen 1997:171-180
Washpool	1989	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Ricketts 2003:123

CAMPAIGN	YEAR	DETAILS	REFERENCE(S)
Chaelundi	1990, 1991	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Ricketts 2003; Cohen 1997:181:202; Branagan 1991
AIDEX	1991	Armaments convention protest	Perkins 1991
Killiekrankie	1992	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Cohen 1997: 203-209
Mummel Gulf	1992	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Ricketts 2003:127-128
Wild Cattle Creek I and II	1992, 1994	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Begg 1994
Styx	1992	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Branagan 1992b:4
Erskineville People's Park	1992	Occupation to stop development of park	Cubby 1992
NAFI	1992-1995	Campaign against forest industr propaganda	O'Dwyer & Branagan 1995; Anderson 1992
Mistake	1993	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Branagan 1993
Exit Caves	1993	Protest against cave mining, Tasmania	Shaw 1995
Rage Against Woodchipping	1994	National actions to stop export woodchipping of native forests	Surfrider Foundation 2004
The Great Walk I	1994	1000 km bushwalk (3 stages): conservation, land rights, youth, ecofeminism	Branagan 2003b:51
Forest Embassy	1994	Old-growth forest logging protest, Canberra	Junankar & Schmid 1994
Wollumbin	1995	Old-growth forest logging blockade	Nature Conservation Council 2002
The Great Walk II	1995	Similar walk on Fraser Island	Branagan 2003b:51
Students and Sustainability	1996	International conference, multipl themes	Macdonald 1996
Breathers' rights	1996-1999	Campaigns to reduce passive smoking, car use: NT, NSW	Branagan 1996; Green Left Weekly 1997
Iron Gates	1997	Blockade of coastal development on sacred land	Mitchell 1997; Gosper 1997; Environment Defenders Office 2005
Timbarra	1997	Blockade of gold mine	Wilson 1997

Campaign	Year	Details	Reference
Eire	1997	Visit to Northern Ireland; yidaki (didgeridu) performances, letters to newspapers, Gerry Adams	Sinn Fein 1997; 'Eire' (unpublished article Branagan 1997)
Jabiluka	1998	Land rights, anti-uranium blockade	Johnston 1999
Ippeltye Irreme (Sorry)	1999	Joint multi-media exhibition: social justice, environment, peace	?Alice Springs News
Peace of Black Earth	2001	Multi-media exhibition, Armidale: social justice, envt, peace	Branagan & Spence 2002a
Greens	2001-2004	Local Green campaigning: elections, UNE courtyard petition, deforestation, anti-racism, GM foods	Branagan 2001a, 2004e
Justice for refugees	2002-2004	Rallies, letters to release refugees: Canberra, Armidale; visit to Villawood Detention Centre	Branagan 2002b, 2004d
Peace Rallies and Teach-ins	2003	March, concert, puppet shows, teach-ins against invasion of Ira	Boughton & Branagan 2003; Branagan 2003c
'Dinosaurs'	2004	Radio programme: social justice, peace, environment themes	Tune! FM 2004

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chapter four

NONVIOLENCE

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4.1   INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I introduce nonviolence, beginning with a brief definition and history. I do not attempt to comprehensively cover the complex subject; this has been done by a number of authors (eg Sharp 1973; Smoker et al 1990; Salla et al 1995; Spence 1995; Burrowes 1996; Powers and Vogele 1997). Instead I confine myself to a discussion of those aspects of nonviolence which are pertinent to the thesis' major questions of developments in nonviolence, and the use of the arts by activists. To this end, I describe what has become known as *orthodox nonviolence*, as reaction against this form of nonviolence is one of the major developments covered by this work. I situate *orthodox nonviolence* within *principled, revolutionary, satyagrahic nonviolence*. I discuss the *consent theory* of power, and some key tenets of orthodox nonviolence, such as *conversion, holism, the constructive programme* and *inclusivity*. These tenets are also important in examining the benefits that the arts bring to nonviolent praxis.

Next I provide a short description of nonviolence traditions which differ from orthodox nonviolence, that is – *pragmatic, reformist* and *duragrahic* approaches. Finally, I examine particular tenets over which schisms have historically arisen - *sabotage, secrecy* and *consensus* decision-making - thereby showing that continuing schisms over these, described in the case studies, are a continuation of the history of debate and development in nonviolence.

4.2   DEFINITION

Any simple definition of nonviolence is problematic. For some, nonviolence is any action that does not involve violence towards people. For many advocates of *principled nonviolence*, it also encompasses refusal to be violent to property, and a commitment to *openness, radical democracy* and *holism*. For the latter, nonviolence is a way of life; for practitioners of *pragmatic nonviolence* it is merely a tactic to be used in creating social change. On a slightly different axis can be found other opposing viewpoints of

nonviolence:- those who use it in a *reformist* way, and those who intend it to have *revolutionary* effects. Nonviolence, therefore, should be regarded not as a monolithic or unified philosophy, but as a term covering a myriad of beliefs and methods of action. Many of these methods have been catalogued by Gene Sharp (1973), and can be viewed as occurring along a continuum (see Figure 8).
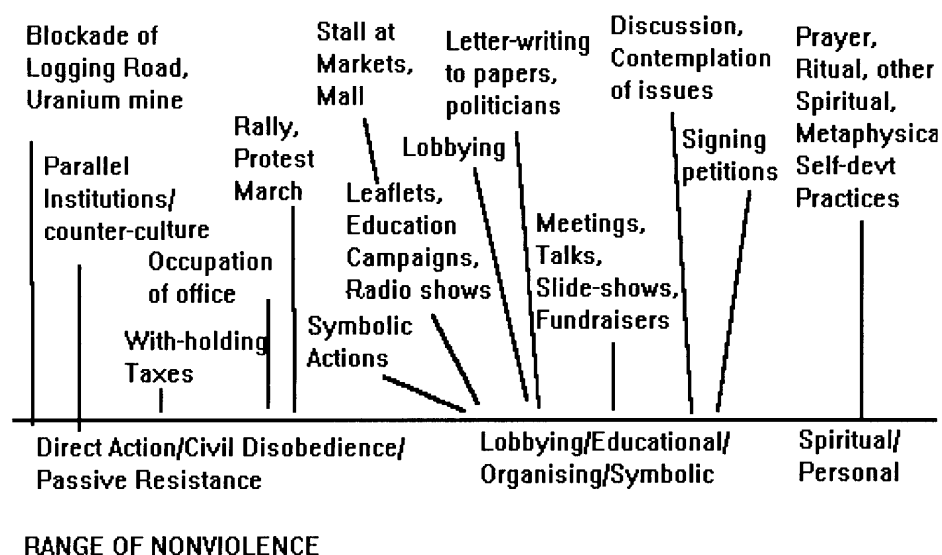
Blockade of
Logging Road,
Uranium mine

Parallel
Institutions/
counter-culture

Rally,
Protest
March

Occupation
of office

With-holding
Taxes

Stall at
Markets,
Mall

Lobbying

Leaflets,
Education
Campaigns,
Radio shows

Symbolic
Actions

Letter-writing
to papers,
politicians

Meetings,
Talks,
Slide-shows,
Fundraisers

Discussion,
Contemplation
of issues

Signing
petitions

Prayer,
Ritual, other
Spiritual,
Metaphysica
Self-devt
Practices

Direct Action/Civil Disobedience/
Passive Resistance

Lobbying/Educational/
Organising/Symbolic

Spiritual/
Personal

RANGE OF NONVIOLENCE

Figure 8: Available nonviolent tactics presented as a continuum.

4.3   HISTORY

Nonviolence is not a recent phenomenon. Examples of nonviolent action can be found in China dating back to ancient times (Fang 1997:73). One of the Jewish and then Christian Commandments was 'Thou Shalt Not Kill', with parallels in Buddhist, Taoist, Pagan, Muslim, secular humanist, Socratean philosophical and other traditions (Woito 1997:358). Two millenia ago, Yesua Ben Miriam (Jesus) advocated 'turning the other cheek' if someone strikes you. Early Christians refused to take part in war, as did the Anabaptists, Quakers and others from the 17th century (Yolton 1997: 125-126). There were strong nonviolent actions in Hungary in 1848 (Bennett 1997:236) and against the Kapp Putch in Germany in 1920 (Bennett 1997:283). According to Brock-Utne (1994:206), the most extensive use of nonviolent strategies has been by women, who performed many actions to try to stop World War I and to prevent World War II.

Mohandas Gandhi is perhaps the best known nonviolent activist; he has been compared with St Francis of Assisi, with the nonviolence of both being informed by their deep spirituality (Ramachandra 1978). Although Gandhi is often considered to have been the 'father of nonviolence', it is less well known that he admitted learning most of his nonviolent actions from women,- in particular, British suffragettes (Brock-Utne 1994:206)[1].

A brief but succinct history of nonviolence in Australia is provided by Summy (1997). He shows that nonviolent action has been a major but unacknowledged part of Australian history, and he details numerous actions by Aboriginals, convicts, the original 'squatters', gold miners, and later peace activists, women's groups and environmentalists (see also Jones et al 1995; Nonviolence Training Project 2005). Margaret Pestorius (1997:9) notes that "[t]he resistance of Aboriginal people is probably the largest and arguably the most successful and influential 'campaign' in Australia's recent history". Although there is much literature showing that the numerous Aboriginal nations of Australia protested the British invasion in highly visible violent ways, and, more often, in less visible nonviolent ways (eg Reynolds 1981, 1998; Newbury 1999; Foley 2001), Pestorius writes that indigenous struggles have not been widely told in the Australian Nonviolence Network or recorded in the journal *Nonviolence Today* "because of the historical isolation of whites from blacks" (1997:9).

4.4 LITERATURE ON NONVIOLENCE IN AUSTRALIAN ECO-PAX MOVEMENT

As noted in section 1.2, there is a scarcity of literature that examines issues of nonviolence in the Australian eco-pax movement, particularly from an insider's viewpoint. International works specifically on nonviolence are alluded to in this chapter and elsewhere, including King (1958), Sharp (1973), Shivers (1982), Weber (1993), Vogele and Powers (1997), and Ackerman and Duvall (2000), while Jones (1985), Erikson (1990), Gaard (1998), Roddick (2001), Welton & Wolf (2001) and Shepard and Hayduk (2002) discuss many recent nonviolent protests; they provide useful insights into protests occurring parallel to the Australian ones. Some are similar as in the

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[1] Brock-Utne notes that as women begin to hold more important roles in governments and corporations, "the status of nonviolence also strengthens" (1994:206).

'Reclaim the Streets' protests, others quite different, such as deposing dictators in Asia, South America or Eastern Europe.

In the Australian context, a number of works mention nonviolence in their discussion of protest actions or movements, but with little examination of nonviolence *per se*, for example McQueen (1983), Green (1984), Saunders and Summy (1986), Pakulski (1991), Baldry and Vincent (1991), Thornton, Phelan and McKeown (1997), Nossal & Vivian (1997) and Hutton & Connors (1999). Summy's (1997) work is of some use as an academic overview, but lacks emic insights and up-to-date analysis of developments in the 1990s. There is a short section in Kendall and Buivids (1987), dealing mainly with orthodox nonviolence. Burrowes (1996) also discusses nonviolence from an orthodox point of view, mainly relating to nonviolent defence.

More relevant for this thesis is Cohen (1997), who discusses problems he had with orthodox nonviolence. He discusses these in the context of his chapters on the Franklin and Roxby Downs, so it seems more appropriate to discuss his writings and actions in my chapters on those blockades (Chapters Six and Seven), and in the chapter on *active resistance* (Chapter Eleven). Similarly, the Blockaders' (1983) discussions of nonviolence at the Franklin are reviewed in Chapter Six. Reasonably in-depth emic discussion of nonviolence by Western Australian forest activists Chris Lee, Leith Maddock (2000) and Emma (2000) is referred to in this chapter. Schmah's 1998 work is also useful, particularly for its ecofeminist perspective; it is discussed throughout the thesis. Chapter Three of Doyle (2000:45-60) is an excellent discussion of nonviolence in Australian environmental conflict, addressing the tensions in the movement and the changes that have occurred. I refer to his findings particularly in Chapter Eleven.

4.5   ORTHODOX NONVIOLENCE

4.5.1   Principled nonviolence

It is important to discuss principled nonviolence first, because it is often regarded as the 'purest' or 'highest' form of nonviolence. It forms the basis of what Doyle (2000:58) has described as orthodox nonviolence. Principled nonviolence is a holistic wide-ranging philosophy, which argues that the means used to reach social change objectives are as important as the ends, that is,- that 'a paradise built on bloodshed is not a paradise at all'. It sees strong interconnections between violence, environmental

damage, dualism and patriarchy, and therefore advocates holistic methods and radically-democratic group dynamics. Its practitioners try to avoid hating their opponents; instead they "distinguish between the person and the evil they may do, seeking to draw out the moral capacity of each person" (Woito 1997:359). They try to view a group who opposes them not as a single, evil entity to be defeated, but as being comprised of individuals, each of whom is neither wholly good or bad: "if there are any battle lines to distinguish between the good guys and the bad, they traverse the internal landscape of each individual" (Macy quoted in Peavey 1986:164).

Whereas 'nonviolent action' can be seen as a generic term for a political technique "not synonymous with pacifism or identical with religious or philosophical systems emphasizing nonviolence as a moral principle" (Ostergaard 1977:169), principled nonviolence is more likely to involve deeply-held convictions. It is a form of nonviolence in which practitioners

(a) explicitly state their intention to conduct and resolve conflict without violence,
(b) adopt many precautions to demonstrate and carry out that intention, and
(c) are prepared to suffer, even sacrifice their lives, if need be, rather than inflict suffering on others while holding fast to the truths they believe. As such it characteristically develops out of religious or ethical rather than political or practical considerations and is expressed in witness[2] for ideals. (Woito 1997:357)

Section 13.2.8 discusses how artistic and cultural aspects of resistance such as symbolic actions (see Sharp 1973:135-145) are closely allied to principled nonviolence, as they are often nonviolent expressions of heartfelt belief, involving positive or creative responses, or they are incorporated fulltime in lifestyle choices.

4.5.2   Satyagraha

Principled nonviolence usually includes 'satyagraha', a concept developed by Mohandas Gandhi, involving 'the determined pursuit of truth' (Arun Gandhi 1997:460). The aim of Gandhi's threefold philosophy of action - *truth, nonviolence* and *self-suffering* - is not to win but to work towards a common truth. He advocates working with an opponent so that both grow, learn and become colleagues. One may

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[2] 'Witness' is a Quaker-influenced practice of expressing moral opposition by witnessing an act, but not intervening (see Nepstad 1997:352-353).

compromise, but only on non-essential things that don't violate one's basic integrity (Ostergaard 1977:169). This replacement of the win/lose view of power which resorts to physical, legal and psychological revenge, with nonviolent win/win solutions of cooperation is a fundamentally radical approach that according to Indian activist Vandana Shiva "challenges the dominant concept of power as violence with the alternative of nonviolence as power" (quoted in Schmah 1998:32). Power is further discussed in section 4.6.1.

4.5.3 Revolutionary nonviolence

In a similar vein, adherents of principled nonviolence generally consider their activities to be *revolutionary*, rather than *reformist*. That is, they eschew gradual change through working with elites in traditional ways (eg lobbying politicians), preferring to employ grassroots methods of mass mobilisation, involving informal politics and deep-seated fundamental change, over longer time-frames if necessary (Burrowes 1990:2). They seek to avoid the long-term effects of violence, and not just achieve short-term objectives such as a change of government or policy. They envisage a world free of violence. To this end they also seek justice and equity, for while these are absent, there will always be *structural violence* - for example, people dying of hunger because of government or corporate structures (see Galtung 1969), or the threat of violence.

4.5.4 Orthodox nonviolence

As the first case study will show, well-articulated principled nonviolent praxis – then termed *nonviolent action* or NVA, and strongly influenced by Gandhi - was used at the Franklin River, under the leadership of the 'Groundswell' nonviolence network. According to prominent theorist Ralph Summy, this group of principled practitioners (later renamed the 'Australian Nonviolence Network'), has not just kept the peace movement alive during quiet times[3], but it has been responsible for the most significant advances in nonviolence in Australia (1997:31). Since that time, as later case studies show, there have been significant challenges to that form of nonviolence. Consequently, it has been described by environment movement theorist Timothy Doyle as 'purist', 'orthodox', 'traditional' and 'strict'; it is also known as *Gandhian nonviolence* or as the

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[3] Boughton, on the contrary, argues that "the 'old left' was responsible for keeping the peace movement alive in quiet times – if, in fact, any times were quiet" (pers. comm. 18 March 2005.

Burrowes interpretation, after Melbourne Rainforest Action Group activist and pacifist tax resister Rob Burrowes, who rejects militant direct action and believes secretive actions only perpetuate malignant global structures (2000:58)[4]. Within this *revolutionary, satyagrahic* form of nonviolence, sabotage and secrecy are eschewed, while radically-democratic group dynamics are embraced and police are fully consulted before any large group actions. Some of its key tenets are enumerated below.

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Table Three

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Tenets of Principled Nonviolence
'Consent' theory of power.
Conversion/Persuasion of opponents and third parties (rather than coercion).
Holism.
Constructive programme/Parallel institutions: sustainable mass movement, balance
Inclusivity.
Non-hierarchical structures/Affinity groups: decentralised, grassroots.
Radically-democratic egalitarian decision-making processes (consensus).
Openness.
Self-suffering.
Training: adherence to nonviolence despite provocation/setbacks.
Opposition to sabotage.

4.6   KEY TENETS OF ORTHODOX NONVIOLENCE

4.6.1   Consent theory of power

Before discussing other tenets such as *conversion*, it is necessary to describe the theory of power upon which much of nonviolence rests. This is the 'consent' theory of power, which has been well developed by Sharp (1973:7-62), among others. Opposed to the hierarchical or monolithic concept of the nature of power, the consent theory claims that political power is

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[4] Other terms include 'Gandhian' and 'fundamentalist' (see Chandler 1992:1).

Nonviolence Introduction

> ... pluralistic and fragile ...[and] dependent on external sources which need constant replenishment ... [Its source is] people together with their knowledge, skills and material resources (Burrowes 1989:1)[5].

> Power is dispersed throughout society: it is not controlled by an elite at the top of a political pyramid. All elites (including governments) depend on the goodwill, consent and cooperation of ordinary people in order to exercise authority (Western Australia Forest Alliance cited in Schmah 1998:31).

According to this theory, if people withdraw their consent, the regime can no longer function, and will ultimately collapse (see Figure 10). Corporations, like governments, rely on the people to support them by buying their products. To differing degrees, everyone has the power to boycott, for example, a product made by Nestles, or to refuse plastic bags at a supermarket, and these actions become more powerful as more people do them. A major criticism of this theory made by McGuiness (2002), however, is that it fails to take into account power relations where there is little or no consent, such as the position of women under patriarchy, and that it is largely an instrumentalist rather than structuralist theory (ie that it is reliant on a benign and unrealistic view of power (see also Sharp 1973:8; Martin 1989; Doyle 2000:118-123). I qualify this criticism in sections 12.3.2 and 13.2.5.

4.6.2   Conversion

As noted above, orthodox nonviolence seeks to avoid win/lose dichotomies. Thus it advocates persuasive rather than confrontational tactics. Only when all channels of persuasion are exhausted are more radical *civil disobedience*[6] tactics employed, such as sitting on a road and refusing to move, even when ordered to by police. As activist Fran Peavey writes:

> In some situations oppositional pressure may be an effective and appropriate strategy, in many others, significant change is not likely to result from such means. Respect for different people and ideas ... encourages the emergence of viable solutions and hopeful visions that are seeds for transformative strategies (quoted in Schmah 1998:32).

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[5] There are thus close links to be seen between nonviolence and postmodernism, as section 5.7 discusses.
[6] Civil disobedience is "[d]eliberate violation of the law in order to protest injustice" Bedau (1997:83).

Orthodox nonviolence thus advocates that activists attempt to 'convert' third parties and opponents to their point of view, by engaging in dialogue, striving for common ground, being respectful, and listening to differing viewpoints. It is hoped that force of argument or the 'truth-force' of *satyagraha* will change others' viewpoints, along with the self-suffering which indicates the activist's commitment to the cause and to nonviolence. This conversion has a two-fold purpose. The first is to remove opposition by changing opponents (such as a government) and their employees (armies, police) to a neutral position or even into colleagues. The second is to build the movement by gathering converts from third parties (the general public) and from the opposition. According to the consent theory of power, as a nonviolent protest grows and includes an ever-wider circle of converts - including converted opponents - so the opposition's power and legitimacy crumbles. The turning point, for example, in the nonviolent overthrow of the Yugoslav dictator Slobadan Milosevic was when the army and police largely stood aside as strikes and a massive demonstration filled Belgrade in October 2000 (Ackermann & Duvall 2000:488). The willingness of activists to undergo suffering is traditionally regarded as an important element in conversion: this is discussed in section 4.8.4.

In section 2.3.3 I have discussed the learning and teaching that occurs in the eco-pax movement at three different levels. It is worth noting that there are strong connections between educative processes and conversion. In many instances, to educate is to convert, and vice versa. The process of conversion occurs when activists *educate* audiences about issues such as uranium mining, *teaching* them the dangers and the social injustice of the process about which they may have been unaware. As audiences become better informed they begin to change their opinion about the process, and become less willing to accept the viewpoint of corporations and governments. The final stage of conversion is when they actively oppose the industry. As the case studies and Chapter Thirteen will show, conversion/education is significantly aided by the use of the arts.

4.6.3 Holism

Orthodox practitioners aim at a consistent, holistic practice, wherein they avoid the dualistic behaviour that is at the root of many problems. As mentioned above, it is important that the means of struggle be aligned with the ends: "our methods must be

without reproach, since the end cannot be disassociated from the means" (Dolci quoted in Salla et al 1995:152). What is done in the present affects what one is trying to achieve in the future, no matter what that future vision is: "means that are ignoble or destructive, and that generate hatred, ruthlessness or intolerance among those who resort to them, will corrupt the ends" (Carter quoted in Smoker et al 1990:214). It is argued that although one can aim to improve society there can never be a perfect society, so using tainted means cannot be justified by invoking the 'socialist paradise' or any other paradise. If methods of social change are violent, although they may achieve a stated goal, they are liable to be overshadowed by the long-term repercussions of that violence. Thus nonviolence seeks prefigurative social change methods that are as effective in the long-term as the short. Similarly, violent struggles for social justice or the environment may reduce problems in those areas while creating new problems through the violence itself (see Figure 11). Social change is thus seen as a continuous, non-dualistic and never-ending process, not as an imperfect present disjointed from a perfect future. There are close links here between feminism and nonviolence: Brock-Utne (1994:206) has written that "nonviolent strategies call for creative application of the feminist belief that means and ends are the same", while ecofeminist Schmah (1998:5-6) has stressed the importance of overcoming dualistic thinking and recognising the interconnectedness both of people and of issues (see also Peavey 1986:1; Reardon 1990).

Holism also refers to social and physical environments: rather than being nationalistic or favouring any group, all the people on Earth should be considered in any major decision-making process. Animal liberationists and deep ecologists have expanded this to include all creatures and entities in the biosphere. As the previous chapter showed, this holism is a major factor in the confluence of movements such as eco-pax, and a contributing factor in the rise of 'alternative lifestylers' seeking non-dualistic lives, and their associated protest and cultural activities.

As the case studies and Chapter Twelve in particular will show, moves by the eco-pax movement towards more holistic activism – particularly that which sought to include Aboriginal concerns in eco-pax decision-making - were an extremely important development in nonviolent practice in this country. However, these chapters will also

show that holism can be a source of friction. Holism will also be seen later (in sections 13.2.1.1 and 13.3.1) as a major factor in activism through the arts, because of the effects the arts can have on the body, emotions and psyche, and because the whole range of human expressions, rather than a limited few such as speech-making and blockades, can be considered appropriate methods of protest.

4.6.4 The constructive programme

As part of this holistic approach, nonviolence theorists such as Gandhi advocate balancing the negativity of protest with the practice of positive aspects of nonviolence, as part of satyagraha's 'pursuit of truth', and to create concrete social change (A.Gandhi 1997:128). If people are to enjoy rights, responsibilities need to be shouldered. As well as criticising existing institutions, activists need to try to replace them by creating new or *parallel institutions*[7], which act as exemplary models. Personal empowerment, grassroots networking and change, *inclusivity*, movement sustainability and holistic balance (of means-ends <u>and</u> of activism) are all served by the constructive programme, since it avoids the stresses of confrontational activism and emphasises cooperative creativity. There can also be tactical benefits to a campaign, such as the production in the 1940s of *khadi* (home-spun cloth) by Indians. This reduced their dependence on British textiles and exerted economic pressure on the British administration, as well as providing work and producing the powerful collective symbol of the spinning wheel that helped to forge a common identity (A.Gandhi 1997:130). Section 13.3.1.1 will show how the arts are an important contributor to the constructive programme.

4.6.5 Inclusivity

Following from holism, and closely allied to conversion and *openness* (see below), *inclusivity* is a principle of nonviolence that aims to bring into the campaign as many people as possible (see Reardon 1990:138-139). Networks should be open to anyone genuinely wanting to join. In a holistic vision, there is no benefit to be gained by forming a privileged group that benefits while others are excluded. This can be contrasted with militaristic and other hierarchical systems that tend towards excluding many people. For example, armies are wary of 'the enemy', and thus are careful of whom they include. They keep information channels secretive. Many corporations are

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[7] The latter, however, has negative connotations of bureaucratic hierarchies or similar organs of 'The Establishment'.

similarly exclusive and secretive: they aim to reward their owners, management, shareholders and workers, to the exclusion of others. Nationalism is a political type of exclusion; it tries to elevate one nation above other nations.

As in holism, principled nonviolent activists seek to enfranchise the entire world, and seek social justice for all. They seek to grow through including people in a global movement, and there is evidence that this global movement already exists, for example the 'global justice movement' (see Dellinger 2001:57). As section 13.3.2.4 will show, inclusivity is significantly enhanced by the use of art-forms in protest.

4.6.6 Radically-democratic group dynamics
4.6.6.1 Affinity groups

In addition to inclusivity, *orthodox nonviolence* stresses a need for egalitarian group structures where one can feel safe to voice an opinion, and be able to influence the decisions of the group. Affinity groups are small groups formed as a part of a larger campaign. Usually comprising between ten and twenty members, they are considered the cells of the nonviolent movement (see TWS 1982a:4-6, 41-48). Small groups can develop strong bonds and excellent group dynamics. They are democratic and can be very imaginative. They retain an individual feel often lost in large groups, where the loudest and least imaginative may dominate.

Affinity groups are also known by other names, such as the 'Abrahamic minorities' or small pressure groups advocated by Camara (cited in Salla et al 1995:153).[8] Again, little research has been done on affinity groups. I further introduce them in Chapter Six. In Chapter Twelve I discuss the changing perceptions and uses of affinity groups, and in Chapter Thirteen I show their relevance to artistic activism.

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The tenets mentioned above are accepted widely (or not seriously challenged) by many nonviolent actionists, including those outside the orthodox pantheon. The tenets that

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[8] A spiritual equivalent to affinity groups are the covens that make up the larger 'Wicca' or neo-pagan movements.

follow are more controversial, and will be returned to later after a brief introduction here.

4.6.6.2 Consensus decision-making

Nonviolence theories advocate radically democratic decision-making processes. The most widely-used and formalised is *consensus* decision-making, which arises from the belief that voting is undemocratic. That is, up to forty-nine percent of the group may disagree with the vote, and will be unwilling to implement the decision. They may even undermine it if they strongly disagree. *Consensus,* on the other hand, calls for the whole group to come to an agreement. Minority viewpoints are respected, and even one person can block consensus, so solutions are negotiated that suit everyone. Consensus involves articulation of a proposal, clarification and discussion, followed by amendments if necessary. As in the *satyagraha* aspect of nonviolence, consensus is based on the realisation that no one person or group owns the truth; rather truth is worked towards together (section 5.7 further discusses 'truth').

There are several models. A frequently-used one involves no chairperson, but a facilitator (with no extra power such as a 'casting vote') who should remain neutral and merely coordinates the discussion. This position needs to be regularly rotated to avoid the build-up of a hierarchy. In a formal large group situation, there is a facilitator, a time-keeper, a vibes-watcher to keep an eye on the emotional state of the meeting, a gender monitor to prevent male dominance, and someone to take minutes. Again, links between nonviolence and ecofeminism can be seen in the literature, with Estes (cited in Gaard 1998 :152) describing consensus as a feminist-type method, as it is inclusive, compassionate, caring and takes heed of minorities (although some feminists would wary of these implications of biological determinism). Similarly, U.S. ecofeminist and witch Starhawk claims that

> Group process is an important element of nonviolent strategy. Organisational structures typically endorsed by ecofeminists involve collective effort and consensual or participatory decision-making processes. This is often within small working groups which allow for interaction and fairness on a human scale, and which consciously guard against the corruption of power (quoted in Schmah 1998:31).

It is no coincidence that these radically-democratic structures and processes seem anarchist-influenced. George Woodcock identifies a "revival of the anarchist current of

thought accompanied by active movements among young people in many European and American countries" (1980:50). This neo-anarchism, he argues, which is loosely related to the 'New Left', sprang from the double roots of the US civil rights movement and the mass protests for nuclear disarmament that occurred in Britain in the 1960s. Both of these movements had a strong element of nonviolence. Moreover, Andrew Rigney, in discussing the New Left or 'underground', points to the "essential continuity that exists between certain wings of the contemporary movement and the anarcho-pacifist tradition" (1974:81)[9]

As Rigney notes (1974:82), there are opposing schools of thought regarding the use of violence, both in the historical and the modern anarchist movements. However, many anarchists have developed and embraced nonviolent methods, with perhaps the most important historical link between anarchism and nonviolence being the fact that Gandhi regarded himself as "a kind of anarchist", and developed India's civil disobedience tactics under the influence of Tolstoy and Thoreau (Woodcock 1980:54; see also Brock 1991).

4.6.7 Openness

In contrast to hierarchical or militaristic groups, secrecy is eschewed by orthodox nonviolent practitioners, because of the commitment to truth embodied in *satyagraha*. As Czech activist/playwright Vaclav Havel has noted, "ultimately - if one was to 'live within the truth' ... one had to act openly" (quoted in Burrowes 1996:231). Burrowes (1996:231) notes that "secrecy is rooted in fear and contributes to it, whereas nonviolent struggle is essentially about learning to overcome fear"

Sydney Rainforest Action Group, a collective especially successful at garnering support from lawyers and media, is not just open and inclusive in its strategies,- some members actively informed police in advance of any proposed actions (though others - including myself - engaged in officially-unsanctioned graffiti actions on ships importing rainforest timber). The rationale was that if police know what is planned, there is less likelihood

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[9] Anarchism is often branded as chaos, and anarchists regarded as violent terrorists because of the actions of a few self-professed anarchists, but the vast majority of anarchists have not used terrorism – "to think of the anarchist as a man with a bomb is like considering every Roman Catholic a dynamiter because of Guy Fawkes" (Woodcock 1980:43).

of them being fearful and thus violent, and it is then also easier to talk to and possibly convert them. The need for openness is a key reason why orthodox nonviolence forbids sabotage. This is discussed in section 4.8.1.

4.6.8 Training

Another aspect of holism is the call to maintain the nonviolence of a group even under sustained pressure, provocation, violent repression, and threat of failure. Thus preparation for direct action is important if it is to remain nonviolent even during intense emotional pressures. This training also teaches that the success or failure of a group is not measured purely at a utilitarian or instrumental level, but also with regard to a number of factors such as cultivation of personal skills, opening up avenues of expressive politics, the intrinsic value of engaging in social action, and the long-term value benefits of nonviolence to society (Summy 1995:159).

Nonviolence training has been a prerequisite for several Australian actions[10], for example, the Franklin blockade and the Giblett, Western Australia, forest blockade of 1997, with schisms caused by some people not wanting to do it. The Giblett blockaders wanted a spiritual base for building communities across difference, so they embraced *ahimsa*, a Sanskrit concept of non-injury from which the word 'nonviolence' is derived (Lee & Maddock 2000:164-165). It means more than simply the absence of violence; it seeks the active presence of unconditional love and respect for the other, disallowing violence in thought, word or deed. Truth and honesty were an important part of this love. The blockaders held regular 'heart circles', discussing openly despairs as well as visions. Theirs is a moving description of a principled nonviolent blockade, which brought powerful personal, community and political transformations.

Lynne Jones' book *Keeping the Peace* includes a section on nonviolence and training (1985:149-152), including forming of affinity groups, bonding exercises, role plays (eg to experience what it is like to be a policeman), use of consensus and training of peacekeepers. Jones also includes an informative section on organising at a national level using affinity groups, and how to classify and target particular groups to network with and seek to influence. A more recent 'Trainers' Resource Manual' (Nonviolence

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[10] It was also encouraged prior to the Roxby, 1983 Pine Gap and Jabiluka actions.

Training Project 2005) is a valuable addition to the area. Section 6.4 describes nonviolence training at the Franklin blockade.

4.7 DISSENT AGAINST ORTHODOXY

This definition of orthodox nonviolence has been necessary to illuminate later discussions arising from the case studies, which show tensions arising (from the Franklin onwards) within the Australian eco-pax movement over orthodox nonviolence. This dissent would grow to the point where some groups (such as the North-East Forest Alliance) would discard some aspects of or all of orthodox nonviolence, and express a disdain for nonviolence generally. They would nevertheless largely continue to use nonviolent methods (they later gave their own definition of this eg Ricketts 2003:138), but there was little articulation or discussion of nonviolence at the time, nor any training. Thus nonviolence was in a state of flux and some confusion as orthodoxy was thrown out and little theory was there to replace it, to aid the new forms of nonviolence.

It is important to note that this dissent falls within a history of dissent within nonviolent movements. Here I outline the main thrusts of this dissension, and provide more specific discussion of highly disputed tenets of orthodox nonviolence, such as sabotage.

4.7.1 Pragmatic nonviolence

Practitioners of *pragmatic* (also known as *strategic* or *tactical*) nonviolence use nonviolent strategies and tactics to achieve particular ends, but may abandon either nonviolence or their objective in the face of an inadequate response or violent repression (Woito 1997:357). (Figure 9 shows how activists might move between violent acts to different forms of nonviolence.) If violent methods ensue, this can lead to criticisms that the action was never really nonviolent. However, as the case studies will show, many Australian practitioners of pragmatic nonviolence developed a mistrust of the religious aspects of principled nonviolence, and were sceptical of all-embracing philosophies. They wanted only to achieve definite short-term objectives, not engage in what seemed to be futile and time-wasting attempts to entirely reshape the world. Some did not want to want to love their enemies - or even their fellow blockaders - or 'turn the other cheek' and forgive their opponents, and regarded attempts to make them do so as bourgeois spiritual imperialism. Thanks to the Terania actions (which are discussed in sections 1.2 and 6.2), aspects of pragmatic nonviolence were already being practised

(and influencing principled nonviolence) by the time of the Franklin blockade. As section 6.10.1 shows, there arose an emphasis on radical, direct action which made some of the theoretical literature from overseas seem irrelevant, such as the reliance on small groups (Carter 1990:215), or 'witness' alone (Woito 1997:357-359), or Camara's reticence about breaking the law and his agonising over *coercion* and whether Gandhi used it (in Salla et al 1995:153).
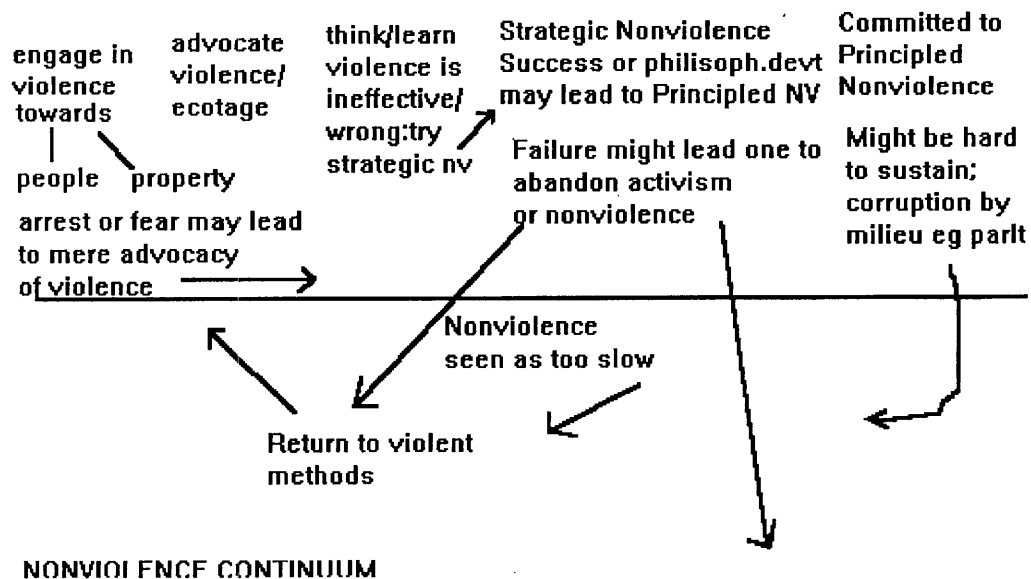

Figure 9: Possible movement along nonviolence continuum.

4.7.2 Reformist nonviolence

Because of their supposed revolutionary agenda, orthodox theorists such as Burrowes are implacably opposed to working with governments. Ecofeminists such as Braidotti, however, are more realistic *and* productive by taking a middle path between the extremes of revolutionary and reformist nonviolence:

> Like most activists, ecofeminists find themselves becoming systems opponents *and* systems managers. That is, they are critical of government and industry while still engaging with these structures for vital interim and short-term solutions: such as demanding wilderness reserves, law reform and affirmative action, rape crisis centres, and animal shelters (Braidotti quoted in Schmah 1998:31)

French peace activist Jean-Marie Muller too argues for some engagement with governments, such as when attempting to replace traditional modes of defence:

> Negotiations won't bring overnight abolition of the armed forces, unilateral disarmament and the choice of civilian nonviolence as the sole form of national security. What we need is a process of transarmament: a socio-political dynamic transforming our militarised society into a civilised one (Muller 1991:12).

Muller argues that the compromise of civilian defence is a necessary step in phasing in nonviolence to replace traditional defence, and she warns that maintaining an extreme, purist stance achieves little, as anarchists and pacifists are

> both inconsequential if they reject [civilian defence]. Rather they should be the first to adopt a pragmatic attitude that would *advance* their goals instead of an ideological one which serves merely to affirm them (Muller 1991:13).

4.7.3 Structuralism versus pluralism

Very similar to the revolutionary/reformist debate is that of *structuralism* versus *pluralism*. In Australia, groups such as the Nomadic Action Group largely pursue change outside the state, believing that corporate or bureaucratic mechanisms of the state are structurally responsible for many environmental problems. Some reformist environmental organisations can be found within the state, such as Greening Australia and Landcare; others such as The Wilderness Society work within the state where possible, but resort to extra-state activism when necessary. The extra-state approach can be categorised as one that employs grassroots methods of mass mobilisation, involving informal politics and deep-seated change over longer time-frames, while the other approach uses appeals to elites to make concessions (B.Martin 1984:110). Both are 'outsider politics',- the former is 'structuralist' and 'illegitimate' and the latter 'pluralist' and 'legitimate' (Doyle 2000:124-126). Doyle claims that wilderness and anti-nuclear campaigns, as well as being the two most prominent sets of environmental campaigns in the first period of modern environmental activism, can be seen as archetypes of these two types of outsider politics. Wilderness campaigns such as the Franklin are viewed as pluralist, legitimate outsider politics; campaigns such as Roxby Downs are seen as upholding structuralist traditions. I make significant qualifications to Doyle's argument in section 12.3.2, and introduce post-structural arguments.

4.7.4 Satyagraha versus duragraha

Some of the best recent work on Australian nonviolence is by Brisbane activist Karl-Eric Paasonen. In a seminar at the University of New England on 27 October 2004, he argued that Gandhian (or *orthodox*) forms of nonviolence were hegemonic within new social movements throughout the late 1970s and the 1980s, but have since largely died out as an organised force, particularly in Australia. This, he argued, was for two reasons. One was that *duragrahic* (as opposed to *satyagrahic*) forms of nonviolence, such as strikes, sit-ins, occupations, and varying kinds and degrees of willingness to use defensive violence or to interfere with strike-breakers, have long been part of the western labour movement's repertoire for the creation of social democratic conditions. Why, argued Paasonen, change what works? Why abandon tested tactics for new and foreign ones?

The second reason for the failure of orthodox nonviolence, according to Paasonen, is that it is a result of a particular academic milieu arising from the new social movements of the 1970s, - affluent, theoretical, turning to the East for spirituality. Being middle class, overly theoretical and obsessed with the 'prefigurative end' – or creating the future society in our lives now – the leaders of this movement were self-marginalising within society.[11] Furthermore, they took Gandhi more seriously theoretically than is always warranted, whereas Gandhi, argued Paasonen, wrote for his times, directed his message at the very poorest,[12] and was almost theatrical in his writings. Whilst Summy (1997:31) has argued that principled practitioners "are an expanding body", are "beginning to exert [nonviolence's] greatest impact at the strategic/tactical level", and are liable to have an even greater influence in the future, Paasonen claims that principled nonviolence has, in effect, failed. He concludes that statements such as Summy's reflect a hegemony within the academic discourse in Australia, both in the literature and in some university peace centres, which has led to historical revisionist

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[11] Prominent members of this school were in fact also involved in activism: Summy in anti-Vietnam protests (see Saunders and Summy 1986:47), and Burrowes in rainforest and peace activism (see Burrowes 2000).

[12] Indian writer Bharat Patankar disagrees, claiming that Gandhi "was patriarchal and supported maintaining the caste system minus untouchability ... [and that] no low-caste person in India would ever join a green movement that took Gandhi as its exemplar" (quoted in Gaard 1998:200).

suggestions of a more powerful, influential role of principled nonviolence than is the case.

This thesis provides some support for Paasonen's claims. Although I argue that orthodox nonviolence had an enormous success[13] at the Franklin, and that this helped publicise and promote nonviolence, the case studies show that there have been considerable challenges to orthodoxy (largely by pragmatic practitioners or those with no particular stance on nonviolence) because of its inconsistencies. Orthodoxy (and by proxy, all of nonviolence) was discredited, and much of it was abandoned in favour of a more flexible praxis that encompasses duragrahic or active resistance methods.

4.8   CONTROVERSIAL ORTHODOX NONVIOLENCE TENETS

4.8.1   Opposition to sabotage

Perhaps the most controversial issue in Australian nonviolence is whether violence against property is justifiable, and whether it is nonviolent. At the mildest end of the spectrum is graffiti, which, it can be argued, defaces property, and the cost of replacement or cleaning can be highly annoying. But anarchists may quote Proudhon's line that "property is the suicide of society" (1840:70) and claim that big business and the state bombard us with brainwashing propaganda and keep many people poor and without means to voice themselves, thereby justifying graffiti on property. The target, however, should be appropriate, such as the pro-smoking, pro-alcohol or sexist billboards targeted by groups such as the Billboard Utilising Graffitists Against Unhealthy Products (BUGA UP - see Cohen 1997:119-128).

Sabotage of property, known as 'monkeywrenching' or, when done by environmentalists, as 'ecotage', is a bigger question. This thesis does not intend to examine sabotage in detail, because it has been relatively rare in Australia (Chandler 1992:1), despite many assertions to the contrary by journalists such as Miranda Devine (1995:10). As the South-East Forest Alliance argues:

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[13] Interestingly, Burrowes (1996:99) describes this blockade as pragmatic and reformist, despite its highly principled component. Furthermore, he includes most anti-nuclear *and* other environmental campaigns in this category, thereby differing from Doyle's argument cited in section 4.7.3).

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> despite all the claims [about alleged sabotage by conservationists in the south-east forests of NSW] over the last fifteen years, to date there has not been one prosecution or conviction (SEFA 1995:1).

Indeed, documents accessed by SEFA under the Freedom of Information Act show that police had information that pro-logging interests were damaging their own equipment to discredit conservationists (Haldane 1995:1). Another high-profile alleged sabotage by supposed 'eco-terrorists' was in fact an accident (Tobin 1992:5)[14], while a loggers' union official admitted that unionists had damaged contractors' equipment because contractors had crossed picket lines, and that conservationists had been blamed for the damage (*Background Briefing* (audio recording) 1995). Despite this rarity, it is necessary to have some exposition of ecotage, because of an incident described in Chapter Eight, and because it is an important strand of activist thought outside of orthodox nonviolence that has influenced moves away from this orthodoxy.

Ecotage is often directed against machinery such as the bulldozers used in logging operations. At one end of the scale is merely removing an essential part from the machinery (which can later be replaced) so that is cannot start; at the other extreme is total destruction of a sawmill. Ecotage involves small clandestine groups engaged in secretive actions. The necessity for secrecy militates against widespread and open communication, and along with the organisational difficulties this causes prevents the creation of a mass movement. As Martin Luther King wrote: a nonviolent protest campaign could succeed only when "it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale" (quoted in Carson 1997:289-290). Although saboteurs aim to minimise harm to people, actions such as spiking a tree with nails (to blunt chainsaws and thus make the wood useless for milling), or tampering with a bulldozer, can be dangerous to timber workers, and create great fear amongst them. This and the damage to machinery, which is often privately owned by struggling small contractors, can make the issue one of law and order rather than conservation, and can make negotiations and campaigning more difficult. For these

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[14] As with other instances, these 'eco-terrorism' allegations gained extensive coverage, with front-page headlines in *The Age* of 17 October 1991 (and an editorial and front page in the *Herald Sun*, 18 October 1991), while the truth that it was an accident was relatively 'buried' in a short article on page five of *The Age* (11 June 1992).

reasons, and because it does not aim for fundamental societal change and is thus not revolutionary, ecotage should be regarded as outside the boundaries of orthodox nonviolence.

Burrowes (1996:234) notes that the move to embrace sabotage in South Africa's struggle was "disastrous" and "a total failure", and concludes that "sabotage has no part in a disciplined nonviolent defence". Spence (1995:94-99) agrees that its use in South Africa was largely ineffectual and at times counterproductive, but she points out that sabotage is regarded as nonviolent by practitioners of pragmatic nonviolence. Some notable proponents are Dave Foreman and Bill Haywood (1987:14-17)[15] from the (originally U.S.) group 'Earth First!', who claim that monkeywrenching is nonviolent, thoughtful, and targeted, rather than mindless, erratic vandalism. It shares some characteristics with other types of nonviolent action, being dispersed, simple, deliberate, and often enjoyable. It involves very small groups and is not centrally organised, tending rather to have deliberate non-organisation and non-formalisation.[16] Monkeywrenching techniques can rarely be discussed openly; this occurs through anonymous letters to *Earth First!* and similar magazines. Only individuals and small groups of people who have known each other for years should monkeywrench, they argue, as there is a constant danger of infiltration by authorities. They also claim that ecotage should not occur in conjunction with a nonviolent civil disobedience action such as a blockade, because it may cloud the issue of direct action, and put the blockaders in danger through being blamed for the ecotage. They happily agree that ecotage is not revolutionary, and does not aim to overthrow any social, political or economic system, but is merely "non-violent self defence of the wild" (Foreman & Haywood 1987:16).

There are few Earth-First! members or affiliated activists in Australia, and two of the most important ones – John Seed and Benny Zable – both eschew sabotage for tactical rather than philosophical reasons, arguing that it is ineffective (Chandler 1992:1). Like Earth First! UK (see Begg 2002), they are more concerned with blockades and other

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[15] Foreman, who was jailed when FBI *agents provocateurs* convinced him to sabotage powerlines, justifies sabotage because the machines come from the Earth and he believes they do not want to destroy the source of their origin (Chandler 1992:1).
[16] This is in marked contrast with Martin Luther King's quote above about the need for massive campaigns and disciplined organisation.

direct actions. Nevertheless, this thesis will show that among the most significant developments in Australian nonviolence are ones that involve some property damage and some secrecy.

4.8.2 Openness versus secrecy

There are many who disagree that nonviolence must always be open. For example, actions within brutal regimes may require secrecy, with two examples being *protest emigration* and *collective disappearance,* the latter being an "act of noncooperation in which a small population ... severs all social contact with an opponent by 'disappearing' or abandoning their homes" (Powers and Vogele 1997:153). This was used in 1799 and 1800 in South India, and in China in 1939.

In the present Australian context, Greenpeace would argue that many of their actions need secrecy to be effective, an example being given in section 11.3.2. Similarly, my infiltration of a conference involving the Malaysian Minister of Trade, to query her on the treatment of the Penan rainforest dwellers, and to publicise the issue via *Triple Jay* radio news (see Branagan 1994:56-57), would not have succeeded if I had informed police beforehand.

However, some feminists in particular seem to feel there is little merit to macho guerilla-style actions and the secrecy that accompanies them, despite their tendency to grab headlines. The photograph of Ian Cohen surfing a warship[17] (see Figure 12) for example, went around the world - but caused much disapproval within the group action it sprang from, because it supposedly distracted the public and the media from the more important issue of nuclear ship visits (Cohen 1997:143-144).

4.8.3 Consensus

Despite the enthusiasm for *consensus* decision-making in orthodox nonviolence literature, ecofeminist Greta Gaard is somewhat more critical. She notes that although consensus springs from the feminist movement, it was abandoned by the US environment movement for a number of reasons, including the possibility of a small group blocking the decisions of the vast majority (Gaard 1998:151-153). It supposedly

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[17] I was on a boat next to Cohen on an earlier attempt at this, and was completely unaware of his plans until he dived off with his surfboard.

refused to accept the simple fact of conflict, and led to near paralysis and inefficacy in some organisations. This is countered, however, by leading consensus advocate Caroline Estes who says the main reason for the failure was the lack of training in consensus, and the rigid political agendas of the meeting participants (Estes cited in Gaard 1998:152-153).

Barclay (1997:82) presents consensus as a method often used by anarchists which is "morally superior to others in protecting minority rights" but he too notes criticisms. One is that it involves a lot of talk and thus is seemingly inefficient, although he claims that this talk is a very human characteristic, and that while one is engaging in it one is at least not engaging in violence (although I would argue that talk can be psychologically violent). Barclay also notes the criticism that a stubborn minority can 'hamstring' business, but observes that this can also occur in a democratic legislature, which can be as inefficient and time-consuming. He believes that a more creditable criticism is that it works best in small homogeneous groups, or groups which prioritise group harmony. Barclay's other concern is that coercion and political manoeuverings can take place in consensus, and are just as common as in democratic and other politics. Barclay suggests that methods other than voting are necessary, such as decision-making by lot - 'demarchy' (see Burnheim 1985).

Consensus is potentially an enormous and complex area of study, and I have merely touched on it here. The following case studies will show that criticisms of consensus have occurred often within the eco-pax movement, usually along the lines noted above. Criticism was particularly widespread and vitriolic during the Franklin campaign, perhaps because it was so new to most activists, because it was the only form of decision-making used there, and because many thought it had been imposed on them. I raise those criticisms in section 6.10.2.3 and address them further in section 12.3.3.

4.8.4 Self-Suffering

Gandhi repeatedly stressed the need for *self-suffering* (see Burrowes 1996:104, 111-112; Woito 1997:361) yet to actively seek suffering seems masochistic, as most of the world is suffering enough without seeking out more. Furthermore, while fasts for purification or protest have been used from the Celts to the Hindus (Bennett

1997d:177), Tibetan Buddhists do not condone long hunger-strikes as was Gandhi's wont, because to bring suffering on oneself is as bad as to bring it on others (Dalai Lama 2004, online). This is certainly true if we are to accept the equality of all life that many environmentalists advocate (eg Seed 1994; Suzuki 1997:12).

As Burrowes (1996:111) notes, self-suffering may lead to contempt on the part of opponents. Some feminists too have been critical of self-suffering. Eleanora Patterson (1982) explores the issue in depth, concluding that distinctions should be made between suffering from a sense of worthlessness or from our wholeness, between misery and suffering, and between involuntary and voluntary suffering. She notes that suffering is sometimes inevitable, in which case the issues are how to suffer and what choices we have. Suffering can even be divisive, wherein the issues are what we learn from the suffering, how it affects our personal and political transformation, how we admit vulnerability and seek help, and how we create experiences from that hardship that empower and honour us. She writes also that if we believe in the usefulness and appropriateness of our efforts the suffering and bonding in hardship becomes more tolerable, although it should be observed that gauging one's effectiveness mid-protest is a difficult task.

Lesbian feminist writer Judy Costello (1982:178) argues that women should only adopt self-suffering out of choice, and when they want to, as self-suffering is a role women have been pushed into traditionally: "most of us know all about [it] and do not find it powerful". She advocates instead self-love for women; it is men who need to take on self-suffering roles. Yet this should not be turned into a competition to see who can suffer the most, she argues, such as who can do the longest jail terms, nor should it be forgotten that women continue to take on caretaking roles while men glory in their martyrdom (see also Sharma 1981). Self-suffering features in sections 11.4.1 and 13.3.2.5.

4.9   CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have briefly defined and given some historical context to Australian nonviolence. Primarily, orthodox nonviolence has been defined and situated within the traditions of principled, revolutionary, satyagrahic nonviolence. Some of orthodox nonviolence's key tenets have been discussed. Nonviolence traditions - pragmatic,

reformist and duragrahic – that differ from the orthodox tradition have been discussed, and a related debate between structuralist and pluralist approaches was mentioned. This evidence that orthodox nonviolence is far from the only form of nonviolence introduces some of the potentially divisive features that have characterised non-violent actions in Australia. I have noted that there is also space for different forms of nonviolence within the extremes, for example by having reformist *as well as* revolutionary aims. I have outlined some of the major tenets over which dispute has arisen,- consensus, openness, opposition to ecotage, and self-suffering. These disputes will be explored in depth in following chapters.

This discussion of orthodox nonviolence (and its oppositions) is important because it is the form of nonviolence that became hegemonic after it was taught and practiced at the Franklin River blockade. It is also the form against which there has been much reaction, leading to major schisms, the discrediting of all nonviolent traditions in some cases, and in others confused, poorly-articulated or ill-disciplined nonviolent praxis. Visible negative consequences include violence (see Chapter Seven) and inappropriate sabotage (discussed in section 8.5.3), while positive consequences of this reaction include the creation of new and effective forms of action that significantly challenge the orthodox version of nonviolence (see Chapter Eleven).

The chapter's outline of key tenets of orthodox nonviolence is also important for discussions of the arts, because it enables a detailed analysis of how the use of the arts by activists aids nonviolent praxis.
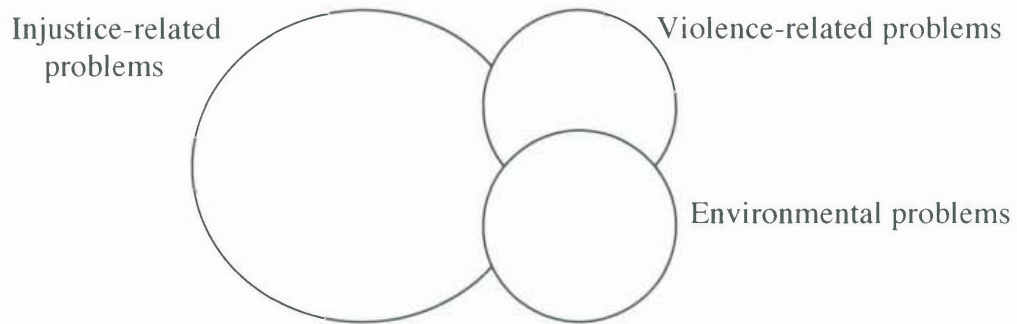
CONSENT THEORY OF POWER

Government

People
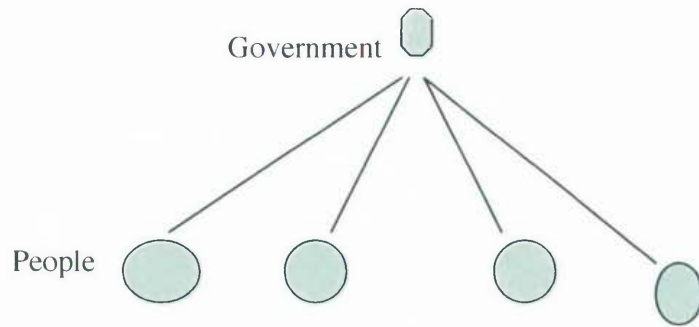
Regime supported by a variety of consenting groups and individuals.

People   Government
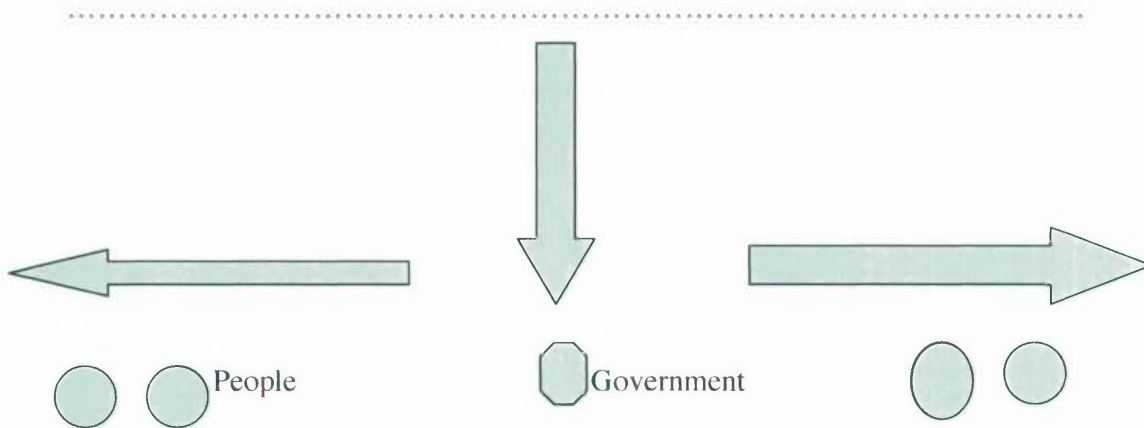
Regime falls as *consent* is withdrawn.

Figure 10: Consent theory of power illustrated.

Before using violent means to create social justice:

Injustice-related
problems

Violence-related problems

Environmental problems

After using violent means to create social justice:

Violence-related
problems

Injustice-related
problems

Environmental
problems
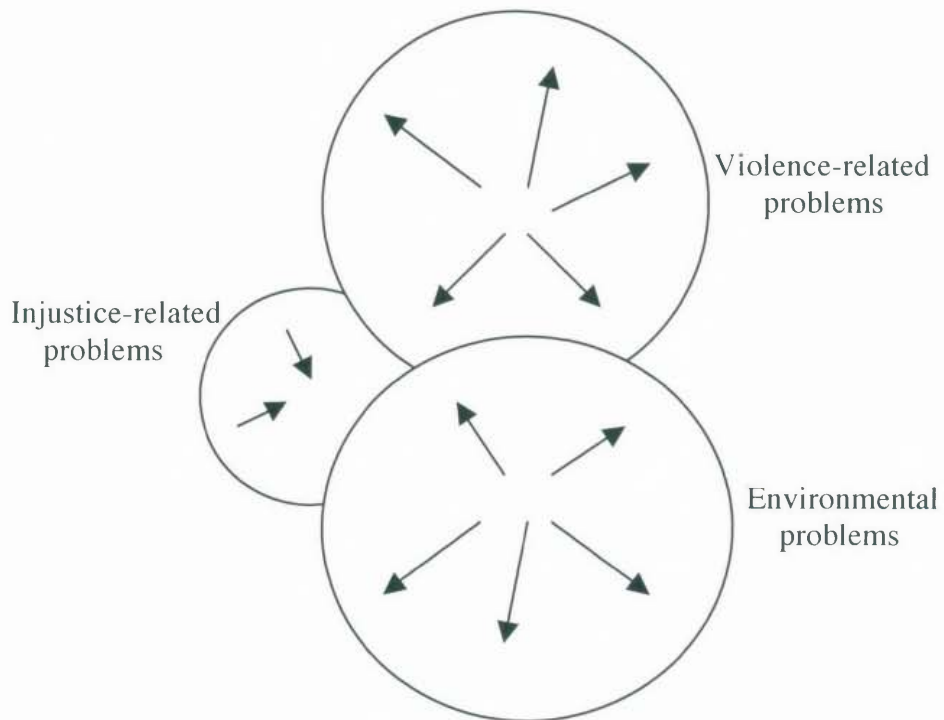
Figure 11: Owing to the inter-related nature of social and environmental problems, violent attempts to institute social justice may partially succeed, but they also create a host of other problems due to the long-term impacts of violence on people and the environment[18].

[18] Militarism is the greatest polluter on Earth, according to Joni Seager (cited in Thomas 1995:xi).
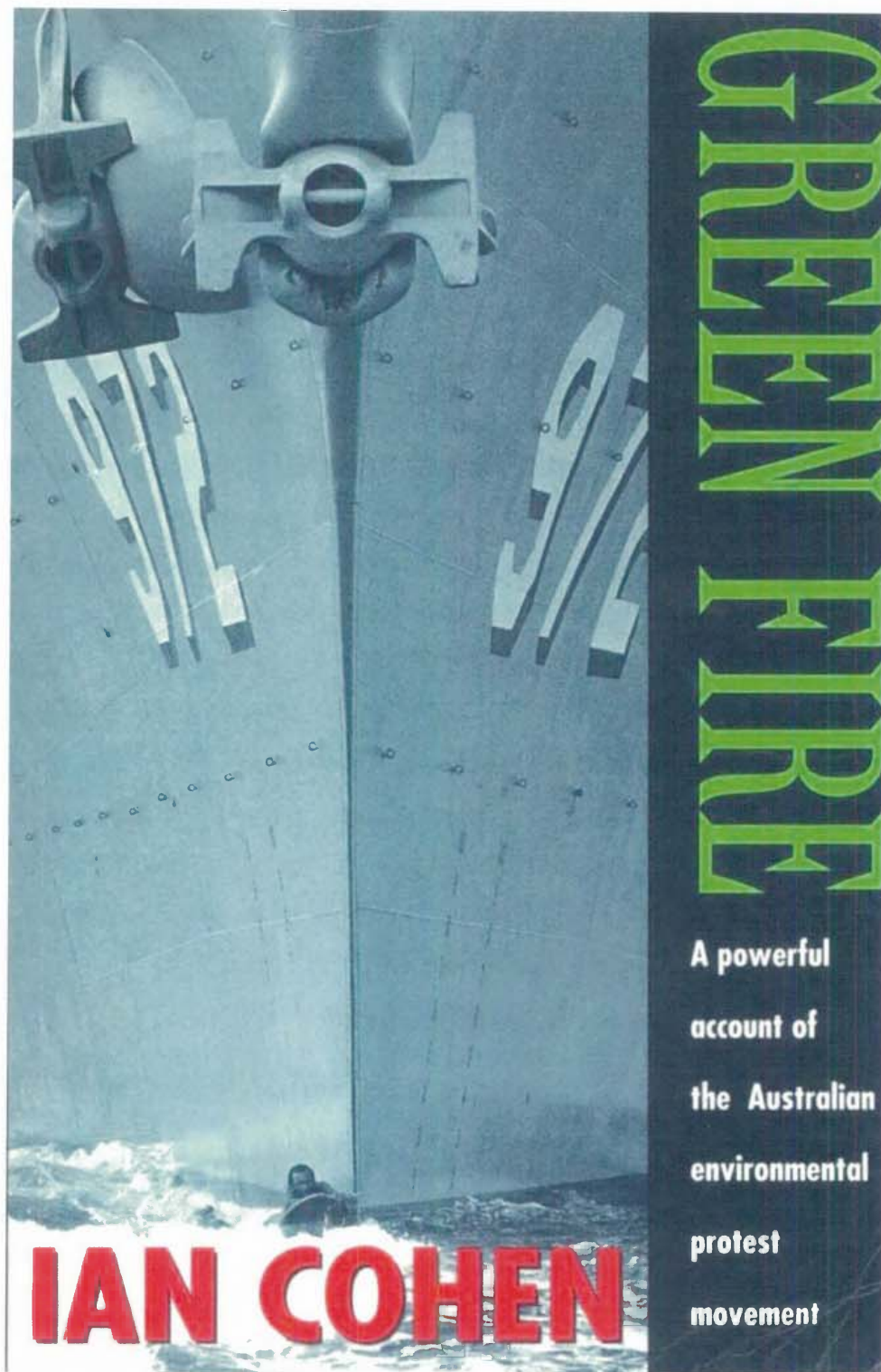
Figure 12: Ian Cohen 'surfing' a nuclear warship.

chapter five

ARTISTIC ACTIVISM: DEFINITION AND INTRODUCTORY DISCUSSION

5.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter commences by defining the arts. There follows a brief summation of the different protest art-forms commonly used, such as music, street-theatre and visual arts, with a brief discussion of journalism. The chapter next critiques the available literature on the use of art in nonviolent actions and in social change movements more generally. I argue that while there is much valuable material that mentions such uses, there is generally little attempt to theorise, categorise or contextualise them, particularly in relation to nonviolence theory. The following section synthesises the most important findings of the literature. Because of the dearth of relevant theoretical literature, this examination involves not just nonviolence theory but also the surrounding fields of education, conflict resolution, psychotherapy and community development. This section introduces some of the major themes of this opus. The next section gives an overview of the origins of *artistic activism* in Australia and internationally, and its relationship to political and art movements. The final section situates artistic activism within the context of art theory,

5.2   ARTS DEFINITION

Defining the arts, let alone protest arts or artistic activism, is a difficult task because - particularly since the advent of postmodernism - there are a variety of ways of perceiving them. A politically-charged view of the arts is that espoused by performer Robyn Archer (2002) or art therapist Karen Callaghan (1996: 249-272),– that the arts by definition are radical. This view sees the arts as having a role of holding a mirror to society, of acting against injustice or speaking truth in the midst of lies. Anything else is merely craft, the creation of objects for popular consumption. Archer claims that this is what the ruling

classes want the arts to be – merely entertainment, a distraction for people to keep their minds off their state of oppression.

An opposing view is that the arts are far from inherently radical, and that they often contribute to what Galtung (1969, 1971) has characterised as *structural violence*, which is violence that kills insidiously, for example when people die of starvation because of economic structures, despite there being enough food to feed them. Such economic structures are reinforced through advertising, which intentionally employs sophisticated art-forms, bombarding audiences with enticing visual imagery and 'catchy jingles'. Similarly, art historian Toby Clark (1997) describes the use of art by WWI governments to recruit soldiers, or by communist and fascist governments to solidify power (see also Grenfell 1993:54). Art can thus be a powerful promoter of consumerism, militarism, nationalism, totalitarianism or other conservative ideologies. Art-forms such as racist literature or music can also be part of *cultural violence* (Galtung 1990), wherein they inspire violence or they are psychologically violent (see Figure 24).

It is clear then that the arts can be put to a multiplicity of uses – radical or conservative - according to the ideologies of those using them[1]. This work thus employs a relatively neutral but egalitarian definition of the arts as various activities more akin to crafts – activities which anyone can learn, and for which one may have differing natural abilities. In this sense, valid art-forms include those activities listed under *Australia Council* guidelines – music, acting, dance, directing, painting, photography, writing, design and illustration, sculpture, architecture, journalism and media presenting (Borghino 2000:5-6). While acknowledging that the arts can be used for conservative purposes, this thesis examines the arts used in implementing radical ideologies, particularly during nonviolent direct actions.

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[1] The original motivations of artists can also be usurped by funding bodies, such as when the *abstract expressionism* of (originally-) socialist artists like Jackson Pollock was used by the CIA to promote US cultural, political and economic imperialism, through contrasting its 'modern and liberated' aspects with the 'regimented and narrow' *socialist realism* of the USSR (Cockcroft 1999:86).

5.3   TYPES OF ART USED AT PROTESTS

Under this definition, one finds many different arts used in protests. They often occur in conjunction with others; for example, a street-theatre performance may involve puppetry, scenery-making, music and dance as well as acting. There is thus an infinite variety available of combinations of art-forms, often outside the usual definitions of art. Therefore, the term *multi-arts* (Comte 1993:157) is useful to transcend the limitations of overly rigid definitions of art-forms.

Figure 13: 2003 poster advocating a day of boycotting petrol stations.

5.3.1   Visual arts

Before an action, the visual arts in particular are used to advertise and promote the action's whereabouts, time and purpose. Photographs, graphic design and computer–generated art

feature on a variety of media, such as posters (see Figure Thirteen), newsletters, leaflets, mailouts and increasingly emails and websites.

The visual arts are also used *during* protests, and they include banners, screen-printed t-shirts with messages and pictures (Figure 14), sculpture - especially at Jabiluka (Figure Twenty-Six), theatre props such as Benny Zable's famous 'radioactive' barrels (Figure Twenty-Five), and enormous puppets (also used at Jabiluka).

Figure 14: Banner, t-shirts and stickers proclaiming land rights, Sydney, 1982.

5.3.1.1 Banners

Banners are a multi-arts medium, incorporating as they do elements like painting, printing, calligraphy and needlecraft. They often contain poetic, humorous or dramatic slogans, as well as images or symbols. They can be carried (see Figure 14), or erected in prominent places. The February 15-16th 2003 peace marches against the US-led invasion of Iraq were well documented by the media, showing that banners were prominently used. These banners were clever or poignant, with slogans broadcast globally via the internet, like 'Axis of Evil? Access to Diesel!' or 'There is no Path to Peace. Peace IS the Path' or even 'Bush

is a servant of Sauron. We hates him!' This information-sharing shows the increasing globalisation and technological sophistication of the Australian and international peace movement, wherein new forms of technology like the internet enable swift and massed communication to organise actions and spread artistic ideas and slogans around the world.

5.3.2 Music

At protests, music - both live and recorded - often features, such as the ubiquitous and stirring singing at the Franklin (Chapter Six), or the broadcast of *Midnight Oil* music at the Roxby Downs protest of 1983, discussed in the Chapter Seven. The February 2003 peace rallies were led by drummers, saxophonists, and guitarists, with free concerts afterwards. Vigils were invigorated by impromptu choirs singing sixties favourites and adapting new words to old tunes, like 'What Shall We Do with a Nuclear Warship?' to the tune of 'Drunken Sailor'. A London-based group released a popular compilation CD called 'Peace Not War', featuring artists like Billy Bragg and *Public Enemy.*

5.3.3 Poetry

Closely allied to music is poetry, which may be spoken, delivered as part of a song, or as a 'rap', which contains spoken verse of rhyming elements and other wordplay, usually accompanied by rhythm and melodic instruments. Examples include Zippy's (1999:4) rap 'Are you gonna let them' at Jabiluka (Figure 15), and a 'Refugee Rap' by young socialists from the group *Resistance* at the 2002 'Rally for Refugees' in Canberra.

Figure 15: Zippy delivers a rap at Jabiluka, 1998.

5.3.4 Theatre

Theatre has long been an important element of protests, from the Franklin to the 1998 Jabiluka uranium blockade. This form is primarily referred to as street-theatre because of its location outside usual theatrical venues like halls, and because of its impromptu and often *ad hoc* nature, usually with a paucity of props and costumes but often highly-creative nonetheless[2]. Related to this category are a number of performance art-forms, in which protesters don a variety of costumes or guises for dramatic effect (Figures 16 and 17).
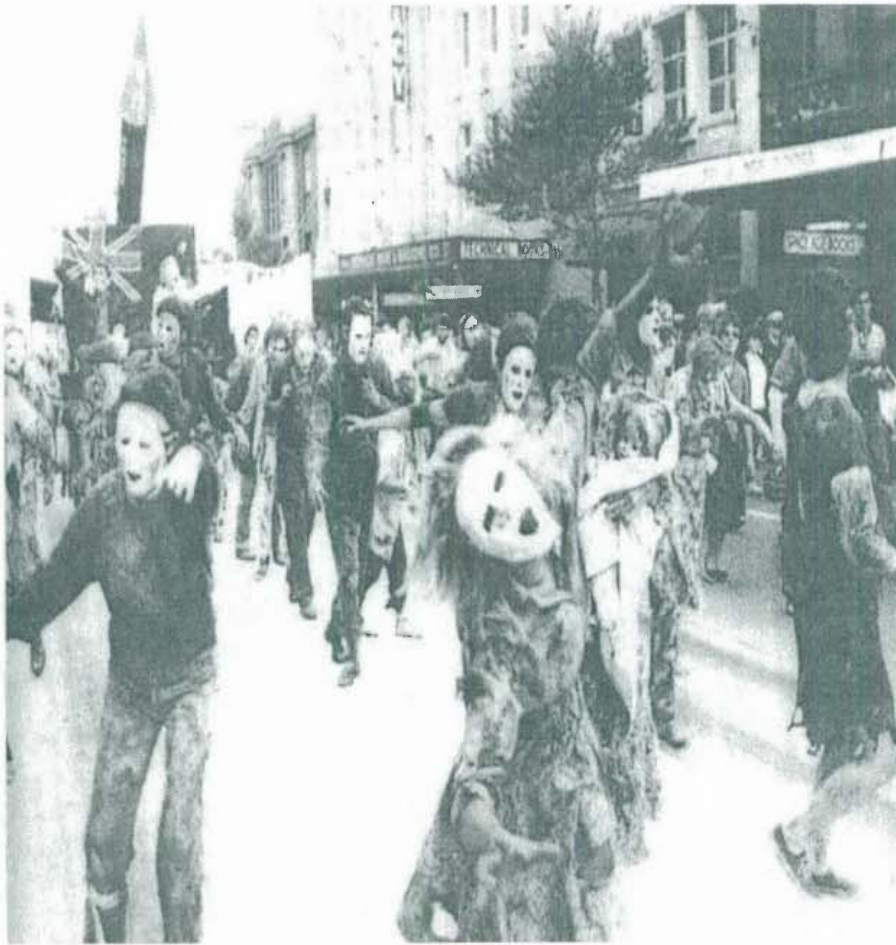

Figure 16: Dramatic figures in urban peace march.

[2] Sharp uses the more militaristic term 'guerilla theatre' (1973: 397): other terms include 'agitprop' and 'zap actions' (Powers and Vogele 1997: 225).

Figure 17: Anti-prohibition activist dressed as a marijuana plant at Nimbin 'Mardi Grass', 1990s.

Figure 18: Anti-logging 'Clearance Sale' street-theatre in Armidale mall, 1991.

5.3.4.1 Puppetry

Puppetry was part of the street-theatre performance at Jabiluka. It was also a strong feature of the February 2003 peace rallies. A theme taken up by puppet-makers was that prime minister Howard is a lackey of US president Bush, who in turn is manipulated by oil multinationals. Making puppets of them seemed a logical satirical step, although Sydney puppeteers went further and made Howard into Bush's dog, with his nose in frequent proximity with Bush's rear! A similar device was employed by Belinda Nano and myself in Armidale, with Howard looking for 'Colon Bowel' (see Figure 19). The puppets were popular with children and the media.

Figure 19: Howard and Bush puppets gain front-page newspaper coverage.

5.3.4.2 Circus skills

Circus skills have also featured prominently at Australian protests, including stilt-walking, fire twirling and juggling on marches, a somersaulting incident at Roxby Downs (Chapter Seven), and the 'Cycle Against the Nuclear Cycle''s use of a monocycle on the way to Jabiluka (Chapter Nine).

5.3.5 Dance

Dance is also common, as with the *Midnight Oil* episode related in Chapter Seven. It was used similarly in Canberra at the week of protests surrounding the 1983 ALP national conference, and at the blockade of the AIDEX armaments 'fair' in 1992, where the band *Earth Reggae* played live. A particularly innovative use of dance was when belly dancers halted logging trucks for a day at Bulga, NSW circa 1995 (Wingham Forest Action c1996).

5.3.6 Symbolic actions

Symbolic actions have long been regarded as part of nonviolence (see discussion of Sharp, below). Many of the new techniques of active resistance described in Chapter Eleven can be viewed also as powerfully-symbolic actions, and situated mid-way between civil disobedience, visual arts and theatre (see Figures 1 and 28).
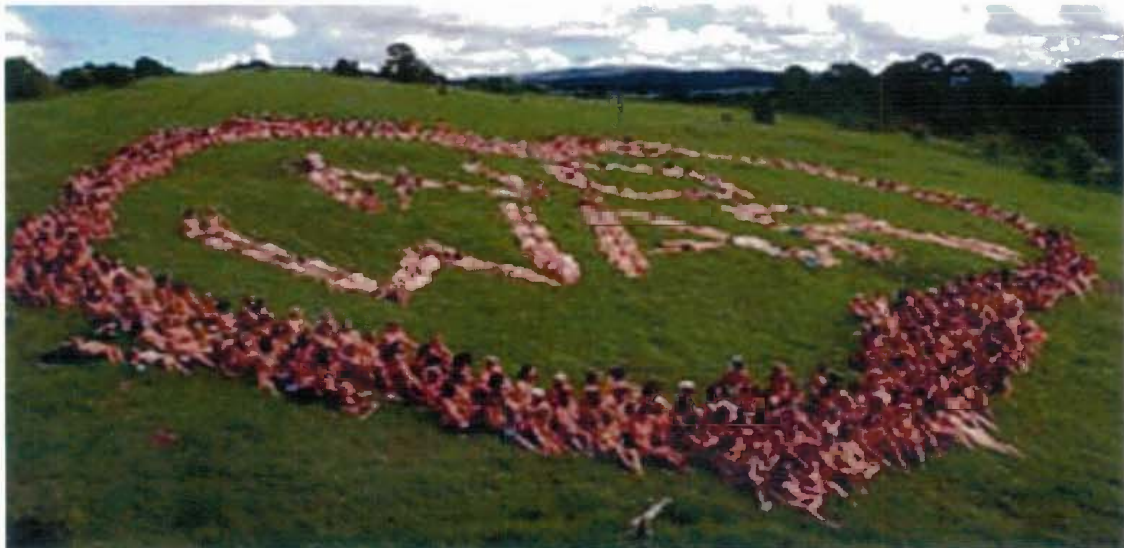

Figure 20: 750 nude women spell out 'No war' in northern NSW, 2003.

5.3.7   Multi-arts

A plethora of multi-arts and symbolic actions utilising a range of media was used in the 2003 peace rallies, and they received front-page media coverage on 17 February 2003 in papers such as *The Australian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The most sensational acts featured nudity, such as the Byron Bay protest where 750 women spelled out with their bodies 'NO WAR' within a heart symbol (Figure 20). Peace signs were created at Terrigal, using clothed people, at the South Pole, using snow, and in Alice Springs, using weedicides on a grass oval. Warsaw marchers painted their faces; in Sydney pregnant women painted their bellies. In Armidale a prayer meeting featured 'peace cakes', while some friends and I graffitied an overpass with 'Smart Bombs=Dumb Leaders', '**NO** ho**WAR**d' and 'No blood for oil'. Turkish marchers carried candles. French people held posters depicting the 'gun' of a petrol pump being held to an Iraqi child's head. Among the 500 000 Australian marchers on February 15-16[3] were polystyrene white doves[3], hats shaped like US military base Pine Gap, and an eerie 'Grim Reaper'. Stilt-walkers and white-satin-gowned, winged 'Peace Angels' added to the carnival atmosphere. The colour of the weekend was purple, with feminist and spiritual connotations. While categorized merely as *symbolic* by nonviolence theorists such as Gene Sharp (1973 - see below), all of these actions and media can also be considered *artistic*, particularly since the advent of *dada*, performance art, 'happenings' and postmodernism eroded the rigidly-defined and exclusionary nature of the arts (see Aronson 1998; Henri 1974).

Figure 21: The number of possible media is endless!

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[3] The 'dove of peace' was a design by Picasso for a 1946 peace conference (Walther 1986:64).

Although this thesis focuses primarily on the arts used in protest marches, blockades and other direct actions, Chapter Twelve also mentions arts actions that occur as part of wider campaigns, and as individual or unaligned arts action for social change. These involve a variety of arts including music, film (see Figure 22), fiction and painting.

Figure 22: Still from movie about indigenous strikers in the Pilbara (WA).

5.3.8   Journalism

Borghino's inclusion of journalism within the arts (2000:5) could be regarded as contentious, since there is a popular assumption that the mass media's news coverage is more like an objective science than an art. However, the *critical discourse analysis* pioneered by Foucault and others has shown that even the most purportedly objective reporting is in fact based on subjective world views and assumptions (Danaher et al 2000:2). Columnists move more obviously towards the subjective; their writing may entail fantasy or satire (eg Philip Adams), and thus is more obviously an art-form. Similarly, radio talkback hosts like John Laws have recently justified their payment for making comments

favourable to certain corporations on the basis that the hosts are providing entertainment, rather than what they had previously intimated, which was presentation of factual information ('Cash for comment - I vs II' 2004). Thus they too are more akin to the arts.

If we are to accept then that journalism is an art, the scope of this thesis is considerably expanded. Since much of protest activity is aimed at journalists in order to get out a message to mass audiences, the behaviour of the media – in listening and reporting accurately and in a balanced manner, or in distorting, filtering or omitting becomes a major area of study. This work does not attempt to comprehensively address that area; instead it examines where nonviolent protest and artistic activism relate directly to media issues, and it discusses the 'fringe' journalistic activities of activists – in freelance contributions to mass media outlets, or through engagement in community radio, television, print media and websites. Many facets of the arts are used in recording and reporting protests. They include video- and film-making, photography, sketching, audio-recording, cartooning and journalism, all of which are now often used in tandem with computer systems, so that protests can be 'online' and international in scope.

5.4   REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON ART AND NONVIOLENCE

An important and early work is Sharp's (1973) nonviolence encyclopaedia which comprehensively catalogues many nonviolent actions with an artistic component, like banners, posters and graffiti of symbols and slogans (pp. 125-127), street-theatre and music (pp. 149-152). For example, he discusses Russian Jews in WWII extermination camps singing protest songs, as did later Buddhist protestors in South Vietnam and South African anti-apartheid activists (pp. 150-151). Sharp makes the crucial observation that these actions are intended to influence a wide audience (including the opponent group), gain sympathy and support from third parties, and gain converts. His work however is largely descriptive rather than an in-depth analytical discussion of the relationship between these artistic actions and key tenets of nonviolence. Rather than looking at these actions as a whole, Sharp sorts them into different categories such as 'Nonviolent Intervention: Social Intervention (Guerilla Theatre)', 'Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion: Drama and Music', and 'Communications with a Wider Audience' (banners et cetera). While these

categorisations are valid, this thesis prefers to examine artistic actions as a whole in a broad-brush analysis, which more of an emphasis on the arts than Sharp has. This work also attempts to link such actions with some of the important tenets of nonviolence, such as conversion, holism, inclusivity, openness, non-hierarchical group structures and radically-democratic decision-making. Additionally, many of Sharp's examples are regarded as symbolic or as independent actions, while this paper discusses artistic actions that occur in tandem with and/or as integral parts of direct actions such as blockades.

Two other important works are Spencer's 1990 'Protest and Praise', which argues that music was essential to the US civil rights movement, and Liebmann et al (1996), who present excellent insights into the arts albeit in the field of conflict resolution rather than nonviolence. I discuss these works in the next section.

Other nonviolence literature also refers often to the arts used in protest and resistance movements. Powers and Vogele's (1997) nonviolence anthology describes Vaclav Havel's broadcast of radioplays via a clandestine radio station to support the resistance to Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia (p. 230); it also discusses the 'singing revolution' - based around song festivals - of the Baltic republics seeking independence from the Soviet Union in the late 1980s (p. 35). Ackerman and Duvall relate how Chileans held rock concerts, also in the 1980s, where prohibited music was played as a protest against Pinochet's dictatorship (2000:267-302). Descriptions of artistic actions in the recent global justice movement can be found in Roddick (2001), Welton and Wolf (2001), Shepard and Hayduk (2002), and Starhawk (2002). These references however are scattered through the texts. They are rarely accorded headline status, presented in an ordered fashion, or linked into any art or nonviolence theory. Another useful text is Boyd (1999) which details a number of creative or artistic actions. It is both a history and a guidebook to future actions, yet again it is not particularly systematic; nor does it discuss nonviolence theory.

Amongst the literature on Australian protests, Sean Scalmer's (2002) insightful book contributes much to the debate, by examining the inception, spread and development of 'dissent events',- actions designed to attract media attention. His focus, however, is on the

period of the 60s and 70s (with some discussion of the 1990's One Nation party and its opponents), and his theoretical emphasis is on how the rise of *dissent events* coincided with the transition of the old Marxist left into modern protest movements. I return to his work in Chapter Twelve. In a related vein, Cohen (1997) notes the deliberately theatrical nature of many Australian protests, as well as discussing the banner-making and performances of Benny Zable (see Figure 26). Political theorist Graham Maddox also relates (anarchistic) activism to theatre, writing that "anarchism is at its best as a doctrine of the absurd, a kind of theatrical politics that holds the pretensions of rulers and state dignitaries up to ridicule" (1991:24). This is an important theme I return to in the final chapters – that the arts are valuable in exposing the covert agendas and discourses of elites.

Coxsedge et al. (1982) enumerate various prank-like actions during Vietnam war protests and elsewhere, but they demonstrate a limited understanding of nonviolence. Cooke et al. (2000) in chronicling the campaign to save NSW's Look-At-Me-Now Headland from an ocean sewerage outfall, describe many artistic actions, such as 'The Big Turd' which toured NSW (see Figure 145). Sommerville (1995) too relates artistic actions in a book on Australian protests, while in their book on the alternative movement, Dearling and Hanley (2000) note artistic actions springing from blockades, intentional communities and other struggles to live outside the dominant paradigms. All of these tomes glowingly describe artistic activism but they do this peripherally rather than as a focus. Rarely is there a systematic analysis, particularly with regard to nonviolence.

Pakulski, whose writing on eco-pax was discussed in Chapter Three, touches on the arts in commenting on the rich repertoires of protest forms and in calling for study into the iconosphere of the clever, provocative symbols of the eco-pax movement (1991:176-178). Hutton and Connors (1999) note the involvement of poets, artists and writers in the 1960s campaign to protect the Great Barrier Reef. Fahey (2000) and the Builders Labourers Federation (1975) detail Australian political songs and satire of the twentieth century, but again present little analysis other than to situate them within leftist traditions. The latter book does, however, correct the omissions about indigenous activism that other books

make, writing that "[t]he culture of the aboriginal people was very rich and complex[4] and played its role in their resistance to the takeover of their land" (p. 3), with songs, corroborees and tribal chronicles reflecting their struggles (see also Chisolm & Smith 1990). Cultural resistance continued, for example through the Yirrkala bark petition for land rights (see Newbury 1999:32), and the paintings of Lin Onus and other artists (see Neale 2000, Croft 2001), and is evident today through musicians such as *Yothu Yindi* and actors such as Rachael Maza and Leah Purcell. It is discussed further in section 13.2.5.

Australian art histories by Hunter (1990), Bonyhady (2000), Pearce (2000) and Bleiker (2001) detail the many idealistic Australian painters who have tried to make social change through their art. Their international counterparts Clark (1997), Aronson (1998), and Collings (2000) are also of interest, but these all largely examine dissenting art rather than art that is part of protest actions. Nevertheless, there are close links between such arts and arts used in the eco-pax movement, and I argue in section 13.2.8 that the former also play a strong role in nonviolent social change.

Despite a general paucity of theoretical literature, therefore, there is considerable evidence that art-forms like music can aid nonviolent movements. In the next section, a closer examination of the most relevant literature gives some indication of how this occurs.

5.5   ARTS CONTRIBUTIONS TO NONVIOLENCE

It is worth now beginning a catalogue, gleaned from the literature, of ways in which the arts aid nonviolence and social change. This discussion should inform the reader's examination of the case studies, before Chapter Thirteen comprehensively theorises artistic activism and nonviolence.

The relationship between music and nonviolence has been well noted by Spencer (1990), who states that music was essential to the US civil rights movement. Amidst violent

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[4] It has been suggested, for example, that some sandstone carvings are educational star maps (see Branagan & Cairns 1994).

repression, he argues, music energised activists and encouraged them to speak out: "the songs and their messages sank deep, establishing a core belief system that instilled in [them] the 'courage to be'" (p. 88). Music was a way of responding to events, audaciously answering the establishment, and articulating a complexity of complaints. Echoing Sharp, Reagon (in Spencer, 1990:89) notes that music also brought third party support: "with the need to gather supporters and disseminate information ... music gained increased importance as a means of conveying the nature and intensity of the struggle to audiences outside the geography of Movement activity". Additionally, the bonding and solidarity of the movement was enhanced through anthems like 'We Shall Overcome', which was used as a "benediction to the liturgy of mass meetings, [and] was a baptismal dramatisation of inward allegiance and mass initiation to a new socio-religious order characterised by nonviolence" (Spencer 1990:84). Further evidence of the link between music and nonviolence can be seen by the fact that one of the great nonviolence practitioners, Martin Luther King, wrote one of the first songs of the civil rights movement, and argued that "freedom songs are the soul of the movement ... [They] bind us together [and] help us to march together" (quoted in Spencer 1990:92-93).

Starr (2001) describes the work of her US group Art and Revolution, its antecedents (such as radical educationalist Augusto Boal), its effectiveness and how its ethos of "collaborative creativity, the antithesis of war, is inherently positive and disarming" (p. 36). She describes the effect of street theatre and singing in reducing police (and other) violence in the Seattle 1999 demonstrations against the World Trade Organisation. Sadly her chapter is all too brief and does not deal with the issues in depth.

An important contribution to the debate is a chapter in Scarce's (1990) examination of the radical environment movement in the US. This chapter - 'Stirring the Pot' - examines radical environmental literature, music, art and theatre and the 'artists, essayists, poets, musicians and actors whom radical environmentalists look to for insight, support, and humor [sic], whose works reflect the fear and hope embodied in the movement' (p. 241). Scarce discusses three purposes the arts serve: education, entertainment and inspiration,

with a quote from *Earth First!* musician Roger Featherstone showing the importance of the emotive and holistic nature of the arts:

> You're never going to reach someone completely through intellect. You can speak to somebody until you're blue in the face and you're not going to get anywhere if there's not something to steer their heart (1990:251).

Scarce (like Spencer and Starr) notes the use of music at demonstrations to soothe frazzled nerves, release tension, and even avert riots. In discussing the importance of theatre and its avoidance of the negative backlash inherent in many other of the movement's tactics, he quotes actor Lee Stetson:

> The attraction of [theatre] is that everybody is interested in spectacle, everybody is interested in costume and some disguise of oneself to present a larger image in life ... It's a human condition and has been since the first story teller put on a feather and danced around the fire (p. 258).

The above findings from protest literature show how the arts significantly enhance nonviolence praxis, through energising, inspiring and encouraging dissent, bonding activists, reducing violence, disseminating information, educating, entertaining and enlisting third party support. These observations are enlarged on and added to throughout the thesis, and situated within nonviolence theory. In other literature, educators have also noted how using the arts – particularly multi-arts – significantly aid educational outcomes: assisting in multi-skilling, enhancing the grasp of difficult concepts, aiding memory retention, extending attention spans, increasing concentration and enjoyment of learning, and providing "rich multisensory experiences that engage the whole mind-body-emotional system" (Dickinson 2002, online). Mendilow (2004:para 7) similarly argues that the arts can empower teachers to simultaneously engage the multiplicity of intelligences posited by Howard Gardner - logical, linguistic, spatial, musical, kinesthetic, naturalistic, interpersonal, intrapersonal and bodily-kinesthetic intelligences.

Arts used in education are also socially equalising, emotionally-satisfying and aid spatial perception and cognitive learning (Gordon 2004). Drama is an ideal tool for group problem solving, literacy training and building social awareness (Freire 1972a, 1972b; Boal 1979; Moon 1993); it can also increase motivation, encourage language development, foster anti-racism, multi-culturalism, and gender awareness, and intensify the experience of the

(eternal) present (Fleming 1998:36-47). Music can foster self-realisation, maturity, independence and self-direction (Stevens 1993:91; Dayton 1996:8). The arts overall perform a seminal role in the development of human consciousness according to Jenny Grenfell, who also notes the huge influence artistic activism can have:

> The deliberate use of art ...as a means of protest results in a very public art. At times its message may be bold, even shrill, but often the most persuasive form is more subtle, and so widespread that scarcely anyone in technologically advanced societies is untouched by it (1993:48).

Learning and teaching within social movements has been discussed in earlier, so we can see from the above the immediate relevance of the arts in terms of intra-movement learning. Given the close relationship between education and conversion, the above also points towards the arts having a significant role in conversion.

In a related vein, community development workers have found the arts useful in empowering and regenerating communities (Kay 2000), while conflict resolution practitioners, mediators, counsellors and therapists have all found the arts important because they provide powerful, often non-verbal, tools to resolve long-standing conflicts and to heal deep traumas; they also assist people to develop better communication skills and to release their creative potential (Liebmann 1996). Using dramatherapy, visual arts, music therapy, movement psychotherapy, storytelling and *multi-arts* such as video art work and puppetry, these practitioners observed significant arts benefits in their work with prisoners, homeless people and torture survivors. Artwork raised their clients' self-esteem and aided them in expressing/releasing rage safely, and developing cooperation and problem-solving skills (Liebmann 1996:259-272). Similarly, arts/conflict resolution practitioners in Northern Ireland have contributed to "keeping nonviolent social change on the options agenda, and have contributed to the peace process that always runs parallel to any war process" (Duggan 1996:345-6). Liebmann concludes that:

> The power of arts approaches comes over very vividly in many of the accounts. It can be very effective in starting a process of change, often when other approaches have achieved very little (1996:6).

Despite their successes, the practitioners in Liebmann's study felt generally unsupported by government funding bodies. This continues a long tradition by Western society of

devaluing the arts, according to June Boyce-Tillman, who notes that music has been marginalised and trivialised, its healing powers no longer recognised despite its use in bringing together where words separate and classify, and in healing at "the deepest level in the individual and in the community" ((1996:210). Whereas "[o]ften words seem to escalate conflicts and divide people even further" (Liebmann 1996:1), music therapies help understand patients and "provide a powerful non-verbal medium through which we can begin to find harmony" (Levinge 1996:244). Visual processes also contribute to balance and holism (Cameron 1996:181), while the arts generally cut through layers of habit and resistance, deal with longstanding unresolved issues in a non-threatening way, and speak universally,- aiding communication across barriers and drawing people together into a community of equals (Hannon 2003).

Clearly, the arts are enormously valuable to practitioners in a wide variety of fields such as education, conflict resolution and psychotherapy. It is logical then to posit their importance for nonviolence and social change, since education, conflict resolution and healing are major elements of successful nonviolent social change. Building on this overview of the beneficial effects of the arts, the case study chapters describe specific instances of art-forms used in nonviolent direct actions, before Chapter Thirteen discusses in depth the various uses of the arts in the eco-pax movement, and situates them within nonviolence theory.

The rest of this chapter involves a brief examination of the origins of artistic activism,- to show its historical context, followed by an attempt to situate artistic activism within the murky waters of art theory, particularly in relation to the important concept of *postmodernism.*

5.6   ORIGINS OF ARTISTIC ACTIVISM
The origins of artistic activism are too wide and diffuse to be given more than a cursory examination here. Histories of radical art (albeit with a Western bias) are given by Clark (1997) and Aronson (1998), and to a lesser extent by Collings (2000) and Freeland (2002). These show that there is a long tradition of artists who have been involved in social change, either in their art, as activists, or both. Similarly, Bonyhady's 'The Colonial Earth' (2003)

explores the role of artists in early European Australian environmentalism,[5] showing that artist-authors Louisa Anne Meredith and Louisa Atkinson, painters Glover, Buvelot and Lesueur, and cartoonists from *Melbourne Punch* made strong artistic statements about environmental despoliation (see also Klepac 2000).

Aronson's work discusses in the context of *avant-gardism* the arts, life styles, politics and fashions of bohemians, radicals, hipsters and hippies, from Paris in the nineteenth century to contemporary America. One significant group of artists he covers are the dadaists (1998:57-69), a European anarchistic alliance who were horrified by the direction Western society was taking, particularly in the aftermath of the first world war. Their bizarre artistic activities were designed to shock people out of their complacency and apathy,- tactics which overthrew the traditional definitions of art, and would profoundly influence the artistic activism of the 1960s. The dadaists were followed closely by the surrealists, who were initially allied with communism. They vigorously opposed the stultifying dogma and hypocrisy of the Catholic Church, and advocated unfettered freedom of expression - which was nevertheless often sexist, and sometimes employed violent imagery (National Gallery of Australia 1993). Both the dadaists and the surrealists encouraged "activities that were playfully absurd and purposeless, and therefore not harnessed to the utilitarian demands of the capitalist economy" (Clark 1997:139). I return to this point shortly.

Socialist realist art was used very widely in the twentieth century by communists to propagate their ideology, in Russia after the 1917 evolution and elsewhere (Aronson 1998:76-86). Although initially the artists enjoyed great freedom and created revolutionary works in a joyous fervour, the centralised communist states gradually clamped down on such freedoms and increasingly dictated how and what works would be created. Some artists, with little choice, obeyed the regime (eg Prokofiev the composer), others were ridiculed and discredited, exiled themselves like the painter Chagall or, like the poet

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[5] This work explodes the myth that environmentalism is a recent phenomenon, and that early colonists were wasteful and ignorant of the need for conservation. Rather Bonyhady shows that many of the colonists were in fact quickly enamoured of the Australian environment (2000:3).

Mayakovsky, killed themselves. Others such as Malevich the visual artist or the composer Shostakovich produced coded works, which while purporting to support the official line were in fact damning of the state (Aronson 1998:87-92).

Inspired by the Russian revolution, artists in Australia used their media to proselytise. There was a great explosion of art as a revolutionary activity in Australia in the 1930s by communists and socialists, although they too were eventually suffocated by Comintern, the international communist hierarchy, because this art was supposedly contributing to bohemianism and decadence and distracting people from the 'real' struggle (Boughton, Bob 2003, pers. comm., 12 May). Nevertheless, significant artists emerged from this period (see Grenfell 1993:42-44), particularly writers such as Frank Hardy. Hardy was a prominent player in the landmark Gurindji stockmen's strike for land rights between 1966 and 1975 (see Burgmann 1993:47), about which Ted Egan's song 'The Gurindji Blues' topped the Australian pop charts (Summy 1997:26). A later song co-written by Koori Kev Carmody and Paul Kelly – 'From Little Things, Big Things Grow' (see Appendix 2) – relates superbly that nonviolent struggle.

Clark details the history of art as *propaganda* in the twentieth century, although he uses an earlier definition of propaganda which has neutral connotations rather than the present negative ones (1997:7-8). As well as art's reactionary use by governments, he notes its uses in dissent and resistance by both individuals and groups of artists. One chapter –'The Art of Protest: From Vietnam to AIDS', is especially pertinent, because it discusses some of the key artists and movements of the latter four decades of the twentieth century. The 1960s were particularly significant for an explosion of both activism and radical art, with the two often combined (Desmond & Dixon 1995; Marwick 1998). This was a time of widespread protest, and there were also great upheavals in the arts, such as 'happenings', a return to dada–style art, an explosion of *abstraction* (particularly *abstract expressionism*) and *pop* art, and the beginnings of postmodernist art. New music such as *rock* (based on African-American *blues*), and later *reggae* and *punk* (see Hayward 1992), became the vehicle for the mass expression of dissatisfaction (such as at the Woodstock festival) and articulated a need for radical social change. Many embraced *psychedelia*'s search for altered states of

consciousness[6] or turned to Eastern philosophies and practices like meditation and yoga. Much of the art had a protest element or theme, and much of the protest had artistic elements, as Desmond and Dixon (1995) show in their superb expose of this confluence, with a similar work on Australian developments by Jennifer Phipps (1997). As protests spread, they even entered the supposedly neutral arenas of the 'high arts' when in 1969 artists performed a theatrical 'die-in' performance inside the prestigious Museum of Modern Art in New York to protest its connections with the Vietnam war (Clark 1997:128-129). Black and feminist artists also targeted that institution for its exclusionary policies (Freeland 2002:125).

Street-theatre was first used widely in the sixties (Sharp 1973:397), as were theatrical-type actions or 'dissent events' such as those of the *yippies*, who disrupted the Wall Street stock exchange by throwing money from the gallery (Sharp 1973:397), and who ran a pig for U.S. president (Marwick 1998:493). Sociologist Arthur Marwick's epic work on that decade[7] notes that it was epitomised by the precursors of the yippies, the *situationists*, a French group who brought both art and an element of playfulness to political action (1998:558-9). Both groups revived the 'playfully absurd' elements of dadaism and surrealism, but with more specific political objectives, such as an end to the Vietnam war. Marwick argues that there was in fact a cultural revolution, with major changes in music, fashion, sexuality, censorship, more prevalent (but also more criticised) pornography, and the increased confluence of protest and art (see also Roszak 1969; Reich 1972).

These are important observations,- that a continuing legacy of the sixties and the new social movements they produced is the merging of revolutionary or radical political activity with artistic or humorous activity[8]. Revolution was no longer seen as purely a serious issue, but

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[6] Other interesting questions must of necessity be omitted, such as the effect on artistic activism of the use, championed by Reich (1972), of 'mind-expanding' drugs like marijuana and LSD.

[7] More correctly, Marwick discusses actions that took place between 1958 and 1974 (1998:8)

[8] An activist tradition of theatre was well-established by the seventies, for example with Dario Fo and Franca Rame in Italy, Augusto Boal in South America, the *Bread and Puppet*

something that should also contain important elements of humanity common to all, such as playfulness. This playfulness, which had been bled out of Russian communism by successive hierarchies, had originally been a strong element in the early years of that revolution (Clark 1997:76-85). The situationists and their antics were also important politically and intellectually because of their influence on the 1968 uprising in Paris, which was remarkable for its propagandising via brilliantly-witty posters (Montgomery 1984/5). 'Paris 1968' had a wide-reaching impact globally, including in Australia with the inspiration of local *dissent events* and the creation of new left-wing critiques (Scalmer 2002:120-130).

A probable reason for this confluence of protest and art was the nature of a central protest issue:- opposition to the Vietnam war. Being a peace (as well as anti-imperialism) issue meant that using violent protest was hypocritical, if not counter-productive. Nonviolence was thus given a considerable boost (Chatfield 1997:555), and this has continued because many protestors in later movements were radicalised during anti-Vietnam-war protests (Burgmann 1993:152). With a large movement searching for nonviolent methods it was inevitable that the arts were seized on by many. The increasing importance of television and other mass media also meant new and innovative attention-grabbing methods were needed – the arts fulfilled this need. Such a trend continued with the next peak of the peace movement when anti-nuclear protest burgeoned in the 1980s, and this spilled into the environment movement when, as we have seen in section 3.2, the two movements coalesced. This hypothesis is given much credence by a major finding of this thesis: that artistic activism increases markedly when groups actively seek nonviolent methods (see section 14.2).

The latest manifestation of *artistic activism* has been termed 'culture jamming' (Deitz 2004:11); it sprang from the work of groups such as BUGA UP, which humorously altered billboards to challenge the messages presented thereon. Later it embraced a host of

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Theatre in the U.S., *Pipi Storm* and *The Australian Performing Group* and later *The Streuth Troupe* in Australia, and Theatre in Education groups throughout the western world.

activities under the broader term of 'media activism', including computer hacking, overloading corporate websites or directing internet searches away from them and onto protest websites (see Scalmer 2002:172). Culture jammers even began their own, highly professional magazine *Adbusters*, whose publisher Kalle Lasn claims that people are increasingly aware that the struggle of the future is not about left or right, but about *culture* (cited in Deitz 2004:11).

Perhaps the most telling sign of the power of the arts is the effort that goes into censoring it. In 2003 a poetry reading scheduled for the US White House was cancelled because poets intended to use it as a forum to protest war, while Picasso's famous anti-war painting 'Guernica' (Figure 23) at the United Nations headquarters in New York was covered up prior to US Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit there (Weiner 2003, online). This, however, caused international outrage, and peace marchers in Rome carried a full-sized replica of the painting (*Socialist Worker* 2003:7). Protest art will never be silenced.

Figure 23: Picasso's anti-war painting *Guernica*.

5.7   ARTISTIC ACTIVISM AND ART THEORY

In order to properly examine artistic activism, there is a need to situate it within art theory, to give it some context. This is a difficult task if we accept Toby Clark's (1997:126) suggestion that protest art is outside art theory, during his description of the actions of

artists radicalised by the Vietnam War: "actions which circumvented the usual discourses of art and politics while rejecting the ideal of art's neutrality[9] in the face of political struggles." Should such art be examined as 'propaganda', as Clark does? Or should it be seen as part of a continuing tradition of *avant-gardism,* wherein visionary artist/activists lead society to a better future (see Aronson 1998[10]), like the catalysts of Guevara or the revolutionary vanguard of Marxism (see Pelaez 1996). Such art could be viewed as *modernist,* because it presupposes the teleological view (see Boughton 1993:26) of society's continual progression towards some ideal state. Yet the teleological view and the idea of 'artist as genius' have been profoundly challenged by *postmodernism,* in a 'reconfiguration of Western thought and action on a scale equivalent to the Renaissance' (Boughton 1993:26).

Postmodernism, however, is an elusive concept to define, especially as the prerequisite definition of modernism is also a contested one (Williams 1999: 23-27). Postmodernism, on the one hand, can be seen as cynical, value-free, soulless, embracing capitalism, individualistic, even nihilistic,- the revenge of the bourgeoisie as they laugh at the futile revolutionary ardour of the socialist realists (see Lyotard 1994:173; Eagleton 1999:91). Others, however, equate postmodernism with revolutionary activity, claiming that the recent Zapatista movement for indigenous rights in Mexico is the first postmodern revolution (Conger 1994:paras 14-17; Pelaez 1996). The former view describes a world where there is no meaning or community, where selfish cynicism is the prevailing mood. In this case, postmodernism would seem to be no threat to globalised capitalism and its agenda of dividing opposition and maintaining a base of subservient consumers. However, postmodernism's deconstruction of the great monopolies of thought − of scientific rationalism, of the inevitable march of progress, of the superiority of large (read Western and Christian) technologically-advanced civilisations over smaller nations or indigenous

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[9] This ideal was promulgated by writers like Clement Greenberg and Clive Bell (Freeland 2002:15-16), possibly as a reaction against socialist realism.

[10] Aronson argues that postmodernism does not necessarily mean the end of avant-gardism, although it does produce some fundamental challenges to it (1998:163-166; see also Desmond & Dixon 1995:85-87).

peoples, who will eventually be civilised, improved, developed and otherwise brought into the fold – does not necessarily mean the abandonment of all values, merely that they be viewed as relative rather than absolute.[11] In a globalised world, there is much worth in maintaining individual, tribal and national identities, and this does not necessarily lead to conflict, but to a decentralised, diverse, proud and culturally-rich world.

This is the sense in which the Zapatista revolution (despite its violence, which was widely condemned) is considered postmodern,- because of its radically-democratic structures and use of consensus decision-making, its local focus backed by a global social justice perspective, its rejection of globalised neo-liberalism, its selective use of both anarchistic and socialistic policies, and its extensive use of international computer systems, systems that were appropriated from capitalism and adapted for a liberating purpose[12]. In this sense, we can see postmodernism as having many characteristics in common with nonviolence: diverse rather than monopolistic (see Haseman 1993:150), decentralised and anarchistic rather than centralised and hierarchical, holistic and innovative rather than dualistic, respecting minorities and opposing oppressive narratives.

There is also an intersection of nonviolence and postmodernism with regard to the notion of truth. Although the *satyagraha* or 'truth-force' aspect of nonviolence advocates working towards truth, it accepts, as do postmodernists (see Pelaez 1996:para 25), that there are often no supreme or ultimate truths, but that different people or groups have different aspects or versions of truths, versions which deserve to be respected but which should be contested in an effort to reach agreed-upon positions together. As the Jabiluka case study and section 13.2.5 show, *artistic activism* performs an important role in this quest for truth.

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[11] In a similar vein, political economist Susan George has shown that 'scientific breakthoughs' such as the Green Revolution feeding the world were corporate fictions (1990), while permaculturalists have noted the value of traditional agriculture (Mollison & Holmgren c1991).

[12] The Zapatista revolution employed the internet and 'savvy' media techniques to gain widespread international support particularly from US radicals, while their charismatic leader SubComandante Marcos wrote poetry and wore a ski mask to keep his identity hidden, creating a romantic image (Pelaez 1996:para 16).

5.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has defined the arts as a tool that can be used for either conservative or radical purposes. It has introduced the wide variety of arts and multi-arts used by protest groups, including visual arts, music, theatre, dance and journalism. It has reviewed the available literature on art and nonviolence, and drawn conclusions about the efficacy of artwork from several disciplines. Beneficial effects of the arts observed include their facilitation of communication, and their role in energising, encouraging, inspiring, entertaining and in preventing violence. Their nonverbal and holistic nature is also noted. The case studies will provide confirmation of these findings, and begin to situate them within nonviolence theory, a process concluded in Chapter Thirteen. In the chapter I also provided background by discussing the origins of artistic activism, and its relationship both to major political movements like communism and the anti-Vietnam protests of the 1960s, and to influential art movements such as dada, surrealism, socialist realism and situationism. I also examined the cultural and political importance of notions of the avant-garde, modernism and postmodernism. These final two segments showed that protest arts did not arise from a vacuum, but from a long and rich tradition of radical art that promotes environmental, socialist, feminist, peace or anti-colonialist themes.

Before moving on to the first case study and beginning to ground this theory in the ancient rainforests of Tasmania's South-West, the words of feminist and postmodern author Jeanette Winterson are apt:

> I know of no better communicator than art. No better means of saying so precisely those things which need so urgently to be said (1995:99).
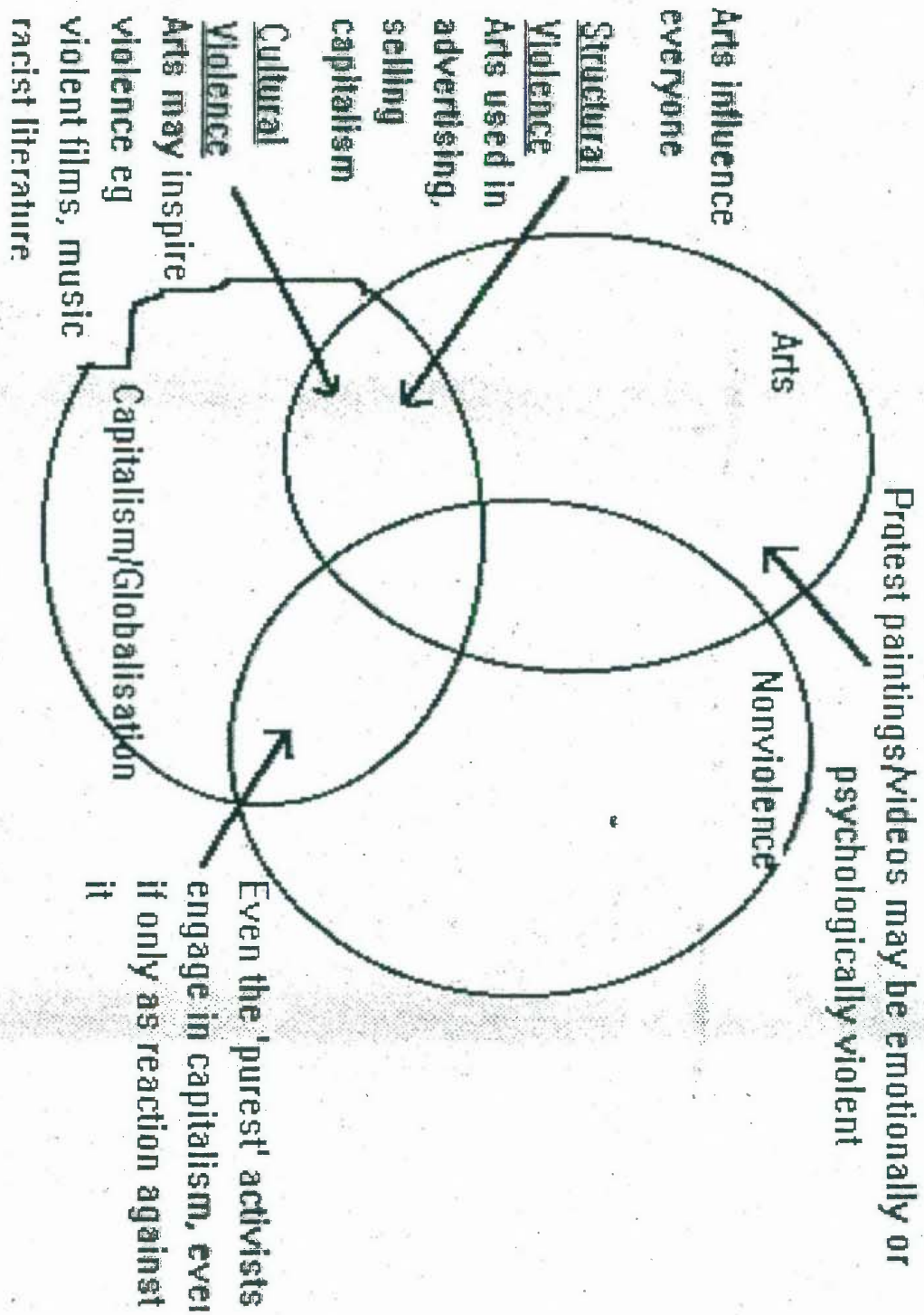
Arts influence everyone

Structural Violence
Arts used in advertising, selling capitalism

Cultural Violence
Arts may inspire violence eg violent films, music racist literature

Arts

Capitalism/Globalisation

Nonviolence

Protest paintings/videos may be emotionally or psychologically violent

Even the 'purest' activists engage in capitalism, even if only as reaction against it

Figure 24: Shows how art can be implicated in structural and cultural violence.
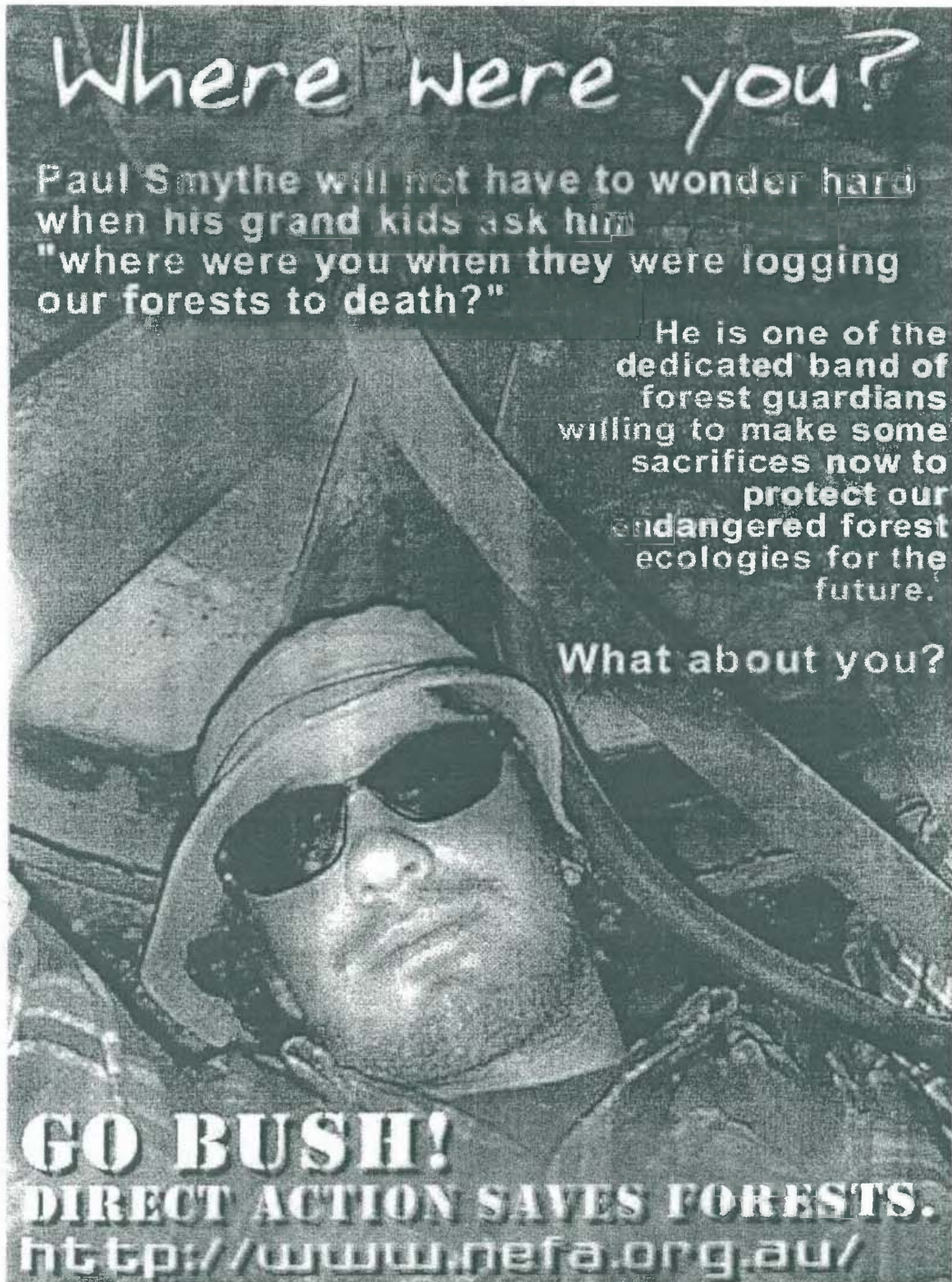
Figure 25: NEFA recruitment poster (NEFA).

Figure 26: Benny Zable atop his 'radioactive waste' barrels.

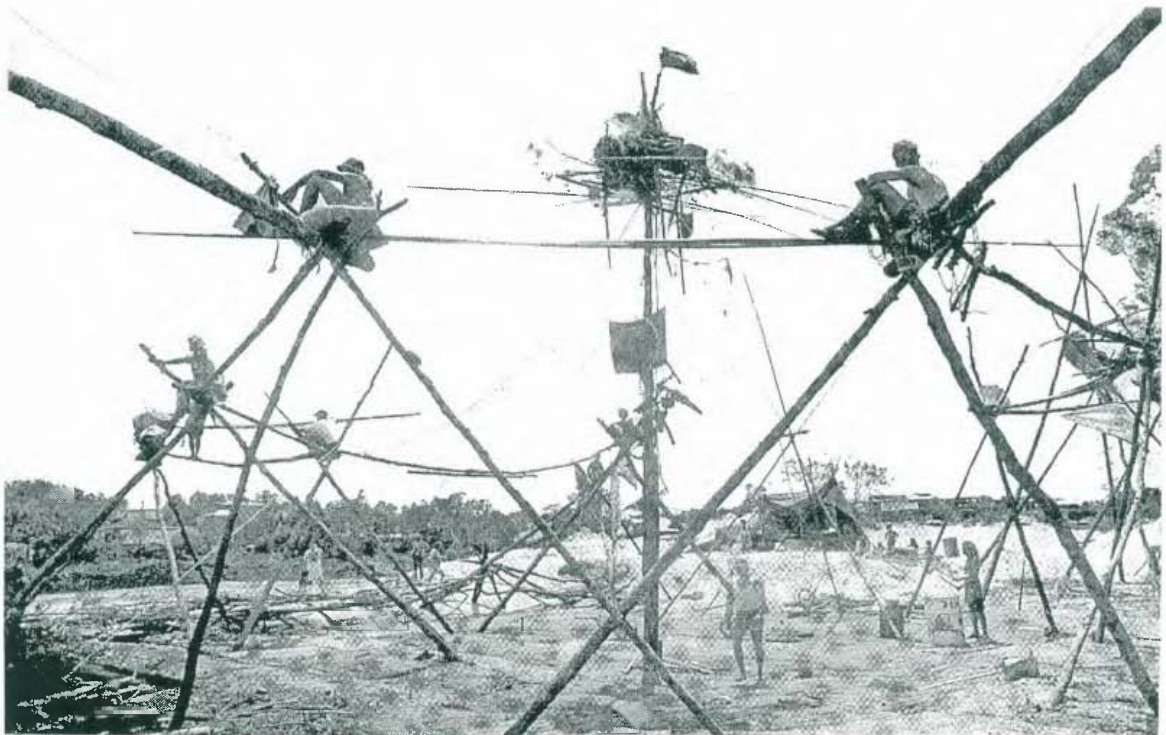Figure 27: 'Feralthing' sculpture, Look-At-Me-Now Headland blockade, 1991.

Figure 28: Tripod village in Star-of-David shape, Look-At-Me-Now Headland protest.