

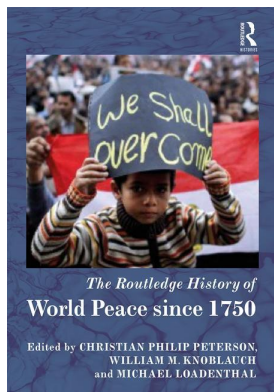
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PACIFIC CONCERNS

Nuclear weapons and the peace movement
in Australia, 1960–1967*Kyle Harvey*

Australian opposition to nuclear weapons operated in similar ways to other western nations. A peace movement, drawing support from trade unions, clergy, communists, and pacifists, organized campaigns from 1945 on the dangers posed by nuclear weapons, their testing, deployment, and potential use. From 1946, when the United States began testing nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean, the Australian peace movement reacted slowly, preferring instead to focus on domestic concerns, such as the British nuclear tests that took place on Australian soil in the mid to late 1950s. As nuclear testing in the Pacific increased in intensity, and as the French government announced its plans to test its own weapons in the South Pacific, Australians began to think more critically about the regional implications of radioactive fallout and its effects on the health of all those who lived in and around the Pacific Ocean. This coincided with a diversification of protest tactics used in Australia, responding to trends in Britain and the United States that valued public demonstrations over petitioning, discussion groups, and public meetings.

This chapter explores this early 1960s history of anti-nuclear activism in Australia. As organizers attempted to develop a regional program of dissent that would unite the nations bordering the South Pacific, Australia's conservative government—a staunch ally of Britain and the United States—treated peace activism with the same approach it used for subversive organizations, amounting to an anti-communist atmosphere of suspicion, surveillance, censorship, and harassment.¹ Within this environment, though, peace campaigns continued to experiment with their dissent, looking east to New Zealand and beyond to the South Pacific in their agitation for a nuclear free southern hemisphere, a campaign supported by Australia's federal opposition Labor Party starting in 1962. However, this regional approach was, in effect, muted by distance, language, and the varied nature of peace movement priorities across the Pacific, particularly in the Pacific Islands. The onset of Australian involvement in the Vietnam War also diverted its peace movement's attention away from nuclear testing. As a result, the momentum to develop a regional response to French nuclear testing in the early to mid-1960s was lost. This chapter contends that these early developments in Australia helped establish the model for a more sustained campaign against French nuclear testing that gained greater traction, popularity, and governmental support in the early 1970s. In doing so, it examines the evolution of key concepts of public health and environmental thought to the Australian peace movement, and how this movement attempted to utilize these ideas in its limited engagement with the Pacific.

The problem of the Pacific in Australia

Despite the significant US military presence in the Pacific Ocean, and its nuclear testing programs that took place in the Marshall Islands after 1946, Australian criticisms of nuclear weapons focused little on the role of atmospheric testing. Occasional news from the United States on the plight of those indigenous peoples forcibly relocated from their homes in the Marshall Islands made its way to Australia, and was republished in communist newspapers.² As Matt Matsuda has written, until 1954, aside from the common images of mushroom clouds, scant information about nuclear tests in the Pacific was released to the public. With the explosion of the “Bravo” hydrogen bomb test on March 1, 1954, and the subsequent “global storm of outrage” about the disastrous effects of radioactive fallout, the conversation in Australia—and elsewhere—about nuclear weapons in the Pacific began to change. According to Matsuda,

What had been a question for soldiers and debates in the United Nations was now a threat to families, the environment, and the food supply of the entire world. The ‘small’ islands had become local places of very global concern.³

Australians experienced this “global concern” in a multitude of ways.⁴ With American nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands, combined with British atomic tests at Christmas Island in the Pacific and the Monte Bello Islands off Australia’s northwest coast, peace activists concluded Australia was “menaced on all sides” by atomic tests and would “be affected by the results whichever way the wind blows.”⁵

This attitude mimicked themes in Britain and the United States during the key years of the fallout controversy in 1957 and 1958.⁶ These themes included: A concern for children, fears of food chain contamination, and alarms over mutations, cancers, and other genetic abnormalities in births—warnings popularized by scientists such as Albert Schweitzer and Linus Pauling.⁷ Within this environment, news of the plight of Pacific Islanders affected or displaced by British and American nuclear testing programs became more commonplace in Australia, yet there was often little news to report.⁸ Few Pacific Islanders found refuge or resettlement in Australia, largely due to the country’s then restrictive immigration policy, which contrasted with New Zealand’s “relative embrace” of its Pacific neighbors.⁹ And news services on the islands themselves were diverse, constrained by colonial control, ethnic and linguistic differences, geography, distribution, and limitations in literacy and education levels.¹⁰ As a result, Australia’s engagement with the impact of nuclear testing in the region was problematic, and limited any lasting enthusiasm in the peace movement for a regional response to the issue.

This early history of anti-nuclear activism occupies a key place within the historiography of the broader “peace movement” in Australia, especially because the existing literature contains few studies that specifically examine the role and significance of nuclear weapons to Australian peace organizations.¹¹ Scattered still are examinations of Australian peace activists’ engagement with the Pacific region. Opposition to French nuclear testing in the South Pacific, which reached its zenith in the early 1970s but continued sporadically into the mid-1990s, has been the subject of a variety of historical surveys; yet little here suggests that its origins lie in the early 1960s, a tumultuous period for Australian peace activists.¹² The 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, for example, was signed just as France began its preparations to relocate its own nuclear testing program from Algeria to French Polynesia.

The United States established the first of several spy bases on Australian soil in 1963, and China became a nuclear power in 1964. Until Australian involvement in the Vietnam War consumed the attentions of its movement from 1965, the earlier years of the decade offer a particularly useful lens through which to examine the nature of Australian opposition to nuclear weapons as they looked east to the Pacific.

A changing peace movement

The organized Australian peace movement in the 1950s was based around a series of Peace Councils in major capital cities, each of which were largely “unobtrusive and innocuous” in their campaigning.¹³ The Councils followed a conservative formula, largely consisting of the gathering of petition signatures, public meetings, speaking tours by prominent international guests, sending Australians to international congresses, distributing literature (especially to trade unions), and holding film screenings and discussion groups.¹⁴ This pattern evolved little until the late 1950s, when signs emerged of a new, revitalized peace movement that was broader, less ideological, and less associated with Australian communism.¹⁵ In the early 1960s, this movement took inspiration from the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and began to experiment with different forms of protest, such as conducting public marches and rallies. From 1961 onward, marches were held in Australian capital cities at Easter, inspired by British CND’s marches between London and the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Aldermaston. Similarly, marches in August commemorating the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki became prominent in the early 1960s. CND groups also emerged in major Australian cities to promote nuclear disarmament.

That Australian CND groups were explicitly anti-nuclear is significant. Early outlines of their agendas emphasized this narrow political focus. The Queensland group, for example, advocated for:

- opposition to all nuclear testing;
- non-storage of nuclear weapons in Australia;
- encouragement and support for unilateral nuclear disarmament in any country as well as multilateral general disarmament;
- conversion of the Weapons Research Establishment at Woomera to a peaceful research center because of its potentiality as a nuclear base;
- opposition to foreign bases on Australian soil;
- non-alignment with any nuclear power;
- co-operation with and support for all other C.N.D. organizations;
- affirmation of U.N. Charter.¹⁶

These aims responded to fears of radioactive fallout that had dominated global opposition to nuclear weapons—fears that developed in the 1950s as knowledge of radiation and its effects on human, animal, and plant life increased, but also as nuclear weapons and their delivery systems increased in power and accuracy. Of course, the moratorium on aboveground nuclear tests, which came into effect in 1958, complicated Australians’ concerns. During the early 1960s, Australians continued to emphasize the dangers of radioactive fallout—echoing reports from the US, Britain, Japan and elsewhere—that the impact of radioactive fallout since 1945 was still producing congenital defects, stillbirths, and cancers around the globe.

A Victorian Peace Council bulletin from early 1961, for example, reported on recent warnings by Linus Pauling, the United Nations Scientific Committee, and the Regional Congress of Japanese Midwives in its denunciation of further nuclear testing.¹⁷

France's moves to test its own nuclear weapons outside of newly independent Algeria—first in the southern Indian Ocean, and then in the South Pacific—exacerbated Australian concerns that were partially alleviated by the 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty, which banned atmospheric nuclear tests by Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.¹⁸ Australian concerns arose in January 1961 when reports surfaced that France was considering the Kerguelen Islands, a small, remote archipelago in the Southern Indian Ocean some 2,500 miles from Perth, as a suitable venue for its relocated nuclear testing program. Although France soon abandoned its plans to utilize the Kerguelen Islands, Australian reports of the potential for radioactive fallout to reach its mainland emphasized the risks of wind-born contamination.¹⁹

Reports began to surface from October 1962 that France was considering a site in its South Pacific territory of French Polynesia to continue its nuclear testing program.²⁰ Condemnation from the CPA, left-wing unions, and other peace groups was swift, and steadily increased as French plans solidified. Such protests overlapped with the opposition Labor Party's proposal for a nuclear-free southern hemisphere, which had been garnering support among the peace movement since Labor leader Arthur Calwell outlined the proposal in federal parliament in May 1962.²¹ Quickly, the peace movement organized large rallies in capital cities, distributed a petition gathering some 200,000 signatures, and led a cavalcade to the national capital Canberra to deliver this petition to parliament.²² Around the same time, in July 1962, the United States tested a high-altitude hydrogen bomb some 250 miles above Johnston Atoll, southwest of Hawai'i. A "bright red glow" from the test was visible all over the western Pacific, which intensified regional opposition to nuclear testing, especially in New Zealand.²³ As regional concern about proposed French nuclear tests developed, France's nuclear ambitions appeared a dangerous prospect from outside as the global momentum for a ban on atmospheric nuclear tests rose. A growing momentum in Australia and New Zealand activism reflected a steadfastly rising objection to the tests' potential to upend years of progress in developing the critical consensus. Growing ideas about environmentalism, public health, and the dangers of nuclear testing for the peoples of the Pacific began to stimulate a new direction for Australian anti-nuclear activism.²⁴

Health, environment, and the Pacific

To a limited degree, early protests against French nuclear testing focused on environmental issues. In 1963, the widely distributed monthly publication *Peace Action* asked, "But what of the people of the Pacific Islands, of Tahiti, Samoa, Pitcairn, Fiji, the Friendly Isles [Tonga] and the countless other atolls and inhabited islands that rely on fish, seafoods and rainwater?"²⁵ In its concern for Pacific Islanders, *Peace Action* emphasized the risk posed by radioactive contamination to these pure, untainted environments. Other Australian publications rejected governmental assurances that nuclear tests would be safe for those who lived in or around the ocean. For example, several months before the French testing program began on Mururoa Atoll, the CPA's weekly newspaper *Tribune* lambasted French assurances that Polynesians would be safe from radiation by citing numerous examples where radioactive fallout from nuclear tests had travelled far beyond proclaimed safety zones. These included

Marshall Islanders affected by nuclear tests on Bikini Atoll, Japanese fisherman on board the *Lucky Dragon* fishing boat in 1954, and fallout concerns in Nevada and Utah. Each case showed that the existing safety record of the nuclear powers in the Pacific did not bode well for Pacific Islanders reliant on the ocean for their livelihoods.²⁶

The Australian campaign against French nuclear testing in the 1960s utilized existing ideas about fallout, health, and the natural environment, all popularized in the United States in years prior. The Test Ban debate's focus on cow's milk, and how it would affect the health of children who consumed it, was a critical theme for the US anti-nuclear movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Fears of contaminated milk "made palpable the inseparability of human uses of technology and environmental processes."²⁷ In Australia, these debates followed similar principles. A Sydney-based group, Women For Peace, conducted its early demonstrations in 1963 and 1964 and focused on what French nuclear testing would mean for children and babies. At protests outside the French consulate in Sydney in June 1963, women carried milk bottles labeled "Strontium-90," pushed prams containing placards that read "empty because of stillbirth," and brought along their own babies and young children for effect.²⁸

Australian CND groups continued their activities in a similar vein, linking public health with environmental concerns. In Brisbane, for example, CND argued: "On International Milk Day, and every other day, PROTEST AGAINST THE FRENCH TESTS if you want your children's bones to be free of this cancer-producing strontium-90."²⁹ At the same time, it expressed a concern for Pacific Islanders, intimately connected to the same problems of airborne radioactive fallout: "The French nuclear tests will make fish for thousands of miles around the test area bearers of radio-activity. Fish is part of the staple diet of millions of people in the Pacific. If YOU like fish, PROTEST AGAINST THE FRENCH TESTS."³⁰ CND's approach to the impact of nuclear tests on Pacific peoples was also couched within an understanding of the broader impact of the tests. This was a comprehensive outlook that placed Pacific dangers within a global Cold War system of proliferation and crisis. As Victoria CND argued:

These tests will affect thousands of Pacific Islanders who will lose their homes, their food and possibly their families. The tests will affect Australians, for *any* increase in radioactivity produces death and disease. The tests will affect the people and governments in countries around the world, for they will provide an incentive for proliferation and testing in a world that fears this nuclear madness.³¹

With an increased understanding of radioactive fallout patterns that had developed due to scientific research since the late 1950s, these concerns gained a greater traction in anti-nuclear campaigners' efforts to draw attention to the hazards of nuclear testing.³² As Australian peace activists continued to demonstrate against the French nuclear tests prior to their commencement in mid-1966, Australians emphasized that radioactive fallout from French nuclear tests was a critical *regional* concern. That fallout from the tests would envelope South Pacific island nations, South America, and New Zealand, and emphasized Australians' willingness to campaign in a manner that drew attention to the environmental and health effects engendered by aboveground testing and its impact in the region. The peace movement's limited contacts in the South Pacific, save for New Zealand, meant that it was not able to extend this concern into a regional network of opposition.

Trade unions, pacifists, and regional opposition

Australian trade unions—many of which had close ties to the peace movement—also campaigned against the French nuclear testing program by highlighting its impact on public health and the natural environment of Australia and the Pacific region. Trade union propaganda utilized familiar arguments, such as concerns over radioactive contamination of Australian livestock, birth defects and deformities, and contamination of milk.³³ As the Brisbane branch of the Waterside Workers' Federation (WWF) explained, air and ocean currents meant that Australians would feel the impact of the testing program:

The upper currents, which can carry the most deadly fall-out from nuclear bombs exploded in the atmosphere, would carry the radio-active dust to Australia and New Zealand, affecting many Polynesian and Melanesian Islands peoples en route.

Australia may get the worst atomic “dusting” yet, because French bombs are so dirty that explosions in the Sahara have created serious fall-out pockets as far away as the central areas of the United States, where Strontium 90 in the milk is increasing.³⁴

Unlike CND groups or the state-based peace organizations, trade unions worked to develop a broader regional opposition to the French. The peak union bodies in Australia (the Australian Council of Trade Unions, ACTU) and New Zealand (the New Zealand Federation of Labor, NZFL) quickly joined the Indonesian Trade Union Centre in calling for boycotts on French commerce. The network, facilitated by the All Pacific and Asian Dockworkers Conference (held annually since 1960), aided regional organizing among these trade unions, despite limited input from Pacific Island unions.³⁵

Attempts were made, however, to involve Pacific Island unions in this burgeoning regional opposition. Charles Fitzgibbon, national General Secretary of the WWF, argued to both the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Transport Federation that:

Our organisation seeks to enlist the widest possible protests in order to force the abandonment of the tests and we earnestly ask that your Federation join with the peoples of the countries in the South Pacific to force the French Government to realise that the people living in an area have a right to say whether or not these horror weapons should be tested with the resultant effects on present and future generations.³⁶

At its 1964 All Ports Conference, the WWF continued this approach, recognizing that underdeveloped education systems, poor levels of literacy, and an uncommitted trade union opposition may affect the potential levels of dissent in Tahiti, the most populous island in French Polynesia.³⁷

Throughout 1964 and 1965, this progress toward a regional union-led opposition to the tests gathered speed. With prompting from the more militant unions, such as the WWF, the ACTU and NZFL proceeded to organize a South Pacific Trade Union Conference. Held in Sydney in December 1965, the Conference represented a significant moment in trans-Pacific trade union organizing. It invited delegates from Chile, Peru, French Polynesia, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Fiji, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Hawai'i, and sparked interest from New Caledonian and Cook Islands' representatives.³⁸

However, despite the promise of concerted action that would lead to regional boycotts, the Conference fell short. Few delegates from Pacific or South American nations could attend, and Australian delegates found the final declaration somewhat weak. Frank Purse of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, for example, worried "that the decision reached is good in principle but is lacking in respect to action," despite the fact that "speaker after speaker including the international delegates called for action."³⁹ The Conference, and the links developed between Australian and New Zealand trade unionists, nevertheless formed the basis for a more sustained, and more significant program of action that would characterize the more popular movement against French nuclear tests in the early 1970s.

In the meantime, Australian pacifists appeared to be the only groups willing to engage in any expression of dramatic, radical action in opposition to the upcoming French tests. CND, counting many younger members among its ranks, led the way. Victorian CND members, for example, made front-page news in November 1963 when they disrupted an election meeting at Kew Town Hall in Melbourne given by Prime Minister Menzies.⁴⁰ Again, Australians found it difficult, despite good intentions, to engage more thoroughly with Pacific Islanders to be affected most prominently by the upcoming nuclear tests. The Youth Conference, one of many groupings of delegates at the Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament, held in October 1964 in Sydney, proposed in its final declaration to engage more thoroughly with other activists overseas, but made no mention of the Pacific Islands: "We call on the Government and people of Australia to join more actively with their counter-parts in New Zealand, South America, Asia and France in expressing opposition to the testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific by France."⁴¹

Connections between Australian and French anti-nuclear campaigners, at least, had increased during 1964. Henriette Katz of the Union of French Women—herself a former resistance fighter—toured Australian cities in February and March 1964, speaking out against the upcoming testing program. One month later, the Sydney Quaker Jean Richards conducted a return tour, aiming to meet with President de Gaulle and put her case against the testing program.⁴² Trade union representatives also conducted reciprocal visits; one French unionist, Lucien Chavrot, spoke at the 1964 Congress in Sydney.⁴³ Neither Australian nor French campaigners, though, were able to make similar connections with counterparts in the Pacific Islands in pursuit of their aims.

The 1964 Congress was significant in additional ways. Interactions between the Australian and New Zealand peace movements, which had been developing gradually for some years, intensified with the impending French nuclear tests. Many New Zealanders arrived in Sydney for the Congress, bringing with them news of the richness of anti-nuclear sentiment back home. Muriel Lloyd Prichard, a historian based at the University of Auckland, and R. H. Locker, an Auckland biochemist, also brought to the Congress news of a group of young Auckland pacifists, the Committee for Resolute Action against French Tests (CRAFT).⁴⁴ Inspired by similar voyages undertaken by American pacifists in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the group was proposing a voyage of direct action to protest against the French testing program.⁴⁵ Several Sydney pacifists, inspired by CRAFT's idea, proposed a similar voyage. The Committee Against Atomic Testing (CAAT), formed in Sydney in late 1964, devised a campaign that would see an international crew sail from Sydney, via New Zealand, Fiji, Tonga, Western Samoa, the Cook Islands, and Pitcairn Island before arriving in French Polynesia. There the crew planned to rendezvous with two New Zealand vessels and a third from Chile, mounting a trans-Pacific protest that coincided with the onset of the testing program in July 1966.⁴⁶

After a series of setbacks, CAAT eventually launched its protest vessel—the *Trident*—in 1967, yet the yacht abandoned its original route, sailing from Sydney, to Auckland, and to the Cook Islands before returning home. Extensive delays in Auckland and Rarotonga meant that the *Trident* missed an opportunity to intervene in what was the final French nuclear test for that year.⁴⁷ There is little evidence that the Australian, New Zealand, or French governments took CAAT's endeavor seriously. Despite surveillance by Australia's security police due to CAAT's communist affiliations, one of the group's organizers was dismissed by police as nothing more than “a crusader against nuclear testing.”⁴⁸ The campaign did, however, demonstrate a more concrete engagement with the Pacific than previously attempted, due in part to the method of direct action favored by its pacifist organizers.

Despite these occasional attempts at trans-Pacific engagement, the hesitant development of Australians' opposition to the French nuclear testing program suffered primarily due to the war in Vietnam. From 1965, the peace movement's attention was almost exclusively dominated by the conflict, into which some 15,000 Australians were conscripted. In Australia, the pattern of anti-nuclear protest that had developed since the early 1960s was soon overtaken by anti-war concerns. Beginning in 1965, protests against the Vietnam War became central components of Hiroshima Day activities.⁴⁹ CND groups began to focus almost exclusively on Vietnam; consider the Victorian group, which conducted a 24-hour silent vigil outside the US Consulate in Melbourne in June 1965, calling for a withdrawal of Australian troops from Vietnam and an immediate ceasefire.⁵⁰ CND members and others who had campaigned against nuclear testing in the early 1960s now formed new groups, such as the Vietnam Action Committee, the Youth Campaign Against Conscription, Save Our Sons, the Vietnam Day Committee, and others. Meanwhile, CND groups nationwide quietly disbanded as focus shifted firmly towards Vietnam and conscription, despite the onset of France's nuclear tests in July 1966, and reports of a “colossal increase” in radioactive fallout over Australia.⁵¹ Meanwhile, concern for the peoples of the Pacific endangered by this marked increase in fallout lost its momentum, and would only revive in the early 1970s.

Conclusion

While Australian campaigns against French nuclear testing would intensify in the early 1970s, their origins in the 1960s demonstrated an enthusiastic evolution towards a regional movement opposed to French testing, one whose ideas about health, environment, and the Pacific would prove central to the larger, more popular campaign that emerged years later. Beginning in the early 1970s, peace movements also looked east, building on the pioneering example of CAAT's *Trident* voyage of 1967; these movements also utilized the inspiration of American and Canadian expats living in New Zealand to conduct further protest voyages to French Polynesia.⁵² For Australia's peace movement in the 1960s, however, a closer engagement with Pacific nations was less feasible. Peace movements and trade unions sympathetic to progressive causes were rare among the Pacific Islands. Samoa was the first small Pacific island nation to achieve independence in 1962, yet many others remained colonies into the 1970s and 1980s. Rarely did colonies or newly independent island nations possess the political impetus for the sort of peace campaigns that existed in western nations, although attempts were made to achieve some semblance of South Pacific unity against the French nuclear tests.⁵³

This trend began to change in the 1970s as island nations achieved independence and anti-colonial movements gained traction in others. The Fijian campaign Against Testing On Mururoa (ATOM) was formed in 1970, one of the first explicitly anti-nuclear groups to be formed in the Pacific Islands.⁵⁴ The emergence of the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement in 1975 also helped to solidify a trans-Pacific movement against nuclear testing that connected western activists with Pacific Island-based campaigns for an end to nuclear testing and colonialism in the region.⁵⁵ Back in the 1960s, colonial dynamics ensured that nuclear weapons tests, in the minds of many Pacific Islanders lacking an independent political voice, remained “archetypical examples of the worst aspects of colonialism.”⁵⁶

For Australians in the 1960s, the Pacific was a conundrum. Atmospheric nuclear tests that took place since 1946, and especially since 1954, demonstrated to Australia’s peace movement that the nuclear powers were using the geography of “the extremes of empire” to develop dangerous new weapons for waging war.⁵⁷ The human and environmental costs of nuclear testing, borne out of radioactive fallout spread across the Pacific and around the globe, were the crux upon which the peace movement was able to think more critically about how nuclear tests affected not only Australians, but also their neighbors. That the Pacific Islands themselves were so often out of reach meant they were not able to act as allies in these early years of a regional anti-nuclear movement. Instead, the Islands remained, especially for Australians, a humanist and environmental concern, a site of an oppressed people whose health and livelihoods were placed at risk by weapons whose impact was far-reaching, and whose concerns were shared by Australians whose health, environment, and food supplies would be affected the same way.

Notes

- 1 Ralph Summy, “The Australian Peace Council and the Anticomunist Milieu, 1949–1965,” in *Peace Movements and Political Cultures*, ed. Charles Chatfield and Peter van den Dungen (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1988).
- 2 Mike Gold, “Atomic Bomb Lesson on Christianity for South Sea Islanders,” *Tribune*, July 14, 1946, 5. This news was contained within a broader condemnation of colonialism and its impact on the Pacific Islands before, during, and after World War II. See also “Imperialism Has Brought Disease Death To Pacific Natives,” *Tribune*, January 28, 1948, 4–5.
- 3 Matt Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 318.
- 4 Lawrence Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 76.
- 5 “Warnings on A-Tests were Correct,” *Australian Peace Review*, July 1956, 1.
- 6 On this debate, see Robert Divine, *Blowing on the Wind: The Nuclear Test Ban Debate, 1954–1960* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- 7 Numerous Australian examples abound. See, for example, *Maritime Worker*, Waterside Workers Federation, September 17, 1957, 5, and October 3, 1957, 6; “‘No Time to Lose’—End H-Tests Now!”, *Our Women*, Union of Australian Women, March–June 1958, 13; and “British Bomb Testing,” *Peace Bulletin*, New South Wales Peace Council, March 1, 1957, 1–3.
- 8 On a plea made by representatives from six Pacific nations at the 1958 South Pacific Conference in Fiji, see Jack Percival, “‘Islands of Poison’: Atom Bomb Blast Fear,” *Sun-Herald*, Sydney, April 29, 1956, 25.
- 9 Paul Hamer, “‘Unsophisticated and Unsuitable’: Australian Barriers to Pacific Islander Immigration from New Zealand,” *Political Science* 66, no. 2 (2014): 94.
- 10 See Jim Richstad and Michael McMillan, “The Pacific Islands Press,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (1974): 470–477.

- 11 The one significant exception to this is Barbara Carter, “Opposition to Nuclear Weapons in Australia, 1945–1965” (M.A. diss., University of Melbourne, 1982). Other relevant histories include Malcolm Saunders and Ralph Summy, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History* (Canberra: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, 1986); Ralph Summy, “Militancy and the Australian Peace Movement, 1960–67,” *Politics* 5, no. 2 (1970): 148–162; and Les Dalton, “Politics of the Australian Peace Movement, 1930s to 1960s,” in *Centre for Dialogue Working Paper Series* (La Trobe University, Melbourne, 2011).
- 12 For an overview of opposition to French nuclear testing, see Lorraine Elliott, “French Nuclear Testing in the Pacific: A Retrospective,” *Environmental Politics* 6, no. 2 (1997): 144–149.
- 13 Summy, “Militancy,” 149.
- 14 See Summy, “The Australian Peace Council,” 240.
- 15 John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia’s Vietnam War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 123.
- 16 Queensland CND flyer, (1963), Box 1, Folder 2, Salvatore D’Urso Collection, UQFL72, Fryer Library, University of Queensland, Brisbane.
- 17 “The Bomb: Its Threat and its Challenge,” Victorian Peace Council *Bulletin* no. 4 (1961), [no page number], Box 74, Folder “Victorian Peace Council,” People for Nuclear Disarmament Records, MLSS 5522, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (hereafter PND Records).
- 18 See Frank Hartley, “The Difficult Road to Disarmament and to a Test Ban Treaty,” Victorian Peace Council *Bulletin* no. 5 (1961), 9, Box 74, Folder “Victorian Peace Council,” PND Records.
- 19 See, for example, “French H-Bomb Test May Affect Australia,” *Peace Action*, February 1961, 3; and “Fear of H-Bomb Fall-Out Over Aust. Coast,” *Sun-Herald*, January 22, 1961, 9.
- 20 See “New French A-Test Base in Sth. Pacific,” *Peace Action*, October 1962, 16.
- 21 See Calwell’s remarks in *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates*, House of Representatives, vol. 24, May 15, 1962, 2318–2324.
- 22 See “Ban The Bomb Marchers in Canberra,” *Peace Action*, September 1962, 3.
- 23 See Malcolm Templeton, *Standing Upright Here: New Zealand in the Nuclear Age 1945–1990* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), 99. See also reports from across the South Pacific in “Beep! And the Pacific Became Weird,” *Pacific Islands Monthly* 33, no. 1 (August 1962), 15–16.
- 24 This occurred at the same time as anti-nuclear campaigns around the globe were suffering crises of disinterest and division in the wake of the Test Ban Treaty. See Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb*, Chapter 19.
- 25 “French N-Weapons to be Tested in the Pacific,” *Peace Action*, May 1963, 6.
- 26 “The Pacific In Danger,” *Tribune*, May 11, 1966, 7.
- 27 Kendra Smith-Howard, *Pure and Modern Milk: An Environmental History Since 1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 129.
- 28 See *Peace Action*, July 1963, 1, 14; and photos in PXE 1463, Folder “Women for Peace Rally,” PND Records.
- 29 “Add That Radioactive Touch . . . To Milk . . . To Fish,” *Sanity*, Brisbane CND, June 1964, 3.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 “The French Test,” *Sanity*, Victorian CND, July 1966, 6.
- 32 From 1961, for example, the NSW Peace Committee produced a quarterly publication called *Current Digest on Atomic Danger*, featuring a variety of original and republished research and speeches. Its May 1964 issue was dedicated to “Fallout and Food,” and contained writing from the US magazine *Nuclear Information*, the *New Zealand Herald*, Linus Pauling’s 1964 Nobel Lecture, booklets published by the International Institute for Peace in Vienna, and research from scientists at the University of Sydney.
- 33 See “Aust. Food Supply Dangers Says O’Seas Expert,” *Peace Action*, October 1963, 3; and “Queensland: Series of Protests Over French Tests,” *Peace Action*, October 1963, 4.
- 34 Phil O’Brien, “Brisbane’s Protest to French,” *Maritime Worker*, October 16, 1963, 3.
- 35 See “Trade Boycott Plan to Answer French Nuclear Test Threat,” *Maritime Worker*, October 16, 1963, 3.
- 36 Charles Fitzgibbon to Ibrahim Zakaria, November 21, 1963, and to Peter de Vries, November 21, 1963, both in Waterside Workers’ Federation of Australia, Federal Office Deposit 5, N114 (hereafter N114), item 995, Noel Butlin Archives Centre, Australian National University, Canberra (hereafter NBAC).

- 37 See report on WWF 19th All Ports Conference, (1964), N114, item 995, NBAC.
- 38 Albert Monk to Kenneth Baxter, July 28, 1965; Albert Monk, circular, October 22, 1965; and Thomas Skinner to Albert Monk, October 28, 1965, all in Australian Council of Trade Unions Deposit 1, N21, item 1483, NBAC.
- 39 Frank Purse to Albert Monk, December 21, 1965, Australian Council of Trade Unions Deposit 2, N68, item 508, NBAC.
- 40 “New Home Finance Plan Details Given by P.M., Brawl Breaks out at Noisy Meeting,” *Age*, Melbourne, November 14, 1963, 1.
- 41 Decisions of Youth Conference 2nd Session, Final Report, October 28, 1964, Seamen’s Union of Australia, Sydney Branch Deposit, Z91, Box 29, NBAC.
- 42 Richards was unsuccessful in meeting with de Gaulle, yet according to *Tribune*, “received extensive and valuable publicity” from French media and made useful connections with French peace groups. *Tribune*, April 29, 1964, copy in A6119, 6496, National Archives of Australia, Canberra (hereafter NAA).
- 43 See Ralph Spooner, “New South Wales Report,” *Australian Foundry Worker* 3, no. 6 (January 1965), 4–6, and 3, no. 7 (April 1965), 4–6; and Lucien Chavrot, “French Tests and the Partial Test Ban Treaty,” transcript of seminar at Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament, October 28, 1964, Box 8, PND Records.
- 44 Committee Against Atomic Testing (hereafter CAAT) background briefing, n.d., A6126, 1392, NAA.
- 45 “CRAFT Plans Protest,” *Peace Action*, December 1964–January 1965, 15.
- 46 “Protest Cruise Against Nuclear Test,” *Pacific Islands Monthly* 37, no. 2 (February 1966), 101.
- 47 On the complex history of CAAT, see Kyle Harvey, “Nuclear Migrants, Radical Protest, and the Transnational Movement against French Nuclear Testing in the 1960s: The 1967 Voyage of the *Trident*,” *Labour History*, no. 111 (2016): esp. 89–98.
- 48 ASIO assessment, December 6, 1966, A6119, 6495, NAA.
- 49 Sigrid McCausland, “Leave It in the Ground: The Anti-Uranium Movement in Australia, 1975–82” (Ph.D. diss., University of Technology, Sydney, 1999), 87.
- 50 “Vietnam Protest by Victorian C.N.D.,” *Sanity*, Sydney CND, July 1965, (no page number).
- 51 D.J. Carswell, quoted in ‘Fallout Increases Markedly in Sydney’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, November 24, 1966, 10.
- 52 See Frank Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace! The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chapters 5–6.
- 53 The Cook Islands proposed a resolution at the 1965 South Pacific Commission meeting to condemn the upcoming French nuclear tests, yet it did not pass, as only newly independent Samoa would support it. See Yoko Ogashiwa, *Microstates and Nuclear Issues: Regional Cooperation in the Pacific* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific, 1991), 1–2.
- 54 See Walter Johnson and Sione Tupouniua, “Against French Nuclear Testing: The A.T.O.M. Committee,” *Journal of Pacific History* 11, no. 4 (1976): 213–216.
- 55 See Roy Smith, *The Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement: After Murorua* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997).
- 56 Jon Van Dyke and Kirk R. Smith, “Nuclear Activities and the Pacific Islanders,” *Energy* 9, no. 9/10 (1984): 747.
- 57 Robert Jacobs, “Nuclear Conquistadors: Military Colonialism in Nuclear Test Site Selection During the Cold War,” *Asian Journal of Peacebuilding* 1, no. 2 (2013): 173.