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CONFERENCE 2008

CALL FOR PAPERS

an International Eco Community Conference

Ecology and Community Development

People and places in a changing world

How community development engages the need for change to meet ecological sustainability

a three day conference to be held in Melbourne

26, 27, 28 March 2008

At a time when there is a growing concern about changing environmental conditions and the effect on communities, a conference of this nature is timely. Community Development can provide alternate pathways through new theoretical paradigms and creative responses about how we view our place on this fragile planet. By critiqueing the government and mainstream inaction/denial we can lead the way towards solutions for preventing global warming.

there will be two streams to the conference, academic papers and community workshops & forums - these streams will run concurrently

• Academic papers

The academic section of the conference will explore the contemporary contexts of community development, including conceptual and theoretical advances and social, cultural, political and economic settings.

• Community Workshops & Forums

Workshops will provide an opportunity for exchange of theories, ideas and actions relating to the themes on page 4.

ABSTRACTS DUE BY 31 August 2007

www.deakin.edu.au/arts/cchr/conferences_seminars.php

see page 4 for further information on this timely conference

Social-Movement Unionism in Sweden

During March, 2007 I spent some of my research sabbatical at the Institute for Contemporary History, Södertörn University College (www.sh.se/shi) and I can heartily recommend it to anyone interested in visiting Sweden. The director Elizabeth Elgán, tells me they have three permanently employed full-time researchers who work with several dozen post-doctoral researchers and doctoral students on various fixed-time grants and scholarships. Many but not all of them are historians because 'contemporary history' encompasses a refreshingly wide range of interests in the historical background to contemporary issues and debates. I found the atmosphere there considerably more open and much less pretentious than other research centres and universities that I have visited. While I was there I attended a day-long conference on Social Democratic Visions: Past and Future, which had been organised by Jenny Andersson. At short notice, Ylva Waldermarsson kindly organised a seminar where I could present my own research. Lars Ekdal, Ylva Waldermarsson, Elizabeth Elgán, and Håkan Blomkvist, among others, joined in a most interesting discussion about the role and meaning of protest movements for Swedish trade unionism.¹

Besides spending time at the Institute of Contemporary History, I interviewed a dozen union officials from blue-collar and white-collar unions, and the confederations of blue-collar unions, white-collar unions, and professional unions. A retired union research Ingemar Lindberg kindly supplied me with the names of the people he had interviewed for his book *Blågult fack, globalt kapital* (Swedish unions, global capital). I talked to these officials about union strategies. The professional and white-collar unionists agreed with an individual insurance model of unionism while more radical union officials from the Commercial Employees and the Transport Workers insisted that ideological mobilisation had to be central because individuals need to understand their part within various collective identities.

On the issue of cheap workers in Eastern Europe or Ireland coming to Sweden and working for wages below Swedish union standards, or taking up jobs at home after employers have outsourced or relocated them from Sweden, the range of preferred strategies also varied. Professional, white-collar, and blue-collar manufacturing unionists advocated the competitive advantage of Sweden's universal welfare system, including unemployment benefits at 80 percent of current wages. It socialises the risks that low wages elsewhere pose for a well-paid work force and thus allows rapid restructuring, technological change, and the effective management of competitive production. More radical unionists in the relatively protected retail, transport, and health and public services industries

advocated collaboration with protest groups, such as the feminist and global justice movements, and hoped to promote the unionisation of low-paid workers in Eastern Europe's new members of the European Union.

The protection of manufacturing jobs clearly animated unionist participation in protests against the World Trade Organisation and the North American Free Trade Agreement at Seattle in 1999. The rest of the world has much to learn from Swedish unionists' various efforts to grapple with questions of how workers in rich countries will cope with the consequences of a trebling of the world's waged workforce since China and India began to engage in much more international trade.

Reference

- ¹ Vandenberg, A. (2006). "Social-movement Unionism in Theory and in Sweden." *Social Movement Studies* 5(2): 171-191

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CPNS
ALUMNI
PRIZE
FOR
BEST
STUDENT
PAPER
ON
VOLUNTEERING

The Centre of Philanthropy and Nonprofit Studies Alumni at Queensland University of Technology has generously donated an annual prize of \$500 from 2005-2007 for the best paper written by a tertiary student at an Australian university on the subject of volunteering.

The winning submission will be published in the *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, published by Volunteering Australia.

The deadline for submitting a paper is 31 July 2007

Entries must comply with the Guidelines for Contributions listed on the Volunteering Australia website www.volunteeringaustralia.org
For further information contact

Annette Maher, 03 9820 4100
annette@volunteeringaustralia.org



The Horn of Africa's Human Rights Record is among the Worst in the World

The countries of the Horn of Africa include Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea. They cover an area of approximately 2,000,000 km,² and have a total population of about 90.2 million people (Ethiopia 75 million, Somalia 10 million, Eritrea 4.5 million, and Djibouti 0.7 million). The current American espoused war in Somalia is creating human tragedy in the region and Ethiopia is at the helm of gross human rights abuse, and no international outcry.

Moreover, the Eritrean government has one of the worst human rights records in the region. Its tyranny has become more ruthless in 2007, with rule by force and caprice the norm as the Eritrean government has aggressively moved to intimidate the population and to isolate it from the outside world. The border dispute with Ethiopia continues to fester and is used by the government to justify repressive policies. The government of Eritrea seriously interfered with the ability of the United Nations to monitor troop movements along the border in 2005/06, and it has threatened to resume war unless Ethiopia accepts an independent Boundary Commission decision which Eritrea considers favorable.

Eritrea's 16th Independence Day was celebrated on 25 May 2007, with a new call to Eritrea's President Issayas Afewerki to make the coming year of Eritrea's formal independence a year of reconciliation, peace and human rights improvement. These reforms are urgently awaited by the international community, neighboring countries, as well as many Eritreans at home and abroad.

The Eritrean government has arrested thousands of citizens for expressing dissenting views, practicing an "unregistered" religion, avoiding endless military conscription, attempting to flee the country, or on suspicion of not fully supporting government policies. Mass arrests began in early 1994 and continued on September 2001 with the detention of eleven senior ministers who questioned the President's erratic and autocratic leadership. The government arrested religious leaders, publishers, editors, reporters, and business people and closed all independent newspapers and magazines. The arrests continued in 2006 and included three leaders of government-affiliated labor unions, the only unions allowed to operate in the country.

Most of those arrested are held indefinitely in incommunicado detention. None are formally charged, given access to lawyers or brought to trial. Some prisoners are released but are warned not to talk about their imprisonment or treatment. Some manage to escape and flee the country. As of September 2005, the World Food Program reported that tens of thousands of

Eritreans fleeing their homeland are in refugee camps in Sudan, Ethiopia and Yemen. Over two thousand have fled since January, with two hundred to three hundred more arriving everyday in Sudan and Ethiopia.

Refugee's fatal and arduous journey searching a safe place

With hundreds of thousands of people languishing indefinitely in refugee camps in Sudan, many refugees who have waited year upon year in Sudan start a perilous journey to the desert of Libya. No person can cross the Sahara desert without crucial equipment but, for the helpless refugees, the journey is compelled by the choice of a chance at life, or death. They take bottles of water but finish them within few days of setting out on their journey, before they even reach the border of Libya. Some die, while others try to continue their journey, until they collapse with exhaustion. One of the refugees who crossed the desert of Libya said: "Burying my five companions, my only option was to remain by a tree side in the scorching sun. Finally, on the fourth day, another truck appeared, which drove me to the nearest town."

The first city survivor's encounter in Libya is Kufra, and is a welcome sight, but their problems are far from over. Hundreds of refugees were detained in this town and are treated badly by the authorities. Those lucky enough to leave will try to make it to the coast before boarding a rickety boat to cross the Mediterranean by the smugglers. Cyprus and/or Malta, which are already crowded with many African refugees, might be a destination. Others might be to Italy and/or Spain. A refugee, who reached Italy has said, "three people survived out of 48 that started the journey to this destination".

Only, when the refugees reach European shores do they feel tentatively safe, but they have to pass Libyan authorities in Kufra, and many other small towns along the way, torn between slim hope for the future and homesickness for family and friends left behind. If they reach European shores, they are treated as illegal asylum seekers and possibly as criminals.

Amnesty International has renewed its appeals to the Eritrean government to release the men and women who are prisoners of conscience detained without charge, trial or any legal status, because of their political opinions or religious beliefs, or because they or their children have evaded military service. Amnesty International is also renewing its calls to the international community - including the UN and its specialized agencies, the African Union, the European Union and other countries with specific bilateral ties with Eritrea - to support these appeals in their relations with the government of Eritrea.

(continued on page 4)

CONFERENCE NOTICE

The Centre for Citizenship & Human Rights, Deakin University
in conjunction with Borderlands Co-Operative & the International Assoc. of Community Development (local network)
presents

Ecology and Community Development Conference

Conference themes relating to community development and ecology:

Community Development & Housing: cooperative, rural and metropolitan, community activism for energy efficiency, community gardens

Community Development & Urban Renewal: changing/greening cities, restoring neighbourliness, green transport.

Community Development & Relocalisation: food and resource production (carbon neutral communities / restoring the local/cooperative activities and local economies, water issues)

Community Development & Rural/Regional Issues: carbon offset actions/reafforestation, bioregional action, green corridors, forest action, land care, water action, critiques and efficiency

Community Development & Globalisation: developing communities and climate change issues; rapidly developing economies, energy demands and the impact of climate change upon the poorest countries; climate change refugees, water issues, fair (and green) trade issues

Community Development: Responding to disasters: effective community development responses to natural and socio/political disaster. Ensuring sustainable international aid programs. What can community development offer?

Community Development & Building Social Movements: networking across differences, making local/global links eg zero emissions, aid development and carbon emissions, emerging climate change action groups

Academic papers:

Papers should canvass the need for radically shifting paradigms in the context of the tipping point of contemporary society. This includes theoretical, strategic and community approaches to climate change and other contemporary environmental issues.

We welcome submission of 'Abstracts' (word length 200 - 300 words) focused on the conference topic **Ecology and Community Development** within the themes above, and submitted by **31 August 2007** to aok@deakin.edu.au (all academic abstracts and papers will be blind peer refereed for possible publication)

Workshops:

Workshops will provide an opportunity for exchange of theories, ideas and actions relating to the themes above. If you wish to present at and/or facilitate a workshop, please email an expression of interest to aok@deakin.edu.au by 31 August 2007, stating your interest/workshop topic and a brief description.

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International concern about a persistent pattern of serious human rights violations in Eritrea has been brushed aside by the Eritrean government. The government's only response to Amnesty International's report on religious persecution was the following media comment from the Acting Minister of Information: "Who are these Amnesty International people? We cannot run every day after such unsubstantiated fabrications." The government continues to falsely claim that there is "absolute religious freedom" as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Such is the level of secrecy and intimidation inside Eritrea, which affects Eritreans in the Diaspora too, that few confirmed details are available on new political detainees in the past year. They currently include ten Eritrean staff of the UN Military Mission to Eritrea and Ethiopia (UNMEE) who was administering a buffer zone between the two countries. They were detained earlier this month as relations deteriorated further between Eritrea and the UN.

*Dr Berhan Ahmed
Melbourne University*

**Malalai Joya, member of Afghan Parliament:
Unforgettable public forum in Melbourne, March 12**

Malalai Joya, the youngest and most outspoken champion of human rights in the Afghan Parliament, particularly for women, presented an unforgettable speech to near 200 who attended her International Women's Day Forum at the Richmond Town Hall on March 12th, co-sponsored by Yarra Council and Deakin University.

The audience, that included many members of the Afghan community, was greatly moved by Malalai's passionate and inspirational words as she explained the extreme plight of the Afghan people: gross inadequacies, poverty, insecurity, corruption and the extensive criminal and violent practices of warlords. She pointed out that since the United States invasion in 2001, there has been little change for those in need with international aid doing little more than enriching and empowering the warlords whose hands are stained with the blood of ordinary Afghans. She referred to the US backed government under President Karzai as a puppet regime, just a token democracy and not working for all Afghans. Malalai called for change: a true democratic future where International support is directed to those with the interests of the people as their priority.

Disturbingly, Malalai described the heart-wrenching plight of women that is arguably the most extreme of women, globally. Afghan women are forced to endure vicious male violence daily; including rape, abduction and forced marriage, often in early childhood. Many choose suicide, in desperation, and self-immolation is common but for those who are unsuccessful, the consequences are unimaginable as health care is scant and inadequate. Schooling for girls is still not generally accepted with less than 60% of girls in school, many too fearful to attend what schools are available. For Malalai, Afghan women and girls are her focus and she called for the need to incorporate women's human rights into all aspects of Afghan life.

Malalai is a local heroine amongst Afghans and widely acclaimed around the globe for her fearless work. She is loved and respected locally for her role as Director of the Organization of Promoting Afghan Women's Capabilities (OPAWC), a not for profit, non politically aligned, non-government organization working to empower women through education, health care and small business. In her home province of Farah, she is long time mentor, carer, teacher and political leader.

Throughout Afghanistan, Malalai is also revered and loved for her fearless stand in Afghanistan's new Parliament where she has spoken out against the criminal warlords, former Mujahideen fighters, who are now elected members of Parliament and legitimised in the new 'democracy'. She courageously speaks for the many freedom loving Afghans, demanding these men be held accountable for the many and viscous human rights abuses against ordinary Afghan people. To date, she has survived four assassination attempts, cannot travel without bodyguards and is forced to live away from her family. She cannot stay for more than one or two nights in any one place and despite her extensive Parliamentary work demands, cannot work from an office.

Malalai relies on a committed and loyal group of voluntary Afghan supporters and an international network of support to continue her work. Donations are imperative to enable her work to continue and can be made through her supporters' web page:

<http://www.malalajoya.com/index1024.htm>

*Onnie Wilson
RAWA Melbourne*



Malalai Joya, member of Afghan Parliament (second from left)

McClelland, Alison and Paul Smyth (eds) (2006) *Social Policy in Australia: Understanding for Action*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne 9280pp, including Bibliography and Index. ISBN 1-19-555281- 4 paperback

Another book on social policy? How does it differ from other works? Is it a revision of a previous work or does it offer some fresh insights into social policy in Australia and if so in what way? These were some of the questions running through my mind as I decided to examine McClelland and Smyth's book.

The book claims to be the first publication 'to provide a comprehensive account of the major social policy areas in Australia' covering the key theoretical, historical and comparative frameworks, and shows how policies are developed, administered and contested. It is a fair claim. Social policy is introduced in the first chapter and defined as a *discipline*, *output* and a *process for action* to improve societal welfare (p 8) with the reader given further examples of definitions and scope of social policy. The values, concepts and social policy design constitute the content of chapter two with chapter three focusing on the framework for understanding and action. This is an excellent chapter which examines the ways policy is analysed and how policy is made. Somewhat reminiscent of Philip Mendes *Australia's Welfare Wars* chapter four looks at the institutional context for decisions and actions in a clear and concise way. It shows the importance of the historical, institutional arrangement of our political system e.g. the constitution, federalism and relation between government departments (as well as the influence of the business community, unions, media, non-government organisations) on our understanding of social policy today. This critical point is often overlooked by students looking at social policy, welfare students or undergraduate social workers.

This history of Australian social policy covered in chapter five is succinct, current, critical and well-written. It is followed by chapter six which examines Australia's social policy in an international context using comparative social policy analysis. It explores a range of welfare regimes and models including Esping-Andersen's work, the notion of a 'Fair Go' and the 'East Asian Model'. Changes and challenges including economic globalisation constitutes the final historical chapter (chapter 7) which looks at the new global context of Australia's social policy, new socio-economic risk, new measures of disadvantage as well as identifying the people and places of concern to policy analysts.

The final section of the book deals with specific areas of social policy action with contributions from Stephen Bell and John Quiggin on employment and unemployment and labour market insecurity, Stephen Ziguras on social policy, Tony Dalton on housing, Jenny Lewsi on health, Jane Kenway on education, Deborah Brennan on Community Services, and Alison McClelland on taxation. Since all the contributors are experts in their field of social policy research they offer a critical and current insight into their area of specialisation. This is an excellent book for undergraduate social policy, social welfare, social work, community work students as well as informative book for the lay audience.

Inta Allegritti
University of Newcastle

Funston, J. (ed) (2006) *Government and Politics in Southeast Asia*, 2nd ed. ISEAS, Singapore.

Writing about Southeast Asia presents a range of organisational and conceptual issues, all of which makes the task challenging. The options center on whether to have a thematic or country by country study, and whether to produce a single or collective volume. John Funston's book self-consciously opts for the country specific collective volume approach, and on this score succeeds in bringing together wide and generally consistent coverage from a range of knowledgeable contributors.

As an organisational method, Funston has his predominantly ISEAS-based colleagues write to an organisational formula. This has the advantage of ensuring a consistency of approach between chapters, including addressing agreed key issues. If there is a small negative to this approach, however, it assumes that all issues apply, or apply more or less equally.

For example, the role of the judiciary is critical in state

development and is one of the consistent themes. However, like the slippery concept of 'legitimacy', it applies far from equally across the region and in some places, such as Burma, is all but meaningless. The role of the military similarly is another example; in some states it has a central function, while in others it is just one arm of a civilian-dominated state.

More importantly, however, are three further problems; inclusion, currency, and independence. On inclusion, it is difficult to understand a book on Southeast Asia in 2006 not having a chapter on East Timor, especially as its first edition was published well after East Timor was separated from Indonesia in 1999.

The second problem is that for a book that was first published in 2001, despite its useful detail, most of its chapters very lightly if at all touch on matters that have arisen in the intervening five years and all the detail is seriously out of date. One would never know, for

example, that Indonesian democracy had progressed under the direct election of President Yudhoyono, that there had been a coup attempt against President Estrada's successor in the Philippines, that there had been a coup in Thailand, that Lee Jr was prime minister, or that Abdullah Badawi had charted an alternative political course to that of Mahatir Mohamad.

Finally, some of the contributors to this volume are citizens of the states they write about, and given occasional state censorship, there is sometimes a more benign view than appears warranted by the circumstances. Circumspection may aid personal preservation, but it does little to promote a critical understanding. Voices of dissent are, hence, distinctly silent.

The thematic organisation of the book and relative knowledge of its contributors does, however, present a generally useful snapshot of the region, and would have some value as an introductory text. Like all introductory texts, however, it does require supplementation from more extended specific treatments, as well as the addition of less conventional, or timid, perspectives.

'Government and Politics in Southeast Asia' is, on balance, a useful book for beginners. But at a time when the region continues to undergo political flux and change, rather than follow the scientific textbook method of only making the smallest of alterations to new editions, Funston and his team would have done well to take the opportunity to more fully revise and update their text. And should a third edition ever come about, they might also want to think about recognising that East Timor now exists as a sovereign political entity.

*Associate Professor Damien Kingsbury
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Deakin University*

Books available to review

Introduction to International Relations

3rd edition by Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen

Allied and Addicted

by Alison Broinowski

Violence in Between: Conflict and security in Archipelagic Southeast Asia

edited by Damien Kingsbury

Australian Outlook: A history of the Australian Institute of International Affairs

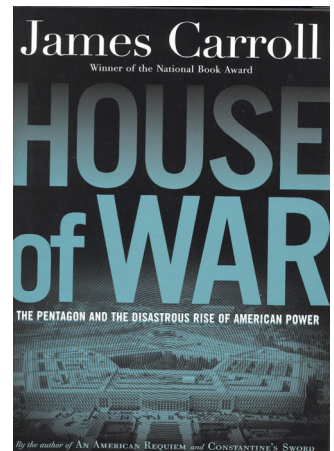
By John D. Legge

*** to obtain a copy**

email aok@deakin.edu.au

Carroll, J. (2006) *House of War*, Houghton Mifflin 672pp, ISBN-10: 0618187804, hardcover

In a rare epiphany for a US Secretary of Defence, William Cohen saw his relationship with the Pentagon in terms of the final images of the film of Melville's "Moby Dick". He saw himself as the entangled Captain Ahab summoning the crew of the Pequod to their destruction from the flanks of the white Leviathan. For Ahab at least, Moby Dick was the embodiment of all that was evil in the world.



Starbuck was Ahab's first mate and a Quaker. His voice is the voice of reason and moderation. Carroll's voice is Starbuck's voice pleading for an end to obsession and hatred. This book is Starbuck's watch.

The book is some 512 pages in length and is a terrifying testament to the concepts of self-fulfilling and self-interested paranoia triumphing over calls for reason and peace from the people and the people's elected representatives in US foreign policy.

The book interweaves the personal life of James Carroll, son of General Joe Carroll, head of Defence Intelligence Service and the aggregation of power to the Pentagon whose first sod was turned on the day that James Carroll was born.

It is one man's pilgrimage to the grave of his estranged father - a Pentagon general who believed in uncorrupted intelligence - and a homage to the man.

It is a history of the Pentagon, "the military-industrial complex" that fed on wars and rumours of war to concentrate power in its hands at the expense of the elected representatives of the American people, to get rich and stay rich. It is a story of opportunities for peace being lost because of the Pentagon's interest in maintaining a nuclear arsenal and the attendant arms' contracts that went with it.

It is also an analysis of evil. Carroll identifies evil as human choices which were inadvertently cast in iron rails by the process of "choice – consequence – further choice - and further consequence". This process led us to the edge of nuclear extinction in 1962, the Cold War, the opened-ended War on Terror and the real prospect of an American hegemony protected by force of nuclear arms. Carroll examines the story of the rise

of the power of the Pentagon in terms of this process. The first choice which led to a consequence which led to a further choice and further consequence was the decision of FDR to establish a temporary centralized military at Hell's Bottom and the appointment of General Leslie Groves to engineer it. The first sod was turned on September 11, 1941. As an interesting aside, FDR moved the original site a mile further south so as not to interrupt the view from Lee's mansion at Arlington to Lincoln's Memorial along Memorial bridge.

The second was the decision of FDR and Churchill, in the absence of Joseph Stalin, at Casablanca on 23 January 1943 to demand "unconditional surrender" from the Axis powers.

The third was to appoint General Groves to oversee the Manhattan Project and the building of the bomb.

The fourth was the Truman government decision to turn its back on Secretary of War Stimson's postwar proposal to share US atomic secrets with the USSR. On September 11, 1945, Stimson sent his "Memorandum to President: Proposed Action for Control of Atomic Weapons". Instead, Truman appointed James Forrestal as the first Secretary of Defence. His personal paranoia about Reds under the Beds formed and framed US foreign policy until Mikhail Gorbachev single-handedly pulled down the Iron Curtain in 1989.

The fifth took place in July 1947 when the National Security Act brought the armed forces together and created National Security Council and CIA – to become Department of Defence. This decision guaranteed that the Pentagon became **a/the** major league player in foreign and domestic policy.

The Pentagon's self-fulfilling paranoia effectively put paid to a number of opportunities to follow the path to peace. The first was when Joseph Stalin died on 5 March, 1953.

General Dwight Eisenhower in his farewell speech on 17 January 1961 with telling prescience, warned the American people that "In the councils of government we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought by the military-industrial complex". The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist" (236). His warning was not heeded.

The Pentagon's mindset refused to build on Kennedy's commencement speech at American University 10 June 1963 calling for "not merely peace for our time but peace for all time" (285) nor on the cracks behind the Iron Curtain which started on 10 June 1979, when 1 million Poles met the Polish pope in Krakow, nor on Randall Forsburgh's call for a "Nuclear Freeze", nor on

Mikhail Gorbachev's call for *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Instead, on 22 Sept 1994, in the Nuclear Posture Review when the chance for USA disarmament was on the table, it opted for the nuclear status quo as 'hedge' against the possibility that the Russian bear would continue to threaten American interests.

Further to that end in September 1994, NATO was expanded to include former Warsaw Pact countries of Poland, Hungary and Czech Republic. In 1996, Senate refused to ratify Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. President Clinton said nothing.

When there were no longer "Reds under the Beds," the events of September 11, 2001, enabled the Pentagon to construct the open-ended War on Terror. In late 2003, Donald Rumsfeld was quoted as saying "We lack the metrics to determine if we are winning or losing the Global War on Terror" [502].

If the Global War on Terror ever ends, the Pentagon will have to invent a new enemy to ensure that the US maintains a war Budget. Look no further than the Chinese dragon. On 10 April 2005, the *Boston Globe's* headline was "China Boost War Budget to \$29.9 billion" At that time, America's war budget was \$418 billion, Japan's 2005 war budget was \$47 billion. The US wanted this increase to counter China and North Korea. Colin Powell told Japan it could not become a member of UN Security Council unless it repealed its pacifist Constitution

All for very gloomy but fascinating reading. All the more so because Carroll has no axes to grind with the Pentagon.

What is Starbuck's advice? Re-engage the United Nations, sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, work for world peace through negotiations, re-sign the various international treaties that the US has denounced in recent times and deal with the very real enemy of Global Warning.

This is the journey from an invisible boy who slid down the Pentagon banisters to disenchanted man who, like Starbuck, watched in dismay as Moby Dick dragged the crew of the Pequod to their deaths and the deaths of millions of others. We should listen to Starbuck.

*Alan Hands
Geelong*