

# **THE UNITED TASMANIA GROUP**

**By**

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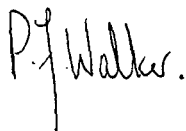
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## **Declaration**

**This dissertation represents my own work and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, or any copy or paraphrase of material by another person, except where due acknowledgement is made.**

Signed:  P. J. Walker.

**I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the assistance and guidance of my supervisor, Graham Smith. Also I would like to thank Dr. Peter Hay, Marcus Haward and Geoff Holloway for their encouragement and advice in the preparation of this thesis.**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

Australian Conservation Foundation	-	ACF
Australian Labor Party	-	ALP
Hydro-Electric Commission	-	HEC
Lake Pedder Action Committee	-	LPAC
South West Tasmanian Action Committee	-	SWTAC
Tasmanian Conservation Trust	-	TCT
United Tasmania Group	-	UTG

## INTRODUCTION

The United Tasmania Group is not the universal panacea, but I draw optimism from my view of it as a seed of human rationality on the weed field of mostly noxious politics.<sup>1</sup>

This thesis argues that the impact of the United Tasmania Group (UTG) on Tasmanian politics cannot be measured by its limited electoral success; rather its achievement is properly measured by the party's contribution to the growth of the environmental movement in Tasmania. The argument presented here demonstrates that the UTG has to be credited with making a major contribution to the development of "one of the most highly skilled and politically advanced environmental movements in the world."<sup>2</sup>

The UTG was the first political party based on an environmental platform to contest elections within any parliamentary system<sup>3</sup> in the world and was formed to contest the Tasmanian House of Assembly election during the Lake Pedder controversy. The party marked an important milestone in Tasmania's political history in that it challenged for the first time the traditional orthodoxy of successive governments and the ossified policy of hydro-industrialisation. However, concerned citizens who formed the membership of the party were politically inexperienced and were reluctantly forced to directly challenge the Government's decision to flood Lake Pedder in the political arena. This unprecedented action was a direct result of conservationists' experience with the decision-making processes which they claimed excluded any form of public participation and represented only one set of values - namely the technocratic and economic values entrenched in hydro-industrialisation. For the first time the UTG exposed the close relationship between the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC) and the governing parties in Tasmania .

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1. Dr. Bob Brown, UTG Newsletter, July, 1976
  2. P. R. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", Mimco, 1986.
  3. G. Holloway, The Wilderness Society : The Transformation of a Social Movement. Occasional Paper No. 4, Department of Sociology, University of Tasmania  
M. Haward and P. Hay, "Tasmania's Greening : Eco-Politics and the Electorate 1972-1986", Paper presented to the Eco-politics Conference, Griffith University, 1986

The thesis will establish that the UTG was a political party inextricably linked to an emerging environmental movement which, simply by virtue of its size and growth, can be classified as a social movement.<sup>4</sup> Similar to most social movements, the environmental movement arose from discontent with many of the customary values of society. The UTG, like other environmental groups, represented a concerted effort to institutionalise alternative values. The UTG will be analysed from a perspective which relates the party to the political system, accounts for its political efficacy and assesses its impact on the environmental movement and the political system in Tasmania.

It must be understood that the terms 'conservationist' and 'environmentalist' are commonly used interchangeably but, in the context of this thesis they can be distinguished. The distinction is that the conservationist focuses on issues of preservation of species and areas; in contrast, an environmentalist is concerned with broader and often more controversial issues based on an ecological perspective. This greatly increased level of societal concern with problems in the relationship of humanity and the environment is what is termed the 'environmental movement'. The relationship of humanity and the environment in the present movement is much more scientifically oriented and sophisticated than the traditional conservation movement.

The origins of the UTG are examined in Chapter One as it is critical in an analysis of the UTG to place the party in its historical context. It will be argued that the formation of the UTG was a direct result of the failure of the Lake Pedder Action Committee (LPAC) to gain participation in the decision-making process through normal pressure group activity. The argument will demonstrate that the closed arteries of government decision-making alienated concerned sections of the community to such an extent that they sought direct political action. However, the failure of the LPAC to activate any responsiveness from the decision-making process led directly to the formation of the UTG which was originally

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4. P. Lowe and J. Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1983) pp.1-3.

dedicated to the objective of holding the balance of power in the Tasmanian Parliament and thus exercising some control over government activity.

Chapter Two argues that the UTG was a political party as distinct from a pressure group and as such was the spearhead for the conceptualisation and aggregation of environmental values in Tasmania. It will be shown that the UTG presented for the first time in Tasmania an alternative view of the world related to an emerging global perspective that could be applied to the local situation. The mass based organisation which the party adopted enabled this value-orientation to be translated into a comprehensive policy programme and politicised the notion of environmentalism in a coherent form. The party provided the political vehicle for environmental concern, in marked contrast to the established conservation organisations, the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF) and the Tasmanian Conservation Trust (TCT), which were diffident of political action.

The electoral performance of the UTG will be analysed in Chapter Three. This chapter will address the apparent paradox that the UTG offered itself as the political spearhead of environmental values; but failed when support for the environmental movement and the preservation of the South West of Tasmania was ever increasing. This irony is central to the thesis. It will be argued that the party's demise was directly related to its electoral performance; but the party had successfully activated those amenable to conversion to the alternative environmental paradigm. It will be demonstrated that conversion was limited because the UTG vote correlated with overseas evidence which suggests that support for environmental candidates is more likely to come from the so-called human intelligentsia - tertiary educated, urban and relatively affluent professionals. The demands of the party on limited resources and the lack of rewards led to party members transferring their commitment to the burgeoning environmental groups which appeared more flexible, more exciting, and had a greater likelihood of success. Largely through the efforts of the UTG members, a pressure group, with a potentially broader base of support, the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS), was formed. This chapter will examine why UTG members

shifted organisational form from that of a political party to that of a pressure group.

In the final chapter the impact of the UTG on the political system and the environmental movement in Tasmania will be discussed. Distinctions will be made between electoral success, durability and effectiveness of the party as it will be shown that success on any one of these dimensions need not imply success on another. The chapter will establish that the UTG provided the political socialisation and mobilisation of the environmental movement and the placement of environmental issues at the head of the political agenda. Further, the groundwork laid by the UTG has resulted in a public consciousness which has led to the questioning and challenging of hydro-industrialisation in Tasmania. It will be shown that the influence of the UTG outlived the party and had significant effect on the environmental movement in Tasmania.

It must first be appreciated that by no means is the thesis an attempt to cover all the aspects pertaining to a study of the UTG and the environmental movement. Further, the thesis is subject to limitations because of the nature of sources which include an incomplete set of newsletters, policy statements and submissions. Personal interviews of UTG members and key personalities have been undertaken. In that this study will be a recording and interpretation of empirical data, it cannot be claimed that the evidence will be entirely definitive or totally representative. Whilst the study of the UTG suffers from these limitations, it does set in context a critical aspect of Tasmanian politics and the evolution of the environmental movement.

## CHAPTER 1

The United Tasmania Group (UTG) had its genesis in the Lake Pedder Action Committee (LPAC) which was formed in April 1971 to fight against the proposed flooding of Lake Pedder. This chapter argues that the emergence of the UTG was a direct result of the failure of the LPAC to gain access to the decision-making process. The UTG's activism challenged the traditional orthodoxy of government and the long established policy of what had become known as hydro-industrialisation in Tasmania.

The lessons learned by the founders of the UTG from the experience of the LPAC as a pressure group, directly resulted in the formation of the UTG as a political party. The failure of the LPAC to successfully question and challenge the orthodox views of hydro-industrialisation and wilderness use highlighted, to concerned sections of the community, Tasmania's unquestioned tradition of closed government and technocratic decision-making. When the LPAC questioned the flooding of Lake Pedder, it challenged the fundamental tenets of government policy and queried the credibility of the economic arguments for the scheme and the lack of opportunity for the discussion of any alternative scheme.

The LPAC consisted of "a small group of articulate middle class professionals"<sup>1</sup> including "university lecturers, bush walkers, artists and general excursionists"<sup>2</sup> who were politically inexperienced but were concerned that politicians were abdicating their responsibility for decision-making in favour of powerful administrative agencies. The initial debate was concerned with the proposed flooding of Lake Pedder. However, when the forerunner of the LPAC, the Save Lake Pedder National Park Committee, sought discussions with government and was ignored, it became apparent that there was "a problem behind the problem",<sup>3</sup> namely technocratic decision making, and a more activist role was taken

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1. L. Southwell, *Mountains of Paradise* (Melbourne: Southwell Publishing, 1983) p.65

2. W. A. Townsley, "Political Chronicle of Tasmania", *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol.18, 1972

3. Personal communication with Dr. Bob Brown

by conservationists in the form of the LPAC. This was a classic example of the beginnings of a conservation controversy which was to influence the political agenda in Tasmania for years to come. As Davis comments:

"The starting point in nearly every case is environmental concern amongst perceptive citizens, fuelled by reaction to political expediency, secrecy within the bureaucracy and the absence of effective participation procedures or review and appeal mechanisms within government or the courts."<sup>4</sup>

The LPAC was formed after a public meeting which was called by the Hobart Bushwalking Club following the first weekend in March 1971 when approximately one thousand or more people visited Lake Pedder. This became known as the "Pedder Pilgrimage". The meeting was attended by people who were concerned with saving Lake Pedder. Dr. R. Jones, a botanist at the University of Tasmania, Brenda Hean, a pianoforte teacher, and Brian Proudlock, a P.M.G. engineer, were the initial driving force of the LPAC. They were later aided by enthusiastic activist, Kevin Kiernan, who played a major role throughout the 1970s in the conservation cause.

Brenda Hean, who was regarded by her colleagues in the Tasmanian Conservation Trust (TCT) and the South West Committee as "rocking the boat",<sup>5</sup> approached the Member for Queenborough in the Legislative Council, Louis Shoobridge, to raise the issue of saving Lake Pedder in the Council. Shoobridge questioned for the first time in the Tasmanian Parliament the assumption that Lake Pedder could not be saved. That day the galleries, lobbies and stairways of Parliament were filled with people concerned for Lake Pedder.

The LPAC was a pressure group comprised of people from differing political persuasions who all shared anger and resentment at both the Government's and the official Opposition's

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4. B. W. Davis, "The Struggle for South West Tasmania" in R. Scott (ed.) Interest Groups and Public Policy: Case Studies from the Australian States (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1980) p.165
  5. Dr. R. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy" in R. Green Battle for the Franklin (Melbourne: Australian Conservation Foundation, 1981) p.60

attitude toward Lake Pedder.<sup>6</sup> Matthews defines a pressure group as an organisation which seeks to influence government policy without attempting to exercise the formal powers of government.<sup>7</sup> The LPAC was active and vocal, placing emphasis on the natural beauty of Lake Pedder, and how the physical characteristics of the shallow lake, the quartzite beaches, the distinctive flora and fauna they support, would be changed completely if the lake were flooded.<sup>8</sup> It deliberately adopted a sensationalist approach in order to draw the attention of the oft claimed partial local press<sup>9</sup> and staged an extensive campaign to arouse public opinion and support.<sup>10</sup>

The Bethune Liberal Government, which had come to power two years previously, quickly made its attitude known when the Government Leader in the Legislative Council strongly opposed Shoobridge's arguments. Like his predecessor, Eric Reece, Bethune strongly supported the Hydro-Electric Commission (HEC) and its new scheme, and was not prepared to discuss the issue with critics of the HEC who had been described by members of his Government as "crackpots". Faced with the unsympathetic response from government and the HEC when the question of alternatives was raised, those concerned with the saving of Lake Pedder decided to fully investigate probable alternatives and the costs involved.

The LPAC embarked on an intense campaign aimed at arousing public feeling, both in Tasmania and on the mainland. The LPAC sought publicity at every opportunity in order to discuss the question of alternative schemes and to question the claims made by the HEC and the Government regarding the costs of modifying the Gordon scheme to save Lake Pedder<sup>11</sup> but, like other conservationists, were frustrated by the public's total acceptance

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6. Personal communication with LPAC activists

7. T. Matthews, "Pressure Groups" in H. Mayer and H. Nelson (eds.) Australian Politics : A Third Reader (Melbourne : Cheshire, 1973) p.466

8. Australian, April 15, 1972

9. W. A. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania (St. Lucia : University of Queensland Press, 1976) p.13

10. K. McKenry, "A History and Critical Analysis of the Controversy concerning the Gordon River Power Scheme", Pedder Papers, (Melbourne : Australian Conservation Foundation, 1973) p.23

11. Southwell, Mountains of Paradise, p.24



of HEC forecasting and the intransigence on the part of government to consider alternative data. The LPAC was sure that a fair hearing of these matters had never been undertaken and was further insensed by the failure of the HEC to produce publicly any technical data to substantiate their claims of costs.

The cost of saving Lake Pedder had been estimated by the HEC at \$26.8 million.<sup>12</sup> Conservationists believed the most viable alternative was "the abandonment of the Huon diversion and the installation of pumps to lift water from the Serpentine storage into the Gordon storage,"<sup>13</sup> but the HEC neglected to consider this alternative and claimed it could not afford a delay in the works programme in order to discuss the question of saving Lake Pedder. Conservationists discovered evidence which corrected the predicted power needs of the State and the economics of the scheme itself were questioned.

The LPAC and other concerned conservation groups were hindered in their attempts to gain access to the decision making process by a hostile media which "would give us publicity from time to time if they could show us in a bad light, if they could pretend we were radicals."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the LPAC could find no support in the Opposition which had introduced the scheme and was led by Eric Reece who, given the appellation "Electric Eric", had supported the HEC since the 1930s.<sup>16</sup> Reece had enjoyed a close relationship with the HEC which had "guaranteed election for a long succession of ALP governments, that party, having created the HEC, holding the electorally decisive mantle of the champion of its values."<sup>17</sup> The Labor Party in Tasmania had an unquestioned tradition of support for the HEC. With Reece as its strongest proponent, it was "harnessed to hydro-

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12. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder", unpublished submission to the Committee of Enquiry, Commonwealth Department of Environment and Conservation, 1973.

13. McKenry, "A History and Critical Analysis of the Controversy concerning the Gordon River Power Scheme", p.22

14. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder".

15. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green Battle for the Franklin, p.52

16. E. E. Reece, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.32

17. P. R. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", Mimco, 1986, p.14

industrialization, and its articles of faith were growth, development, and public sector planning."<sup>18</sup> The ALP had been dominated by the Parliamentary Labor Party which, in turn, was largely controlled by Reece. Coupled with Reece's unwavering support and the fact that the principal source of advice to State Labor Party Conferences was that given to Ministers by departmental heads, senior bureaucrats were able to exercise considerable influence in ALP policy.<sup>19</sup> The LPAC was also denied access to the HEC which had an unchallenged history in Tasmania prior to 1970. As has been suggested, there was little doubt that much of government policy "originated in the Commission itself before receiving government endorsement."<sup>20</sup>

Hydro-industrialisation had been regarded as "the confirmed and continuing political and economic wisdom in Tasmania."<sup>21</sup> The influence of the HEC was such that it was able to with-hold information and present a carte blanche for Parliamentary approval. The HEC "virtually presented Parliament with a fait accompli and the only external review which has occurred has been executed by consultants hired by the Commission."<sup>22</sup>

The crescendo of public indignation at the decision-making processes of government and its administration resulted in a period of intense activity by the LPAC and other conservation groups. In an attempt to conduct a public debate on the issue, conservation bodies organised a public symposium to enquire into the economic basis of the HEC and the effects of power development policies on the environment and government administration. The symposium was titled The HEC, The Environment and Government in Tasmania.<sup>23</sup> Both the Government and HEC were asked to participate but neither

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18. Ibid

19. D. Lowe, The Price of Power : The Politics Behind the Tasmanian Dams Case, (Melbourne : Macmillan, 1984) p.21

20. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania, p.125

21. R. A. Herr and B. W. Davis, "The Tasmanian Parliament, Accountability and the Hydro-Electric Commission : The Franklin River Controversy" in J. Nethercote (ed.) Parliament and Bureaucracy, (Sydney : Southwood Press, 1982) p.274

22. B. W. Davis, "Waterpower and Wilderness : Political and Administrative Aspects of the Lake Pedder Controversy", Public Administration, (Sydney) XXXI, 1972, p.37

23. R. Jones (ed.) Damania (Hobart : Fullers Publishing, 1972)

replied to the invitation. It was argued by the conservation groups represented (the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF), the Tasmanian Conservation Trust (TCT) and the LPAC that the major parties had put aside democratic principles by refusing to allow citizens the opportunity to challenge the validity of the flooding of Lake Pedder. They claimed certain instruments of government had become subverted and parliament had become a "rubber stamp for public administrators."<sup>24</sup> Five papers were presented and each highlighted the need to question the official wisdom of the Government and the HEC on economic and administrative matters.<sup>25</sup> The symposium stemmed from frustration which centred on inadequate social services, inadequate planning of resources and the questioning of the direction of the Tasmanian economy.<sup>26</sup> The organisers of the symposium had approached the Government Whip, Mr. Breheny, and the public relations officer of the HEC, Mr. Evans. The premier, Mr. Bethune, roundly denounced the symposium and its spectators while Mr. Breheny delivered in Parliament a scathing attack on the utterances of the "crackpots at the meeting".<sup>27</sup>

A number of resolutions were passed at this symposium. In December 1971 two major submissions on the Lake Pedder issue were conveyed to Premier Bethune. The Premier was asked that the Government:

"make an urgent approach to the Commonwealth Government for an unconditional special-purpose grant to cover any incidental costs arising from amendment to the Stage I in the interests of conserving Lake Pedder as a national scenic and tourist asset", and "to delay the flooding of Lake Pedder for one year pending discussions and negotiations with the federal government for a special-purpose grant."<sup>28</sup>

No reply regarding these resolutions was ever received.<sup>29</sup>

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24. UTG broadsheet, April 1972, p.1

25. B. W. Davis, "Characteristics and Influences of the Australian Conservation Movement: An Examination of Selected Controversies". Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1981, pp.223-224

26. Jones (ed.), *Damania*, p.4

27. UTG via Dr. R. Jones "Lake Pedder"

28. Ibid

29. Ibid

When the Leader and only parliamentary member of the Centre Party, Kevin Lyons, who held the balance of power, resigned in March 1972, the Tasmanian Liberal Government collapsed, forcing an election. The ensuing State election to be held on April 21 was seen by conservationists as a chance to grasp the initiative over Lake Pedder by taking direct political action. Should there have been a change of government no hopes were held for a different attitude considering that the previous Labor Government, headed by Reece, had approved the Lake Pedder scheme.

The Hare-Clark electoral system which operates in Tasmania is said to favour the election of Independents.<sup>30</sup> Tasmania utilises a system of proportional representation in five multi-member electorates, electing the thirty-five member Lower House. To ensure election under the Hare-Clark system of proportional representation a candidate needs to gain a quota which is 12.5 per cent of the total valid vote in a seven member electorate.<sup>31</sup> In the elections of 1955, 1956 and 1966 the balance of power had been held by an Independent<sup>32</sup> and conservationists saw the 1972 election as an opportunity for them to grasp the balance of power. The conditions which led to this action were described as extraordinary as Tasmanians were "traditionally conservative"<sup>33</sup> and yet some sections of the community had felt so alienated that they were prepared to take direct political action.

The LPAC called a public meeting to be held in the Hobart Town Hall on 23 March 1972 at which the following motion was passed:

"In order that there is a maximum usage of a unique political opportunity to save Lake Pedder, now an issue of national and global concern, and to implement a national, well researched conservation plan for the State of Tasmania, there be formed a Single

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30. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania, p.23

31. The Hare Clarke system is a variety of proportional representation and uses the single transferable vote and utilises a quota. Each seat in the House of Assembly will be allocated to each complete quota of votes in each division. The quota for a State election is 12.50% of the valid votes cast. For a detailed discussion on this system, see Townsley, The Government of Tasmania.

32. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

33. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania, p.41

Independent Coalition of primarily conservation-oriented candidates and their supporters."<sup>34</sup>

The formation of the UTG at this meeting was a watershed in the State's history as Tasmanians had traditionally taken a phlegmatic and unsophisticated approach to politics<sup>35</sup> and were invariably "unskilled in the arts of political debate and analysis."<sup>36</sup> Failure of the LPAC to change the direction of governmental policy by pressure group methods directly resulted in the formation of the UTG, and the placing of the conservation issue on the political agenda. Like the more recently formed 'greens' in Western Europe, the UTG was formed as a result of experiences with the bureaucracy and the established parties.<sup>37</sup> In the politically stable climate of Tasmania, the establishment of the UTG was considered to be very reactionary but was characteristic of the beginnings of a conservation controversy as described by Davis.<sup>38</sup> The emergence of the UTG was a direct result of the political expediency and perception by citizens of the secrecy of the decision-making processes of government and bureaucracy.

Muller and Opp<sup>39</sup> in their discussion on the causes of rebellious behaviour, comment that a person who is proud and respectful of their governing institutions would be unlikely to consider reactionary behaviour as being in the public interest. In contrast, a person who is "fundamentally alienated from the existing government and political institutions would be likely to regard change resulting from rebellious behaviour as a collective good."<sup>40</sup> The heat of the Lake Pedder controversy and the experience of concerned citizens with the closed nature of the decision-making processes mobilised the LPAC to form the UTG to

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34. McKenry, "A History and Critical Analysis of the Controversy concerning the Gordon River Scheme" in Pedder Papers, p.23

35. Townsley, The Government of Tasmania, p.41

36. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.14

37. F. Muller-Rommel, "The Greens in West Germany : Similar but Different", Political Science Review, Vol.16, No.4, 1985, p.483

38. Davis, "The Struggle for South West Tasmania", in Scott (ed.) Interest Groups and Public Policy, p.165

39. E. N. Muller and K. D. Opp, "Rebellious Behaviour", American Political Science Review, June, 1986, p.477

40. Ibid

challenge the existing political institutions in the political arena. These people believed that participatory democracy in Tasmania had broken down and regarded their "rebellious behaviour" of directly challenging the two major parties in Tasmania as necessary for reform.<sup>41</sup>

The UTG was the political wing of the LPAC.<sup>42</sup> The chairman of both organisations was Dr. Richard Jones and members of the LPAC were also inaugural members of the UTG. At this time a schism existed between the LPAC - UTG and the traditional conservation groups, who questioned the radical behaviour of the LPAC.<sup>43</sup> While conservation organisations had existed in Tasmania for some time "few activists in LPAC or UTG had backgrounds in such bodies as the Field Naturalists or National Trust."<sup>44</sup> The LPAC, like any pressure group, consisted of members who had values in common,<sup>45</sup> believing that wilderness was a resource which should be used wisely and that wilderness had a spiritual value.<sup>46</sup> However, the LPAC was not able to gain access to the decision-making processes because these attitudes and values were not acceptable to the policy makers. As Davis notes, this is a crucial factor in determining the extent to which an interest group can "associate itself with 'relevant publics' or sections of society."<sup>47</sup> Conversely, an interest group regards a political system as legitimate or illegitimate depending on the degree to which its values correspond with theirs.<sup>48</sup>

A. Paul Pross, a Canadian political theorist,<sup>49</sup> provides a useful typology which aids in characterising the LPAC in terms of pressure group theory. He examines pressure groups

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41. Personal communication with LPAC activists.

42. McKenry, "A History and Critical Analysis of the Controversy concerning the Gordon River Scheme" in Pedder Papers, p.23

43. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.56

44. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.14

45. A. Ball, Modern Politics and Government (London : Macmillan, 1973) p.104

46. G. Easthope and G. Holloway, "The Development of a Successful Conservation Movement : A Case Study of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society", Mimeo, 1986

47. Davis, "Struggle for the South West Tasmania" in Scott, Interest Groups and Public Policy

48. J. Blondel (ed.) Comparative Government (London : Macmillan, 1969), p.91

49. A. Paul Pross (ed.) Pressure Group Behaviour in Canadian Politics (Ontario : McGraw-Hill, 1975) p.52

from an issue-oriented approach and claims that uninstitutionalised issue-oriented groups have minimal knowledge of government and are often naive.<sup>50</sup>

In accord with this notion, the LPAC was, by its own admission, innocent of the decision-making process. As Dr. Jones commented, "We really did not know what we were talking about ... we were willing instruments if someone had political advantage to gain by using us."<sup>51</sup> Prior to the emergence of the Lake Pedder issue, it had been assumed by these people that governments would make rational, well-informed decisions.<sup>52</sup> Unlike institutionalised pressure groups, issue-oriented groups do not have ready access to government and in any event their objectives are narrow and specific so as to restrict manoeuvrability and bargaining with government.

Pross' characteristics of issue-oriented pressure group characteristics are identical to those of the LPAC. They have a single narrowly-defined objective, a small but active membership, publicity-focused protests and communication with government is oriented towards regular contact with officials but usually degenerates to confrontation.

Pross argues that issue-oriented groups either succumb to discouragement; survive as they were originally created; or become institutionalised. Those which institutionalise themselves develop an increased understanding of public policy processes, and become more sophisticated and specialised in their tactics and strategies. The conditions under which such institutionalisation occurs vary and those which do not develop into institutional groups of the conventional type may be able to retain enough interest and sufficient cohesion to develop into political parties.<sup>53</sup>

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50. Ibid

51. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.54

52. Personal communication with Geoff Parr

53. Pross, Pressure Group Behaviour in Canadian Politics, p.12

Blondel distinguishes between non-associational pressure groups<sup>54</sup> and associational pressure groups; while Mathews distinguishes between sectional associations and promotional associations based on Blondel's categorisation.<sup>55</sup> These correspond with Pross' categorisation of issue-oriented and institutionalised pressure groups. Blondel believes non-associational pressure groups (LPAC) have limited influence because they lack the articulation skills and organisational base of associational groups which occupy particularly powerful positions in society. While the HEC was a statutory corporation it did adopt many of the characteristics of an interest group in that it sought to influence government policy without attempting to exercise the formal powers of government. Blondel exemplifies the problems the LPAC faced. Associational groups hold an enormous advantage over non-associational groups in that their "tactics and goals are often recognised as legitimate in the society."<sup>56</sup> As Richardson and Jordan note, "departments are characteristically in competition in policymaking and in obtaining resources",<sup>57</sup> have the resources available to carefully orchestrate pressure on government and can influence the format of debate.

The denial of non-associational groups to articulate their interests may lead to hostility. The situation which existed in Tasmania is typified by Blondel when he states that "overt interest articulation is limited to members of the elite, who can utilise their position in the various political institutions as a base from which to express their demands"<sup>58</sup> and can thus frustrate the development of non-associational groups while also serving as a mechanism to mobilise support for existing political parties or institutions.<sup>59</sup> Essentially, legitimacy is easier to achieve when groups are associational.<sup>60</sup> The influence of the HEC as an

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54. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.63

55. Mathews, "Australian Pressure Groups" in Mayer and Nelson Australian Politics : A Third Reader

56. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.63

57. J. Richardson and A. Jordan, Governing Under Pressure (Oxford : Basil Blackwood, 1985) p.6

58. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.63

59. Ibid

60. H. Zeigler, "Interest Groups and Public Policy : A Comparative Revisionist Perspective" in Scott Interest Groups and Public Policy.



associational pressure group is exemplified by what has been called the "advertisement war".<sup>61</sup>

Eckstein, a reader in comparative politics, in his discussion of the conditions which determine pressure group politics, recognises three main variables.<sup>62</sup> First, the structure of the decision-making processes which pressure groups seek to influence. Secondly, the activities or decisions which influence the predominant channels of pressure group politics; and here Eckstein specifically notes the example of the devolution of decision-making powers from legislatures to bureaucracies, "both through the direct delegation of legislative powers and the indirect influence which bureaucrats enjoy over decisions still formally taken by legislatures."<sup>63</sup> Finally, pressure group politics may be determined by particular attitudes with the most apparent being attitudes towards pressure groups themselves. Basically, Eckstein argues it is the interplay of governmental structure, activities and attitudes which decide the form pressure group politics in a given society will take. In Tasmania the nature of this interplay was such that it deprived the LPAC access to the decision-making process.

In addition, the effectiveness of pressure group politics is very much determined by the political culture which Colin Hughes defines as "that part of culture which relates to the operation of the political system; it is the set of beliefs held by the members of that culture about the way in which the political system and its actors behave."<sup>64</sup> Analysts have frequently described Tasmania's political culture as parochial and idiosyncratic, characterised by the politics of personality, industrial development, brokerage, regionalism

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61. This is elaborated on later in the thesis and is well documented in The Pedder Papers (Melbourne : Australian Conservation Foundation, 1973)

62. H. Eckstein and D. Apter, Comparative Politics : A Reader (London : Free Press of Glencoe, 1963) pp.408-421

63. H. Eckstein and D. Apter, Comparative Politics : A Reader, p.409

64. Colin Hughes, "Political Culture" in Mayer and Nelson Australian Politics : A Third Reader, p.133

and a powerful conservative Upper House.<sup>65</sup> Politics in Tasmania in the 1970s was couched in terms of electoral success. Sharman describes the Tasmanian situation whereby "ideological issues have little meaning ... since the prime goal of both parties is to amass a bundle of candidates and policies that can be cobbled together to guarantee an electoral majority."<sup>66</sup> Apart from the brief interlude of the Liberal Government elected in 1969, the State had enjoyed thirty-five years of Labor Government and the entrenched policy of hydro-industrialisation. As a result of this and of the nature of the political culture in Tasmania, the LPAC was not able to effect any change in attitude or activities because the general public were either disinterested or retained their faith in the Labor Party as they had for two generations.

The LPAC was not only handicapped by the political culture but by the distribution of power. Eckstein distinguishes between the formal structure of government and the effective distribution of power within the system. The latter is very different from the former and is the focus of pressure group activity. In Tasmania, the HEC was the informal locus of power, supported by both the Government and the Opposition. The institutional and informal dominance of the HEC had created the situation whereby one critic has claimed the HEC was a "state within a state."<sup>67</sup> The relationship between the HEC and successive governments was such that at times they were indistinguishable. Consequently the decisions, or activities, which emerged from the decision-making process were based on the dominant development paradigm of hydro-industrialisation which had become "more than ossified policy, it had become sheer dogma."<sup>68</sup> The unquestioned power and

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65. G. C. Sharman, "Tasmania, the Politics of Brokerage", *Current Affairs Bulletin* 53, 1977, pp.15-23  
 B. W. Davis, "Tasmania a Peripheral State" in B. Head (ed.) *The Politics of Development in Australia* (Sydney : Allen and Unwin, 1986) p.211  
 R. A. Herr, "Politics in Tasmania : Parties, States' Rights and Presidentialism", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 60, 1984, pp.3-13  
 Ralph Chapman, Graham Smith, James Warden, Bruce Davis, "Tasmania" in Brian Galligan (ed.) *Australian State Politics* (Melbourne : Longman Cheshire, 1986) p.117
66. G. C. Sharman, "Tasmania, the Politics of Brokerage", *Current Affairs Bulletin* 53, 1977
67. P. Thompson, *Power* (Melbourne : Australian Conservation Foundation, 1981) p.24
68. Davis in Jones (ed.) *Damania*, p47

influence which the HEC could exert within the executive structure was reflected in the formulation of policy. In effect, the unfettered power and influence of the HEC had resulted in the situation which Eckstein has described as a "devolution" of decision-making powers from legislatures to the bureaucracies.<sup>69</sup> The LPAC challenged, for the first time, the hegemony of the Government and the HEC, the lack of public information and the value orientation of the decision-making process. This unprecedented demand for public participation in the decision-making process was met with hostility from the Government, the Opposition, the HEC, the media and a large section of the public.

Attitudes towards the pressure groups themselves will determine whether they are legitimated in the political process.<sup>70</sup> If pressure groups are not legitimated, they may discover it impossible to find channels through which to act. In fact, "the attitudes which legitimate pressure groups or deny them legitimacy usually constitute the fundamental political ethos of a society."<sup>71</sup> In Tasmania, there existed an unquestioned tradition of hydro-economics and those who challenged this orthodoxy were described as "pseudo-intellectual cranks"<sup>72</sup>, as "ratbags", and their arguments as "irresponsible."<sup>73</sup> The attitude of the general public towards the LPAC was also quite negative and this is understandable considering "Tasmanians had become accustomed to life in a benevolent technocracy."<sup>74</sup> Public awareness of the issue was not assisted by the unsympathetic manner in which the local press treated the conservationists cause<sup>75</sup> nor the conspiracy of silence which existed since the inception of the scheme.<sup>76</sup> No information was given by which a comprehensive assessment of the scheme could be made. No detailed cost-benefit figures of possible alternatives were given and the cost of saving the Lake had been quoted

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69. Eckstein and Apter, *Comparative Politics : A Reader*, p.409

70. Ibid, p.413

71. E. E. Reece, *Mercury*, March 6, 1972

73. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder", p.3

74. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons From Tasmania", p.14

75. Southwell, *Mountains of Paradise*, p.27

76. B. W. Davis, Statement of Evidence presented to the Lake Pedder Inquiry, March, 1973

variously from \$5 million to \$40 million.<sup>77</sup> Further, many erroneous statements made by politicians went unchecked because Tasmania did not have a Hansard record of parliamentary debates.

To reiterate Eckstein's argument, the character of the relations between pressure groups and the formal elements of decision-making - parties, legislature and bureaucracy - are dependent upon the nature of the composition of governmental structure, activities and attitudes.<sup>78</sup> The LPAC was unable to gain access to the political system because of the unchallenged orthodoxy of hydro-industrialisation which existed in Tasmania and determined the form pressure group politics would take.

In order to gain access to the system the target must respond in some way to the demands of the pressure group. Schumaker<sup>79</sup> conceptualises responsiveness as the relationship between the self-evident or expressly articulated demands of a pressure group and the reciprocal actions of the political system which is the target of those demands. He proposes five criteria of responsiveness which range from the extent to which the group is given a hearing by the target, to the placing of demands on the agenda of the political system, and to the degree to which those in the political system succeed in alleviating the groups grievances.<sup>80</sup>

The LPAC was not able to achieve the first criteria, 'access responsiveness', let alone have the issue placed on the political agenda. The response of the target (the Government) was to discredit the group in order that it could be dismissed as unworthy of the target's attention. The Government initially refused to accept petitions which were presented to

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77. Ibid

78. Eckstein and Apter, *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, p.409

79. P. Schumaker, "Policy Responsiveness to Protest Group Demands", *The Journal of Politics*, vol.37, May, 1975, pp.488-521

80. Schumaker, "Policy Responsiveness to Protest Group Demands", pp.494-495

Parliament, despite the fact that over a quarter million signatures were collected from all over Australia and that the Constitution guaranteed the right of citizens to petition. The Attorney-General refused acceptance because they were "in conflict with government policy."<sup>81</sup> This attitude was adopted from the time the project was first mooted. When the South West Committee first questioned the Government, the then Premier, Reece, accused it of "interfering in public affairs."<sup>82</sup> The Government continued in its refusal to respond by denying the LPAC access and keeping the issue from reaching the political agenda.

Governments and pressure groups operate within a web of political values, attitudes and other variables which determine group effectiveness. As Davis comments, the ability to place issues on the political agenda or the ability to keep them off, is a reliable means of identifying power within a society.<sup>83</sup> The Government had a monopoly on the alternative targets on which the LPAC could have focused (the 'public' and the media), was able to determine the political agenda, and controlled the variables by which pressure groups could gain access to the political system. The weight of these factors governed the lack of expectation of success of the LPAC and influenced its decision to take direct political action.

The powerful position of the Government and the HEC in relation to the LPAC and its correlating failure as a pressure group to activate any responsiveness within the decision-making process created the situation whereby the LPAC was "so alienated from the decision-making processes of government and its administrative aims that it felt it had no alternative but to seek political power."<sup>84</sup>

Having established that the UTG provided the first challenge in the political arena to the established parties and exposed the relationship between the HEC and the exercise of

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81. Southwell, Mountains of Paradise, p.25

Reece, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.39

82. Final Report of the Lake Pedder Committee of Enquiry, April, 1974, The Flooding of Lake Pedder (Canberra : Australian Government Publishing Service, 1974), p.312

83. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement"

84. UTG via Dr. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

political power in Tasmania it will be argued in the following chapters that the UTG's struggle marked a turning point in the development of the modern environmental movement in Tasmania. Although no UTG candidate gained parliamentary office its impact was to have a significant effect on the Tasmanian political system and represented an important milestone in Tasmania's political history.

## CHAPTER 2

This chapter argues that although the UTG was originally formed through the efforts of the LPAC, initially directed to saving Lake Pedder, it was a political party which was for the first time in the world organised around a core of conservation and environmental concerns. The U.T.G. was an integral part of an emerging wider social movement (environmentalism) which had its origins in a major shift in values in society. It will be shown that the UTG reflected an evolving environmental consciousness in Tasmania and became the political vanguard for the environmental movement. The party was thus the spearhead for the election of conservation candidates to the Tasmanian Parliament in the 1980s.

Commentators have claimed that the UTG was the world's first 'greens' party,<sup>1</sup> preceding the formation of New Zealand's Values Party of May 1972, Britain's Ecology Party of 1976, and Germany's Die Grunen of 1978. However, others have alleged that the UTG was "not strictly a political party but a collection of individuals concerned for Lake Pedder."<sup>2</sup> This chapter will establish that the UTG was a political party based on a branch structure and a coherent ideology built upon environmental values which led to the development of a strong and increasingly skilled environmental movement in Tasmania.

The UTG argued that the problem of saving Lake Pedder was not the only issue, but highlighted the problems of the underlying economic and political structure of a state dominated by hydro-industrialisation, closed government and secrecy surrounding decision-making processes. The Lake Pedder issue was indicative of what the UTG

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1. Personal communication with Dr. Bob Brown  
G. Holloway, The Wilderness Society : The Transformation of a Social Movement Organization, p.2  
M. Haward and P. Hay, Tasmania's Greening : Eco-politics and the Electorate 1972-1986 Paper  
presented to the Eco-Politics Conference, Griffith University, August 30-31, 1986, p.1
  2. P. Thompson, Bob Brown of the Franklin River (Sydney : George Allen and Unwin, 1984) p.39

regarded as a fundamental breakdown of democratic government and focused on the broader principles which undermined the democratic process. Faced with this intolerable situation and with the belief that it had an opportunity of gaining the balance of power, as a result of the collapse of the short lived Liberal Party interregnum of the Bethune Government the UTG contested its first election on April 22, 1972.

Dr. Jones, together with other conservationists, co-directed the UTG election campaign from an office in Hobart. The UTG fielded twelve candidates in four electorates, but concentrated its efforts in the electorates of Denison and Franklin as the LPAC was strongest in these essentially urban electorates. With the support of the Australian Union of Students and some disaffected Labor and Liberal supporters, the UTG conducted an energetic and somewhat frenzied four week campaign.<sup>3</sup> Supporters composed and delivered campaign material and the LPAC conducted a programme of public meetings arousing public opinion and raising funds for the UTG's campaign.

One of the most disturbing features of the campaign for conservationists was the statement by the leaders of both major parties that Lake Pedder was not an election issue.<sup>4</sup> The Lake Pedder issue had focused attention on the Tasmanian South West, on the methods and ethics of the HEC, and the political decision-making process in Tasmania. The media appeared to support the major parties and the conservationists were placed in the invidious situation of being unable to have their views published comprehensively in newspapers.<sup>5</sup> Together with these handicaps the UTG was faced with the HEC's deliberate intervention in the political campaign through public advertisements urging voters that all consumers other than certain major industrial undertakings would face a considerable increase in tariff charges for electricity if there was any alteration to the Gordon River Scheme.<sup>6</sup> In effect,

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3. Dr. R. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy" in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.55

4. McKenry, "A History and Critical Analysis of the Controversy concerning the Gordon River Power Scheme", Pedder Papers, p.23

5. Ibid

6. Mercury, April 21, 1972



the HEC was warning that domestic electricity prices would rise if UTG candidates were elected. This was a deliberate attempt by the HEC to discredit the UTG and its supporters were incensed at this unprecedented outspokenness of a government instrumentality. In fact, political analysts have suggested that such interference may have been instrumental in denying UTG candidates election as "so accustomed is the HEC to freedom from normal statutory constraints that it has no qualms about direct intervention in election campaigns."<sup>7</sup>

The UTG was not successful in winning a parliamentary seat but neither was it embarrassed by its performance. Despite "the united opposition of political and social forces that closed ranks to oppose this challenge to vested interests and entrenched power"<sup>8</sup> the party managed to win 3.90 per cent of the State's vote and approximately 7.00 per cent in Denison and Franklin. This result was achieved on a shoestring budget by a group which had been in existence for four weeks. The UTG claimed it had four factors working against it in the election; the Labor Party, the Liberal Party, an unresponsive reception from the media and an advertising campaign waged by the HEC.<sup>9</sup> The UTG went on to contest nine other State and Federal elections in the following five years.

### **The UTG : Political Party or Pressure Group?**

It is necessary to place the UTG within its political context for it possessed characteristics of both a pressure group with its origins in the LPAC and a political party in that it competed for representation in the House of Assembly.

According to Duverger<sup>10</sup> political parties and pressure groups are the major organisations

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7. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.6

8. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

9. UTG Newsletter No.1, May, 1972

10. Maurice Duverger, Party Politics and Pressure Groups (London : Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1972) Introduction.

See also Dean Jaensch, The Australian Party System (Sydney : George Allen and Unwin, 1983) pp.12-16

involved in the political process and can be easily differentiated. Political parties strive to acquire and exercise power while pressure groups do not directly seek to exercise power but seek to influence those who do hold power. The UTG did not become a formally constituted political party until 1974 but possessed the characteristics which differentiate it from that of a pressure group from the time it contested candidates for the April 1972 election. The UTG believed it could exercise power over the policies of government by winning the balance of power.

Duverger argues that the concept of the political party is relatively precise but definitions run the gamut from those groups which nominate candidates for election to public office to those which seek to exercise governmental power. Epstein<sup>12</sup> defines a political party as any group with a given label, no matter how loosely organised, which seeks to elect governmental officials and claims the given label is the crucial defining element. Jupp<sup>13</sup> describes a political party as a group, no matter how organised, which calls itself a party and aims "however optimistically" to exercise a degree of control over the political institutions and argues that size, structure and ideology are quite unimportant in defining a party. In contrast, Aitkin and Jinks speak of a common definition as "like-minded people organised to gain office in government through the electoral process."<sup>14</sup> A widely accepted minimum definition is that of Sartori who describes a party as any "political group identified by an official label that presents at elections and is capable of placing through elections (free or non-free) candidates for public office."<sup>15</sup>

A plethora of definitions exists but all have a commonality in that they specify as a

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11. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

12. L. D. Epstein in R. C. Macridis, *Political Parties* (New York : Sage, 1967) p.123

13. James Jupp, *Political Parties* (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1968) p.5

14. Don Aitken and Brian Jinks, *Australian Political Institutions* (Sydney : Pitman Publishing, 1985) p.161

15. G. Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems : A Framework for Analysis* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1976) P.63

necessary criterion the nomination of a candidate for public office. Others extend the definition and require parties to exercise some power or control over the political institutions. On the basis of both these criteria, the UTG was a political party. It was identified by an official label, placed candidates for public office, and although it could not win government, was firmly convinced it could win enough seats to gain the balance of power which had been held previously by Centre Party member, Kevin Lyons.<sup>16</sup> Blondel<sup>17</sup> claims that participation or an attempt to participate in the decision-making process is common to all parties. The UTG had an express desire to participate in the decision-making process. The UTG Extra stated in April 1972 that "all candidates have taken the pledge to sit on the cross benches if elected" and would act as "environmental watchdogs."<sup>18</sup>

Following the 1972 House of Assembly election the UTG considered its future. As the party was unsuccessful in winning a seat at its first election many political pundits expected it to disappear, but the UTG quickly developed the characteristics of what Jaensch<sup>19</sup> describes as a doctrinal party which would continue to contest elections, regardless of its performance.

Successive experiences of the UTG following the 1972 election reinforced the party's determination to continue the struggle in the political arena:

Lake Pedder is now the symbol for conservation in Tasmania. The issue spreads to the woodchip industry, pollution of the Tamar and the Derwent Rivers, mining in National Parks, the effects of the Burnie acid plant, erosion of tablelands and so on.<sup>20</sup>

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16. Personal communication with Geoff Parr, Helen Gee and Bob Graham

17. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.71

18. UTG Extra, April, 1972, p.3

19. Jaensch, The Australian Party System, p.18

20. UTG Extra, April, 1972, p.4

The issue of Lake Pedder, the subsequent intervention of the HEC in the election campaign and the rubber-stamping of HEC policy by the Government, were very much at the centre of concern for UTG members when they called for a Royal Commission into the HEC's role in the election campaign. The UTG called upon the Government to enquire into the interference in the campaign of the HEC. The new Labor Government, led by Eric Reece, given the appellation "Electric Eric", not unexpectedly, refused to entertain any proposition which related to a delay in the flooding of Lake Pedder. UTG members were further incensed when they were refused permission to challenge in the Supreme Court the Government's power to flood Lake Pedder. A minor crisis for the Government occurred when the Attorney-General, Mervyn Everett, resigned from Cabinet when caucus would not agree to allow a legal challenge to the validity of the flooding of Lake Pedder National Park.<sup>21</sup> Conservationists had received information from undisclosed legal sources that the decision to flood Lake Pedder could be challenged in the courts. Considerable public concern was generated over the circumstances surrounding the Attorney-General's resignation. The Tasmanian Bar Association and the Church of England Bishop, along with other notables, condemned the denial of citizens' access to the courts.<sup>22</sup> The very same night that the Doubts Removal Bill (which validated the flooding of the Lake Pedder National Park) was passed Everett was reinstated as Attorney-General. UTG members claimed that the democratic system had broken down and Tasmania was ruled by an elite.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time, the UTG was also concerned with the failure of the major political parties' refusal to grasp the importance of effecting earth care policies.<sup>24</sup> The editorial of UTG newsletters argued that "with the proliferation of conservation groups it is clear that the UTG serves conservation interests best by representing them at the political level."<sup>25</sup>

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21. Mercury, August 17, 1972

22. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

23. UTG Newsletter No.3, 1973

24. Ibid

25. Ibid

Concurrently, the environmental movement was emerging with the expanding number of organisations addressing perceived problems of an ecological nature. The UTG argued that the experience of confrontation with industrialists, planners and politicians over conservation issues forced concerned citizens to take collective action<sup>26</sup> and the party was the political expression of that concern.

The situation was succinctly described by Dr. Jones in an early UTG newsletter:

Our struggle to preserve Lake Pedder pushed us into the political arena. Our values were so threatened that we were forced to seek political power. Along the way, we rapidly gained knowledge about society and the condition of the community which had become hung up on material well-being.<sup>27</sup>

The UTG activists had become highly suspicious of political promises in Tasmania and the struggle for Lake Pedder was the catalyst which brought them together, establishing environmentalism as a political force in Tasmania.

Jaensch argues that a distinguishing feature of a political party is that it is usually far broader in aims, policies and support than a pressure group.<sup>28</sup> The UTG developed an extensive policy platform based on a philosophy of ecological concern and humanitarian principles. Its concern was for both conservation issues and the return of public participation in decision making. The LPAC continued to exist after the formation of the UTG specifically to continue the struggle to "save" Lake Pedder. While there was a strong inter-relationship and cross membership between these two groups they were distinguishable by their range of concerns. In UTG literature continual mention was made of the need for a global perspective, a "global movement for survival", while the LPAC focused on a localised single issue.

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26. Ibid

27. UTG Newsletter No.5, 1973

28. Dean Jaensch, An Introduction to Australian Politics (Melbourne : Longman Cheshire, 1984) p.13

In their discussion on political parties modern political analysts concentrate on differing variables. Duverger distinguishes political parties by their structure<sup>29</sup> while other analysts emphasise such aspects as ideology, organisation and aims.<sup>30</sup> In this chapter it is relevant to examine the UTG with regard to its ideology, platform, organisation and structure. Attention should be focused upon these characteristics because they were relevant to the electoral performance and the impact of the party on the environmental movement.

## Ideology

Starr, Richmond and Maddox<sup>31</sup> make the point that minor parties are usually ideologically oriented and the UTG was no exception. The root of its concern emerging was the expression of concern about environmental issues in industrially developed countries during the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>32</sup> Sandbach<sup>33</sup> says this increase in public concern has been called "the ecology movement", "the new conservation movement", or "the environmental movement". This concern generated an extensive literature which was to greatly influence UTG activists and the subsequent mobilisation of participants in the environmental movement in Tasmania.

By virtue of its size and rapid growth, Lowe and Goyder claim that this new environmental movement qualified as a major social phenomenon and could be examined from the social movement perspective.<sup>34</sup> Concern for the environment was not new but in the 1960s and 1970s this concern took on a different character. Lowe and Goyder distinguish three

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29. Maurice Duverger, Political Parties (London : Methuen and Co., 1965) pp.17-20

30. Graeme Starr, Keith Richmond and Graham Maddox, Political Parties in Australia (Melbourne : Heinemann Educational, 1978) p.320  
Jaensch, The Australian Party System, p.160

31. Starr, Richmond and Maddox, Political Parties in Australia, p.319

32. Francis Sandbach, Environment, Ideology and Policy (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1980) p.1

33. The term "environmental movement" will be used in this thesis

34. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, pp.17-18

global environmental eras and demonstrate fundamental values in common to each of these.<sup>35</sup> The first occurred in the late 1800s when nature conservation groups, building preservation groups, and the like were established. The formation of these groups has been contributed to by the unprecedented industrial growth, urban expansion and agricultural improvement which occurred during the mid-Victorian period. This was considered a reaction to many of the tenets of economic liberalism.<sup>36</sup> The second upsurge occurred in the middle inter-war years as a result of the growth of suburbia and the bureaucratisation of social life. The UTG was directly involved in the third episodic development. It represented concern with some of the customary values of society and a broad range of issues such as the finiteness of natural resources, the problems of pollution and the consequences of unfettered economic growth and the increasing power of the State.

Lowe and Goyder suggest that environmental groups arose at this time because "more and more people turned to count the mounting costs of unbridled economic growth and sought to reassert non-material values."<sup>37</sup> It was exactly this problem which was at the root of the UTG's concern and was the basis of its ideological commitment. It was concerned with the transformation of industrialised society which was based on a "factory mentality" and claimed that institutions of politics and government were fundamental to the problem.

Several influential studies and books published during the early 1970s had a profound impact on UTG members, many of whom were well educated and had recently been exposed to such literature. The Club of Rome's Limits to Growth, the British Blueprint for Survival, The Ecologist Journal and E. F. Schumacher's Small is Beautiful<sup>38</sup> were all benchmark publications and focused upon the impact of technological development. The 1972 Club of Rome Report, Limits of Growth was symbolic for the larger and long-term

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35. Ibid

36. Ibid

37. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, p.25

38. Club of Rome, The Limits to Growth (New York : Universe Press, 1972)  
E. F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful (New York : Harper and Rowe, 1973)  
"Blueprint for Survival", The Ecologist

association of environmental destruction with priority being given to economic growth by governments. UTG members were inspired by such works and after the visit of Professor Joseph Sax, a renowned American environmentalist, to Tasmania in September 1972, they were determined to maintain their fight for the new values of concern for the environment<sup>39</sup> as expressed by challenging the existing policies of the major parties in the political arena because "the political medium is the most potent as a catalyst for change."<sup>40</sup> This greatly increased level of concern with problems in the relationship of humanity and the environment is what is meant by the environmental movement. This new concern was with a much broader conception of the features of the environment than earlier movements and involved a much more sophisticated notion of humanity and the environment. The proliferation of environmental groups was the formal manifestation of the environmental movement. Lowe and Goyder say environmental groups are part of a broadly based change in people's perception of their environment which qualifies as a social movement, arising from discontent with many of the customary values of society, and represents concerted efforts to institutionalise alternative values.<sup>41</sup>

A social movement may be defined as "a conscious, collective, organised attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means."<sup>42</sup> Holloway<sup>43</sup> argues that this does not preclude the use of institutionalised political processes because both types of means are often used in conjunction by social movement organisations. Wilson<sup>44</sup> concentrates on problems of legitimacy faced by social movements within the context of the dominant social order. Either the movement is legitimized by success in which case concern of the social movement shifts to maintenance and survival, or, if not disbanded, becomes an isolated band of idealists.

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39. UTG via Dr. R. Jones, "Lake Pedder"

40. UTG Newsletter No. 3, 1972

41. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups and Politics, p.2

42. J. Wilson, Introduction to Social Movements (New York : Basic Books, 1973)

43. G. Holloway, "The Social Composition of the Environment Movement in Tasmania", paper presented at Eco-Politics Conference, Griffith University, Queensland, 1986

44. Wilson, Introduction to Social Movements



Zald and Ash<sup>45</sup> distinguish a social movement from other formal organisations in two ways. First, social movement organisations have goals aimed at changing the society and its members. Secondly, normative incentives are used to maintain and encourage membership rather than instrumental incentives such as money. McCarthy and Zald<sup>46</sup> suggest that social movement organisations, like any other organisation, operate as though organisational survival were the primary goal. They say "incentives operate to bind individuals to social movement organisations, and, hence, serve to provide continuous involvement and thus resource mobilisation."<sup>47</sup> The UTG had the characteristics of a social movement organisation. Its primary need, like all social movement organisations, was for human and some financial resources, but also access to the media for promotion of its cause.<sup>48</sup>

The UTG produced a manifesto entitled A New Ethic in which it espoused its philosophy,<sup>49</sup> enunciated values and attitudes identical to what would soon be known as environmentalism. Davis defines environmentalism as:

"a social and political movement involving specific sets of beliefs about the relationship of man and nature, generally opposed to existing modes of technology and natural resources."<sup>50</sup>

Davis adds that environmentalism is essentially a developing social movement which contains both social movement and interest group characteristics, with some adherents playing a more activist role within the political arena.

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45. M. N. Zald and R. Ash, "Social Movement Organisations : Growth, Decay and Change", Social Forces, 44, pp.327-341

46. J. D. McCarthy and M. N. Zald, "Resource Mobilisation and Social Movements : A Partial Theory", American Journal of Sociology, 82, pp.1212-1241

47. Ibid, p.1227

48. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.75

49. See Appendix 3

50. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.4

In accordance with this description, the UTG had an ideological orientation and value commitment which went beyond the preservation and protection of natural resources to concern itself with ecological problems in the context of modern industrialisation and technology, linking these to the political and economic systems. Like more recent environmental political parties, the UTG sought a fundamental change in values and stressed new and existing issues from a new ideological perspective based on the notion of environmentalism<sup>51</sup> and sought reform of the established priorities of government and society. The UTG developed this ideology prior to the conceptualisation of the term environmentalism.

The term environmentalism incorporates a number of widely differing philosophies and values but a common theme is recognizable in that all are concerned with the undesirable cumulative effects of modern technology and natural resource utilisation.<sup>52</sup> More specifically it centres on concern with new values, institutions, technology, social organisation and continued availability of natural resources. Environmentalism is based on the belief that all living organisms, including humanity or people are in a complex and balanced system of inter-relationship. Whereas the conservation movement was concerned with protecting natural resources against use and over use, the environmental movement extended concern to the ecological system whereby the quality of life is threatened and, at worst, the survival of humanity is threatened. Environmentalism provides an umbrella for a great deal of variation in the degree of undesirability but the greatest cleavage is between the anthropocentric view or human-centred view of the world and the view that the natural world, living and non-living, has intrinsic value independent of humanity. Petulla describes this latter mode of thought as "biocentric".<sup>53</sup>

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51. Jonathon Porrit, Seeing Green (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1984) p.4

52. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.94

53. Petulla, American Environmentalism (Texas : A. and M. University Press, 1980)

See also T.O'Riordan, Environmentalism (London : Pion, 1976)

The UTG was concerned with humanity's relationship with the environment. In the environmental movement itself there were and are differences of opinion as to the extent this set of beliefs should take. This was also the case in the UTG. The official ideology as stated in the UTG's manifesto, the New Ethic<sup>54</sup> was based on an ecological concern coupled with humanitarian principles but some UTG members adopted a biocentric view which is concerned not with the value of wilderness to humanity, but the value of wilderness for its own sake, asserting the rights of wilderness as equal to human rights. The UTG never articulated wilderness as a value in its own right but took a less extreme line based on the ecological perspective which views the interaction of various natural elements forming a complex system and concern for the relationship between humanity and nature so as to prevent "the collapse of the life systems of the earth."<sup>55</sup> From this perspective wilderness is seen as "a contingency fund, a gene bank, to be kept for possible use"<sup>56</sup> as distinct from the more radical view that the natural world, living and non-living, has intrinsic value independent of humanity.<sup>57</sup>

Those within the UTG who adopted the biocentric view were frustrated by the official stance of the UTG as stated in the New Ethic. They continued to stress the spiritual importance for wilderness. Kevin Kiernan, who had been a key actor in the LPAC and the UTG, formed the South West Action Committee (SWTAC) which stressed the "right of wilderness itself."<sup>58</sup>

The UTG focused not only on a scientifically based ecological approach to the environment but also on the problems inherent in modern technological society. This is echoed by contemporary environmentalists who view "centralized authoritarian structures" as a major part of the problem<sup>59</sup> and claim that the major parties and their ideologies are fundamental

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54. See Appendix 3

55. Easthope and Holloway, "The Development of a Successful Conservation Movement. A Case Study of the Wilderness Society in Tasmania".

56. Ibid, p.10

57. Ibid, p.11

58. The SWTAC was a significant factor in the demise of the UTG

59. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.6

to the problem.<sup>60</sup> In fact "green politics questions the philosophy and rationality which underlies the major parties' ideologies."<sup>61</sup> In Tasmania, the major parties had been "hell-bent" in their support of hydro-technocracy and had avoided public participation in decision-making. The Lake Pedder Case was a classic example of poor government decision-making, of poor public policy formation and of existing deficiencies in institutions and decision-making processes.<sup>62</sup>

The UTG argued that all Liberal and Labor governments (labelled "the Laborials" by Des Shield and later publicised by Norm Sanders, the first environmental candidate elected to the House of Assembly) supported a form of industrialisation which had exacerbated unemployment while at the same time had continued a programme which was both socially and environmentally destructive.<sup>63</sup> The closed decision-making process was seen as an attempt to prevent decision-making by the people in favour of decision-making for the people. Like more recent environmentalists, the UTG saw the problems of modern industrialised society and politics based on powerful major political parties and centralised bureaucracies as the central problems of society.<sup>64</sup> Speaking almost ten years after the party's demise, Spretnak and Capra echo the UTG's concern:

The institutions and processes of politics and government as they exist today are part and parcel of the past which is on the way out - patriarchal, exploitative, adversarial, centralised, unecological.<sup>65</sup>

## POLICY PLATFORM

In a very short time the UTG developed a large and comprehensive electoral platform in which it set out its long-term programme for basic reforms in the welfare state, industrial

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60. Petra Kelly in Porritt, Seeing Green, p.XIV

61. Ibid

62. B. W. Davis, Statement of evidence presented to the Lake Pedder Inquiry

63. UTG Newsletter, June, 1975

64. UTG Newsletter, May, 1973

65. Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra, Green Politics (London : Collins Publishing Group, 1985) p.XXI

policy, planning, transport, agriculture, embodying its commitment to zero population growth, self-sufficiency and decentralisation. In 1976 the Examiner newspaper conceded that the UTG had provided more new policies for Tasmania than both the major parties; "Dr. Jones' little party has produced more teasing relevant ideas for Tasmanians than all the other party policy writers put together."<sup>66</sup> From its inception the UTG had been branded radical which, in the politically stable, pro hydro-economic state of Tasmania, was considered "the political kiss of death."<sup>67</sup> To avoid this the UTG attempted to convince the public that it was not a single-issue party, but offered a viable alternative to "the Laborials". Consequently one of the UTG's most important activities was the development of a detailed and explicit range of policies. With the exception of the Examiner newspaper, the media continued to berate the UTG,<sup>68</sup> but many of its policies, particularly those outlined here, were adopted by subsequent governments. (See Appendix 4 for a summary of policies).

The party claimed that far from feeling guilty because of its material dependence on Federal funds, Tasmania should set out to convince mainland Australians that it was important that Tasmania's unique potential be retained and enhanced. It should seek low output, high value production from labour intensive, light industries based on the processing of raw materials and primary products which were relatively non-polluting and compatible with tourism. Design-based industries supported by educational institutions and appropriate promotion and marketing structures were seen as appropriate and desirable for Tasmania.

The UTG rejected the policy of hydro-economics endorsed by both the major parties and based its economic platform of initiating co-operation between the private sector and the Government to promote Tasmanian initiatives.<sup>69</sup> The keystone to stimulating initiative in

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66. Examiner, August 26, 1976

See Appendix 4

67. UTG Policy Speech, 1973

68. UTG Policy Speech, 1975

69. Jaensch, The Australian Party System, p.107

the private sector would be to establish and assist small businesses in research and establish markets to promote the distribution of products. This policy was based on the perceived need to increase the opportunity for independent small businesses through development workshops and marketing promotion devices which would be supported by government.

The party's election platform specifically stated that UTG did not wish to hinder technological development but considered such development for its own sake was a great danger to the earth's limited natural resources. In addition, heavy industry concentrated economic wealth and power in the hands of those who, in most cases, were not residents of the State, whereas small diversified local industries would ease unemployment and have a low freight to value ratio because emphasis was based on high quality design based industries.

As early as 1972 the UTG recognised tourism as an investment and advocated an emphasis on recreational pursuits which would give economic returns from natural assets and historical features. This would require recognition of the value of Tasmania's natural features and environmental assets by a concept such as a "National Estate of Tasmania." This, the party argued, would ensure proper investigation before development could take place and prevent the pre-exemptive exploitation of land as had occurred with Lake Pedder.

The UTG also proposed a specific policy for the public sector to protect citizens from abdicating power. The UTG adhered to the principle that the public sector must be held accountable to the general public. It specifically called for the appointment of an ombudsman with power to demote or transfer obstructive public servants, to appoint and promote by ability rather than seniority. It also advocated fixed term, not permanent, appointments to senior positions so that the "power" in the public sector was not held for many years in the hands of an entrenched few. This was a direct result of the UTG's and LPAC's experience with the HEC. In line with this policy of "open government" the UTG

supported the introduction of Hansard reporting of Parliamentary Debates. With regard to an "improved standard of government", the UTG criticised the major parties but not the system of governing. In fact "our concern is for the defence of democracy and our parliamentary system. We must defend our institutions against corruption."<sup>70</sup>

## ORGANISATION

Jaensch speaks of the organisation proper of a political party as having an internal life whereby it "distributes power and influence, mobilises resources and supports and acts as the vanguard of the party."<sup>71</sup> Party organisation is not only concerned with the formal structure but the decision-making process which takes place within. The UTG decision to become a formally constituted political party was the result of a wish to broaden the Party's support base. Originally the party operated on an ad hoc basis, with unstructured meetings called at short notice. The desire to become a statewide organisation precipitated the formal formation of the party.

Hugh Dell,<sup>72</sup> an expelled ALP member, drafted a constitution, which he modelled on the ALP Constitution.<sup>73</sup> The party was structured on what Duverger has called the branch element in his classification of party structure.<sup>74</sup> (See Table 1.) Duverger distinguishes the caucus, the cell, the militia and the branch based party. The branch party is extensive in nature, tries to enrol members to multiply its number, and to increase its total strength. By contrast "the caucus formed a closed circle into which you could enter only by co-option or as a delegate: the branch is wide open."<sup>75</sup> The branch party is a mass party seeking to

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70. UTG Policy Speech, 1974

71. Jaensch, *The Australian Party System*, p.107

72. Dell had been private secretary to the Attorney-General, Mervyn Everett. He was expelled from the ALP when he claimed he had positive proof that ALP funds had been used to bribe Lyons to resign his seat and thus force an election.

73. Personal communication with Hugh Dell

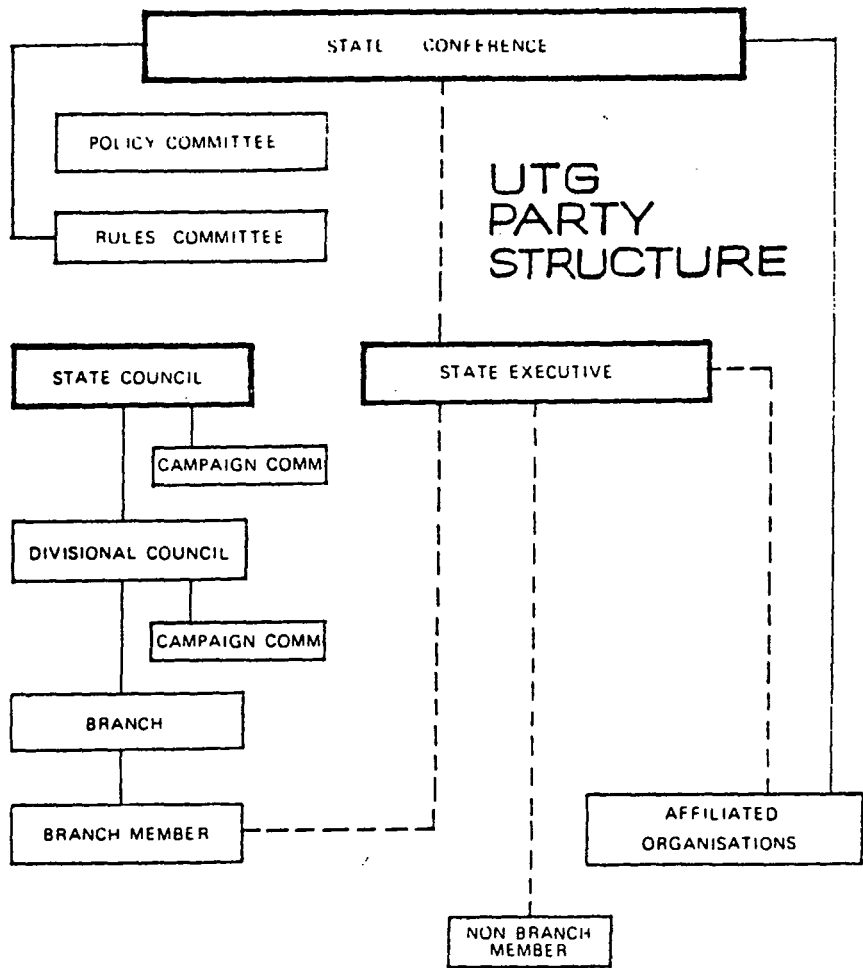
74. M. Duverger, "Bases of Parties" in Blondel, *Comparative Government*, p.97

75. *Ibid*, p.99

enrol the maximum membership. In accordance with Blondel's characterisation the UTG's express purpose in structuring the party this way was to increase its membership base.

The constitution provided for a state conference which was to be held every year to which each branch was to send a delegate. At this conference a state executive, a policy committee and a rules committee were elected. A state council was appointed to direct and control the state executive on matters of administration and finance and to direct and control all election campaigns.

Table One





In formalising the party's structure emphasis was placed on membership involvement "and the prevention of takeovers by political opportunists."<sup>76</sup> Duverger adds that the branch party appeals to the masses and branches are obviously much more attractive at election times. This type of party tries to maintain contact between elections and, unlike the caucus party, "deals not only with election tactics, but also with political education."<sup>77</sup> These characteristics of a branch-based party reflect the objectives of the UTG. A fundamental aim of the party was to educate the masses on the dangers of industrialised society.

The UTG was organisationally strongest from 1974-1976. An important influence on the organisational success of the party at this time was the state secretary, Geoff Holloway, who worked full-time and attended all branch meetings throughout the State, thus permeating a grass roots orientation. The objectives of the state secretary were threefold. First to seek support, to set up new branches and allot tasks in order that members had immediate goals and a *raison d'être*. Both policy formulation and fundraising were constant activities. Fundraising was usually conducted in conjunction with social occasions which stimulated an informal network between branches and social solidarity among members. The state secretary's second function was to invigorate policy committees to continually generate explicit, well researched policies and the third function was to produce regular press releases which enabled the UTG to maintain a public presence between elections.<sup>78</sup>

As members shared the same value-commitment, they were disciplined by a goal oriented notion of human solidarity.<sup>79</sup> Leadership was held by Dr. Jones throughout the UTG's

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76. M. Duverger, "Bases of Parties" in Blondel, *Comparative Government*, p.97

77. Ibid, p.100

78. Personal communication with Geoff Holloway

79. Franz Schurmann, *Ideology and Organisation in Communist China* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1968) pp.165-167

existence. He was considered the key strategist and influence within the party, and was aided by a core of dedicated members. By and large, elections only served to ratify Dr. Jones' influential leadership. Lowe and Goyder<sup>80</sup> describe how many environmental groups incline or conform to an "open oligarchy" style of organisation which consists of a combination of open structure and authoritative leadership. The UTG was an example of this organisational type with its goal-oriented membership which allowed executive decisions to be taken by an active core with reference to the party's objectives but the open branch structure allowed anyone who wanted to become more involved to do so.

The demise of the UTG was signalled by a weakening in the organisational structure mid-1976 when the constitution was suspended. It was argued that unreasonable demands were being made on members who were heavily involved in other activist groups. At this time the SWTAC and various other small action groups combined to form the Tasmanian Wilderness Society (TWS). The formation of the TWS "was resisted by the 'conservative' Tasmanian Conservation Trust".<sup>81</sup> Significantly, of those 23 people who attended the inaugural meeting of TWS, nineteen were active members of the UTG.<sup>82</sup> As a political party the UTG's main activity was contesting elections. Considering that the UTG had by this time contested nine elections in four years without electoral success, disenchantment had set in and members were enticed by the offer of a new challenge in TWS.<sup>83</sup> This all-encompassing organisation (one with a 'conservative up-market' facade, but which retained SWTAC's radical policies such as biocentrism<sup>84</sup>) was generally concerned with the preservation of the whole of the South West of Tasmania but soon focused on the Franklin River. The UTG had virtually disintegrated when it lost its most important

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80. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, p.52

81. Easthope and Holloway, "The Development of the Successful Conservation Movement : A Case Study of the Wilderness Society in Tasmania", p.10

82. Minutes of inaugural TWS meeting

83. Holloway, The Wilderness Society : Transformation of a Social Movement Organisation, p.5

84. Easthope and Holloway, "The Development of the Successful Conservation Movement : A Case Study of the Wilderness Society in Tasmania", p.10

resource, its membership base. As Duverger and Blondel state, a branch based party cannot survive without a strong committed membership.<sup>85</sup>

From 1977, after contesting the Legislative Council election in Queenborough the UTG became a skeletal organisation which sent out intermittent newsletters, composed substantially of articles from ecological journals. The emergence of the Australian Democrats in August 1976 and the process of attrition which the UTG was experiencing, resulted in three available alternatives: to try and muster enough resources to contest another election, not to contest another election, or to merge with the Australian Democrats. The latter alternative was appealing but the UTG was sceptical because the Australian Democrats had not formulated any policies, and "we do not know how compatible this new party will be with the UTG. Will it be 'centralist' and 'pro big business' when the UTG is essentially decentralist and anti-monopolistic?"<sup>86</sup>

In the final UTG newsletter, when asked if the UTG would continue, Dr. Jones replied "We do need to draw breath."<sup>87</sup> While not denying that political action was not necessary, he commented on the opportunities available for UTG members to be actively involved in other environmentally oriented groups. In July, 1979, the UTG placed a full page advertisement in the local press which showed how UTG predictions during the previous three years had become a reality. This advertisement with a cartoon depicting the leaders of the Labor and Liberal parties "fishing for issues", stated boldly, "We told you so!" and claimed that the issues facing Tasmania in 1979 were substantially the same as those in 1972.<sup>88</sup> This advertisement provided an apt epitaph for the UTG.

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85. Blondel, *Comparative Government*.

86. UTG Newsletter, June, 1977

87. UTG Newsletter, May, 1978

88. *The Tasmanian Mail*, July, 25, 1979

The party's emergence and existence had played a very important role in the development of the environmental movement in Tasmania. The comprehensive policy programme had challenged entrenched views and provided for the first time in Tasmania information that related to global environmental principles which could, in turn, be applied to local issues. The UTG was concerned with more than conservation and was a deliberate departure from the established conservation organisations (the TCT and the ACF) which appeared unlikely to take an activist view of conservation and which focused on issues of preservation as distinct from environmentalism. The UTG presented for the first time an alternative view of the world and was the political vehicle for broadly based environmental concerns. Its branch based organisation enabled this value orientation to be expressed in a coherent form and served to mobilise its supporters; but it was also the demands of this type of structure which was crippling.

A critical question in any assessment of the UTG is why did the party fail electorally at the same time as the environmental movement in Tasmania was growing rapidly? As discussed in Chapter 2, the UTG developed a comprehensive policy platform based on environmental ideology and a strong organisational base. Ironically, in the ten elections it contested, the UTG was the most successful in its first attempt to win representation.<sup>1</sup> The environmental movement was in its infancy in Tasmania at that time and while it expanded, the UTG continued to decline until eventually it suffered its demise. This chapter argues that the fate of the UTG was directly related to its lack of electoral success. Like many new parties, the UTG was formed to promote strongly felt causes and to address new issues which had been ignored by the major parties. It was not able to sustain support because continued electioneering, the need to co-ordinate and formulate policy, and the lack of resources (both financial and human) weakened the base of the party.

The demise of the UTG can also be attributed to a number of other factors which will be discussed in this chapter. It will be shown that the relative success of the first election was due to an element of ephemeral support, that continual support necessitated electoral realignment and that the ideological appeal of the UTG was directed to a narrow section of the electorate. This discussion will also examine other factors which generally work against the success of minor parties.

The UTG contested ten State, Federal and Legislative Council elections from 1972-1977 without electoral success.<sup>2</sup> The party's most successful State election was in 1972 when it recorded 3.9 per cent of the State primary vote. In this election the UTG vote in each electorate ranged from 0.55 per cent to 9.6 per cent of the total vote, with the highest votes being recorded in Denison. The highest vote was recorded when Rod Broadby contested

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1. See Appendix 6  
2. See Appendices 5 and 6

the 1975 Legislative Council seat of Newdegate. In all, the UTG fielded forty-three candidates, seventeen of whom were women. The major support for the party was in the southern electorates of Denison and Franklin.

Minor parties, like the UTG, have been examined by a number of writers, and from a range of perspectives. Duverger discusses psychological properties which work against new parties.<sup>3</sup> He comments how it is hard for a party to increase its support when voters perceive that it has little chance of affecting the power of the established parties. Related to this Davis recognises that a central problem for eco-activists is their ability to gain and hold public support throughout the period of the conservation controversy, especially when "their own organisation has limited resources and cohesiveness and is opposed by legitimized bureaucratic forces, political expediency and the countervailing measures of private sector influence and intransigence."<sup>4</sup> In addition, Mayer points out that minor parties have to maintain enthusiasm with little rewards and over a period of time this becomes very difficult.<sup>5</sup> For these and other reasons, which will be discussed later in this chapter, the UTG suffered similar problems common to any minor party in that it found difficult to realise tangible rewards for its members which would maintain their often demanding support.

Paradoxically, the UTG polled considerably better in the 1972 House of Assembly election than it did in later State and Federal elections and yet the notion of environmentalism was in its infancy at this time. (At this election the UTG stood not only on the issue of Lake Pedder but also on other environmental issues). To examine this paradox it is useful to examine literature on other minor parties. McAllister<sup>6</sup>, in his discussion of the

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3. Duverger, Political Parties, pp.224-228

4. Davis, "The Struggle for South West Tasmania" in Scott (ed.) Interest Groups and Public Policy 1980, p.152

5. H. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism", in H. Mayer and H. Nelson (eds.) Australian Politics : A Fifth Reader, (Melbourne : Longman Cheshire, 1976) p.227

6. Ian McAllister, "The Australian Democrats : Protest Vote or Portent of Dealignment?" Politics, Vol.17, No.1, May, 1982, pp68-73

Australian Democrats, puts forward two hypotheses to account for that party's support. The first he terms the protest vote hypothesis, whereby the voter uses the party as a vehicle to protest against the policies of the two major parties. Alternatively, support for a new party may be interpreted as a portent of a realigning party system. If this continued, logically support for the new party would continue and there would be a fundamental shift in the traditional political cleavages. In contrast, the protest vote hypothesis implies that electors will change their vote temporarily to protest against the policies of the two major parties.

Success of a new party would require, in this case, two pre-conditions. First, the party would have to convert the protest vote into fully committed partisanship and secondly there would need to be a decline in party identification, "thereby creating a potential pool of dealigned voters who could be mobilised."<sup>7</sup> The protest vote was diluted by those voters who were unwilling to see the Labor Party regain government and it is likely that when Lake Pedder was flooded those who had lodged an ephemeral protest vote against the flooding by voting for the UTG returned to their traditional voting patterns. In fact, some foundation members of the UTG withdrew their support for the UTG once Lake Pedder had been flooded as they could not envisage the party being any more successful than it had been and if they continued to vote for the UTG they would be wasting their vote. Also many of these people were not politically inclined and the flooding of Lake Pedder had been their centre of concern. Following the loss of Lake Pedder they had no reason to continue their political involvement.<sup>8</sup> For some supporters the party had been the means by which a protest vote over the flooding of Lake Pedder could be registered while for others the UTG represented an alternative value paradigm..

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6. Ian McAllister, "The Australian Democrats : Protest Vote or Portent of Dealignment?", Politics, Vol.17, No.1, May, 1982, pp.68-73

7. Ibid, p.72

8. Personal communication with Geoff Parr, an active member in LPAC and a foundation member of the UTG

The relative success of the UTG in the Legislative Council elections is another indication of the restraints minor parties face for survival. While current alignment of voter loyalties persists, minor parties can only hope to make marginal and temporary gains at the expense of the major parties. Reynolds<sup>9</sup> argues that it would require some "electoral-social-economic cataclysm" to produce such a major re-alignment in a two party system, to enable a minor party to gain electoral success. The Legislative Council in Tasmania is reputedly a non-partisan chamber and voters are supposedly not bound by their traditional voting allegiances. The increased electoral support signifies the reluctance of those who were sympathetic to the UTG's cause to realign their traditional party loyalties in a partisan election, but were supportive in an "independent" election.

This can be partially explained by West and Mayer's notion that minor parties must find a support base to build on.<sup>10</sup> The UTG, like any "mobilizing party", found this difficult because it was dependent upon a sufficient loosening of traditional political identifications. Rochan<sup>11</sup> in his analysis, distinguishes between two types of new parties. First, the mobilizing party which is based on a programme that stresses new issues and looks at old issues from a new ideological vantage point, and the second type, which does not mobilize emerging political identities, but attempts to win support based on established cleavages. Rochan names the latter type "challenging parties" as they compete with established parties on the basis of existing cleavages, rather than raising new issues or changing political identifications. The electoral success of a mobilizing party is dependent upon a sufficient loosening of political identifications to support an appeal based on a new cleavage. In fact, "mobilizing parties can succeed only among a public that is prepared to rethink its political

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9. Paul L. Reynolds, "Minority Parties in Australia, New Zealand and Britain", *Twentieth Century*, 26, Spring, 1971, pp.75-82

10. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism", K. West, "From Movement to Party : The N.C.P. and the Australian Democrats" in Mayer and Nelson, *Australian Politics : A Fifth Reader*, p.227

11. T. S. Rochan, "Mobilizers and Challengers" *International Political Science Review*, Vol.6, No.4, 1985, pp.419-439



identities."<sup>12</sup> This requires electoral dealignment.

In line with Rochan's analysis, the UTG was dependent upon electoral dealignment for its electoral success. The programme of the party stressed new issues and looked at old issues from a new ideological perspective. Its ideological stance, based on environmentalism, was essentially an alternative "way of seeing", an "alternative environmental" paradigm which has its "anchor" values in two assumptions, "the notion that species have transcendent rights and the belief that society must seek fundamentally different technologies."<sup>13</sup>

The alternative environmental paradigm is best expressed by well-known environmentalist, Stephen Cotgrove,<sup>14</sup> who conceptualises and juxtaposes the value constructs of environmentalists and industrialists. He stresses the "anthropocentric" value base of the dominant paradigm and the "bio-centric" value base of the environmental paradigm. The concept of the "dominant paradigm" is used as a constellation of "common values, beliefs and shared wisdom about the physical and social environments which constitute a society's basic world view."<sup>15</sup> Dunlap and Van Liere<sup>16</sup> argue that this dominant paradigm is transmitted from generation to generation via institutionalised socialisation and therefore forms the core of a society's cultural heritage. The results of a study undertaken by these authors suggest that the traditional values and beliefs constituting a society's dominant paradigm are important sources of opposition to environmental protection. Tasmanian voters exemplified this with their blanket opposition to the notion of environmentalism in the media and at the polls in the 1970s.

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12. Ibid, p.422

13. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.10

14. S. Cotgrove, Catastrophe or Cornucopia : The Environment, Politics and Future (Chichester : Wiley, 1982), P.27

15. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.10

16. R. E. Dunlap and K. D. Van Liere, "Commitment to the Dominant Social Paradigm and Concern for Environmental Quality", Social Science Quarterly, Vol.65, No.4, December, 1984

Hay contends that "a belief in the rights of non-human species is central, be it held explicitly or implicitly to the environmental paradigm."<sup>17</sup> He adds that the vastness of the value-gap between the dominant paradigm in Tasmania and the environmental paradigm is irreconcilable. Given the institutionalisation, in Tasmania, of the dominant paradigm based on hydro-industrialisation<sup>18</sup> the UTG could not significantly effect a change from the dominant paradigm to the environmental paradigm. The strong institutionalisation of the dominant paradigm in Tasmania left the UTG "fatalistic about our immediate electoral prospects, yet the Laborial parties give us no choice. The UTG will continue to persevere because it is the only ethical thing to do."<sup>19</sup> The UTG recognised that it was fighting an uphill battle in its struggle to convert the value orientation of the Tasmanian electorate from the dominant "growthist" paradigm to the alternative environmental paradigm.

Alternatively, the UTG could not depend on the Labor Party to change. In other states the Labor Party was often "the political arm of challenge to orthodoxy"<sup>20</sup> but in Tasmania the flag-bearer of hydro-industrialisation was the Labor Government, led by Eric Reece, and supported by the official Opposition. Feeling towards the Labor Party at this time is exemplified by this comment taken from a UTG newsletter:

Can Labor cope? The Liberal/industrialist philosophies obviously cannot and will not, and as far as the results of its philosophies are concerned, there is little difference between Labor and Liberal, so obviously Labor is also incapable of meeting the challenge thrown up by a changing world, with changing needs and different political requirements. And the United Tasmania Group is not, never was, and never will be a little brother to the corrupt Labor machine.<sup>21</sup>

In addition, the section of the electorate amenable to conversion to the environmental paradigm appears to be fairly small. Studies of environmental groups have shown that members of environmental groups tend to come from the social strata characterised by

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17. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.11

18. Ibid

19. UTG Newsletter, June, 1976

20. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania", p.3

21. UTG Newsletter, April, 1976

"particular age groups, high educational achievement, professional occupations, high social mobility and concern for the realisation of non-economic values."<sup>22</sup> Evidence of the membership of the UTG correlates with these findings.<sup>23</sup>

Environmental groups have often been criticised that their values are unrepresentative of working-class interests because their approach is often seen to be hostile to growth and indifferent to the needs of working people.<sup>24</sup> Evidence suggests that in Tasmania the UTG was perceived as being indifferent to the material aspirations of working people and was charged with being anti-growth and idealistic.<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Jones explained the attitude of the general electorate well when he said:

"Politicians hate idealists. They don't like people like me - intellectuals who seem to be working for ideals ... (They say) it's all very well for an academic to have a public conscience - academics have tenure, an assured job, and a good salary, and are in a position to query society."<sup>26</sup>

Compounded with the party's poor public image was the narrow ideological appeal of the party to the electorate. Gouldner<sup>27</sup> suggests that environmentalist support is almost exclusively drawn from that sector which he has called the "humanistic intelligensia" - tertiary educated, urban, relatively affluent, professional, and employed in those parts of the public sector not engaged in the provision of the production infrastructure.<sup>28</sup> With the limitations and dangers of over-interpreting electoral data in mind, evidence of UTG

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22. Holloway, "The Social Composition of the Environment Movement in Australia."  
See also Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics and Dunlap and Van Liere "Commitment to the Dominant Social Paradigm and Concern for Environmental Quality".
  23. Personal communication with UTG members, Geoff Holloway, Chris Harries, Geoff Parr, Chris Cowles, Richard Friend, Bob Brown, Bob Graham, and Helen Gee
  24. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, p.10
  25. Personal communication with Bob Brown and Hugh Dell. This opinion was also reflected in Southwell, Mountains of Paradise
  26. Jones, "The Pedder Tragedy", in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.59
  27. A. W. Gouldner, The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Middle Class, (London : Macmillan, 1979)
  28. Haward and Hay's interpretation of Gouldner

electoral data suggests that the UTG drew the majority of its support from areas with a high concentration of "humanistic intelligensia".

Examination of the UTG vote reveals a predominantly urban vote.<sup>29</sup> In Denison (an urban electorate), the UTG was the most successful. Analyses of the electoral basis of environmentalists in West Germany has shown Die Grunen's greatest support in the larger, mostly university, cities, and from the "new middle class", usually employed in the "non productive white collar sections of the economy and the state bureaucracy where there is little contact with the daily problems of conflict in industries."<sup>30</sup> The electorate of Denison is in a university city with 36.4 per cent of its labour force employed in the government sector.<sup>31</sup> This sector is concentrated in the Sandy Bay, Tarooma, Mount Nelson and New Town sub-divisions, while the Moonah sub-division is characterised by a high proportion of blue collar workers.<sup>32</sup> The UTG gained up to 12.5 per cent of the vote in the sub-divisions with a high concentration of government workers and only 3.12 per cent of the vote in the Moonah sub-division.<sup>33</sup> This data suggests that the areas from which the UTG gained its greatest support correlate with the evidence which suggests that environmentalist support is almost exclusively drawn from the "humanistic intelligensia".

Haward and Hay comment that the geographical concentration of this sector "makes for an electoral impact far in excess of what would be the case if support existed at the same level but was dispersed."<sup>34</sup> Clearly the UTG benefited from the geographical concentration of

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29. See Appendix 5. When separating urban and rural areas, subdivisions exceeding 8,000 people were classed as urban, whilst those with less than 8,000 were classed as rural

30. F. Muller-Rommel, "Social Movements and the Greens", *European Journal of Political Research*, 13, 1985, pp.53-67

31. T. Lee, *Hobart: A Social Atlas* (Canberra: Division of National Mapping and the Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1984) p.16

32. Ibid. Lee's figures are based on the 1981 census but he points out that a comparison of the data with that of 1976 reveals few substantive differences in the broad distributional pattern of workers.

33. Source: The Electoral Department

34. Haward and Hay, "Tasmania's Greening: Eco-Politics and the Electorate", p.13



tertiary educated and government sector employees in the urban electorate of Denison. Electoral figures show that UTG support not only decreases with rurality but is concentrated in the southern half of the state. The figures also indicate that this trend has continued, as the 1986 environmental vote is also concentrated in the Denison and Franklin electorates (see Appendix 5). The UTG voting figures correspond with Haward and Hay's observation that if "green values have little attraction to either the conspicuously affluent or the traditional working class, the section of the community amenable to conversion would seem to be fairly small."<sup>35</sup>

The UTG was not only handicapped by its limited electoral appeal and potential support base but also had limited resources available to fight quick and successive elections. The key activity of a political party is contesting elections<sup>36</sup> and since the UTG contested, on average, an election every six months it was continually directing its limited resources to this end. Small parties find it difficult to survive without a reasonably secure membership and financial resources and if an appeal is not sufficiently broad to attract extensive support (which the environmental paradigm failed to do). Consequently they always tend to be "an election away from political disaster."<sup>37</sup>

Elections are important for new political parties because they are the primary focus by which they can gain attention. The unrelentless activity directed towards this activity placed enormous strains on the party.<sup>38</sup> The decision to continue as a political party, even when the likelihood of electoral success was small, was to "offer an alternative to disillusionment with the major parties"<sup>39</sup> and the need to convince governments that environmental principles can be integrated into every facet of government policy making.<sup>40</sup>

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35. Ibid, p.2

36. Jaensch, The Australian Party System, p.14

37. J. Summers, A. Parkin, and D. Woodward (eds.), Government Politics and Power in Australia: An Introductory Reader, (Melbourne : Longman Cheshire, p.182)

38. Personal communication with Geoff Holloway

39. UTG Newsletter, March, 1977

40. Ibid

The UTG faced enormous difficulties in attracting willing and suitable candidates. The official policy of the UTG, in accord with their concern for the social and physical environment, was to select candidates "not because their names are right, nor because they can afford to finance their own campaign, but those who have a good record in the fields of ecology and conservation."<sup>41</sup> This policy was problematic because many potentially suitable candidates were not willing to nominate and the UTG was constantly faced with an oncoming election and few candidates.<sup>42</sup> Consequently many of those who stood for election were cajoled into doing so. In fact "we often wondered what we would do if we got in."<sup>43</sup> This attitude reflects the desire of the UTG to politicise environmentalism but also the political inexperience of UTG activists. The UTG had a broad policy platform but it was never decided how it would vote on certain issues if it held the balance of power. The party continued to fight elections because "it recognised the political medium as the most potent catalyst for change"<sup>44</sup> but after 1976 often with little hope of electoral success.

Disillusionment set in after the UTG contested the House of Assembly election in 1976. The main plank of this campaign was against the proposed closure of the Mount Nelson College of Advanced Education. Of the seven candidates nominated in the Denison electorate, three were employed at the Mount Nelson campus.<sup>45</sup> The party was confident that with the enfranchisement of eighteen-year-olds and the support of the student protest vote, one UTG candidate would be elected.<sup>46</sup> But these expectations were shattered when the UTG polled only 5.6 per cent of first preferences. The UTG refused to allocate preferences, in marked contrast with a more pragmatic minority parties such as the Democratic Labor Party or the Australia Party.<sup>47</sup>

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41. Extract from letter in the possession of the writer

42. Personal communication with Geoff Holloway

43. Personal communication with UTG candidate

44. UTG Newsletter, May, 1976

45. Bill Hickson, Trish Armstrong and Ria Ikin

46. Thomson, Bob Brown of the Franklin River, p.42

47. Starr, Richmond, and Maddox, Political Parties in Australia, p.320

There are many common factors which work against the survival of small parties.

Mayer<sup>48</sup> notes how the cumulative effect of these barriers can be formidable. A party's major resource is its membership. Thus, they require a rare degree of sacrifice which must be maintained if the party is to continue. Members are required to continually give of their time and effort and marginal supporters often find the party too demanding of them.<sup>49</sup> In the case of the UTG it had to contest continual elections on a shoestring budget. It did not have any financial support from outside interests and was dependent upon membership subscriptions which, due to the size of the party, was not large. Consequently members were continually giving their time and energy which many found disillusioning given the low expectation of success in the party's latter years.

The disaffected Labor and, to a lesser extent, Liberal supporters whom the party had attracted in its early years over the issue of Lake Pedder soon defected, leaving what some have described as "vague idealists."<sup>50</sup> As noted earlier, many early UTG members were not politically ambitious for themselves. Paradoxically these people were motivated by their disillusionment with the political process in Tasmania but felt they had no alternative but to seek political power themselves in order to effect change. Thus, it was only the committed who could maintain, over a period of time, this political motivation. Many of the remaining members had no previous political experience and soon realised the need to develop a strategic plan. The UTG was fortunate because within its membership it had a diversity of talent, including students, photographers, artists and academics whose expertise lay in the disciplines of life sciences (which accounts for the scientific nature of UTG policy) who were able to use their skills to produce highly explicit informative campaign material. These dedicated members spent many hours producing submissions for governments, preparing media releases and letterboxing electorates. Davis notes that it is this "blend of experience and idealism"<sup>51</sup> which is the strength of the environmental

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48. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism"

49. Ibid, p.350

50. Personal communication with Hugh Dell

51. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.86



movement; but, despite the enthusiasm and dedication of the committed core countervailing factors worked against the party's survival.

This is illustrated in Katharine West's discussion of the Australian Democrats which draws attention to the need for a strong electoral and membership base for new parties.<sup>52</sup> The demands made on active party involvement by the UTG's members' time and effort, coupled with the return of disaffected members to their old voting allegiances, left the party with a small but committed membership. After the 1972 election the only hope of saving Lake Pedder lay with the intervention of the Federal Government and those who were dedicated to the saving of the Lake worked tirelessly within the UTG and LPAC.

Momentum was maintained as the conflict continued but once the Lake was lost, many of these activists lost their sense of purpose.<sup>53</sup>

Only those who held sufficient anger and determination continued the struggle. They were the cadres who kept the issue of conservation on the political agenda. Embittered and disillusioned by the flooding of Lake Pedder and determined to keep environmental issues alive, these dedicated people turned their focus to the saving of the South West. For many supporters of the UTG the Lake Pedder issue was "resolved" once the Lake was flooded. The loss of support for the UTG may conform to Downs<sup>54</sup> argument for a systematic "issue attention cycle" at work in society, whereby successive problems come to public attention, remain there for a while and then gradually fade into the background. The cycle begins when a dramatic event, such as the issue of Lake Pedder, makes the general public aware of the existence of a problem, which may have gone unnoticed for some time. Initially there is a public outcry, then enthusiasm about solving the perceived problem.

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52. West, "From Movement to Party : The N.C.P. and the Australian Democrats"

53. Personal communication with Kevin Kiernan, active member of the LPAC and founder of SWTAC

54. Anthony Downs, "Up and Down with Ecology - The Issue Attention Cycle", Public Interest, 28, 1972, pp38-50



However, public interest declines when the difficulties of solving the problem are realised, or as new issues arise. Downs suggested that environmental concern would suffer the same decline as other issues arose.

Downs suggests that shifts in attention are caused by media fashions and the fickleness of public interest. The UTG was determined that the issue of conservation would remain alive and politically salient. As mentioned, many of those who had fought over the Lake Pedder issue fell by the wayside but the "diehards", the committed cadres, were determined that concern for the environment and the related quality of life issues would not suffer decline. These people were also the main actors in pressure group activity within the environmental movement. The chairman of SWTAC, Kevin Kiernan, was an original UTG member, the secretary of the former LPAC, and the first Director of TWS. The full-time state secretary of UTG from 1974 to 1977, Geoff Holloway, was a key organiser in the SWTAC and in the founding of TWS.

The SWTAC was a single-issue group which campaigned for the establishment of the whole of South West Tasmania as a National Park. This group commanded considerable public attention by extensive use of the media (despite the conservative nature of the Tasmanian media) and campaigned relentlessly with voluminous press releases. Consequently this group could be maintained by a core of two or three members while the demands on the ordinary membership were minimal. After the active participation of the UTG and the continual poor electoral performance, the minimal demands and the immediacy of the SWTAC's goals became very appealing. In short, the lack of success was to be a fundamental problem for the party when dedicated activists turned their energy to short-term tangible goals rather than the taxing, unrewarding demands of a political party directed towards broader issues. Feher and Heller<sup>55</sup> explain how social movements, unlike political parties, do not seek to dominate their followers' time and energies. Unlike

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55. F. Feher and A. Heller, "From Red to Green", *Telos*, 1984, p.36

political parties, social movements are not demanding and "to actively accept the goals of the movement is identical with joining it."<sup>56</sup>

To belong to a social movement requires only a moral commitment but a political party requires human resources and a binding discipline. As opposed to parties, social movements like the environmental movement do not require high level organisation, and are not bound by time-consuming procedures of internal organisation. Most importantly social movements are not institutionalised and "neither their political success nor their failure are easily measurable in quantitative terms."<sup>57</sup>

Obviously the demands of belonging to a political party as opposed to the moral commitment and inactivity required by the social movement were disincentives. The vitality and immediacy of the SWTAC directly resulted in the weakening of UTG support. Feher and Heller discuss how "a social movement which shifts its natural space in the public sphere towards the parliamentary benches will sooner or later become either a disfunctional party or a defunct movement."<sup>58</sup> In the UTG's case, it was a disfunctional party.

The announcement of the boundary extension of the South West National Park virtually eclipsed the UTG as a political party. Environmentalist activists realised that a new strategic mechanism with a broad base was needed if they were to achieve their aims. The extension announced of the South West National Park was only one third of that demanded by the SWTAC and signalled the need for a new approach. The direct political approach which the UTG had taken had not been obviously successful, and the indirect and 'media-bashing' approach taken by the SWTAC had succeeded only in gaining one third of its demands. The formation of the TWS in 1976 was a direct result of the decision by the

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56. Ibid

57. B. Neddelmann, "New Political Movements and Changes in Processes of Intermediation", Colloquium, 1985, p.1039

58. Feher and Heller, "From Red to Green", p.37

SWTAC (all of whom were UTG members) to change tactics. The rise of TWS and expectations of success eroded the base of the UTG and left the party with a skeletal organisation.

The literature, known as "social movement theory" can help explain the decline of the UTG. McCarthy and Zald argue that "perceived lack of success in goal accomplishment by a SMO (social movement organisation) may lead an individual to switch to SMOs with alternative strategies, or, to the extent that products are substitutable, to switch to those with other target goals."<sup>59</sup> The pressure groups that succeed are those best able to mobilise resources.<sup>60</sup> The party had not been able to maintain a support base because it could not mobilise resources. Therefore TWS and its alternative strategy was preferable. Experience of SWTAC had shown that Downs' issue attraction cycle ignores the potential of interest group dynamics in the system. The very fact that environmental concern has developed as a mass movement and the fact that environmental issues have achieved ascendancy on the Tasmanian political agenda is evidence that public opinion is not as undependable as Downs' issue attention cycle suggests. Downs ignores the utilisation of the mass media which enables a pressure group to arouse public opinion.

The SWTAC was able to gain media coverage because of its sensationalist approach. In marked contrast the UTG had to be more refined and responsible in order to appeal as a viable alternative to the major parties. The party was generally perceived by the media as utopian. Mayer argues that this is a common problem for small parties because "the labels, fostered by many academics and the media, are easy to come by: small parties care negative and a failure."<sup>61</sup> The press, in basing its comments on the UTG's first state election result, was misleading. In fact two UTG candidates came reasonably close to election. Sam Lake claimed that in this election the UTG achieved in three weeks a degree

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59. McCarthy and Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements", p.1229

60. Ibid, p.1231

61. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism", p.345



of awareness in the State, that may in other circumstances have taken years. The Adelaide Advertiser stated:

"That this group was not conspicuously successful in winning seats at its initial bid was perhaps less remarkable than the appearance for the first time in Australia of a conservation group in the forefront of politics."<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, editorial comment in local press was quite unsympathetic. The Advocate stated:

"... there will be those who feel that the Lake Pedder issue should now be decently buried with the UTG's hopes and aspirations."<sup>63</sup>

Mayer argues that governments have access to the media by virtue of their position but small parties have no sanctions against media to enable them to gain public support. Lowe and Goyder<sup>64</sup> comment on the necessity of a good relationship with the media if a group is to generate support. The SWTAC received media coverage because it aroused public interest, but was non-partisan. Once the notion of direct electoral involvement is mentioned the media in Tasmania immediately defended the two-party system. The UTG claimed it was discriminated against in the press and this was a constant source of frustration and resentment.<sup>65</sup> The party claimed the press would publish only "the conservation component of any statement we put out - to demonstrate the validity of their claims that the United Tasmania Group was a one-issue mob."<sup>66</sup> Environmental issues are eminently newsworthy but the Tasmanian press adopted a strong moralistic orientation which later environmentalists have labelled the "profits of doom" approach.<sup>67</sup>

The original lack of success has been attributed by some to the failure of the traditional conservation organisations to support the party in elections. As Dr. Jones said, "a lot of

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62. Adelaide Advertiser, April 24, 1972

63. Advocate, April 24, 1972

64. Lowe and Goyder, "Environmental Groups in Politics", p.76

65. Personal communication with Bob Brown

66. Jones in Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.56

67. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics

conservationists didn't vote for us, if they had it would have made a hell of a difference."<sup>68</sup> In the early 1970's a larger schism existed between the LPAC and the established groups because of the direct activist approach being taken by the UTG. The decision to directly intervene by way of contesting elections was frowned upon by those who argued that environmental issues could be effectively dealt with in the arena of policy debate within the two major parties. Sam Lake, representing the TCT, succinctly describes the situation which existed in the early 1970s whereby

a significant proportion of Tasmanian conservationists are loathe to indulge in political means to achieve environmental ends. This tendency has led to the somewhat unfortunate situation whereby both of the major political parties view the UTG as being the political wing of the conservation movement.<sup>69</sup>

This chapter has argued that the demise of the UTG can be directly attributed to its electoral performance. Had the party been successful its future may have been quite different. But the narrow appeal base, the failure to secure more support from the traditional conservation organisations and the campaigning demands made on a committed core were all contributing factors to its lack of electoral success. A political party needs a base in order to survive and for many reasons the UTG was not able to secure this base. Ironically, the distinguishing feature of political parties, namely contesting elections, was fundamental to the demise of the UTG. The lack of suitable candidates, the unsparing call on time and energy, and the lack of instrumental rewards were all disincentives to the rigours of political party activity. The appeal of the less demanding pressure group activity and the possibility of realising more immediate goals led to the attraction of the SWTAC and TWS and the subsequent demise of the UTG.

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68. Jones in Green, *Battle for the Franklin*, p.55

69. P. S. Lake, "The Nature Conservation Movement in Tasmania", in Proceedings of the first National Conservation Study Conference, Canberra, November, 1973

## CHAPTER 4

This chapter will demonstrate that the contribution of the UTG to the Tasmanian political system cannot be measured solely in terms of its limited electoral success nor by its relatively short tenure as an active organisation. Rather, any attempt at assessing the UTG's achievements must take account of the party's political impact and its legacy to the environmental movement.

The UTG provided the first serious challenge to the orthodoxy that had governed Tasmanian politics since the early 1930s. At the outset the UTG fostered and promoted a range of alternative policies to those supported by the major parties. However, the contribution of the party to the fledgling conservation-environmental movement was perhaps its major achievement. The party provided the vehicle through which environmental values were presented to the Tasmanian electorate and mobilised supporters around that value.

Insights from political theorists provide a framework for an evaluation of the UTG's contribution to the Tasmanian political system and the environmental movement. Mayer, Muller-Rommel and Kitschelt argue that it is imperative that distinctions are maintained between electoral success, durability and impact of the party. Any attempt to evaluate the success of the UTG presents difficulties but political analysts have contributed valuable criteria for assessing the success of minor parties and social movement organisations. For example, Kitschelt<sup>1</sup> in his analysis of the anti-nuclear movement provides four possible "types of success" which a social movement organisation can achieve. In the first instance an organisation can be said to be successful when it effects changes in the established policies. Again, it may change the procedures of the political process or, thirdly, change the political structure. [Also success can be achieved by changing the political agenda.]

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1. H. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in four Democracies", *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, 1986, pp.57-85

In accordance with Kitchelt's argument, Muller-Rommel<sup>2</sup> notes that new parties may, by raising and promoting particular issues, alter the agenda for the established parties as well as having an important potential effect on political alignments. Muller-Rommel explains the development of ecology parties (like the UTG) as a response to new issues unanswered by the major parties. Low prospects for success will not necessarily inhibit new party formation because some parties, knowing that winning parliamentary representation is unlikely, might seek competition with other parties for the attention that it would bring to some issue.<sup>3</sup>

Mayer<sup>4</sup> also describes the practice of assessing the achievements of minor parties in terms of electoral performance as an inadequate measure of their impact on the political system. He argues that major parties traditionally see politics in terms of winning and losing elections, and elections determining who will be in government or opposition. As minor parties cannot win government, major parties generally consider minor parties as futile and discuss them only by referring to their electoral performance, usually focusing on their allocation of preferences. Mayer calls for a change in perspective as minor party success or failure must be related to that party's objectives and actual role in the system. He argues that it is more appropriate to look at a minor party in relation to the changing social environment rather than electoral performance.

Mayer discusses what he considers to be a commonly held assumption, that social movements such as the environmental movement have small parties leading them. Mayer's theme is:

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2. F. Muller-Rommel, "The Greens in West Germany : Similar but Different." International Political Science Review, Vol.6, No.4, 1985, p.483
  3. Ibid
  4. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism"

"How movements seem to suck in and transform minor parties ... This makes the movement/small party - small party/movement relation one worthwhile indicator of overall changes in the political system; an indicator much less easily measured but also much more important than electoral performance.<sup>5</sup>

He adds that parties, pressure groups and social movements often overlap theoretically and empirically and are quite difficult to distinguish. However, with regard to structure, movements are much 'looser' and less formal than pressure groups and parties. The scope of policy of groups is narrow and specific, parties broader and movements the broadest. A final distinguishing feature is that pressure groups do not contest public office and government power but parties do and if movements do they usually compete through a party.<sup>6</sup> These distinguishing characteristics and the criteria for success described by Kitschelt<sup>7</sup> provide a useful means of analysing the relationship between the UTG, the political system and the environmental movement in Tasmania.

In the early 1970s the growth in environment groups and public concern about Lake Pedder and the South West of Tasmania signalled the rise of a social movement. Lowe and Goyder<sup>8</sup> note that the causal relationship between formal groups and social movements is not clear cut. The episodic development by the environmental movement in Tasmania is indicative of this notion. In the period 1967-1977 Tasmania experienced a growth in conservation and environment groups. For example, it has been estimated that there were eight conservation oriented organisations in Tasmania in 1967.<sup>9</sup> In 1978 Davis<sup>10</sup> identified fifty-eight groups. These groups revealed a diversity of values ranging from traditional to anti-sectarian with many having a strong recreational leaning.

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5. Ibid, p.346. Contrary to Mayer, minor parties and independents can have an important influence in Tasmania on the formation of government due to the Hare Clarke system and allocation of preferences. However, the UTG was not electorally successful
  6. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism", p.356
  7. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Parties: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Countries"
  8. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics, p.3
  9. Lake, "The Nature Conservation Movement in Tasmania"
  10. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement" p.119



A crucial consequence of the Lake Pedder controversy was the activation of previously unpoliticised sections of the population. Members of the movement included conservationists, radical reformers, scientists, and other professions. This movement closely paralleled the developing global environmental movement.<sup>11</sup> Two strategies were run in conjunction; first the LPAC with its pressure group activity, and secondly the UTG as its political wing.

By virtue of its role as a political party the UTG was much more formally structured than other environmental groups. This, together with the placing of candidates for election, were the only distinguishing features of the party from the movement. The party was inextricably linked with the Lake Pedder movement and as Mayer explains, movements are often more exciting, less controlled and unfettered than a political party. As party members try to run the movement they are influenced by the less restrictive aims of the movement and conflict between the party and the movement emerges.<sup>12</sup> Despite the decline of the UTG the movement grew and expanded rapidly due to the strength and resources it drew from the party. The party had directly fed and nurtured the movement to the detriment of itself. The party had become sceptical of its chances of electoral success and its members looked for various forms of direct action. The demands of election campaigning, the need for an organisational structure and the maintenance of party unity reduced meaningful participation in the UTG for many activists.

It is impossible to quantify the impact of the party on the environmental movement in Tasmania (which has been described as the most advanced in the world).<sup>13</sup> However, elements of its impact are identifiable using Kitschelt's classification of success. The

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11. J. A. Camilleri, "Ecological Politics : The Birth of a New Movement", *World Review*, Vol.17 (1), April, 1978, pp.45-59
  12. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism", p.357
  13. Hay, "Paradigm Conflict and Land-Use Politics : Lessons from Tasmania"

formation of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society was a direct result of the UTG. The TWS was formed in August 1976 when it was realised by active environmentalists that an all-encompassing organisation was needed; "one with a conservative 'upmarket' facade which retained SWTAC's radical policies such as biocentrism, claims for the whole of the South-west as a National Park, and ecological boundaries for National Parks."<sup>14</sup> At the inaugural meeting of the TWS, held on August 22, 1976, twenty-three people were present; nineteen were UTG members, the remaining four were members of the TCT.<sup>15</sup> The long-term objective of the TWS was to unite the conservation movement in Tasmania and to end the long-term bickering which had characterised the movement in Tasmania.<sup>16</sup>

The TWS has been a remarkably successful and significant factor in the Tasmanian environmental movement. Three years after its formation it had a membership exceeding that of the major political parties in Tasmania. By 1983 it had established seventy branches and, together with the ACF, comprised the National South West Coalition during the 1983 Federal election campaign.<sup>17</sup> It was regarded as a major influence on the ALP's policy towards the Franklin River issue. The strategic professionalism of the TWS is noted by Davis:

"From its inception the Wilderness Society displayed shrewd political sense, both in its careful choice of tactics and in the creation of a viable economic base and membership."<sup>18</sup>

The significance of the UTG in the formation and initial success of the TWS cannot be understated; not only were a significant majority of the TWS founding members UTG

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14. Holloway, *The Wilderness Society : The Transformation of a Social Movement Organisation*, p.5

15. Minutes of inaugural TWS meeting

16. Holloway, *The Wilderness Society : The Transformation of a Social Movement Organisation*, p.5

17. J. Warhurst, "Single Issue Politics : The Impact of Conservation Groups and the Anti-Abortion Groups", *Current Affairs Bulletin*, 60 (2), 1985, p.22

18. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.232

activists, but the party had provided key activists with their first experience in the political arena.

Some ten years after the formation of the UTG, one-third of those conservation activists operating in Tasmania had had their initial political socialisation in the UTG.<sup>19</sup> Hinton found that environmental activists in the 1980s were influenced by environmental issues and the political organisations which characterised political dissent in the 1960s and 1970s. The initial mobilisation provided by the UTG and the success of the TWS led to "the acceptance of environmental values and issues as legitimate political objectives within Australian society over at least the last ten years"<sup>20</sup> and effected a change in the Tasmanian political agenda by placing environmental issues in the forefront of politics.

Like many political parties, the UTG performed the function of interest aggregation and mobilisation. The party provided the formal means for mobilisation which Nettl<sup>21</sup> defines as the collective and structured expression of commitment and support within society. Mobilisation is the process whereby a group possessing common discontent or interest is transformed into a group capable of collective action and is the process by which a group transforms from a passive collection of individuals to active participants in public life.<sup>22</sup> Oberschall<sup>23</sup> argues that mobilisation is often based on recruitment from pre-existing groups which already possess a high level of common awareness and interpersonal ties. The importance of interpersonal networks for mobilisation is exemplified by Pinard's<sup>24</sup> studies in Canadian Politics. In a study of the rise of the Social Credit Party in Quebec,

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19. J. Hinton, "Ideology and Representation in Environmental Politics", M.E.S. Thesis, University of Tasmania, 1984

20. P. Tighe and R. Taplin, "Lessons from Recent Environmental Decisions : The Franklin Dam Case and Rain Forests in Queensland", paper presented at the 1985 Annual Conference of the Australasian Political Studies Association, p.31

21. J. B. Nettl, Political Mobilisation, (London : Faber and Faber, 1967), p.123

22. J. C. Jenkins, "Socio Political Movements", in S. Long (ed.) Handbook of Political Behaviour, (New York : Plenum Press, 1981), p.1124.

23. A. Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movements, (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice Hall, 1973), p.125

24. M. Pinard, The Rise of the Third Party, (Englewood Cliffs : Prentice Hall, 1971)



Pinard found that individuals who were socially integrated into community organisations, friendship networks, and had common interests, were far more likely to become mobilised because they were exposed to new ideas and translated their norms into political action.

The interpersonal network was an important factor in mobilising the environmental movement in Tasmania. Hinton's<sup>25</sup> study reveals the strong peer group attachment between activists in the environmental movement. Half of the respondents to Hinton's survey had been, or still were, members of Tasmania's two main bushwalking clubs and two-thirds were regular bushwalkers. A large proportion of the UTG membership was associated with outdoor recreation or hobby clubs which relied on the existence of natural or wilderness areas. As expected, many were involved in outdoor recreation clubs before their involvement in political activism.<sup>26</sup> Prior to the formation of the UTG, these people had expressed concern at the secretive or technocratic nature of decision-making. As Jenkins notes, co-optation of individuals towards collective action is enhanced if these individuals are already committed to social and/or political change.<sup>27</sup> The UTG provided the vehicle for interest articulation, highlighted by Nettl.<sup>28</sup> Once mobilized into collective action, UTG members, most of whom were politically inexperienced, realised the necessity of a strong organisational base. As Jenkins<sup>29</sup> claims, socio-political movements are generally initiated by or give rise to social movement organisations because of the need for formalised procedures for decision-making. As was the case with the UTG, Jenkins notes how such organisations normally function as the centre of mobilisation efforts.

An extension of the mobilisation of social movements is resource mobilisation theory developed by McCarthy and Zald.<sup>30</sup> Social movements have often been described in terms

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25. Hinton, "Ideology and Representation in Environmental Politics"

26. Personal communication with UTG members

27. Jenkins, "Socio Political Movements" in The Handbook of Political Behaviour

28. Nettl, Political Mobilisation, p.131

29. Jenkins, "Socio Political Movements", p.126

30. McCarthy and Zald, "Social Movement Organisations : Growth, Decay and Change." Social Forces, Vol.44, 1965/6, p.1218

of 'spontaneity' but resource mobilisation challenges this and emphasizes the continuity between movement and institutionalised action. McCarthy and Zald argue that social movements are an extension of institutional change and organise previously unorganised groups against institutional elites. Traditional explanations have argued that social movements are created by rapid and spontaneous social change, but resource mobilisation theory argues that movements form because of the availability of group resources, organisation and opportunities for collective action. McCarthy and Zald emphasise that while grievances are necessary for movement formation the major factor in the formation of social movement organisations is the availability of cadres and organising facilities.<sup>31</sup>

In support of the McCarthy-Zald theory Jeffrey Berry's<sup>32</sup> survey of public interest organisations found that the majority were formed by energetic cadres. Likewise Schofield<sup>33</sup> has traced the emergence of the environmental movement to concerned natural science and policy researchers who have redefined conservationist concerns in the light of ecological evidence. The UTG provided the initial resources which were crucial to the initiation and spread of collective action. From 1974 when Lake Pedder was flooded until August 1976 when the TWS was formed prior to the Franklin River campaign there was no burning environmental issue in Tasmania. During this period the UTG provided the organisational vehicle for collective action and stimulated members by a shared optimism that the party would one day be successful. In its continued attempt at mobilising opinion the party provided an ideological focus for people with a common value commitment and served to "maintain the faith" amongst members. The party added a political dimension which other environmental groups did not have. For example, instead of focusing on a single issue the UTG looked at controversial issues from a political or partisan

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31. Ibid

32. Jeffrey M. Berry, Lobbying for the People, (New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1977), pp.17-27

33. A. L. Schofield, R. J. Meier, R. J. Griffin, "Constructing a Social Problem", Social Problems, 27, 1979, pp.38-62



perspective<sup>34</sup> and maintained that the State's environmental and economic problems were directly related to the decision-making processes which the party sought to reform.<sup>35</sup>

During this two year period the UTG contested six elections. This activity increased political participation, provided the channel for interest articulation and the organised procedure for establishing the nature and means of articulation. Blondel<sup>36</sup> notes how organisation is necessary for interest articulation and that political parties can constitute the bases for institutionalising interests. It is apparent, as Jenkins<sup>37</sup> argues, that the major task in mobilisation is to generate solidarity and moral commitment to the movement. The mobilisation potential is greater when interpersonal networks are highly organised, when individuals are active in political organisations that support social change, are ideologically committed to change and available for participation.<sup>38</sup> The UTG provided all these factors for the mobilisation of the environmental movement in Tasmania.

The UTG's influence was not restricted to local issues. The party was also instrumental in the "carefully orchestrated coup" which replaced the established ACF executive through democratic elections.<sup>39</sup> The ACF had been established in 1965 as the first national conservation body concerned with the whole range of conservation issues. Due to the "palace revolution" of 1973 the ACF was transferred from "a conservative club to a lobby group more critical of government."<sup>40</sup> As a result the ACF today is no longer seen as lagging behind or as reluctant to fight the establishment and in recent years has developed quite radical policies on such controversial issues as woodchipping.<sup>41</sup> During the struggle

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34. Personal communication with Geoff Holloway

35. UTG Newsletters

36. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.62-63

37. Jenkins, "Resource Mobilisation Theory and the Study of Social Movements", Annual Review of Sociology, Vol.9, 1983, p.538

38. Jenkins, "Resource Mobilisation Theory and the Study of Social Movements"

39. Holloway, The Wilderness Society : The Transformation of a Social Movement Organisation, p.3

40. Green, Battle for the Franklin, p.51

41. H. Wootten, "The Future of the Conservation Movement", Habitat, Vol.13, No.3, June, 1985, p.25

over Lake Pedder, the UTG considered the ACF as part of the problem.<sup>42</sup> When the LPAC and UTG appealed to the ACF to publicly support their fight against Lake Pedder they were reticent. On examination the UTG discovered that the ACF councillors were "executives from ICI and top public servants from Victoria and university professors. So the ACF was run by people who were upper middle class, who had feet in other camps, who were very unlikely ever to have an activist view of conservation."<sup>43</sup> This explained why the membership of the ALP who were concerned with the saving of Lake Pedder could not get support from the ACF executive. At the 1973 ACF council elections and annual general meeting, chaired by ACF President, Prince Philip, five councillors were elected from Tasmania. This was the result of intensive lobbying and the introduction of seriatim voting by UTG members, and in particular Dr. Jones. As a result of this lobbying, the meeting was attended by 150 people whereas usually little more than a quorum normally attended and since 1973 the ACF has been much more active and effective in the movement.

An important factor in the success of both the TWS and ACF was the groups' non-partisanship. The UTG laid the groundwork for both these groups' later achievements and recognized that if the environmental movement was to succeed it had to gain the support of the traditional conservationists who had not supported the UTG because they felt the present two-party system could adequately deal with matters of environmental concern. The traditional conservationists believed:

"for environmental concern to be effectively incorporated in the decision-making processes, the environmental issues must be dragged into the arena of policy debate within the two major parties. The means to achieve this are manifold."<sup>44</sup>

Traditional conservationists in Tasmania were unwilling to depart from their traditional voting patterns because many perceived the UTG as a "utopian, single issue party."<sup>45</sup> In a

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42. Jones, in Green, *Battle for the Franklin*, p.61

43. Ibid

44. Lake, "The Nature Conservation Movement in Tasmania"

45. Personal Communication with Hugh Dell



state which had been traditionally governed by the Labor Party, apart from a brief interregnum with the Bethune Liberal government, any challenge to such institutionalised power was considered a challenge to legitimacy of the system and therefore undesirable.

Environmentalism was regarded as a single-issue by adherents of the dominant paradigm.<sup>46</sup> Therefore those who are sympathetic to environmentalism, but perceive it as a single issue rather than an alternative paradigm, maintain that matters of environmental concern can be dealt with in the pluralist political system. This attitude is exemplified by Hugh Stretton's<sup>47</sup> comments when he argues that ecoactivists:

"need to get into real politics rather than out of them; to talk about rich and poor, city and country, costs and distributions, prices and taxes, rather than about humanity at large."<sup>48</sup>

This opinion limited the electoral effectiveness of the UTG because people holding such opinions would not vote for an environmental party while they would support an environmental pressure group because such non-partisan activity did not affect their traditional voting patterns. For example, quite a few parliamentarians are members of the TWS.<sup>49</sup> The successful election of Independents who campaigned on an environmental platform is further evidence that many voters are unwilling to place their political faith in an environmental party but were concerned with environmental issues. Under the Hare Clark system with its multi-member constituencies a vote may be cast for an Independent, followed by a traditional partisan vote. Under this system such a vote is quite rational and has obviously won a lot of support. The UTG, as a matter of policy, refused to allocate preferences to another party, deliberately standing a full ticket in each electorate in order that the vote could be exhausted.

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46. Warhurst, "Single Issue Politics : The Impact of Conservation Groups and Anti-Abortion Groups"

47. Hugh Stretton, Capitalism, Socialism, and the Environment, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1976)

48. Ibid, p.14

49. Warhurst, "Single Issue Politics : Impact of Conservation Groups and Anti-Abortion Groups", p.23



A survey conducted by Der Spiegel in 1977 and quoted by Camilleri<sup>50</sup> has revealed that twelve per cent of the German population was willing in principle to work for a political party, while thirty-four per cent would join a citizen action group. Environmental interest group organisations cut across ideological divisions and therefore are more appealing and far more likely to amass support than a minor political party. Martin<sup>51</sup> argues that it is often assumed that a social movement of sufficient size and strength would enter electoral politics at some time. He adds that entering elections tends to polarise opinion on the environmental issue along party lines and often pressure groups can be more successful if they are active within the two party system.<sup>52</sup>

The TWS, by supporting Independent environmental candidates, coupled with the advantage of the Hare-Clark system, was able to avoid this conflict which would exist in other electoral systems. In addition, given the voting public's perception of the unlikelihood of UTG electoral success, trust in the two-party system and the consideration that the UTG was a single-issue party, it is possible that a pressure group would be more successful than a political party in the Tasmanian political climate.

However, the election of Independent environmental candidates in Tasmania is testimony to the political socialisation and mobilisation initially provided by the UTG to the environmental movement. Had the UTG not instigated the ACF reform nor provided the resource mobilisation for the TWS, the environmental movement in Tasmania would have been characterised by an intermittent, incoherent pattern of articulation as issues arose and subsided.

The effect of the UTG was not limited to the environmental movement but the whole

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50. Camilleri, "Ecological Politics : The Birth of a New Movement", p.48

51. Brian Martin, "Environmentalism and Elecoralism", The Ecologist, Vol.14, No.3, 1984, pp.110-116

52. Ibid

political system. Since 1973 subsequent governments have battled with environmentalists over highly emotional land-use conflict but have also adopted many UTG initiated policy proposals which Kitschelt<sup>53</sup> describes as a "type of success". The formation of the Department of the Environment was UTG policy but was introduced by the Labor Government. Although strongly opposed when suggested by the UTG, the Tasmanian Development Authority and the Small Business Advice Bureau have been established in recent years by parties that were critical in the 1970s of the UTG's "idealistic" policies.

By challenging the unquestioned tradition of hydro-industrialisation and technocratic decision-making, the emergence of the UTG marked a watershed in Tasmanian political history. Hydro-industrialisation had been considered by generations of Tasmanians as the economic and administrative orthodoxy of the Tasmanian development paradigm: "Only during their Lake Pedder campaign did environmentalists begin to raise substantial doubts in the public mind regarding the validity of the paradigm."<sup>54</sup> Considerable public concern was generated over the failure of government to entertain opinions contrary to their own, or to seek information outside the narrow, technical limits. For the first time in Tasmania the UTG questioned the closed decision-making of government in the political arena. Apart from highlighting the unsubstantiated power projections on dubious economics and direct intervention in electoral politics of the HEC, the critique of hydrotechnocracy, challenged the underlying premises of the HEC's unfettered authority. The UTG politicised the concern of these issues.

Politicisation involves placing an issue on the political agenda. Greene and Keating<sup>55</sup>

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53. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest : Anti Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies"

54. R. A. Herr and B. W. Davis, "The Tasmanian Parliament : Accountability and the Hydro-Electric Commission : The Franklin River Controversy" in J. R. Nethercote (ed.), Parliament and Bureaucracy, (Sydney : Hale and Iremonger, 1982), p.274

55. S. Greene and T. Keating, "Domestic Factors and Canadian-United States Fisheries Relations", Canadian Journal of Political Science, 13, 1980, p.731-750

consider that for an issue to be politicised it must contain at least one of the following characteristics; issues which were previously ignored or dealt with outside the political process are resolved through formal political machinery; politicisation may also be conceived as the level at which an issue is dealt with in the government hierarchy or politicisation may refer to the scope of public attention given to any one issue. When interests are able to include the "unorganised public" the issue is more likely to become a part of the political agenda.

The UTG had politicised environmental concern and questioned the tradition of hydro-industrialisation by gaining the attention of the general public. The Lake Pedder issue had evoked an environmental consciousness and created a political awareness in most instances without affecting basic political attitudes. Political socialisation is a continuous process<sup>56</sup> as established by later environmental groups. The raising of public awareness to the unquestioned Tasmanian tradition of hydro-industrialisation was manifest in the 1980s when the HEC was reprimanded for inadequate and inaccurate planning.<sup>57</sup> Blondel<sup>58</sup> describes parties as important instruments of political education and socialisation as they "shape the habits and attitudes of people toward government."<sup>59</sup> La Palombara and Weiner<sup>60</sup> add that while parties have always played a role in affecting the attitudes of their members and supporters, parties also play an important role effecting attitudinal change within a society. The UTG was instrumental in effecting the attitudinal change by many Tasmanians towards the HEC in Tasmania as displayed in the 1980s.

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56. Ball, Modern Politics and Government

57. Mercury, October 3, 1986

Examiner, October 3, 1986

58. Blondel, Comparative Government, p.94

59. Ibid

60. J. La Palombara and M. Weiner, Political Parties and Political Development (New Jersey : Princeton, 1966), p.424

However, Haward and Hay<sup>61</sup> argue that increased environmental awareness has been a two-edged sword because polarisation has cemented support for dominant paradigm values as "among those who are currently not supporters of environmentalist values, there may thus be little scope for much further conversion for Tasmania contains few people who do not hold fixed and forthright views about "environmentalism."<sup>62</sup> This is clearly illustrated by the formation of the "Keep Lake Pedder Flooded Committee" in the 1970s. In juxtaposition was the environmental epithet, "No More Lake Pedders". The UTG had evolved a consciousness which translated, especially in later years, to the questioning of the hitherto unchallenged dominance of the single most powerful force in the state, the HEC,<sup>63</sup> but on the other hand has also hardened dominant paradigm support in some areas.

Strong economic interests are formidable opponents to environmental groups. Generally environmental groups have less influence on governmental decision-making than the major economic interests because they have fewer political resources and lack their powerful sanctions.<sup>64</sup> However, public censure has proven an effective weapon for environmental groups in Tasmania despite the opposition of strong economic interests such as the HEC, the forest industries and the woodchipping contractors.

By dissemination of their concerns through the mass media, both national and state, environmentalists have effectively opposed recalcitrant governments and have won important concessions. As issues have proved popular the established parties have attempted to accommodate concern in their policies. This assimilation practice by the established parties reinforced in the minds of traditional conservationists that the

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61. Hayward and Hay, "Tasmania's Greening : Eco-Politics and the Electorate 1972-1986"

62. Ibid

63. Thompson, Power

64. Lowe and Goyder, Environmental Groups in Politics

major parties could adequately deal with environmental issues without direct intervention of a minor party. But governments would not have made concessions without pressure from the environmental movement.

The passing of the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970 and the Environment Protection Act 1972 in Tasmania were considered positive steps forward by traditional conservationists.<sup>65</sup> In 1972 the National Parks and Wildlife Service and the State Department of the Environment were established. A National Parks and Wildlife Advisory Council, representing academic, recreational and resource development interests was also established to advise and make recommendations to government. Dr. Jones, as spokesperson for the UTG, claimed these were "Cinderella acts" by the government to appease public concern.<sup>66</sup> Although not a UTG member, Sam Lake echoed the party's attitude with his comments in 1973:

It can be said that while the Tasmanian government has realised the need to soothe some of the people's environmental conscience, this conciliation has not been accompanied with a basic change in the government's views as to the future patterns of development for Tasmania.<sup>67</sup>

Kitschelt's<sup>68</sup> hypothesis on the relationship between political opportunity structures and the dynamics of social movements postulates that the choice of strategy for movement organisations is determined by the political system. These strategies include assimilative strategies which take the form of lobbying and petitioning government bodies and conversely, confrontational strategies which include what Muller and Opp<sup>69</sup> describe as acts of rebellious behaviour. If a confrontation exists between groups and institutionalised decision-makers, as occurred between the LPAC and the Government over Lake Pedder

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65. Lake, "The Nature Conservation Movement in Tasmania"

66. UTG Newsletter, June, 1973

67. Lake, "The Nature Conservation Movement in Tasmania"

68. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies."

69. Muller and Opp, "Rational Choice and Rebellious Collective Behaviour"

pressure for structural reform and a change in substantive policies is such that an alternative strategy to the assimilative actions will be taken. In Tasmania this alternative strategy led to the formation of an alternative political party.

The party had provided a recognisable common rationale for those concerned with environmental issues and the conditions for interest aggregation. As Claus Offe<sup>70</sup> pointed out:

the political public of a parliamentary democracy is primarily determined by the disputes of parties in parliaments, in the media and in elections. These institutions are the 'tribunes' on which themes and conflicts appear as 'political' ... the political form of a party could, under the conditions of a local structure of conflict, serve the purpose of bringing into relation with each other the thematically, regionally, socially isolated fields of conflict and bring out and make people aware of the rationality common to them.<sup>71</sup>

While subsequent governments have generally endorsed the traditional Tasmanian "development at all costs" ethos, the environmental movement has successfully questioned and challenged government policy. The campaign initiated by the UTG which resulted in environmental issues being placed on the head of the political agenda has characterised the Tasmanian political system in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The aggressive strategy and the sophisticated tactics adopted by the environmental movement have resulted in all but the conservative Legislative Council questioning "where Tasmania was headed."<sup>72</sup> The TWS and its supporters conducted one of the largest street marches ever held in Tasmania, with 6,000 to 10,000 persons taking part. Rallies were also conducted in other states at the same time. This was "an indication that the

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70. Claus Offe in Elim Papadakas, The Green Movement in West Germany (London : St. Martin's Press, 1984) p.75

71. Ibid

72. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.246

conservation cause was united, enjoyed good community support, and was bringing pressure to bear on government."<sup>73</sup> Davis claims that the environmentalists' victory in the Franklin-Lower Gordon campaign resulted from three factors: charismatic leadership, prudent tactics and the ability to successfully challenge the HEC's estimates, as well as the improved cohesiveness of groups within the environmental movement.<sup>74</sup> The influence of the UTG was fundamental to each of these three factors. The party provided the initial politicisation of Dr. Brown, who made his political debut in 1975 when he stood as a UTG candidate in the Senate election of that year. It evoked the public awareness and expertise to question and challenge the HEC, and was effective in "radicalising" the ACF, discussed earlier, which resulted in the improved cohesiveness of the environmental movement.

By distinguishing electoral success and durability from the effectiveness or impact of a party, the significance of the UTG on the Tasmanian political system and national environmental movement is apparent. If the party is linked to the broader social processes as Mayer<sup>75</sup> suggests, the impact of the UTG is consequential to the present highly developed and successful environmental movement. The evaluation of success as a measure of electoral performance and durability favours, as Mayer claims, the perspective of major parties. Minor parties are to be measured for their success from a different perspective and it is their effectiveness in highlighting new or old issues from a different ideological viewpoint. From this perspective the UTG as a minor State party is evaluated and clearly its contribution to the environment movement, as has been argued, is critical to the continuing impact of the movement on both the State and national scenes.

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73. Ibid, p.240

74. Davis, "Characteristics and Influence of the Australian Conservation Movement", p.246

75. Mayer, "Big Party Chauvinism and Minor Party Romanticism"

The UTG had an enduring value for environmentalists as it provided their initial political socialisation, education and mobilisation resource, as well as providing a means of interest, aggregation and articulation during the emergence of the movement. The present advanced environment movement has pursued UTG concerns and in many instances has been successful to the point whereby Tasmania has one of the most progressive and politically advanced environmental movements in the world.



## CONCLUSION

"In twenty years time people will look back and say, that's where it all started."<sup>1</sup>

The UTG played an important role in the Tasmanian political system and provided enduring values for the future success of the environmental movement. Despite its limited electoral success the party evoked an environmental consciousness in Tasmania as reflected by the position of environmental issues at the head of the political agenda and the election in the 1980s of candidates standing on environmental platforms.

Environmental issues have had a considerable impact on Tasmanian politics since the party contested its first election. The distinctiveness of the party arose out of the appearance for the first time of an environmental group in the forefront of politics. During its lifetime the party provided the initial socialisation and mobilisation of eco-activists who:

If for no other reason must be congratulated on attempts to make Tasmanian government open, accountable and conscious of its responsibility to future generations as well as to the community it purports to serve.<sup>2</sup>

The party was formed due to the failure of concerned citizens to gain access to, or response from, the decision-making processes by pressure group activity. Direct political action through the placing of candidates for election was considered the only alternative available to challenge the power of the Government to exclude public participation in the decision-making processes. The UTG aimed at making Tasmanian governments more open, accountable and conscious of their responsibilities by adopting an ecologically based approach to policy formulation and implementation.

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1. Togatus, Vol.3, No.7, 1972

2. Davis, "The Struggle for South West Tasmania" in Scott Interest Groups and Public Policy, p.166

The emergence of the UTG coincided with the growth of a relatively new force in global politics, identified as the environmental movement. Like other environmental groups, the values espoused by the party had their origins in experience with government environment policies and were a reaction to economic growth and the technological advance in modern industrial society. The party emphasised the importance of the social and non-material aspects of the quality of life from an ecological perspective. It based its concern on the inherent problems for humanity and its relationship with the environment when there was uncontrolled population growth, resource consumption and technological development. The experiences of UTG members with the bureaucratic organisational structure and the established parties highlighted the need for reform if the balance between humanity and the environment was to be maintained.

The membership of the party strongly correlated with the socio-cultural characteristics of other environmental groups. Evidence has shown that the ideological composition and the value orientation of UTG members was similar to those of the followers of the global environmental movement. The party provided a vehicle for mobilising a new environmental paradigm which challenged for the first time the entrenched dominant development paradigm in Tasmania. Opposition to this dominant world view challenged the philosophy which underlies such an ideology and questions the rationality of materialistic values from a different perspective. The comprehensive policy program based on an ecological platform related to global principles but was applicable to local issues.

The growth in overseas environmental literature and the relative success of the party in the first election reaffirmed the party's concerns. In its struggle to mobilise an environmental consciousness the party set up a branch based structure to ensure maximum opportunity for mobilisation and participation. The party realised that the successful promotion of environmental values was dependent upon strong organisation. However, the organisation was weakened when members became disenchanted with the party's electoral performance.

The contesting of elections placed considerable demands on members' time and energy and members became caught up in the excitement and flexibility of pressure group activity which appeared to have a greater likelihood of immediate success. The party was further disadvantaged by the reluctance of the traditional conservationists to support the party at the polls. This reflected the problems a new political party encounters when it attempts to establish a base of support which it needs to survive. The traditional conservationists were distrustful of the UTG's political activity and preferred to attempt to influence government policy through usual pressure group activity.

Paradoxically, the demise of the party occurred as the environmental movement was gaining momentum. This irony can be explained by an examination of the party's activity during 1972 to 1976. The contesting of nine elections in that period and the failure to gain success in any of those elections resulted in a weakening of the organisational structure. As members began to transfer their allegiance to the burgeoning environmental groups which did not require the demands of human resources or the binding discipline, the party was left with a committed cadre.

The realisation by this cadre that the party had little chance of electoral success while it could not attract sufficient realignment and its support base was eroding, resulted in its decision to adopt a different strategy to activate environmental concern. The formation of the TWS by committed UTG members attracted a broader base of support because it did not have the handicaps or restraints of a political party, and developed into a well organised and successful environmental pressure group. The TWS captured the support of the traditional conservationists and those who could support pressure group activity without departing from their traditional voting patterns.

The evocation of an environmental consciousness by the UTG has had important implications for the Tasmanian political system. Since the 1970s successive governments

have been forced by pressure groups to wrestle with environmental issues and public concern has placed such issues at the head of the political agenda. The resource mobilisation and experience provided by the UTG resulted in the proficient strategies adopted by environmental activists and the success of the movement.

The UTG was significant in that it challenged the orthodoxy which characterised the policies of both the Tasmanian political parties. The UTG emphasised the need for reform in planning, the decision-making processes and increased public participation in Tasmanian politics. While the UTG did not realise these reforms during its lifetime there has been considerable advancement of such ideas in the 1980s. The election of environmental candidates to the House of Assembly, the growth of the environmental movement and, finally, the public questioning of the HEC's actions and its gradually declining credibility can all be seen to have derived from the promotion of alternative policies and values by the UTG in the early 1970s.



## APPENDIX 1

### CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

- 1915 - Scenery Preservation Act
- 1916 - Mt. Field National Park proclaimed
- 1919 - Animals and Birds Protection Act
- 1955 - Lake Pedder National Park proclaimed
- 1962 - South West Committee formed (by Tasmanian organisations concerned with conservation and outdoor recreation)
- 1963 - Tasmanian Government applies for Federal funds for the Gordon Road
- 1965 - Same government announces "there would be some modification to Lake Pedder"
- 1967 - Hydro-Electric Commission report submitted to State Government
  - Save Lake Pedder National Park Committee formed
- 1968 - South West National Park proclaimed
  - Tasmanian Conservation Trust (TCT) founded
- 1969 - State Labor Government defeated
- 1971 - Lake Pedder Action Committee founded
  - National Parks and Wildlife service formed under Liberal Government
- 1972 - United Tasmania Group founded (world's first conservation based political party)
  - Australian Conservation Foundation coup (ACF founded in 1965)
  - State Liberal Government collapses - State elections - ALP resumes power
- 1974 - South West map accepted by conservation organisations (redefinition of boundaries)
  - South West Tasmania Action Committee founded (October)
- 1976 - Tasmanian Wilderness Society founded
- 1983 - Dr. Norm Sanders resigns from Parliament and is replaced by Dr. Bob Brown, Director of the Tasmanian Wilderness Society.
- 1986 - Re-election of Dr. Bob Brown to House of Assembly
  - Election of Dr. Gerry Bates, environmental Independent candidate to House of Assembly

ADVERTISEMENT.

April 21, 1972

## Open Letter to the Premier and all Members of Parliament

We request that the Government of Tasmania establish a Royal Commission,

to examine the activities of the Hydro-Electric Commission during the State election as those activities relate to the officially accepted election issue of Lake Pedder;

to examine the expenditure of public moneys by the Hydro-Electric Commission for the purposes of influencing an election result;

to examine the specific threat issued by the Commissioner, on the eve of the election, in a paid advertisement, to increase the electors' tariffs should they support the advertised platform of the UTG on Lake Pedder.

The UTG endeavoured to fight this election from the position of a previously unknown group with a minimum of funds against the two major established parties. This we undertook with the knowledge of the odds against us. What we did not anticipate was the entry into the election debate of the most powerful Government Commission in this State with resources far greater than both the Labor and Liberal parties.

Lake Pedder was recognised by the Electoral Office as an election issue, yet before UTG's first small advertisement appeared, the HEC had spent more money in promoting the Govern-

ment's side of the issue than we were able to afford in our entire Press campaign. Further, they contrived to spend even greater sums in support of the Government's Pedder policy. The injustice can be seen when it is realised that the major Parties could virtually ignore our main issue in their advertising campaign as the HEC handled the matter for them.

We were fighting an advertising campaign paid for by the public. This weight of money was only available to the Commission through taxation and electricity tariffs. Finally, on the very eve of the election, when avenues for challenge were closed to us, the Commission promised the electors increased tariffs if our policies on Lake Pedder were accepted.

The Commissioner (Sir Allan Knight) has a privileged position. He has used the full weight of that privilege to influence the voting public on a recognised election issue.

Our democratic process has been outraged.

It has been aimed at the minority group in this election.

But let the warning be clear to all Tasmanians and let all those who believe in our system of democracy, no matter what their political allegiance, join us in this demand for justice.

Yours respectfully,

**THE UNITED TASMANIA GROUP**

(Authorised by Dr R. Jones, 6 Greculands Ave, Sandy Bay.)

# A NEW ETHIC

We, citizens of Tasmania and  
members of the United Tasmania Group,

UNITED in a global movement for survival;

CONCERNED for the dignity of man and the value of his cultural heritage while rejecting any view of man which gives him the right to exploit all of nature;

MOVED by the need for a new ethic which unites man with nature to prevent the collapse of the life support systems of the earth;

REJECTING all exclusive ideological and pragmatic views of society as partial and divisive;

CONDEMNING the misuse of power for individual or group prominence based on aggression against man or nature;

SHUNNING the acquisition and display of individual wealth as an expression of greed for status or power;

WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING that Tasmania is uniquely favoured with natural resources, climate, form, and beauty;

UNDERTAKE to live our private and communal lives in such a way that we maintain Tasmania's form and beauty for our own enjoyment and for the enjoyment of our children through unlimited future generations;

UNDERTAKE to create aesthetic harmony between our human structures and the natural landscape where our individual and communal needs demand modification to the natural environment;

UNDERTAKE to regulate our individual and communal needs for resources, both living and non-living, while preventing the wholesale extraction of our non-replenishable resources for the satisfaction of the desire for profit;

UNDERTAKE to husband and cherish Tasmania's living resources so that we do minimum damage to the web of life of which we are part while preventing the extinction or serious depletion of any form of life by our individual group, or communal actions;

And we shall

CREATE new institutions so that all who wish may participate in making law and decisions at all levels concerning the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the community;

PROVIDE institutions for the peaceful and unimpeded evolution of the community and for the maintenance of justice and equal opportunity for all people;

CHANGE our society and our culture to prevent a tyranny of rationality, at the expense of values, by which we

may lose the unique adaptability of our species for meeting cultural and environmental change;

PREVENT alienation of people in their social and work roles and functions while making scientific, technical, and vocational knowledge and practice free and open to all;

CREATE a new community in which men and women shall be valued for their personal skills, for the material and non-material worth of these skills to groups and the whole community, for their service to the community, and for their non-competitive achievement in all aspects of life;

LIVE as equal members of our society to maintain a community governed by rational, non-sectional law;

PRESERVE specific areas of private and group life where private thought, speech, and action is of individual or group importance and does not interfere unreasonably with others;

AND VEST our individual and communal rights in a parliament of representatives chosen by all to enforce our law for as long as that power is not used unfairly to advantage or disadvantage any individual or group in the community.



## INTRODUCTION

Tasmania is in a crisis due to gross over-emphasis on hydro-economics. Population has declined and Tasmania share of the workforce has not increased. Employment opportunities for the State's youth are not improving. UTG declares that this grim position is accelerating towards a needless social disaster. UTG urges you not to be lulled into a sense of false security threatening your human dignity, freedom, and standard of living. It is imperative that the State embarks on a new-life economy. UTG offers the following points for your consideration



# The United Tasmania Group Economic Program

Please note that this program is only a portion of the total UTG political policy.

## 1. Exposure of the Present Economic State

UTG will move to bring before the public the true state of the economy. The object will be to disclose the gravity of the present dangerous instability, and the steps that must be taken to restore confidence in political administration.

## 2. Industrial Development & Employment

UTG is sharply aware that employment will continue to decline unless existing industry is supported and balanced by smaller diversified industries which can be developed from the environment. UTG Believes that the scope in the latter aspect is neglected and will explore and develop valid possibilities. UTG will also institute a permanent travel-research program to increase trade in Western and Asian markets.

## 3. Tourist Industry

The Tourist Industry is acutely handicapped by lack of loan funds, and by too limited promotion. Tourism is an investment of importance. It is now identified with knowledge-seeking as well as with traditional pleasures. The world wants to know who we are, what we are doing, and where we are going. UTG will see that such questions are answered, and initiate practical steps to revitalise this industry.

## 4. National Parks & Wildlife Service

A full enquiry will be made into the needs of this vital service. It will be supplied with adequate funds and staff to make its function a reality.

## 5. National Monuments & Architecture

The utmost will be done to preserve and protect all national historic artifacts of the State, and otherwise make provision for the purchase of valuable structures threatened with demolition. The intrinsic and tourist value of such works is recognised.

## 6. Public Lands

Public lands administration will be given statutory reform to conform to the needs of present and future citizens. A Land Conservation Council will be created, which will make known government intentions on

proposed land uses, and permit public dissent or objections to such intentions or uses.

## 7. Pollution

Pollution of the State's rivers and seafronts is now a serious hazard to human health; to many species of organic life. On seafronts the fishing industry is economically threatened. The UTG lists it as a priority to see that the Department of Environmental Control is authorised, staffed and financed to reduce the dangers, and if possible eliminate them.

## 8. Wood-Chips Industry

The UTG will institute an immediate economic, scientific and industrial enquiry into short-term effects of aspects of this industry regarded as a prime danger to the Tasmanian environment. All factions involved in this industry will have recourse to participation through the Land Conservation Council.

## 9. Environmental Education

The UTG will introduce a program of educational films for promotion of environmental studies in Tasmania. The department of Film Production will be instructed - in co-operation with other authorities - to make special motion pictures to aid such studies.

## 10. Helicopter Service

The feasibility of a permanent helicopter service will be investigated for the use of all government departments. The need for such a service is reflected in many ways - but particularly in the control of wasteful forest fires.

**Vote UTG**



# APPENDIX 5

## RURAL-URBAN VOTING FOR GREEN CANDIDATES - HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS 1972-1986

YEAR		BASS	BRADDON	DENISON <sup>3</sup>	FRANKLIN	WILMOT <sup>1</sup>	TOTAL
1972	Rural	228	579	-	899	-	1,706
	Urban	539	538	2,779	2,179	-	6,035
	Total Green Vote	767	1,117	2,779	3,078	-	7,741
	Total Valid Vote	37,648	41,778	40,311	38,714	-	198,270
	% of Green Vote	2.03	2.67	6.89	7.95	-	3.90
1976	Rural	136	-	-	217	38	391
	Urban	628	-	2,665	1,082	417	4,792
	Total Green Vote	764	-	2,665	1,299	455	5,183
	Total Valid Vote	43,447	-	46,831	47,300	47,582	235,130
	% of Green Vote	1.75	-	5.69	2.74	.95	2.20
1979	Rural	-	632	-	193	-	825
	Urban	-	285	3,559	2,189	-	-
	Total Green Vote	-	917	3,559	2,382	-	6,033
	Total Valid Vote	48,367	46,039	48,376	48,766	47,736	239,284
	% of Green Vote	-	1.99	7.35	4.88	-	2.52
1980 <sup>2</sup>	Rural	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Urban	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total Green Vote	-	-	4,292	-	-	4,292
	Total Valid Vote	-	-	46,551	-	-	46,551
	% of Green Vote	-	-	9.21	-	-	-
1982	Rural	296	1,291	-	579	1,506	3,672
	Urban	1,637	648	9,384 <sup>3</sup>	2,094	314	9,804
	Total Green Vote	1,933	1,939	-	2,673	1,820	13,476
	Total Valid Vote	50,186	48,590	49,601	51,410	50,309	250,096
	% of Green Vote	3.85	3.99	18.91	5.19	3.61	5.38
1986	Rural	949	878	-	1,101	-	2,928
	Urban	1,874	820	7,561	4,549	-	9,804
	Total Green Vote	2,823	1,698	7,561	5,650	-	12,732
	Total Valid Vote	51,101	51,673	51,711	50,479	51,197	256,161
	% of Green Vote	5.52	3.28	14.62	11.19	0.00	4.97

- NOTES: 1. Name changed to Lyons  
2. Denison by-election, only electors in Denison took part.  
3. Denison is an urban electorate

SOURCE: Tasmanian Electoral Department

# APPENDIX 6

## ELECTIONS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Election</u>	<u>UTG Candidate</u>	<u>Percentage of Total Vote</u>
1972	House of Assembly	Austin Weston Weston Batchelor Weston (Braddon) Laird Milne Scott White Broadby Brown Hearn	3.6%
1972	Legislative Council	Batchelor	8.6%
1972	House of Representatives	Broadby	4.4%
1974	Senate	Jones Mollison Dell	.86%
1975	Legislative Council	Broadby	9.6%
1975	Braddon recount	Batchelor Weston	1.3%
1975	Senate	Jones Brown	.55%
1975	Legislative Council	Jones	5.9%
1976	House of Assembly	Smith Brown Batchelor Broadby Hazelwood Gee Stephen Armstrong Jones Hickson Ikin Harrison-Williams Levett Davies Walker Brown Chapman Burke Jackson	
1977	Legislative Council	Rathbone	6.9%

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