

Voices of Opposition: Documenting Australian Protest Movements

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This article looks at the results of efforts to document the experience of protest movements, in particular the environmental, peace and anti-nuclear movements in Australia. It takes the form of a survey across institutions, concentrating on more recent records and looking at the results of collecting from the researcher's point of view. It is also concerned with questions of the comprehensiveness and representativeness of individual collections in public hands. This is a refereed article.

Introduction

The record of Australian society in the twentieth century, if it is to encompass activity beyond government, business and institutionalised mainstream politics, needs to consider organisations whose purpose was to oppose government policy and action. Many such organisations began as very small activist groups, yet their impact on Australian society and government was often significant – for example, groups opposing Australian intervention in the Vietnam war from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s. Some protest organisations are small and short-lived, others are large and enduring, some have fleeting or shifting centres while others have more stable structures. In general, protest organisations in Australia have received little attention as subjects of archival study and investigation.

This article will argue that archival efforts to document oppositional movements and organisations result largely from the ‘broad brush’ collecting practices of the larger collecting institutions, in particular the state libraries, rather than planned and coordinated acquisition projects. The article is concerned largely with the period since 1970, and looks specifically at environmental, peace, communist and socialist organisations. It attempts to provide a national overview, acknowledging that there are many institutions involved, collecting on the basis of geographical area and theme. The survey looks at the current state of holdings from the point of view of the end user – just what will the researcher find on protest organisations when they begin their search?

Collecting the records

Before trying to locate the records, we need to consider the framework in which collecting them has occurred. The literature on collecting the records of private organisations, when considered on a cross-institutional basis, is rather sparse. In a useful contribution in 1996, Graeme Powell wrote that, as represented in the *Guide to Collections of Manuscripts relating to Australia*, certain occupations dominate in Australian manuscript collections, including writers, politicians, soldiers, officials, historians and pastoralists. He continued, ‘[i]t could therefore be equally argued that the collections, taken as a whole, are unbalanced and that many groups in society, both past and present, are represented in only the most meagre way’.¹ Reflecting that Australian archivists have been rather passive in collecting personal papers, Powell later confesses that:

[t]he suggestion that collecting archives should actively and cooperatively ensure that contemporary Australian society, in all its complexity and variety, is permanently documented would probably horrify many archivists and manuscript librarians.²

Yet, two years later, Adrian Cunningham was advocating just that. He argued that the absence of a coordinated approach to collecting and making available ‘a selection of private archival fonds which collectively constitute adequate documentation of Australian social, cultural and intellectual life in all its various manifestations’ was one of the two greatest challenges facing collecting archives.³ A similar challenge is facing archivists in Canada, despite the dissimilar history of the ‘total archives’ approach in that country.⁴

The collecting policies of major institutions have been inclusive without indicating a specific interest in either contemporary records or those of protest movements such as the environmental movement. For example, the State Library of Victoria’s policy in 1986 stated that its Australian manuscripts collection ‘seeks to gather material which will record and reflect the full range

of human endeavour in the state, from the earliest times to the present day'.⁵ Similarly, the State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW) noted that its manuscripts collection consisted of personal papers and private archives, the former covering 'the full spectrum of society'. The Library 'actively sought in original form... [the records of] private organisations, societies and businesses operating in NSW'.⁶ By the early 1990s, the State Library of Victoria (SLV) included 'social action' as one of its collecting focuses.⁷ In 1993 the Noel Butlin Archives Centre (NBAC) added the records of 'other corporate bodies with significant social impact and goals (eg Friendly Societies, the conservation movement)' to its statement of collecting areas. The NBAC decision to extend its collecting goals was built around staff knowledge of research trends and on the use made of existing collections, both company and union, by academic researchers interested in environmental topics.⁸ Here, as in other institutions, the role of individual archivists and their contacts with organisations was crucial in developing new collecting directions. However, the larger story of decision-making in the areas of acquisition and appraisal in the last thirty years or so by Australian collecting archives is beyond the scope of this article which seeks, by contrast, to reveal the results of collecting activity in particular areas.

Searching for the records

This study attempts a national perspective, hence it has made extensive use of the *Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts* (RAAM), maintained by the National Library of Australia (NLA), a national tool and used as such by archivists and researchers alike. As RAAM depends on its many contributors for the comprehensiveness and currency of its coverage, discussions of collecting in the areas investigated here may not do full justice to the holdings of some archives and libraries. The facility to browse or search by repository provides clues to the representativeness of institutional contributions to RAAM. For this article, RAAM searches were supplemented by searches of individual institutional websites, the author's own knowledge of collections not accessible via the Internet and by using other directories, especially the NLA's database of oral history collections.⁹ Names of organisations and particular campaigns were the main search terms, supplemented by subject searches using both general terms associated with protest and others relating to specific struggles.¹⁰

The environmental movement

In their history of the Australian environmental movement, Drew Hutton and Libby Connors describe four streams of 'first-wave conservation' –

biological preservation, resource conservation, national parks and urban issues. They note a continuity from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century in some of these concerns and a pattern of rise and fall not unlike the broader social movements of the late twentieth century.¹¹ The records of organisations such as Field Naturalists clubs and the Wild Life Preservation Society in several states have been preserved, as have those of the Australian Forest League (the promoters of Arbor Day) in South Australia and NSW. Later organisations such as National Parks Associations are well-represented at state and national levels. These organisations may not be universally seen as oppositional, but their members were the pioneers of the wilderness stream of the Australian environmental movement.¹²

The late twentieth-century environment movement developed from demands for control of urban pollution and unchecked development as well as renewed concern for the preservation of the natural environment. Some campaigns were short-lived and localised, while others had national reverberations. In Sydney, the records of two residents organisations formed in the early 1970s to defend their localities, the Battlers for Kelly's Bush and the Rocks Residents Action Group, are in the SLNSW. A major contemporary struggle for the natural environment, the fight to save Lake Pedder in Tasmania, is documented in a more diffuse fashion, through activist publications, later histories and a small collection in the National Library.¹³ A RAAM search for records relating to the next great Tasmanian struggle, over the Franklin Dam in the early 1980s, yields only collections housed outside Tasmania.

Two major environmental inquiries were held by the Commonwealth government in the mid-1970s under new legislation intended to permit public scrutiny of environmental planning. These were the Fraser Island and Ranger Uranium inquiries. The first was successful, for Fraser Island was saved from sand mining. The Ranger Inquiry did not succeed in preventing uranium mining at the Ranger site in the Northern Territory, but it served as a catalyst for growing anti-nuclear activism at the time. The records of the Fraser Island Defenders Organisation are held in the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland (SLQ). The records of environmental and other anti-mining organisations which participated in the Ranger Inquiry are scattered around Australia in many repositories, as noted below under 'The peace and anti-nuclear movements'.¹⁴

At the state and regional levels, the records of Conservation Councils, which are coalitions resembling peak councils, are sparsely represented in public collections. The Conservation Council of Victoria's records are held by the SLV, those of the North Queensland Conservation Council are held by James Cook University and two small deposits from local councils in central

Queensland are held by the Central Queensland University.¹⁵ The Conservation Council of South Australia which has existed for some thirty years and has around sixty member organisations, by contrast, has not transferred its records to a public collection.¹⁶

The last two decades have seen a number of intense local struggles over forests on the east coast, in Tasmania and in Western Australia. However, the records of many organisations which spearheaded the local and regional struggles have largely eluded archival custody. One exception is the Campaign to Save Native Forests in Western Australia, whose files are held by Library and Information Services of Western Australia (LISWA). Records relating to the forest struggles on the north and south coasts of NSW have been gathered for the SLNSW within the diverse folds of the Rainbow Archives. The Rainbow Archives is a significant documentation project, commenced in 1985, which aims to collect material relating to the alternative movement in NSW. This is truly an umbrella collection, received in many donations from many individuals and organisations, consisting of printed material and original records, across several media. It documents 'a variety of interconnected movements including ... conservation of the environment, ... nuclear disarmament, peace'.¹⁷ The Rainbow Archives is an intriguing project and is somewhat underdocumented itself: the story of the Rainbow Archives Spring Equinox Tour of the South Coast in 1994, for example, would be interesting to know.

Friends of the Earth (FOE), an international environmental presence, was established in Australia in the early 1970s. It has been active ever since, in a range of issues from urban pollution to uranium mining and anti-nuclear action, to recycling, to solar power, to forests and so on. It has fluctuating structures and a floating population of volunteers but runs offices in the major capitals. There are small collections of its records in the SLV and LISWA. The most significant collection, which among other things documents the lead taken by FOE in building the opposition to uranium mining in the mid-1970s, is held by the SLNSW.¹⁸

The peace and anti-nuclear movements

The Australian experience of war in the twentieth century is very well-documented. Yet voices of opposition to war were persistent if not always heard. The peace movement has had several strands – conscientious objection and opposition to conscription for military service, opposition to particular conflicts and opposition to nuclear weapons. The anti-nuclear movement developed from opposition to uranium mining and to the use of nuclear

energy, concerns which were not initially pursued by the established peace movement.¹⁹

There have been waves of activism in the cause of peace during the last hundred years. Various forms of protest against war have endured over time: some peace organisations have had a short life, while other organisations have had particularly enduring presences. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was founded during World War I and still exists today. Its records are represented in the collections of NLA, SLNSW, SLV, LISWA and the University of Melbourne Archives.

In some respects, the peace movement provides an example of substantial documentation efforts by collecting archives where scholars have not exploited the available records of peace and related organisations. Generally, the earlier the conflict, the more the records have been used. Peace protest is well-signposted in directories and 'conscientious objectors' appears as an occupation in RAAM. Records of organisations opposing conscription in World War I are held by several collecting archives.²⁰ Opposition to conscription in World War II and during the 1950s was less vocal, but some records have survived.²¹ There are collections specifically relating to opposition to the Vietnam War in the 1960s, notably the records of Save Our Sons held by NLA and others such as Youth Campaign Against Conscription held by SLV. In addition, the records of many unions and the papers of prominent individual protesters document the movement opposing the Vietnam war.²²

A feature of most protest movements is that they organise on many levels – from the local all the way to the national level. In the case of the anti-uranium movement in the late 1970s, there was a national umbrella body, known as the Uranium Moratorium, which had conferences on a roughly annual basis for several years. Local groups in suburbs or towns were important in raising awareness and expressing opposition to uranium mining. The records of most of these do not survive. An exception here is Armidale Movement Against Uranium Mining whose records are held by the University of New England and Regional Archives. Workplace groups, often formed through combined union committees, were also important, but their traces are only visible through incomplete runs of their publications or through union records. The records of the large city-based protest movement against uranium mining and export in the 1970s and early 1980s are spread through those of the Australian Conservation Foundation (ACF), Friends of the Earth (FOE), many trade union collections and collections of activist organisations like the Movement Against Uranium Mining, whose records are held by the University of Melbourne Archives (UMA).

Nuclear disarmament is one form of protest that has different phases in the period since the development of the atomic bomb. In the 1950s, worldwide demands for nuclear disarmament were echoed in Australia, mainly through various Peace Councils and the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (CICD) and Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD).²³ In the early 1980s when the anti-uranium movement became a broader anti-nuclear movement, with a new umbrella called the Coalition for a Nuclear Free Australia, elements of CICD and AICD formed the core of the new organisation, People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND). PND records are held by both NLA and UMA, but a more substantial collection, covering the years 1930 to 1985, is held by SLNSW.²⁴ Local level organisation continued to be a strong feature and some local records survive in public hands. The records of the Riverina Community for Nuclear Disarmament, Wagga Wagga are held by the Charles Sturt University Regional Archives and those of PND – Illawarra are held by the University of Wollongong Archives. The Eastern Suburbs (Sydney) Nuclear Disarmament Group records are held by SLNSW.²⁵ However, the Nuclear Disarmament Party of the early 1980s and the large, vocal protests against the resumption of French nuclear tests in the South Pacific in 1995 merit improved documentation on a local, regional and national basis. Other sources documenting the history of the peace movement have made their way into public collections through the collecting activities of activists. The NBAC's extensive holdings of pamphlets, leaflets and serials relating to the peace movement have been built up through the acquisition of personal papers, including the James Normington Rawling collection and the Ian Turner collection, as well as through the deposit of peace-related material in union collections.²⁶

Communist and socialist organisations

Records of early twentieth-century revolutionary groups and socialist organisations, including the Industrial Workers of the World, are held by several of the larger collecting archives, including NLA, SLNSW, SLV and UMA. These collections tend to be small and once again, they are supplemented by surviving print sources such as pamphlets and by the personal papers of activists such as RS Ross, whose papers are held by NLA.

In relative size, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) may not have been a large organisation, but it was a significant force in Australian politics from 1920 to 1990. Its impact was not only through its influence in major unions such as the Waterside Workers' Federation, but also as 'an alternative source of value' for many Australians, according to Stuart Macintyre.²⁷ Fortunately for researchers, the CPA has been the subject of a comprehensive bibliography,

covering organisational records, personal papers, as well as movement publications, articles and interviews about the communist experience.²⁸ The National Office records of the Party are held by the SLNSW, while records of branches are held by several other institutions, including the John Oxley Library and the Fryer Library for Queensland, the University of Melbourne Archives and the La Trobe Library for Victoria and the University of Wollongong Archives for the South Coast of NSW.

That many organisational records are now in public hands is due to the efforts of former communists concerned to preserve the history of their movement.²⁹ However, as public identification with communism by an individual was for much of the period of the CPA's existence fraught with possible penalties including social opprobrium and loss of employment, retention of personal records confirming membership and local activity must have been affected. Here the fact that many leading Australian writers, such as Katharine Susannah Prichard and Jean Devanny were CPA members helps fill out the overall picture, given that writers are a well-documented group. The publication of individual memoirs by former communists also enters the space left vacant by gaps in the organisational record. Stuart Macintyre notes the strength of the 'genre of the communist remembrance' in Australia, emphasising its abundance, in comparison to similar works from other countries.³⁰

But the history of Australian communism does not end with the CPA – what of the other two communist parties – the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), the Chinese line party which broke away in 1963, and the Socialist Party of Australia which remained loyal to Moscow and split from the CPA in 1971? The records of these parties do not appear in RAAM or any institutional websites. Traces of their existence and activity may be found in the various newspapers and publications they produced and in the records of the trade unions which followed their respective 'lines'. Similarly, socialist organisations are poorly represented in collecting archives, particularly for the later years of the century. 'Socialism' and 'socialist' yield few results as search terms. Again, it can be surmised that reluctance to deposit records could be related to a sense that openness may have unhappy consequences.

Security agencies

Australia, like most other democratic countries, has numerous government agencies involved in the surveillance of individuals and groups deemed to hold subversive views. In recent years, researchers have been able to gain access to Commonwealth and State government records of various security

and police agencies which have provided valuable material for the writing of histories of left- and right-wing organisations and their interaction with the state. Government archives play an important role in facilitating access to these records. For example, information about gaining access to the records of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) can be found on the National Archives of Australia (NAA) website.³¹

However, it must be remembered that these records are not substitutes for the records of the organisations which were the subject of surveillance. The efforts of security agents to record the activities of left-wing groups have been noted in hindsight with some detachment by some of the very people they were observing. Barbara Curthoys in her history of the Union of Australian Women refers to the diligence of the agents assigned to cover their activities, finding that sometimes their records of meetings were more complete than their own.³² Historian Andrew Moore comments that for members of the NSW Special Branch, the skills of recording were seen as more important than the skills of interpretation, resulting in records perhaps less useful than they might have been for their creators.³³

Stuart Macintyre notes that the quality of the records created by the security agencies may suffice, but their context, to secure convictions under laws concerning political activity, does not merit the same scrutiny.³⁴ In Australia the activities, both actual and feared, of the police and security agencies have led to the destruction of the records of communist organisations and their members.³⁵ In several states, police Special Branch records were destroyed in the 1970s and 1980s, preventing citizens gaining access to records containing potentially damaging personal information about them.

Right-wing organisations

Few records of right-wing organisations operating outside mainstream politics have been deposited in public collections. Philosophies which see the state as 'the enemy' may be partly responsible for this. However, the records of some organisations are in public collections. For example, the records of the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom, active in the cultural arena to counterbalance communist influence during the 1950s and 1960s, are in the NLA, although they are restricted until 2010.³⁶ Today, many right-wing organisations have websites and use these to proclaim their views. The organisations thus retain control and their websites are their public face, giving no hint of their methods of operation or their sources of funding.

Alternatives to collecting

Most of the collecting described here relies on the resources of publicly-funded libraries and archives. But are there any alternatives? Records may be retained by the communities, organisations or individuals who created them, but the experience in Australia of collections being successfully maintained by volunteer labour without continuing funding is somewhat mixed. Many such collections have eventually been transferred to the large collecting institutions. For activist organisations, the pressures are even greater than for those organisations with the resources to operate minimal formal offices. In 1985, Baiba Berzins advocated an inclusive approach to managing our archival responsibilities where professional archivists and communities would form 'a network and a variety of institutional, personal and community archives throughout this country'.³⁷ It appears this objective is still to be realised. An exception is the Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives in Melbourne, whose collections include some original materials, notably audio records.³⁸

There was a major attempt to document records in private hands in the late 1980s – the Historic Records Search, which produced the Australian Historic Records Register (AHRR). There are a number of entries in the AHRR which document activities of individuals and organisations involved in environmental, peace and anti-nuclear protest. The searching capabilities and presentation of the data are effective, but the database is no longer maintained and it is possible that collections recorded in AHRR are no longer accessible. Some have since been transferred to public custody.³⁹

The results of collecting – intended or accidental?

There are gaps in the documentation of the protest organisations examined here. For example, the researcher seeking to study opposition to the Queensland government's actions to thwart street marches in the late 1970s and early 1980s, will not easily discover the records of the organisations most affected by the bans.⁴⁰ There are instances where records have been collected but are inaccessible because they are part of processing backlogs. However, there are also cases where the records of an organisation have been deposited in more than one collecting archives and where the records of one organisation have survived through being collected as part of another organisation's records (and may in fact be held outside their expected geographical location). There are inconsistencies in the holdings of environmental and peace organisations between states, but this is not unusual.

Several variables are at play here, including archival policies and resources, ambivalent attitudes towards collecting institutions by creators, different histories of recordkeeping and different perceptions by activists of the need to transfer their records to local or distant institutions. The survival of the records of much more formal organisations, such as trade unions, from state to state has also been uneven. Researchers need to be prepared to think laterally if the records they seek are not in public hands or if they are known to have been destroyed. They need to pay careful attention to the activists who were office-bearers in protest organisations and may have personal papers documenting their involvement. And there are possibilities offered in government archives where interactions between protest organisations and the state have been documented, such as when these organisations have made formal representations to government.⁴¹

The surviving records of activist groups consist of familiar record types such as minute books, correspondence files, accounting records and press clippings. However, the original records should not be considered in isolation from the publications the organisations produced. Getting the message out and aiming to build support through campaigning literature are often core activities of protest organisations. Publications are often useful sources for studying an organisation's style as well as vehicles for statements of its political platform. *Chain Reaction*, the main publication of FOE, documents the participation of that organisation in many different environmental campaigns. Its pages demonstrate that FOE is a very different organisation from the ACF. In cases where only broken runs of publications survive, the habit of exchanging newsletters with sister organisations interstate often helps fill the gaps.⁴² The Rainbow Archives has collected an impressive range of environmental as well as counter-cultural publications for the SLNSW. The collection thus serves as a significant complement to legal deposit for the acquisition of irregular publications of small, short-lived country organisations which elude the best intentions of the system of legal deposit.

Oral history collections add significantly to the record of protest organisations and events. They preserve evidence of the personal and local dimensions often absent from the surviving written documentation of protest movements.⁴³ The NLA's oral history database indicates that 'environment and conservation' is a frequently reported subject of interview material, and many of the oral history collections listed are held by local institutions.⁴⁴ While local oral history projects are becoming more common, and other completed projects are now preserved in collecting archives, it would seem that documenting protest movements has been no more deliberate here than with paper records.⁴⁵

What might the irregular pattern of collecting private records mean for research? Michael Piggott has observed that the phenomenon of records' survival by chance has an impact on the researcher:

Where does convenient availability come into play? How has accidental benign and deliberate survival affected – skewed, retarded or just shaped – Australian historical scholarship; or are archival resources mere neutral enablers of trends and advances?⁴⁶

In a piece which argues against the notion of neutrality for archives and archivists, Elisabeth Kaplan puts the case for informed collecting and engagement in contemporary debates by archivists.⁴⁷ This should be a feature of the work of collecting archives involved in documenting contemporary organisations. In 2001, there are encouraging signs from some Australian archives and libraries of their interest in collecting contemporary private records, announced by explicit statements on their websites. As we move away from the comfort zone of custodial collecting and describing physical holdings of paper records, archivists need to have strategies for documenting today's and tomorrow's evidence of the activities of a wide range of institutions in our society, not just for the records of government. To return to Adrian Cunningham's call for urgent action, the other fundamental problem he sees as facing archivists is that of unreliable systems and recordkeeping practices 'in unregulated or semi-regulated record creating environments', ie the very type of environment in which many records of protest organisations are being created.⁴⁸

The interconnections between organisational and personal records are of great significance for the documentation of protest movements. Movements, after all, are led by individuals and many activists see their contributions to protest to be more central to their lives than their paid employment. Most collecting archives collect both personal and organisational records, something which benefits the researcher and has helped to ensure that documentation of a whole range of social activity, not only protest movements, survives. As archivists, we have not explored these connections as much as we might have. It might be constructive here to revisit recent Australian archival writing on personal recordkeeping to see what it offers in terms of understanding the context and practice of organisational recordkeeping outside the government arena.⁴⁹

Conclusion

How well have we documented the experience of oppositional movements such as the environmental and peace movements and the like during the twentieth century? First, records have been collected as a result of broad

policies rather than of targeted or planned projects. Collecting has thus often been more accidental than deliberate or strategic. It has also been affected by the institutional climate in which the archivist operates, as the recent history of the Noel Butlin Archives Centre has demonstrated.

Documenting in the form of simply collecting the records – whether by means of targeted specific projects or within a broad collecting policy – is not sufficient. It must also include making the records accessible through incorporation into institutional finding aids systems and through reporting holdings via RAAM. There should be fewer ‘hidden jewels’ and less reliance on researchers providing the networks by which holdings become known. Archivists must become advocates for their existing collections as well as planners for their future acquisitions. The Australian Society of Archivists’ Collecting Archives Special Interest Group provides one forum in which coordinated strategies can be discussed. Existing and potential user communities need to be drawn into the dialogue, perhaps along the lines of efforts by government archives to consult and seek feedback.

Institutions whose mission includes documenting voices of opposition need to prepare to deal with new methods of operation and communication used by today’s movements. If they are to continue to have any chance of documenting protest, they need to become proactive rather than reactive in their collecting models. Only then will they be able to meet documentation challenges such as that offered by the S11 protest in Melbourne in September 2000, with its virtual as well as physical presence and its global context.

ENDNOTES

1 Graeme Powell, ‘The Collecting of Personal and Private Papers in Australia’, *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 24, no. 1, May 1996, p. 68.

2 Powell, p. 73.

3 Adrian Cunningham, ‘From Here to Eternity: Collecting Archives and the Need for a National Documentation Strategy’, *LASIE*, March 1998, p. 33.

4 See Laura Millar, ‘Discharging Our Debt: The Evolution of the Total Archives Concept in English Canada’, *Archivaria*, no. 46, especially pp. 138–9.

5 State Library of Victoria, *Selection Policy*, Library Council of Victoria, 1986, p. 38.

6 State Library of New South Wales, *Collection Development Policy*, 2nd edition, State Library of New South Wales, 1993, pp. 205–6.

7 See ‘News Notes’, *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 18, no. 1, May 1990, p. 157.

8 Australian National University, Noel Butlin Archives Centre, *Collecting Policy*, March 1993. Following the 1997 ‘rescue package’ for the NBAC, collecting was refocused to exclude conservation and the Australian Conservation Foundation and Greenpeace collections were transferred to the NLA with the agreement of the depositors.

9 NLA, 'Australia's Oral History Collections: A National Database' at www.nla.gov.au/ohdir/index.html.

10 Control numbers and similar details for individual collections have not been included in the text or footnotes, except where these are not available through RAAM or via institutional websites.

11 Drew Hutton and Libby Connors, *A History of the Australian Environment Movement*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 86–7.

12 One example of early defenders of the natural environment was Myles Dunphy, whose extensive papers are held by the SLNSW.

13 See Cassandra Pybus and Richard Flanagan (eds), *The Rest of the World Is Watching: Tasmania and the Greens*, Sun Books, Sydney, 1990, for a history of environmental struggles in Tasmania written by activists.

14 It should be noted that Commonwealth records relating to these inquiries, which were very public affairs at the time, are still unavailable due to the thirty-year rule. Although these inquiries operated very like royal commissions, no special provisions were made for their records. Fortunately, many of the environmentalists' submissions and the transcripts of the Inquiry proceedings are available in libraries.

15 This is perhaps unexpected because the environment is generally under-represented in Queensland collecting archives, according to RAAM and the relevant websites.

16 The Conservation Council of South Australia is apparently a vibrant force in its own sphere – see Timothy Doyle, *Green Power: The Environment in Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2000, pp. 98–100.

17 SLNSW, PICMAN database, at www.slsw.gov.au/picman/picman.htm, Rainbow Archives – further records of the alternative movement, 1967–1996, Admin/biog notes for MLMSS 5057 Add-on 2059.

18 FOE's records were transferred to archival custody quite soon after their creation, but suffer from this in that they were acquired before 1992 and hence the collection does not appear in PICMAN. To discover its existence, the researcher must visit the Library in person.

19 For a chronology of peace protest, see Malcolm Saunders and Ralph Summy, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History*, Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, Canberra, 1986.

20 These include records of local anti-conscription committees in the records of branches of the Australian Labor Party, such as the Bendigo and Creswick branches, whose records are held by the UMA.

21 See, respectively, No Conscription League, held by NLA and Friends Peace Committee, held by SLV.

22 For example, the Seamen's Union of Australia records held by NBAC and the Ralph Gibson papers held by UMA.

23 CICD in Melbourne (records at UMA), AICD in Sydney (the AICD records are part of the People for Nuclear Disarmament collection at SLNSW). For a useful study of the beginnings of the 'modern' peace movement, see Barbara Carter, 'The Peace Movement in the 1950s' in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds), *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's First Cold War, 1945–1959*, vol. 2, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1986, pp. 58–73.

24 MLMSS 5522, 74 boxes as at 1997.

25 MLMSS 5759.

26 See Australian National University, NBAC, *Survey of Records Held in the Noel Bullin Archives Centre Relating to the Peace Movement in Australia*, August 1992.

27 Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1998, p. 4.

28 Beverley Symons, compiler, with Andrew Wells and Stuart Macintyre, *Communism in Australia: A Resource Bibliography*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1994. This bibliography is currently being updated.

29 See Lyndall Ryan, 'Obituary. Barbara Curthoys: Communist Activist and Researcher', *Labour History*, no. 80, May 2001, pp. 228–9. Barbara Curthoys' own papers are held by the University of Newcastle Library.

30 Macintyre, p. 7.

31 See, for example Fact Sheet (FS) 33, Security intelligence records – how to apply; FS 53, Personal information in ASIO records; and FS 69, ASIO files on writers and literary groups.

32 Barbara Curthoys, in Barbara Curthoys and Audrey McDonald, *More Than a Hat and Glove Brigade: The Story of the Union of Australian Women*, Union of Australian Women, Sydney, 1996, pp. 31–2.

33 Andrew Moore, "A secret policeman's lot": The Working Life of Fred Longbottom of the New South Wales Police Special Branch', in John Shields, *All Our Labours: Oral Testimonies of Working Life in Twentieth Century Sydney*, NSW University Press, Kensington, 1992, pp. 199–200.

34 Macintyre, p. 9.

35 Sometimes records survived these threats, such as the time when the only letter from Trotsky received by his followers in Australia was retrieved from the oven just in time after a police raid in 1940 (see Hall Greenland, *Red Hot: The Life and Times of Nick Origlass 1908–1996*, Wellington Lane Press, Neutral Bay, 1998, p. 101). A decade later, other records were not so fortunate. In *The Hammer and the Sickle and the Washing Up: Memories of an Australian Woman Communist*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1995, p. 89, Amirah Inglis recounts how in 1950 'we spent a weekend destroying our past', when it was expected that the CPA was about to be declared illegal again.

36 The links between the AACF and its American relative, the Congress for Cultural Freedom, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) are documented in Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, Granta Books, London, 2000. In a comment on the interdependence of government and private agencies in this case, Saunders notes that despite the records of the CIA being denied her, 'The story is there...in the sea of private papers stretching across the archives of America' (p. xi).

37 Baiba Berzins, 'Presidential Address', *Proceedings of the 5th Biennial Conference of the Australian Society of Archivists*, ASA Inc, O'Connor ACT, 1986, p. 60.

38 Australian Lesbian and Gay Archives, home page at home.vicnet.net.au/~alga/.

39 For example, the papers of Joan Coxsege, civil liberties and anti-nuclear activist, are now in the University of Melbourne Archives.

40 There are contemporary published accounts dealing with the civil liberties struggles in Queensland. It should be noted that civil liberties organisations all around Australia have been reluctant to deposit their records in archives and libraries.

41 However, the thirty-year rule presents problems for research on protest during the last three decades of the twentieth century. See also note 14.

42 Thus the records of FOE, WA include anti-uranium newsletters from Queensland and other states as well as those of the Campaign Against Nuclear Energy, WA. The NLA holds a 'gap-filling' set of NSW anti-uranium newsletters for the early 1980s.

43 Published histories of various protest movements have been based on interviews with participants from both sides of the struggle, for example, Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Home Front*, Allen & Unwin, North Sydney, 1992 and Ian Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1990.

44 Although, once again, 'socialist' and 'communist' are infrequently reported as subject terms in the *Directory*.

45 The NLA's oral history collecting interests include the broad category of 'social history', but not all collections offered are selected for retention.

46 Michael Piggott, 'Archives and Australian History', *Australian Historical Association Bulletin*, June 2000, p. 8.

47 See Elisabeth Kaplan, 'We Are What We Collect, We Collect What We Are: Archives and the Construction of Identity', *American Archivist*, vol. 63, no. 1, Spring/Summer 2000, especially pp. 146–51.

48 Cunningham, p. 33.

49 See the 'Personal Recordkeeping' issue of *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 24, no. 1, May 1996 and the articles by Verne Harris and Frank Upward and Sue McKemmish in the May 2001 issue of *Archives and Manuscripts*.