

**Under contract to Palgrave Macmillan's
Global Outreach program:**

Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms

N.A.J. Taylor

(a) **Abstract:**

Anglo-American men continue to dominate nuclear politics, but in Oceania, I argue it has been women—and various feminisms—that have most shaped it.

(b) **Non-technical description:**

The clear majority of the nuclear literature was written from either a superpower or else Eurocentric perspective. Although an Antipodean stance—by which I mean perspectives from Australia, New Zealand and Oceania—should have no bearing on the morality of the matter, in this manuscript I make the case that such Antipodean perspectives on the nuclear age *are* highly politically relevant. This is achieved by performing a survey of the unique insights and perspectives that the nuclear politics and people of Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. A small number of individuals stand out: the environmental philosophers Richard Routley/Sylvan and Val Routley/Plumwood of Australia, the politician and eco-feminist Marilyn Waring of New Zealand, the Marshallese activist Darlene Keju-Johnson, the Fijian feminists Suliana Siwatibau and Amelia Rokotuivuna, the European couple Bengt and Marie-Thérèse Danielsson on Tahiti, among others. In so doing, another narrative emerges in which the region's women and feminism more broadly are rightly viewed as critical not only to Antipodean nuclear thinking, but also its politics, culminating with the 1985 Rarotonga Treaty which established the South Pacific nuclear-weapon-free zone. Much neglected in nuclear scholarship, *Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms* serves as both a corrective and alternative to the Anglo-American voices that continue to dominate nuclear discourse.

(c) **Technical description:**

Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms will evaluate how an Oceanic perspective on the nuclear age is both politically and ethically relevant, with a special focus on the role of both women and feminism in denuclearizing the region. Whereas the clear majority of the nuclear literature was written from either a superpower or else Eurocentric perspective (see Kahn 1960; Bull 1961; Schelling and Halperin 1961), the proposed programme contributes a growing alternative intellectual history to the nuclear literature in which otherwise under-represented perspectives are valued, and given a voice (see Hecht 2012; Biswas 2014). In so doing, the monograph intrudes into this literature insights and understandings about contemporary nuclear politics from a uniquely Oceanic perspective, which I argue in fact constitutes an *Antipodean stance*, in which anti-nuclearism, non-anthropocentrism, and anarchism are the prominent features.

An examination of Oceanic disarmament efforts is critical and important since we remain at the most critical and advanced phase in regional nuclear chemical weapons disarmament efforts (see Taylor 2010; Taylor 2012; Camilleri et al. 2013; Taylor, Camilleri, and Hamel-Green 2013; Camilleri and Taylor 2013). Also overlooked is the idea that Oceania would be geographically removed from the most severe ecological effects of a future, possible nuclear war—as Desmond Ball (2006) together with Brian Martin (1982a; 1982b; 1988) have long argued—which would be confined largely (but

not exclusively over longer time periods and dependent on strategic targeting in the South) in the Northern hemisphere. When regional histories of disarmament are discussed at all, studies tend to emphasise that the Latin American NWFZ was merely a positive outgrowth of the Cuban Missile Crisis, or that the absence of an NWFZ for the Arctic for example is testament to the realities of Cold War politics. As I have again argued elsewhere, no single theoretical approach has yet satisfactorily explained the surprising extent of regional denuclearization (Taylor, Camilleri, and Hamel-Green 2013, 81). *Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms* seeks to remedy the lack of understanding as to why that might be.

All this is achieved by performing a survey of the unique insights and perspectives that the nuclear politics and people of Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. In my research for this project already a small number of individuals stand out: the environmental philosophers Richard Routley/Sylvan and Val Routley/Plumwood of Australia, the politician and eco-feminist Marilyn Waring of New Zealand, the Marshallese activist Darlene Keju-Johnson, the Fijian feminists Suliana Siwatibau and Amelia Rokotuivuna, the European couple Bengt and Marie-Thérèse Danielsson on Tahiti, among others. The Oceanic region has been selected because they collectively comprise one of the first regions in the world to comprehensively denuclearise in 1986, as well as home to the world's first national nuclear-free zone, New Zealand, in 1987. Oceania is singularly important in that it has both forgone nuclear weapons (through its regional treaty obligations) and nuclear energy (both unilaterally and voluntarily).

Two key developments in denuclearisation that I will be discussing are the emergence of local, nuclear-free zones (NFZs), and regional, nuclear-weapon-free zones (NWFZs). The former sort of zonal arrangements—NFZs—variously prohibit a broader-range of nuclear activities than do the denuclearised zones that focus exclusively on the use and location of nuclear weapons. Such instruments not only serve to prohibit nuclear arsenals from the defined territory of the zone, but also greatly complicate the negative security assurances and alliances with nuclear-capable allies. Additionally, state-parties to nuclear-free zones forgo a range of otherwise peaceful activities, such as the use of nuclear energy and nuclear-powered naval vessels. Such zones number in the thousands at municipal -level, though only two presently exist at state-level: Mongolia and New Zealand.

Predictably, the latter sort of zonal arrangements—NWFZs—differ in that their preclusions are more restrictively related to the 'development, manufacturing, control, possession, testing, stationing or transporting' of nuclear weapons within the specified territory of the zone, and therefore do permit a wider range of nuclear activities than do NFZs. Land-based zones cover the territories of some 112 states, including the entire Southern Hemisphere. In addition, there are—proceeding the establishment of the five land-based zones—related agreements that prohibit nuclear weapons from Antarctica, the seabed and outer space as well as their testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater as well as 'in any other environment if the explosion would cause radioactive debris to be present outside the borders of the state conducting the explosion'.

Overall, the central research question/s to be addressed include:

- (1) What characterizes an Antipodean stance? And what alternative insights and understandings about nuclear politics may be derived from it?
- (2) Does such an Antipodean stance equally concern nuclear weapons and war, as well as nuclear energy and waste?

- (3) What role have women, and feminism more broadly, historically played in the region's anti-nuclear movement? And how has this changed over time and place?

The proposed research programme will therefore contribute to our scholarly understanding of the nuclear age in three vitally important ways. First, it will provide the first intellectual history of the region's denuclearization from the position of the women and feminists involved. This will therefore both challenge and supplement the existing literature which has privileged the voices of white, Euro-centric men in examining the region's nuclear thinking. In so doing—and second—it provides a voice to feminists of colour and postcolonial feminists who remain largely absent from an otherwise Anglo-centric literature. This approach, pioneered by such scholars as Itty Abraham and Shampa Biswas in recent years, is most needed in nuclear scholarship. Additive to this alternative perspective or pathway, the project articulates a form of *anti-nuclear* ethics and politics that develops further an non-anthropocentric—or biospheric—concept of nuclear harm. The fourth—and final—contribution of the study is to connect with wider efforts to move beyond critiquing and deconstructing International (Relations) Theory, and to reconstruct an International Theory that looks beyond Eurocentrism. Much neglected in nuclear scholarship, the proposed programme *Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms* intends to serve as both a corrective and alternative to the Anglo-American voices that continue to dominate nuclear discourse.

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(d) Chapter titles:

Preface: The Biosphere and me

Introduction: The Eurocentric phallus and its discontents

Chapter 1: Denuclearising the Eurocentric Phallus

Chapter 2: The Routley's as the harbingers of Antipodean nuclear thinking: Australia

Chapter 3: Marilyn Waring in the making of David Lange: New Zealand

Chapter 4: Bengt and Marie-Thérèse Danielsson's love for Tahiti: Polynesia

Chapter 5: Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's response to her Marshallese mothers: Micronesia

Chapter 6: The rise of Fijian (Christian) feminism: Melanesia

Conclusion: Towards an Antipodean stance

(e) Chapter summaries:

Preface: The Biosphere and me

Auto-ethnography offers alternative insights and understandings about areas of public life historically quarantined as of scholarly concern. This opening chapter—or prefatory note—provides an account of the authors own ecological awakening, which is crucial to his development of *Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms*.

Introduction: The Eurocentric phallus and its discontents

This introductory chapter develops a theoretical framework with which to situate and perform the empirical work—including the case studies—that follow it. This is achieved by way of an engagement with non-Eurocentric feminist theory in general, and particularly literatures that have contributed to a non-anthropocentric concept of nuclear harm. By engaging the work of both feminists of colour and postcolonial feminists, the proposed monograph makes clear its intention to intervene in the largely Anglo-centric nuclear literature. Here, the work of Itty Abraham and Shampa Biswas is crucial in articulating a post-colonial and feminist perspective on nuclear politics.

In addition, by developing a non-anthropocentric concept of nuclear harm, the chapter challenges the dominant the notion of human-centric harm that prevails in increasingly influential Humanitarian Initiative on nuclear disarmament. Here, the contemporary discourse in international policy surrounding the proposed Nuclear Weapons Convention is discussed at length, with the role of states such as Norway, Mexico and Austria analysed alongside Western-liberal civil society groups such as the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) and Global Zero. Doing so demonstrates how the concept of nuclear harm may be expanded to include non-human harms so as to accommodate many non-Western worldviews that either directly or indirectly (through intergenerational ethics, for example) account for the biosphere.

This chapter is interesting and important since it connects the site of nuclear politics with broader debates surrounding the importance of challenging both gender and human chauvinisms for futures thinking.

Chapter 1: Denuclearising the Eurocentric Phallus

This chapter proceeds in two parts. The first part will give an account of the global efforts to create nuclear-free and nuclear-weapon-free zones in municipals, cities, towns

and states. Following a brief general discussion of the NFZ concept, I will focus the discussion on the gradual expansion of local-level nuclear-free zones in New Zealand, culminating in the world's first—and as of 2012, one of only two—nationally legislated zones in 1987. Having done this, I then turn to the individual people and communities that helped establish a South Pacific nuclear-weapon-free zone (NWFZ). Conceiving of NWFZs in the broadest possible sense, the chapter also provides a historical account of the major initiatives to ban nuclear weapons testing, starting with the partial test ban covering the atmosphere, outer space, and underwater (or, in all areas except underground), and moving onto the inhabited components of the Southern Hemisphere. In so doing, another narrative emerges in which the region's women and feminism more broadly are rightly viewed as critical not only to Antipodean nuclear thinking, but also its politics, culminating with the 1985 Rarotonga Treaty which established the South Pacific nuclear-weapon-free zone.

The second part of the chapter offers a brief survey of the unique insights and perspectives that the nuclear politics and people of Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, Micronesia and Melanesia. It serves to justify the idea that Antipodean voices are largely neglected from the dominant Anglo-American (male) literature. For instance, where David Lange is rightfully regarded as New Zealand's nuclear visionary in the face of trade and security sacrifices, the role of the eco-feminist Marilyn Waring in bringing Lange's government to power over her anti-nuclearism is oft forgotten. Taken together, a string of stories emerges from across the Antipodes in which the voices of certain elites but also ordinary people—and particularly women—ring out as a chorus that is distinct and influential, yet largely unacknowledged. *Antipodean Nuclear Feminisms* intends to give voice to these perspectives as both a corrective and alternative to the Anglo-American thinking that continues to dominate nuclear discourse.

Each of the proceeding chapters serves as a case study, ordered by country and focused on one or more individuals whose role in denuclearisation efforts is largely overlooked. For instance, in Australia, much is made of the 1996 Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons and the 2010 International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament, both led by former foreign minister Gareth Evans. These are, to be sure, significant interventions in global nuclear governance. However, they also transpired in a more general climate of anti-nuclearism in Australian society, fermented, in large part by scholars at the Australian National University in Canberra such as Richard Routley/Sylvan, Val Routley/Plumwood, Brian Martin, and most internationally known, Desmond Ball.

Each chapter therefore provides a brief yet comprehensive intellectual history of the country or region in question:

Chapter 2: The Routley's as the harbingers of Antipodean nuclear thinking: Australia

- Reconstructs the nuclear thinking of the pioneering eco-feminist Val Routley/Plumwood and Richard Routley/Sylvan, which remains wholly uncited in the nuclear literature.
- Situates the Routley's largely unheard contribution alongside the influential work of the International Relations theorist Hedley Bull, Des Ball, and Gareth Evans of the Canberra Commission, as well as more critical spokespeople such as Helen Callicott and Tilman Ruff.

Chapter 3: Marilyn Waring in the making of David Lange: New Zealand

- Positions Kiwi and Maori voices as internationally significant, due in large part to that country's world historical status as the world's first nuclear-free zone.

- Focuses on the role of the then party secretary and eco-feminist Marilyn Waring in bringing Prime Minister David Lange to power, which led to New Zealand rejecting American extended nuclear deterrence and the ANZUS alliance.

Chapter 4: Bengt and Marie-Thérèse Danielsson's love for Tahiti: Polynesia

- Building upon the discussion in the previous chapter on New Zealand and Maori perspectives, this chapter examines voices from Tahiti as well as those from Hawaii, Easter Island, Samoa, Tonga, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Niue, Wallis and Futuna, the Cook Islands, and French Polynesia.
- Curiously, it was the European couple Bengt and Marie-Thérèse Danielsson who led disarmament efforts there through the Women's International League for Freedom and Peace (WILPF) after publishing the definitive account of Pacific nuclear weapons testing titled, *Moruroa Mon Amour*.

Chapter 5: Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner's response to her Marshallese mothers: Micronesia

- Contextualises the Marshallese poet Kathy Jetnil-Kijiner and the recent court case filed against the United States by the Marshall Islands in a broader tradition of anti-nuclear feminism, led by Darlene Keju-Johnson and many lesser known Marshallese mothers.
- Where available and relevant, potted histories of anti-nuclearism on Kiribati, Nauru, and Palau—as well as three U.S. territories—Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and Wake Island is also explored.

Chapter 6: The rise of Fijian feminism: Melanesia

- Focuses on activities in Fiji, notably among which is the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement (NFIP), including the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Committee Against Testing on Mururoa (ATOM), who were very influential in bringing about the regional nuclear-weapon-free zone.
- Where available and relevant, potted histories of anti-nuclearism on Vanuatu, Solomon Islands, Papua New Guinea (PNG), New Caledonia, and the Indonesian-controlled West Papua is also explored.

Conclusion: Towards and Antipodean stance

The concluding chapter makes the case for a greater acknowledgement of Antipodean insights and perspectives within the largely Anglo-American contemporary nuclear literature, but also looks forward to where such a perspective might take nuclear politics.

Whilst research on all the preceding chapters has begun, particularly those chapters on Australia (Chapter 1), New Zealand (Chapter 2), and Micronesia (Chapter 4) as well as the Introduction, the concluding chapter will necessarily only take shape once the research and writing of the substantive chapters has been completed.