

IMAGES OF JAPAN AND ITS PEOPLE IN AUSTRALIAN MEDIA

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Introduction

In the popular Australian imagination, Japan is often considered a mysterious, distant land beyond our ability to easily comprehend. Despite remaining a popular tourist destination for Australians (until 2011's earthquake & tsunami disaster), the 'far East' image of Japan prevents Australians from meaningfully engaging with Japan and its culture. Images of Japan in travel documentaries, music, literature and the mass media project an almost unknowable, mysterious Japan.

Another, more dominant image that Australians share of Japan is one that borrows from memories of World War 2 and earlier. Peter Stanley, in his book *Invading Australia: Japan and the battle for Australia, 1942* (2008: 17) says, "Australians have linked war with their idea of nationhood for nearly a century". The events of 1942 and the fear that a relatively empty and unprotected Australian continent could easily fall into the hands of foreign invaders (or later, investors) colour Australians' impressions of Japan.

This paper contrasts these two dominant representations of Japan in Australia by examining Japan in the Australian print and broadcast media over the last 100 years. It concludes that better understanding between the two countries will result from more realistic media representation of the Japanese in their homeland, and an attempt to divorce media coverage of Japanese in Australia from recollections of the past.

Early contact with Japan

Australia's preoccupation with its northern neighbours existed well before Federation in 1901. As Japan moved forward to become a part of the international community toward the end of the 19th Century, Japanese people began migrating to Australia and a Japanese 'community' began to take root. In addition, a number of Australians made their way to Japan, seeking investment and trade opportunities.

In the early days of foreign travel to Japan, a few Australian merchants and entrepreneurs made their way to Japan's treaty ports, some of whom brought Japanese settlers back to Australia with them (Oliver 2010: 36). Some of these Australians stayed in Japan for extended periods of time, but their purpose seems to have been to search out opportunities for trade, rather than to learn anything from the Japanese. As Alison Broinowski (1992: 29) notes:

Far from expecting to find models for themselves in neighbouring countries, settler Australians were conditioned by their European contacts to perceive Asians as people to be instructed, not to seek instruction from; to be patronised, not to be equal with.

This is especially evident in the first-hand accounts of Japan printed in Australian newspapers of the time. One series of such observations, published in the *Argus* over a two-month period in 1867, was introduced: "the following extracts from some private letters recently received from a gentleman long resident in Melbourne, and now in Yokohama, will be found possessed of interest for very many of our readers." (Impressions... 1867a: 6). The letters contained not just comparisons with Europe, but were overlaid with suggestions that profit could be made in a country so lacking in European commodities, or, in the case of this example, livestock (Impressions of... 1867b: 7):

...there are no sheep in the country (a suggestive fact for thoughtful Australians), very few pigs, and the scanty number of cows I have seen are all stall-fed.

Japanese travellers and migrants in Australia at the end of the 19th Century consisted mainly of acrobats and pearl divers (Frei 1991: 48), but later also indentured labourers and the employees of Japanese trading companies in the capital cities. In her book *Raiders on Australia*, Australian historian Pam Oliver (2010: 29) lists 69 towns and cities in which Japanese people resided throughout the country between 1867 and 1942, from as

far south as Albany and Melbourne to Darwin and the northern shores of Cape York.

In the early days of Japanese contact with Australia, the Australian press treated the Japanese presence as mainly a novelty. Reports in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and Melbourne's *Argus* of a troupe of Japanese acrobats touring the capital cities in 1868 reveal a fascination with the culture of a country that had been in isolation for so many years (The *Argus*: 1868):

...it is worth while to go and see how these people from "the uttermost ends of the earth" comport themselves, and of what fashion are their "sports and past times." That curiosity...invests these long-robed, sallow, grave people, with their unpronounceable names and quaint surroundings, with a special interest.

The numerous Chinese settlers who had appeared in Australia since the gold rush which began in the mid-19th Century, had not endeared themselves to the white Australian colonists. Stanley (2008: 23) notes:

From the gold rush decades one of the threats colonists perceived was Asian, and specifically Chinese...The people they called 'Chows' or 'Chinks' were feared because it was believed they would undercut wages, sell opium, spread plague or pollute the European race.

Although Australians recognised that Japanese were not Chinese, they were nevertheless considered the 'close kin' of the Chinese. As more indentured labourers and pearlers arrived in Australia from Japan over the second half of the century, public interest in the "great question of the Asiatic influx", as the *Brisbane Courier*, (The importation... 1889: 6) put it, increased. In its February, 1889 article, the newspaper welcomed the opportunity to make a judgement on Japanese workers "of lower class", explaining that the experience of Chinese settlement had "not been satisfactory to the colonies." As the number of Japanese immigrants increased, colonial Australians became more anxious about the question of immigration from Asian countries, culminating in the introduction of the Immigration Restriction Act (commonly known as the "White Australia Policy") as one of the first acts of the new parliament in 1901.

Pre-war representations of Japan

Stanley (2008: 17-18) argues that Australians had feared a Japanese invasion "for 50 years before World War II". Indeed, increasing fears at the

government level that the continent's 'empty north' was in danger of falling into foreign hands coincided with a proliferation of 'invasion fiction', which saw a myriad of fictional invaders streaming down from the north to take over Australia.

While the invasion fiction was often not specific about who the 'enemy' was, they were almost always 'Asiatics'. One of the earliest of these was Kenneth Mackay's invasion novel *The Yellow Wave*, first published in Australia in 1897, which told of an invasion of Australia by Russia, using Chinese (referred to as "Mongol") troops. Stanley (2008: 26) notes that "Asian people were thought to be incapable of mounting an assault without European aid".

Despite the forging of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in 1902, Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 switched the focus of an imagined invasion to Japan. In 1910, the Australian artist Lionel Lindsay, in *The Bulletin* (quoted in Broinowski 1992: 30) depicted a Samurai-like figure standing on top of a dam wall, leaning on a sign which reads "This dam is liable to burst in 1915", the year the treaty was due to expire.

Erle Cox's novel of invasion "Fool's Harvest", serialised in *The Argus* after the beginning of the war in November 1938, was hugely popular (Stanley 2008: 48). Described in *The Argus* (Hail of Death 1938: 1) as "a vital story... which is within the range of probability and within the reach of our time", it tells of an invasion of the Australian mainland by the fictional "Paramount Power" in the near future (1939). The author of this, as well as a raft of similar stories between federation and the Second World War, played on the burning question of a possible future invasion of the Australian mainland in order to press the need for adequate air and sea defences.

A look at the print media of the time suggests, though, that Australians, at least in the years following federation, were able to tell the difference between these fictional stories and reality. Oliver (2010: 111) notes that "when the Japanese Training Squadron...visited Australian ports, Australians lined the streets in tens of thousands to welcome the Japanese sailors." Despite representations of the Japanese as potential invaders in popular magazines such as *The Bulletin*, Australians seem to have been able to "distinguish between reality and fiction" (Oliver 2010: 111).

Despite the public's lack of anxiety, there were real fears at the top levels of Australian government that Japan had designs on Australia during the inter-war years. E. L. Piesse, the Australian government's founding intelligence officer, Director of Military Intelligence 1916-19 and head of the Pacific

Branch and Foreign Affairs section of the Prime Minister's Department 1919-23 had considerable influence over the government's policies towards Japan. He had a strong interest in Japan and prepared several reports for the government on Japan's ambitions for southward expansion and the danger posed to Australia. In one, written in 1918, he said that if Japan should turn southward (quoted in Meaney 1996: 10-11):

The attitude we shall take if White Australia be seriously challenged – the necessity for the vast expenditure in defence which Japan's presumed future has led us to plan – the prospect of preventing Japan from remaining in the occupied islands north of the equator – may all be affected.

In his study of Piesse, Neville Meaney (1996: 16) notes that in his role as Director of Military Intelligence, he also supervised censorship of the press and post. It is likely that this censorship contributed to the difference in opinion between the government and the public on the issue of Japan. Jacqui Murray in her book *Watching the Sun Rise* (2004: 165) also notes that the Australian media fell victim to a "huge public relations assault" by Japan; the result being that the fictional representations of Japan did not inform public opinion. In the 1930s, she says, "Japan was not regarded as a threat beyond its potential to produce unwanted immigrants".

After the Japanese captured Nanking in December 1937, however, Australians began to wake up to the threat of an expanding, militaristic Japan. Stanley (2008: 47) says, "By the time Australians learned of the Rape of Nanking many believed that their country was the target of Japan's expansion." The appearances of Fool's Harvest, as well as Willard Price's book *Japan Reaches Out*, both in 1938, poured fuel on the fire. Oliver (2010: 257) also makes the point:

When Australians suffered attacks by Japanese planes they understandably thought an invasion was imminent...when Australian troops fought and died in New Guinea and other parts of the Pacific, they too believed it was a fight to defend Australia from invasion.

Images such as the ones pictured below added to Australians' anxiety. While these images are nothing more than advertisements aimed at urging the Department of Aircraft Production's workforce to build more Beaufort Bombers, the images themselves tell us that a Japanese invasion was a real fear. In the image on the left, a recognisably Australian blue-collar worker pulls a rickshaw on which a caricature of a Japanese businessman rides, and in the background we can see the Japanese Imperial flag flying from



the top of Flinders St Station in Melbourne. The text – “A United ‘Fighting Mad’ Australia – can never be Enslaved” tells us what Australians feared would happen in the event of an invasion, fears stirred by stories like *Fool’s Harvest*.

The image on the right shows a map of Australia overlaid with typical Australian scenery and pastimes – a surfer in Sydney, a footballer in Melbourne, churches in Adelaide, and pineapples in Queensland – surrounded by ships flying the imperial Japanese flag with the text “Ringed with Menace!” across the top. Even if Australians weren’t “enslaved”, their way of life was under threat – interestingly, a fear that has resurfaced several generations later in relation to the current ‘asylum seeker’ issue.

Post-war representations of Japan

The press

The disarming of Japan after the war did little to temper Australian fears of a Japanese invasion. During the golden days of Japan’s economic bubble, fears that Japan would use its economic power replaced fears that it

would use its military power to get its hands on Australia. Routine coverage of Japanese investment in Australian real estate and businesses throughout the 1980s resulted in the birth of a significant anti-Japanese movement on Queensland's Gold Coast.

In 1987, a proposal by the Japanese ministry of International Trade & Industry to develop a 'technology city' in Australia met with unsurprising public opposition. The project, dubbed the "Multi-function Polis" (MFP) never took off, but some of the responses to the planning of the project are worth mentioning.

The project was referred to in the press variously as a "Japanese Trojan horse" and "Manchuria revisited" (Hamilton 1991: 154). These representations illustrate how much the memory of war coloured Australians' views at the time, and indeed still do now. Newspaper headlines such as "Get ready for Japan's City of the future – in Australia" (Jenkins 1988) and "Go west, we tell Japan's industry" (Quiddington 1987) suggested the new Japanese investment was not welcome, and illustrated fears that Japan would use its economic power, instead of military power, to do what it did not do in 1942.

In his book about the MFP proposal, *Serendipity City*, Walter Hamilton mentions the satirical commentary that appeared in both the News Limited press (the *Australian*) and the Fairfax press (the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Age*) which takes us back to stories about Australian prisoners of war during the Second World War. This fictional interview with an MFP organiser from the Fairfax press (quoted in Hamilton 1991: 151):

What's a multi-function polis?

Well, it's a polis, a multifunctional one.

Thanks, that really helps, but what is it exactly?

Well, it's a Japanese idea using a lot of Japanese money and Australian labour to build it.

Like the Burma railway?

Yes. No. Look, it's not very helpful to bring up the past. It's dead and buried, like a lot of people who lived in it.

Hamilton (1991: 152) goes on to comment that "a disturbing number of stories written by supposedly reputable newspaper journalists...have contained gross distortions and errors of fact" in relation to the MFP.

Memories of the past tainted Australians' view of the project from the beginning, and continue to influence Australians' thinking about Japanese in their country.

Film & Literature

Australian TV travel shows and news reports have always presented Japan as 'mysterious' and 'mystical', using 'oriental' music and imagery of recognisable symbols such as Mt. Fuji. Even news reports set in the cities tend to use imagery that makes the place seem as alien as possible, and attention is drawn to how busy and crowded the cities are in contrast to our own.

Other forms of Australian pop culture with Japanese settings also project this image. Andrew O'Connor's 2006 novel *Tuvalu* is set in Tokyo and centres on a character, Noah Tuttle, who is essentially lost in a country he does not understand. At no point during the novel does he make an attempt to learn the Japanese language, or to understand the seemingly bizarre culture he finds himself in. Similarly, Australian pop band *Regurgitator* recorded a music video in 1997 for the track "!(The Song Formerly Known As)" in downtown Tokyo. The clip features two of the band's members singing in the street while Japanese text swirls by them and bright neon lights flash in the background, highlighting the incomprehensibility of the place.

In her study of *Representations of the Japanese in Contemporary Australian Literature and Film*, Erika Smith (2008: 49) notes "a strong link between contemporary Australian writers and the experiences and impressions of the Japanese in WWII". In her analysis of Japanese characters in *Tuvalu* and Australian author Bryce Courtenay's 2007 novel *The Persimmon Tree*, she states, in relation to the WWII-derived representations (Smith 2008: 49):

On the one hand it is important for contemporary literature to acknowledge these representations, even if they may be hasty or inaccurate, to offer readers insight into mainstream perceptions of the time. However, it is equally important for texts to develop these representations in a contemporary context.

The two most common representations of Japan and the Japanese, that of a 'mysterious land' and, as Smith (2008: 41) puts it, "the 'other' to be most feared" are prevalent in the development of characters and representations of Japan in Australian popular literature, film, and music. They are also dominant in media representations.

Whaling

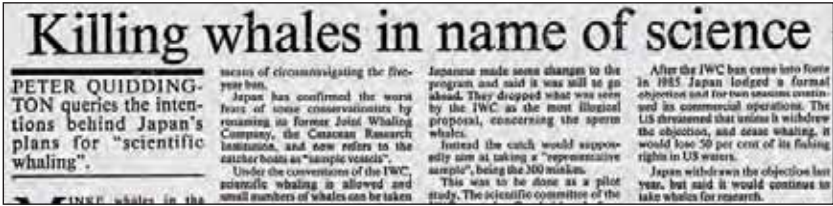
The 'fear' of 'invasion' from the north continues to this day. One only needs to look at an Australian newspaper these days to see headlines about the latest arrival of refugees in boats, featuring menacing language that consistently suggests that Australia is in danger of being 'taken over' by a different ethnic group. Over the southern summer, too, we can see similarly provocative reporting about Japanese whaling in the Southern Ocean.

In the epilogue to his *Invading Australia*, Stanley (2008: 257) mentions the tabloid press' characterisation of the whaling issue as "Whale War II" and says that "the Second World War continues to colour Australian attitudes to Japan". Smith's (2008: 60) claim regarding literature also reinforces this point.

After the International Whaling Commission (IWC) passed its moratorium on commercial whaling in 1986, Japan switched from commercial whaling to scientific whaling, a limited amount of which is permitted under the IWC's rules. Ever since then, the media have been critical of Japan's whaling, but the criticism has increased considerably in the last five years, mainly due to the actions of the environmental groups Greenpeace and Sea Shepherd. Japanese whaling is now a part of the annual news 'cycle' in Australia, and images of whales covered in blood appear every summer as predictably as fire warnings and cricket tests.

The media coverage gives the impression that Japan's scientific whaling is not only illegal, but that the program is a violation of Australia's sovereignty as the whales are consistently characterised as 'our whales'.

While the frequency of the articles may have increased, the content of the articles hasn't changed much. The argument that Japan's scientific whaling is a "cover" for commercial whaling is as prevalent in media coverage now as it was almost twenty-five years ago when the moratorium was signed. Similarly, attention is drawn to the proximity of the whaling operations to the Australian mainland. The phrase "scientific whaling" is often enclosed within double quotes, and prefixed with "so-called", implying that the operations are incorrectly referred to as scientific, and the media try to humanize the whales by referring to the "hunting" as "killing" or "slaughter", creating an emotional link between the viewer/reader and the whales.



This article from the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1988 uses “killing” instead of “hunting” in its headline, evoking a negative emotional response in the reader. It also encloses “scientific whaling” in double quotes to create doubt in the reader’s mind about the Japanese whalers’ true intentions (Quiddington 1988).

There is very little opposition in the Australian media to the view that Japan’s whaling is disguised commercial whaling, with the result that most people do not think too much about it and simply consider that it is indeed commercial whaling in disguise.

In a rare departure from the typical coverage of Japanese whaling, in 2010 the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) broadcast a documentary on its *Foreign Correspondent* program in which the ABC’s north Asia correspondent, Mark Willacy, investigated the Japanese whaling industry (Willacy 2010). It featured interviews with two Japanese Greenpeace activists who had been arrested for stealing whale meat, but who claimed to have uncovered corruption in the whaling industry.

What made this coverage stand out was that the setting was Japan, and as such it presented the same ‘mysterious’ image of Japan that Australians are used to seeing in travel documentaries and literature. It begins with a shot of Mt Fuji (pictured below) and the soundtrack is typically ‘oriental’.



This image of Mt Fuji at the beginning of the documentary is juxtaposed with the image of Mr. Suzuki on his motorcycle. A soft, serene soundtrack is contrasted with a rock soundtrack for maximum effect.

This image is juxtaposed with the next scene, which shows Toru Suzuki (one of the two Greenpeace activists) riding his motorcycle. The soundtrack changes from the serene 'oriental' music to a rock soundtrack, highlighting the difference between this man and his country. The effect is that Mr. Suzuki appears not to 'fit in' with his surroundings, which is indeed the intended message because he is a Japanese person opposed to Japanese whaling. Willacy ensures the message sinks in with this line at the end of the opening scene (Willacy 2010):

There's a saying in Japan that the nail that sticks out should be hammered back in. In this country, where conformity is a national duty, Toru Suzuki is a protruding nail and the way to beat him back in to line - a possible ten-year prison term.

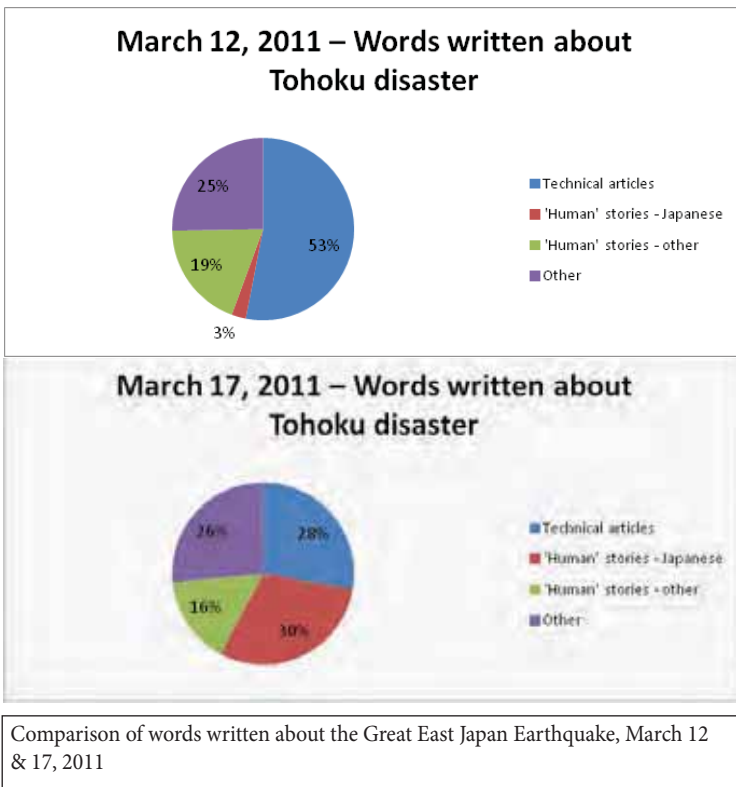
Unlike most coverage of Japanese whaling, which focuses on Japanese whalers on ships in the Southern Ocean, this documentary shows Japanese people talking about whaling in Japan. While this may be an unusual way of dealing with the image of whaling, in the context of representations of Japan, it shows us the same 'mysterious' image that Australians have been accustomed to since the early Australian entrepreneurs who travelled to Yokohama in the late 19th Century. We also get the sense that a Japanese person, such as Suzuki, who disagrees with his country's whaling policy is unusual, an outsider, reinforcing the belief that there is limited opposition to whaling in Japan.

The Great East Japan Earthquake, 2011

The earthquake and subsequent tsunami that struck north-eastern Japan on March 11, 2011, led to a new type of representation of Japan and the Japanese in the Australian media. It is still perhaps too early to make a judgement on whether this event will have a lasting effect on how Australian media present Japan to their Australian audience, but the early signs are encouraging.

An analysis of 92 newspaper articles (see Appendix) from three Australian newspapers – the *Australian* (Australia's only national broadsheet), the *Age* and the *Herald-Sun* (both Melbourne papers) from the week after the disaster revealed a change in the print media's presentation of Japan. Despite the stories being about things happening in Japan, relatively little column space was wasted on 'mysterious' or 'oriental' imagery.

On the day immediately after the disaster (March 12), much of the coverage (53% of the total words written) was devoted to technical aspects, such as the movement of tectonic plates and how nuclear power plants work. By March 17, this proportion had reduced to 28% at the expense of stories about Japanese peoples’ experiences. The proportion of words written about foreign residents’ experiences (25% on March 12 and 26% on March 17) didn’t change much over the week, and stories classified as ‘other’ – stories about matters such as the economic impact of the disaster and the political implications – decreased from 19% on March 12 to 16% on March 17.



If the Australian media can continue this trend of telling stories about Japan from the perspective of Japanese people, Australians can come to

understand their northern neighbours better. This will lead to a better relationship based not only on economic and defence-related ties, but also on social and cultural links.

Conclusion

For a hundred years, representations of Japan and the Japanese in Australian media have been dominated by the 'mysterious' image of Japan the country, and the 'invader' image that borrows from the past. As a result, Australian people do not relate well to the Japanese, and do not understand Japan's culture as well as a near neighbor in the Pacific should. While it can't be said that Australian people dislike the Japanese, the relationship certainly is not as warm as it should be.

Perhaps it will not be easy for Australians to overcome their anxiety about foreign 'invasion' of their territory, but a deeper understanding of the Japanese people and their culture will allow people to see issues like Japanese investment and whaling in a new light. Likewise, if less attention is given to presenting Japan as a mysterious, unknowable land, more coverage can be devoted to telling real stories about Japan and the Japanese.

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Abstract

In the popular Australian imagination, Japan is often considered a mysterious, distant land beyond our ability to easily comprehend. Despite remaining a popular tourist destination for Australians (until 2011's earthquake & tsunami disaster), the 'far East' image of Japan prevents Australians from meaningfully engaging with Japan and its culture.

This paper examines the construction of the 'far East' image of Japan in Australian media since the beginnings of Australian contact with Japan in the second half of the 19th Century until the present day.

In the 19th Century, Australian writers tended to present aspects of Japan by comparing them with their European equivalents; the countryside, for example, is described as "one universal market-

garden, with no fences in the fields, and no implements of the European kind." Far from being a culture from which Europeans could 'learn', Japanese culture was instead presented as in need of the 'civilising' influence of Europeans.

This type of representation more or less continued until the Pacific War, when images of Japan as a danger to Australian sovereignty and the Japanese as barbaric monsters overtook the popular imagination. After the war, Japan's economic power displaced its military power as the source of Australian anxiety, and in recent years the 'barbarian' image has returned in reporting about Japanese whaling.

In contrast, however, media coverage of the 2011 Tohoku earthquake ignored a lot of the negative representations that still punctuate media coverage of whaling.

Santrauka

Australijoje Japonija dažniausiai įsivaizduojama kaip paslaptinga, tolima šalis, kurią sudėtinga suprasti. Nepaisant to, kad tarp australų Japonija išlieka populiaria turistine kryptimi (iki 2011-ųjų žemės drebėjimo ir cunamio), Tolimųjų Rytų Japonijos įvaizdis kliudo australams geriau pažinti šią šalį ir jos kultūrą.

Straipsnyje aptariamas Tolimųjų Rytų Japonijos įvaizdis Australijos žiniasklaidoje: nuo pirmųjų australų kontaktų su Japonija XIX a. antroje pusėje iki šių laikų.

XIX a. australų rašytojams buvo būdinga su Japonija susijusias realijas pristatyti vertinant jas europietišrame kontekste. Pavyzdžiui, kaimo vietovės aprašas: „vienas universalus turgus-sodas, be jokių tvorų laukuose ir be europietiško inventoriaus“. Japonijos kultūra buvo laikoma anaipol ne tokia, iš kurios europiečiai galėtų „pasimokyti“. Netgi priešingai – ji buvo vaizduojama kaip kultūra, kurią europiečiai turėtų „civilizuoti“.

Maždaug toks Japonijos vaizdavimo modelis išliko iki Antrojo pasaulinio karo, kuomet paplito Japonijos, kaip pavojaus Australijos suverenitetui, ir barbarų japonų įvaizdžiai. Po karo Japonijos karinę galią, kėlusią australams nerimą, pakeitė jos, stiprios ekonomikos šalies įvaizdis, o barbarų įvaizdis sugrįžo pranešimuose apie japonų banginių medžioklę.

Appendix

1. A deadly power known since ancient times. *AU*, 2011, March 12: p17.
2. Alford, P. 2011. Airlift on way to stricken reactors. *AU*, March 22: p7.
3. Alford, P. 2011. Foreigners flee nuclear crisis. *AU*, March 17: p1.
4. Alford, P. 2011. Growth to be jolted, but not for long. *AU*, March 22: p7.
5. Alford, P. 2011. Last Aussies on embassy missing list accounted for as rescue crews fly home. *AU*, March 22: p7.
6. Alford, P. 2011. Woman's survival inspires nation. *AU*, March 17: p3.
7. Barry, E. 2011. The Ring of Fire strikes again. *HS*, March 12: p5.
8. Buttler, M. 2011. No way out from 10m wall of death. *HS*, March 12: p2.
9. Carey, A. 2011. 'Skyscrapers were swaying like the masts of yachts'. *AGE*, March 12: p3.
10. Carey, A. 2011. New Zealand couple left all behind. *AGE*, March 17: p6.
11. Carlyon, P. 2011. Transfixed by the latest in a surge of disasters. *HS*, March 12: p3.
12. Cresswell, A. 2011. Stay indoors and cover up to keep harm at bay. *AU*, March 17: 4.
13. Devine, M. 2011. Japan shows true courage. *HS*, March 17: p34.
14. Dodd, M. 2011. Recovery operations hindered by low fuel. *AU*, March 17: p2.
15. England, C. 2011. Nuclear on back burner. *HS*, March 22: p29.
16. Franklin, M. 2011. PM's Japan visit a 'token of good will'. *AU*, April 21: p2.
17. Garnaut, J. 2011. 'I must never die. I must be strongly determined'. *AGE*, March 17: p3.
18. Howden, S.; Reilly, T. & Saulwick, J. 2011. Tsunami alert - disaster in Japan. *AGE*, March 12: p2.
19. Inajima, T. & Sato, S. 2011. Frantic bid to douse reactors: Water-bombing aircraft grounded as crisis grows. *AGE*, March 17: p1.
20. Ito, Y. 2011. Millions stranded as chaos hits city. *AU*, March 12: p23.
21. Japan flights. *HS*, 2011, April 16: p14.
22. Kent, P. 2011. Aussies urged to get out now. *HS*, March 17: p4.
23. Langmaid, A. 2011. Shaking horror on 10th floor. *HS*, March 12: p7.
24. Le Grand, C. 2011. 'Alpha' team is put on standby. *AU*, March 12: p18.
25. Maiden, M. 2011. Quake's rumbles simply add to uncertainty. *AGE*, March 12: p2.
26. Meltdown to the core. *AGE*, 2011, June 10: p15.
27. Mind the gap: \$65 billion: Disaster in Japan. *AGE*, 2011, March 17: p4.
28. Murphy, P. 2011. 50 brave men the last hope in crisis. *HS*, March 17: p6.
29. Nation waits in suspense. *HS*, 2011, March 17: p34.
30. Nature sends grim warning. *HS*, 2011, March 12: p80.
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