# FROM ATOMIC ENERGY TO NUCLEAR SCIENCE; A History of the Australian Atomic Energy Commission

Submitted by Anna-Eugenia Binnie BSc, Dip Ed, MSc(Hons) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Macquarie University Physics Department

28<sup>th</sup> February 2003

## Copyright in relation to this Thesis

Under the Copyright Act 1968 (several provision of which are referred to below), this material must be used only under the normal conditions of scholarly fair dealing for the purposes of research, criticism or review. In particular no results or conclusions should be extracted from it, nor should it be copied or closely parahrased in whole or in part without the written consent of the author. Proper written acknowledgement should be made for any assistance obtained from this material.

Under Section 35 (2) of the Copyright Act 1968 'the author of a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is the owner of any copyright subsisting in the work'. By virtue of Section 32 (1) copyright 'subsists in an original literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work that is unpublished' land of which the author was an Australian citizen, an Australian protected person or a person resident in Australia.

The Act, by Section 36 (1) provides: 'Subject to this Act, the copyright in a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright and without the licence of the owner of the copyright, does in Australia, or authorises the doing in Australia of, any act comprised in the copyright'.

Section 31 (1) (a) (i) provides that copyright includes the exclusive right to 'reproduce the work in a material form'. Thus, copyright is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright, reproduces or authorises the reproduction of a work, or of more than a reasonable part of the work, in a material form, unless the reproduction is a 'fair dealing' with the work 'for the purpose of research or study' as further defined in Sections 40 and 41 of the Act.

Section 51 (2) provides that "Where a manuscript, or a copy, of material of other similar literary work that has not been published is kept in a library of a university or other similar institution or in an archives, the copyright in the material or other work is not infringed by the making of a copy of the material or other work by or on behalf of the officer in charge of the library or archives if the copy is supplied to a person who satisfies an authorized officer of the library or archives that he requires the copy for the purpose of research or study'.

<sup>\*</sup> Thesis' includes 'treatise', 'dissertation' and other similar productions.

# **CONTENTS**

C	<b>ERTIFI</b>	CATE OF SUBMISSION	iii
SI	UMMAI	RY	iv
Α	CKNOV	VLEDGEMENTS	vi
LI	ST OF	FIGURES	.viii
P	REFAC	E	ix
IN	ITROD	UCTION	1
1		PHANT; A FINGER IN MANY PIES	
		Introduction	
		The New Man at the Cavendish	
		The Young Professor, a Great Physicist and Part of the Cavendish	
	Netwo	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	1.4	The MAUD Committee	
		Travels to the US	
		Forever an Australian	
		The Manhattan Project	
		The Peacemaker Returns Home to Australia	
2		OF VISION AND A WORLD POWER IN EMBRYO	_
_	2.1	Introduction	
		Chifley and a Vision of Australia Splendid	
	2.3	The Snowy Mountains Scheme	
		Atomic Energy (Control of Materials) Act 1946	
		Australia and the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission	
		Security and the CSIR	
		ASIO	
		Long Range Weapons Project	
		British Atomic Testing	
3		BIRTH OF THE COMMISSION	
Ŭ	3.1	Introduction	
		Industrial Atomic Energy Committee	
		Atomic Energy Act 1953	
	3.4	The Commission; an Independent Body	
	3.5	Uranium	
		Combined Development Agency	
4		NEED SECRETS TO TRADE: The Beryllia Project	
•	4.1	Introduction	
		AAEC Structure and Administration	90 80
	4.3	Recruiting and Training of Commission Staff	
	4.4	The Need for a Research Reactor	
		HIFAR is Born	
	4.6	Beryllium and Beryllia	
	4.7	Reactor Research Projects	
	4.8	Electricity for the Bush	
		We Can Hold our Heads up with Pride	
5		COMMISSION; A Hive Of Activity	
J	5.1	Introduction	
	5.2	Irradiation, Isotope Facilities and Neutron Diffraction	
	5.3	Project Plowshare	
	J.J	1 10 50(1 10W3) a 5	10/

	5.4	Harry Messel and the Ford Foundation	. 170
	5.5	The Birth of the Australian Institute for Nuclear Science and	
	Engine	eering, AINSE	. 178
	5.6	One Reactor is not Enough; the arrival of MOATA	. 180
6	THE	REACTOR THAT NEVER WAS: The Jervis Bay Project	
	6.1	Introduction	
	6.2	Political Background	
	6.3	A Home Grown Reactor?	
	6.4	The Need for Uranium and Heavy Water	. 227
	6.5	The Uranium Fuel Cycle and Enrichment	
	6.6	Tenders Are Called	
	6.7	A Change in Prime Minister, a Moratorium and the Project Dies	.254
	6.8	The Critical Facility	
7	THE	REINVENTION OF THE COMMISSION	. 269
	7.1	Introduction	
	7.2	A New Structure and The Whitlam Years	
	7.3	The Fraser Years and More Change	
	7.4	Uranium Mining	
	7.5	The Ranger Project	.306
	7.6	The Enrichment Work Continues Regardless	
	7.7	Synroc	
	7.8	Conclusion	
8		COMMISSION IS DEAD, LONG LIVE ANSTO	
_	8.1	Introduction	
	8.2	The Commission in Limbo	
	8.3	The Collins Review and the End of the Commission	
	8.4	ANSTO Comes into Existence	
	8.5	A New Direction for the New Organisation	.361
	8.6	A Dismissal	
9		NCLUSION	
_	9.1	The Political Community	
	9.2	The Scientific Community	
	9.3	The Wider Australian Community	
11		PPENDICES	
•	10.1	Appendix 1: AAEC Commissioners and the ANSTO Board Members	
		391	
	10.2	Appendix 2: Nuclear Science Terminology	405
		Appendix 3: Nuclear Reactors	
1		BLIOGRAPHY	
-	11.1	PUBLICATIONS - Books	415
		PUBLICATIONS – Journals	
		ACTS OF PARLIAMENT	
	11.4	AUSTRALIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE	410
		AUSTRALIAN DICTIONARY OF BIOGRAPHY ARCHIVES	
		NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, Oral History Section	
		INTERVIEWS	
	11.8	NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF AUSTRALIA (CANBERRA)	421
1:		UBLICATIONS AND CONFERENCE PAPERS PRESENTED	
•	12.1	Publications	
		Conference Papers Presented	
	· — · —		

### **CERTIFICATE OF SUBMISSION**

This is to certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Ama-Eugenia Binine

Anna-Eugenia Binnie

#### SUMMARY

Nuclear energy was once seen as a possible answer to man's energy needs, but it could also be used to produce the most destructive weapons known. The initial research into the phenomenon of nuclear fission was done at university laboratories in Europe on the eve of the Second World War. This war led to the development of the first nuclear weapons. After the war, many nations wanted access to both the weapons and the source of cheap power that the process of nuclear fission provided. Australia was one such nation.

The Australian Government wanted nuclear energy to help develop the dry interior of the continent. There were many in Government who also wanted nuclear weapons. This work focuses on the Australian pursuit of nuclear energy for peaceful uses. The achieve this aim an organisation was established which would train scientists and engineers in nuclear science and technology. This organisation, the Australian Atomic Energy Commission, is the subject of this thesis.

This work will examine the political influences that governed the Commission in its function and scientific research paths. Specifically, it will examine how successive governments caused the Commission to cancel projects, change the direction of its research, attempted (on several occasions) to amalgamate the Commission with the CSIRO, forcing the organisation into uranium mining and finally abolishing it and replacing it with a new organisation, the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation. Government interference would continue with this new organisation which had its entire board dismissed in 1993.

The Commission was essentially a scientific and engineering organisation and hence this thesis will also consider a number of projects with which the Commission was involved such as the Beryllium Project, uranium exploration and mining, the uranium enrichment programs, the purchase of two nuclear reactors, the Synroc project, and the ill-fated Jervis Bay power reactor project. Other projects which were started in the early days of the Commission, the neutron diffraction work and the isotope production projects, will be mentioned in passing. Both these projects require a more detailed appraisal than is possible in this thesis.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I should like to acknowledge the assistance and support of my three supervisors;

- Peter Browne (Physics) for his meticulous editorial work,
- Arthur Pryor (Physics) for suggesting the thesis topic and sharing many of his reminiscences of the Commission,
- and Duncan Waterson (Modern History) for his guidance in Australian History and Politics.

I should also like to acknowledge the support of my family, particularly my husband Ian without whom this thesis would never have been started let alone completed, his assistance with proof reading and comments on the thesis, and for a wonderful birthday present; a laptop computer on which to write the thesis. My children, Matthew, who helped with software, and Edward and Rebecca who just encouraged their Mum.

I should like to acknowledge the assistance of the following:-

- AAEC and ANSTO staff who were willing to be interviewed for this
  thesis; Keith Alder, Terry Walker, Doug Ebeling, Neil McDonald, Dick
  Collins, Max Brennan and Claudio Tuniz. I should like to also thank
  many of their wives for scrumptious morning and afternoon teas and for
  also sharing their experiences.
- Keith Alder who made comments on the thesis and provided additional material.
- John Rowland and the staff of the Government and Public Affairs at ANSTO for providing me with many of the photographs that have been used in this work and that have also been used in some of my conference presentations and publications.

- Brian Horwood, Managing Director of Rio-Tinto Australia, Jeff
   Hughes, Company Secretary ERA and his Personal Assistant Linda
   Hoskin for providing information on ERA.
- Jenny Nicholls, Executive Director of the Science Foundation for Physics at Sydney University for providing access to the Science Foundation archives.

# **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 3-1 The First Commission	80
Figure 3-2 Rum Jungle	88
Figure 4-1 Map of Lucas Heights	. 124
Figure 4-2 Schematic Diagram of HIFAR	.131
Figure 4-3 HIFAR Under Construction	. 134
Figure 4-4 Pebble-bed Reactor	.153
Figure 5-1 MOATA	. 182
Figure 6-1 Lucas Heights Research Establishment	. 192
Figure 6-2 Jervis Bay Site	
Figure 6-3 Jervis Bay Reactor Site	
Figure 6-4 Uranium, Coal, Gas and Oil Deposits	
Figure 6-5 Schematic Diagram of a Diffusion Enrichment Unit	.240
Figure 6-6 Schematic of a Centrifuge Unit	.241
Figure 6-7 CANDU Reactor Schematic Diagram	.244
Figure 6-8 SGHWR Schematic Diagram	.245
Figure 6-9 BWR Schematic Diagram	.246
Figure 6-10 PWR Schematic Diagram	.246
Figure 6-11 PHWR Schematic Diagram	. 248
Figure 6-12 Artist's Impression of the Jervis Bay Reactor	.252
Figure 6-13 Critical Facility Under Construction	. 263
Figure 6-14 Critical Facility	.264
Figure 7-1 Map of Uranium Deposits	.303
Figure 7-2 Ranger Map	
Figure 7-3 Ranger Uranium Mine Site	.310
Figure 7-4 Proposed Kakadu National Park	.313
Figure 7-5 Location of the Jabiru Township	316
Figure 7-6 Technetium 99m Generator	.332
Figure 7-7 HIFAR	334
Figure 7-8 Schematic Diagram of the Synroc Demonstration Plant	337
Figure 8-1 The Last Commission	352
Figure 8-2 ANSTO's 'Cuddly a' Logo	.360
Figure 8-3 ANSTO Logo	360
Figure 8-4 Aerial View of Lucas Heights	364
Figure 8-5 Transportation of the Tandem Accelerator to ANSTO through	
Sydney streets	368

#### **PREFACE**

When one decides to write a history of a scientific organisation one must decide initially whether it will tell the story in great detail and hence attempt to write a definitive history or whether it is better to write an overview which focuses on specific events. My choice was made easy, for a PhD thesis one is constrained by a number of factors, time being of the essence and funding for specialist overseas archival research being a secondary consideration. One is expected to research and write up one's research in a span of a few years. This time frame does not allow one to develop the subject area into a more detailed work such as the official histories of the UKAEA or the USAEC. Detailed histories such as these require more resources than those at the disposal of a mere postgraduate student.

Further, as an unproven new researcher and one researching an organisation that has come under continual criticism for the last twenty years, I was unable to gain access to private papers and other materials belonging to the AAEC which are currently held in the National Archives of Australia Repository in N.S.W. Research material accessed for this work came from government files located in the National Archives of Australia in Canberra, the Annual Reports of the AAEC and ANSTO (many of which were borrowed from ANSTO at Lucas Heights), interviews with some of the scientists involved with the Commission, five publications written about the Commission and many publications on Australian history and the biographies of individuals who have had an impact on the Commission.

The AAEC has not had its official history written. When it was first suggested that I undertake to write a history of the AAEC, I initially thought that this would be little more than a dry organisational history with the scientific

struggles and achievements the only bright part of the of an otherwise mundane story. How wrong that initial thought proved. This history is anything but boring. In a nation so ordinary and as apparently open as Australia is, it is difficult to envisage any thought of Machiavellian intrigue. But the intrigue surrounding the functioning of the Commission would make the Borgias seem pedestrian. This intrigue does not come from the scientific community involved with research at the Commission but from the politicians, administrators and public servants who established their own agendas for the Commission and either failed to or chose not to communicate with those who were charged with the duty of carrying out their instructions.

I had also expected the story to be one of scientific achievement followed by some form of adulation but this too was not the case. Yes, there was scientific achievement, in fact Australia turned out to be the cradle from which the atomic age came into being. The Commission itself was also a hot house which nourished a number of young scientists who made contributions to the area of atomic energy but much of this achievement failed to come into the public eye. Their works were cited by overseas scientists, their creativity showed there was more than one way to develop a nuclear reactor and their practical sense also showed that radioisotopes had many uses beyond the laboratory bench.

But there has not been the adulation of those who brought all these achievements to the community. There has been no gratitude to those who devised methods by which diseases could be diagnosed through the use of scans employing radioisotopes and by which the environment could be monitored and polluting materials traced back to their sources by the use of radioactive tracers. Instead, in the final quarter of the Twentieth Century, many from within the community vilified those scientists who worked for the

Commission. There was an almost irrational fear amongst some within the community of all things nuclear. This fear then being vented on those who worked at the Commission.

This work will attempt to demonstrate how the Commission actually came into being and the forces; political, social and scientific, which helped shape the Commission. It will explore the relationship between science and government and it may seem that C.P.Snow's (1905-1980) conjecture of the two cultures<sup>1</sup> certainly existed here in Australia (and it may be argued still does to some extent). It will follow the major developments within the Commission set against the background of Australian politics in the second half of the Twentieth Century. However this work is an overview of the events the people and the discoveries that make up the history of the Australian Atomic Energy Commission. Due to its very nature it cannot be much more than that.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Snow, C.P. 'The Two Cultures' Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1959