Struggling to make the world a better place

Exploring some experiences of activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (1965 – 1977)

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A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD)

2019

Dedication

This work is dedicated to the many thousands of ordinary New Zealanders, of all ages, women and men from all walks of life, who worked tirelessly for many years without any expectation of personal gain to oppose injustice – the people who made the momentous events of the 1960s and 1970s happen.

Cover photo: Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) organised protest on the USS Okanogan, 19 May 1968. The Okanogan was one of a series of USA warships engaged in military actions in Vietnam and which visited NZ ports for crew "rest and recreation". During these visits the ships would be opened to the public as a public relations exercise.

Following this protest the USA warships ceased to be moored at Auckland port, being moved to Devonport Naval Base and, later, after protests there, to smaller regional ports such as Marsden Point.

Photo first published in the *People's Voice*, 22.5.68. Photographer Rex Holliss.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all the people who have helped me through the process of completing this thesis. I have enjoyed and appreciated the encouragement, practical help and suggestions throughout the development of this project. A special thanks to my family, especially Anna for inspiring me to finally get started on a project I had been contemplating for many years, for her input and for putting up with me through this long drawn-out process.

In particular I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor Marilyn Waring and Drs Grant Gillon and Sue Bradford. Marilyn has been a great encouragement for my study, and a fountain of knowledge. Her guidance and support throughout the process has been immeasurable. Sue picked up the supervision from Grant part way through the study, and came with a personal knowledge of PYM and wider protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Marilyn's monthly "pot luck" dinners have been invaluable as a platform for sharing experiences and ideas with other people at various stages of their theses, and also a venue for presentations by people knowledgeable in various aspects of the PhD process. The ability to meet other students working on theses and share information and encouragement has been invaluable, and without that venue the process would have been lonely and much more difficult. I am also grateful to the other members of the "phenomenology special interest group" who generously shared information and experiences.

Of immense assistance at the beginning was the qualitative methodology masterclass run by Professor Lynne Giddings, which helped unravel the mysteries of methodologies. Also of great help were the NVivo workshops run my Racheal Butler from Academic Consulting, and the Ethics seminars by Charles Grinter. Also, my thanks to Charles for his advice and guidance for the ethics process.

My thanks also to the library and IT staff who helped me with data searches, especially Dr Robyn Ramage, Ann Chen and Andrew South who helped me to overcome Endnote and other software and computer crises during the thesis process. Also, thanks to the staff at University of Auckland Library Special Collections, in particular Katherine Pawley for her generous help.

My final writing would not have been the same without the series of seminars on Thesis Writing conducted by former Learning Adviser David Parker towards the end of 2017. Thanks also to David for his final proofreading and Maggie Eyre for her practical advice on presenting the thesis.

Naturally I take full responsibility for the final contents and text.

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: B Tlee

Date 3rd March 2019

Abstract

The 1960s and 1970s were an unprecedented period of social activism and protest in Aotearoa New Zealand and many other countries. The thesis traces the development of the two major movements of the time, those against the Vietnam War and apartheid in South Africa, and examines the backgrounds and experiences of a selection of former members of Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM). PYM was an activist group often at the forefront of protests against the war and apartheid, as well as against other local and international injustices.

The emerging of the NZ movements has been examined within the framework of prominent theories on the development of social movements. In the process the influences and organisations involved are detailed and examined. The process gives a broad perspective on the growth of the two most significant protest streams in the 1960s and 1970s. It also traces the flow on effect which helped precipitate numerous movements that followed, in the later 1970s and beyond.

Central to the study is the question of how young people came to be involved in PYM. The study presents the stories of 25 former PYM members. Fifteen of these are taken from one-to-one interviews and the other ten from participant contributions to a survey. The data shows widely differing backgrounds and influences. The study matches these against the existing theories regarding becoming involved in political activism and also compares specific data with results of USA studies. As part of this investigation, participants have described how they viewed the social, political and economic climate at the time they became involved in PYM, and also why they felt that protest activity was appropriate. The chapter on the latter topic also explores the issue of the efficacy of protest action and the legacy of the 1960s and 1970s movements.

Study participants were asked about memorable experiences of their time in PYM, and overwhelmingly responses included issues which I have combined under the title of "repression" (using Boykoff's (2006) modes of suppression). This category encompasses the actions of police, media and the Security Intelligence Service. The associated literature shows that the Auckland experiences were by no means unique, and also gives explanations for some of these experiences.

The issue of differences and conflicts between groups within the movements also featured significantly in the contributions from participants. The study outlines these contributions and uses available literature to explore the historical contexts and roots of these differences in a way that recognises the unavoidable disagreements over fundamental issues but also the potential for cooperation in a common struggle against injustice.

The thesis explores participant recollections of issues of race, gender and sexuality in the movement at the time. It also investigates how participants viewed the long-term vision of PYM, and the later life trajectories of participants in terms of continued activism, employment choices and positive and negative reflections.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Where I am coming from

I grew up in a working class family in the new state housing area of Panmure, Auckland. Both my parents had been in the army during WWII, my father a medical orderly and my mother a cook and one of the first members of the Women's Army Corps. They had met in the army and married in 1946. Both had experienced the 1930s depression, and this left them with a frugal approach to life, without being mean or obsessive.

After WWII my father completed an adult apprenticeship as a carpenter in the Ōtāhuhu Railway Workshops. At the workshops, there was strong unionism, a strong bond of camaraderie among workmates and a strong left-wing influence. This progressive atmosphere suited my father well since his pre-war experiences in the Queensland cane fields and involvement in the massive Weil's disease strike in 1935 gave him a very strong trade union ethos.[1]

Like most women in post-WWII NZ, my mother did the unpaid work at home, which included child minding, making our clothes, baking and making meals, making jams and preserves from any available fruit to ensure that the single wage kept the household going. Both my parents tended a large vegetable garden which assisted the family finances.

Like many teenagers I grew up feeling that NZ really was the "land of milk and honey" even though I was conscious that there were problems, especially rising prices and insufficient funding for health and education. Issues like these were discussed in front of us as we grew up. There were plenty of jobs and, it appeared, no shortage of housing.

My father gave me a consciousness of class society and empathy with workers. Dad was very strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam and, in my teens, I had many arguments with him about it. I finally realised that what he said made sense. My thinking changed and I took a keen interest in what was happening in the news, especially events in Vietnam.

[1] Cane cutters were being infected with Weil's disease, carried by rats and snakes in the cane. They wanted cane field owners to burn the cane before it was cut and went on strike when their employers imposed unacceptable terms for doing so. Employers brought in scabs to do the work and police reinforcements were brought in to protect the scabs. It became a very bitter dispute. Later it became law that cane had to be burnt before cutting. My father always believed the disease was bubonic plague. Apparently there were similarities in the physical symptoms. The strike has been documented by Diane Menghetti (1983), who wrote that it developed after cane field owners, supported by the Australian Workers' Union, reneged on an agreement regarding burning made in 1934. Their objective was to break the Australian Communist Party influence in the northern branches of the union. The union worked very actively to undermine the strike.

My ambition from primary school age was to be a policeman. At the beginning of 1966, I went to the Police Training School at Trentham for 19 months of training as a police cadet. I never hid my political views, which had become quite socialist and continued to develop during my time there. I read everything I could find about the Vietnam War,[2] with great assistance from the Camp Librarians, and kept a detailed scrapbook of clippings about the war and other political issues. I increasingly identified with the struggle of the Vietnamese liberation forces against blatant aggression on the part of the USA[3] and other countries, including Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the meantime, my older brother Bill became involved in protest activities in Auckland. In 1966 he joined Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) and gave me political publications to read when I was home on holiday.

I graduated from Trentham in August 1967 and was posted to Auckland Central Police Station. By that time I had become quite skeptical about the climate in the police but was convinced that my political views would not be a problem as long as I did my job. I began mixing with a few PYM members and went to a meeting.

On the Saturday of Labour weekend 1967,[4] I was interviewed about my political views and associations by Inspector Grynwyd Rees. The following Friday I was taken to see Chief Superintendent Blake, head of the Auckland [Police] District. Blake told me that I was dismissed. He wouldn't tell me why, except that "you know." I was escorted to empty my locker and to my room in the barracks to collect my belongings. From there I went from being in the police to being active in PYM.[5]

Two days later, on 29 October, I spoke about my dismissal at a mass anti-Vietnam War rally at Myers Park. I participated in the ensuing march down Queen Street and then joined the PYM-initiated march to the USA Consul's residence in Paritai Drive. A small police contingent, headed by Inspector Rees, tried to stop the march several times as it progressed, but the marchers were easily able to walk around them and proceed. At Paritai

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[2] The thesis focusses on the war in Vietnam, but this should be applied more widely to the countries of what was formerly French Indochina – Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Throughout the Vietnam War period (or the "American War" as the Vietnamese more correctly called it) the USA Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) conducted the "secret war" in Laos. In 1970 a USA-sponsored military coup overthrew the regime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and brought Cambodia into the war. Peace movements in NZ protested against what was happening in all three countries, but Vietnam tended to be the most visible.

[3] Throughout the thesis I have used the full name or acronym USA, so as to accurately define the country and not create the incorrect image that I am referring to other countries in the North and South American continents. The one exception is where I have used quotes, in which case I have used the original wording.

[4] 21 October 1967

[5] The police later admitted that my dismissal was unlawful and paid me financial compensation and my legal costs.

Drive the police became more aggressive and physical in trying to stop the march reaching its destination. There were scenes of police-instigated violence and 13 arrests.

At the end of 1967 I was co-coordinator of the 17-day Auckland to Wellington march organised by PYM and continued to occupy leading positions in the organisation over later years. In mid-1968 I, like quite a few PYMers, joined the Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ). In early 1970 I was founding editor and publisher of *Rebel*, the fortnightly paper of Auckland PYM, and I continued in that role for most of its existence.[6]

The aim of this study

For the past thirty or forty years I have wanted to write something on the protest movements in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s and particularly the Auckland PYM, which was one of the most prominent activist organisations at the time. Coutts and Fitness (2013) described PYM as "the most assertive and militant of the counter-culture groups that emerged" in this period (p. 137). Boraman (2006) described Auckland PYM as having been among the "most controversial and perhaps significant" organisations of the new left in NZ (p. 237).

There have been very few academic studies of the 1960s and 1970s wave of social protest in NZ, so this study breaks new academic ground. I have been conscious of a vacuum in the recorded history of events in this period, and I have also been curious about why people became involved in a movement to oppose a far-away war or other social and political injustices, like the racist regime in South Africa. At that time it would have been easy to focus on making a career and looking after oneself.

In this thesis I have given voice to some of the participants in PYM and recorded their stories. I have not set out to compile a series of anecdotes about events of the time, although much of the history has emerged through this thesis, but rather to find out about the people who sacrificed time and money, and sometimes more, for causes which brought them no personal benefit in terms of career or financial gain.

Both Anna (my wife) and I kept copious files, leaflets and publications from the period, and we both have good recollections of the activities. When the opportunity came to approach the issue as an academic study I realised the potential to give voice to the people, from widely different backgrounds, who made it all happen - the people Dunaway and

[6] The last issue, number 120, was published at the end of 1977.

Baum (1996) describe as the "foot soldiers in various important movements of social change" (p. 92).

I am mindful that while my target participants were the youth activists of the time, we are youth no longer, which created an added imperative to complete a study like this before time inevitably makes it impossible. The thesis covers a wide field of participant experiences and recollections.

A. *This study*

The study has been underpinned by the research working title:

> What were the factors leading to, and the consequences of, young peoples' involvement in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) (1965-1977)?

Parameters

This study concentrates on the Progressive Youth Movement[7] in Auckland, although mention is made of PYMs in other regions and other protest organisations of the time. The PYM organisations in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch were completely independent organisations and while there was contact and co-operation between them, each decided their own policies and activities[8].

The Auckland PYM is the group I am most familiar with, and from which I have a considerable amount of literature. The Auckland organisation was also the longest lasting PYM. It would not be possible to adequately examine the PYM movements as a whole within the boundaries of a single thesis.

Similarly, the broader protest movement in Auckland was very diverse and it would be impractical to adequately deal with it in depth in a study such as this.

A. Literature

Throughout this thesis a considerable amount of the literature, especially regarding the anti-Vietnam War movements, is from USA scholars and researchers, some of whom

[7] Throughout the thesis I have used the acronym PYM to refer to the Auckland organisation. This is just a matter of convenience because it is mentioned so often. Where PYM groups from other areas are mentioned I stipulate the city.

[8] There was never a national PYM organisation. There were three main independent organisations with varying policies and different political orientations which shared a common name. A number of PYM organisations which existed briefly in smaller areas were mainly instigated by members of one of the three longer established organisations. For example those in Whangārei and Rotorua were instigated by an Auckland member who had moved there. There was contact between the groups, but the two attempts to hold a national meeting failed.

were also active in the anti-war movement in that country. The movements of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s in the USA have been extensively researched during and since that period and, consequently, most of the English language literature available is focussed on the USA. The study also cites literature from the growing body of Australian research into the 1960s and 1970s protest movements in that country. There has been a very limited amount of equivalent study of the NZ movements.

I also consider that, even though there are obvious differences between the movements and histories of the NZ movement and those in the USA and Australia,[9] there were also many similar experiences and lessons.

As this study shows, there was contact and co-operation between USA and NZ protest organisations during the Vietnam War period, which is a practical refutation of those in NZ who tried to belittle the movement here by labeling it anti-American.

B. Wider issues of the period

The historical outline in this thesis focusses on the war in Vietnam and apartheid in South Africa. Although the Vietnam War was the pivotal issue of the 1960s and 1970s protest movements (Godbolt, Larsen, & Rasmussen, 2008), opposition to racism and the apartheid regime in South Africa also featured prominently in NZ at the time and formed an important part of PYM activity.[10] Among the many other injustices taken up by the PYM and other organisations at the time were international ones such as the liberation wars against Portuguese colonialism in Africa and the right of Palestinians to resist Zionist occupation and repression. There were also domestic issues such as support for striking workers, support for tenants struggling against exploitive landlords, treaty issues, opposition to racism and police harassment and opposition to the establishment of the Whanganui Police Computer. PYM also participated in protests against USA military installations in NZ.

Overview of thesis structure

The thesis explores the factors which led participants to become involved in PYM, their backgrounds, and their recollections of how they saw the social, political and economic climate of the day. Amongst this data are specific questions regarding family circumstances and parental backgrounds. These relate to issues explored in many

[9] A significant difference was the implementation of conscription for military service in Vietnam in both the USA and Australia.

[10] Refer to interview and survey participants' comments.

quantitative studies overseas, mainly in the USA. In this thesis I have recorded the participant responses but did not attempt quantitative analysis.

The study then moves through issues discussed in interviews and arising from both my questions and participants' recollections.

A. Methodology and methods

In Chapter 2 I outline the methodological framework for this study, its applicability to my subject and the methods I use to put this into practice.

B. Historical context

Although it was not my intention to explore the history of the significant movements of the time, I found it necessary to show the development of these social justice campaigns in order to contextualise the emergence of the movements in Auckland and the Auckland PYM.

Consequently, in Chapter 3 I discuss different approaches to social movement development, drawing on documentation regarding those in the USA and tracing the history of the anti-war and anti-apartheid movements in NZ which formed the social base from which organisations like PYM developed. This broader approach to the development of the 1960s and 1970s movements is similar to that taken by Australian researcher Nick Irving (2017).

C. Participant reflections on the era

In Chapter 4 I give a brief historical outline of Aotearoa New Zealand[11] in the 1950s and 1960s and include participants' recollections about how they saw NZ society at the time they became involved in PYM.

D. The process of becoming involved

In Chapter 5 I outline some theoretical expositions on the inspiration for young people to become involved in progressive political-social movements. This theoretical outline is followed by participants' stories of how they came to become involved. In the concluding summary I highlight what I see as the significant issues which emerged.

[11] In recognition of the first settlers of this country where written in full I will use Aotearoa New Zealand, rather than the European name given it by the first Pākehā visitor (except in quotations and real names). When abbreviated I will restrict the acronym to NZ so as not to confuse it with other institutions.

E. Why protest action?

In Chapter 6 I explore the reasons for participants thinking that protest activity was appropriate, and their reflections on its effectiveness. I link this to literature related to the 1960s and 1970s movements in NZ and overseas.

F. Repression

During interviews I found that participants almost universally mentioned police harassment and some talked about the mass media and actions of the Security Intelligence Service (SIS). In Chapter 7 I utilise the "modes of suppression" framework advanced by Boykoff (2006) which includes the hostile actions of mass media, along with those of police and other state agencies.

Although Boykoff's (2006) outline is specifically based on the USA experiences, I found sufficient evidence in the literature and participant accounts to justify the inclusion of these three broad modes into the same chapter under the heading of repression. In addition to referencing available literature, I also draw information from the limited documentation I was able to obtain directly and indirectly from NZ state agencies.

G. Differences between groups

Another theme which came out frequently during interviews was the issue of differences between groups within the broad movement and what was frequently described as "sectarianism". In Chapter 8 I explore literature from overseas and NZ on this issue and the elements at the centre of what sometimes developed into very hostile divisions in the movements. Along with this, I present participant reflections on the topic and some of the lessons.

H. Attitudes to issues of race, gender and sexuality in the movement

The early 1970s saw the development of women's liberation movements, the emergence of gay rights organisations and what is often referred to as the Māori Renaissance. Participants were asked about their recollections of attitudes to race, gender and sexuality issues in the movement at the time. The differing impressions are compared to available literature and discussed in Chapter 9.

I. Vision for the future

Unlike many of the protest organisations in NZ during the 1960s and 1970s, PYM was not an issue-specific group, and at various times it published a wide range of programmatic demands. In Chapter 10 I examine some of these printed policy statements

and related material, and also put forward the recollections of participants on what they saw as PYM's long term vision.

J. Consequences of activism

In Chapter 11 I explore the later life trajectories of participants, including continued political activism and also their choice of occupation. The chapter includes findings from overseas studies related to the later life activities of protest activists from the 1960s and 1970s period.

Included in this chapter are the wider reflections of participants on their experiences during the period and the consequences of their involvement in PYM.

K. Summary and concluding issues

In the final chapter I elaborate on the rationale for the study and draw together the findings of the study and my comments regarding the important issues for this thesis. I also examine my preconceptions and how these were impacted by the study data.

I discuss some implications of the study and several of its shortfalls, together with recommendations for future research.

I appreciate that other researchers in the future may want to focus on different issues, and have made every effort to provide sufficient detail on these pages to fuel such projects.

Chapter 2 Methodology and methods

In this chapter I will outline the methodology which underpins my approach to the thesis and detail the methods I utilised to complete it. The study explores the factors which led a group of young New Zealanders to become political activists in the 1960s and 1970s, their experiences and the later consequences of their activism. It is focussed on giving voice to some of the people who took part in the protest events of this period and, in the process, uncovering the social relations which gave rise to PYM and the wider protest movements at that time.

The thesis presents study participants' experiences and reflections of a wide number of issues, and I have linked these experiences with the relevant available literature and evidential material in a way that I hope gives meaning to many events of the period but also provides lessons for current and future activists.

Rationale

The study breaks new ground in Aotearoa New Zealand where there has been very limited study of the 1960s and 1970s "protest wave", nor the groups and people involved. The thesis focusses on the Auckland PYM, which was not an issue-specific organisation like the many groups which emerged in the period to oppose the Vietnam War or South African apartheid; or take action on other issues.

R. Summy and Saunders (1995) advocated the recognition of "Peace History" as an academic field worthy of study and were critical of the non-recognition of peace history as a subfield of history within Australian and NZ universities.[12] Among many arguments in favour of such recognition, the authors point out that peace history provides a "needed balance in our perspective of the past" since so much of recorded history focusses on militarisation (R. Summy & Saunders, 1995, p. 31).

Peace movement

Within the milieu of protest in the 1960s and 1970s, the principal issue was the Vietnam War (Godbolt et al., 2008). As a consequence, much of this study focusses on what I frequently describe as the anti-war movement. This movement fits within Ceadel's (1989)

[12] This criticism may have been answered to some extent by the establishment of the National Centre of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago in 2009.

broad definition of a "peace movement". Ceadel described peace movements as including both "pacifists" and "pacificists".

Pacifists are described as being opposed to all forms of war, whereas pacificists oppose "all aggressive wars and even some defensive ones" (Ceadel, 1989, p. 5). While pacificism considers that, over time, war will be "abolished by reforms which will bring justice in domestic policies too", it also recognises the possibility of a just war to defend "political achievements against aggression" (Ceadel, 1989, p. 5). On this basis I include PYM and groups such as the Auckland Vietnam Committee and NZ Peace Council as part of the NZ "peace movement" even though they supported the right of the Vietnamese people to wage war against aggressors.

Saunders and Summy (1986) narrowed the concept of a peace movement by excluding organisations which have "broader or different objectives that ally themselves from time to time with the peace organisations", such as the Australian Labor Party, Australian Council of Churches, Communist Party of Australia, Humanist Society and others. In this thesis I have included PYM as being part of the broad peace movement. I have taken this position because opposition to the Vietnam War was central to the founding of PYM and even though the organisation broadened its policies and activities, opposition to the Vietnam War and other forms of aggression formed the major part of its activities.

Qualitative approach

Many of the overseas studies I have read consist of quantitative analyses, exploring the influence of generation, education and other factors in the rise of 1960s protests (K Keniston, 1973). Thus they take a top-down approach of seeking correlations which prove or disprove a hypothesis. The potential shortcoming in that approach is that, as Keniston (1973) noted, "alternative explanations are always possible" (p. xvi). In contrast I have adopted a qualitative approach for this study, in a process which enabled study participants to speak about how they came to be involved in political activism and the consequent experiences which they consider important.

In line with the objective of exploring the lived experiences of participants in the 1960s and 1970s protest events, I have utilised hermeneutic phenomenology as the most suitable methodology.

Hermeneutic phenomenology

My early reading on methodology included van Manen's *Researching Lived Experience* (van Manen, 1990), which resonated with what I wanted to achieve in my study.

Van Manen is one of the most prominent contemporary exponents of the theory and practice of phenomenology. In a later work he described hermeneutic phenomenology as:

> A method of abstemious reflection on the basic structures of the lived experience of human existence. The term *method* refers to the way or attitude of approaching a phenomenon. Abstemious means that reflecting on experience aims to abstain from theoretical, polemical, suppositional, and emotional intoxications. Hermeneutic means that reflecting on experience must aim for discursive language and sensitive interpretive devices that make phenomenological analysis, explication, and description possible and intelligible. Lived experience means that phenomenology reflects on the prereflective or prepredicative life of human existence as living through it. (van Manen, 2014, p. 26)

Phenomenology focuses on how a person experiences their world (van Manen, 2014). Van Manen (2014) wrote that "virtually any and every moment or event in our lives can be approached as a lived experience (a phenomenon or phenomenal event) and thus can become a topic for phenomenological inquiry" (p. 58).

Van Manen (1990) outlined what he described as the "methodological structure" for conducting phenomenological research in the form of six interactive activities:

- Turning to a phenomenon which seriously interests us.
- Investigating experience as we live it.
- Reflecting on the essential themes characterizing the phenomenon.
- Describing the phenomenon by writing and re-writing.
- Maintaining a strong pedagogic relation to the phenomenon.
- Balancing the research through considering the parts and the whole. (van Manen, 1990, pp. 30-31)

Phenomenology is "self-critical", because it "continually examines its own goals and methods to come to terms with the strengths and shortcomings of its approach and achievements" and is also "inter-subjective". The researcher needs the reader, "in order to develop a dialogic relation to the phenomenon" and therefore "validate the phenomenon as described" (van Manen, 1990, p. 11).

Phenomenology does not seek to draw conclusions or generalisations about the data, but to describe and interpret. Van Manen (2014) wrote that "even though phenomenology employs empirical material, it does not make empirical claims" (p. 249).

The objective of phenomenology is to present the "perspective of subjective experience as such" (Dahlberg, Drew, & Nystrom, 2001, p. 19). Hermeneutics develops this by showing "how knowledge can increase through describing, interpreting and understanding such experience" (Dahlberg et al., 2001, p. 19).

A. Hermeneutics

Gadamer is credited with developing the hermeneutic approach to phenomenology from its origins in Husserl, Heidegger and others (van Manen, 2014). Gadamer defined hermeneutics as "the art of bringing what is said or written to speak again" (Gadamer, 2007, p. 251) or, more briefly, "the art of understanding" (Gadamer, 2013, p. 164)

While there is no pre-defined pattern for applying a hermeneutic approach, it encompasses the process of recording and analysing data simultaneously with interpreting and repeatedly reviewing and refining (Crist & Tanner, 2003). Hermeneutics also makes transparent the position of the researcher as a participant with his or her own views and experiences which cannot be bracketed out (Crist & Tanner, 2003).

B. Pre-judgments

My closeness to the subject has been a considerable asset, but I also acknowledge there are potential pitfalls in having strong personal experiences, views and knowledge of the subject being studied. Van Manen (1990) referred to being strong in our orientation to the subject "in a unique and personal way" while avoiding the dangers "of becoming arbitrary, self-indulgent, or greatly captivated and carried away by our own unreflected preconceptions" (p. 20). Similarly, Gadamer (2002) cautioned against the researcher interpreting the data in advance "by approaching it from out of a later doctrine" (p. 51).

Gadamer (2013) wrote about prejudice[13] and the influence of tradition on our historical judgment. "Our usual relation to the past is not characterized by distancing and freeing ourselves from tradition" since tradition "is always part of us" (Gadamer, 2013, p. 294). Dahlberg, Dahlberg, and Nystrom (2008) wrote that "pre-understanding emanates from tradition and forms a context with which the researcher is familiar" which can either "constrain or facilitate understanding" (p. 134). For this reason it is important that researchers recognise and reflect on their pre-understandings. Otherwise their research is "likely to merely confirm what is already known, and no new understanding is reached" (Dahlberg et al., 2008, p. 135).

An important method for avoiding this danger is for the researcher to be open about his or her pre-understandings and experiences. Van Manen (1990) wrote that it is better to make explicit our understandings, beliefs, biases, assumptions, presuppositions, and theories. He stressed the need to "come to terms" with our assumptions, not so as to forget

[13] The word "prejudice" describes a pre-judgement and "does not necessarily mean a false judgement" but can "have either a positive or a negative value" (Gadamer, 2013, p. 283).

them but in order to "hold them deliberately at bay" (van Manen, 1990, p. 47). Carr (1987) argued that a historian who is fully conscious of their own situation is "also more capable of transcending it" (p. 44). Therefore, it is not our pre-judgment that is the problem in phenomenological research but what Gadamer described as the "tyranny of hidden prejudices" (Gadamer, 2013, p. 282).

Another of the dangers of prior knowledge of and views on the subject under study is the researcher essentially interviewing themselves through other people, or creating the risk of "obtaining results that are primarily a reflection of our past experience or unrecognised beliefs" (Dahlberg et al., 2001, p. 118). An essential tool in the research must be the researcher being open and transparent. It is essential that the researcher puts aside pre-expectations or assumptions about the outcome "so that the phenomenon and its meaning can show itself and, perhaps, surprise us" (Dahlberg et al., 2001, p. 96). Openness is therefore required in "order to see the events or objects of the world in a new way" (Dahlberg et al., 2001, p. 97).

Dahlberg et al. (2001) also cautioned against the danger of proximity, in that the researcher develops possessiveness about the topic because they have invested so much time and energy in it. As a result of this possessiveness, the researcher can lose curiosity about the topic and ultimately end the search for other points of view. Openness requires the researcher to be aware of their "entire intellectual and emotional response to the situation and those who let us into their lives" (Dahlberg et al., 2001, p. 107).

C. Insider research

Davidson and Tollich (2001) noted that inductive qualitative research "may begin with a strong personal interest in some topic" (p. 19). They added that in qualitative research the researchers try to become immersed in the subject which they are studying. This means the researcher must stand in the shoes of those being studied (Wainwright, 2011). Similarly, van Manen wrote that human science wishes to "meet human beings there where they are naturally engaged in their worlds" (van Manen, 1990, p. 18).

The importance of being an insider was also stressed by Institutional Ethnographers. George Smith argued that "the sociologist cannot know her world from outside, but only from inside its social organisation" (Frampton, Kinsman, Thompson, & Tilleczek, 2006, p. 47). Dorothy Smith also stressed the importance of the sociologist inhabiting "an actual world she is researching" (Frampton et al., 2006, p. 51).

Sometimes being an "outsider" researcher can be an obstacle, as experienced by Church when she began her research into the psychiatric survivor community. Church found her university and professional credentials "more hindrance than a help" and that it was the facilitation of a survivor leader which enabled her to pursue her research (Frampton et al., 2006, p. 76).

An advantage of being an interviewer who has lived the same experiences as the participants is that this can assist in developing a more trusting and co-operative interview environment between the two parties than may otherwise be possible (Sarantakos, 2005). As Gadamer (2007) observed, "only a person who stands within a given science has questions posed for him" (p. 264).

D. Constructionist outlook

This study is based on a broadly "constructionist" epistemological perspective, which recognises the social and cultural influences on our outlook. Social constructionism sees knowledge as developed by human interaction. Goodman (1979) argued that theory is not the product of just one mind, but "created and developed by the dialectical interplay of many minds" (p. 545). This concept was broadened by Kim (2001), who wrote that humans "create meaning through their interactions with each other and with the environment they live in" (p. 3).

While it is important to recognise the social and cultural influences on our outlook, it is also necessary to recognise the limiting effect these can have by developing what Crotty (1998) described as " a critical spirit" towards inherited understanding (p. 59). He warned that this is not an easy task because we are inclined to consider that "the sense we make of things" is "the way things are" (Crotty, 1998, p. 59).

E. Interpretive approach

Interpretivism "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life world" (Crotty, 1998, p. 67).

Crotty (1998) described phenomenology as "self-professedly critical", but pointed out that "interpretivism" is generally regarded as "an uncritical form of study" (p. 112), which is more generally aligned to constructivism. Crotty recognised that many social constructionists acknowledge that the "shaping of minds by culture" can be "limiting as well as liberating" and that "while welcome", the influence of culture "must also be called into question" (Crotty, 1998, p. 58). To this extent, in this study, I have utilised

interpretivism while recognising that our thinking should not be limited or restricted by our cultural traditions.

F. Restoration

In this study I have taken an approach which Ricoeur (1974) described as "demythologising" in that it aims to understand better what has been said. Demythologising "is moved by the will to better comprehend the text" (Ricoeur, 1974, p. 389).

This approach is based on the belief that participants are relating their experience and understanding of that experience as best they are able (Josselson, 2004). My role as a researcher has been to try to interpret that experience and to present the participant's message clearly and accurately (Josselson, 2004). Josselson (2004) described this as the hermeneutics of restoration which is the antithesis of what Ricoeur described as the "demystification" of meaning which considers that the participant's account represents "false reality" (Cited in Crotty, 1998, p. 112). The role of the researcher is to "remove the masks and gain new interpretation" (Crotty, 1998, p. 112).

The "restoration" approach has been aided by my own prior knowledge and experience, which has acted as an "aid to data analysis and/or interpretation of meanings" (Sloan & Bowe, 2014, p. 1297).

G. Recording lived experiences

In a study such as this, based on the experiences of participants in past events which occurred over 40 years ago, it is also necessary to recognise that people's memories of the past are influenced by new knowledge and later experiences. The people who are recounting their experiences are not the same people who experienced them at the time. Tosh (2015) commented that "we can never recapture the authentic flavour of a historical moment as it was experienced by people at the time because we, unlike them, know what happened next" (p. 164). Tosh also noted that the significance we place on those past events is unavoidably moulded by the prior knowledge that we have.

Because people are constantly developing and changing, their consciousness also changes. The former PYM activists of the time have developed and had hugely varied experiences since the 1960s and 1970s, so later reflections are unavoidably influenced by their whole life experience. Our recollections are being constantly reconstructed, rather than being static (Eakin, 1999; McDowell, 2002); so, consequently, the memories of history being recorded today are being recreated by people who have changed. Burke

(2004) warned that "as events recede they lose something of their specificity. They are elaborated, usually unconsciously, and so come to resemble the general schemata current in the culture" which "help memories endure at the price of distorting them" (p. 65).

Therefore, the recording of history is not a precise process. While emphasising the importance of a phenomenological approach to oral history, Kirby (2008) cautioned that phenomenology offers "to some degree" a "more or less" approach to history in that there remains room for other conclusions and for gaps to be filled by later research (p. 36).

Historical researcher McDowell (2002) wrote that historical research does not consist in the mere collection of facts but rather in the interrelationship between factual evidence and the interpretation of this evidence by historians. McDowell emphasised that we may never succeed in knowing the past exactly, but we can make progress if we use our knowledge and skills to move closer to that ideal.

It is also important to remember that as participant witnesses to events we do not see the whole picture. Carr (1987) described the position of the historian thus:

> We sometimes speak of the course of history as a "moving procession". The metaphor is fair enough, provided that it does not tempt the historian to think of himself as an eagle surveying the scene from a lonely crag or as a V.I.P at the saluting base. Nothing of the kind! The historian is just another dim figure trudging along at another part of the procession. (pp. 35 - 36)

While being conscious of these limitations, in a situation such as this study where there is limited documentary backup for many issues raised, the oral memories offer richly textured narratives.

The methods I pursued in my interviews and surveys aimed to get the maximum input from participants, rather than steer their contribution with the issues and questions that I "knew" or thought the most important.

Methods

Data collection was performed in two stages.

Firstly I conducted a series of one-to-one interviews with 15 former PYM members. McDowell (2002) described the use of interviews as means of gaining "a better insight into the lives of ordinary people which have not been documented" (p. 59).

The interview process was followed up with a survey of other former PYM members. The survey was based on the interview questions, each one being accompanied by a selection of interviewee statements with a tick box, as well as room for participants to

write their own responses (refer to Appendix G). This method, utilised by Bethli Wainwright (2011), gave participants the opportunity just to tick relevant boxes or write whatever they wanted (or both).

A. Ethics

Ethics approval for interviews was received on 5 August 2015 and that for surveys on 1 August 2016 (refer to Appendix B).

When potential participants were contacted, I informed them that they had the choice of using their real names or a pseudonym. Where they chose not to be named, the participants gave the pseudonym they wanted to use. I did not question why they made that choice and I do not consider that the use of an alternative name in any way devalues their data. For interviews where a pseudonym was used, I was conscious of the need to use the nominated name throughout the interview so that it was the only name on the recording.

In cases where participants chose not to be named, I have ensured that any personal details mentioned were generalised where they could lead to identification. On the list of participants shown in this thesis I have not given any indication as to which names are pseudonyms nor how many have been used.

Participants received an information sheet outlining the purpose of the study and procedure before giving their consent, and were informed that they were free to pull out of the study and have their data deleted at any time up until the thesis was completed (refer to Appendices C and D). No participants did withdraw. Interview participants were also sent transcripts of their interview and invited to add to, correct or clarify their data.

Another important consideration for this thesis was ensuring that my data collection could not be used against those who freely shared their recollections and experiences. Participants were cautioned about not mentioning anything they or others had done at the time which could have been in breach of the law. The reason for this is that in, Aotearoa New Zealand, there is no statute of limitations in relation to “criminal” prosecutions.

In addition, interviewees were asked whether they would agree to the interview recording being eventually lodged with the Oral History Archives at the National Library of NZ. Participants were informed that this would be a separate process to the study consent and that this would be raised with them at a later date.

B. Contacting participants

There were a few participants who I had been in contact with over recent years on various occasions, so making contact with them was fairly straightforward.

In some cases I had previously heard of individual members and their location or occupations and by use of the on-line telephone directory and/or Google I was able to locate them.

For quite a few others I gained contact details for potential participants through other participants or from friends or family. In these cases I mentioned I was doing a study on PYM and wanting to contact all former members, but did not state that I wanted to interview or survey them. In cases where I only had an email address I emailed an explanation of the study.

Also, in order to gain more survey participants, I advertised in both the *Listener* and *North and South* magazines (refer appendix H). A message with the same wording was also circulated in the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa webmail newsletter.

C. Interview sites

Interview participants were able to choose the venue for the interview. All but two interviews took place in the home of the interviewee. In every case the participant was the only person present. Two interviews took place in my own home, again in a situation where there was no-one else present.

D. Interviews

After starting out wanting to interview every former PYM member I could locate, I settled on a manageable number of 15 interview participants. Having some knowledge of prospective participants and the events of the era under study I made a purposive selection of interviewees.

Firstly, I made a list of all the former PYM members I could recall or whose names I could find in documents in my possession. I was very conscious of the potential "generational" effect (refer to Chapter 5) and that quite a few PYM members had come from families where one or more parents were members of the Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ) or active in various left-wing or protest organisations. I was also aware that some former PYM members came from family backgrounds where parental influence was completely against their participation in PYM. Finally, there were many potential interviewees whose backgrounds I did not know.

On this basis I aimed to get as diverse a range of interviewees as I could.

Within this participant focus, mindful of the possibility that men and women participants may have held different reflections on PYM, I also aimed to have equal numbers of male and female interviewees. My third criterion was on the period people joined PYM.

My personal impression was that a significant mood change towards the Vietnam War occurred in NZ in the early 1970s. The historical context of this is outlined later. On this basis I tried to select equal numbers of interviewees from those who became involved before 1970 and those who joined later. This selection was based on my own memory of the people and events, so it was arbitrary. I did not ask potential interviewees when they became involved in PYM, before selecting them as participants, but did ask them in the course of the interview.

E. Interview process and developments

While the primary objective of the interview process was to have participants say what they wanted to say, without prompting from me, I did have a list of themes which I wanted to cover. Some of these were related specifically to the participant and PYM, and others to their family and personal backgrounds. Many of the latter points featured in studies of the 1960s and 1970s movements overseas, principally in the USA.

Specific questions explored details around these two broad central themes:

1.a. Views at the time regarding social, political, economic issues.

b. Why PYM?

c. Details of their family and personal backgrounds.

d. Memorable experiences during the period.

2.a. Future political involvement/activism.

b. Future employment fields.

c. Reflections on PYM and their time in PYM, any regrets?

Interviews and survey documents ended with a broad invitation for participants to raise any other issues they wished.

F. Interview preparation

Two pilot interviews preceded the interview process. Pilot interviews are a valuable tool for the researcher to refine interview procedures (Creswell, 2007; Sampson, 2004).

Sampson (2004) suggested that pilots have a wider use for "foreshadowing research problems and questions" (p. 383).

My first pilot interview was with Dr Sue Bradford, my co-supervisor and therefore ineligible as a participant. Sue had been a member of PYM and gave very helpful feedback, which encouraged me to extend the range of questions to be raised. The second was with myself, which I found a difficult process but useful to make me think about the interview process. I later decided to restrict my own data in the body of the thesis, but to outline my background in the introduction and only use a few personal reflections where I felt them important (these are clearly identified). However, I have left my data in the tables. Creswell (2007) wrote that it is the researcher who must decide where they will introduce their personal experience and understanding into the thesis.

Before starting interviews I attended a workshop with Lynette Shum, an Oral History Adviser from the Alexander Turnbull Library. Lynette gave me some very useful practical advice for conducting interviews and regarding the equipment used. For my interviews I used a Marantz Professional PMD661 high quality recorder. This recorder used lapel microphones for both myself and the interviewee, highly recommended by Creswell (2007). I also used a dictaphone as a backup recorder, running both during the interviews to cover any eventualities if one failed. This backup proved to be vital because some memory cards I had bought for the main recorder turned out to be not of high enough quality for sound data and caused the recording to stop during an interview.

My first interview was a real lesson for me, both in the importance of being prepared and also the need to be flexible. Appendix F includes a reflection I wrote following that interview.

G. Prior information

Initially I did not send a list of questions in advance to interviewees because I felt that this might restrict participants' focus on their experience to the things I had thought about or discovered in literature. However, one of my early interviewees expressed the view that had he had knowledge of the themes I wanted to discuss it would have helped him think about things before the interview. I discussed this issue with two future interviewees, and they both expressed the wish to know what questions I wanted to discuss. As a consequence I made a summary of my question list, prefacing it with the following:

> Questions will be open-ended and flexible, and allow the participant to speak freely about the things on their mind without interruption or pressure. This includes participants being free to talk about things outside of the areas covered below.
>
> The most important thing is that interviewees say what is important to them, rather than just respond to questions.

The first question on my pre-interview list was an open invitation to "tell me about the circumstances which led you to become involved in Auckland PYM".

The prior interview summary of questions approach proved to be useful, and the problems I had been concerned about did not appear to arise. I wrote a second reflection after three interviews. This is included in Appendix F.

Before starting my interviews, I had received advice that it was best to avoid "chat" before the interview process because there was a danger that important information may be revealed outside of the interview process and be therefore unusable. I found this did not work in my situation, where in the main a considerable number of years had elapsed since I had met the interviewee, so the interview generally started with a catch-up over a coffee. On reflection, I did not feel this had a negative impact on the interviews. I found that mainly the conversation was around personal situations and while we did discuss what we had done over the intervening years, this did not impinge on the interview responses. In some ways the chat tended to set a relaxed environment for the interview.

I consider that the fact I was conscious of the potential problems which could arise if interview questions were discussed before the interview helped me keep the interview and the general discussion separate. The process may also have been helped by the fact that I had sent all but the first two interviewees a general summary of my interview questions, so people were aware of what was going to be discussed in the interview.

I made every effort to avoid interrupting interviewees while they were talking, so as not to divert them from their train of thought and description of their experiences. The main exception to this was when a participant mentioned a place or event in a way that I understood, but would not be clear to an "outsider".[14] I also tried not to respond to statements in a way one would during normal conversation, such as an indication of agreement, so as not to inadvertently steer their data in a particular direction.

[14] For example, if an interviewee referred to something at "the park" I would check that they meant Albert Park or Myers Park, both venues for protest-related activities at the time, so the clarification was recorded.

H. Extended questions

During the early interviews it became clear that there were issues that had emerged in a small way in some interviews but had not specifically been raised in the questions asked. After discussion with my supervisors, it was decided to add an additional question regarding attitudes in the movement at the time to issues of race, gender and sexuality. In later interviews this issue was raised with the following question: "Do you have any reflections/views on internal attitudes to race, gender and sexuality issues in the movement at the time?"

With the appropriate ethical approval, this question was circulated to the earlier interviewees for their comments. It was also included in the survey questions later.

The issue of gender attitudes in the protest movements of the time has been explored in publications and studies in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas (Curthoys, 1995; Dann, 1985; C. Hayden & King, 1965).

I. Transcribing Interviews

I undertook to transcribe my interviews myself. In most cases this was done within a few days of the interview. Although I am not a fast typist, the advantage of doing this was that I was familiar with the subject and the interviewee, so could follow the data better than someone who had not sat in on the interview. I used Express Scribe transcribing software which gave me the ability to slow the recorded conversation by about 15% and stop or start the recording easily.

After transcribing, I went through the recording slowly and checked my transcription. I then converted the spoken data into normal written English grammar, making sure that the final text was faithful to what had been said. While there was a lot of laughter and suchlike during the interviews, I only recorded this in the text where it was necessary to clarify something that may have been ambiguous.

I found that the process of transcribing and checking gave me greater familiarity with data content, which proved very valuable later when I began compiling the thesis.

As I transcribed, I was also able to reflect on what had been said and the way the interview had been conducted. I also shared my interview experiences during monthly meetings with my supervisors. Interviews took between about fifty minutes and nearly two hours. Most interviews were conducted in Auckland, but others took place in Northland,

Coromandel Peninsula, Wellington and Christchurch, as well as Sydney and Melbourne in Australia.

One of the most difficult tasks since the collection of so much varied data has been deciding which material to leave out as the final thesis has taken shape.

J. Surveys

The survey process elucidated contributions from a further ten participants. I will outline the limitations and lessons from this process later. For survey participants, I tried to approach every former PYM member I could locate within the time available.

K. Coding

Before commencing my data collection I had done a lot of reading on the Vietnam War and the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. I attended two NVivo training courses (Basic and Intermediate) and coded my literature data into NVivo in line with the themes I identified as significant and the issues I felt central to the study. The NVivo node structure (parent – child – grandchild) I developed was in line with literature I had read and the interview questions which developed from that. I also coded interviews and survey data into NVivo.

I found this coding very useful when I began to write up my material, but also limiting in that, as I went more deeply into the interview and survey data, I needed to re-visit material I had previously read and coded or find new material which elucidated issues raised by participants. As a consequence, the coded data assumed less importance as the thesis progressed. Saldana (2013) stressed the need to take a flexible approach to coding because coding schemes "evolve as analysis progresses" (p. 37).

I also found that rather than relying on my initial interview and survey data coding, I frequently re-visited my complete transcripts when I recalled something an interviewee had said or a survey participant had written, but which I had not included in the initial coding. This process also helped ensure that the data I was using accurately represented the participant input, a criterion which Saldana (2013) described as being "rigorously ethical" (p. 37).

In this way, the writing took on a reflective character which followed the data input rather than my pre-conceptions. At the commencement of the writing process I found myself being overly cautious in the way I presented participant input. However, in the process of

writing and re-writing, I separated participant input into smaller sections which could be apportioned to themes which emerged, and bound the text into a logical progression.

Combining the wealth of data into the confines of this thesis has been both a challenging and rewarding process.

L. Thesis format

After I had transcribed the interview data and added input from survey participants, I began compiling draft thesis chapters. It soon became clear to me that if I adopted my originally planned format, which was to present all the relevant literature followed by the data, there was going to be a gulf between the two which would divorce the literature from the data and diminish its relevance.

After experimenting with chapter formats, I finally settled on the process followed in this thesis whereby the data flows through from one theme to another and the literature is presented alongside the data but not intermingled with it.

I had originally intended to provide a historical record of PYM in the appendices but found that I needed to trace the development of the main protest issues of the time in order to contextualise the emergence of the Vietnam War-specific organisations and PYM in 1965. This historical outline forms the initial data chapter on the emergence of the movement.

I have designed the chapter format flexibly to best highlight participant input. Wherever possible I have presented the participant data first and backed this up with relevant literature which illustrates, expands on and endeavours to explain the underlying basis of issues discussed. In some cases, such as chapters five and seven I found that the participant data was in danger of being submerged by the literature presented, so in those cases I have put the participant input after the literature.

M. Literature

While a significant amount of literature used in this thesis has comprised conventional commercial publications, a considerable proportion had been produced from inside the NZ movements, in the form of leaflets (flyers), journals, newspapers and pamphlets. The referencing of this latter material has proved somewhat problematic since many of these documents were undated and had no author names. In some cases, leaflets and publications related specifically to forthcoming or past events and would contain the date and month, but not the year. I was able to identify publication year from my own memory

of the approximate period it would have appeared and use of the "250-year calendar" available on-line to identify the specific year.

In other cases I was able to authenticate the year of publication or date of an event through my research in the files of the *People's Voice*, at the time the weekly newspaper of the CPNZ. The Auckland Public Library has bound volumes of the *People's Voice* which proved an invaluable source of written data, as did the library's microfiche newspaper files. Most of the CPNZ internal documents quoted were accessed through the University of Auckland Library Special Collections, which has an extensive collection of CPNZ documents up until the early 1970s. The University of Auckland collections also contained material from the files of the NZ Peace Council and its Auckland branch. Other Peace Council documents had been passed onto me and are now added to the collections at the University of Auckland Special Collections. Most of the leaflets/pamphlets and copies of the PYM publications (*Rebel* and *PYM Organiser*) used as resource material in this thesis were included in the extensive collection Anna and I had kept. Wellington Committee on Vietnam (WCOV) documents were mainly accessed at the National Library in Wellington.

With regard to the *Rebel* and *PYM Organiser*, these were generally undated but carried an issue number. I have been able to deduce a publication year for nearly all of these.

Even in cases where I can remember the author of a publication, if it is not printed on the document I have not referenced it as such.[15]

N. Compiling the thesis

Unfortunately, I have never been a good diary user, and when I began the interview process I tended to store my practical experiences in my head rather than systematically write a thesis journal. I partially corrected this in mid-2017 with an almost daily "diary/notes" file which served as a place for reminders of things that needed checking or investigating. My personal memories of the participants greatly assisted when I reflected back over their interviews. My prior knowledge and personal experience also assisted greatly in my compilation and analysis of the data.

In late 2017 I attended a series of workshops on thesis writing organised by AUT Library and Learning Support Services. These workshops were conducted by Dr David Parker

[15] For example *The Bush Lawyer's Handbook* was written by me and I also did the production, but no author is stated on it.

and I found them extremely helpful for guiding my thesis writing and presentation and helping me to think "outside the box" in how I compiled the thesis.

O. Language used

Throughout this thesis I have made every effort to avoid the use of political jargon or complex academic terminology where the same information can be conveyed through generally used language. I have done this so the contents can be easily accessed by a wider community than academia, including study participants and others involved in similar social movements.

P. The process

It was an extremely enjoyable experience meeting up with people who I had known well so many years ago, but in many cases had not seen for over forty years. Through this thesis I have made every effort to accurately and fairly present their input and I hope I have done this justice.

The next chapter will outline the historical development of the two main protest issues of the 1960s and 1970s in conjunction with prominent relevant theoretical explanations for movement development.

Chapter 3 Development of the movements

Literature

While the current study focusses on the participants who became involved in PYM, and while PYM was an organised group rather than a movement, I do not consider it is possible to completely exclude literature that relates to how the movements or protest organisations of the 1960s and 1970s came to be formed.

I will discuss several theoretical approaches to social movement development and document the emergence of the anti-Vietnam War and anti-apartheid movements in NZ during the 1960s, with a primary emphasis on events in Auckland. From this base I then document the formation of Auckland PYM.

In the current study the term "social movement" is applied to the myriad of organisations which arose during the 1960s and 1970s and which have been described as "large informal and non-institutional groups of people concentrating on political and social issues" (Flood & Grindon, 2014, p. 138). In this thesis it is applied to protest movements with a left-wing political philosophy. These social movements focussed on injustices, sometimes referred to in academic literature as "grievances" (McCarthy & Zald, 1973). Within these broader movements were individual social movement groups whose existence depended on the activities and financial backing of members and supporters (McCarthy & Zald, 1973). This research does not focus on the kinds of professionalised movements with institutional backing which developed in the USA during this period.

In the following chapter I examine more specifically the factors which led people to become involved in protest-oriented social movements.

Movement formation

Two prominent theories on social movement development emerged in the later half of the 20th century. These were "political opportunity structure" and "resource mobilisation theory".

Political opportunity structure

Tarrow (1996) broadened the approach to social movements with the concept of the "political opportunity structure" which presents "a set of formal and informal conditions that encourage, discourage, channel, and otherwise affect movement activity" (Davis, McAdam, Scott, & Zald, 2005, p. 44). These conditions both give rise to movements and "constrain the range of options available" to them (Davis et al., 2005, p. 44).

Political opportunity structures include the "opening up of access to power, shifting alignments, the availability of influential allies, and cleavages within and between elites" which encourage the development of movements (Tarrow, 1996, p. 54). Tarrow (1996) argued that as opportunities for collective action rise and fall, "allies appear and disappear, political alignments shift, and elites divide and cohere" (p. 54). These opportunities, he wrote, open "the possibility that even weak and disorganised challengers can take advantage of opportunities created by others to organise against powerful opponents" (p. 54).

Taking a wider view, McAdam (1995), included political opportunities as one of "three factors" which enhance the possibility of movements developing. These three factors were described as "the level of organisation within the aggrieved population", "the collective assessment" of the chances of a successful struggle, and the "political opportunities available to the group" (McAdam, 1995, p. 221). McAdam (1995) considered the latter to be the most important factor. He described these expanding opportunities as "broad demographic, economic, and political changes that destabilise existing power relations" and give opponents "increased leverage" to pursue their objectives (McAdam, 1995, p. 221).

Sherman (2006) used this analytic framework in an Aotearoa New Zealand context to argue that the sympathy of successive Labour governments towards Māori land and fisheries issues and the differences in policy between Labour and National governments were significant factors in the successes of Māori land and fisheries claims during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s.

Just how strong this sympathy was is debatable. Sherman (2006) outlined a history of struggle, including the historic Land March in 1975, which gained widespread community support and backing from established protest organisations like PYM, the CPNZ, and Citizen's Association for Racial Equality (CARE) (Refer "The Maori Land March," 1975; Newnham, 1989). In the aftermath of this protest march, the Labour Government introduced the Waitangi Tribunal which had a limited focus restricted to grievances since 1975.[16]

In 1979, Matiu Rata, who is credited with fathering the Waitangi Tribunal legislation, became dissatisfied with Labour's Māori policies and resigned from the party and

[16] Rata, the Minister of Māori Affairs, had wanted the Tribunal's jurisdiction back-dated to 1900 (Kelsey, 1990).

Parliament to form the first recent pan-Māori party, Mana Motuhake (Curtin & Miller, 2012).

There is little evidence that these "political opportunities" existed to any significant extent in the mid-1960s when the first anti-racism and Vietnam War-specific protest organisations were formed. Certainly there was a measure of division at a parliamentary level between the two major parties, but the Labour Party at a leadership level tended to follow the movements.

A. South Africa and racism

The Labour Party, especially in government, dragged its heels on the issue of apartheid in South Africa and sporting contacts with racially selected teams. Up until 1957 successive NZ governments repeatedly abstained from United Nations General Assembly votes on South African racist legislation and control of South West Africa (Namibia) (Battersby, 1996). The post-WWII Fraser (Labour) Government claimed it was a question of sovereignty and "domestic jurisdiction" and challenged the authority of the United Nations Organisation (UN) to intervene on these issues. The South African Government maintained that the UN Charter prohibited the UN from taking actions regarding its colonial and racist policies. NZ governments tried to ameliorate this situation by calling for the issue of legal authority to be referred to the International Court, and abstained when the UN refused[17] (Battersby, 1996).

Battersby (1996) recorded that this situation changed under the 1957 Labour Government. He wrote that Prime Minister Nash was "personally opposed to apartheid" but also pointed out that UN membership had "expanded quickly" in the mid-1950s (Battersby, 1996, p. 113). "Most of the new members were African and Asian countries, strongly anti-colonial and bitterly opposed to apartheid" (Battersby, 1996, p. 113). Consequently those holding the NZ position found themselves in a shrinking minority with their influence reduced (Battersby, 1996).

Within NZ the issue of racism and sport, which had been escalating for nearly 40 years, snowballed in 1960 when the NZRFU accepted an invitation to send an "all-white" rugby team to tour South Africa. Māori players were to be excluded. This racist selection policy

[17] In 1950 the NZ Government successfully gained an International Court ruling on Namibia. That court decision was in favour of the South African opposition to UN authority (Battersby, 1996). Battersby also pointed out that NZ had its own colonial interests in the South Pacific (Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa and Nauru) and an immigration policy designed to exclude Asians, so it could be said to have had a vested interest in keeping the UN at bay.

led to the formation of the Citizens All Black Tour Association (CABTA) in June 1959 and the emergence of a powerful "No Māoris – No Tour" campaign, with petitions, public meetings and mass marches (Newnham, 1989).

While prominent Māori Labour MP Eruera Tirikatene spoke out against the tour, Labour Prime Minister Walter Nash refused to criticise it, saying "I think we must leave it to the Rugby Union" (Richards, 1999, p. 21). Even after the Sharpeville massacre[18] in March 1960, Nash opposed the increased opposition to the tour, saying "It is not the place of government to interfere in the affairs of a sports body" (Richards, 1999, p. 24).

Future Labour Party leader, Norman Kirk, publicly opposed the 1960 Tour, but "he remained adamant that it was a problem for the [rugby] union to deal with" (Grant, 2014, p. 269). This remained Kirk's position during the following years. In the 1972 election campaign Kirk, by then Labour leader, denied that a Labour Government might stop the planned 1973 Springbok Tour of NZ (Ken Ross, 2015).

By this time the focus of the developing movement was on opposition to sporting contact with apartheid South Africa rather than the issue of whether or not Māori players were included (Richards, 1999). In November 1972, prior to NZ elections, the president of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa announced that if the Springbok Tour went ahead, African teams would boycott the Christchurch Commonwealth Games in early 1974 (Grant, 2014).

While Kirk emphasised his policy of reasoning with the NZ Rugby Football Union (NZRFU), Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, within a week of being elected, announced in December 1972 that South African sports teams would be banned not only from playing in Australia but also from "transiting Australia to play elsewhere" (Ken Ross, 2015, p. 23). It was not until 10 April 1973 that Kirk finally announced that he had instructed the NZRFU to "postpone" the tour.[19] This action followed months of the anti-tour campaign growing, numerous announcements regarding the Commonwealth Games boycott, and an alarmist police report which predicted "general disorder and violence" and possible "attacks on the 'establishment' using explosives and incendiary devices" if the tour proceeded (Grant, 2014, p. 276).

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[18] At Sharpeville, a town in the Transvaal, police opened fire on a crowd of peaceful Black protesters. Official figures record that 69 were killed and 180 wounded. Many were shot in the back as they ran away.

[19] At this stage there were suggestions that the South Africans might be persuaded to send a non-racial team (i.e. include a few non-whites as they did in 1981). This would not have been a genuine non-racially selected team but merely a ploy to undermine opposition in NZ and create a false image of the apartheid regime.

Ross (2015) claimed that Grant (2014) did Kirk a "disservice" and that he [Ross] knew from his personal discussions with Kirk in the previous eight years that the Tour would be stopped. Hayward (1981) also attested to Kirk's strong opposition to the Tour, but she recorded that the Labour Opposition's official reply to Prime Minister Marshall's 1972 statement about "building bridges" with South Africa was watered down during Kirk's meeting with fellow senior Labour MPs.[20] Kirk later described the Labour statement as "anaemic" (Hayward, 1981, p. 16).

Publicly, Kirk did everything possible to avoid acting to stop the tour, and his final requirement that the NZRFU 'postpone' the Tour only came after all his attempts to reason with the NZRFU failed (Grant, 2014). Additionally, in line with his attempts to portray a moderate image, he frequently publicly attacked the anti-apartheid movement (Ken Ross, 2015), and he advocated harsher laws to deal with "disruptive actions" from anti-Tour protesters (Hayward, 1981, p. 116). Consequently it is not likely that Labour Party opposition to apartheid and sporting contact with South Africa contributed significantly to the building of the movement.

Both the Federation of Labour (FOL) and the National Council of Churches opposed sporting contact with South Africa, and individual churches and unions participated in both the emerging anti-racism organisations and at protest events. Undoubtedly this support contributed to the development of the struggle, but there is no evidence that the development of the anti-apartheid and anti-racism movement in NZ was dependent on this support.

B. Vietnam War

In the 1960s, for the first time in NZ, the government and opposition parties in Parliament differed over committing NZ troops to an overseas war, although the Labour Party opposition was "somewhat ambivalent until as late as 1969" (Rabel, 2005, p. 359).

The Labour Party leadership and parliamentarians were far from enthusiastic about the rising protest movement in the mid-1960s. At an Auckland public meeting on 6 June 1965, attended by almost 700 people, Labour Party speaker (and deputy leader) Hugh Watt walked off the stage when the Auckland Peace For Vietnam Committee (PFVC) representative Len Reid (at the time a member of the Communist Party) spoke, even though the meeting was jointly sponsored by the Auckland Trades Council, Auckland

[20] The meeting consisted of Kirk, Hugh Watt, Warren Freer and Joe Walding (Hayward, 1981).

Labour Representation Committee and the Auckland PFVC,[21] and chaired by long standing Labour MP Martyn Finlay (Rabel, 2005).[22]

Some Labour Members of Parliament were openly in support of the War, such as Timaru MP Sir Basil Arthur, who in 1965 stated that the USA was doing a "magnificent job" in Vietnam (Rabel, 2005, p. 109), and Norman Douglas, who claimed that the war was being conducted by "hardened communist guerrillas leaders [sic] trained in North Vietnam and China" (Grant, 2014, p. 100).[23] Douglas also raised questions in Parliament after the CPNZ Mt Roskill Branch handed out leaflets on Vietnam outside the Auckland Teachers' Training College. Douglas demanded that Prime Minister Holyoake investigate the leaflet "with a view to prosecuting the distributors if the leaflets were in fact subversive" (Hansard, 1965, p. 3273). Douglas was backed up by Labour leader Kirk and also by MP Warren Freer, who challenged whether the Government was taking the matter seriously and whether an inquiry would be carried out (Hansard, 1965, pp. 3273-3274).

The duplicitous and confused state the Labour Party and its parliamentary wing found themselves in was probably best summed up by their parliamentary leader, Kirk, when he addressed Parliament on the issue of sending NZ troops to Vietnam. "We want to stress most strongly this morning that what is at issue is not essentially the objectives but the means by which it is proposed they should be pursued," Kirk declared (Elder, 1973, p. 122).[24]

Jack Elder's (1973) thesis contains a very detailed history of the Labour leaders' vacillations over the Vietnam War and NZ involvement, with extensive quotes from parliamentary and other speeches.[25]

A basic difficulty for the Labour Party leadership stemmed from their refusal to recognise the roots of the war and a refusal to make a firm stand for fear of losing favour with an

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[21] The organisation began as the Auckland Peace For Vietnam Committee (APFVC), but this was later changed to Auckland Vietnam Committee AVC).

[22] Jackman (1979) quoted Reid as saying that "we had a hell of a row before it started about me even speaking there." He said the matter was finally resolved when FOL speaker Jim Knox intervened and "said the Trades Council was there to support the meeting and they weren't going to have it disrupted" (p. 7).

[23] Douglas had been on a conducted tour of South Vietnam in 1963 and returned as a vocal supporter of the USA war.

[24] Verified against parliamentary records (Hansard) volume 342, 27th May to 8th July 1965.

[25] Five years after completing his thesis, Jack Elder began standing for Labour in parliamentary elections, becoming an MP in the Lange-Douglas Labour Government in 1984. In 1996, when neo-liberal Mike Moore was deposed as leader, by Helen Clark, Elder split from Labour, moving to NZ First and becoming a cabinet minister in the NZ First-National coalition Government.

electorate which they considered largely supported the war (Elder, 1973). In the late 1960s even the more "left" Labour parliamentarians such as Martyn Finlay and Jonathan Hunt, avoided committing to withdraw NZ troops from Vietnam if Labour became the government. At the 1968 Wellington Peace Power and Politics Conference, Finlay "refused to commit the Labour Party to the unconditional withdrawal of troops from Vietnam". When challenged, Finlay responded that the "situation in Vietnam had to be assessed in relation to circumstances at the time" (Elder, 1973, p. 207).

In 1965 Kirk, speaking as Labour Party president, said he believed that "South Vietnam should remain as a territorial and political unit separate from North Vietnam" (Elder, 1973, p. 94). This statement was a complete denial of the 1954 Geneva Agreements which provided for the temporary division of Vietnam for military purposes, pending democratic elections. The Geneva Agreements stated clearly that "the military demarcation line should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary" (Elder, 1973, p. 266). While various Labour parliamentarians at times criticised USA actions in Vietnam and the Saigon regime, the overriding official stance of the Labour Party conformed to Kirk's distorted image of post-Geneva Vietnam (Elder, 1973).

One consequence of this perspective on Vietnam was what Elder (1973) described as the Labour Party's "long standing view that political instability and war sprung from economic and social conditions" (p. 250). This position provided a basis for Labour MPs to counter the National Government's troop commitment with calls for civilian aid as a way to "stop communism from winning" (Elder, 1973, p. 84)[26]. Through the 1960s, various Labour parliamentarians called for increased aid programmes, including those performed by NZ military engineers or medical teams, and at times accepted the possibility that combat troops may need to remain to protect these providers of aid (Elder, 1973).

The socio-economic problem approach to the war ignored the long-standing position of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF) and North Vietnamese that it was a war of independence against colonialism and neo-colonialism. It began as a war against the Japanese invaders during WWII and continued against the French who (with the

[26] Long-time Labour MP Henry May told Parliament in 1964 "you will never stop communism winning in that area unless you help raise the standard of living" (Elder, 1973, p. 84).

assistance of Britain[27]) returned as colonial masters after WWII. After the French defeat in 1954[28] and the Geneva Agreements, the colonial mantle was assumed by the USA which installed and armed a series of corrupt, repressive regimes in the South, preventing the implementation of the Geneva peace programme (Karnow, 1997; Maclear, 1981; Slingsby, 1966).

Leaders of North Vietnam had repeatedly stated what they saw as priorities for the Vietnamese nation. For example, Isaacs (1965)[29] described a conversation he held with legendary Vietnamese liberation leader Ho Chi Minh in the 1940s.

> In long discussions we had of the problems of the Nationalist movement in general and in Indochina in particular, he would impatiently wave aside all misgivings. "Independence is the thing," he said. "What follows will follow. But independence must come first if there is to be anything to follow at all later on." (p. 50)

Nearly 20 years later, in an address to the Vietnamese National Assembly, Ho reiterated this same national independence theme. "We love peace but we are not afraid of war. We will drive out the invading US marauders to defend the freedom, independence and territorial integrity of our country. Vietnam is one country and the Vietnamese are one nation" (as cited in Slingsby, 1972).

Economic deprivation in Indochina was inseparable from colonialism. In 1943, then USA president, Roosevelt, said that France had "milked" Indochina for a hundred years and had left the people "worse off than they were in the beginning" (Karnow, 1997, p. 147).

At Labour Party conferences delegates frequently found themselves in a tussle with a leadership which constantly tried to water down the Party stance on the Vietnam War. For example, a remit put forward at the 1967 Conference reaffirmed the policy on Vietnam declared by the Joint Council of Labour[30] and called "for united and renewed efforts by political and industrial Labour to secure the cessation of bombing of North Vietnam and the withdrawal of troops" (Elder, 1973, p. 199). Future Labour Party President and Prime Minister Wallace (Bill) Rowling proposed that "all the words after industrial Labour be removed". Eventually the debate was settled with an amendment

[27] Following WWII, by agreement of the victorious Allies, Britain took over administration of the southern part of Vietnam. During the following months French forces began to return, sometimes wearing British uniforms to conceal their identity (Slingsby, 1966).
[28] By 1954 the USA was funding 78 percent of the French military budget in Vietnam (Maclear, 1981).
[29] The quotation is taken from *"No Peace for Asia"* by Isaacs, published in 1947.
[30] The Joint Council of Labour was comprised of delegates from the Labour Party and the FOL (Elder, 1973).

moved by Kirk which reaffirmed the policy and called "for every effort to be made to end the conflict and establish peace in that country at the earliest possible moment" (Elder, 1973, p. 199). In this way Kirk sidelined the issue of withdrawing troops and turned the original into a generalised call for peace.

Kirk desperately tried to avoid Vietnam becoming an issue during the 1966 and 1969 election campaigns (Grant, 2014). When USA president Lyndon Johnson was due to visit Wellington in October 1966, Kirk welcomed the visit and "urged that no demonstrations be mounted against Johnson" (Rabel, 2005, p. 193).

In 1971, when huge marches followed the USA saturation bombing of Cambodia, Kirk was opposed to the NZ mobilisation protests in which an estimated 40,000 people took part (Grant, 2014). Given this vacillating position on the war, it is not likely that the Labour Party's official opposition to involvement in Vietnam was very influential in the development of the protest movement at that time.

Despite the official stance, many Labour Party members participated actively in the protest movement. A prominent Labour Party member and Justice of the Peace (JP), Roy Evans, was a founding member of the Auckland Vietnam Committee (AVC) and for many years its chairman.

In the later part of the campaign, in the 1970s, increasing numbers of Labour Party branches began participating in protest activities under their own names. The sponsors of the 1973 Indochina Day included five branches of the Labour Party, along with some unions, the AVC and PYM (Baldry, 1973).[31] It appears from this that rather than stimulating the development of the movement, the Labour Party tended to follow the movement as it gained strength. Rabel (2005) referred to the Labour Party eventually becoming "emboldened by growing international and domestic criticism" of the war (p. 359).

C. Australian Labor Party

Like its Aotearoa New Zealand counterpart, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was "less than a close ally of the peace movement" (Saunders, 1983, p. 75). During the 1950s the ALP's attitude to the peace movement was one of hostility, but in the early 1960s this changed to ambivalence (Saunders, 1983). A few prominent Labour figures like Victoria MP Dr J. F. Cairns played a prominent role in the movement against the Vietnam War

[31] Advertising leaflet for "Indochina Day" activities held on 14 July 1973.

from an early stage. The introduction of conscription at the end of 1964 began a closer relationship between the ALP and the peace movement which was strengthened after the sending of troops to support the USA war in Vietnam and the inclusion of conscripts in the Vietnam contingents (Saunders, 1983). ALP parliamentary leader Arthur Calwell spoke out strongly against conscription[32]. As the 1966 federal elections came closer, Calwell announced that a Labour Government would bring home the conscripts "without delay", but he was more equivocal about the regular troops in Vietnam. Labour would withdraw the regulars "as soon as possible", Calwell stated (Saunders, 1983, p. 79).

When Calwell made Vietnam an election issue, much of the peace movement threw their weight behind the Labour election campaign during the second half of 1966. After Labour lost the election, Calwell was replaced by his deputy, Gough Whitlam, who had made it clear he did not favour withdrawing all Australian troops from Vietnam. The cordial relationship between the ALP and the movement soured. In some cases hostility re-emerged[33] (Saunders, 1983). One result of the Labour electoral defeat was an increase in the use of civil disobedience tactics, or what Irving (2017) described as the protesters asserting "their right to break an immoral law" (p. 157). Saunders and Summy (1986) described the change as a rift between "the moderates and the radicals" (p. 39). They also noted an increased willingness to "highlight United States imperialism as the cause of war" and to identify with "the enemy" (Saunders & Summy, 1986, p. 39).

By the 1972 Federal elections, public opinion in Australia had swung so strongly against conscription and involvement in the war that Whitlam spoke favourably about draft resisters. After its election to office in 1972, the Labour Government acted quickly to bring back the troops and abolish conscription. Like its NZ counterpart, the ALP leadership had tended to follow the movement rather than instigated it.

D. Other influences

Other potential "influential allies" were Aotearoa New Zealand churches and the trade union movement. The National Council of Churches was an outspoken critic of NZ military involvement in Vietnam, but church opinions were divided (Rabel, 2005). Individual denominations, like the Unitarians and Quakers, were organisationally involved in the movement, as were many priests and ministers, such as the Reverend

[32] Calwell had campaigned against conscription during WWI.

[33] The NSW Labor Party executive banned members from belonging to the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) and gave those ALP members who already belonged to the Association 21 days to resign from the organisation or face expulsion from the Labour Party branch (Saunders, 1983).

Dean Charles Chandler who was prominent in the NZ Peace Council (NZPC) and at one stage its chairman (Urlich, 1998). Dean Chandler was elected onto the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council in 1950 but was pressured by his church to relinquish that position in late 1951 (Urlich, 1998). [34]

In October 1967, when the NZ Government announced an increase in troop commitment to Vietnam, the move was condemned by "representatives of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches" but not their Catholic and Anglican counterparts (Rabel, 2005, pp. 246-247).

The Federation of Labour was officially opposed to NZ involvement in the war from as early as 1965 and FOL leaders spoke at anti-war events. Many individual unions participated organisationally. There was also strong opposition to the FOL policy within the FOL (Rabel, 2005). At the 1969 FOL Conference there was vociferous opposition to a section in the annual report which condemned the USA for denying "the Vietnamese people the right to work out their own economic and political future". An attempt to have the section removed was defeated by 297 votes to 103 (Rabel, 2005, p. 287).

Resource mobilisation theory

Resource mobilisation theory addresses how social movements develop and how they mobilise successfully (Tarrow, 1996). Advocates hold that protest activity is a normal part of the functioning of modern societies, rather than the product of a crisis (Chesters & Welsh, 2011), but that the most influential factor in development of social movements is the resources possessed. Davis-Delano (2007) noted the concept of resource is defined widely, and includes "money, solidarity, leadership, labour/time, knowledge/skills, pre-existing organisational connections" (p. 342).

There is ample evidence of prior experience being a factor in the development of the USA anti-war movement in the 1960s. In that country there was a core of anti-nuclear, pacifist and Communist Party activists who campaigned against the atom bomb and events like the Rosenberg executions in 1953[35]. In the later 1950s and into the 1960s, civil rights became the major issue, particularly in relation to the blatant institutionalised racism

[34] Rev. Chandler, then a vicar, was a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union formed in 1938, which peaked at 136,000 members in April 1940 (Grant, 1986).

[35] In 1953 Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were arrested on charges of espionage in the USA, tried and sentenced to death. They were alleged to have been part of a conspiracy to pass the plans for an atomic bomb on to the Soviets. The evidence was entirely circumstantial and much of it came from people who had confessed to being spies and received prison terms, one of whom was known to be a chronic liar. The Rosenbergs refused to "confess" and, despite worldwide protests and calls for clemency from notables such as Albert Einstein and Pablo Picasso, they were executed on June 19, 1953.

prevalent in the Southern states of the USA. Student activists played a significant part in the campaign to help blacks[36] enroll as electors during what became known as the freedom summer campaign in 1964. Immediately following that campaign, free speech on university campuses became the immediate issue – with activism around the rights to political expression and action on university campuses (Kurlansky, 2005; Zinn, 2003).

By the time the Kennedy Administration began the escalation of military action in Vietnam in 1962, there were politically motivated and active students in a range of USA universities who did not trust their government and its military activities. Moore (1999) commented that unlike the anti-bomb movements, which tended to be led "mainly by professionals, some scientists and a handful of pacifists", the movement against the Vietnam War in the USA was led by students (p. 108).

Others dispute the student-based characterisation of the anti-war movement in the USA. While the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) organised a major demonstration against the war in April 1965 (Buzzanco, 1999),[37] only a few months later, in June 1965, the SDS Convention decided against building a strong centralised organisation and left decisions on actions up to local chapters (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985). Amongst other issues, the convention decided not to organise a nation wide anti-draft campaign (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985).

Zaroulis and Sullivan (1985) wrote that:

> The anti-war movement was not a movement of the young, although young people gave it needed energy, served by the hundreds of thousands as its "troops", and provided some of its leaders. It was conceived, nurtured, and largely directed by adults; people over 30 made up a large part of its membership. Its original inspiration came from two old men.[38] (p. xii)

In the core of the emerging movement in the USA were a range of existing organisations; pacifist groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), War Resisters League (WRL), and others; religious organisations like the Quakers, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Catholic Workers Movement;

[36] Throughout the thesis I use the word "black" when referring to USA citizens of Afro-American descent. This term gained widespread use during the late 1960s in what became an assertion of Black Power and Black Consciousness (Porter & Washington, 1979; Zinn, 2003). The term was a affirmation of black self-esteem and a rejection of the "passive Negro role" (Porter & Washington, 1979, p. 54).

[37] Although Buzzanco (1999) cites this as "the first major demonstration against the war" (p. 168), McReynolds (1992) attributes this description to an October 1963 demonstration organised by the War Resisters League (p. 57) – see later.

[38] The authors are almost certainly referring to Rev. A. J. Muste, a lifelong pacifist activist, and Sydney Lens, a former labour organiser and later the editor of *Liberation* magazine published by the WRL.

disarmament groups including Women Strike for Peace (WSP) and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE); student and campus groups like the SDS, Young Socialist Alliance and the Student Peace Union (SPU); and left political organisations such as the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA), Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Socialist Party (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985). Consequently, there was an abundance of prior experience and connections.

Lewis (2013) defined the early leaders as "middle class" but also pointed to the class and political diversity of the emerging anti-war movement's members:

> The social movement organisations most commonly recognised as forming the core of the anti-war movement themselves contained much more class diversity and concern with class audience than is typically remembered. Civil rights, black power, nationalist, and self-determination movements were among the first and, in some cases, most active sites of anti-war protest during the period. Anti-war currents within the labour movement grew and gained legitimacy over the course of the war. (p. 15)

Lewis (2013) explained how she considered a false image of the social basis of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the USA had developed. "Middle class activists are more likely than their working class comrades to tell their stories and are more likely to have landed in professions where they tell such stories and make interpretations of the past for a living" (p. 45).

This meant that the considerable diversity of the movement and its achievements have been overlooked. "That character – largely youthful, middle class, or elite; limited to campuses; concerned with intellectual and policy debates; and increasingly radical and sensationalist – has unquestionably become the dominant image of the movement as a whole" (p. 45). The participation of organised labour in the USA movement, which increased over the period of the struggle, is "usually ignored or forgotten" (Lewis, 2013, p. 105).

The first attempt to bring together a USA coalition against the war, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, was formed at the Assembly of Unrepresented People (AUP) gathering of political activists (Wells, 1994). The Assembly, "organised largely by radical pacifists", was held in Washington DC in August 1965 (Wells, 1994, p. 51). A member of CPUSA was appointed coordinator of the newly formed Coordinating Committee (Wells, 1994).

While the emerging movement in the USA was not as student-based as often portrayed, Lewis (2013) described how the early anti-war organisations, when trying to build their

memberships, reached for the "low-hanging fruit" (p. 74). These were members of existing groups, middle class liberals and students.

Chatfield (2004) described the diversity of the USA movement as follows:

> By 1971 the movement's traditional peace groups still predominated, but there were also Progressive Labour [Maoist] and SWP [Socialist Workers Party] leadership (Halstead), a large student cohort, black leaders and political liberals, organised GIs and Vietnam War veterans, and a direct action contingent. The movement had no ideology; it had in common only a visceral, moral anger about the war. (p. 494)

Small (2002) estimated that "by 1969 there may have been as many as 17,000 national, regional and local organisations" which could be regarded as part of the movement in the USA (p. 3). He described the USA movement as "an ever shifting coalition of pacifists, liberals, social democrats, socialists, communists and cultural radicals, many of whom were college students, working people, suburbanites, clerics, politicians, journalists, intellectuals, and even proverbial little old ladies in tennis shoes" (p. 3).

A. Aotearoa New Zealand

In NZ the movements against the Vietnam War also benefited from the participation of people from prior campaigns with experience, skills and dedication to the struggle for social change. Early protesters against the Vietnam War included many participants in prior movements, which in Auckland included people from the NZPC, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), churches, left-Labour figures, pacifists and the CPNZ, so the influence of pre-existing organisational connections was certainly a factor.

Student activism was not the central impetus of the movement against the Vietnam War in Auckland and many other parts of NZ, particularly in the early years. Sinclair and McNaughton (1983) described some political activities at the University of Auckland in the early to mid-1960s, but noted that "in general, political activism came in the later sixties" (p. 259). Regardless of this situation, in 1965 the CPNZ Auckland District Committee reported that "the only organised active group [of young people] we know of in Auckland has been the students" (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1965).

Whilst the emerging protest movements opposing the Vietnam War varied from region to region and operated virtually independently of each other (Rabel, 2005), a significant role was fulfilled by the CPNZ which by July 1964 had prioritised "the urgent development of a national campaign of action against NZ troops for Vietnam" (CPNZ

Auckland District Committee, 1964a; CPNZ National Secretariat, 1964). The April 1965 National Secretariat circular reiterated this call. "The most urgent and immediate task facing the whole of our Party is the development of an effective protest movement on the question of Vietnam" (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b).

By 1965 the CPNZ leadership had produced posters, leaflets and stickers opposing involvement in the war (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1964a; CPNZ National Secretariat, 1964). Thus the actions and resources of a small but nationwide organisation were becoming an important factor in the development of the movement that would emerge from 1965 onwards.

Members of the CND also played an important role. K. Clements (1993) considered that the anti-Vietnam War movement developed from the anti-nuclear one:

> The anti-nuclear movement of the early 1960s had generated a group of organisers and leaders with organisational and mobilising skills that were employed in organising urban based Committees on Vietnam (COV). These COVs were effectively networks of individuals, groups and organisations. (p. 126)

Clements (1993) went on to name a collection of "old campaigners" and "newcomers" who were combined in the COVs. Unfortunately, this approach appears to apply the writer's view of the WCOV to the committees in general. Also, in doing so he neglected to mention old campaigners such as prominent CPNZ member Rona Bailey who was involved in the WCOV from the start (see below).

In April 1965 the annual CND meeting decided to hold a protest at Parliament against the war.[39] One speaker at the protest was Reverend Ormond Burton who was NZ's best known Christian pacifist campaigner during WWII (Rabel, 2005).[40]

In his study on the Wellington COV, Haas (1967) described the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament as "a forerunner of COV", but wrote that CND's peak had passed by the time COV emerged (p. 50). Haas (1967) recorded that, at the time of the COV formation in 1965, CND limited its scope to the nuclear issue. This decision did not preclude individual CND members from becoming part of the COV (Haas, 1967).

[39] Organisers of the protest were inspired by a huge anti-war march in Washington a few days earlier and also motivated by the impending visit to Wellington by USA special envoy Henry Cabot Lodge (Rabel, 2005).

[40] Burton served in the NZ Army as a medical orderly during WWI, starting with the Gallipoli landing. He was decorated and reached the rank of lieutenant by 1919. However, disturbed by the "futility of the slaughter" among other issues, he became a committed pacifist in 1921 (Grant, 1986, p. 34).

In Dunedin also, CND was divided over whether to take up the Vietnam issue (Bell, 1989). This situation changed in later 1966 when "the CND passed a motion 63 to 10 that the war in Vietnam be a major concern of CND" (Bell, 1989, p. 46). Bell (1989) noted that the initial disagreement in CND meant that "it was unable to take any major initiatives over the Vietnam War" but, as Vietnam emerged as an immediate issue, the Dunedin COV tended to attract "many CND protesters to their cause" (p. 47).

Haas (1967) also wrote that the WCOV "drew on dissident CND members for some of its initial members", but also included members of Socialist Forum and "people from a number of other large institutions and a number of other small ones" (p. 50). He added that "their experience and contacts were invaluable for the COV" (Haas, 1967, p. 50).

In Christchurch, one of the founding members of the Citizens Vietnam Action Committee was Keith Duffield, who had been active in the publication of anti-war leaflets before WWII (Locke, 1992). Duffield refused to register for military service, and despite having a withered leg from polio infection during his childhood, was declared fit for service and detained in a defaulters' camp (Locke, 1992). Along with other detainees, Duffield refused to work and was then sent to prison (Grant, 1986). Locke (1992) wrote that, although a grandfather by the late 1960s, Duffield was "a rebellious youth" in spirit and shared his "know-how, his wide range of skills and his material resources with the [Christchurch] PYM" (p. 221).

It is clear from the above that existing resources, in terms of people with experience in campaigning around social issues, which included "contacts" in terms of the networks they had been involved in, contributed greatly to the initial development of the anti-Vietnam War campaign in NZ. However, Jasper (1997) cautioned that the concept of resources can often be over-extended, "making the entire social world into resources" (p. 31) and missing "the direct pleasures of protest, the moral visions being pursued, and the emotions accompanying political activities" (p. 33).

The concept of resource mobilisation can also be used by right-wing researchers to imply that outside "resources" may involve "outside agitators" and "communist conspiracy" or overseas funding (McCarthy & Zald, 1973, p. 1).

B. Overseas models

Some references to the 1960s and 1970s protest movements in NZ have asserted that PYM and the broader anti-Vietnam War movement were based on, or heavily influenced by, overseas models, in particular the protest movements in the USA.

Tennant, O'Brien and Sanders (2008) wrote that "even youth protest drew heavily upon international movements for inspiration" adding that "they occasionally coalesced into imitative groups such as the Progressive Youth Movement" (p. 27). Similarly, historian Michael King (1988) wrote that "radical youth groups such as the Progressive Youth Movement sprouted, influenced by the example of similar organisations overseas" (p. 91).

Writing about the broader anti-Vietnam War movement as a whole, K. Clements (1988) maintained that "the tactics and strategy of the joint councils and committees on Vietnam drew heavily on overseas ideas" (p. 103). While this is a very sweeping statement, there were some instances of actions directly copied from the USA. The 1965 teach-ins on university campuses "were based on an American precedent" (Rabel, 2005, p. 164), as was the (mainly student) sit-in at the Auckland USA Consulate in March 1969 (University of Auckland Socialist Club, 1969). The mobilisations after 1970, promoted and organisationally dominated by the Trotskyist Socialist Action League (SAL), directly imitated those in the USA (Jackman, 1979), where the SAL's fraternal group, the SWP, dominated the events with a very rigid organisational and political formula (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985).

Advocates of involvement in the war were cruder in their claims about overseas influence. When a group of protesters held a sit-in outside Holyoake's office on the morning after his announcement that NZ troops were to be sent to Vietnam, Holyoake suggested that it was communist directed[41] and "a pure carbon copy" of what had been happening overseas (Rabel, 2005, p. 123). The latter statement ignores the potential for local initiative and history. In fact the Nelson railway sit-in took place in his home region ten years earlier, in September 1955[42] (Davies, 1984). In the 1960s, sit-ins against the Vietnam War were taking place all around the world.

Broader approach to movement emergence

By the 1980s, the emphasis on an over-arching universal theory of social change had changed to what Smelser (1990) described as "peaceful pluralism rather than mutual exclusion" (p. 279). Differing sociological theories were being recognised as an "array rather than a battlefield" (p. 279), parts of which writers would accept and other parts

[41] Holyoake claimed he has just read a communist leaflet which had advocated that "people do this sort of thing" (Rabel, 2005, p. 123).

[42] This protest was conducted by a group of local women and included future trade union leader and MP, Sonja Davies. Nine women were arrested (Davies, 1984).

would be discarded. Also, Smelser expressed the view that the change to "specialisation", where sociological studies concentrated on varying kinds of movement, precluded the development of "grand theoretical overviews" such as those of the past (p. 281).

A difficulty with the resource mobilisation and political opportunity approaches is the danger of adopting a silo approach and treating a broad social movement as a thing in itself. In addition to their fluidity, these broad movements are far from isolated entities and do not develop separately from the wider social climate (McAdam, 1995).

Flow-on effect

McAdam (1995) distinguished between "two broad classes of movements". The first class he characterised as "initiator movements", describing them as "rare but exceedingly important" (p. 219). An example of this category was the "American civil rights movement" (p. 219). His second grouping were described as "spin off movements that, in varying degrees draw their impetus and inspiration from the original initiator movement" (p. 219. This latter group he described as a "more populous category" (p. 219). McAdam included "movements on behalf of women, Chicanos, gays, students, Native Americans, and farm workers" in the "spin off" category (p. 223).

A. Aotearoa New Zealand

This flow on effect may well be an illustration of Liu's (2005) view that "opposition to one form of injustice" encourages wider support for "protest against other forms of injustice" (p. 6).

Historically this has been the case in Aotearoa New Zealand, where the peace movement's roots can be traced back to early colonialism and the land wars. Locke (1992) chronicled the emergence of the first National Council of Women (NCW) from the women's suffrage movement. The council had a "department for peace and arbitration" (Locke, 1992, p. 26). At its 1897 convention the NCW called on women of Australasia to "cooperate in promoting permanent and universal peace, with the simultaneous gradual and proportional disarmament of civilised peoples" (Locke, 1992, p. 27).

While the NCW leadership avoided direct criticism of NZ involvement in the South African War in 1899, that did not stop some prominent members from speaking out, as did some trade union leaders and others. By the early 1900s, a series of peace oriented organisations arose, initiated by members of the women's movement, trade unionists, pacifists, socialists and religious organisations, principally the Society of Friends – the Quakers (Locke, 1992).

Despite a climate of extreme jingoistic nationalism and pro-militarism, combined with legal and other persecution through the early 20th century, there was on-going organised opposition to the school cadet programme, conscription and war, which persisted through both WWI and WWII. In an apparently spontaneous act of resistance in 1959, more than 600 Compulsory Military Training conscripts failed to turn up at Waiouru army camp for an exercise named Operation Ulysses. This was a "huge army exercise" which featured "simulated atom bombs" being dropped (Yska, 1993, p. 209).

A National Peace Council (NPC) was formed in 1911, and the NZ section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was founded in 1917[43] (Locke, 1992). Christian Pacifists played a significant role in the NZ opposition to involvement in the emerging WWII. After some vacillations, in December 1939 the CPNZ also came out in opposition to involvement in what the party considered was an imperialist war on both sides (Taylor, 1994). This stand led to prosecutions of CPNZ members for subversion and other crimes, and in 1940 the *People's Voice* was banned, and police raided the CPNZ printery and smashed the machinery. The paper continued to be produced illegally for a period after this (Taylor, 1994). The CPNZ position changed completely in June 1941 after Germany invaded the Soviet Union, and the CPNZ became an enthusiastic supporter of the war effort (Taylor, 1994).

Frequently the various, sometimes short-lived, groups which had developed shared members with other peace or progressive organisations or movements that had gone before and coalesced into issue-specific bodies to fight around a particular issue, such as anti-conscription campaigns before and after WWII, and the anti-nuclear weapons campaign that emerged after WWII (Locke, 1992).

A further illustration of Liu's (2005) statement was the fluidity of membership between different broad movements in later years. For example CARE stalwart and long-term spokesperson Tom Newnham was also secretary of CND for a period (Newnham, 2003).

B. Australia

Summy and Saunders (1995) maintained that activism by pacifists and opponents of war in Australia had formed part of the political scene in Australia since at least the early 1900s. Langley (1992) wrote that the "Australian peace movement has a long history

[43] WILPF was an active participant throughout the 1960s and 1970s protest movements and is still active in 2019.

stretching back to the Boer War"[44] (p. 5).[45] In 1914, when Australia became involved in WWI, there was widespread support, but the peace movements focussed on a campaign against conscription with the result that two referenda on the introduction of conscription were defeated.[46] Saunders and Summy (1986) credited the labour movement, "principally the trade unions", with spearheading the anti-conscription movement (p. 20).

The Communist Party of Australia (CPA), like its NZ counterpart, had swung into support for WWII after the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany. In the aftermath of WWII, the CPA became "the driving force" behind the formation of the Australian Peace Council (APC) in July 1949 (Saunders & Summy, 1986).[47] "To a large degree the major peace groups in existence today can be traced back, at least organizationally, to the founding of the APC" (Saunders & Summy, 1986, pp. 32-33).

Irving (2017) criticised the common perception that the anti-Vietnam War movement in Australia began in 1966. His thesis traced the development of the movement from 1959. "It offers a history of Australian activism not as an organisational network or monolithic, homogenous 'movement' but as the development and evolution of practice over time" (Irving, 2017, p. 11). Langley (1992) described the 1950s activists as helping "lay the basis for the success of the protest movement in the 1960s" (p. 5).

Curthoys (1995) wrote that members of the Union of Australian Women held a protest in Melbourne in the early 1960s after the Australian Government sent 30 military "advisers" to assist the South Vietnam regime. While some groups were protesting about Australian support for the war in the early 1960s (Curthoys, 1995; Langley, 1992), the introduction of conscription (November 1964) and the government announcement that Australian combat forces would be sent to Vietnam (April 1965) "galvanized the peace movement into subordinating all other matters to the twin issues of Vietnam and conscription" (Saunders & Summy, 1986, p. 35).

Like the movements in NZ, there was also "a considerable continuity of personnel" through the various peace and anti-nuclear organisations that emerged (Irving, 2017, p. 18). For example, Reverend A. Dickie, who was present at the first meeting of the

[44] Now more correctly known as the South African War.

[45] Saunders and Summy described opposition which was expressed in 1885 when the Australian Government sent 750 infantry men to join the British colonial war in the Sudan. The military venture was very short, and no peace groups developed (Saunders & Summy, 1986).

[46] The referenda were held in October 1916 and December 1917.

[47] The first three national organising secretaries of the APC were members of the CPA (Saunders & Summy, 1986).

Australian Peace Council in 1949, became chairman of the Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (CICD). He remained as chairman of CICD until 1972. Dr J. Cairns, who was also present at that initial meeting, became chairman of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and later took over as chair of the CICD.[48] In New South Wales (NSW), the vice-president of Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD), Phyl Latona, was also vice-president of the NSW branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (Curthoys, 1995).

Irving also points out that there was "organisational overlap, with State Committees also organising both anti-nuclear and anti-war protests" (Irving, 2017, p. 18). In 1966 the Hiroshima Commemoration Committee was re-named the Project Vietnam Committee and the annual Sydney Hiroshima Day march was advertised as "Vietnam – International Days of Protest" (Irving, 2017, p. 49).

C. USA

The pacifist movement in the USA had equally deep roots in history. The Fellowship of Reconciliation was founded in 1915 (McReynolds, 1992). Two years later saw the founding of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an offspring of the Quaker movement, followed by the WRL in 1923. All three of these organisations played a prominent part in the broad USA anti-Vietnam War movement (McReynolds, 1992).[49]

Researchers have also emphasised the need to consider the peculiarities of individual movements or even locations. Smelser (2007) stressed the need for any analysis of a movement or even a university campus "must take into account the peculiarities of national and institutional history and circumstances" (p. 264).

Jasper (1997) cautioned against the danger of taking the characteristics of one movement and trying to generalise them as universally applicable to other movements. Similarly, Lewis (2013) challenged attempts to apply conventional social movement theory to the anti-Vietnam War movement in the USA. She described the movement as "a massive sprawling, multi-headed phenomenon" (p. 11) containing many organisations with different strategic objectives and views on tactics.

[48] Cairns also became a Federal Labour Party Member of Parliament.

[49] McReynolds described himself as primary spokesperson for the WRL at the time of the Vietnam War and liaison person with other groups in the USA and overseas.

Small and Hoover (1992) also stressed this diversity as symptomatic of an "often unwieldy coalition of both relatively permanent and temporary, ad hoc organisations opposing US policies in Southeast Asia in a variety of ways" (p. 3).

Zaroulis and Sullivan (1985) described the USA movement in similar terms.

> It was a loose, shifting, often uneasy coalition of groups and individuals who often disagreed on every issue except their hatred of the war. Many times the anti-war movement fell apart only to come together again under the overwhelming need to oppose its government's policy on Vietnam. (p. xii)

Breines (1988) wrote about the lack of a "unified centre" in the USA movement:

> There were many centers of action in the movement, many actions, many interpretations, many visions, many experiences. There was no unity because each group, region, campus, commune, collective, and demonstration developed differently, but all shared in a spontaneous opposition to racism and inequality, the war in Vietnam, and the repressiveness of American social norms and culture. (p. 543).

The fluidity of the USA movement may have been partially explained by William Crandell (1992) when describing his experience as one of the "mid-west coordinators" of the newly emerged Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) in 1968. Crandell (1992) wrote, "We did not try, at that time, to establish a formal organization. We hoped that ending the war would not take that long"[50] (p. 142).

Social Causes

Another strand of research has focussed on the social causes of the "problem" which social movements aim to redress. C. W. King (1956) wrote that social unrest is an "essential background condition" for the birth of a social movement (p. 40). On this basis, to understand why people form protest movements, it is necessary to begin by examining what is "actually going wrong in their lives as they experience it, at what isn't working for them" (D. E. Smith, 2006, p. 23). Evans (1974) contended that "protests cannot be inflamed unless a grievance, real or imagined, exists already" (p. 1).

In their analysis of what they called "value oriented" movements, Jackson, Petersen, Bull, Monsen, and Richmond (1960) outlined the "four essential characteristics for the development of a movement" (p. 36). The first requirement is a "precipitating event" – the war in Vietnam would certainly meet that criterion. The second step is when

[50] VVAW developed into a very significant part of the USA anti-Vietnam War movement in the USA and had a powerful impact, not least because the movement undermined government claims that protesters were demoralising troops serving in Vietnam. As one protesting veteran put it "we are the troops".

individuals who are discontented about an issue become "socialized into social unrest". This can be through small actions or just talking with friends and associates who have similar concerns. Thirdly, that unrest becomes focussed on a specific objective. Finally, the opposition becomes spontaneously organised into groups (p. 36).

In the anti-Vietnam War movements those objectives were often not so specific. The collection of groups and individuals who comprised the movements had many different strategic objectives, but a shared opposition to the war (Lewis, 2013; Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985).

McReynolds (1992) reflected that "it was struggle of the Vietnamese people that first created the Vietnam anti-war movement" (p. 69).

The growth of the movements

A. Anti-apartheid movement

In 1967 University of Auckland librarian and labour historian, Bert Roth, stated that the first protests against the exclusion of Māori players from NZ rugby teams going to apartheid South Africa "were made in 1948, by the Communist Party and the Waterside Workers Union" (Haas, 1967, p. 25).[51] This sweeping statement overlooked the very vocal opposition at the time of previous tours from Māori leaders and other prominent people and groups.

Criticism of South African racism, and its display in their sports teams, began with the first Springbok tour of NZ in 1921. The Springbok match against a NZ Māori team started badly when the Springboks turned their backs as the Māori team began their haka (Richards, 1999). Following the match a touring South African journalist wrote critically about the team having to play a team called 'New Zealand Natives' (Thompson, 1975, p. 12). The journalist went on to declare that "the spectacle of thousands of Europeans frantically cheering on a band of coloured men to defeat members of their own race was too much for the Springboks, who were frankly disgusted " (Thompson, 1975, p. 12). These comments were published in newspapers around NZ and infuriated many Māori leaders, notably the Bay of Plenty based Arawa Tribal Federation (Richards, 1999).

[51] See Richards (1999) for a detailed account of rugby contacts with South Africa and NZRFU co-operation with the "no Māori" policies of the South African Rugby Board.

In 1928, compliant with South African wishes, the NZRFU excluded Māori players, including famous "All Back" George Nepia, from the NZ team touring South Africa (Thompson, 1975).[52]

Five years later, in 1937, the Arawa Tribal Federation called for a "social and sporting boycott" of the Springbok Tour of NZ (Richards, 1999). This stand was supported by many Māori leaders, including the legendary Te Puea Herangi.[53] There was no match against a NZ Māori team during that tour (Richards, 1999).

In 1948, when the NZRFU accepted an invitation to send a 'whites only' team to tour South Africa, Māori opponents of this racist decision to exclude Māori players were joined from many quarters, including the Wellington Watersiders Union and the CPNZ[54] (Richards, 1999). Famous NZ army commander from WWII and former commander of the Māori Battalion, Major General Sir Howard Kippenberger, spoke very forcefully against the plan to send a racially selected All Black team (Thompson, 1975). [55] The front page of the *People's Voice* on 8 September called on the NZRFU to "reverse its decision" to send a racially selected team and praised Kippenberger's stand ("Rugby Union must reverse its decision," 1948). The Women's Committee of the Communist Party organised a meeting in Wellington condemning the selection of an all-white team. The team should be selected regardless of "race or colour" read the meeting statement. If this could "not be the rule then the team should not be sent" ("Women condemn Rugby Council's action," 1948, p. 6). The Auckland Trades Council also demanded that if Māori players were not allowed in the team, then the tour should be cancelled ("Colour Bar in S.A. Criticised by T.C.," 1948). That racially selected team was given a state farewell by the Labour Government (Thompson, 1975).

In contrast, the 1956 Springbok Tour of NZ received little criticism, with even the CPNZ paper *People's Voice* supporting it (Richards, 1999). The *People's Voice* sports commentator described the re-inclusion of a match between a NZ Māori team and the

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[52] I could find no mention of the tour to South Africa in the 1927 and 1928 issues of *The Workers' Vanguard*, CPNZ monthly paper at the time, although there were two articles condemning the seizure of Māori land in the 1928 issues.

[53] Te Puea was generally described as "Princess Te Puea".

[54] The Watersiders' Union statement was reported in the same issue of the *People's Voice*.

[55] Kippenberger, then president of the Returned Services Association (RSA), praised the conduct and loyalty of the Māori battalion during WWII, adding: "I am not going to acquiesce to any damned Afrikaner saying they cannot go. To hell with them." Thompson (1975) wrote that, under pressure, Kippenberger later retracted this statement and apologised. This assertion was contradicted by the *People's Voice* which stated that Kippenberger's apology was only in regard what he described as the "improper" remark about "damned Afrikaners" ("Kippenberger didn't retract," 1948).

Springboks as a positive step. The writer also criticised those people who, in 1949, wanted the All Blacks not to tour South Africa because Māori players were excluded ("Springboks v Maoris," 1956, p. 7). Richards (1999) wrote that only the Māori Women's Welfare League "stood against the tide and opposed the tour" (p. 19).

The 1960 tour to South Africa, as documented above, saw the formation of the first "anti-Tour" organisation, CABTA, which campaigned against the exclusion of Māori players from the All Black team. Following the 1960 "No Māoris – No Tour" campaign, there was a wider unease internationally about the racist South African regime and about race relations, including race relations in NZ (Richards, 1999). The 1960 Sharpeville massacre was a catalysing event which accelerated this unease (Richards, 1999).

The visit of a South African cricket team in 1964 was met with protests. The issue was by this time becoming opposition to a racially selected team, rather than the treatment of Māori players. Matches in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch were picketed (Richards, 1999). The CPNZ issued a leaflet titled "Apartheid Isn't Cricket: Bowl out Racialism in Sport and in Life" (Richards, 1999, p. 30). The FOL "called on affiliated trades councils not to support the tour" (Thompson, 1975, p. 30).

In May of that year, the *People's Voice* commented that "time will raise the question of whether we should even play against a segregated team in grounds packed with segregated spectators" ("Maori footballers for South Africa," 1964, p. 1).

Later in 1964 a small group in Auckland began planning "an association concerned with race relations" (Newnham, 1989, p. 6). Prominent in this group were civil rights lawyer Frank Haigh, who had been active in the "No Māoris – No Tour" campaign", writer Sarah Campion, and Gladys Salter, who hosted the meetings.[56] The outcome of these house meetings was the public launching of the CARE in October 1964. In addition to the three named above, the elected founding committee included some trade union officials and others (Newnham, 1989).

CARE's policy was to address racism both domestically and overseas, with a long-term perspective, rather than focussing on a particular event or tour.

In 1965 CARE organised a public protest meeting in the Auckland Town Hall in response to an all-white Springbok team's visit to NZ (Newnham, 1989). At the time Justice

[56] Years before this time, Gladys and her husband had owned a general store in Lake Road, Takapuna, then a quiet backwater and populated by many literary and artistic personalities. The Salters established a close relationship with progressive-minded writers and activists like Sarah Campion.

Minister Ralph Hanan referred to tour opponents as "minorities with peculiar ideas" and referred to opponents of the tour as being like fleas on a dog (Newnham, 1989, p. 3). Tom Newnham, who had participated in the 1960 campaign, joined the organisation after this meeting and almost immediately became secretary (Newnham, 2003). For many years he was the public face of CARE.

In addition to protest activities against apartheid sport, CARE also started the first NZ Citizen's Advice Bureau, initiated homework centres and spoke out against the 1967 land grab law, (Māori Affairs Amendment Bill) which provided for the confiscation of unused Māori land (Newnham, 1989, p. 5).

Williams (1978) described CARE as starting from the "feeling that something ought to be done" (p. 301). She described two aspects of the formation: "the need to organise into a group, and the need to avoid political parties" (p. 301). Asked why they did not work through existing channels, participants in her study answered: "because there weren't any"[57] (Williams, 1978, p. 301).

Five years, later the Halt All Racists Tours (HART) organisation was founded. Included at the inaugural meeting, on 15 July 1969, were representatives of the NZ University Students' Assn; The University Students' Christian Movement; NZ Māori Students Association; CARE (Tom Newnham); Māori Organisation on Human Rights (Tama Poata)[58]; and Socialist Forum. Among the organisations which sent messages of support were the United Nations Association, and the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS)[59] (Richards, 1999).

HART founding chairman Trevor Richards wrote that the initial intention was to form an ad-hoc body to campaign against the proposed 1970 All Black tour of South Africa. He credited NZUSA with the inspiration, but added that the task of organising it fell to the Auckland University Students Association (AUSA) (Richards, 1999).

B. The anti-Vietnam War movement in Auckland

From the early 1950s there were groups around Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally who were expressing concerns about events in Indochina and the increasing USA interference in the region. In December 1953 the World Congress of

[57] These exact words were attributed to journalist and writer Sarah Campion who was a founding member of both CARE and the Auckland Peace for Vietnam Committee.
[58] Tama Poata was at the time also a member of the CPNZ.
[59] Chamberlain (2017) recorded that activist and later HART leader, John Minto, was at this meeting, which is not correct.

Trade Unions organised an international "Day of action in solidarity with the people of Vietnam" which was celebrated widely around the world[60] ("Forced into peace by military losses," 1954, p. 6).

Throughout 1954 the *People's Voice* carried articles on the situation in Indochina. It condemned the sending of NZ surplus arms to French forces in Vietnam[61] ("NZ sends guns to French in Indo-China," 1954, p. 1) and warned that [Prime Minister] "Holland is involving our country in Indochina" ("Holland is involving our country in Indo-China," 1954, p. 2). Later in March 1954 the paper criticised as "evasive" an article in the Labour Party weekly *The Standard* about the weapons being supplied to French forces. *The Standard* had suggested trade with the USA as a benefit of the deal. "New Zealand's reward may be payment in dollars at a time when dollars are more precious to us than equipment we no longer require for our defence" ("Labour weekly evasive on NZ arms for Indo-China," 1954, p. 8).[62]

In April 1954 the *People's Voice* was warning that the USA was planning for war in Indochina ("US plans another Korea in Indo-China," 1954, p. 2) and that the NZ Army was getting ready to be involved ("NZ Army preparing for Indo-China," 1954, p. 1). The latter referred to "conscripts" [National Servicemen] being asked to take part in an "instructor's course"...."At least one officer who made the call specifically mentioned Korea and Indochina" (p. 1). In May the paper warned that the USA was "blocking peace" in the region ("US is blocking peace in Indo-China," 1954, p. 2). The paper printed a letter from a NZ air force serviceman who wrote that he "had enough" and was opposed to attempts by the US to draw NZ into war against the people of South East Asia" ("NZ Air Force man says he's had enough," 1954, p. 6).

Later that year the CPNZ Canterbury District issued a pamphlet titled *The Truth About Indochina*, which Rabel (2005) suggested "was probably New Zealand's first anti-Vietnam War pamphlet" (p. 67).

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[60] It is not known what, if any, activity took place in NZ.

[61] The shipment included rifles, pistols, machine guns and Bofors guns and was dispatched on board the *MV Radnor*, which also picked up 8,000 tons of weaponry from Melbourne and Sydney before sailing to Saigon. Rabel (2005) recorded that the *Radnor* did not leave NZ until March 1954, not long before the French surrender, so the arms quite possibly fell to the Vietminh. Rabel (2005) also reported that a smaller shipment of surplus arms had been sent to Vietnam in 1952.

[62] Rabel (2005) wrote that the Holland Government issued a "D-notice" to newspaper editors, banning them from disclosing the quantity or types of armaments being sent.

The concerns expressed by the CPNZ and its paper were by no means unfounded. Documents contained in the *Pentagon Papers* (Defense Vietnam Task Force, 2011)[63] and in a detailed account of the period by Short (1989) show that NZ was considered a necessary component of USA plans to either support French military efforts in Vietnam or to replace the French (Defense Vietnam Task Force, 2011; Short, 1989)[64]. In early 1952 NZ and Australia were included in a USA led "ad-hoc committee" discussing the situation in Indochina. The USA was in favour of a "naval blockade and air attacks on China" but the British were not prepared to go this far (Short, 1989, p. 103). The following November, military representatives of the ANZUS[65] countries, along with those of the UK and France, met in Washington to discuss alleged "Chinese aggression" and "the defence of South East Asia" (Short, 1989, p. 109). The meeting considered that "the retention of South East Asia within the allied sphere is considered vital" (Short, 1989, p. 109).

During the following two years, officials in the Eisenhower administration continued planning for military action which even they recognised was likely to lead to war with China. They also recognised that this eventuality could have led to the involvement of the USSR and therefore WWIII. USA officials believed the only way they could gain Congressional approval was if any military actions were undertaken by a joint force with its allies. Both Short (1989) and the *Pentagon Papers* (Defense Vietnam Task Force, 2011) repeatedly emphasised the British refusal to support such coalition action, at least before the 1954 Geneva Conference had been held. Prime Minister Churchill reportedly told USA Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair Admiral Radford that "since the British people were willing to let India go, they were not interested in holding Indochina for France" (Short, 1989, p. 144). He also referred to Radford's proposals as "a policy which might lead by slow stages to catastrophe" and said that the presence of a "powerful US airbase" in Britain meant that "war with China, who would invoke the Sino-Russian pact, would mean an assault by hydrogen bombs on these islands"[66] (Short, 1989, p. 144).

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[63] The document known as the *Pentagon Papers* was a 7,000 page report commissioned by then USA Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara in 1967 and presented to his successor, Clark Clifford, in January 1969. It remained secret until unofficially leaked to the media by one of its authors, Daniel Elsberg, in June 1971. Numerous edited versions have been published, but I have chosen to use the "official" version released 40 years after Elsberg's action and available from official USA archives.

[64] By 1954 the USA was funding four-fifths of the cost of the French war to retain Vietnam (Cairns, 1970). Karnow (1997) reported that this funding had totalled US$ 2.5 billion by 1954 – a huge sum in those days.

[65] Australia, New Zealand and the USA.

[66] The quotations are the words of Short (1989) rather than direct transcriptions of Churchill's words.

On 29 April 1954, while the Geneva Conference was in process, USA Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director Allen Dulles described the British position as "increasing weakness, badly frightened by the fear of atomic attack" and he presumed "a similar lack of moral fibre" had "caused Australia and New Zealand to have second thoughts" about the "united action scheme" (Short, 1989, p. 145). I could find no mention of this reluctance on the part of Australia and NZ in the *Pentagon Papers* (Defense Vietnam Task Force, 2011), and it appears from those papers and the earlier references in Short (1989) that, prior to the end of April 1954, Australia and NZ agreed with the USA joint action. Certainly both countries quickly signed up to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) which was designed to be a long-term regional defence treaty and was pushed by the USA after its Vietnam joint venture failed to get off the ground.

In May 1954, the National Council of the NZ Student Labour Federation issued a statement opposing plans to form SEATO, which is described as a military pact and "opposed to the interests of the Asian peoples to our near north" ("Students oppose war by NZ on Indo-China," 1954, p. 2). However, Labour Party President Arnold Nordmeyer dodged the issue when questioned about Labour's failure to oppose SEATO. Nordmeyer said that the Government had responsibility for signing treaties and the Opposition "has no real power – except to protest at what the Government has already done" ("Nordmeyer hedges on SEATO issue," 1954, p. 6).

In September 1954, a Convention on International Relations was held at the Auckland Town Hall, sponsored by 40 ministers from six religious denominations. The convention was attended by many trade union delegates, pacifists and other organisations. On the organising committee was Rev. D. G. Sherson (active in the NZPC and later the AVC) and speakers included Professor Willis Airey, a prominent leader of the NZ Peace Council (Locke, 1992; "Workers will applaud the churches, says unionist," 1954). This event was followed in 1955 by a more broadly organised convention in Christchurch (Locke, 1992).

By the early 1960s, the incipient anti-war movement was becoming more active. The World Peace Council (WPC) issued a call for an increased "effort to achieve complete and general disarmament" ("Intensify activity against war, urges World Peace Council," 1962, p. 2). The WPC statement also called for US troops in Korea to be withdrawn and an end to "US aggression in South Vietnam" and expressed "full support" for the independence struggle in Laos ("Intensify activity against war, urges World Peace Council," 1962, p. 2). The NZPC followed this with a statement warning of the "dangerous path" the USA was following and called on the NZ Government "to make it

clear that it will not be involved" in a war resulting from this ("NZ in danger of war now," 1962, p. 3). The statement ended with a call for "an atom-free zone in the Pacific" ("NZ in danger of war now," 1962, p. 3).

In May 1962 the *People's Voice* reported that Cabinet was discussing an offer from Prime Minister Holyoake to send military advisers to help the Diem regime in South Vietnam. The offer was reportedly made to USA Secretary of State Dean Rusk ("No NZ troops for civil war in Vietnam or Laos," 1962). The same issue reported that a picket, organised by the Auckland Branch of the NZPC, had taken place outside the USA Consulate in Auckland.

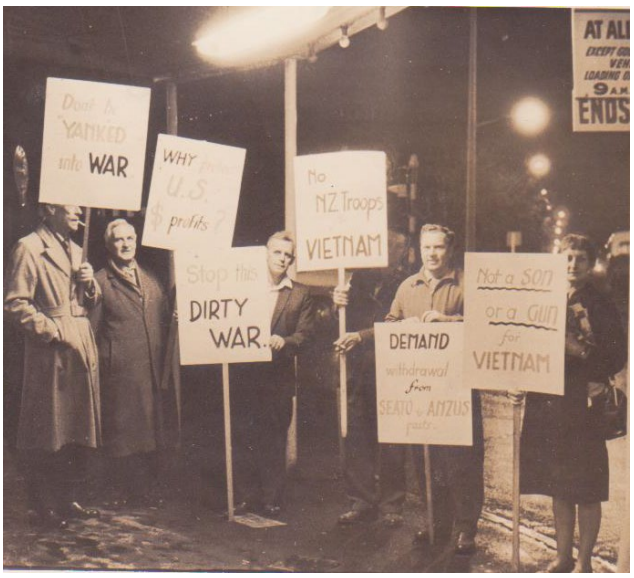
Divisions inside the Labour opposition became more evident when long-time MP Dr. Martyn Finlay expressed concerns about the SEATO Pact and the move towards "showing the flag" in support of the USA ("LP President opposes NZ bolstering dictatorships," 1962, p. 1). Labour leader Walter Nash responded by giving tacit endorsement to government policy, saying that "having entered into the Pact we have obligations that must be honoured" ("LP President opposes NZ bolstering dictatorships," 1962, p. 1)

In October-November 1962, the world was on the edge of nuclear war, in what is known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. Holyoake told Parliament that "nuclear war cannot be ruled out" at the same time as he excused the USA leaders for their nuclear brinkmanship (Locke, 1992, p. 170). The USA Defence Secretary at that time, Robert McNamara, wrote over 30 years later that if the USA had carried out its threat to invade Cuba it "would have almost surely led to a nuclear exchange with devastating consequences"[67] (McNamara, 1995, p. 97).

The following year the annual Easter Peace March, from Paraparaumu to Parliament attracted the biggest number of participants ever, as did the annual Auckland Hiroshima Day march a few months later ("Hiroshima march biggest so far," 1963; Locke, 1992). In September that year local and overseas students in Palmerston North demonstrated against the treatment of Buddhist monks and students in Vietnam by the Diem regime ("Students demonstrate against tyranny in South Vietnam," 1963).

[67] In a photo caption McNamara added "we were, indeed, on the brink of nuclear disaster."

In 1964, CPNZ branches began holding small protests in suburban centres in opposition to NZ involvement in the escalating war (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b). In August 1964, the CPNZ published a 34-page pamphlet which detailed NZ Government support for USA aggression and interference in South East Asia. It called for readers to oppose NZ forces being sent to South Vietnam and Laos (Nunes, 1964).



Probably the first anti-Vietnam war specific picket in NZ. Pt Chevalier, Auckland, August 1964.

All of the five identifiable participants were members of the CPNZ at the time. *People's Voice* photo.

In March 1964, the Peace Council[68] issued a statement calling for the provisions of the Geneva Agreement to be honoured ("US should honour Geneva Agreement," 1964, p. 3). The following month, at a protest rally outside parliament, CND distributed a leaflet which included the call for "study of the real facts underlying the world trouble spots, such as Malaysia and Vietnam" ("Marchers for life gather at Parliament House," 1964, p. 1).

In November 1964, the NZPC initiated a meeting on Vietnam, "sponsored by 14 organisations and attended by 150" people (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b, p. 1). Also in November 1964, NZPC vice-president Harold Slingsby represented the organisation at a World Peace Council International Peace Conference in Hanoi (Slingsby, 1966).[69]

Protests against USA aggression in Vietnam were held in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch in February 1965. The *People's Voice* carried photos of the protests which were described as "united activity by communists, trade unionists, housewives and

[68] The NZPC arose out of the 1948-49 NZ Peace and Anti-Conscription Federation (PACF) which campaigned against the Fraser Labour Government's plans to introduce compulsory military service. The NZPC campaigned for peace and the banning of nuclear weapons through the 1950s (Locke, 1992).
[69] Slingsby wrote *Rape of Vietnam* in 1965. The book was very influential in the development of the anti-Vietnam War movement in NZ. This was followed by *Vietnam Fights Back* (Slingsby, 1972).

democrats" ("NZ acts against US war moves," 1965, p. 1). The protests were timed to coincide with protests around the world ("NZ acts against US war moves," 1965, p. 1).

In early 1965, the Peace Council held feedback meetings around NZ to hear a report from Slingsby. In addition to a NZPC meeting in Auckland attended by 110 people, a wider "protest meeting", sponsored by seven organisations, was also addressed by Slingsby. This meeting on 28 March was attended by 300 people (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b, p. 2). Sponsors of the meeting included the Auckland Peace Council, Northern Drivers Union, Auckland Seamen's Union and the Christian Pacifist Society (Jackman, 1979).

An "Action Committee" was formed at this meeting, with plans to enlarge the organisation and "plan and co-ordinate activities such as deputations, picketing, marches and further meetings" (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b). There were also plans to hold a march of women (with children) prior to Mother's Day[70] and to form a "broad committee" of prominent people to issue statements and place large advertisements in the press (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b). The Action Committee was initially named the 'Interim Peace for Vietnam Committee' (Jackman, 1979, p. 2).

Jackman (1979) reported that, aside from Jack Gabolinscy (one of the founders of PYM), all the initial members of the interim committee were "middle-aged or elderly" (p. 2). The founding office holders were writer Sarah Campion, railwayman and then-CPNZ member Len Reid, and Labour Party member and JP Roy Evans. Other members included "an American Quaker pacifist", Flora Gould (National Secretary of the NZPC and member of the CPNZ), and an Anglican pacifist (Jackman, 1979, pp. 2-3).

From its inception the PFVC expressed support for Vietnamese independence and the NLF in its literature (Jackman, 1979). From 22 April 1965 the Committee held weekly or fortnightly meetings at the national office of the NZPC[71] (Jackman, 1979). While the above activities took place in Auckland, the CPNZ National Secretariat (1965b) circular noted that the movement was developing in other centres, and that CND was "coming out with a much more sharp anti-American stand" (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b, p. 2). An undated letter from prominent CPNZ Wellington District Committee member Rona Bailey to the CPNZ secretariat reported that she and District Secretary Jack Manson were

[70] The Mother's Day march took place on 6 May 1965. Participating were 60 mothers, many with their children ("Mothers protest parade on Vietnam," 1965).

[71] The NZPC office was a room above the Progressive Bookshop near the corner of Darby and Elliot Streets. For many years it was an organising centre for the anti-Vietnam War movement. NZPC made the rooms available to other organisations like the AVC and PYM.

seeing people and "trying to get some form of broader action committee under way" (Bailey, 1965). She also reported that they were planning a discussion with well-known economist and left-wing academic Wolfgang Rosenberg[72] (Bailey, 1965).

Separate to these events, a week-long vigil was held in cities from "Dunedin to Auckland" in April 1965 ("New Zealand wide vigil on Vietnam," 1965, p. 8). Locke (1992) wrote that a week-long fast was held by a group of young people "who knew one another through YCND"[73] (p. 194). The Auckland vigil took place in front of the Methodist Central Mission, opposite the Auckland Town Hall, in Queen Street (Locke, 1992). In May 1965 the University of Auckland Socialist Club entered a float in the annual capping procession which depicted a rural scene in Vietnam. A banner overhead on the float read "Vietnam, the American Way of Death" ("Procesh to change?," 1965, p. 7).

Following the USA bombing attacks on North Vietnam, a representative deputation went to the USA Consulate in Auckland, supported by 150 demonstrators. This protest action was followed by weekly deputations from other organisations (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965b).

In March 1965 the CPNZ leadership issued "a call to every party member for extremely urgent action [all caps in the original] – to build the mass movement to end US imperialist aggression against the socialist land of Vietnam" (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965a). That circular also reported that a "non-Party" petition had been "launched in Auckland." Those responsible for the petition were named as Rev. Sherson, a Methodist minister[74]; Sarah Campion, a well-known writer and radio commentator; Ron Howell, a chartered accountant and businessman[75]; and Railway Unions' officials D. S. Grant (Railway Tradesmen's Association) and Len Reid (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants)[76] (CPNZ National Secretariat, 1965a).

People's Voice journalist Rex Holliss[77] visited North Vietnam in June 1965 and authored a pamphlet entitled *Vietnam Eye Witness*. During his ten-day visit Holliss witnessed USA

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[72] Rosenberg was prominent in many progressive organisations and a prolific contributor to the *Monthly Review* and other left-wing publications. The letter is included with correspondence from 1964.
[73] Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
[74] Rev. Sherson was also prominent in the NZPC and later a member of the Auckland Vietnam Committee.
[75] Ron Howell described himself as a Christian socialist. He was an active campaigner against conscription during WWII and in December 1941 was arrested for speaking against the war in Auckland Domain and distributing a self-made leaflet entitled *Peace On Earth, Goodwill To All Men*. He was sentenced to 12 months jail (Grant, 1986). Later, his company 'Vadco Trading' was an early trader with post-revolution China.
[76] Len Reid was also (at that time) a member of the CPNZ.
[77] Rex Holliss later became editor of the *People's Voice*.

bombing and saw the damage to non-military targets such as schools, houses and factories (Holliss, 1965). During 1965 and 1966 he toured NZ speaking about the Vietnam War.

In the latter part of 1965 a series of teach-ins were held around NZ, mostly featuring academics, but also including former Labour Prime Minister Walter Nash. Government speakers were invited and spoke at some of the earlier teach-ins, but later the National Cabinet decided against attending (Jackman, 1979; Rabel, 2005). The teach-in at the University of Auckland was attended by about 600 people, and speakers included Rex Holliss. The Auckland meeting was organised by the Auckland Committee on South East Asia (COSEA), a small organisation consisting mainly of University of Auckland academics (Jackman, 1979). COSEA, which saw its role as educational, published a critique of the Holyoake Government's *White Paper on Vietnam* and after the teach-in published the speeches to the event in a pamphlet titled *New Zealand and South East Asia* (Jackman, 1979).

One of the leaders of COSEA was Dr Michael Bassett[78] who described the organisation as being the "non-communist opponents of the war" who had numerical strength "on our own and we really didn't need to saddle ourselves with these people [the communists]" (Jackman, 1979, p. 28). COSEA fell into inactivity later in 1965 and wound up in 1966 (Jackman, 1979).

C. Progressive Youth Movement

Following the 1963 conference of the Auckland District of the CPNZ, a Youth Subcommittee was formed (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1964b). The subcommittee met a couple of times but became inactive because of internal differences over whether concentration should be placed on building a youth organisation or working with youth in industry (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1964b). The subcommittee was reconstituted in September 1964, but difficulties remained. Len Parker, who was already a member of the subcommittee, became its secretary and was in favour of the formation of a youth organisation. The other members were JM and LS.[79]

Minutes of an Auckland District Executive meeting on 24 November 1964 record that during a discussion about the Youth Subcommittee, Auckland District Secretary Alec Ostler described the youth sector as young people aged between 14 and 19 years. "We need to worry about how to get some form of organisation among this age, starting with

[78] Bassett, a history lecturer, was later to become a Cabinet Minister in the Lange-Douglas Government which pushed through the neo-liberal economic changes in NZ in the late 1980s.
[79] To date I have been unable to identify these two members.

Party members and PV readers' kids," he said (CPNZ Auckland District Executive, 1964). However, at the end of 1964, a Youth Subcommittee report considered that there were "no new signs" that "attempts to help youth form an organisation" would be successful (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1965).

In early 1965, a youth organisation had been formed in Wellington, with the name of Progressive Youth Movement,[80] and in April 1965 held a protest outside the USA Embassy to mark the 11th anniversary of the Geneva Agreements signing ("Wellington's Progressive Youth Movement," 1965). Wellington PYM also participated in the Wellington Hiroshima Day march on 5 August 1965 ("Progressive Youth Movement," 1965, p. 1).

Independently of the Auckland CPNZ Youth Subcommittee, Jack and Sue Gabolinscy and others began organising a meeting to form a youth organisation. In her interview, Sue said they had joined the newly formed PFVC but felt it "was quite alienating for a lot of young people, so we decided we'd start up a youth movement."

Jack described the start of the process:

> I remember one month I went to 37 or something meetings in one month. Basically I was going along and asking if there were any young people interested in starting a group so that we could get involved. I think after about a month we had about six people. But once we had that first six it started to grow.

The Auckland District Committee reported later that "Just when the District Executive and Subcommittee were making plans to do something" about setting up a youth organisation "it was learned that some comrades in Roskill Branch were also working on this question out their way" so "resources were pooled" (CPNZ Auckland District Committee, 1965, p. 16). Belatedly the Auckland District Executive had issued an urgent call to Auckland branches seeking contact details of young people in party branches or known to members who "are prepared to discuss the question of organised youth activity around Vietnam" (CPNZ Auckland District Executive, 1965).

The foundation meeting was held in the Druids Hall, Galatos Street, on 4 August 1965, attended by about 12 people[81]. The meeting unanimously decided to form an organisation

[80] Boraman (2006) incorrectly recorded that Wellington PYM had been formed in 1969 when the Lake family returned from China. Members of Wellington PYM participated in the Auckland to Wellington March in January 1968 and there was continuing contact during that year and into 1969.

[81] The *People's Voice* ("Youth Action Movt. formed in Auckland," 1965) reported that 22 young people were at the founding meeting, but anecdotal evidence points to the figure being about 12.

named the Youth Action Committee on Vietnam (YACOV) ("Youth Action Movt. formed in Auckland," 1965). Jack Gabolinscy, who was elected chairman, said "this is an action committee. The only requirements for membership are youth, energy and conviction" ("Youth Action Movt. formed in Auckland," 1965, p. 1). Four days later, on 8 August, members of the organisation participated in the annual Hiroshima Day march carrying a large YACOV banner ("Youth Action Movt. formed in Auckland," 1965).

On 20 August 1965, the YACOV held placards and distributed leaflets outside the Auckland Town Hall where pop singer Sandie Shaw was performing ("Youth C'ttee demonstrates on Vietnam," 1965), and a week later, on 27 August, the organisation held a protest against the Vietnam War at the Lynmall shopping mall ("Youth demonstrate in shopping centre," 1965).

A later Auckland District Executive report noted the formation of the group, but stated that it was completely comprised of students "not one factory worker, not one apprentice is a member of the Committee" [82] (CPNZ Auckland District Executive, 1966).

At the end of 1965 the organisation's name was changed to Youth Action Committee so that the organisation could "pursue wider aims" (CPNZ Auckland District Executive, 1966), and by March 1966 the name had again been changed to Auckland Progressive Youth Movement. On 27 March Dick Fowler, spoke on behalf of PYM at an 800-strong anti-Vietnam War rally in Myers Park ("800 strong anti-govt rally," 1966).[83]

Participant comments

Three interviewees in this study attended the founding meeting of YACOV (later re-named PYM). Their comments regarding its formation were as follows:

Sue said she and Jack had "started off with the CND" and then joined the newly formed PFVC.

> We'd learned from Len Parker about the Progressive Youth League which had happened some years before[84]. We kind of were trying to revive that.

[82] This description would include high school and Teachers' College students. In conversation, Jack mentioned he had duplicated flyers which were put around at Auckland Teachers' College.

[83] Also speaking at the rally was FOL National Executive member Jim Knox who criticised the Labour Party change in policy regarding withdrawing troops. "There'll be no change of [FOL] policy in mid-stream like some people I've read about in the papers recently" he stated ("800 strong anti-govt rally," 1966, p. 1).

[84] The Progressive Youth League was a youth organisation closely associated with the CPNZ in the early 1950s. The PYL engaged in political activities, but also organised sporting, social and cultural events (Arya, 1949). The organisation was the third attempt by the CPNZ to build a "progressive youth organisation" (following the Young Communist League in the 1930s and the Federation of Young People's Clubs in the

> By this time I think we had both joined the Communist Party. It wasn't directly driven by the Communist Party at that stage, but definitely we were supported.
>
> We held a meeting in the Druids Hall. There were about 12 people there. Jack was voted in as the chairman and I was the secretary.
>
> The Vietnam Committee used to arrange protest marches and we would join in with those. For a long time that's how it went. Then we started organising our own events. The first name was Youth Action Committee on Vietnam. That was a bit cumbersome and when more people joined, we agreed to change the name to Progressive Youth Movement or PYM.

Jack said he had "been going to demonstrations and so people encouraged me to form a group."

> I was seeing what was happening in France at the time where there were the big demos. So I started.
>
> The hardest, the toughest part of it was those first few years of the formation of PYM – because it really was starting from absolutely nothing. We had some bloody good people came along.

Anna said that at the time "people in NZ knew very little about the Vietnam War".

> I didn't want any New Zealanders to go to Vietnam. When my brother was asked if he would like to attend a meeting to organise a group, I was keen to go too.
>
> With no resources, no money, we set out to organise a small group with a chairperson and secretary and I think treasurer and to decide what we were going to do.
>
> It took a lot of debate on whether we should widen the issues and make it the Progressive Youth Movement instead of just Vietnam. After initially being Youth Action on Vietnam, we took on a lot of other progressive issues such as racism in NZ as well as with supporting the protests that the Treaty was a fraud, and then later they turned to Honour the Treaty in the early 1970s.

1940s) (Broad, 1956, p. 3). At its height the PYL "had eight branches, and a national office with a full-time organiser" (Broad, 1956, p. 3). It was wound up in 1956.

> There was opposition to apartheid and any tours, so it didn't matter whether it was the surf lifeguards down at Waihi or whether it was going to Wellington to the rugby games in NZ. We had good relations with the Polynesian Panthers and joined in events with them.

Discussion

The literature shows that the movements in Auckland related to the Vietnam War and sport with South Africa grew out of an existing milieu which evolved over decades and that their nature and focus changed as they evolved.

The anti-apartheid movement had its roots in the 1921 events. From there it slowly developed from opposition to the exclusion of Māori players to opposition to apartheid in South Africa, and opposition to racism in general. The movement first coalesced into an issue-specific organisation in 1960 with the formation of CABTA, a coalition formed to challenge a "precipitating event" in the form of the 1960 tour to South Africa. Like the anti-apartheid organisations which followed, CABTA had a NZ-wide character. CARE, which followed, had a much wider policy focus – opposition to apartheid in South Africa and racial discrimination in general, rather than a single event or tour. At its core were people with experience in protest activities, trade union officials and others. Later CARE was joined by HART which focussed specifically on sporting contacts with South Africa.

The emerging broad but unformed anti-apartheid movement that had developed over five decades could be described as an "initiator movement" for the many movements and organisations that followed. However, its fluidity and looseness tends to more accurately reflect Liu's (2005) observation that "opposition to one form of injustice" encouraged wider support for "protest against other forms of injustice" (p. 6). Central to the issue was the intransigence of the racist South African regime and leaders of sports bodies like the NZRFU who were prepared to play to the rules laid down by that regime. To adapt McReynolds (1992) comment, in many ways the movement was created by the South African racists and their collaborators in NZ.

Unlike the anti-apartheid movement, the Vietnam War movement's roots can be traced more closely to existing organisations like the NZPC, CPNZ, CND, Christian Pacifist Society and others. Prominent among the initiators of organisations focussed specifically on the Vietnam War were activists from earlier struggles, as shown above. The development of the movement can be seen as a continuation of a long history of peace

activism in NZ, during which various movement organisations emerged to pursue specific demands or challenge particular government policies or events, such as the Vietnam War.

This loose peace and anti-nuclear movement began to adopt a more specific focus on Indochina, and principally Vietnam, as early as 1953 when it became clear that the USA, actively supported by successive NZ governments, was making every effort to undermine prospects for independence for the countries of the region and an ongoing peace.

The decision to launch what became the Auckland PFVC in March 1965 was taken at the public meeting sponsored by seven organisations. It is very unlikely that the formation of an anti-war organisation was not pre-planned. Its founding committee included people from the NZPC, CPNZ and others with prior involvement in progressive politics.

The evidence shows that the CPNZ played a significant role in the development of the 1960s and 1970s movements, and in the formation of PYM, but there is also evidence that the CPNZ leadership at times lagged behind its rank and file members or broader movements in terms of developing the movement.

The emergence of these movements shows spontaneity, especially the development of the anti-apartheid movement, but also that they were assisted by the involvement of people who had experience in prior or other movements. In this respect it could be argued that there was a "resource" input, as outlined above. However, this input appears to have been limited to the cross-over participation of people with experience in other social movements and groups involved in protest against injustices (refer Liu, 2005). This illustrates Jasper's (1997) suggestion that the term resource could be applied too widely and could ultimately be used to cover everything. Apart from the participation of people with experience, there is no evidence that other resources, such as available funds had any application to the NZ situation. Nor is there any evidence of overseas agitators or funding.

I found no evidence of any overall grand plan or road-map for the development and continual changes which took place in these movements during the period. The evidence in regard to the NZ movements points to the appropriateness of Smelser's (1990) concept of "peaceful pluralism" (p. 279) as opposed to any overarching theory of movement development (1990). Social movement groups, reflecting varying shades of political or moral values, arose and changed and, at times, disappeared as events developed.

Nor did I find evidence that the Labour Party's position on either the Vietnam War or the anti-apartheid issue had any real influence on the emerging and growing movements. On

the contrary, the Labour Party leadership's fear of the "red smear" and its constant worry about electoral backlash meant that Labour Party leaders frequently engaged in vociferous public attacks on the movements and their activities. As noted above, organisational involvement by Labour Party entities tended to come after the movements had been established and gained wider support, rather than contributing to building them, although, as the role of Roy Evans shows, there were undoubtedly individual members active from the early period.

The emergence of these two very influential movements in NZ can be seen as a natural evolution from social justice-related activism going back many years and coalescing into various issue-specific movements as events developed.

The next chapter will discuss the social, political and economic situation in Aotearoa New Zealand during the period covered in this study, both from the perspective of participants and that of available literature.

Chapter 4 The social, political and economic climate in NZ during the 1950s and 1960s

A common perception of the post-WWII period in developed countries like NZ is the "post war boom". Chang (2011) described the period from 1950 to 1973 as the "golden age of capitalism" for the rich developed countries (p. 142). NZ was blessed "with full employment, economic prosperity and a high standard of living" with "generous public welfare provisions" (Carlyon & Morrow, 2013, p. 3).

Participants

Study participants were asked about how they had seen the social and economic climate at the time they became involved in PYM. The responses were widely varied.

Some reflected positively on the period.

Allan

> I thought it [NZ] was a very lucky country in many ways.

Steve

> I'm not sure if Muldoon[85] was in power then. Of course Muldoon nowadays would probably be on the left wing of the Labour Party, but in those days he was our idea of what a Nazi was like and considered very right wing [Laughter]. I'm sure ACT[86] wouldn't have had a bar of him.
>
> The climate in NZ at that time was terrible for revolutionaries [Laughter]. There was full employment. Lots of cheap state houses. Lots of good paying jobs. The average worker was more worried about how much time he was going to spend at the bach[87] this year [Laughter] than whether he could afford a house or not.
>
> Even for young workers there was lots of anti-capitalist sentiment. But there didn't seem to be much in the way of poverty or anything like that.

[85] Robert Muldoon was Minister of Finance in the Holyoake Government from 1967. He was a very vocal opponent of the protest movement and a rabid anti-communist. He later became Prime Minister of NZ.
[86] The ACT Party is a right-wing, extreme neo-liberal party founded in 1994. It has been a junior coalition partner in successive National Party governments.
[87] Holiday home.

Ben

At that time it was sort of a golden age from the point of view of young fellows at school. There was no pressure on us. The biggest pressure was the doomsday clock ticking up to midnight.

As far as the economic situation was concerned it appeared to us that there were no sort of economic issues. We already had mates who had left and gone into apprenticeships and things, so we didn't imagine that work was going to be difficult.

Danny

Life was simpler. There was full employment. There were few luxuries – e.g. radios, TVs, stereos. People left their backdoors open so that the grocer could deliver. There was more honesty, but life was very basic compared to today.

Some participants were less positive.

Peter

I didn't feel economically disadvantaged particularly. There was plenty of work available, and I think my initial rationale or attraction to left wing ideas was in relation to injustice in other places.

It was sort of boring and stodgy and reactionary and predictable.

Bernie

I felt NZ society was smug, a bit ignorant, a bit racist. I failed to see how lucky we all were to be living in a relatively well-functioning welfare state. I also failed to see that Norman Kirk was a progressive left wing leader, trying to do the best he could in a fairly conservative country

Peter R

I thought that NZ would become more and more egalitarian and eventually there would be a situation of more or less complete equality for the population. Unfortunately I got it very wrong.

Richard

While I knew there were poor people, most working class people I met were, as far as I knew, not poor. It wasn't until I became interested in

"protest politics" that these ideas started to be significant. When I went to get work, I used to take any job I could get and I had very few economic difficulties.

I started realising there was a lot of inequity and inequality, but still felt that in NZ at least, things were pretty good at the time. I think that the local side of things was more subtle at the time than the obvious big issues.

Several reflected on injustice and discrimination.

Adrian

I was brought up for a lot of my younger years in Tokoroa. It was a pretty tough town and we saw a lot of stuff that was just racist and unjust.

Anna

I knew that in NZ there was terrible injustice.

Chris

The system that we lived under was oppressive. It was keeping people poor. It was keeping a huge divide between the rich and the poor and it was discriminatory in a lot of areas like race.

Jack

We trotted along behind the [United] States and did exactly as we were told. Most people supported the government on it at that stage. The big changes came later.

Sue

We thought there was a big gap between the rich and the poor then. It was nothing compared to what it is now. We were all pretty poor. All the working class were pretty poor. Wages were very low, costs were very high, and commodity costs were very high. The political situation was incredibly apathetic and conservative.

John

I found that when I first came to NZ, the moment you opened your mouth then 'you're just a bloody Pom' and it was a very easy excuse to ignore my argument completely. The same thing happened when I came back

from England the second time. There was the Muldoon anti- 'all trade unionists are Poms and they'll ruin our country' and all the rest of it.

Very quickly I actually became a New Zealander. For people who were involved in trade union movement or left wing politics there was the fear of isolation and maybe deportation.

Don

I felt NZ was run by conservative reactionaries and I did not like the look of the direction we were heading.

Graham

It was a very exciting time of upheaval and change throughout the world.

Rick

The system in general was unjust. Muldoon was union bashing and the climate was right wing in general. People were struggling under landlords.

The government had racist immigrant policies.

NZ was being led by the US into their aggressive overseas policies.

Myth or reality?

My literature research explored these apparently contradictory reflections on the post-WWII period.

Post-war workers had endured years of depression and six years of war, and they wanted security for their families and a better future. After the sacrifices of WWII they felt that this was owed to them. Employment increased, a generation torn apart by war got married, had families and made new lives. USA psychologist Joseph Adelson (cited in M. King, 2004) analysed the post-war social climate in North America in the 1940s and 1950s thus:

> We sought, all of us, men and women alike, to replenish ourselves in goods and spirit, to undo by an exercise of collective will, the psychic disruptions of the immediate past. We would achieve the serenity that had eluded the lives of our parents; the men would be secure in stable careers, the women in comfortable homes, and together they would raise perfect children. ... [It was] the idyll of suburban domesticity, which would redress the grievances of the past and ensure a perfect future. (M. King, 2004, p. 411)

The then Labour Government in NZ embarked on a programme of rehabilitation and training for returned servicemen which Sutch (1969) described as "the best of any in the

world" (p. 259). Returned servicemen received free education or vocational training and priority in the allocation of state houses (Sutch, 1969).

Simpson (1976) wrote that the returning servicemen wanted peace and quiet, but "they came back to disappointment" (p. 129). This impression was also expressed by Professor F. L. W. Wood (1952) who referred to an atmosphere of disillusionment in the late 1940s, and little faith that the war sacrifices would lead to any new world order.

In social and economic terms, one offshoot of the war period was that, for many NZ workers, the eight hour day ceased to be the rule but instead became a measure of when penal rates applied (Sutch, 1966b). During the year 1960 to 1961 NZ wage-earners worked 26,300,000 hours overtime, amounting to 7% of total hours worked. This was an increase of 15.6% over the previous year (Sutch, 1966a).

Through the late 1940s and 1950s the rate of state house building steadily declined despite the increasing post war 'baby boom'. Apart from 1949 (election year) there was a consistent drop in new state house building, so that in the 1959-60 year there were 2,128 state houses built compared to 3,368 in 1938 ("State house rents slinter," 1961).[88]

Sutch (1969) recorded that after the change in government in 1949 "the weakening tide of welfare began to turn and slowly to ebb" (p. 13). Following "some social and educational improvements" in the period 1958 to 1960, "the retreat from welfare and equality was resumed" (Sutch, 1969, p. 13).

Sutch (1969) linked this decline in welfare to the change in investment and economic circumstances. Overseas investment and economic control shifted away from Britain and principally toward Australia and the USA. "This colonial expansion of patrons was accomplished, at first slowly and then in the later sixties more quickly, by a deterioration in welfare, in health, education, social security and employment" (Sutch, 1969, p. 350). Economic development policies changed in favour of the philosophy of the International Monetary Fund, which included economic liberalisation such as the lifting of import restrictions and elimination of food subsidies (Sutch, 1969).

There was a long period of full employment in the post-WWII period (Wood, 1952). From 1947 to 1964 there were only two years when average registered unemployed exceeded 1,000, being 1959 at 1,187 and 1962 at 1,040 (Sutch, 1966b). This low level of unemployment continued until the recession in 1967-68 when registered unemployed

[88] "Slinter" was a slang term for a trick or an under-hand strategy.

leapt to nearly 10,000. Sutch (1969) estimated the actual total of unemployed was nearer 20,000 in July 1967 as many jobless did not register and married workers had little incentive to do so because they were unable to get an unemployment benefit if their spouse was earning. Even the free milk in schools programme was terminated at that time (Sutch, 1969).

During the recession of the late 1960s, the onslaught on welfare increased. Country hospitals were closed, state house rents raised and benefits eroded.

A. Social conflict

Within the seeming post-war stability there were on-going class divisions and clashes. Working conditions were being threatened and the Labour Government, led by anti-Communist Peter Fraser, de-registered the Carpenters' Union in 1949 and introduced peace-time conscription.

Simpson (1976) recorded that there was a polarisation of the community politically and "a considerable growth in the Communist Party [CPNZ]" (p. 128). Many intellectuals and culturally talented people lost faith in the Labour Government and aligned themselves to the CPNZ. The communist movement was not just a political movement, it was "often vital and alive and produced great creative endeavours" (Simpson, 1976, p. 130).

When the National Government, led by Sid Holland, took office they "fell upon the administration like a pack of ravening dogs" (Simpson, 1976, p. 130). The Holland Government represented "those who wanted New Zealand to be brought back to the nineteen twenties and to free trade" (Sutch, 1966b, p. 408).

Through the period from 1949 and into the sixties there were ongoing trade union campaigns for increased wages and to defend working conditions as prices continually increased at a greater rate than wages. In 1951 the Holland Government seized the opportunities of the McCarthyite[89] anti-communist hysteria to smash the Waterside Workers' Union and crush other militant unions.

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[89] USA Senator Joe McCarthy burst into international attention on February 9, 1950 when he held up some papers at a meeting in Wheeling, West Virginia, and declared: "I have here in my hands a list of 205 – a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department" (Zinn, 2003, p. 430). This claim fed into a growing anti-communist mood in the USA following WWII, and it made no difference that the following day McCarthy spoke about a list of 57. Eventually McCarthy was exposed as a fraud, but politicians such as Lyndon Johnson were instrumental in ensuring that McCarthy was only censured simply for conduct "unbecoming a Member of the United States Senate".

Outside of the industrial sphere there were campaigns against nuclear weapons, nuclear testing and the developing campaign against sport with apartheid South Africa.

B. Equal pay for women

Even though NZ prided itself in being the first country to institute universal suffrage, there was on-going opposition to equal pay for women from politicians on both sides of Parliament.

Equal pay had long been a Labour Party policy, but wages for women were around half those of male workers. Whenever the issue of equal pay for women was on the United Nations agenda in the late 1940s, NZ (like Australia) voted against equality (Sutch, 1966b). In 1944, the Public Service Association's Women's Committee put their case for equal pay to the PSA and the Public Service Commission. Assistant Commissioner George Bolt responded: "There is not one girl in a thousand capable of filling a controlling position over male or mixed staff" [90] (Corner, 1988, as cited in Page, 1996, p. 103).

In 1950, when the Arbitration Court granted a General Wage Order, male workers received a maximum increase of seven shilling a week, women received four shillings and nine pence ("Rise insults workers," 1950).

In the immediate aftermath of WWII, women were encouraged to return to the roles of mothers and homemakers, which freed jobs for returning servicemen. However, by the 1950s the expanding manufacturing industry was desperate for more workers, especially women workers who were cheaper labour (Brookes, 2016). Interestingly, in 1954 the Arbitration Court "dropped the concept of the breadwinner wage" from its considerations when making wage orders (Brookes, 2016, p. 312).

At the first PSA Women's Conference in 1955, Bolt, who by then was chairman of the Public Service Commission, dismissed the call for equal pay by saying "why should we pay ten bob [shillings] for an article we can get for five?" (Page, 1996, p. 103).

In 1960, the Government Service Equal Pay Act was finally passed. However the right was not extended to the private sector until twelve years later, through the Equal Pay Act 1972, and even in 2019 this extension has been more in appearance than reality.

[90] Taken from *No Easy Victory: Towards Equal Pay for Women in the Government Service, 1890-1960* by Margaret Corner.

C. Racial equality and Māori rights

During the 1950s and 1960s there were numerous issues around Māori land and discrimination against Māori. Waikato Tribes petitioned Parliament over land confiscations. Ngati Whatua were forcibly evicted from their papakāinga at Okahu Bay in 1951. In 1952 the Kings Arms Hotel in Auckland was exposed as displaying a sign over its entrance which read "No Natives Served in This Bar" ("The 'Queen City' stoops to deep south level," 1952).

In February 1954, the *People's Voice* carried an article describing segregationist policies against the Māori population of Pukekohe. The article countered comments by the Duke of Edinburgh about "the two peoples in New Zealand living happily together". The correspondent reported that Māori were not only banned from the front bar of the hotel but:

- Māori were not allowed to use the swimming baths. (A mixed race girl had to get special permission to use the baths to train for a carnival).
- Māori were not allowed to use the upstairs floor of the picture theatre.
  All but one of the barber shops banned Māori. Two of three mixed race brothers looked Pākehā and could get a haircut anywhere, but the third looked more Māori and was banned from most barber shops (Worker Correspondent, 1954, p. 6).

Similarly, in 1959, a Papakura hotel was exposed as refusing to serve Māori people. It came to public attention when a barman refused service to the brother of NZ's High Commissioner to Malaya ("Maoris suffer continual race discrimination," 1959).

In the post-war period there was a major increase in migration of Māori to the towns and cities. While this trend had begun in the 1930s and increased during World War II as Māori gained jobs in the wartime industries, in the post-war period it accelerated even more. By 1950 there were over 12,000 Māori living in Auckland, often in overcrowded slum conditions with a lack of basic amenities (Brookes, 2016). Nationally, "by 1951, the proportion of Māori living in urban areas had reached 19 per cent, more than double the pre-war figure of 9 per cent" (Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p. xii).

Some, like former Māori Battalion Lieutenant Colonel Sir Charles Bennett, felt that their willing service during the war was effectively paying their obligations for the rights of citizenship:

> We knew at that time what the price of citizenship was and we were prepared to pay it. I think we felt it was not to our honour if we didn't carry an equal share of the burden that our country was facing in that 1939-45 war. (Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p. 316)

However, these rights were not so readily forthcoming. The 1961 report on the Department of Māori Affairs, produced by deputy chairman of the Public Service Committee, J. K. Hunn, highlighted the severe problems of poverty, low incomes, poor health and failing education being experienced by Māori people. Hunn reported that "an estimated 30 per cent of the Maori people live in grossly overcrowded conditions" (Hunn, 1962, p. 36). The worst areas affected were Northland, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, East Coast, and urban Auckland (Hunn, 1962).

Drawing on official 1956 statistics, the Hunn Report showed that Māori people were well behind non-Māori in a wide range of basic social amenities. Only 58% of Māori households had a bath or shower (non-Māori 98%); 51% had piped water (non-Māori 86%); 48 per cent had hot water services (non-Maori 88 per cent); 31% had a flush toilet (non-Māori 80%); 20% had a refrigerator (non-Māori 55%); and 19% of Māori households had a washing machine (non-Māori 58%) (Hunn, 1962).

An early activist in the Māori Women's Welfare League and worker for its Health League, Rangitaamo Takarangi, recalled that there were "a lot of sick people, sick babies, so we got going. The district nurse was moving all the time. My worst area was Raetihi – [they were] sick, living in hovels" (Rogers & Simpson, 1993, p. 244).

Between 1954 and 1958 the Māori infant mortality rate (57.5 per thousand) was almost three times that for non-Māori (19.8 per thousand) (Hunn, 1962).

Hunn called for an urgent increase in the construction of Māori housing, both to keep up with the rapidly increasing population but also to clear a backlog of 6,400 houses needed. He stated that "poor housing leads to poor health, poor family life, poor education, and poor moral conduct" (Hunn, 1962, p. 78).

M. King (2004) cited several factors that changed the political climate in the 1960s. The first was the collapse of wool prices, then the introduction of television, and the war in Vietnam. Trotter (2007) referred to "rising working class confidence" which spread to their children and students who worked in factories during holiday time (p. 254).

By the 1960s, there was a new generation reaching their teens and adulthood. They were a generation who had been brought up in conditions markedly different from those their parents had endured in the 1930s and the war years, and the repressive atmosphere of McCarthyism was waning. This generation faced a huge cultural and political change. Fashions regarding music, clothing and (male) hair length began to change. The pop culture burst on the scene and spread rapidly (Trotter, 2007).

Boraman (2006) cited simmering discontents over working conditions and the uneven spread of wealth; Māori suffering from racism, poverty and dispossession from their land; and young people feeling a "lack of control over their everyday lives" (p. 1). This "simmering discontent" began to overflow and then "burst out" (p. 2).

D. International threat

On an international plane, the world was far from serene, with the nuclear brinkmanship between the USA and the Soviet Union. Erikson (1975) wrote that young people of the period had "grown up in a setting in which adult happiness-as-usual did not exclude the minute-by-minute potential of a nuclear holocaust – and an end to mankind as we know it" (p. 204).

Dr Jane Wilde (former wife of renowned physicist Steven Hawking) told *Radio NZ*: "…in the latter part of the twentieth century we were living under the nuclear cloud and the threat of nuclear war was with us all the time." She added that "we were more or less told that the younger generation probably had three or four years to live before a nuclear war broke out (McCarthy, 2015)."[91]

Discussion

In some respects the different perceptions of study participants may be a consequence of looking back after the neo-liberal social turmoil in NZ over the last few decades. Perhaps Sue summed it up when she spoke about the "big gap between the rich and the poor then" which "was nothing compared to what it is now".

On the other hand, there were two NZs at the time. While there were injustices, discrimination and economic difficulties, for many working class adults there was also an element of stability and economic security which they had never experienced before. How much the adults discussed the positives and negatives of the post-war era with their children is not known, but the differences in this parental socialisation may be represented in the differences in reflections above.

The most significant feature in this for me is that despite the varied perceptions of the era, the participants came together to actively oppose one or more major social injustices occurring at the time.

[91] Radio NZ *"Afternoons"*, interview with Noelle McCarthy, 3.3.15 at 3.19pm. Accessed from http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes.

The following chapter details the circumstances which led participants to become involved in Auckland PYM.

Chapter 5 What led people to become involved?

This chapter summarises a range of theoretical expositions on why and how young people become involved in protest activities, and discusses the stories of study participants within this framework.

Generational influence

One long-standing theory regarding why young people become involved in protest movements and how that affects their future life trajectories is Mannheim's (1925) theory of generations. This theory has been the subject of many studies in the USA, linked to the activism there during the 1960s and 1970s, and also to the on-going political beliefs and activities of that generation (K Keniston, 1973).

Mannheim (1925) argued that a generation's social attitudes are influenced by generational influences, shared location (in terms of class position or social experience) and adolescent socialisation and experiences, and that these attitudes remain with the individuals for the rest of their lives. He identified generation units or cohorts, in a common location both geographically and culturally, who share common participation in social and historical events of the period. Mannheim (1925) argued that these generation units gain two kinds of memories, the appropriated and the experienced.

Appropriated memories are gained from the social environment and the "natural data of the transition from one generation to another" (Mannheim, 1925, p. 170). In other words, the new generation is initially influenced by the "societal values" of the preceding generation, which includes their parental political and cultural values, but Manheim did not restrict this exclusively to parents (in fact he did not mention the word "parent" in his essay)[92].

Experienced memories are gained later, as the individual matures. It is the locational socialisation, including class position, which leads the individual to engage in society in particular ways during their formative years. In this process the parental and other cultural and societal values are moulded by peer socialisation (Mannheim, 1925).

Mannheim (1925) asserted that generation units are formed in late adolescence, and when these social groups experience and participate in periods of significant and rapid social change they develop a distinctive social consciousness that becomes life forming. "All

[92] Manheim did refer to "teacher" and "teacher-pupil relationship", but in a footnote included "father" in this category. This indicates that he was using the title to describe a wider population, not only teachers in educational institutions.

later experiences then tend to receive their meaning from this original set" of experiences (p. 177).

Not all members of a generation experience these periods of rapid social change in the same way, and there can be several generation units, with opposing social attitudes, in operation simultaneously during a period (Mannheim, 1925).

These periods of rapid social change or influence are not restricted to an upsurge in protest activities. Lipset (1963) suggested that later voting patterns of the generations who matured during the 1930s depression or WWII were influenced by those adolescent experiences. The 1960s and 1970s were a period of unprecedented social activism spread over a relatively lengthy period and in a large number of countries. Jennings (1987) characterised the adolescents of this period as the "protest generation".

While Mannheim never conducted any study aimed at verifying his generation theory, there have been many hundreds of studies,[93] mainly in the USA, which have investigated the rise of the 1960s and 1970s protest movements. Many of these directly or indirectly test the principles of Mannheim's generation theory, based on USA activists from this period (e.g., Buss, 1975; Dunham, 1998; Fishman & Solomon, 1964; R. Flacks, 1967; Horn & Knott, 1971; W A Watts, Lynch, & Whittaker, 1969; Westby & Braungart, 1966). Generally they have found that the 1960s and 1970s protesters they studied came from relatively well-off families who were more highly educated, where the income earners were employed in professional and academic occupations and held comparatively more liberal political and social views.

Watts et al. (1969) conducted a comparative study of activists and non-activist students at the University of California, Berkeley campus, along with a sample from the non-student population who gravitated to the Berkeley campus as news of the unrest spread. The student activist participants were recruited from a group involved in a free speech protest action at the university in 1966. The researchers found that the student activists' fathers held higher status occupations and both parents were more highly educated than the other two groups. Activist students were found to be far more interested in national politics, and 61% reported that their fathers were "very interested" in national politics, compared to 32% of the random students and 31% of the non-students. There was a

[93] Keniston's (1973) annotated bibliography of empirical research about protests in the USA during the 1960s and early 1970s cited 300 studies up to 1973.

similar trend for mothers of each group, although the percentages were lower in each group (Watts et al., 1969).

The activist students discussed intellectual ideas and political issues more frequently with their parents than the other groups and they were more likely to either agree or disagree strongly with their parents' views. The researchers suggested the economic and educational status of their parents indicated that the activist students were raised in a home atmosphere which was characterised by liberal ideas and where dialogue was encouraged (Watts et al., 1969).

Similarly, another USA study by Westby and Braungart (1966) found that left-wing students were more likely to have parents with socialist or pro-Democratic Party views than those involved in a right-wing organisation or a random sample of students. They also found that the left activists came from more affluent "upper middle class" backgrounds than right-wing or randomly selected students. However, the researchers recognised that their samples were "relatively small" (29 "left", 19 "right" and 105 random) (Westby & Braungart, 1966, pp. 690-691).

Dunham (1998) found that activists tended to come from more affluent backgrounds but that it was the mother's political attitude which was significantly related to the likelihood of the younger generation's activism. She noted "the more liberal the mother, the greater the probability of her child participating in demonstrations" (p. 145).

Drawing on several major studies, Horn and Knott (1971) stated that the available evidence showed youth activists were "extending a pattern of activism which characterised their parents" rather than rebelling against parental attitudes (p. 979). R. Flacks (1967) found that only 27% of fathers of anti-war activists favoured the bombing of North Vietnam, as opposed to 80% of fathers of a comparable sample of non-activist youth.

While much of the existent research examines only the effects of parental socialisation, Keniston (1967) suggested that peer socialisation, "interaction and support" led to the development of "common outlooks and shared policies", which he described as an "activist subculture" (p. 122).

Gordon and Taft (2011) also stressed the importance of adolescent peer socialisation. These researchers emphasised the importance of "youth-led political socialisation" (p. 1500). They cited Yates and Youniss (1998), who stressed that adolescents also "play a major role in the processes of political socialisation" (Gordon & Taft, 2011, p. 1500).

Youniss et al. (2002) observed that "political socialisation is not something that adults do to adolescents, it is something that youth do for themselves" (p. 133).

It may be argued that peer socialisation has become less significant since the advent of electronic communications and social media. However, it is considered more likely that the impact of these communication media has facilitated a peer socialisation with like-minded adolescents on a far wider geographic scale. Keniston (1967) considered that the increased ease of communications among like-minded peers would lead to an "internationalization of identity" (p. 130).

Other possible influences

A limitation of the USA studies was that almost all focused on participants who were university students at the time of their activism. This may reflect an element of convenience sampling, since it may be much less difficult to trace activists who were enrolled at universities at the time than those from the general population. This may also go some way to explain the economic and educational positions of activists' parents.

Also, being based on empirical survey data, these findings are not well able to uncover other factors that may influence young people to become activists (K Keniston, 1973).

A. "Spontaneous" movement or "instant radicalism"

Keniston (1973) distinguished between "hereditary" radicalism and what he called "instant" radicalism "somehow catalysed by events and issues that change the student's socio-political views" (p. xiii). He commented, in what he called "an oversimplified summary", that "activists of the 1960s were active largely out of indignation" (p. xvii).

There was a lingering climate of fear and insecurity created by the Cold War and the nuclear arms race at the time. Audre Lorde (1984) described living with a "sense of Armageddon", and "the sense of living on the edge of chaos. Not just personally but on a world scale" (p. 93).

In 1969, an extensive report by the Oxford University Committee on Relations with Junior Members outlined its view on the causes of increasing student radicalism, which had spread to Oxford University in the late 1960s. The report gave an insightful observation regarding what the committee saw as the causes of student radicalism at the time:

> The root of the unrest is a horror of contemporary forms of society excited by realisation of the condition of the world's poor, both within the West and even more outside it, by racial intolerance, by the extremes of inequality, by the

> spread of materialism, and by the impoverishment of human life in advanced industrial societies, stunted by monotonous labour and the artificial divisions between social classes. These, of course, are ancient evils, long attacked by liberal, socialist, and communist critics of society. (Hart, 1969, p. 157)

The report went on to outline the "four beliefs" that "differentiate the attitude of student revolutionaries to these evils from the indictments of the traditional left".

> The first is the belief that the racial, economic, and social changes required for the solution of these agonising problems are excluded by the refusal, and indeed inability, of all the conventional political parties to contemplate genuine alternatives to the system, which permits only minor disputes and marginal changes, but no real dissent. Hence Conservatism and Socialism, Western Democracy and Soviet Communism, behind their different forms of idealistic cover, are held to be alike repressive oligarchies committed to the maintenance of the established order which is managed in the interests of the few.
>
> Secondly there is the belief that the traditional sources of challenge to the established order have been invaded or neutralised by it; that working class politics, once the active source of moral challenge, have been deadened not by direct repression but by the opiate of relative prosperity and preoccupation with what are denounced as the illusory satisfactions of the "consumer society"; and that the speculative and imaginative sources of social criticism; philosophy and the arts, have dwindled into superficiality or pedantry, or have averted their gaze from the social scene and the human condition.
>
> Thirdly, both the parliamentary democracies of the West and the bureaucracies of communist society and indeed all conventional forms of organisation and authority are thought to be forms of repression, neither sensitive to people's grievances nor concerned to fulfil their aspirations.

And:

> Fourthly, militant students believe that confronted with society in this stage of development, they have a special position and function. Not yet caught up in the system, but possessing intelligence and insight into it, they are, in their own eyes, the vanguard whose first task is to awaken others to the realities of their condition, to 'politicise' them and thus begin the redemption of society. (Hart, 1969, pp. 157 - 158)

A more passionate sentiment was expressed in the 1962 Port Huron Statement, published before the Vietnam War became a pivotal political issue in the USA. The Statement was adopted as the manifesto of the SDS.

That statement began:

> We are the people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably at the world we inherit.

And:

> As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimising fact of human degradation, symbolised by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolised by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract "others" we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution. ("*The Port Huron Statement"*, 1964, p. 3)

The document, which included in its goals a programme for a "participatory democracy", concluded:

> If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable (Various authors, 1964, p. 63).[94]

Holloway (2005) expressed this mood of defiance much more succinctly. He declared that in the beginning there is the scream: "Faced with the mutilation of human lives by capitalism, a scream of sadness, a scream of horror, a scream of anger, a scream of refusal: NO" (p. 1).

The 'No' of refusal can have far reaching effects. Rosa Parks, a black woman in Montgomery, Alabama, USA, sparked an anti-segregation outburst when she refused to move from her seat (for white passengers) and go to the back of the bus where blacks were required to be. She said later that (contrary to some reports) she did not do it because she was tired. "The only tired I was, was tired of giving in" (Parks, 1992, p. 116).[95] The outcome of the ensuing bus boycott movement and protests was that, a year later (1966), segregation on buses was ruled unconstitutional.

Several years earlier, the first anti-segregation "sit-in" in the USA took place at a Donut Shop at Greensboro, North Carolina, USA, on 1 February, 1960. Soloman and Fishman (1964), who interviewed the black student participants later, concluded that the "first sit-in, like many others we have studied, was spontaneous, impulsive, and risk-taking" (p. 42).

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[94] Authorship has been frequently credited to prominent SDS activist Tom Hayden, who was elected SDS president at the Port Huron Conference. However, overall the statement was the product of a collective. (For an outline of its development see Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, pp. 29 - 30.)

[95] Parks, who was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), also denied reports that she had taken the action to be a test case of the NAACP. "I did not think about that at all. In fact if I had let myself think too deeply about what might happen to me, I might have gotten off the bus," she said (Parks, 1992, p. 116).

This radicalism can very often be triggered by events which have no direct, immediate personal impact on the individual, such as the events at Oxford University described by Hart (1969) above.

Some researchers assert that grievances are incentives for social movement participation. Opp (1988) argued that grievances "arise in response to critical incidents" which may have a "shock effect for those whose discontent is low before the incident" (p. 854). In the USA in early 1968 this was the case when the "Tet Offensive"[96] discredited the official propaganda that the USA was winning the war in Vietnam and greatly increased opposition to continuation of the war (Schreiber, 1976). In NZ incidents such as the My Lai massacre[97], which became headline news here in late 1969, had a similar effect (Trotter, 2007).

This view concurs with McReynolds' (1992) observation, cited in Chapter 3, regarding the "anti-war movement" being created by the Vietnamese peoples' struggle (p. 69).

UK activist Tariq Ali (2018) described the Vietnamese struggle as an inspiration. "The sight of a small peasant army inflicting heavy casualties in the jungles of Vietnam on the mightiest imperialist nation had an energising effect on many militants" (Ali, 2018, p. 266).

Evans (1974) argued that "protest takes hold, and the political temperature rises when ordinary people believe that the government nerve centre no longer reacts sensitively enough to their wishes" (p. 159).

Jasper (1997) suggested that, in what he termed the post-citizenship movement, participants were already "integrated into their society's political, economic, and educational systems" and therefore were freed from the necessity to struggle for "basic rights for themselves". Thus they often pursue protections or benefits for others, including on occasions the entire human species (p. 7). Jasper (1997) described this as moral protest.

> Rather than simply or directly changing what they [social movements] dislike – which may not be possible – they also express their contempt and outrage over

[96] On 30 January 1968, on the eve of the Vietnamese New Year, NLF soldiers launched major attacks on 36 provincial cities and three major cities, including Saigon and Hue. In Saigon an NLF squad invaded and occupied the USA Embassy, and television viewers around the world saw images of dead soldiers and chaos at this fortress of the USA occupation. In the preceding months the USA Government and officials were assuring the USA public that the war was nearly over or, in the words of commander of US military in Vietnam, General Westmoreland, that he had "seen the light at the end of the tunnel". These events had a major effect on public attitudes to the war in the USA (Kurlansky, 2005).

[97] In March 1968 USA troops entered the village of My Lai and massacred at least 145 civilians, including women and children (Karnow, 1997). Others put the death toll at up to 500 (Stone & Kuznick, 2013). News of the massacre became public in the NZ media at the end of 1969.

> existing practices. It is their ability to provide a moral voice that makes protest so satisfying. They give us an opportunity to plumb our moral sensibilities and convictions, and to articulate and elaborate them. (p. 5)

In his thesis on the Auckland anti-Vietnam War movement, Jackman (1979) made a similar assertion. He wrote that "young people objected to the Vietnam War on a moral basis because they could afford to", as they were "growing up in post-war prosperity" (p. 165).

B. Mutual aid

While Jasper (1997) and Jackman (1979) seemed to narrow moral protest to individuals who are freed from the need to struggle for basic rights for themselves, Kropotkin[98] (1902) stressed the importance of the natural law of mutual aid as the origin of our ethical stance. Kropotkin criticised the narrow application or even distortion of Darwin's theory of "natural selection". He pointed out that the "law of mutual aid" within species is far more important in the evolution of species than mutual contest (p. 4).

Writing about human society, Kropotkin (1902) stated that it is:

> [T]he close dependency of every one's happiness upon the happiness of all; and a sense of justice, or equity, which brings the individual to consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own. Upon this broad and necessary foundation the still higher moral feelings are developed. (p. 6)

Among his examples of this mutual aid, Kropotkin (1902) cited early mutual-help communes, peasant associations and later workers' unions. He went on to describe how, when class societies developed, the associated state apparatuses tried to break down these mutual aid organisations which were regarded as a threat to the profiteering elites. He noted that unions "were continually reconstituted" despite "cruel prosecutions" from those in power (Kropotkin, 1902, p. 129).

Kropotkin (1902) considered that the law of mutual aid explained the natural reaction of people who go to great efforts to assist a complete stranger in need. It can also explain why people engage in moral protest over issues that have no direct effect on them personally.

Hodgson and Brooks (2007) stressed the role of emotions in stimulating activists. They listed "anger and indignation", compassion for the plight of others and "faith" as factors which led women activists to become involved in protest activities (p. 18).

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[98] Pyotr Kropotkin was a distinguished Russian evolutionary biologist and geographer. He was also a prominent revolutionary and anarchist theoretician.

Keniston (1967) concluded that student activists protesting against the military draft for Vietnam in the 1960s were acting in a similar altruistic manner:

> [T]he protesting students are selectively drawn from that subgroup *most* likely to receive student deferments for graduate work. The basis of protest is a general sense that the selective service rules and the war in Vietnam are unjust to others with whom the student is identified, but whose fate he does not share. If one runs down the list of "causes" taken up by student activists, in rare cases are demonstrations directed at improving the lot of the protesters themselves; identification with the oppressed is a more important motivating factor than an actual sense of immediate personal oppression. (p. 111)

Tariq Ali (2018) wrote that by 1965 the war in Vietnam "had become an obsession as far as I was concerned. It dominated my thoughts and severely disrupted the stifling routines of academic life" (p. 109). He felt a "sense of powerlessness" but also "felt that Vietnam should not be allowed to become isolated simply because it was an Asian country thousands of miles away from Europe" (pp. 109-110).

This spontaneous/altruistic activism means that participants often become involved without any long-term political objective nor being conscious of the long-term effect of their actions. Flood and Grindon (2014) described successful movements as composed of:

> [V]ery large numbers of people carrying out small, seemingly utopian experiments without seeing or even necessarily knowing of each other; having no idea of the sometimes unlikely opportunities their acts might create; not necessarily realising they are already sewing the fabric of historical change. (p. 13)

Zinn (2002) summed up the USA anti-Vietnam War protesters in a similar manner. "Millions of people protested the war not because their own lives were at stake, but because they truly cared about *other people's lives,* the lives of Vietnamese, of fellow Americans" (p. 122).

Participant comments

Below I have deliberately presented interview participant responses in an approximate order of diminishing generational influence on their politicisation. I have done this using the wider view of generations which Mannheim (1925) outlined in his generational theory. I have started with those interviewees where there was direct and significant parental input and finished with those whose contributions did not reflect an upbringing with a parental or other generational cultural background that may have influenced their

future political orientation or, in some cases reflected a background that was opposed to the participant's political activities.

Some input from three participants has been included in the previous chapter.

Jack and Anna grew up with the influence of parents who were members of the CPNZ.

Jack

Both of Jack's parents were members of the CPNZ.

> At home there was constant talk. Above the table there was a map of the world and that was Dad's sharpening board to get us talking about things that were happening around the world. Politics was always talked about. We argued like hell about it, but Dad always won [Laughter].
>
> The war in Vietnam was going on and I was part of a group responsible for a big study we did of it at Teachers' College[99] and a big display which finished up at an assembly which all of the wrong people got the credit for. We had a huge display on Vietnam, of clippings.
>
> Both my parents, of course, were always talking about Vietnam and that the Yanks were bastards and lots of my friends and a lot of their friends were the same.
>
> The day that they sent troops to Vietnam we handed out a leaflet in Queen Street – thousands of them. I think they went out in Christchurch and maybe Wellington as well. The leaflet said that we were sending troops to Vietnam, that a decision had been made. That night Holyoake got up and announced that it was just a pack of rubbish and that it hadn't even been considered.[100] About two days later we got the announcement that the troops had already gone.

[99] The former Auckland Teachers' Training College, based at Mt Eden. More recently, the institution was merged into the University of Auckland.

[100] Previously secret Australian cabinet papers released under their 30-year rule in January 1998 showed that Holyoake repeatedly lied about troop commitments to Vietnam and the later increase in troop numbers. A report on the Australian revelations in the *NZ Herald* stated that the NZ Cabinet had decided to send an artillery unit in April 1964 (Ansley, 1998). It was not until late May 1965 that Holyoake publicly announced the decision to send NZ troops (Rabel, 2005).

Anna

> My family had always been very interested in politics. My grandparents came from a National Party perspective, and my mother was a member of the Communist Party.

Anna's parents separated in London and Anna's mother, with her two children, returned to NZ. Her mother discussed social and political issues with the children from a young age.

> Every day we discussed political affairs, the news and history. We had experienced life in London and met all kinds of people from around the world who were left wing. They always treated us well.
>
> From when I was a little child I knew about the nursery rhymes and how they were revolutionary songs – whether it was *Who killed Cock Robin?* who was a revolutionary or *Mary, Mary, quite contrary*. My mother sang us many folk and revolutionary songs, as well as reading us stories about partisans, about life in Britain. Her perspective on history was very different from the flow of history at that time.

Anna recalls taking part in protest marches at a young age:

> As a child I went to Hiroshima Day protests against nuclear bombs. I also participated in the [1960] 'No Māoris - No Tour' protests when I was ten.

She was also conscious of domestic injustice:

> I knew that in NZ there was terrible injustice. An example I give is at my standard one Xmas party, two girls were sat out of the party because they didn't bring any refreshments. They came from very impoverished families.
>
> My mother had sent a huge cake and a half gallon[101] tin of preserved fruit so that if anyone didn't bring something there would be plenty. To me, the exclusion of those girls was inflicting racism in a way in which we as children were powerless to counter.
>
> People in NZ knew very little about the Vietnam War.

For Bill, the parental influence was also significant but reinforced by workmates:

[101] A half gallon equals 1.89 litres.

Bill

> Dad did have some influence because he was quite left wing. I was more inquisitive. I wanted to know what was going on, an argumentative bugger as Dad would say. I used to argue like hell with him. The more I argued about things, and the more I couldn't win an argument, the more I thought about it.
>
> I got interested in unionism at the Railways[102] as an apprentice, and began debating with Ray Gough [a CPNZ member] and others.
>
> In those days there was conscription by ballot and Vietnam was on. So I got interested. Then I went to one of the PYM meetings.

For others the parental influence was less direct but may well have led them to become more open to alternative ideas:

Karen

> My father, a primary school teacher, had a view of the world that was very global and ahead of his time. He used to go down to the port and bring home sailors – Africans and Chinese and Russians and people from all over the world.
>
> He'd bring them to this little rural school to talk to the kids to try to waken their imagination about the world and help them realise that people were people, wherever they came from.
>
> I was quite close to my father. I was a reader and really interested in the news. I'd read *The Day of the Bomb* when I was about 12. That was about a boy's experience of Hiroshima. I had read *Anne Frank's Diary*. I had read *Black Like Me* by Richard Wright. So I was attracted to social justice books. They really influenced me early on.

Later

[102] Ōtāhuhu Railway Workshops. There was a strong CPNZ presence among workers there and the workshops were frequently host to lunchtime speakers on issues like Vietnam and apartheid.

> I went to New Plymouth Girl's High School. Our English teacher was Ida Gaskin, a fierce Labour Party person. My friends and I were all radically political. One ended up being on Muldoon's SIS list.[103]
>
> I joined the Taranaki anti-apartheid group. When the tramping club was formed, there were members who moved to New Plymouth for the power station construction. They were communists and anarchists from London. I joined the committee too, and we had amazing conversations with people from all round the world. I was naturally drawn to this exciting world of international politics. It wasn't a surprise that I ended up being quite happily at home with the PYM.

After coming to Auckland she became involved in PYM:

> It was just like a natural base to land I suppose. I didn't really think about it. I just remember going to parties with Marx and Engels and Lenin on the wall and thought it was all very exciting [Laughter].

Parents of some were members or strong supporters of the NZ Labour Party. Parental influence and values were augmented at school or work:

Adrian

> It goes right back to my grandmother, who was a staunch Labour Party supporter. I was aware of that as a child.
>
> When I was at secondary school the Americans exploded an atomic bomb in space. I remember the whole sky went red/orange.[104] We were in Tokoroa at the time. I remember my mum and dad, particularly my mother. She was standing there crying. I had no understanding of the significance of what was really going on, but it had a profound impression on me.

---

[103] During the 1981 Springbok Tour Prime Minister Muldoon released an SIS report which included a list of "subversives" who had allegedly infiltrated the anti-Tour movement (Newnham, 2003).

[104] Adrian identified this as the test codenamed *Starfish Prime*", detonated on 9 July 1962. *Starfish Prime* was the largest of a series of high altitude nuclear tests (equivalent of 1.4 megatons of TNT) conducted in the Pacific Ocean. It was exploded at an altitude of 399 kilometres south west of Johnson Island (Preparatory Commission, 2012). Former NZ Prime Minister David Lange (1990) also witnessed this explosion. He wrote that the sky and moon "turned to blood" (p. 10). He described it as "an unnerving experience" (p. 10). When he learned it was a nuclear test he felt worse. "It was a shock to realise that the power of nuclear weapons could straddle the world" (p. 11).

My mother was also a kind of active Labour Party supporter in the talking sense. I'm not aware of them ever actually being involved in any kind of direct political activity.

I had a real feeling of injustice. TV was just coming in and suddenly we were getting all these images of things that were happening. Not just in Vietnam but all over the world.

Later, when I went to secondary school in Auckland, those kind of experiences just kind of gelled. I met a fellow student who had an association with the PYM, and it just grew from there. We wound up meeting with some people in the PYM. One thing led to another, and there I was – a member.

It was lots of threads that suddenly came together and meeting some people who obviously were having similar experiences and similar concerns.

Peter

My parents were Labour supporters. We emigrated from the UK in 1956. One of my mother's brothers was a long-time member of the British Communist Party and came to NZ in about 1947 with his wife.

When I was in the sixth form a teacher at Kaipara College conveyed a critical view about things in the normal course of teaching, encouraging people to be critical and questioning. I read a book called *The Living Reed*[105]. It was a novel set in North Korea. I read it in 1967 and just the way the book described the struggle that people were going through then opened my eyes to a different perspective. I also read at least one of Han Suyin's books[106]. During that latter stage of secondary school I was becoming aware of alternative ways of looking at the world.

I left school and started a fitting and turning apprenticeship at the Naval Dockyards at Devonport. It was during that year, 1968, that I first encountered the anti-war protest movement and the Progressive Youth

[105] *The Living Reed*, written by Pearl Buck.
[106] Han Suyin wrote a series of books about life in pre-revolution China and the changes that took place after 1950.

Movement. I met people involved with PYM and became involved myself. I guess it was finding kindred spirits.

When I became involved in the anti-war movement, my parents spoke about having been on marches in London in support of the Republicans in Spain in the late 1930s. I think my father might have been supportive of Russia at some stage but he spoke of being disillusioned by the reports that were coming out of Stalinist Russia later on. He was a strong anti-fascist.

My mother's father also had a strong left-wing leaning and apparently knew Peter Fraser[107] when they were living in NZ. They came here in 1914 and went back to England in about 1922. He worked as a wharfie while they were living here. So there's sort of left-of-centre trend I guess overall.

Chris

My mother was a member of the Labour Party and secretary of the local branch. My father was very left wing in his outlook. He was a very religious man, so he didn't care about active politics. I used to have a lot of conversations with him because he was a very intellectual man, very smart and a great reader. He was an expert on the Soviet Union and was really interested in the Soviet Union and China. But he wasn't ever an activist or anything like that.

I had always been a Labour Party supporter and a socialist, but I began to understand that the system that we lived under was oppressive. It was keeping people poor. It was keeping a huge divide between the rich and the poor and it was discriminatory in a lot of areas like race. Because I had grown up with Māori people, I thought that the Māori people showed us that socialism does work and the way they lived was socialist. They supported each other and helped each other financially. Where I came from, in Maramarua, it was a pretty poor place.

I worked in the timber mill and the forestry when I left school, and that sort of was the beginning of my awareness about socialism and about Marxism really. I started thinking about a lot of these things when I was a teenager. I went to Auckland and worked in a TV factory. The women in

[107] Peter Fraser was an early Labour Party activist, who later became Prime Minister after the death of Michael Joseph Savage.

the factory were very militant about their conditions and their pay, and that influenced me a lot as well.

Later:

I was a bus driver at the North Shore Depot, and I met a man called Nat Gould, who was a Communist Party member. I liked Nat. I was young and idealistic and had a lot of belief about social issues, so I joined the Communist Party.

I hadn't read all that much about Marxism, but I began to read more and more about it and I then decided to go along to demonstrations against the Vietnam War and against apartheid. I got into going to the demos, getting to know people in the PYM and going to their meetings.

Allan was from Australia, where conscripts were sent to Vietnam from 1966.

My father has a very strong Labour background and I always took an interest in current affairs. I was against the war when I was in high school. I was one of the few. I wrote an article about it. I found it very hard to get information against the war, always for the war. Never very much against the war. I decided that it was totally wrong.

Then the draft came up, conscription for Vietnam. Twenty-year-olds went into the ballot in Australia. I didn't like the idea of a draft. I couldn't see why we would be sending conscripts to Vietnam. It was not defending Australia. Otherwise I wouldn't have had an objection.

I hid for a while, refused to register for the draft, stayed at friends' places so I couldn't be tracked down. They were very supportive and the Unitarian Church was supportive for a while. Then the government brought in legislation to punish people who helped draftees to evade the draft. They [my helpers] got scared about it. They said "you had better leave Australia". "Either that or make a big political fuss" like some people did.

I didn't think I was politically savvy enough to face that media, all that sort of thing. Some people went to jail, two years and over. So I decided to come to New Zealand.

> I arrived at Christchurch. I was 20 years old, and got itinerant work around different places. I think it was in Motueka, I was reading an article in the newspaper there about the PYM up in Auckland and I thought "they sound interesting, I'll make my way up there."
>
> I managed to get in contact with the Progressive Bookshop and then got in contact with the PYM.

Steve's father was an officer in the NZ Navy, but there was little contact between them during Steve's formative years. Steve described his mother as "a Labour Party supporter her whole life, the old fashioned Labour Party like Micky Savage."

> One of my uncles had been a wharfie. There was a sort of vaguely Bolshie thing in my family. There was a lot of Irish blood and I can remember them at Christmases getting drunk and singing Irish rebel songs.
>
> Mum had got divorced. Dad was in the NZ Navy so I hardly ever saw him. When I was a kid he was always off in boats. Because he was an officer, he was quite distinguished in his own way.
>
> When my grandmother died we moved over to live with my grandfather. My granddad who, apart from being in the choir at the Holy Trinity Church and going to church every Sunday, gave me Steinbeck to read. I read Steinbeck at aged 11, every book that Steinbeck wrote because my grandad had them all.
>
> I had dropped out of school at 15 but I was reading books by people like Bertrand Russell and Hermann Hesse. I had developed this thing about literature and philosophy. I really liked Bertrand Russell. He was a big influence. His analysis of political things was really very practical.
>
> In May 1968[108] I grabbed every book I could about that. That was just really inspirational. I suppose I was just in that position where the events of the day would have that impact, whereas to other people it was just news, to me it was "the world is changing".
>
> I had been involved at Resistance Bookshop for a couple of years. That was a lot of fun. I got to do lots of organising there. Because the bookshop

[108] Steve was referring to the massive wave of protests, occupations and strikes in France at that time.

was in the centre of town and it was a good place to let people know what was going on.

Later:

I'd come back to Auckland from up north, from Kaitaia, and I'd read *The Enemy* by Felix Greene which inspired me to actually get involved in something. I got a copy of the *People's Voice* from Progressive Books and read it on my way home. It had an article about Chile and Allende. I was reading it, thinking "Oh yeah". I got home and on the news that night were the tanks rolling through Santiago. The *People's Voice* had said that the USA would overthrow Allende as soon as he threatened them. There it was in front of me. I thought "well I don't have to look very far for answers – these guys know what's going to happen tomorrow."

That kind of won me over. I was trying to understand how the world was and these were the only people who seemed to have any kind of answers at all. I went into Progressive Books. I wanted to join the Communist Party. They said "no, that's not how it works. You go and join the PYM and then we'll see how you work out". I said "all right", and then off it went.

For others the social and economic environment they grew up in clearly had a very strong influence on their social development.

John

I was born in England, from a very working class family. In those days in England you knew you were working class. Everybody else knew you were working class. We had no expectation of ever becoming anything else, so that was your life. And it had been the life of the family beforehand.

We were poor but there were really poor people. People who were in really bad slums. I always felt sorry for them. We knew our position. We were working class.

I was sheltered from class struggle and anything like that.

I was lucky enough to pass an exam and got a decent education.[109] I went to a grammar school and I sat a whole pile of subjects. I passed most of them. I could have gone on to the sixth form and then to tertiary education. When I got home with my qualifications my mother said 'great we can get you a job'.

The day I started work as a trainee technician I was bringing home more than my father as a truck driver.

In a city of high unemployment I was able to get jobs. I had a job with good pay and I was in a cycling club. The leader of the group in the cycling club, I didn't know, was a member of the British Communist Party which was a very relaxed thing, like a social club.

I was totally apolitical, not interested in politics in the slightest. All I wanted to do was cycle.

We used to cycle all over the place and then one time he decided to go on a big dramatic bike ride. I ended up going with him. We cycled basically to Australia. We travelled through Europe, through Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. All the way, all the time, he was showing me the effects of colonialism, the effects of poverty and that sort of thing.

But I was still not interested in politics in the slightest.

I lived in Australia for nearly a year. There I went on my very first demonstration. That was a May Day demonstration in Sydney. I was only there because all my mates were there. I wasn't interested politically, apart from the fact that we were talking about 'ban the bomb' and Vietnam was mentioned. It was just a May Day solidarity march. That was the limit of my political understanding.

After a while I then came to New Zealand and fell in love with NZ the day I arrived. I ended up in Christchurch and applied for a job as a technician.

I don't know what it was, but something clicked inside me and one day I rang up the Communist Party in Christchurch. I said I'm here, I want to help.

[109] Each year two students at his school were accepted to go on to grammar school – John was one of these.

John joined the CPNZ:

> We went out sticking up posters and selling the PV [*People's Voice*] door to door and participating in education studies. I lapped it up. I absolutely loved it. I really enjoyed it. I felt at home in the whole thing.

A couple of years later he felt he should go back to England and tell his parents that he was going to live in NZ and 'this is my life in the future'. He got leave from the CPNZ and was offered a visit to China on the way. Consequently he went to China amidst the Cultural Revolution and then hitch-hiked down through South East Asia and flew to Britain. After a period in England, where he was involved in organising protests against the Vietnam War and other political activities, he returned to NZ in 1969 and applied to re-join the CPNZ:

> I was met with a stony silence and I then thought 'something is wrong somewhere' and it was at the point I started to look round for things and I found the PYM and I joined the PYM.
>
> The PYM to my mind was everything that I'd tried to develop in Christchurch on a very small scale and then tried to do the same thing in Liverpool. Here I was meeting a ready-made group. Somebody else had put the effort in.

Cliff

> My father was at sea a lot, and then went down to Taupō and places like that to work as a builder in construction. I sort of became the head of the family being the first male in the family, and then having a sister and another brother and another sister and another brother. I basically became the quasi masculine head of the family. So I always had a very social, community feeling.
>
> Having grown up defending my siblings from fights at schools or out on the street or what-have-you, when I heard about the Progressive Youth Movement it was in my moral charter. At the same time I was absolutely against the Vietnam War and military establishments.

In **Ben**'s case it was his fellow high school students and access to political literature that provided the spark.

> I was only 16 and at Rosmini College, a Catholic school in Takapuna. My family were Irish and the only point of contact I had with my staunchly Catholic father was his Irish nationalism. He hated England. His father was a staunchly Irish nationalist and refused involvement in any of the European wars. My grandfather almost broke off relationships with my old man when he signed up for the Second World War and went up to the [Pacific] Islands in the air force.
>
> One of my classmates caught a bus from the city to school. At that time the bus depots were targets for leafletting and he'd arrive at school with leaflets from the PYM or the CPNZ or any organisation that was trying to distribute information. He used to bring this amazing stuff to school, which was way more interesting than all the crap we were being given at school.
>
> Another guy turned up at school who came from a working class British family and he was able to add a whole political perspective as well. It was brilliant for 16-year-olds in this sheltered Catholic Church school.
>
> Amongst the leaflets from the PYM we found an address for the North Shore Branch just a couple of minutes' walk from school. We headed up after school. That was the North Shore PYM HQ.
>
> It was just full of political material. For us young fellows it was just heaven to be able to access all of this stuff that we had no other way of accessing. The end of the Vietnam War was happening then, so the political action was way stronger, way more people involved. It had quite a momentum and we were able to get all of this really interesting stuff.

Other participants came from families where one or more parents were in the National Party or military.

When asked about family political involvement, **Sue** said:

> Absolutely, totally not. I was completely alienated from them for years because of it.

She considered that her adolescent religious involvement gave her a "consciousness of being very privileged and needing to think about people who were less privileged". However politicisation came later.

> It started off at Teachers' College. Teachers' College at that stage was at a very low ebb academically, socially, everything else. A group of us got together to form a ginger group and one of those people was Jack Gabolinscy.
>
> It was the first political thing that I had ever done, trying to improve the way Teachers' College operated because it really was very, very bad. I'd been brought up very middle class and Jack really opened my eyes to a lot of the issues that I had thought about but didn't have a way of analysing or really understanding.
>
> Then I met his parents. I eventually left home because there was something about the whole conscious working class culture that existed in Jack's family that was very compelling to me. I think I was born wanting to improve things and they seemed to have the answers that I hadn't even dreamt about.
>
> One of the big things I remember was the brinksmanship between America and Cuba[110] and being at Teachers' College at the time and listening to the radio. Lectures stopped and we were listening to the radio to find out what was going to happen because we knew that our young men sitting there in that class would be drafted if there was a war. There was this huge anxiety and so that ... it was an anxious time.
>
> Jack and I were married in 1963 and I think the Vietnam War was just beginning to happen. We started off with the CND, the first marches we took part in, against nuclear arms and the whole nuclear picture. Then the Vietnam War came and it looked as though NZ was going to become involved. At that point I think we probably joined the Vietnam Committee[111].

Sue recalled the first [YACOV] meeting "in that cold hall, and how nervous we were".

[110] Sue was referring to the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.
[111] Auckland Peace for Vietnam Committee.

Jo was much younger, and parental opposition was much more of a factor.

> Both my parents were National Party members, although they weren't active. I don't think politics was very important to them but they seemed to like to maintain a National Party membership.
>
> I met my best friend at high school. I had never had a friend before, so when she chose me to be her friend that was just something absolutely amazing, wonderful for me. I had no political interest but my friend started to talk to me about the Vietnam War. At that point I didn't even realise there was a war going on. She was so really adamant that this was something terrible that was happening and we all had to do everything we could to try to stop it.
>
> We used to talk about the Vietnam War issue, and other general political, social issues as well. She was getting very interested in communism, which really scared me because I'd been fed all the usual 'reds under the bed', 'big scary ogres' kind of thing. I used to read some of the material and I have to say a lot of it made sense. I checked things out myself, made up my own mind about things. I did my own investigation into Vietnam and what was going on and had to conclude she was absolutely right.
>
> My friend and I decided we wanted to join the Communist Party, so we went to the Communist Party headquarters some afternoons after school and knocked on the door. Most of the time there was no one there, which I felt greatly relieved about. But one day the door opened. There was someone there.
>
> I just felt I wanted the earth to open up and swallow me [laughter]. I just really didn't want that to happen. But the man who opened the door was very, very nice and talked to us for quite a while. He suggested that "no you don't want to join the Communist Party straight away. Why don't you join the PYM?" My friend got in contact [with PYM] and she started going to protests and meetings and stuff like that.
>
> At the time it was totally impossible for me because my life was totally controlled by my parents. There was absolutely no escape for me from home and control. I used to listen as my friend told me about all the

> exciting things that they were doing at the PYM and the protests and so on.

Slowly Jo began to find ways to become involved:

> In 1968 I do recall there was an anti-Vietnam [War] protest march locally one Friday night. I walked up to the people marching and I said "can I join in?" Somebody said "yes" and "have these leaflets". That was wonderful. That was my first protest march and I enjoyed that.
>
> Over the next couple of years I used to spend quite a bit of time at Progressive Books in Darby Street. I used to talk to Len [Parker] there quite a lot. I used to buy books and so on. Mostly they were just little books that I could hide in the back of a schoolbook, or I'd keep them in my desk at school or things like that. I'd never get away with having them at home. Quite often on my way home I would call into Progressive Books and have a chat to Len.
>
> I knew that some PYM meetings were held above Progressive Books. The first one I ever went to I found an excuse. Of course I got caught out one day.

Later she left home to live with an older PYM family.

> I got away with that for about three weeks. I was going to school. The head mistress at school was insisting that I couldn't continue going to school unless I lived at home.

It was arranged for a man from Child Welfare to interview her:

> I was freaking out because I had heard all sorts of dreadful stuff about what happens when you go to Child Welfare. He was very, very nice and very helpful. He seemed to be very sympathetic. I almost felt like "this is someone who actually understands what I'm dealing with at home and what's going on".
>
> He made an arrangement for me – "stay at home during the week and go and stay with someone else in the weekends." That's what I did. Another [Communist] Party member offered to have me at the weekends. I did that until school finished and then I left home for the last time because I'd turned seventeen and I'd left school.

> That's all the kind of stuff that led me to getting involved with the PYM. And I thoroughly enjoyed it.

Mary came from a military-conservative background.

> Dad was in the NZ Air Force and Mum was a strong National Party supporter. We lived out at Kumeu which is in the country – very National and Social Credit[112] type area. When I moved into town and started doing these things and my parents found out they were quite shocked.
>
> Dad thought every demonstrator was a long-haired lout who should get a job. He hated anyone with long hair [Laughter]. Because he was in the Air Force as well, he was just so right wing and supported the Vietnam War and the National Government. Mum did too.
>
> I could still go home and have dinners and things but we could never talk about the war or anything political. So we just kept it quiet. Basically politics was a no-go in our house.
>
> I went to Training College for one and a half years and when I moved into town, to Resistance Bookshop, I dropped out.
>
> It was 1970. I was 18. I used to go down to the bookshop [Progressive Books] every Wednesday to buy a copy of the *People's Voice*. I started going to anti-Vietnam War demonstrations on Friday nights. They used to start at the Town Hall and we'd march down Queen Street. There would be about 300 of us and people would be pretty sort of anti-us.
>
> Then someone said PYM had meetings up at St Kevin's Arcade. I got all fired up and went there and took part in the meetings. So that's how I got involved.

Responses from survey

For the survey, I split the issue of becoming involved into two questions so that I could get input on both how the participants became politicised and what led them to become involved in PYM. In this section, I have also included responses to my question regarding political involvement by family, friends or workmates.

[112] Social Credit Political League, based on policies of monetary reform, appealed primarily to "small farmers and business owners, mostly on modest incomes" (Miller, 2005, pp. 244-245).

Since survey respondents were able to tick more than one box in many cases, on some issues there may be more responses than the number of participants.

Table 1

How did you become interested in left-wing politics?

Workmates	3
Parent(s)	3
Teacher(s)/school	2
Leaflets	-
Friend	1
Demonstrations	1
Books	1

Table 2

How did you become involved with PYM?

Made contact	3
Leaflets	-
Via CP	1
Via Meetings or demo	6
Family	-

Table 3

Was there prior political involvement by yourself and / or influential close family, friends or workmates?

Yes	2
No	8

Joe came from a left-wing family.

> Australian communist family – 'orthodox', then 'Marxist-Leninist', then 'autonomous'.

He joined PYM in 1970.

> Older than the average PYM member and married with two children. I was perhaps too old for it, and too wary to join the CPNZ, or the other mob (SUP) [Socialist Unity Party].

He was only a member for a short time, but expressed the view that:

> A touch of ratbaggery [adventurism] needed to be plugged more into the workers' movement and community.

Susan-Jane recalled her parents as being among the founders of the Vietnam Movement.

> My parents started it! Daphne and Roy Evans, along with like-minded friends. They were very supportive of me.
>
> From an early age I was aware of my parents' behaviour. They were often at meetings, we always had visitors that they chatted for hours with – and Mum spent many hours at home addressing envelopes. I listened, I learned early some very healthy living principles. And I constantly asked questions.

She met PYM at protests.

> I think it was the marching in Queen Street protesting against the war in Vietnam. At first there was only about a dozen of us. My family and a group of friends. Then "more senior" young people started PYM and that's the group I joined up with. A progression of always being with my parents to now being with young people. I was naïve and had a lot to learn. I am a person who believes in doing (not just watching and complaining).
>
> I was always in trouble at school for being outspoken and handing out leaflets and selling badges. I felt young people like myself shouldn't keep their heads in the sand and so many wanted to know more – not what the papers wrote.

Bernie recalled his father having an early political influence

> My Dad was a fair-minded man who was able to explain apartheid to me when I was nine. In his quiet way he wasn't afraid to question popular opinion and blind acceptance of authority. I spent 18 months in Whangarei at the end of my teens and became friends with Don and Marion Ross.[113]

[113] At the time Don Ross was a member of the CPNZ National Committee.

> I was very impressed by their political views and I began to sympathise with the CPNZ.
>
> When I started working it struck me that the people doing the hardest manual jobs seemed to be getting the lowest pay and it didn't seem fair. However, one of my friends was a deck boy on a coastal cargo ship and a member of the militant NZ Seamen's Union. He was relatively well paid and I realised strong trade unions were the way to getting higher wages.
>
> I had become active in my union and was a job delegate. I had also joined the Communist Party. My party comrades were mostly older people and, as I was 22, I was drawn to PYM which was more my age group.

Both Gary and Don indicated that their parents did not mind their political involvement.

Gary

> I was about 16 years old and started taking an interest in what was happening in Vietnam and our involvement in the war/conflict.
>
> I heard about a protest in Auckland City and went. I came across other young people from PYM, noticeably Bill and Barry Lee.[114] Following that I went to the Paritai Drive protest and witnessed quite a bit of police violence.
>
> Soon after Paritai Drive I joined PYM. I became aware PYM was a very active protest movement and wanted to be part of it.

Don

> I was reading books by Han Suyin, Felix Greene etc and wanted to join, as in the cliché to 'make the world a better place'.
>
> I bought a PYM newsletter while on a trip to Auckland and got in contact with them. When I later moved to Auckland it was the first thing I joined.

For **Graham** the influence came from school.

> I was encouraged to question things during school and hated our involvement in the Vietnam War.

In **Richard**'s case, politicisation came through workmates.

[114] Gary had been brought up in Panmure near where Bill and I lived and we attended the same schools.

> When I first saw references to the Vietnam War in the *NZ Herald* I was puzzled, not knowing where it was.
>
> Although I lived in a working class area my father was an architect and we were always well-to-do. We never lacked for food or anything. We didn't live luxuriously, but while I knew there were poor people, most working class people I met were, as far as I knew, not poor.
>
> Slowly I got interested and moved 'left' partly due to influences of people I met while working at the Railway Workshops. Charlie Baker used to talk to me about politics. Ray Gough one day asked me if I wanted to read a book about the Vietnam War and I did. I read *Rape of Vietnam* by Harold Slingsby which was a pretty well researched book. This then led to the Friday night marches, PYM meetings, the Progressive Bookshop and so on. It also gave me a kind of focus in my life at the time.
>
> The Vietnam War and apartheid were so clearly injustices they couldn't be ignored. And indeed the potential threat of a nuclear war hung over everything.
>
> I didn't discuss this much with my father who was a National Party supporter.

Peter R and Rick also reflected on having politically conservative parents.

Peter R

> I had little respect for their opinions and made sure I lived at least 500 miles from where they lived.
>
> I was motivated by issues of conscience. I had conflicts at high school with unreasonable authorities. I had seen the protest actions of Afro-Americans in the USA. I was in a mood to take direct action. As a student at Victoria University Wellington I protested with CND. After moving to Auckland I was opposed to the Vietnam War.
>
> As a storeman packer at a pharmaceutical company I was friendly with a member of the Communist Party. I salted the pharmaceutical orders with anti-Vietnam War pamphlets. Surprisingly I wasn't fired. I was for an egalitarian meritocracy, and on the left of the political spectrum.

I thought that NZ would become more and more egalitarian and eventually there would be a situation of more or less complete equality for the population.

I found the mainstream anti-Vietnam War organisation insipid, too worried about offending and alienating certain sections of the public. I was angry about NZ participation in a criminal aggression. I wanted to be with an in-your-face militant organisation. PYM fitted the bill.

Rick

I only once brought up opposition to the Vietnam War at the dinner table after work and was harshly questioned whether I was a communist. My parents didn't know about my involvement as I had moved away from home and the few times I visited we carried on the family tradition of not talking politics.

I worked as an apprentice on one of the highest multi-storey building sites of the time, at the bottom of Queen Street. Safety was very primitive in those days and, being pretty naïve I was astounded when workers downed tools to hold a union meeting to protest matters. The voracity of the different workers adamant to get something done left quite an impression on me. That and subsequent stop work meetings made the site safer.

The Vietnam War was on, and there were demonstrations in Queen St. A visit to the Resistance Bookshop in Queen Street opened my eyes. A Communist Party member used to distribute the *Peoples Voice* around the building site regularly which helped me learn alternatives to other issues as well. It wasn't till a few years later I became more active.

After living out of town I moved into the city end of Dominion Rd and used to visit the Peoples Union on Ponsonby Road. Through posters and newsletters I attended rallies and marches, learnt about PYM and was invited to join.

I remember the night I was asked. There was a demonstration outside a hotel conference centre. A young man came up and told the PYM member I was talking to that Muldoon had just been hit by a couple of eggs. Sounded good to me.

Danny wrote that he "came from a very conservative military family".

> My father was still a member of the NZ Armed Forces at the time. However, I read widely and became a "child of my time" and took a different path, regardless of the difficulties it created.
>
> I read the *Auckland Star* and *NZ Herald*. I used to support the Americans. Then over several years I noticed that Denis Warner, an American correspondent, had done a 180-degree turn, and in supporting the American effort in Vietnam in 1965, he was directly contradicting his previous articles. It appeared he was issuing propaganda, not a fair perspective of the war. I began to read more widely and discussed it with other sixth formers at school. I joined the PYM and brought three others with me.
>
> I did not want to be conscripted. I did not believe that the USA should be in Vietnam. It was exciting to join other teenagers who were prepared to think differently from their parents. I became involved and as I investigated the protest movement I also read social history from left-wing bookshops, and learned to understand more NZ social history from a political viewpoint. I also noticed that the strongest opponents of the Vietnam War were in various "communist" political groups and I was briefly attracted to some of them.
>
> As teenagers we could be in the forefront of trying to improve the quality of life. We could "dare to rebel" and survive. Sometimes, opponents were violent, but we were staunch, and eventually we won. The world was changing, we were part of an inter-generational change.

In both the interviews and surveys I asked participants about the political events or issues that concerned them at the time they became involved. Responses have been summarised into the following eight issues. Note that some people identified more than one issue. The results are shown below.

Table 4

Issues of concern at the time

Vietnam War	21
Apartheid and sport with South Africa	6
Nuclear weapons / nuclear war	5
Capitalism, social injustice	7
Women's' issues / movement	2
Union related issues	1
Alternative ideas	4
NZ as lapdog of USA	3

.

Participants were also asked about their family and personal background.

Table 5

Family and personal background

Parental economic position	Wealthy	1
	Comfortable	13
	Single income but managing	8
	Poor	4
Parental education (tertiary?)	Yes	8
	No	18
Participant vocation (at time of joining)	Still at school	6
	University/Polytech/Teachers' Training College	7
	Working	13

Discussion

Participant input reveals a wide range of paths which led people to become part of PYM. For some, like Anna and Jack, the move appears a natural step as they grew up in a politicised environment, although Anna recalled that it was her (older) brother who was invited to the first meeting, not her.

Several others were introduced to political issues by their parents, but it appears that other influences, like workmates or teachers, helped to introduce the study participant to active politics. In Adrian's case the experience of witnessing his mother's reaction to a USA nuclear test clearly made a lasting impact on his later political consciousness. He described becoming involved with PYM as threads coming together and "meeting some people who obviously were having similar experiences and similar concerns".

No participant in the current study indicated that there had been imitation of overseas models, although some participants did refer to having been aware of global protests at the time. Former PYM members interviewed by Jackman (1979) all said that the PYM "was not based on any overseas organisation or example" (p. 76).

While I make no claim that my participants constitute a representative sample, I consider my research is sufficiently random to justify comparing the family and personal details above with the available (USA-based) studies. In those studies the pattern was one of student subjects whose parents were more educated and with a higher economic status. It is clear from the current study data that participants did not fit that pattern. In regard to vocation over the whole period (1965 to 1977) six participants indicated that they had attended university and a further three had attended Teachers' Training College.

No comparisons can be made regarding parental and family political positions since (as stated earlier) my interview participants were purposively selected to gain as broad a variance as possible, based on my personal recollections of the former PYM members. Survey participants were random in regard to family backgrounds, consisting of all those who chose to contribute. Of those ten participants, four said their parents were supportive or "didn't mind". Parents of three were described as concerned about the possible consequences of involvement and parents of three were completely opposed.

Only a few participants had participated in any kind of protest activity prior to becoming involved in protest against the war in Vietnam. This could be attributed to the demographic base of the PYM membership, being aged between 13 and 25. Six

participants had been or were still involved in another political organisation when they joined (nearly all in the CPNZ). Again this result could mainly reflect the ages of the membership when they joined PYM.

Sue (see Chapter 3) recounted that she and Jack had recognised the need for a youth organisation to oppose the Vietnam War, which reflects Williams' (1978) observation about seeing the need to do something. Sue saw the earlier PYL as an example of what was needed, and she and Jack had experience in the Communist Party, PFVC and CND.

Responses of participants in this study indicate a mixture of generational influence and "spontaneity". As noted above, the interview data has been deliberately organised in an approximate continuum from those where Manheim's (1925) generation influence was evident starting with those participants where one or both of the parents were either members of the CPNZ or held strong left-wing views. At the other end of the scale are those whose parents were completely opposed to the values espoused by groups like PYM and there was no indication of a wider generational culture which could have laid the basis for future involvement.

I found that following through the interview data in this way showed the potential shortcomings of an empirical approach to the generation issue. In the first place, existing studies on protester backgrounds tend to focus more narrowly on parental influence, rather than Mannheim's (1925) more global approach to "generations". In addition, when reading the participant narratives, a quantitative researcher would need to make an arbitrary decision regarding where the cut-off point would be. This would depend, of course, on the question(s) asked, but in the current data, for example, the first few are obvious. For Adrian and Peter the influence appears to have been in the values they learned, rather than through overt political socialisation. Adrian recalled his mother's reaction to the USA nuclear test, which was a significant and lasting memory. Peter said that he was not aware of his parents' earlier protest involvement until after he became involved. In both these cases, and also with Karen, other generational influences, notably high school teachers, built upon those values gained in their formative years

John was brought up in post-WW II England in a poor area of Liverpool where class background, and acceptance of class position, was ingrained in people from birth. His account did not reflect any overt political socialisation from his parents. However, he expressed empathy for those even worse off than his family, and he repeatedly acknowledged his luck in getting a decent education. He also repeatedly stated his being apolitical which did not reflect any direct political input during his upbringing. He

described the political input from his cycling partner, but his class background and the wider generational influences of his location clearly led him to identify with his companion's commentaries and had an important influence on his later political activity. I consider that he most likely would not be included in an empirical generational study.

Steve's mother was a strong Labour Party supporter, but his father was a naval officer. His position in a quantitative study would depend very much on the questions asked.

From that point in the continuum the positive family influence disappears, and becomes opposition to the developing ideas of the participant. Responses during both interviews and surveys show that after parents, the next most significant political influences came from workmates and school, mainly in the form of an intra-generational transfer. In some cases this latter influence ran counter to very strongly-held parental political views.

Of significance is the role fulfilled by left-wing bookshops or other publicly known and available premises,[115] especially Progressive Books and, later, Resistance Bookshop, which served as both points of contact and also as organising centres.

Participant input showed little evidence of pre-existing resources or experience. Considering the age at which people joined it is not surprising that there was a lack of prior skills. Anna made clear that the newly formed organisation had no physical resources, as did Jack, although Sue said that there was some support from the CPNZ (refer to Chapter 3).

There was no indication from participants that they were influenced by divisions between the two main political parties over involvement in the Vietnam War.

In almost every case participants recounted that their opposition to the war in Vietnam was a spur to becoming involved in political activity. This reflects the view expressed by C. W. King (1956), D. E. Smith (2006) and Evans (1974) in regard to the social causes of dissent and protest, and also Kropotkin's (1902) thesis regarding the law of mutual aid as a fundamental natural instinct. It also reflects McReynolds' (1992) views regarding the Vietnamese struggle.

Only one participant, Allan, had experienced the direct possibility that he may be conscripted for the war. Others had considered it a possibility, especially because, as Bill

[115] Refer to Jo's recollection of visiting the Communist Party office.

recounted, the government had introduced a form of conscription by ballot.[116] Overall, participants expressed opposition to one or more social injustices.

No participants reflected Jasper's (1997) or Jackman's (1979) suggestions that protesters were making a moral stand because they "they could afford to" (Jackman, 1979). In fact, participants' reflections on the 1950s and 1960s period showed very differing views on what Jackman (1979) referred to as "post-war prosperity" (p. 165), as outlined in the previous chapter.

Several participants referred to the overriding nuclear threat which Wilde (as cited in McCarthy, 2015), Lorde (1984) and *The Port Huron Statement* (1964) authors described. Sue had graphic memories of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

As Richard put it:

> The Vietnam War and apartheid were so clearly injustices they couldn't be ignored. And indeed the potential threat of a nuclear war hung over everything.

Chapter 6 explores why the participants felt that becoming engaged in protest activity was appropriate.

[116] In 1961 the Holyoake Government enacted the National Military Service Act, whereby 20-year-olds were required to register and those whose birth dates were drawn in a ballot compelled to take part in military training. It was ceased in 1972 by the Kirk government (Locke, 1992).

Chapter 6 Why protest?

> *There is a time when the operations of the machine become so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies on the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop. (Mario Savio)*[117]

In this chapter I discuss protest – why people thought it appropriate and what was its efficacy. In the main, the literature reviewed below concentrates on the effectiveness of protest. The issue of why people join a protest movement is bound up with earlier literature related to the origins of the movements and the impetus for people to become involved.

Giugni (1998) suggested that protests, expressed through "public demonstrations" have two objectives:

> On the one hand, they press the political authorities for recognition as well as to get their demands met, at least in part. On the other hand, they seek public support and try to sensitize the population to their cause. (p. 379)

D. Flacks (1976) noted that people on the left believe that ordinary people "can and should make history" (p. 265). The confidence that this objective can be achieved "depends on the conscious activity of the masses of ordinary people" (p. 265).

USA

During the 1960s civil rights struggles in the USA, differences emerged between the black student activists and black community leaders (Walker, 1963). The latter had achieved higher social status and considered that they could "speak directly to the top white leaders in the city" (Walker, 1963, p. 116). They were afraid to take part in protests because doing so may have threatened their social positions. However, one admitted the important role of the protests later, saying they brought "more integration in less than two years than we gained in ten" (Walker, 1963, p. 117).

In his study of the Auckland anti-Vietnam War movement, Jackman (1979) reflected this activity of "ordinary people", describing protest movements as "very much 'do it yourself' politics" (p. ii).

[117] Savio, a working-class mathematics student, made this comment in a speech at the University of California, Berkeley during a free speech rally in December 1964 (Buzzanco, 1999, p. 161).

A considerable amount of literature discusses the success or otherwise of the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g. K. Clements, 1988; Gamson, 1990; McAdam, 1989; Rabel, 2005; Sherkat & Blocker, 1994).

In this study, I have taken a broader approach to the issue of success than Gamson (1990), who measured it in terms of direct outcomes. In Gamson's (1990) study, successful outcomes were considered in two clusters – the fate of the challenging group and the "advantages" gained as an outcome of the challenge (i.e., did the group achieve its goal?). I have looked more widely at the social and on-going impact of protest activities.

For some writers, the measure of success is whether protest activities receive media publicity (Kenix, 2008). For others, the issue is whether the targets of protests, generally the politicians, respond positively to protest demands. Sherkat and Blocker (1994) argued that if the authorities are not likely to be influenced by protests then "there is no reason to protest" (p. 837). The difficulty with this approach is that there is no way that people who take part in protest activities can know, at the time, what impact their protests have on those in authority or wider society.

USA President Nixon declared that he never took any notice of the anti-Vietnam War protests,[118] but behind the scenes he, like President Johnson before him, was deeply affected (Karnow, 1997). Karnow observed that, as the Paris peace talks carried on, Kissinger and Nixon "lacked room to manoeuvre in late 1970" (p. 642). He added that "domestic dissent, again bubbling, threatened to boil over unless they ended the war" (Karnow, 1997, p. 642).

M. K. Hall (1992) pointed out that, despite the public denials, protests against the war influenced both Johnson and Nixon who "remained concerned enough about the potential impact of dissent to go to great lengths to undermine the credibility of the protest movement" (p. 51). Additionally, "these efforts contributed to the fall from power of each" and probably "limited military operations for prosecuting the war and restrained further escalations" (Hall, 1992, p. 51).

Former USA Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff during the Nixon administration, Admiral Thomas Moorer, later acknowledged that the protests did have an influence on the conduct of the war. Moorer said that "the reaction of the noisy radical groups was

[118] Karnow (1997) recorded that, in response to the first Vietnam Moratorium in late 1969, Nixon said "under no circumstances will I be affected" (p. 614). He told an aide to spin the story that it was "business as usual" for his administration (Karnow, 1997, p. 614).

considered all the time. And it served to inhibit and restrain the decision makers" (Wells, 1994, p. 579).

President Johnson agonised over the reaction to his escalation of military action against Vietnam. A graphic illustration of Johnson's fear of the movement was his volatile response in late 1966 to the proposal from the military that by destroying the two major North Vietnamese cities, Hanoi and Haiphong, the USA military would save lives because it would end the war sooner (Halberstam, 1993). The proposal from the Pentagon's "bright young men" was backed up by computer modelling of the human cost of an invasion.

After listening to their detailed explanation, Johnson responded:

> I have one more problem for your computer - will you feed into it how long it will take five hundred thousand angry Americans to climb that White House wall out there and lynch their President if he does something like that? (Halberstam, 1993, p. 641).

USA writer and activist Mike Marqusee (2012) recalled feeling depressed as he went home from the huge moratorium march on the White House in 1969. As a 16-year-old he was despondent that the people in power were taking no notice of the protests. Many years later he learned:

> The US government was threatening, and indeed actively planning, a nuclear strike against North Vietnam. In his memoirs, Nixon admitted that the key factor in the decision not to proceed with the nuclear option was that 'after all the protests and the Moratorium, American public opinion would be seriously divided by any military escalation of the war'. What would have been the world's second nuclear war was averted by our action, though we couldn't have known it at the time.
>
> It's hard to think of a day better spent in the course of a lifetime. (Marqusee, 2012, p. 2)

The planned assault on North Vietnam, code named Operation Duck Hook, was to be announced as an ultimatum to North Vietnam in Nixon's November 1969 speech. Nixon wrote later that the only way his ultimatum to the North would have succeeded was to convince them that he "could depend on solid support at home if they decided to call my bluff" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 259). "However the chances I would have that support were becoming increasingly slim [given] signs of a new level of intensity in the anti-war movement" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 259).

Kissinger said later that the "military option was rejected" (Dallek, 2007, p. 163). One reason he gave for this change of plan was that "we did not think we could sustain public support for the length of time required" (Dallek, 2007, p. 163).

A. Personal toll

The protests also took a personal toll on many of the war's chief architects in the USA. Towards the end of Johnson's tenure as president "people no longer believed him", wrote Johansson (2017, p. 18). Furthermore, "the president of the United States could barely give a speech outside of a military base" (Johansson, 2017, p. 18).

Defence Secretary Robert McNamara's son, David, became opposed to the war while at high school and went on to be an active participant in the peace movement at Stanford University, as was Susan Haldeman, daughter of Nixon aide H. R. Haldeman (Wells, 1994). Julie Nixon asked her father, the president, not to attend her graduation because she did not want the occasion marred by protests. "I truly think the day would be a disaster if he comes", she told Nixon aide John Ehrlichman; "The temper up here is ugly" (Wells, 1994, p. 406). Nixon asked Haldeman to schedule an overseas trip to coincide with the graduation so that his absence from his daughter's graduation was not questioned (Wells, 1994).

Nixon (1986) wrote later that, during his earlier vice-presidency, he enjoyed visits to college campuses, but during his presidency he was unable to visit campuses because of the "security problems" (p. 162).

During the moratorium referred to by Marqusee (above), William Watts, an assistant of Kissinger, was working on the forthcoming ultimatum announcement. Taking a break, he walked out on the White House lawn and saw his wife and children going past in the march. "I felt like throwing up," he said later. "[I]t was painful to be on the other side of the fence" (Wells, 1994, p. 373).

Ironically, while Nixon publicly downplayed the effects of the anti-war movement, he also blamed the movement for prolonging the war because it allegedly encouraged the Vietnamese to keep fighting (Garfinkle, 1995; Nixon, 1978).

B. Vietnamese view

While it is true that North Vietnamese leaders frequently referred to the international protests around the world as the "second front",[119] their determination to fight for independence was far from dictated by the protest movements. In 1966 DRV[120] Prime Minister Pham Van Dong told Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett that "there's nothing else in our history except struggle. Struggle against foreign invaders, always more powerful than ourselves; struggle against nature – and we've had nowhere else to go, we've had to fight things out where we were" (Maclear, 1981, p. 331).

In 1968 North Vietnamese military commander Vo Nguyen Giap told a journalist from the USA: "We won a military victory over the French, and we'll win it over the Americans, too". He added that "The Americans will lose the war on the day when their military might is at its maximum and the great machine they have put together can't move any more" (Ali, 2018, p. 248).

Aotearoa New Zealand experience

The direct impact of protests in Aotearoa New Zealand has not been so well researched and recorded. The Holyoake Government never admitted to having been influenced by the increasing demonstrations (Jackman, 1979). Jackman (1979) suggested that "to appear influenced would be admitting error which governments are loathe to do" (p. 132).

It is documented that Prime Minister Holyoake was reluctant to send troops to Vietnam (Rabel, 2005). The USA, on the other hand, was keen to have a "show of other flags" and was conscious that participation of "democracies" like Australia and NZ could be used to counter internal dissent. USA presidential envoy Henry Cabot Lodge told the NZ Cabinet in 1965 that the impact of participation of NZ troops in Vietnam would be "out of proportion to the numbers involved" and "its value would be psychological or symbolic" (Rabel, 2005, p. 93).

While the reasons for Holyoake's personal reluctance have not been recorded, his responses to the Johnson administration's requests for increased troop commitments were qualified by issues of NZ's limited military capacity, the troop commitment to Malaysia

[119] Prominent UK activist Tariq Ali, who was among a delegation of UK activists which visited North Vietnam in 1967, recounted Prime Minister Pham van Dong stressing to them that if the USA could be isolated globally it would shorten the war. "Your struggle is very important to us. It is our second front. Everything helps," Dong said (Ali, 2018, p. 178).

[120] Democratic Republic of Vietnam – the official name for what was commonly referred to as North Vietnam.

and fiscal restraints. In 1968, he added "of equal, perhaps greater, significance" were domestic political considerations (Rabel, 2005, p. 214).

As early as 1966 Holyoake was privately expressing concern about domestic attitudes towards the war. In a letter to Johnson in July 1996, Holyoake raised the "difficulty in guiding public opinion" during the upcoming election period if the USA made a major escalation of the war (Rabel, 2005, p. 151). In late 1967 he ruled out NZ Air Force bomber crews being sent to participate in the war because of the controversy associated with the USA bombing campaign (Rabel, 2005).

Capon (1996) noted that the NZ Government had been "politically sensitive to public uneasiness about the war, and to the vociferous objections of minority but outspoken segments of the population" (p. 471).

Success or failure?

The "success" or "failure" view of protest activities frequently attempts to fit protest in a capitalist business paradigm (Marqusee, 2012). From this business viewpoint, "the investment is of value only to the extent it yields measurable gains. If it doesn't it's a failure, dead capital" (Marqusee, 2012, p. 2).

> Our risk has to be taken in defiance of the odds, recognising the likelihood that there will be no reward. At the same time, we take the risk only because of the nature of the reward we seek: a precious step towards a just society.... We aim and need to succeed because the consequences of failure are real and widely felt. (Marqusee, 2012, p. 3)

Marqusee (2012) added:

> There are worse things than failure. You can learn more from a failure than from a success – if you recognise it as such. But if the only lesson you draw from failure is never to risk failure again, you've learned nothing at all. (p. 3)

Protesters are optimistic that they can effect change, but they are also deeply committed to the cause they are upholding (Keniston, 1967).

A. Commitment and community

Wells (1994) found that former activists valued "the sense of community that movement life offered" adding that it was "invigorating" (p. 163). "It contrasted starkly with the loneliness often experienced in everyday life" (p. 163). Most importantly, wrote Wells (1994), "many protesters persisted because their moral principles would allow nothing else" (p. 163).

Christian pacifist Harvey Cox spoke about the "fantastic feeling of fellowship and camaraderie and being together in a worthwhile struggle that had a real spiritual dimension to it" (M. K. Hall, 1992, p. 52).

Women Strike for Peace (WSP) activist Alice Humberg commented that "It was like breathing, or like feeding your children. We didn't think that there was any alternative" (M. K. Hall, 1992, p. 52).

Prominent USA student activist (and member of the CPUSA) Bettina Aptheker said she never looked at her involvement in terms of efficacy. "I thought you protested something because it was wrong. Even if nobody listened ... I just kept doing it because the war was wrong" (M. K. Hall, 1992, p. 52).

A similar sentiment was expressed by two sailors from a visiting USA warship who joined a protest outside Wellington wharf gates on 23 November 1970. Even though they wore civilian clothes[121] the sailors told protest organisers that they expected a "backlash" from their joining the anti-war protest, but they "just had to do something" ("Visit of the USS 'Shangri La' to Wellington," 1971, p. 2).

Jackman (1979) described the act of protest as transforming the individual from being an observer to being a "participant in the political process" (p. ii). The consequence of this is "a dramatic reduction in the sense of powerlessness as an individual in the face of an industrial urban society" (Jackman, 1979, p. ii).

Jackman (1979) added that the "throwing off of that false [emphasis in original] sense of powerlessness is thus a liberation, a reassertion of humanity and sanity" (p. ii).

B. A feeling of strength

Australian activist Bernie Taft described the feeling on the first moratorium march in Melbourne, in 1970, attended by 70,000 to 100,000 people.

> There was a feeling that an enormous mass of human beings had united for a purpose and that purpose electrified the air. There was a feeling that the people had taken over. I remember that feeling vividly. There was an enormous feeling of strength.
>
> Everyone you talked to that felt that spirit. There was a feeling that this is our city, it belongs to us. It belongs to the ordinary people. I had never felt that before. (Interview in Langley, 1992, p. 137)

[121] USA military regulations banned personnel from taking part in political activities whilst wearing uniform ("Visit of the USS 'Shangri La' to Wellington," 1971).

Margaret Frazer, a long-time Australian peace activist, said that "the Moratorium was like all our Christmases had come on one day" (Langley, 1992, p. 141).

Langley (1992) described the anti-Vietnam War campaign as a catalyst for bringing changes to the "Australian way of life", "one of the most dramatic" being a change in "attitudes to war" (p. x). He quoted prominent war opponent Jim Cairns as saying in 1980:

> Within Australia the war in Vietnam caused and reflected a change in attitude of people towards war. Before "we" had always been right, and "they", whoever they were, had always been wrong. War, after Vietnam, may never in Australia be as it was before – something almost sacred and always honourable. (Langley, 1992, p. xii)

After the anti-Vietnam War campaign in Australia ended, peace activism turned to issues such as uranium mining, nuclear weapons, opposition to Australia's commitment to the USA nuclear strategy and many others. Saunders and Summy (1986) considered that in the 1980s the peace movement in Australia was "larger – if not as intense – than it was during the peak years of opposition to the Vietnam War" (p. 46). The authors concluded that:

> The peace movement's success should not be measured by the degree to which it has achieved its external aims but by the effects its experiences have had on the movement's development and its members' lives. The scale of the movement in almost every dimension has gradually expanded since the sporadic and individual protests of the late nineteenth century. Despite the troughs and peaks of growth, the trend has been upward. (Saunders & Summy, 1986, p. 72)

Historian and activist Howard Zinn (2004) emphasised the wider approach to success:

> Even when we don't "win", there is fun and fulfilment in the fact that we have been involved, with other good people, in something worthwhile. We need hope. (p. 2)

C. USA military dissent

Some interpret the fact that the anti-Vietnam War movements did not stop the war as a failure (Garfinkle, 1995). However, the protest movement did restrict the scope of military action taken by both the Johnson and Nixon administrations as outlined above. Furthermore, the spill-over from civil protest to defiance by USA military personnel (and in some case actions that would ordinarily been considered mutinous) meant that the USA military was seriously affected and morale was low (Karnow, 1997). Karnow (1997) wrote that the USA High Command in Saigon estimated that 65,000 USA troops were on drugs in 1970.

The USA Defence Department estimated the number of underground GI anti-war papers had reached 245 by March 1972 (T. H. Anderson, 1992). In 1967 there had only been three. Some of these publications had circulations of 5,000 copies. These provided a vehicle for servicemen to express their views about the war and the military (T. H. Anderson, 1992).

In 1970 alone there were more than two hundred cases of "fragging", a term used to describe fragmentation grenade attacks by troops on their officers (T. H. Anderson, 1992). Officers found that they had to negotiate their orders with the troops (DeBenedetti & Chatfield, 1990).

Anderson (1992) wrote that after a futile battle, with heavy casualties, to capture a hill near the Laotian border which they then abandoned, dissident soldiers offered a $10,000 bounty on the life of the colonel who ordered the attack. "Numerous soldiers attempted to take the colonel's life before he was shipped back to the USA" (T. H. Anderson, 1992, pp. 102-103).

In April 1968, 50 USA soldiers refused to patrol a dangerous area near the demilitarised zone. Among their declarations, they shouted: "Why are we fighting for something we don't believe in?" (DeBenedetti & Chatfield, 1990, p. 328).

There were also incidents of sabotage and mutiny in the USA Navy (Wells, 1994). On one aircraft carrier there was a fire in the admiral's quarters which badly damaged the ship's radar. On another, a sailor put bolts and a paint scraper into the gears on one engine, badly damaging them. In 1972 black sailors on the *US Constellation* held a sit-down strike, causing the ship to return to port to drop the sailors off. Several days later 144 sailors refused to re-board the ship (Wells, 1994).

Dallek (2007) wrote that "by 1970-1, the US military in Vietnam was badly demoralised. All ranks suffered from the belief that they were fighting for a lost cause" (p. 253).

General Giap's predictions about the USA's "great machine" were proving correct.

Participant comments

When asked why they had thought protest was appropriate, participants' comments reflected the themes of much of the literature. Many said that they had to do something, and there were no alternatives.

Adrian

I couldn't honestly think of any other useful way of trying to influence what was happening.

Allan

I was young, but I've always thought that you have to do something.

Chris

I saw demonstrating as the only way we could show the rest of the world that there was opposition to the war and there was opposition to apartheid. I saw demonstrating against things in the street as a way of showing the government that we disagreed with them.

Karen

Once you saw the injustice of something there was just this feeling that "if we just get out and protest it will change. It's so obviously wrong and people just need to know about it. And we need to not tolerate it." It was just the normal thing to do.

Cliff

I wanted the Americans and the Kiwis out of there, so demonstrations and protest were the only way to bring that to the general conscience.

Peter

There didn't seem to be any other way. I think it was appropriate in terms of the objective – stopping the war.

John

The whole thing about the protest movement was to publicise stuff that was not being told by the press and to raise people's consciousness. The demonstrations and protest were something that had to go along with the education.

Some participants also identified the international aspect of the protests

Bill

> Everything else was failing [laughter]. There was general frustration that there was a whole lot of bullshit going on and nobody would do anything. The only way to do it was take to the streets, which had happened overseas.

Jack

> Well, I'd never heard of protest action [Laughter] until I saw some of the oldies getting around and doing it. Oh yes, I had, because I had seen it in the newspapers with the French. There were demos all over the world and then there were those bloody horrible photos of the Americans bombing, napalming kids and villages and such. The whole situation dragged me in. Being young I wanted to get involved.

Mary

> I couldn't see any other way. Everyone was doing it. You saw all these protest demonstrations overseas. It was the only way you could make your views heard.

Anna also emphasised the social community aspect of protests

Anna

> I knew from the many stories and songs that people had protested throughout time and the role women played within in those organisations, groups such as the partisans or the women in the United States, or the women in NZ protesting for better conditions, particularly for the seamstresses and the women's vote.
>
> The other thing that really attracted me was the action, to do things not just to talk. I was a very energetic and enthusiastic, idealistic person and meeting other idealistic energetic and committed people was very attractive to me.

She also had confidence that protest could be effective.

> My mother came from what she would describe as a middle-class family. They definitely had their hands on the levers of power and expected, and knew, that if some complaint or protest was made, that those in power should take notice of it. So I assumed that if people were to be informed

about what was going on in Vietnam and protest was to happen, that the government would take notice.

Ben

Because it was working really. America was really feeling the heat over the Vietnam War. It was just a massive world-wide event and so it was patently clear that peoples' action was effective.

Jo

It felt right for me. It felt good. I felt I was standing up for what I believed.

It was fun. I really liked the people and it was a bit rebellious and that was exactly what I needed. It was just a whole wonderful new life for me.

Steve

It was a way of punching above our weight. If we were demonstrating in Queen Street we were obvious. People could look and either love or hate us, but it gave a focal point. In everyone's imagination PYM was a hell a lot bigger than it actually was. We were conscious of that.

Sue

I was very influenced in those days by the heroic vision in all the stories about the revolutionaries in Russia, and in China and Cuba. Instead of just sitting back and being victims we could actually do something.

But it was exciting and it was a feeling of actually being able to create a better world for our children and just a better future.

Survey participants

Based on the interview comments, survey participants were invited to identify with any or all of the following points. As mentioned earlier, participants were able to identify with more than one point.

Table 6

Why protest?

There weren't any other avenues the ordinary citizen could take to show their feelings about those things.	**4**
Demonstrations and protest were the only way to bring opposition to the war to the general conscience.	**7**
It felt good. I felt I was standing up for what I believed.	**4**
It was "a way of punching above our weight". It gave a focal point and the PYM in everyone's imagination was a hell of a lot bigger than it actually was.	**5**
Because it was working. America was really feeling the heat over the Vietnam War.	**2**

Participants added the following reflections:

Danny

> We (teenagers) were part of a global movement. Not only political, but pervading contemporary popular music (as evidenced later in the *Mash* TV programmes).

Richard

> It did feel good. Standing for what one believed and being a part of something I considered important helped me and also I genuinely hoped it would help others wherever there was oppression. I felt that the protests, even when they seemed to have a small effect, would still transmit the message.

Susan-Jane

> Group protest actions gain attention and more support. Protest action is winning action.

Discussion

Participant contributions reflect the confidence and optimism shown in the literature reviewed and the feeling that there were terrible injustices happening and something had to be done. In Bill's words "there was general frustration that there was a whole lot of

bullshit going on and nobody would do anything." Peter added that "there didn't seem to be any other way".

Participants' contributions show a feeling of community and a satisfaction in "standing for what one believed and being a part of something I considered important" (Richard). Comments also mirrored Zinn's (2004) observations about the "fun and fulfilment in the fact that we have been involved, with other good people, in something worthwhile". Anna commented about the attraction of doing things, "not just to talk" and "meeting other idealistic energetic and committed people".

Legacy of the movements

A. USA

The protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s have left a legacy that is far wider than opposition to a single war. Writing about the USA, Buzzanco (1999) commented:

> The war forestalled antipoverty and Civil Rights progress and radicalized movements associated with those issues; it helped bring other movements into existence, like Women's Liberation or the Counterculture; and provoked a backlash that continues to influence American politics and society to this day. (p. 6)

That legacy carries on in the cultural field as well. Protest songs like *Universal Soldier*, *Masters of War* and *We Shall Overcome* still have a resonance today. The USA TV series *M.A.S.H*, although set in the Korean War, had a deep anti-war theme that actually reflected the disillusionment of troops in Vietnam referred to above.

Tarrow (1996a) observed that "protest cycles do not simply end and leave nothing but lassitude[122] or repression in their wake" (p. 172). Among the indirect effects of protest cycles cited by Tarrow were "the political socialisation of people who participate in them", the "effects of struggle on political institutions and practices" and "the contribution of protest cycles to changes in political culture" (p. 172).

Former USA President Nixon (1986) denied that the anti-war movement had a "decisive impact on the outcome of the war", but he did acknowledge that it "had a decisive impact on the political battles that have [been] waged ever since" (p. 23).

This observation was emphasised by prominent USA activist of the time, Tom Hayden, who wrote 50 years later that "political worries about drafting and deploying American

[122] Exhaustion, weariness, fatigue or apathy.

troops is one of the peace movement's most powerful and enduring legacies" (Hayden, 2017, p. 22).

Small (2002) acknowledged that the protests in the USA had not stopped the war, but considered that they "served as a major constraint" on the ability of both the Johnson and Nixon administrations to escalate the war. Furthermore, "the movement played a significant role" in Johnson's decision not to stand for re-election in 1968, and also in the Watergate events that "led to Nixon's resignation" (p. 1). He added that: "In many ways the movement's greatest importance was its legacy."

> The unpopularity of the war in Vietnam among draftees and draft-eligible men led Nixon to call for the termination of the Selective Service System and the introduction of an all-volunteer army. Moreover, for a quarter of a century after the end of the war, as American presidents considered their responses to crises in Central America, the Persian Gulf, and the Balkans, they worried about creating another powerful anti-war movement that would oppose the interventions they contemplated. (Small, 2002, p. 1)

B. Aotearoa New Zealand

During the 1960s and 1970s the protest organisations became a magnet for people who were concerned about political and social issues and, in a few instances, even gave rise to spontaneous organisations. A good example of this was the Hastings PYM which suddenly received publicity early in the 1970s.

SIS files report that PYM groups in Hastings and Napier (possibly the same organisation) appeared to have "been formed for social and other youthful activities and probably as an outcome of publicity gained by the movement generally" and that "political motivation is negligible" (Gilbert, 1971, p. 1).

This "negligible" political motivation appears to be contradicted by a letter PYM received from Hawkes Bay[123] (Letter dated 27.10.70, name withheld). The writer stated that "last month at Karamu High School in Hastings, two 6th form girls were told they were not wanted back at school next year because of associations with PYM." They also wrote that the school principal "has a list of students associated with the movement of PYM" and assumed this would be used to write unfavourable testimonials.[124] Apparently there was contact between the Wellington PYM and the Hastings group, as in March 1971 the

[123] I have in my personal files many letters received by PYM mainly from young people around NZ, and a few from overseas. As I do not know the writers or their circumstances I have not named them in my referencing.

[124] The letter (without names) was published in *Rebel*, issue #19. P5.

Wellington PYM was trying to organise a PYM conference in Napier during Queen's Birthday Weekend (June) 1971 to discuss "unity between groups of different centres" (R. Gosling, letter to Auckland PYM dated 4.3.71).[125]

At different times during the early 1970s, PYM received requests from around the country for multiple copies of *Rebel* for distribution and reports of student unrest and sometimes protest at high schools in Nelson, Levin, Waitaki and Palmerston North. A short-lived PYM developed in Palmerston North in 1970, which had links with the Wellington PYM.

A few writers have commented on the size (or lack of it) of the anti-Vietnam War movements, which were all fairly small, and have seen this as a weakness (eg Jackman, 1979). However small the various groups were in terms of membership, as the struggle developed they were able to mobilise hundreds and then thousands of people in activities and it frequently appeared to observers that the groups were far bigger (refer Steve's comments above). An example of this is Coutts and Fitness' (2013) report that "on 16 October 1969, 800 Auckland PYM members" carried out a protest action at the University of Auckland "making national headlines" (p. 137). In fact, there were never anywhere near 800 actual members of Auckland PYM. SIS reports at the time estimated that there was a "loose membership" of "over 200" in 1969 and about 250 in 1971 (Gilbert, 1969h, 1971).[126]

The protest movements in NZ also had a lasting and wide legacy. Former Ambassador to the USA and Secretary of External Affairs, George Laking (1975), wrote that "the experience of the past decade showed that decisions (in the field of foreign policy) can no longer be taken in the expectation that they will not be scrutinised and criticised by the public" (p. 15).

Similarly, NZ historian David Grant observed that "societal attitudes to war and peace began to change" albeit slowly. The stimulus for this was the Vietnam War (Grant, 2008, p. 127).

Rabel (2005) noted that the anti-Vietnam War movement "contributed decisively to the creation of a climate of dissent, and many of its supporters went on to become activists in other protest movements" (Rabel, 2005, p. 361). The period saw the emergence of

[125] The Queen's Birthday conference never took place.

[126] It is interesting to note that in 1974, in an SIS-prepared statement on PYM to be read in parliament by the then acting-Prime Minister in answer to a question by National Party MP George Gair, the PYM membership is stated as "only a dozen or two" (Gilbert, 1974). This statement would have been deliberately made with the public record in mind.

many new organisations campaigning on social issues, including "Māori renaissance" groups such as the Māori Organisation for Human Rights and, later, Nga Tamatoa. Also, the Polynesian Panther Party (PPP), and the Women's Liberation Movement developed at that time (Anae, Iuli, & Tamu, 2015; Dann, 1985).

This is a further illustration of Liu's (2005) observation that "opposition to one form of injustice (e.g. an unpopular war abroad) energised a more broad based support for protest against other forms of injustice" (p. 6).

O. Jones (2011) wrote that the "social ferment amongst young people" in NZ in the early 1970s was a factor in the Kirk Government's establishment of the Ohu Scheme in 1975 (p. 46).[127] Among the components of this ferment was the PYM (Jones, 2011).

Participant comments

In regard to protest efficacy, participants commented as follows:

Danny

> It [PYM] had a positive role in the social and political history of the 1960s – 1970s, although maligned by conservatives of the day. It was a political manifestation of NZ's everlasting pursuit of a 'number-8 wire' mentality.[128] We could do it, we did and we were successful.

Adrian

> I think we had quite an impact. We certainly weren't going to get that by writing to the editor or expressing our views on the immorality of what was happening.

Karen

> I think we had a lot of impact at that time because you'd get thousands out on some of these things.

[127] Although a fierce critic of the "counter culture" climate which included hippy communes, Kirk favoured the Israeli "kibbutzim" communities and promoted the Ohu scheme which made Crown Land available for groups of young people to establish alternative communities which he saw as a way to engage Ohu participants in building the nation and learning the "virtues of a simpler life" (Grant, 2014, p. 341).

[128] No.8 gauge wire was the common agricultural fencing wire of the time. Being fairly heavy gauge it was regarded as something the handy-person could use to fix almost anything and became a slang term for what is often referred to as "Kiwi ingenuity".

John

> They were exciting times. We were taking on the world. Young people had a feeling that we were actually doing something. You felt that you were making a difference.

Ben

> We were massively confident that we could join the whole international movement to stop that war in Vietnam at that time.

Don

> I remember feeling confident that we were part of a growing international movement or consciousness.

Gary

> It taught me to be pro-active in life, not reactive. It made me who I am.

Graham described the period as:

> A very exciting time of upheaval and change throughout the world. Wouldn't have missed it for quids![129]

Richard

> Overall we and the PYM and others were on the right side. We helped, collectively, around the whole world, for radical change in civil rights, eventually for the downfall of apartheid, the failure of the US imperialists to win, and much more enlightenment of issues inside NZ.

Anna

> It [PYM] had a lot of hope for a much improved future. We expected to end testing in the Pacific and NZ did become a nuclear-free country. We expected full employment. We expected to influence the government of the day because we were able to reach out and have the issues that we were concerned about discussed as everyday matters in people's homes and workplaces.

[129] Prior to the change to decimal currency in NZ, "quid" was a very common NZ slang term for one pound sterling. At time of conversion to decimal currency in 1967, one pound became two dollars.

It was an era of anti-authoritarianism which was more that people could take destiny into their own hands.

Rick

Increasing world protest action played a big part in withdrawing NZ and US troops out of Vietnam and Cambodia.

A couple of participants expressed having some doubts later.

Jo

I began to question "is this actually achieving anything? Are we getting anywhere?" However, in the early 1970s the numbers in some of the anti-Vietnam War demonstrations just grew absolutely enormous and I thought "yes, this is worthwhile, we are getting somewhere and eventually someone's going to listen to us."

Sue

The feeling that we could do something, we could have an effect. We could make some changes. We thought that if enough people could put their feet on the street and voices loud enough ... I can't imagine now, knowing more and thinking in a more sophisticated way, how the hell we thought it was going to change anything.

But it did to a certain degree. It made people think. Even if they were against us, it made people think. And the government had to take some notice by the time there were hundreds of thousands of people all over the country protesting.

Bernie was more critical

Looking back on it all, I don't think we did much good. We had an anti-intellectual bias (reflecting Maoism in China) and should have learnt a bit more about ourselves personally, and society as a functioning entity.

Basically, people didn't listen to us after the mid-seventies. Extreme left groups overseas like Red Brigade, Bader Meinhoff, and Provisional IRA discredited the left as a whole.

Discussion

There is substantial evidence in the literature that the protest movements around the Vietnam War had a significant impact on the USA and NZ governments and did have a restraining effect on attempts to enlarge the war. Additionally, the movements have had an effect on events since the 1970s, both in terms of a changed attitude to issues of war and international affairs, but also in the "popularisation" of protest.

The period saw the activation of a wide range of political movements and organisations which coalesced around issues and injustices that been evolving for many years, particularly race and civil rights issues. On top of this, the period gave a broad section of the population the confidence that they could challenge authority and the skills to do this effectively.

Overall, participant comments showed a confidence and satisfaction that the struggle had been both worthwhile and successful. That confidence is also reflected in comments about the personal development of participants which, in some cases, was a life-changing experience.

The next two chapters discuss experiences of being involved in the 1960s and 1970s movements as related by study participants. Chapter 7 examines participant reflections on experiences with the mass media, police and security services.

Chapter 7 Repression

If you are not careful, the media will have you hating the people who are oppressed and loving the people who are doing the oppressing. – Malcolm X

An important issue for people active in the 1960s and 1970s protest movements in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas was state and other forms of suppression. This was strongly reflected in participant contributions when I asked about their memorable experiences of their time in PYM.

Boykoff (2006) identified what he referred to as the "modes of suppression" used against dissidents in the USA. Whilst most of these relate to forms of police or security force actions, also included are the activities of the mass media through the manipulation of reports, deprecation of the movements and underestimation or disregard of their activities (Boykoff, 2006).

The media

Numerous studies have examined the relationships between the mass media and protest actions and movements (e.g. Beamish, Molotch, & Flacks, 1995; Bishop, 2013; Gamson, 1989; Gitlin, 2003; McLeod & Hertog, 1992). Other studies have commented on media coverage in the course of examining wider issues (e.g. M. K. Hall, 2004; B. Jones & O'Donnell, 2010; Jurma, 1982; William A. Watts, 1969). While most of the English language studies have been based in the USA, others have examined the issue in the UK (Thomas, 2008), Australia (R. V. Summy, 1970) and NZ (Kenix, 2008).

The starting point for many of these studies has been the book by former USA prominent SDS activist Todd Gitlin (2003). Gitlin (2003) described the "routine norms of journalism" with regard to protest and mass movements. They "cover the event, not the condition; the conflict, not the consensus; the fact that 'advances the story,' not the one that explains it" (p. 122). He recounted how reports consistently under-counted SDS membership and trivialised the movement. "I worked in a movement and watched it construed as something quite other than what I thought it was" (Gitlin, 2003, p. 17).

Television images or press photographs concentrate on protesters with unusual clothing or unconventional appearance, like unusual hair styles or colour, prominent piercings or tattoos, exploiting the right of participants to personal expression by using the images to marginalise the protest and protest groups as a whole. Protesters are then depicted as anti-social, deviant, or eccentric (Bishop, 2013; Gitlin, 2003).

Val Maxwell, Dunedin COV chairman in 1969 and 1970, recalled later how they would have two marshals count protest numbers and pass the figures on to reporters, but "the press continually underwrote the numbers taking part" (Bell, 1989, p. 35). Another prominent Dunedin COV member, Professor Eric Herd, said "I think it was one way of sort of trying to belittle the Vietnam movement" (Bell, 1989, p. 35). Bell (1989) reported that former COV members felt that their local paper, the *Otago Daily Times*, was "thoroughly biased against them in the coverage of the Vietnam issue" and that the tone of reporting was "a subtle form of depreciating the efforts of the COV" (p. 35).

The media frequently select their own leaders or "spokespeople", looking for the "great leader" who will convey the desired image or a message acceptable to the dominant political ethos. Gitlin (2003) recalled that the media selected people "who most closely matched prefabricated images of what an opposition leader should look and sound like: articulate, theatrical, bombastic, and knowing and inventive in the ways of packaging messages for their mediability" (p. 154).

Alternatively, the media may find a "responsible" spokesperson or organisation, which is then "promoted to position or prominence " and becomes the voice of the wider movement (Gamson, 1989, p. 461). As an example of this, Gamson (1989) detailed events around an early anti-nuclear power protest against the Seabrook nuclear reactor in New Hampshire, USA. During the protest, organised by the Clamshell Alliance in 1977, over 1,400 participants were arrested for occupying the site. The arrested protesters refused to sign bail documents and were held in custody for 12 days, generating a continuing national media event. However, Gamson (1989) wrote that while this publicity succeeded in publicising nuclear power as an issue, "the reasons for protesting were barely touched in the coverage" (p. 461). In subsequent media reporting on the issue, the Clamshell Alliance was ignored and instead the Union of Concerned Scientists became the media's representative of the movement because they "presented all of the proper cues for media credibility" (Gamson, 1989, p. 461).

In the USA, the SDS was portrayed by the media as the leading group of the anti-Vietnam War movement. Zaroulis and Sullivan (1985) commented that "In years to come SDS and the anti-war movement would be thought as synonymous, but they were never that" (p. 27). Far from being the leaders of the movement, SDS "fumbled and lost" when their 1965 convention decided not to organise a nationwide campaign against the military draft, and not to build a nationwide student organisation, but rather leave decisions on political activities up to individual chapters (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 47).

In NZ, the vast majority of the media favoured NZ involvement in Vietnam in 1965. Rabel (2005) recorded that, out of 27 editorial opinions at the time the government announced its decision to send troops to Vietnam, there were only three newspapers which editorially opposed involvement. A further three were "indeterminate". Rabel (1992) also noted that "much newspaper coverage of the anti-war movement was highly critical, with the sensationalist weekly, *NZ Truth*, pushing the 'red smear' to its limits" (pp. 21-22).

Some of the protest coverage was so anti-protest as to be offensive, such as the depictions of protesters by right-wing *NZ Herald* cartoonist Gordon Minhinnick, who frequently drew protesters as scruffy, long haired, bearded, and violent, with angry expressions on their faces (e.g. Minhinnick, 1967, p. 7). A *NZ Herald* editorial following the Ky demonstrations[130] described the protesters as "packs of scruffy adolescents running the streets shouting and brandishing mass-produced placards" ("Light on Vietnam issues," 1967, p. 7). Another *NZ Herald* editorial, published the day after 13 protesters were arrested when police tried to block a peaceful march to the USA Consul's residence in Auckland's Paritai Drive, declared that the protesters had "abused their rights of free citizenship" even though those arrested had not even appeared in court ("Abuse of freedom to protest," 1967, p. 8).

Earlier, in February 1966, a monthly publication called the *National Observer* described protesters against visiting USA Vice-President Humphrey as "misguided youths and their calamitous looking female associates" (cited in Rabel, 2005, p. 183).

Protesters are frequently portrayed as violent when in fact the violence "is almost always first resorted to by the agents of social control" (Melucci, 1996, p. 396). This "violence" framing can become so persuasive that some protest organisers repeatedly proclaim they are organising a "peaceful protest" as if it was in the power of protesters to determine this outcome.

In his thesis on the Auckland Vietnam protest movement, Jackman (1979) characterised the period between 1967 and May 1970 as a time "during which there was considerable violence between the anti-war movement and the police" (p. vii). It has been estimated that "from 1967 to 1970 there were 339 street demonstrations against the Vietnam War"

[130] "Ky demonstrations" refers to protests during the visit to NZ by then South Vietnamese Prime Minister Air Vice-Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky in early 1967. Ky was a French-trained officer who fought for France against his own people. He was on record as describing Hitler as his hero and saying that Vietnam needed "four or five Hitlers" (Horrocks, 1967a).

in NZ[131] (Coutts & Fitness, 2013, p. 136). Just how many of these demonstrations involved violence between protesters and police has never been determined, but I expect that a survey of media reports from the period would show this to be a very small percentage. Meyrick (1984), who drew his data from NZ Police files, listed 75 protests in all police districts between 1969 and 1973. Only at 12 were there any arrests.

This portrayal of protest and violence was not a peculiarly NZ phenomena. DeBenedetti and Chatfield (1990) wrote that, despite negative popular images, violence was rarely used by protesters, especially in the early years. "It was used mostly by right wing activists or police", they observed (p. 396). After 1967 there were more incidents of "violence", DeBenedetti and Chatfield (1990) noted, but in this they and others included attacks on property rather than restricting the definition to physical confrontation.

Some researchers have suggested that media coverage is vital for protest organisations, even "central to the life and death of social movements" (Kenix, 2008, p. 58). Gitlin (2003) claimed that, unless movements received media publicity, the public would not know they existed.

One result of this approach can be attempts to provide what the media apparently want. Kenix (2008) suggested that "it is important that media serve to create public awareness, confer status on a movement, recruit new members and offer psychological support to members of the movement" (p. 60). She showed a series of images to four groups of media studies students (24 participants in total in three major NZ cities). Participants favoured "carnival images" over mass marches. The former seemingly created an atmosphere of seriousness and were "more professional" whereas mass marchers were "flippant" and "trivial" (p. 68). A man walking away from a line of riot police was either "really defiant" or "cowardly" and a lone protester or very small groups were "lunatic" (pp. 69-70). Appearing "professional" in media photos seemed to be a major issue for this cohort of participants, all of whom said after the study that they "would be unlikely to participate in protest in the future" (Kenix, 2008, p. 73).

Thomas (2008) described British media reporting of protests as often being "highly partisan and disparaging in nature, reflecting concerns over declining moral standards and threats to law and order, anxiety about the future of parliamentary democracies, or cold

[131] It is very likely this figure may be higher because it is not clear whether it included small poster parades (small processions of placard bearing protesters usually restricted to footpaths) and regional actions.

war fears of communist infiltration" (p. 355). In an earlier study, Thomas (2002) wrote that news media often claimed student protest was stirred up by foreign students.

> They failed to perceive the possibility that protesters could be protesting about issues that were important to them. They were patronizing toward participants, were not based upon research, and were often contradictory. They failed to provide any clear understanding of the issues involved, or of the origins of the protests ..... (Thomas, 2002, p. 281)

Thomas (2002) added that "in almost every country affected, the press blamed foreign agitators, or copying the example of protests abroad" (p. 296). Describing this as a "circular theory", he asked "if foreign students were being blamed in almost every country, then where did the protests start and who started them?" (Thomas, 2002, p. 296).

The Australian media joined politicians in making inflammatory statements in 1970 when Labour MP Dr. J. F. Cairns, who was also chairman of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in Melbourne, called on students and workers "to occupy the streets of Melbourne" during the 8 May moratorium protest. The Minister for Labour and National Service, Snedden, described Cairns' statement as "an invitation to anarchy". Snedden later called moratorium supporters "political pack-raping bikies" and Prime Minister Gorton called them Stormtroopers[132] (Cairns, 1970, p. 9). The *Melbourne Age* described the moratorium as a "dangerous protest" and described Dr. Cairns' belief that the protest would be non-violent as "naïve in the extreme" (Cairns, 1970, p. 101). The *Melbourne Herald* described the moratorium plans as "dangerous tactics" which "must be repudiated" (Cairns, 1970, p. 102).

On 8 May over 70,000 people joined the Melbourne moratorium, a "far larger crowd than had ever supported any political cause" (Cairns, 1970, p. 9). The police "did not confront" the protesters, and when the huge crowd sat down in Bourke Street[133] the police "did not interfere" (Cairns, 1970, p. 14). Contrary to the hysterical predictions of politicians and the press, there was no violence and no disorder.

The vast majority of protest activities are ignored by the mass media (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996). The size of a demonstration has been found to be a factor along with whether the protest fits within the media "attention cycle" when the object of protest is in the media's focus. McCarthy et al. refer to this as "being in the right place at the right

[132] In this statement "Stormtroopers" refers to the German Nazi organisation by that name. Ironically, Cairns (1970) included a photo of a small counter-demonstration, in which one participant held a pro-war placard that featured a swastika, as did an armband worn by another member of the group (p. 10).
[133] Bourke Street is one of the main streets in Melbourne's central business district.

time" (p. 493). Their study analysed media coverage of protests which had taken place in the USA capital, Washington DC, during the years 1982 and 1991. They found that of the 1,209 protests in 1982, 158 (13%) were reported in the media. In 1992 there were 1,856 protests and 133 reported (7.1%). Coverage was directly correlated with protest size (McCarthy et al. 1996).

Reporters will frequently focus on events or issues that other media have covered (Seguin, 2016) and an organisation which receives widespread attention may become the story within itself, attracting media coverage for even the mildest events or focussed on leading individuals. Seguin (2016) examined the meteoric rise in publicity around the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the USA from 1968 and into the 1970s as an example of this media focus.

At the same time, some of the USA mass media took a more direct role in the opposition to dissent. Boykoff (2006) described how the police and FBI in the USA used sympathetic reporters to publicise false rumours about BPP members and supporters. The media were also used to generate a climate of fear and hostility which gave some justification for the police murders of leading BPP members (Boykoff, 2006).

In NZ, media coverage of PYM also created an alarmist attitude in the minds of some influential people. In one instance S. O. Field, Commissioner of the NZ Boy Scouts Association, declared that joining the Scouts decreased the chances of youths becoming extremists. If they did not join his organisation, he warned that: "They will peel off into the milk-bar cowboys, or Stormtroopers.[134] They could go to excess by joining the Progressive Youth Movement" ("Extremists," 1970, p. 5).

There are times when governments directly influence media reporting. In the 1960s the NZ Government pressured the state-owned broadcast media to limit coverage of anti-Vietnam War protest movements (Rabel, 2005). In 1968 the NZ Broadcasting Corporation tried to cancel a planned radio talk by Professor E. Herd, a critic of the government's policy on Vietnam. Herd was finally allowed to speak on condition that a government spokesperson spoke after him (Rabel, 2005). From 1965 until the war's end the government Tourist and Publicity Department was used to monitor media reporting and commentary on the war. It was also charged with devising an "information programme to help persuade the public of the need for military involvement" (Rabel,

[134] The "Stormtroopers" referred to by Field were a youth gang based in South Auckland and had no connection with the philosophies of Hitler's Stormtroopers nor Nazi allegiances.

2005, p. 158). Government manipulation of "information" in this way has more recently been refined so as to make media spin "a central component of wartime operations" (Cherkaoui, 2017, p. 21). The resulting "media warfare", which has become more systematised by USA military chiefs since the Vietnam War, is designed to not only deceive an enemy and undermine their morale, but also to convince "all participants in a war that victory is inevitable" (Cherkaoui, 2017, p. 22).

On rare occasions, the experiences of a particular journalist may lead to reporting which is contrary to the norm. This occurred after the police attack on seated protesters at 11.45pm on the Friday night of the protests against USA Vice-President Spiro Agnew in Auckland. On the front page of the *NZ Herald* the following morning was a front page article headed "Police Wade Into Crowd" with a graphic account of the incident by the reporter who was on the scene ("Police wade into crowd," 1970).

Bell (1989) reported that a friendly reporter at the *Otago Daily Times* would advise the Dunedin COV of the best times to submit their press statements, based on which sub-editor was on duty. This helped to get some of the COV's statements printed.

As with many organisations which gain a higher public profile, PYM received much exaggerated press coverage. For example during the 1969 election campaign Gordon Cruden, National Party candidate for Palmerston North, claimed that PYM members had booked into two city hotels in order to protest at Prime Minister Holyoake's election meeting in the city. Police responded that they had checked the allegation and found there was no evidence to support it ("Demonstrations by activists "deplorable"," 1969).

As a consequence of this negative framing, movement participants often regard the mass media as "the enemy" or as agents of the enemy (R. V. Summy, 1970, p. 151). As an alternative to viewing the media as part of the power oligarchy, Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien (1995) argued that the mass media role was more in the nature of guard dog for those in power.

Unlike the "lap dog" perception, which sees the media as faithful servants of authority, the guard dog role is to reflect the interests of the "dominant groups and the system" (Donohue et al., 1995, p. 118). Thus they do not challenge the dominant power structures unless there is conflict within those structures (Donohue et al., 1995). At such a time, for example when there was division in USA ruling circles with regard to the Vietnam War or the Watergate scandal, the guard dogs will enter the fray in order to protect the interests of the system as a whole.

The media are seen as a "means by which the power oligarchy is maintained" (Donohue et al., 1995, p. 122). Their role is to raise the alarm during disputes or at times of external threats. As part of that role they guard against intruders, like those protesting against government policies or the interests of the corporate elite.

There is a danger that the media also begin to effectively guide protest tactics. Protest organisers can find themselves organising "ever more extravagant and dramatic actions – regardless of their contribution to the challengers' goals" (Gamson, 1989, p. 465). Gamson (1989) contrasted this media oriented protest to what he called "successful challengers" who did not confine themselves to this media script but "kept their eyes on the prize, not the camera" (p. 465).

(McCarthy et al. 1996) suggest that it is beyond the control of protest groups to determine whether they will be reported by the mass media, "unless they are capable of generating mass participation in demonstrations" (p. 495).

In the long term this dilemma for protest organisations may be overcome, at least partly, by the rapidly developing social media, which can increase the communicative ability of protest organisations and facilitate the dissemination of information (Bromberg, 2013). However, this is not without its dangers.

> The internet is effective for distributing information about a cause, and may also serve to strengthen existing social ties between supporters. However, in addition to that in the digital space, collective action in the physical space is still presently necessary to create social change in the real world. (Bromberg, 2013, p. 84)

Participant comments

Anna

> Sometimes we would go to the *Herald* or the *Star*, to protest at the biased coverage or no coverage at all. We might have 2,000 people on a Friday night walking down Queen Street and there would be nothing in the papers.

Sue

> I've continued to be skeptical about the press, about what you are fed in the media. It taught me to think rather than to just accept.

Sue recalled having been interviewed by *NZ Truth* newspaper and described the printed article as totally inaccurate.

> They'd take half a sentence I'd said and then they'd marry it up with another sentence somewhere else. I couldn't say I hadn't said those words but I hadn't said them in juxtaposition.

Discussion

The guard dog concept gives a framework that helps explain the media bias described by Gitlin (2003) and others, including Anna and Sue above, and the comments in the previous chapter where participants explained why they had thought protest action was appropriate. The concept portrays the media as self-acting, with their own ideological and political direction, and attuned to the interests that they are upholding, rather than as spokespersons or agents of particular politicians or corporate interests.

The "media warfare" approach is another important factor for protest groups to consider. More recent events around the two USA led wars against Iraq showed just how important the war makers regard the deception of domestic populations.

If the mass media are perceived within this framework then the challenge for protest groups is how to carry out effective actions in pursuit of their goals, within and regardless of the mass media framing and without becoming diverted into showcase actions or circuses.

Police

While the media can serve to marginalise and discredit protest movements, the authorities have the sole apparatus of "coercive power" to counter challenging groups (Khawaja, 1993, p. 49). Piven and Cloward (1979) observed that when states are faced with significant dissent, they have three choices. They can ignore the dissenters. Secondly, they can cooperate to some degree with the dissenters and try to co-opt them. Thirdly, they choose to "suppress the dissent" (p. 27).

Boykoff (2006) noted that these options are not mutually exclusive and that "suppression and co-optation can occur simultaneously" (p. 301). "Domestic dissent that challenges the power of existing authorities, affects central institutions, or exhibits innovative forms of protest is almost always met with efforts to suppress it" (Boykoff, 2006, p. 301).

Piven and Cloward (1979) observed that, in all societies, "power is rooted in control of the coercive force and in the control of the means of production" (p. 2). Whilst in earlier or less-developed societies this power is legitimised by "rendering the power divine", in modern capitalist societies its existence is "obscured" (Piven & Cloward, 1979, p. 2).

Consequently, the means and extent of coercion can vary from country to country and event to event. In NZ during the 1981 Springbok Tour, the state forces showed the extent to which they were prepared to go to ensure the continuation of a rugby tour by a racially selected South African team (Newnham, 1981).

There are conflicting opinions on the role of the police among protest organisations. One stream regards the police as an independent public service agency, responsible for doing their job without political interference or direction (Stenning, 2004). Under this paradigm the police protect the right to protest as well as enforcing the law (Stenning, 2004). The other stream views the police as there to "maintain the status quo" willing enforcement agents of the institutions to whom the protest is opposed and out to limit the effectiveness of any protest by whatever means necessary (Jackman, 1979; PYM, n.d.).

There are also variations of opinion which sit between these two alternatives; however the evidence from literature and my own research indicates that the latter viewpoint is the more accurate.

Perhaps one of the best analyses of the ideological moulding and culture in the NZ Police was written by former Police Inspector Ross Meurant (2011). In an article in *North and South* magazine titled "When the good guys are the bad guys", Meurant (2011) outlined the development of a "them and us" mentality in new police recruits:

> The moment you become part of the police you are immersed in a culture that sees its role as guiding society and deciding what is right and what is wrong. You feel you have an obligation – yes, even a duty – to guide your country towards being a decent society. Your task is honourable. (p. 42)

Meurant (2011) noted that "it doesn't take long to come to believe that the ends justify the means."

> Police culture is introverted and self-protecting. It is mostly working class – conservative in its origins and mostly bigoted and intolerant. It is a culture which looks after itself...
>
> If someone has tattoos or hair too long or dresses the 'wrong' way or does not have acceptable politics, then they are one of 'them' and not to be trusted. Liberals are a menace to stability and are even more dangerous than unemployed Māori. (p. 42)

A graphic example of the police culture was displayed by former Police Superintendent F. Le Fort in 1970. Speaking to graduating police recruits at their passing out ceremony on 27 April, Le Fort warned "you as constables must go out and stand in 'No-man's Land' where you will meet all sorts of splinter groups, rabble and communists, who will attempt

to weaken your structure and demoralise you" (Evening Post, 1970, 28.4.70, as cited in "Facts of life," 1970, p. 4).

Another former police officer, Michael Meyrick, described the police as "acting as agents for government policy" (Meyrick, 1984, p. 112).[135]

Before the advent of the police Whanganui Computer in 1975, police kept manual records on file, which included details of people charged with a criminal offence. Data for this file was prepared on a Supplementary Criminal Offence Report (SCOR) by an arresting officer. Police General Instruction C215 required that "full particulars" were to be recorded so that "a full dossier on the offender may be prepared" ("What is kept on police records now?," 1975, pp. 4-5).

An insight into the police attitude to protesters was provided in a SCOR supplied to the defence lawyer for a PYM member arrested in a protest sit-in. The report began "[Surname] is a complete idiot with the way-out philosophy of many of his generation." The writer continued "I suspect he is involved in the taking of narcotics but he is easily interviewed with a strong approach" ("What is kept on police records now?," 1975, p. 5). The report went on to record personal details of the PYM member's parents and sister, including their employment details.

Another SCOR of a PYM member included a list of defence witnesses and associates of the person, including fellow PYM members. Alongside each name was a one-word characterisation of the person, being either "communistic" or "antagonistic" ("What is kept on police records now?," 1975).

Following the police violence at the 1967 Auckland Ky demonstrations, the Auckland Socialist Forum (1967) published a pamphlet which contained statements by several participants, including Steve Hieatt. Hieatt described being taken into a garage, out of sight of the protest.

> I was punched, my arms were twisted, and my head banged on the concrete floor of the garage where I was taken. I felt I was being kicked in the private parts. Then there must have been a period of insensibility. (Auckland Socialist Forum, 1967, p. 8)

[135] Meyrick was a serving police officer at the time he completed his MA thesis on "*Police and Protest*". He had access to numerous police files on protest events, some of which have apparently since disappeared. One of these was Auckland Central file 11/10 – Progressive Youth Movement [PYM] – and was held at Auckland Central Police Station.

He did not recall being taken to Auckland Central Police station first. "The first thing I do remember is someone at the Auckland Hospital Casualty Department asking who I was" (Auckland Socialist Forum, 1967, p. 8).

An account by Tim Shadbolt, another protester who was arrested, verified what Hieatt had said:

> Five men dragged, thumped, kneed, and threw me up Swanson Street East, then they twisted my arms behind my back, and even though I went willingly, continual pressure was exerted. We entered a large garage full of police cars. On the ground lay a man (Hieatt). Two policemen held him down while he was handcuffed and a third man punched him several times between the legs. (Auckland Socialist Forum, 1967, p. 8).

The FOL called for a formal inquiry into the police violation of "the rights of orderly and peaceful demonstrators" (Auckland Socialist Forum, 1967; Rabel, 2005, p. 235). Holyoake rejected the FOL request, preferring to accept a police report of their actions and expressed his support for the police actions. The police had, according to Holyoake, acted "in a commendably tolerant but firm manner" ("Police were tolerant replies PM," 1967, p. 2).

Hieatt was later acquitted of charges of resisting arrest (Roth, 1967). With regard to allegations that he had been assaulted, the magistrate said that there was no supporting evidence of this. "Hieatt had quite clearly become unwell after his arrest, and the police experienced some difficulty in getting him across Swanson Street," he said (Roth, 1967, p. 8).

During the protests against USA Vice-President Spiro Agnew, a police attack on seated protesters at 11.45pm on 16 January 1970 was pre-planned. Meyrick (1984) quoted a police officer, who had been in the front line when the police attacked the protesters, as saying "we all knew for about an hour that we would move them on" (p. 56). Meyrick also noted that "all the policemen I spoke to described incidents of violence instigated by policemen" (p. 59). Even the Commissioner of Police admitted that some policemen "may have been over enthusiastic when the order to disperse was given" (Meyrick, 1984, p. 60).

In the aftermath of these events, the Ombudsman investigated the allegations and concluded that there were incidents of police violence that were "completely improper and reprehensible" (Meyrick, 1984, p. 58).

Minister of Police David Thompson, on the other hand, told parliament that the police had "come out of this whole situation with no reason to feel anything but pride in their service" (Hansard, 1970, p. 2520). He also claimed a later police re-examination of procedures for protests had nothing to do with incidents at the Agnew demonstrations (Hansard, 1970, p. 2519).

The *NZ Herald* described the Auckland protests as a "squalid show of mob hysteria" and declared that some of the organisers were "known communists" (Rabel, 2005, p. 235).[136]

SIS Director Brigadier Gilbert referred to "allegations of police brutality" in his report to Holyoake dated 27 January 1970. Gilbert claimed that the allegations were being "exploited to the fullest extent possible, in accordance with the pattern established by similar groups abroad" (Gilbert, 1970c).

In the USA, "protesters faced intimidation, physical violence, and the characterization of their activities as un-American" (Danielson, 2007, p. 4). President Johnson ordered the USA intelligence agencies to find proof of communist or subversive connections with the anti-war movement, which they could never do (DeBenedetti & Chatfield, 1990; Stone & Kuznick, 2013). DeBenedetti and Chatfield (1990) noted that "the Nixon White House made a determined effort to discredit and destroy the anti-war movement, and it identified dissent with violence so effectively that it made the legitimacy of protest itself a political issue" (p. 397). What had occurred over the course of the decade was the demonisation of dissent in the USA.

In the early 1970s, police agencies in the USA also re-examined their approaches to policing protests following widespread public disquiet about the aggressive measures being used. Police began to be trained in less aggressive methods where boundaries for protest were negotiated between the police and protest organisers. This methodology became known as "negotiated management", as a contrast to methods of "escalated force" being used in earlier years (McCarthy & McPhail, 1998; Soule & Davenport, 2009).

Under the negotiated management style, permits are required for protest events and police meet with protest organisers before the event to agree on the location and proceedings of the protest (Soule & Davenport, 2009). Organising groups are encouraged to provide marshals to ensure the agreed plan is adhered to. McCarthy and McPhail (1998) suggested that one marshal to every 50 protesters is the "rule of thumb" (p. 95). Civil disobedience

[136] By the Monday morning the *NZ Herald*'s stance on the 11.45 incident had completely changed from the descriptions of its on-the-spot reporter published the previous Saturday.

events and symbolic arrests can be negotiated with the authorities (McCarthy & McPhail, 1998, p. 98). These aspects of a public order management system (POMS) are described as "institutionalized solutions to the recurring problem of protests that threaten the domestic tranquillity that the police are responsible to maintain" (McCarthy & McPhail, 1998, p. 104).

McCarthy and McPhail (1998) pointed out that the power of protest "is seen as deriving, importantly, from its ability to disrupt normal routines, which thereby requires authorities to attend to protesters' demands" (p. 108). From this perspective, they warn, "the institutional process we have described banalises protest by making it routine and unremarkable" (p. 108).

Another aspect of that institutionalisation is the development of more professional social movement organisations (SMOs), which employ full time managers and have formal governance boards. These institutionalised SMOs in the USA are able to register with the state in order to gain cheaper mail services and financial benefits for donors or sponsors. A consequence of this institutionalisation is that leaders "bear some responsibility for the organisation's actions" and may be held liable for serious disorder (McCarthy & McPhail, 1998, p. 100).

The negotiated management approach does not mean the end of state coercion against USA residents. In fact, research has shown that methods of state coercion have increased in the period since the 1960s (Soule & Davenport, 2009). In addition, there has been a marked increase in the militarisation of the USA police and the development of what have been described as "paramilitary units" in the police forces (Kraska & Kappeler, 1997). There has also been an intensification of surveillance and incarceration rates (Soule & Davenport, 2009), and the use of private security forces (Baker, 2007; Kraska & Kappeler, 1997).

In Auckland in the 1960s and 1970s the City Council by-laws required a permit be obtained for marches. As in the USA examples above, this was used as a means of control and restriction. The more activist groups refused to apply for a permit to do what was considered a democratic right, but would telephone the Auckland City Council traffic department well in advance so they could organise traffic control.[137]

[137] PYM's position was that the Auckland City Council Traffic Department would be informed at least 48 hours before a march took place, but "we want the right to march without a permit" and without restrictions on free speech ("City Council lifts ban," 1970).

A. Arrests

The "soft approach" encompasses its own repressive process. Those protesters who transgress against the pre-negotiated arrangements are arrested and frequently held in custody for a period (Earl, 2005). Arrests are frequently accompanied by the use of excessive force, detainment in uncomfortable and unpleasant circumstances, costs of legal representation, and personal costs such as loss of wages (Earl, 2005). Importantly, these costs are "imposed on the innocent and guilty alike" (Earl, 2005, p. 109).

This process also carries a cost for the movements as they can find that activists and leaders are pre-occupied with drawn-out court cases (Earl, 2005). Publicity about arrests often paints "protesters as violent and lawless while creating an image of the police action that is justified and measured" (Earl, 2005, p. 119). For the individual, there is also a stigma associated with arrest and detention.

Feeley (1979) also noted that "the real punishment for many people is the pre-trial process itself" (p. 241). He drew attention to the irony that "the cost of invoking one's rights is frequently greater than the loss of rights themselves, which is why so many defendants accept a guilty plea without a battle" (p. 277).

In her study on women involved in the Great Arizona Mine Strike, Kingsolver (1989) found that many arrestees pleaded guilty to lesser charges because union funds were low. The consequence of this was the public perception of "guilt" and, for the individual, the stigma of a conviction. The lawyer representing many arrestees described many of the arrests as ridiculous. "They didn't care about prosecuting these people; they only wanted to intimidate them" (Kingsolver, 1989, p. 193).

The police also arrested those people who they perceived as leaders in the struggle in an effort to silence them (Kingsolver, 1989). During the 1970 Agnew demonstrations in Auckland, police systematically arrested PYM leaders very early in the protests (Shadbolt, 1971).[138]

Soule and Davenport (2009) found that while the negotiated management approach appeared to have lessened incidents of police violence, the "velvet glove" approach did not preclude "iron fist" methods being used. Nor does it preclude the police breaking the agreement if it suits them.

[138] Shadbolt stated "all the PYM leaders", which is not correct.

NZ Police Commissioner Robinson, in a submission to a parliamentary enquiry into policing of the 1999 visit of the Chinese President, declared that even when protest venues and details have been negotiated, "police cannot be precluded from re-visiting the issue" (Baker, 2007, p. 229).

B. *Right wing attacks*

In later 1969 and into 1970 a PYM occupied house in Springfield Road, Western Springs, was repeatedly attacked by a gang of youths who called themselves the "Sons of Democracy"("Sons of democracy?," 1970, p. 16). The police only acted after the events, and then to prevent any retaliation from the house occupants. The first issue of *Rebel* reported in early March 1970 that there had been nine such attacks on the house in the previous five months. The paper reported that "initially the police were called, but always arrived in time to let the attackers escape" ("Democracy in action," 1970).

Around the same time the PYM Headquarters in lower St Kevins Arcade was firebombed. There was no visible action from police and the media reported the event as a "rubbish fire" ("Sons of democracy?," 1970). In mid-1970 Auckland police announced that "the police inquiry [into the fire] had reached a dead-end and would be closed" ("Dead - end," 1970, p. 4).

The police were very quick to try to implicate PYM in these kind of actions. In March 1970 police claimed that they had a signed statement implicating Bill and Barry Lee in a Molotov cocktail attack on a NZ Navy recruiting office in Jean Batten Place, Auckland. The case was being directed by Detective Inspector Bruce Hutton.[139] A few days later three youths, with no connections to the protest movement appeared in court charged with the arson attack (*The case of John Bower*, 1970).

Police were also quick to side with the right wing extremists. In September 1972 an election meeting of the National Socialist Party of NZ[140] was disrupted by protesters. Bill Lee made a short announcement about opposing fascism and the hall lights went off. Violence broke out after one Nazi attacked Lee ("New nazis," 1972). A few weeks later the police began following up a complaint from the Nazis, and Bill was charged with "inciting" ("Legal appeal," 1972; "Police aid for nazis," 1972). He was acquitted after the magistrate ruled that it was obvious the action had been pre-planned and that Bill had

[139] Hutton was one of two police officers named by a Royal Commission as having planted false evidence to gain murder convictions against Arthur Thomas who, after 10 years in prison, was proven to be innocent.

[140] Modelled on Hitler's National Socialist German Workers' Party.

merely given the signal, which was not incitement. What transpired was that police had laid the most serious charge they could find – that of inciting violence or disorder. A much lesser charge of "disorderly behaviour" may well have been upheld by the court. Bill did recall that the magistrate looked somewhat uncomfortable facing the Nazi witnesses who wore swastika badges in their ties.[141]

C.. Personal reflection

My earliest recollection of being a member of the NZ Police was the day we arrived at the police college at Trentham Camp, Wellington. We were lined in parade formation and received a welcome speech from camp commandant, Inspector Scott. Scott told us there had been several hundred applicants for our cadet wing and it was reduced down to the 80 present. "You are the best 80 young men in the country." This was the beginning of the cultural grooming which Ross Meurant (2011) described (above).

We quickly learned that the inhabitants of neighbouring Trentham huts, young Maori apprentice trainees from country areas, were known as the "germs", as were the long haired trainees of many races accommodated in other ex-army huts in the camp. Even as a cadet on station duty at Taranaki Street police station in Wellington, I was fully aware of an incident where two officers conducted an illegal search of a residence and then arrested the occupant on a false charge of assault to cover themselves.[142] The incident was common knowledge among the staff on duty at the station.

Following my sudden dismissal from the police on the grounds of my political beliefs and associations, I was regarded as an enemy and at one stage told how the police were going to deal with me when I was arrested.

The police later admitted that my dismissal was unlawful and made an out of court cash payment to me and paid costs to my lawyer, Frank Haigh. However, the introverted culture of bigotry and intolerance described by Meurant remained and was reinforced to me recently when I was excluded from the fiftieth anniversary reunion attended by those (like me) who had graduated from the Bill Fell Cadet wing in 1967. None of the three organisers would reply to any of my emails nor explain why I was being excluded. Even more bizarre, a reunion magazine produced for the occasion included me in the group photos taken at the time of our graduation, but in the rear "where they are now" section

[141] Recent conversation with Bill Lee. Bill also lived at the Springfield Road house at the time of the attacks in 1969 and 1970.

[142] The case was dismissed when the officers gave conflicting evidence and a subsequent unlawful arrest claim by the arrested man was settled out of court.

my name is absent, numbers being made up by inclusion of one of the cadets who dropped out of the training course early in 1966 (Mahan, 2016).

Secret police

The third part of Boykoff's (2006) "modes of suppression" mentioned earlier cover the actions of security forces, including surveillance, break-ins and infiltration. In the main, interview and survey participants concentrated on overt police actions, and only two mentioned the actions of the SIS.

Anna recalled her mother's mail having been opened:

> The security service weren't particularly discrete. Even opening some of our mail. They would open my grandmother's mail to my mother,

In early 1969 an edition of *PYM Organiser* recorded that private mail addressed to some PYM members' home address had been delivered to the PYM Post Box, even though the addressees' names were not associated with the PO Box.

Chris was one of only two participants who had received material from personal files held by the SIS.[143]

> They sent me back this information that they had accumulated about me and a lot of it was completely wrong. They even got my second name wrong.

I wrote to the SIS in July 2016 requesting copies of documents regarding PYM held by the SIS (email to SIS, dated 2.7.16). I explained about my research and wrote that I expected the information held by the SIS would be very helpful. On 18 August SIS Director Rebecca Kitteridge wrote that initial scoping found that the material held by SIS regarding the Auckland PYM is "voluminous, and substantial collation would be required to fulfil your request" (letter from R. Kitteridge, dated 18.8.16). She noted that a significant volume of the material was historical newspaper clippings which are "publicly available". "The remaining relevant material is sensitive and will take considerable time to assess whether it is suitable for public release". Ms Kitteridge also explained that, due to the volume of material, the SIS would like an extension of the normal Official Information Act timeframe.

[143] I had applied for my personal file in February 2009 but was declined. A standard letter from then-SIS Director Warren Tucker stated that "I can neither confirm nor deny the existence or non-existence of that information. This reply is given within the terms of Section 32 of the Privacy Act 1993" letter from W. Tucker, 5.6.09).

I replied that I was happy to forego the newspaper clippings and that my study was limited to Auckland PYM and not the PYMs in Wellington and Christchurch, but was unable to limit my request further. I also agreed to the time extension (email to R. Kitteridge, 23.8.16).

In December 2016 I received a selection of documents on PYM totalling 50 pages, with a letter inviting me to look at the material and "identify areas where you would like further information" (Letter from R. Kitteridge dated 1.12.16). Ms Kitteridge also advised that "NZSIS holds ten file volumes on the matter".

After my follow-up email (email dated 4.1.17), I received a further 48 pages of material, dating from 1967 to 1975.

While the material has been severely redacted and selected, it does show that PYM was under close and continuous surveillance from its early stages. The then SIS Director, Brigadier Gilbert, was fiercely anti-communist (Victoria University Socialist Club, n.d. n.d.). He regarded communism as "evil and subversive", and is on record as saying that a communist "abandons his loyalty to god and country" (Victoria University Socialist Club, n.d. n.d., p. 1). He regarded the PYM as "communist controlled" (Gilbert, 1967b, p. 1) or "guided and strongly influenced by the CPNZ" (Gilbert, 1969h, p. 3). However, he deviated from this stance at times, declaring that "it would be incorrect to attach a flat communist label to the membership of all PYM groups. The PYM is one of the most prominent manifestations in New Zealand, of the world-wide movement of protest against the established order" (e.g. Gilbert, 1969i, 1971).

Gilbert was in close contact with Prime Minister Holyoake and, at times, other Cabinet Ministers. He also frequently sent reports on PYM to the Secretary of External Affairs, G. R. Laking, and the Commissioner of Police. For example, in October 1967 Gilbert began writing reports to Holyoake regarding the planned PYM march from Auckland to Wellington in late December 1967 and January 1968 (Gilbert, 1967a, 1967d, 1967e). Copies were sometimes sent to the Commissioner of Police and Laking. Initially, the PYM plans caused Holyoake some consternation because the proposed Wellington arrival date coincided with a state visit by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi[144] (Holyoake, 1967).

[144] This is not something I recall that we were aware of. The arrival date was later changed to an earlier one because some marchers had to appear in the Auckland Magistrates' Court in connection with charges arising from the Paritai Drive protests.

The files indicate a very close relationship between Holyoake and Gilbert. On one occasion Holyoake asked Gilbert to let him have "any information as to the proposals by the Commissioner of Police in dealing with any marchers who enter parliament grounds" (Holyoake, 1967). Gilbert replied that he would oblige, but cautioned that "it will not be possible to prevent an orderly demonstration by marchers who may enter parliament grounds on their arrival in Wellington" (Gilbert, 1967d).

The SIS was very concerned about PYM leaflets being distributed to secondary school students. On several occasions Gilbert sent reports to the Minister of Education, occasionally with copies of the leaflets being distributed (e.g. Gilbert, 1968a, 1969c, 1970b). Numerous SIS background reports on PYM repeat an assertion that PYM membership was aged between 14 and 23, "some being school children with presumably little political consciousness"[145] (e.g. Gilbert, 1969h, 1971).

In October 1967 Gilbert made the untrue claim that "the CPNZ paid the fine" incurred by PYM member Bill Lee following his attempt to burn a USA flag outside Parliament (Gilbert, 1967b). On other occasions Gilbert's reports implied that PYM members were not afraid to be arrested because any fines incurred would be met from "funds organised by the Communist Party" (Gilbert, 1969g, 1969h). Gilbert will have been well aware that a Defence Fund had been formed to help with fines incurred by protesters. For example, the August-September 1967 newsletter of the NZ Peace Council carried an appeal for donations to the Defence Fund "to assist with the fine" incurred by Lee (Gould, 1967).[146]

On occasions, the SIS provided draft answers for staged questions in Parliament (in which government MPs asked staged questions for Holyoake to answer). In one such instance, shortly after the Paritai Drive protest, Gilbert cautioned Holyoake that some of those arrested "are members of the Progressive Youth Movement" and recommended a brief reply until after the court cases were concluded as "the matter could be considered sub judice". He suggested the question be "re-posed after the court cases" (Gilbert, 1967c).

Parker (1979) reported that when Gilbert was appointed Director of the SIS, he (Gilbert) went to London for training with the British MI5 organisation. One of the first MI5

[145] Five participants in this study were at high school at the time they joined PYM, including Anna who was a foundation member of PYM's forerunner YACOV.

[146] In 1969 the Wellington COV began collecting data on criminal charges and fines imposed on protesters and non-protest arrestees (Barker, 1969). The WCOV were expressing concern about the severity of fines being imposed on some young protesters on relatively minor "offences". In one case the WCOV had launched an appeal to help with a $200 fine (Auld, 1969). I have not found any records of what the WCOV data revealed.

documents he received was a 1952 directive regarding being politically neutral. "No inquiry is to be carried out on behalf of any government department unless you are satisfied that an important public interest bearing on the defence of the Realm is at stake" the document stated (Parker, 1979, p. 41). According to Parker (1979), this document "made a great impression" on Gilbert (p. 41) so presumably Gilbert viewed preparing answers to parliamentary questions, warning the Prime Minister about "sub judice" matters and reporting PYM leafletting of high schools as defending the "Realm".

SIS agents regularly visited Progressive Bookshop and Resistance Bookshop to purchase copies of the PYM publication, *Rebel*. There was no direct evidence of SIS interception of PYM mail in the documents provided to me, but this does exist in the personal file of a former PYM member, Sue Bradford. In this case the file contained a PYM newsletter which had been posted to her at the wrong address and returned to the PYM Post Office Box where the SIS had intercepted it. The envelope was accompanied by brief notes about Sue's father and his employment. That was in 1967, but far more extensive files given to the Campaign Against Foreign Control in New Zealand (CAFCINZ) in 2008 showed that correspondence between CAFCINZ (now CAFCA) and PYM was being intercepted in the mid-1970s.

In the CAFCINZ files there is also evidence that an SIS spy had infiltrated PYM meetings (SIS District Officer, 1975). The personal file received by Jack contained several records of his attendance at PYM meetings over a stated period.[147]

Surveillance was also extended to the protest movement in general. For example, one report gave details of the 30 October 1970 Mobilisation Day[148] (Gilbert, 1970a) and another reported advertising for an Auckland Council on Vietnam protest on 28 April 1968[149] (Gilbert, 1968b). SIS spying also extended into universities (Sinclair & McNaughton, 1983). Rabel (2005), who extensively researched government archives, noted that in spite of SIS files being closed to researchers "there are sufficient documents in External Affairs and the Holyoake Papers to indicate that there was surveillance and investigation of the anti-war movement" (Rabel, 2005, p. 395, note 99).

[147] These records were on a duplicated form with spaces to enter dates and numbers of meetings. The forms were produced for spying on Communist Party members, so the words "Communist Party" were crossed out and "Progressive Youth Movement" written in by hand.
[148] This report was sent to Secretary of Foreign Affairs Laking and the Commissioner of Police. It outlined protest activities planned around the country.
[149] This report was addressed to the Commissioner of Police and copied to Laking.

In 1966, an SIS agent named David Godfrey was exposed as spying on students at the University of Auckland. In addition to his snooping on fellow students, Godfrey had tried to recruit a young woman student to become secretary of the Peace Council and spy for the SIS (Sinclair & McNaughton, 1983). Godfrey's exposure led to a protest on campus and violent police intervention ("Security protest: Police at 'riot'," 1966; Sinclair & McNaughton, 1983). Godfrey was subsequently expelled from the university (Meyrick, 1984).

Linden Cowell, a former prominent member of the Dunedin Committee on Vietnam, recalled that overseas mail addressed to him had been opened (Bell, 1989). Cowell also said that a man had revealed to him that he was an SIS agent. Cowell found the agent's claim believable because the man knew details of Cowell's past political activities in the USA (Bell, 1989). Cowell also recalled former Dunedin COV chairman Peter Sutton telling him that his [Sutton's] phone was tapped (Bell, 1989). Sutton told him that a friend who worked in the Post Office had confirmed this.

The accuracy of SIS spies' reports are also dubious. George Fraser, a former SIS spy who infiltrated the CPNZ for the SIS, recounted later that part-time agents like himself were only paid when they filed reports and his SIS bosses preferred "imaginative" ones. Consequently, SIS agents filed regular reports, regardless of whether there was anything to report and, at times, colluded with other agents to give a greater appearance of substance to their stories (Fraser, 1995).

In 1972, the SIS made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit an activist who was involved in the Auckland Mobilisation Committee. The man was asked if he would spy on people and organisations involved in the Committee, especially any members of the CPNZ, SUP and other "Communist groups" (Signed statement by author, dated 11.4.72. Author's name withheld). The SIS agent, a Mr Anderson, produced a written statement of agreement, which also included a warning of the legal consequences for divulging any information about the meeting. The man refused the agent's requests and later wrote a detailed statement about the incident. In the statement he divulged that an associate had witnessed the meeting, which was held in an Auckland café.[150]

SIS spying also extended to HART. In 1973, it was learned that an SIS agent had been renting a premises next door to the flat shared by HART chair Trevor Richards and other HART activists (Richards, 1999). The agent had been using powerful listening equipment

[150] A copy of this signed statement is in my possession.

to record conversations taking place in Richards' home. A complaint to Prime Minister Kirk brought a curt denial (Richards, 1999). Kirk replied that the SIS "considers your allegations are groundless and possibly libellous" (Richards, 1999, p. 107). Kirk also gave an assurance that the SIS was not keeping files on the house occupants (Richards, 1999).

Kirk's private secretary, Margaret Hayward, recorded that shortly after issuing the denial Kirk had been informed by the SIS Deputy Director that SIS had been bugging the HART premises[151] (Hayward, 1981).

In the SIS documents I received there is no mention of activities in NZ by overseas spy agencies such as the USA CIA. In 1976 the SAL released 51 pages of files on the activities of the CIA's "Operation Chaos" in NZ (Mulrennan, 1976). The files were obtained through a civil liberties law suit against the USA government by the USA SWP and Young Socialists Alliance[152] (Mulrennan, 1976).

Operation Chaos was established in 1967 under the Johnson administration for the purpose of looking for foreign influences in the growing protest movement (Rockefeller Commission, 1975). In 1968 it extended its operations overseas (Church Committee, 1976) and overseas stations were instructed to more fully engage "friendly foreign intelligence services" (p. 13). Former CIA agent Philip Agee (1975) wrote that, in the CIA view, "there is no such thing as a friendly intelligence service" (p. 62). Liaising with domestic services is seen as risky, but important because using local services extends the CIA personnel and allows operations to be carried out on the CIA's behalf. For example, Agee (1975) notes, telephone tapping and interception of mail can be "done more easily by a local service" (p. 62). In addition, if things go wrong, "the local service, not the CIA, will take the rap" (Agee, 1975, p. 63). The extent to which the NZ SIS works with and for the CIA is, of course, not revealed and the NZ SIS, unlike their counterparts in the USA and UK, are not required to release files after a statutory period.

Under the Chaos programme the CIA also engaged in infiltrating and disrupting protest movements and harassing those involved in them (Mulrennan, 1976).

In addition to the spying aspect of SIS surveillance, this activity also serves to limit people's freedom and activities. Some people feel intimidated by the thought of being spied on, and, as a consequence, curtail lawful dissent. A survey of Victoria University

[151] Hayward also wrote that Kirk and she were convinced that Kirk's private and office telephones were bugged and at one stage, about 1966, there was a mysterious burglary at Kirk's Wellington flat, where nothing had been stolen (Hayward, 1981, pp. 17-18).
[152] Fraternal groups of the NZ SAL.

students found a number who felt restrained from joining the WCOV because they feared SIS spying (Haas, 1967). Boykoff (2006) listed this as one of the ways the state suppresses freedom of expression and activity. This state spying can also create a climate of paranoia in protest groups, when over-caution restricts the ability of the group to carry out its legitimate activities (Boykoff, 2006) or when members begin suspecting others of being spies (Haas, 1967).

Secret service activities are not necessarily restricted to spying. Boykoff (2006) detailed the many ways security forces in the USA actively tried to disrupt the activities of dissident groups, create distrust between activists and hostility between groups. Again, the secrecy of the state forces in NZ means that concrete evidence of these activities is almost impossible to obtain.

One probable example of SIS disruption tactics occurred at the end of the Xmas 1967 - 1968 Auckland to Wellington March. In late January 1968, PYM received a cheque from the Ngauranga Branch of the Wellington Freezing Workers' Union. The $100 cheque, a significant sum in 1968, was the result of a collection from union members at the works. PYM sent a letter of appreciation, which was not received by the union. A second letter was sent after a verbal communication from Wellington activists. This letter was also not received. In late February, PYM received a letter from union secretary, Frank Thorne, expressing his concern that no acknowledgment or receipt had been received. He added that "this whole exercise is an embarrassment to me and could do incalculable harm to the working class movement if it was capitalised upon by the wrong people" (Letter from F. Thorne, dated 24.2.68). The original copy of this letter, in my possession, has a handwritten note on it recording that a third letter of thanks had been sent.

Infiltration

Former prominent Australian activist Max Teichmann spoke in 1992 about the "large penetration" of the anti-war movement by the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) and the Federal Police. He recounted advising fellow protesters that "if someone comes out with a really outlandish idea its two to one he's an ASIO agent" (cited in Langley, 1992, p. 159). A former draft resister, Bob Scates, recalled a member of the Draft Resisters Union (DRU) who physically attacked a Cabinet Minister. The man then disappeared, but was later seen in uniform on a protest in Victoria "pointing out draft resisters to police" at a moratorium march (cited in Langley, 1992, p. 158).

ASIO also tapped the telephones of protest organisations. Members of the Melbourne Students for a Democratic Society tested their office phone by having a draft resister ring the office and say he was going to attend a medical examination at the National Service office. The man suggested they have an occupation of the building. A friend then walked past the National Service office at the time suggested for occupation and saw police lining the building stairwell (Karl Armstrong, as cited in Langley, 1992, p. 156).

Participant comments

Along with the media, the actions of the police and other state agencies featured frequently in study participant's recollections. In particular, police hostility and brutality was by far the most mentioned recollection by participants when asked about memorable experiences. For early participants in 1960s, protests their first encounter with police violence was during the 1967 protests against South Vietnamese Prime Minister Air Vice-Marshall Ky.

Adrian

> I remember we got chased up and down bloody Queen Street and every side street by half the Auckland police force. I never understood that because I don't know what we were doing wrong apart from hurling a bit of abuse. It would be pretty mild stuff these days.

Anna

> Ky went on to stay at the Star Hotel at the top of Wyndham Street and Albert Street and the police came out in force and also beat people up completely without reason. They took Steve Hieatt into a back garage and beat him up very badly.

Sue

> When Ky came to NZ I got thoroughly bashed up by a policeman. There was a photograph in the *Waikato Times* with blood all streaming down my face – which looked more dramatic than it really was.

Jack

> People got beaten up, kicked, punched.

Later there were the Paritai Drive and Agnew demonstrations.

Anna

In 1970 the Agnew demonstration was when the police waded in at 11.45pm. We were sitting peacefully opposite the Intercontinental Hotel. They kicked people and they beat people up in Albert Park. I saw people surrounded by big groups of police who beat them up.

Unfortunately [for the police] they got some eminent gentleman who was a tourist and he wasn't very amused about being turned upside down and beaten.

Richard

The police attack was sudden, a few seconds only after they asked people to move back, and no time was given.

Chris

I could see that the police were only trying to be agent provocateurs to push people in the movement to stir us up.

Some reflected on the hostility and harassment from police.

Mary

I had been brought up to believe the police are there to help. They are neutral. But when I saw some of their behaviour it was a real eye-opener. I was quite shocked at the way they even swore at us. I had never had much contact with the police before. They were quite nasty.

Richard bought Bill Lee's car. We used to cruise around in that. The police knew it of course and they used to follow us. I remember one time, we were going across Grafton Bridge at night and a police car pulled up and stopped us. They obviously thought we were up to something illegal, which we weren't. That was quite scary actually. They were quite aggressive.

Jack

There were the police coming around and sitting across from our house where Sue and I lived with the two kids. They'd sit there for hours sometimes. Sometimes a couple of cop cars would just sit there. It was just pure intimidation. I'd get stopped walking up Queen Street. "What's your

> name"... "Where do you live?" Of course they knew who I was before they asked.

At other times, when Jack was distributing leaflets outside the building which housed the USA Consulate,

> The police would stand there and try to prevent us from giving out the leaflets. When people came up and spat at us and kicked and punched us the police were protecting them.

Danny

> I learnt about how much the NZ Police tried to limit and intimidate protest activity.

Cliff

> We got brutally restrained by the police at a lot of our demonstrations.
>
> The police were the ones who were the fighters. They're the ones with the batons and they were the ones trying to stop our argument.

Anna

> If we went out in the evening, there would be a police car following. If we wanted to go postering, our friend lent us his car on a couple of occasions and we didn't get followed.
>
> The police would be deliberately provocative, not only at our protests but also in court. They would get people to swear and then arrest them. I remember one time in court a policeman stood on my sandaled foot and ground it into the floor with his heel.
>
> There would be arrests that were very serious charges such as incitement. Disorderly behaviour was a prevalent one – that was any behaviour that's not ordinary behaviour. Court cases were also a focus of political events and it was mind boggling to me to hear the dishonest evidence by the police.

Peter R

> [I recall] travelling by bus with fellow PYMers to Wellington and the harassment by police, which included blockading the road at one point.[153] Also being thrown out of Auckland Town Hall and kicked by police in a back room during a general election event.

A. Raids on houses and arrests

Anna

> Having the police knock on our door to raid our house for such things as when there was a stadium burnt down, somewhere in Papakura. It was a very unpleasant experience and felt as if your house had been violated, and it was completely unjustified.[154]
>
> It was not only the police raiding the house, the concern was that they would plant false information or something like drugs.

Mary

> One time the police raided [our home in] Georgina Street. They raided Resistance Bookshop too.

John

> I got arrested. I was clearly picked out by the police. I spent the night in jail for disturbing the peace or something. The police said move back and I didn't move back or something like that. It was something completely and utterly innocuous.

Gary

> A protester gave me two leaflets. I passed one on to an undercover cop who promptly arrested me for distribution of an indecent document. After pleading not guilty I was found guilty and fined.

Peter recounted the effect police intimidation had on his parents, who were not involved in the protest movement. He had taken home a copy of the *PYM Organiser* which

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[153] A detailed report on these events, including photos, was printed in Craccum (Logan, 1970).

[154] In April 1973 I wrote to a number of government politicians on behalf of the 18 households who had been searched, complaining about the unjustified raids targeted at anti-apartheid activists. On 7 May, 1973, Prime Minister Kirk replied that the searches of 18 households were justified (Letter to myself, dated 7.5.73). Kirk described our complaints as "humbugging claptrap" which was "neither credible or persuasive [*sic*]" .

reprinted an article about Molotov cocktails and how to propel one from a rifle[155] and showed it to his parents.

> We had, at home, an old .303 Royal Enfield rifle, a single-shot lever action rifle dating from the nineteenth century. My father had obtained it from someone he worked with when we first arrived in New Zealand in 1956. The barrel was clogged up with dirt and it was unusable, so he filed off the firing pin so it couldn't be fired. I used to play with it as a kid.
>
> The content of the PYM magazine suggested to my father that it could lead to problems regarding possession of the rifle, and he disposed of it in the creek at the bottom of their road. My parents were much less naïve than I was at that time. Around that time they also received a "casual" visit from the Helensville policeman, asking about nothing in particular but having a good look around at the same time.

Steve recalled what happened after he sent a telegram of condolences to Hanoi following the death of Ho Chi Minh.

> That day my Dad, and my sister who was in the Air Force, both got dragged in front of their superior officers asking "what's this?"

Discussion

It is clear from international literature that the experiences of former PYM members were neither isolated nor unique. The extent of state repression of dissent in NZ, as noted above, is extremely hard to determine. The SIS approach has been documented above. NZ Police appear to have a policy of destroying these kinds of historical documents.

Meyrick (1984) wrote that many files on protests had been destroyed by the time of his study. His thesis was greatly aided by a Christchurch Police Inspector who had kept personal files. Meyrick did have access to some remaining police files including one designated "File 11/10 – Progressive Youth Movement – Auckland Central Police Station" (Meyrick, 1984, Bibliography).

On 7 November 2017, I made an Official Information Act request to the NZ Police asking for "copies of documents held by the NZ Police regarding the Auckland PYM". In particular, I requested "a copy of File 11/10 – Progressive Youth Movement – Auckland

[155] The article was a direct copy of a page in a book by renowned Argentinian revolutionary Che Guevara. The book was available in NZ bookshops. The publication, in August 1969, resulted in a series of police raids. No-one was ever convicted in regard to the article.

Central Police Station" and mentioned it had been cited in Meyrick's (1984) thesis. NZ Police referred me to Archives NZ, who did not have the file in their collection. Archives NZ re-checked with NZ Police and replied to me on 23 January 2018, stating that "NZ Police have advised it is likely the file was vetted and destroyed" (Archives NZ, 2018).

This could be interpreted as either a complete disregard for history or a desire to cover up past misdeeds.

The evidence presented outlines the significant pressure on people who feel compelled to combat an injustice, either here in Aotearoa New Zealand or internationally. While this pressure is often not regarded as repression by people involved in peace and other progressive movements, events in NZ outlined certainly fall within the "modes of suppression" outlined by Boykoff (2006).

The evidence also reverses the images of violent protesters frequently created by the media, state organisations, politicians and others. As noted above, Melucci (1996) observed that violence "is almost always first resorted to by the agents of social control" (p. 396).

The next section discusses difference in the movements of the time, detailing participants' contributions and related literature from NZ and overseas.

Chapter 8 Differences in the movement

A significant number of participants in this study commented about the differences which arose between groups at the time and the sectarian or hostile attitudes which were expressed. Other researchers (e.g. Haas, 1967; Jackman, 1979) have raised this issue also. In this chapter, I explore the divisions that occurred with regard to tactics and the organisation of the anti-Vietnam War movement, rather than the wider ideological issues between the various socialist/communist groups. However, it must be noted that the latter were reflected in the tactical approaches of the movement.

Literature

It has been estimated that there were organisations opposed to the Vietnam War in approximately 18 towns and cities around NZ (Rabel, 2005). Within these locations there were often several different autonomous organisations. This multiplicity can either be viewed as a weakness or a strength (Rabel, 2005). These groups frequently worked together on activities (Bell, 1989; Haas, 1967; Rabel, 2005) but also had differences, which appear to have generally related to issues of policy or tactics (Bell, 1989; Haas, 1967; Rabel, 2005).

Some groups (like the PYM, AVC and the NZPC) supported the Vietnamese struggle for independence, whereas others restricted themselves to opposing the war, without appearing to take sides. The WCOV (in its early years) was one such group (Haas, 1967).

Also, some groups recognised civil disobedience as a legitimate tactic, and were prepared to break the law, to varying extents, if the law restricted their right of protest (Bell, 1989; Jackman, 1979), while some groups like the WCOV wanted to keep all activity within the law (Haas, 1967).

The issue was not a new one in NZ history. During WWII, the Christian pacifists were also faced with the dilemma of whether to continue fighting for their beliefs or whether to retreat from the vicious legislative and judicial assault on their right to free speech.[156] Grant (1986) described the question as being "did allegiance to God supersede allegiance to the state?" (p. 91). A small number of Christian Pacifist Society activists[157] held to the

[156] The Labour Government, headed by Peter Fraser (himself jailed during WWI as an opponent of conscription) introduced draconian legislative measures to muzzle any opposition to the war and to conscription, far exceeding any restrictions on free speech in the UK, USA or Australia (Grant, 1986; Locke, 1992).

[157] This group included Ormond Burton and Ron Howell, mentioned earlier.

view that there had to be space for actions "of a more public and direct character" by those pacifists "who feel its compulsion" (Grant, 1986, p. 88).[158]

I have used the term "more conservative" to describe the groups who wanted to confine the policies and activities of the movement, whereas R. V. Summy (1970) categorises this section as "moderates", who concentrate on trying to persuade "the more tractable, influential members of society" (p. 149). R. V. Summy's moderate assumes "the role of a bargainer .... inclined to consider his opponent not as an 'enemy' but as a 'counterpart' merely expressing a different point of view" (R. V. Summy, 1970, p. 149).

The moderates prioritise the need to gain the support of prominent political and community figures (R. V. Summy, 1970), a tactic which carries the danger that these influential people may "demand responsible behaviour from protesters" as a condition of their support (Jurma, 1982, p. 264).

R. V. Summy (1970) labelled the alternative body as "militants" who advocate "confronting authority directly". He described the militants as "reluctant to compromise" and persisting in "holding to a maximum set of demands" (R. V. Summy, 1970, p. 149). In his thesis on differences in the Auckland protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Jackman (1979) characterised the more militant groups like PYM as seeking confrontation.

In his study on the WCOV, Haas (1967) wrote about the "moderates" who sought "respectability" and a "middle of the road position" (p. 13). The activists are labelled as the "action faction" (Haas, 1967, p. 8). The WCOV leaders wanted all activity to be within the law. Even a sit-in outside Holyoake's office, on May 28 1965,[159] was too much for WCOV leaders to be associated with. Similarly, the actions of four protesters who chained themselves to pillars in front of parliament were "too extreme" and likely to "alienate opinion" in the eyes of WCOV leadership (Haas, 1967, p. 13), but this action was endorsed later by a monthly meeting of the WCOV membership.

The WCOV leadership saw its priority as trying to influence the Labour Party and prominent people (Haas, 1967). In April 1966 the COV wrote a public letter to North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh expressing concern about Ho's statement welcoming the protests in the West against the war. They also criticised North Vietnam's "apparent

[158] K. Taylor (1994) recorded that in March 1941 the CPNZ was worried that this continued defiance by Christian pacifists may have led to both the Party and the Christian Pacifists being made illegal.
[159] This took place on the morning after Holyoake announced that an artillery battalion would be committed to Vietnam (Rabel, 2005).

refusal even to consider" President Johnson's so-called 14-point peace proposal.[160] Harold Slingsby, a Wellington-based prominent member of the NZPC and author of several influential books on the war, described this letter as a "childish piece of political immaturity" (Braithwaite, 1966). In May 1966 WCOV chairman Barry Mitcalfe announced that the WCOV executive had decided "the day of demonstrations had largely passed" and the main role should be informing the public (Rabel, 2005, p. 165).

In 1966, the WCOV published a series of pamphlets which they sent to other Committees around NZ for distribution. One in 1966 described an NLF action as a "Vietcong outrage" and Vietnamese national hero, Nguyen Van Troi, as a "terrorist"[161] (Mitcalfe, 1966). The AVC refused to distribute the pamphlet and in a letter to Mitcalfe criticised the derogatory references to those resisting USA aggression. "Did we describe the resistance fighters of Nazi occupied Europe as 'terrorists' or their resistance activities as 'outrages'?" the letter asked[162] (Jackman, 1979, p. 23).

A. Auckland Council on Vietnam

In the later 1960s, the sharpest divisions in the anti-Vietnam War movement in Auckland took place in the Auckland Council on Vietnam (ACoV). The Council was formed in March 1967, following the protests against South Vietnamese Prime Minister Ky in January of that year (Jackman, 1979). It emanated from meetings held between the CPNZ, SUP and Auckland Socialist Forum, and was aimed at being a co-ordinating organisation to facilitate joint activities among the variety of anti-Vietnam War groups in Auckland (Jackman, 1979). Its first meeting, on April 11 1967, was attended by "representatives or observers" from 13 organisations, with apologies from two others (Whimp, 1967).[163] Jackman (1979) recorded that 17 organisations were "affiliated to the Council at the beginning" (p. 56). According to Whimp's (1967) letter, the second meeting of ACoV was planned for June 6 1967.

In July 1968, then-ACoV secretary, John Colquhoun, claimed that "difficulties within the Auckland Council" originated well before the Paritai Drive protest (Colquhoun, 1968). In a six-page letter to the WCOV, Colquhoun (1968) claimed that "most people in the

[160] Johnson's proposal accompanied a temporary halt to bombing of the North and "unconditional talks". At the same time USA military commanders in South Vietnam intensified the ground war (Karnow, 1997).
[161] The WCOV incorrectly referred to him as "Tranh Van Troi". Troi, a NLF guerrilla, was executed by the South Vietnamese regime in 1964.
[162] The letter was signed by Flora Gould and dated 9 July 1966.
[163] Graeme Whimp was founding secretary of the ACoV. The circular letter was a report on the first meeting.

Council were concerned at unilateral incidents like the flag burning in Wellington and other dramatic stunts during [the] Ky visit here" (p. 1). This seems a remarkable statement, given that the ACoV was not formed until after the Ky visit, and the attempted flag burning had no association with the ACoV or any ACoV activity. The flag incident, in which Bill Lee was arrested,[164] took place in August 1967 during protests at Parliament during the visit of USA envoys General Maxwell Taylor and presidential advisor Clark Clifford.[165]

Following the march to Paritai Drive, which took place after an ACoV march had officially ended, a greatly expanded[166] ACoV monthly meeting passed a resolution prohibiting members from "unilateral actions" on the day of an ACoV activity. It also declared that only organisations which agreed to abide by this ruling would be admitted as ACoV members[167] (Jackman, 1979).

Matters came to a head in July 1968 when the ACoV required all members to sign a declaration that they would abide by the resolution (Jackman, 1979). Jackman (1979) wrote that by then, "the moderates" had gained "the majority of votes both on the executive and the Council" (p. 66). Jackman (1979) claimed that the meeting "became so animated that at one stage participants were trading physical blows" (p. 66) which is a gross exaggeration of the situation.[168]

When groups like the PYM, CPNZ and AVC refused to sign the declaration the meeting chairman, Len Reid, denied them voting rights. AVC chairman Roy Evans challenged this ruling, so Reid handed the chair to Colquhoun who put the ruling to the vote on the basis that only those who had signed were eligible to vote (Barry Lee, as cited in Jackman, 1979). At this stage the student group walked out, and were joined by PYM and others (Jackman, 1979).

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[164] Bill was arrested during the protest at parliament grounds on 1 August 1967 ("Not guilty plea," 1967). He was later found guilty of disorderly behaviour and fined $100 ("Flag-burning attempt by young man earns $100 fine," 1967).

[165] The Taylor and Clifford visit was part of USA President Johnson's attempt to get greater troop involvement from other countries. They reported back to Johnson that Holyoake "would go along with us whatever we decided to do" (Rabel, 2005, p. 210).

[166] In his letter to WCOV, Colquhoun wrote "we were accused of 'stacking' the meeting" (Colquhoun, 1968, p. 2).

[167] Colquhoun's letter gave the impression that this resolution may have been passed before the Paritai Drive protest which is not correct.

[168] My personal recollection is that SUP member Jim Gale, poked Jack Gabolinscy in the chest, and received a single quick blow to his forehead. Gale retreated from the meeting with blood running from his forehead. Others, such as leading SUP member Bill Andersen, appeared to getting ready to extend the conflict, but the issue was defused when a neutralist, Odo Strewe, loudly endorsed my statement that Gale had "hit first".

Colquhoun (1968) claimed that "the Council grew, in size and support, thereafter" but Jackman (1979) recorded more accurately that it "continued with considerably reduced energy" (Jackman, 1979, p. 69). Later in 1968, the ACoV stood off from protests against South Korean president Park Chung-hee[169] and a Labour Day international solidarity protest organised by an ad-hoc committee which included PYM and student groups (Jackman, 1979). The ACoV adopted a stance of organising separate protests for events like the *USS Wainwright* which visited Auckland following military actions off the coast of Vietnam. Similarly, when USA Vice-President Agnew visited Auckland in January 1970, the ACoV called its own protest and circulated a letter to affiliates claiming it had requested PYM "to disassociate itself from Council activities" (Jackman, 1979, p. 69). Following the Agnew visit "the Council held no further major meetings or events" (Jackman, 1979). Jackman (1979) observed that "as soon as the radical element was gone, the Council lost its energy and quietly faded away" (p. 39).

B. Labour Party leadership

The Labour Party leadership took a duplicitous position towards the war in Vietnam (refer to Chapter 3) and displayed open hostility to protest groups.

In 1969, Kirk described the actions of PYM members at election meetings as "deplorable" and said that most PYM members were exhibitionists ("Demonstrations by activists "deplorable"," 1969). The following year, when PYM announced plans to lay a wreath to the "dead and dying in Vietnam" at the Auckland Cenotaph on ANZAC Day, Kirk described this as "an impudent affront to decency" ("Kirk hits at PYM Anzac plan," 1970, p. 1).[170] Similarly, he told parliament that "the public are sick and tired of them [PYM] and their antics. … Their behaviour is a fertile seed bed for disorder and one that should be firmly controlled" (Grant, 2014, pp. 148-149).

Once in power the Kirk Government did withdraw the last NZ troops from Vietnam. However, as Prime Minister, he strongly opposed a resolution, put forward at the Labour Party's 1973 Conference, which called for recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government [PRG] of South Vietnam[171] (Grant, 2014, p. 249).

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[169] South Korea had a large number of troops fighting with the USA in Vietnam (Jackman, 1979).

[170] Kirk's outburst followed a widely publicised statement by National MP Alfred E. Allen who said "If I was not in politics I would contact some of the RSA and say "Have you got any young chaps who would like to stand across the road when the PYM come along?" ("Dim view of PYM march says MP," 1970, p. 3). He added that "If some of the boys wanted to get playful the PYM would get what has been coming to them for months."

[171] The government formed by the NLF in 1969. Grant incorrectly referred to the PRG as the "provisional revolutionary government in North Vietnam".

When the WCOV invited a delegation from the PRG to visit NZ in 1973, Prime Minister Kirk effectively blocked the visit. The PRG had been recognised in the Paris Peace Agreements as an equal party to the pro-USA regime based in Saigon, and by mid-May 1973 the PRG was recognised as the legitimate government of South Vietnam by 31 countries and had been admitted to the 1972 conference of 60 non-aligned countries as a "full participant government" (Law, 1973b).[172] However, Kirk declared the PRG was not a government but a "political movement, which did not possess the trappings of a Government" and "did not have territory under its control". He demanded that the delegation travel as North Vietnamese or on visas issued by the Saigon regime (Law, 1973b).

Kirk's actions sabotaged the PRG delegation's visit (Law, 1973b) and thereby denied opponents of the war in NZ the opportunity to hear from the delegation. It also illustrated the ongoing refusal of the Kirk Government to respect the Paris Peace Agreement[173] (Law, 1973a).

As documented earlier, Kirk's attitude towards the anti-war movement did not prevent increasing involvement in the lower Labour Party ranks, especially in the later years of the anti-Vietnam War struggle. Jackman (1979) wrote that there was "considerable Labour Party support" for the last mobilisation march, on July 14 1972 (p. 150).

C. Exclusion

The extreme divisiveness expressed in the Labour Party leadership's attitudes of "exclusion" mirrored the actions of some groups in the USA like the SANE whose policy was to exclude communist groups from their activities. Some members of these organisations were upset in 1965 when the SDS refused to exclude groups considered communist from the Easter 1965 anti-war march in Washington (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985). In 1967, SANE refused to be a sponsor of the spring mobilisation because communist groups were being allowed to march under their own banners. Zaroulis and Sullivan (1985) wrote that, regardless of SANE's refusal, "the march was endorsed by a broad enough spectrum to ensure both participation and legitimacy" (p. 111). Organisers estimated 400,000 participated in the New York march and about 50,000 in San

[172] The circular is undated, but believed to be early May 1973. Two members of the WCOV and the editor of *Salient*, the Victoria University of Wellington student paper, travelled to Sydney to meet the PRG delegation during the delegation's visit to Australia in May 1973 ("Who are the P.R.G?," 1973).

[173] The Labour Government refused to recognise either the North Vietnamese [DRV] or PRG Governments, despite a call from the United Nations to do so. It also "refused to recognise the problem of political prisoners in South Vietnam" (Law, 1973a, p. 9).

Francisco. There were similar dissentions as a result of the participation of black activists like Stokely Carmichael. Other organisations, such as the SDS, rejected these policies of exclusion (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985).

SANE and other like-minded groups were terrorised by right-wing Democrat senator Thomas Dodd who took every opportunity to make wild and unsubstantiated claims about communist influence in the USA anti-Vietnam War movement, which were then taken up by the news media. This led long-time radical pacifist and early opponent of the Vietnam War, A. J. Muste, to comment that any people who "could be intimidated and terrorised by Dodd or whomsoever are not going to build a peace movement" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 48). In NZ, a leading vehicle for these "red scare" tactics was the weekly newspaper *NZ Truth*.

Like SANE and other groups in the USA, the WCOV was very influenced by the "red smear" in its early years. Unlike SANE, they did not openly exclude communists, but leaders of the WCOV did covertly try to exclude communists from sub-committees. WCOV executive member Roger Boshier admitted later that he "consciously avoided putting the names of communists" on the WCOV's adverts published in the *NZ Listener* and elsewhere (Haas, 1967, p. 31).

Some of the more conservative elements also raised issues about the involvement of communists in the movement. Haas (1967) went so far as to claim that "The communists joined in the protest movement of their own volition, they came uninvited and largely unwanted" (p. 26). He commented that there were pressures within the WCOV to expel communist members and keep them out of positions of responsibility.

In his statement regarding communists "joining" the movement, Haas (1967) ignored the fact that CPNZ members were involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement from its beginnings. On 7 December 1965, leading Wellington CPNZ member Rona Bailey reported that CPNZ members adopted "flexible tactics" so as "not to antagonise" the conservative WCOV leadership who "wish to limit activity to publications, and to press for negotiations through the UN" (cited in Nunes, 1966, p. 8). During 1965, the CPNZ members had been "raising other ideas for activity at the monthly meetings, and working hard ourselves, to win over the more progressive elements in the leadership to a stronger position and more direct activity" (R Bailey, cited in Nunes, 1966, p. 8).[174]

[174] This letter was included in Ray Nunes' report to a meeting of the CPNZ Political Committee on 2 February 1966.

Often the anti-communist approach was a reaction to the dishonest "red smear" tactics of government members and other supporters of the USA led war in Vietnam. In August 1965, NZ Tramways Union National Secretary Peter Hansen told an Auckland meeting that "We must not be afraid of the 'red bogey'. We have got to fight against it" ("Union leader on Vietnam and 'red bogey'," 1965, p. 5). He added that "To brand anything Communist is to try and give it the 'kiss of death'. This is wrong" ("Union leader on Vietnam and 'red bogey'," 1965, p. 5). Hansen, who had earlier in the year attended a Trade Union Conference in Hanoi, acknowledged that before he went overseas he "felt this way" himself, but added "since being overseas I've seen the error of this" ("Union leader on Vietnam and 'red bogey'," 1965, p. 5).

The anti-communist stance of some WCOV leaders was fuelled in 1966 when the CPNZ monthly theoretical journal *Communist Review* published an article by Ray Nunes[175] which contained an injudicious comment about the party's influence in the anti-war movement. This statement was immediately exploited by the media who used it to red bait, and the WCOV executive called for a retraction from the CPNZ (Haas, 1967). Haas (1967) reported that, when no retraction was received, the seven known Communist Party members of the WCOV were suspended. Rabel (2005) wrote that the suspended members were reinstated after they disowned the statement.

Sarah Campion, on behalf of the Auckland PFVC, wrote to the WCOV that the suspension threat "savours to us of witch hunting", and cautioned that the "anti-communist crusade will get even more intense as the plight of America and her allies becomes more desperate. Now is the time to abide by our principles, lest we find ourselves with none" (Jackman, 1979, pp. 24-25).

Ron Smith (1994), one of the allegedly suspended CPNZ members and a critic of the Nunes article, wrote later that the suspension move was withdrawn after a "heated debate" at the June 1966 general meeting of the WCOV, so never actually took place.[176] He also recalled that the WCOV executive was "replaced with a stronger one" the following March (R. Smith, 1994, p. 151). In August 1968, Rona Bailey was co-opted onto the

[175] The Nunes article, based on his 2 February 1966 report, stated that the primary reason the struggle against the Vietnam War had developed so rapidly was "the active, organising leadership of the Party".
[176] Minutes of the June 1966 meeting would appear to contradict Ron Smith's recollections. The minutes briefly record an "in committee" discussion re "suspensions" where a resolution passed stated that "the Executive's circulated and oral reports concerning the suspension of certain members be received and that the letters written by the certain members be accepted" and noted that "the Committee is pleased to learn that the suspensions no longer apply" (Webster, 1966).

WCOV executive committee (*WCOV Meeting 26 August 1968*, 1968), and a few weeks later became treasurer (*WCOV Executive* 1968).

The political climate in the WCOV had changed by August 1969 when then-chairman J. Gough is recorded as saying that:

> [T]here had been somewhat of a shift in the organisation as the war had developed, and that it was time to take a stronger line, and demand that the Americans must get out, rather than pressing for negotiations. The Committee must try to expand its activities and get things going" (*WCOV Meeting for the month of August 1969*, p. 2).

A few years later, in 1973, this change had developed to the point where the WCOV planned to invite a delegation from the PRG to visit NZ, as mentioned earlier.[177] This may reflect Jackman's (1979) statement that the most effective movement leaders were "those who had a communistic view of politics and of history" and that these people had "a greater commitment than non-communist leadership" (p. vii). This sweeping assessment was only partly correct. There were many non-communist dedicated activists who held strong pacifist or religious views but who had no problems working with communists or other activist groups to further protest activity.

D. Anti-American?

Some in the moderate section joined Holyoake and other war supporters in attacking other groups for being "anti-American" (Haas, 1967). This position confused criticism of the USA Government policies and actions with the American people. There was frequent contact between NZ anti-war groups and those in the USA, and solidarity protests were often timed to coincide with those in the USA (Bell, 1989). For example, in April 1966, the PYM bulletin *Youth* contained extracts from USA GI letters from Vietnam (PYM, 1966b). The October 1967 Auckland protest which ended with a PYM march to the US Consul's residence, was timed to coincide with mass marches in the USA and other countries. In early 1968, in response to an appeal from USA protest groups, PYM and other Auckland groups organised a protest march and other activities in April of that year. Around this time PYM and the AVC reprinted an appeal by four USA naval deserters for

[177] Jackman (1979) wrote that by early 1972 the Wellington COV was "dominated by young university Maoists" (p. 144). He is most likely referring to members and associates of what was then the Wellington Marxist-Leninist Organisation, formed by Rona Bailey and other (by then) former members of the CPNZ.

distribution to USA sailors from visiting warships.[178] (C. Anderson, Bailey, Barilla, & Lindner, 1968; *Progressive Youth Movement Newsletter*, 1967; PYM, 1966b, 1968a).

PYM also produced its own leaflets for distribution to crew members of visiting USA warships which came to NZ for "rest and recreation" leave after participating in military operations off the coast of Vietnam. One leaflet began "As a civilian American you are most welcome to visit our country at any time, BUT as a member of the US armed forces you are most unwelcome" (PYM, n.d., p. 1). After explaining why people opposed the USA war in Vietnam, the leaflet urged the servicemen to join the "thousands of Americans" who were opposing the war and "become a fighter for peace and freedom and not a fighter for [sic] aggressive wars" (PYM, n.d., p. 1).

In late 1967 PYM published a leaflet featuring photos of seven USA military leaders accompanied by their statements regarding the war in Vietnam (PYM, 1967b). Included in this group was retired Brigadier General Hugh B. Hester, who toured NZ in late 1967, speaking against the USA war in Vietnam at meetings organised by anti-Vietnam War organisations ("General Hester visit?," 1967; Locke, 1992; Roth, 1968).

E. Attempts at control

The WCOV sought to be the centre of a unified national movement, especially in the early years. Haas (1967) implied that the WCOV had some responsibility for the growth of local anti-war organisations around NZ and that it sought to use them as "entry points to the local scene" (p. 12). Bell (1989) wrote that some former Dunedin COV members described the Wellington body as acting "as if it were a national leader" of the movement at times, but "nobody bought it" (p. 25).

In Easter 1967, the Wellington COV initiated a meeting of committees from around the country with the objective of forming "a long-term organisation for peace" (Horrocks, 1967b, p. 4).[179] Following this meeting, other committees received a proposal of rules for a NZ Committee on Vietnam (Incorporated). Dunedin rejected the proposal on the basis that of "the lack of protection given to the autonomy of local committees" and

[178] The four sailors had deserted from the *USS Intrepid*, an aircraft carrier, and at the time were living in Sweden.

[179] Publication of this pamphlet was credited to the "National Liaison Committee", Committees on Vietnam. In this period the WCOV publication *Vietnam Quote and Comment* was being published under the name of the "Editorial Board of the Committees on Vietnam" (Editorial Board *Vietnam Quote and Comment*, 1967).

because the executive was based in Wellington which they felt would give the Wellington body too much power (Bell, 1989, pp. 25-26).

A response from the NZPC was more explicit. A letter to N. R. Taylor, chairman of the WCOV Policy Committee, from the NZPC Executive Committee, stated that "the draft as proposed would in our opinion make the Committee a restricted tightly-knit organisation controlled from the top" (Tuxford, 1967). "The whole nature of the proposed rules cuts across the agreed policy that all committees be autonomous." The NZPC Executive noted that the proposed rules "would make centrally decided policy binding on all members" (Tuxford, 1967). The NZPC also stated that they would "be happy to cooperate if a more simple set of rules were formulated in order to assist the NZ Committee build a movement open to all who wished to see an end to the Vietnam War" (Tuxford, 1967).

The national organisation never eventuated (Rabel, 2005).

In 1968 the ACoV appointed Len Reid as its censor, detailed to vet "which banners were suitable" on days of demonstrations (Jackman, 1979, p. 66). In its preparations for a march on 19 July 1968, Council chairman Len Reid sent a circular to "affiliations, supporters and interested groups" in which he reported that the Council's policy was that all slogans had to "relate to the Geneva Agreements". He added that "marshals have been authorised to exclude and disown inappropriate banners" (Reid, 1968). Jackman (1979) commented that the move "largely failed" (p. 66).

In March 1971 representatives of the AVC attended a meeting in Wellington which was aimed at gaining support for a mobilisation being planned by the WCOV. Following that meeting, an AVC newsletter emphasised:

> The movement is diverse and this is our strength. To artificially impose a rigid national form of organisation on all these diverse sections is to invite unnecessary friction and inward-looking conflict. ... The Committee enjoys uniting with any group around a given issue and it respects all groups' efforts – no matter what the form – to arouse opposition to the war. (Auckland Vietnam Committee, 1971)[180]

In mid-1971 the SAL, through the Mobilisation Committees, tried to consolidate the National Liaison Committee into a "parent body" for the movement (Jackman, 1979, p. 142). Jackman (1979) acknowledged that the proposed body would have taken the

[180] The newsletter was undated but appears to be from March/April 1971.

movement "further and further away from the activist style" and would have given the SAL "immense power" (Jackman, 1979, p. 142).

The "mobilisation" approach, was controversial among activist groups. Like its allied group in the USA (the SWP) the SAL followed the "Out Now" mass legal march approach, virtually to the exclusion of other activities. The AVC newsletter quoted above recognised that "big demonstrations and mobilisations have a place in the anti-war movement" but expressed concern that "some groups place too much stress on them to the exclusion of other forms of activity" (Auckland Vietnam Committee, 1971, p. 8). The Committee added that "people can often be more effective working in their own way through their own groups, than when they come together united on slogans so broad that even those carrying on the war could agree with them"[181] (Auckland Vietnam Committee, 1971, p. 8).

These criticisms were not unique to NZ. In the USA, where the SWP developed the mobilisation approach, leading activists like Sidney Peck and Norma Becker also expressed concerns about the SWP "single issue, single-tactic, legal, peaceful demonstrations" restricted to one slogan, "Out Now"[182] (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 336). Peck criticised the absolute rigidity of the SWP position and described the SWP as splitting the movement (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985)[183].

Becker pointed out that there was room for more than one tactic. She said that "both styles were legitimate, both styles were valid" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 336). Arguing for the more activist approach, she said that "What's running down in Vietnam is an atrocity comparable to the Holocaust. We're not going to *politely* disagree" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 336).

University of Auckland professor Dr. Bob Mann, who Jackman (1979) described as an "independent university activist", criticised the SAL for "stacking meetings", "withholding mail", "unethical manipulation of meetings through the chairmanship" and having a "determination to dominate the Auckland Mobilisation Committee by whatever

[181] This latter statement alludes to Nixon's frequent claims at the time that he wanted the troops out – Nixon's aim was to replace USA troops with Vietnamese (trained and armed by the USA) under his "Vietnamization" programme. It did not mean ending the war.

[182] These policies and tactics were copied by the SAL in NZ who advocated the mobilisation approach and "peaceful, legal demonstrations" (Fyson, 1971).

[183] In June 1970 the SWP formed an alternative coalition to organise mobilisations in accordance with the "Out Now" formula (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985).

means necessary" (p. 145). Mann went on to say that the SAL was "fixated with marches to the virtual exclusion of other activities" (Jackman, 1979, p. 145). [184]

Following an anti-war conference in November 1971, the WCOV began planning another mobilisation for July 1972 (Rabel, 2005). In accordance with the November Conference decisions, the 1972 mobilisation demands included support for the Medical Aid Campaign,[185] support for the PRG's seven-point peace proposal and "support for the Indo-Chinese people's struggle against US aggression" ("What line for the protest movement?," 1972, p. 2). When these policies were confirmed at a WCOV meeting, members of the SAL present walked out to hold a breakaway meeting to form an alternative mobilisation committee. The breakaway group then sent representatives to Auckland in an attempt to get the Auckland body to recognise their organisation instead of the official one and to include only the SAL-sponsored group in national mobilisation material being produced in Auckland ("What line for the protest movement?," 1972).

One of the Wellington delegation admitted that the breakaway venue had been pre-booked before the WCOV decision was taken. *Rebel* reported later that agreeing to the breakaway group's demands "would have served to split the entire protest movement in NZ (and who would it serve?) in addition to being undemocratic and unprincipled. Fortunately it was defeated" ("What line for the protest movement?," 1972, p. 2).

The breakaway Wellington group later called their protest for the same time and place as the official one ("Change of plans?," 1972).

F. Sectarianism

The Nunes article referred to above was one of a number of sectarian actions by the CPNZ leadership which exacerbated the divisions in the movement, even though Nunes' statement was not completely incorrect. In 1967, Bert Roth, an Auckland University librarian and labour historian, observed that "if you look at the history of the last few years, you will find time and time again that it was the left wing which took up vital issues which the major political parties thought too hot to handle (Haas, 1967, p. 25)." By way of example, Roth stated that the first protests against the exclusion of Māori players from NZ rugby teams going to apartheid South Africa "were made in 1948, by the Communist

[184] Zaroulis and Sullivan (1985) refer to difficulties in the USA National Mobilisation Committee as a result of the USA SWP (fraternal organisation of the NZ SAL) "ability to stack, manipulate, and finally control coalition groupings" and their "undeviating insistence on a single 'correct' line" (p. 216).

[185] This refers to the activities of the NZ Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese Peoples, which funded medical supplies for people living in the NLF-controlled areas of South Vietnam.

Party and the Waterside Workers Union" (Haas, 1967, p. 25). Opposition to nuclear warfare was another example cited by Roth (Haas, 1967).

CPNZ members and supporters played a significant role in the AVC, PYM, NZPC and some of the anti-war movements in smaller centres (refer earlier). However, the CPNZ role was not as significant in Wellington and some other areas. Given the anti-communist stance of some members of the WCOV leadership Nunes's sweeping assessment of the origins of the movement and its publication were boastful and tactless actions.

In another case the CPNZ paper, *People's Voice*, carried a strong criticism of a planned ACoV concert with USA folk singer Pete Seeger. The PV described Seeger as a "sell-out" ("Seeger gone like the flowers he sings about," 1968, p. 7).

The PYM initially refused to be involved in the Auckland Mobilisation Committee in 1970, citing the need to "build a movement which hits at important issues, such as overseas visitors here to raise support for the war", rather than "mobilisations on meaningless dates" that "only bog down the activists" ("PYM policy on mobilisations," 1970, p. 6). As a consequence the visit of a delegation from the pro-USA Cambodian regime was "virtually ignored" except for a protest by "about 70 people" ("PYM policy on mobilisations," 1970, p. 6).

Bill Lee later said the decision was partly a response to the fact the AMC was formed and dominated by the Trotskyist SAL. While still critical of the mobilisations, he said that the decision to stay out of the Auckland Mobilisation Committee was a "tactical error". (Jackman, 1979, p. 103)

G. Pacifist groups

These inter-group differences were not confined to the more left groups. McReynolds (1992) pointed out that there was "no single pacifist approach to strategy and tactics", and that the pacifist movement experienced "internecine conflicts" as well as conflicts with "other groups in anti-war coalitions" (p. 53). He described how "pacifist strategy and tactics changed and deepened as the war dragged on", radicalising people (including himself) and compelling them to reassess their view of the history of the USA (McReynolds, 1992, p. 54).

McReynolds (1992) recorded that pacifist groups moved to a position of calling for the unconditional withdrawal of USA troops in Vietnam and leaving the Vietnamese people to decide on the form of government they wanted. They also moved from an exclusion approach of organising their own protest activities, separate from the socialist-oriented

groups, to participating in protest organising coalitions with every group which wanted to participate, including communists and socialists.

In McReynolds' words "For the duration of the war, the lions and lambs would lie down together: Catholics, Jews and Protestants would join forces with atheists; pacifists and non-pacifist would co-operate" (McReynolds, 1992, p. 61).

In the early 1970s "the Trotskyists broke the pattern", McReynolds (1992) wrote, when the SWP formed the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) whose sole tactic was "mass legal rallies" with only one demand – "Out Now" (p. 61).[186]

H. Civil disobedience

The differences over political approaches were reflected in the differences over tactics. The practical implications of the two different approaches, keeping everything "lawful" or being prepared to use civil disobedience, can be seen from several incidents during 1969 and 1970. Jackman (1979) simplistically portrays this as a difference between those who tended to "support the Socialist Unity Party and those who supported the Communist Party approach" (p. 59).

A practical expression of these different approaches was the attitude of various groups to the requirements that they apply to a local council for a permit before holding a march or a similar event (refer to Chapter 7). Some groups strongly disapproved of the activist stance of not applying for permission to march but informing councils in time for them to arrange traffic control. However, NZ's Ombudsman Sir Guy Powles spoke very strongly in favour of the right to protest. In an interview with the Auckland University Students' Association paper *Craccum*, Powles said that there is "a basic right to protest" ("A real live old world gent," 1970, p. 4).

Powles continued:

> I think that bylaws should not hinder demonstrations. The council should be directed to its duty of assuring safety with the flow of traffic in demonstrations. Certainly the council should be concerned with shopkeepers and all those people. But it is very bad for the council to be motivated by a political concern over demonstrations. The interests of the council should be wholly practical. The orderly passage of the demonstration, direction of traffic and so forth. ("A real live old world gent," 1970)

[186] McReynolds was referring to the SWP-organised split outlined above.

When the Auckland City Council refused a permit for the use of loudspeakers at a rally on 28 April 1968, ACoV leaders complied. ACoV chairman Len Reid said later that he declined the offer of a loudhailer because he wanted to avoid "some kind of showdown with the police" (Jackman, 1979, p. 64). On 21 September 1969, participants in the regular Myers Park Sunday forums moved the venue to Albert Park, a far more suitable site.[187] The council made numerous threats of prosecution through the media, which resulted in more people going each week. There was no "showdown with the police", and the council finally backed down (Lee, 2009; Shadbolt, 1971). The Auckland City Council did try to restrict the use of loud speaking equipment, but this was ignored and no attempt was made to enforce it (Lee, 2009).

In 1970, Auckland City Council banned Friday night marches in Auckland's Queen Street. Friday night was the late shopping night in the central city before the introduction of weekend shopping. The AVC, PYM, NZPC and other activist groups decided to hold a march every Friday night until the ban was lifted.[188] There was no "showdown with the police". The council began prosecutions under council bylaws, but after a month of protests they dropped the ban and the prosecutions ("City Council lifts ban," 1970; "Free speech," 1970; "Friday 3rd July - Vulcan Lane Speak-in," 1970; "Queen Street marches," 1970; "Rubbish Robbie's by-law," 1970).

In August 1969, the Dunedin City Council refused a permit for a planned march (Bell, 1989). The Dunedin COV responded by holding a protest in defence of "citizen's rights". Bell (1989) recorded that this was the only occasion the DCC refused a permit. In November that year the Mosgiel Borough Council refused a permit for an open-air meeting, so again the Dunedin COV responded with a protest (Bell, 1989).

In Wellington, the WCOV applied to the City Council for an area to be allocated for an open-air forum such as those being held at Myers Park in Auckland (Haas, 1967). On the first occasion, the council refused, but after a prominent persons' delegation to the council, the WCOV were allocated "an inconvenient and near useless piece of ground", to be used during very restricted times (Haas, 1967, p. 34). Consequently, no central open air forum was established in Wellington. In contrast, the Albert Park Sunday forums continued for a couple of years (Lee, 2009).

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[187] The move was not pre-planned, although both PYM and 'Friends of Brutus', a group headed by Tim Shadbolt, had this move in mind.

[188] The three-man Council Traffic Committee, which initially requested the ban, later voted two to one to ask the ACC to rescind the ban. The dissenting vote was Sir Keith Park, former-Chief Air Marshall and Royal Air Force commander.

In 1972 Auckland City Council officers issued infringement "tickets" to people handing out leaflets advertising the upcoming mobilisation. It was a breach of city bylaws to distribute leaflets without a permit from the council ("Moves to suppression," 1972). A campaign of mass leafletting followed and prosecutions were dropped.

Although often not enunciated in those terms, civil disobedience was a significant tactic amongst protest organisations in Auckland, and it was not confined to the young. Sarah Campion described how a midday march in Auckland's Queen Street in early 1966 spontaneously became an occupation of the US Consul's office (Jackman, 1979). About 50 of the protesters "crammed into the Consul's office" where the Consul tried to tell them that "this is not the way to do things". Several of the women "really had a womanly piece of him" (Jackman, 1979, p. 10).

In May of that year, older protesters joined with PYM members to protest on a USA destroyer which had been involved in military actions in Vietnam (Jackman, 1979). In addition to a protest at the wharf gate, one group went on with slogans painted on T-shirts under their jackets. Sarah Campion described later how she went on with another middle-aged woman named Flo White, who kept stopping to adjust her clothes, "...and whenever she passed, having pulled up her skirt or adjusted whatever it was, there was a 'Get out of Vietnam' sticker" (Jackman, 1979, p. 13).

Campion continued:

> It was the PYM – that was one of the brightest things. They went on looking perfectly respectable and then, I can still see Bill Lee doing it now, casting aside his coat and there front and back, lots of slogans ... It was the sort of thing that added a zest and a zipp to the whole business, because otherwise we were pretty staid and middle-aged. (Jackman, 1979, p. 13)

I. Medical aid to NLF areas

Defiance of the law was not restricted to protest actions. The NZ Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese Peoples in National Liberation Front Areas (NZMAC) raised funds in NZ which were sent to the British Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam which purchased medical supplies and passed these to the Red Cross of the NLF. In October 1965, Labour Party leader Kirk called the NZMAC a "Communist front organisation" and *NZ Truth* claimed that the Committee's activities could be treasonable (Rabel, 2005, p. 183).

At that time, tight foreign exchange controls meant sending money overseas required approval from the Reserve Bank. A request from the NZMAC to send two hundred

pounds was refused in 1965 after the Bank Governor consulted Prime Minister Holyoake (Rabel, 2005). However, the Committee's activities continued regardless of the law. In July 1966, the *NZ Herald* reported that eight hundred and eighty pounds "worth of medical supplies had reached the Red Cross Society of the NLF" (Rabel, 2005, p. 184). The NZMAC stated in mid-1969 that during the previous three years over $9,000 had been sent to the British MAC (Rabel, 2005). In August 1972 the secretary of the British MAC reported that the NZ Committee "in the first seven months of this year has contributed through this committee, £1,518.78" (NZMAC, 1972, August, p. 2).[189]

In February 1973, after the election of a Labour Government and signing of the Paris ceasefire agreement, the NZMAC was finally able to send funds to the British MAC "lawfully". The NZMAC reported that the "Reserve Bank granted the treasurer's application for a draft. Already in 1973 we have dispatched $1,800 to the British MAC in London" (NZMAC, 1973, February, p. 2).[190]

J. Australian anti-conscription action

In Melbourne, opponents of conscription faced two legal barriers in 1969. It was an offence under Melbourne City Bylaw 418 to distribute leaflets without police permission. It was illegal, under a recent amendment to the Federal Crimes Act, to "incite" people to break the provisions of the National Service Act by refusing to register for National Service (Irving, 2017).

When students began a disobedience campaign by distributing leaflets on the central Post Office steps advocating that young men refused to register they were arrested by the city bylaw officers for breach of the bylaw. Consequently, as the campaign developed, the focus became the bylaw, rather than the Federal law (Irving, 2017).

In mid-1969 a similar campaign began in NSW under the auspices of the Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act (CDNSA). CDNSA developed a campaign aimed at having volunteers arrested and jailed for encouraging defiance of the conscription laws, with the objective of focussing public attention on the Crimes Act and the National Service Act. They also wanted to stand in solidarity with the men who had been jailed for defying National Service (Irving, 2017).

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[189] Over NZ$3,000 at the time.

[190] At this time the committee was renamed "NZ Medical Aid Committee for Vietnam" and the newsletter stated that the aid now went to "the Liberation Red Cross of South Vietnam and to the Vietnam Red Cross for use in North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia" (NZMAC, 1973, February, p. 1).

A group of volunteers would publicly break the law while another CDNSA member who had not done so would take their names and lay informations with the courts, thus bypassing the police. The first two groups of "offenders" were convicted and fined, but the courts refused to process the third "complaint" on the grounds that it was "vexatious, collusive, and an abuse of the process of law" (Court decision cited in Irving, 2017, p. 173). Most of those convicted refused to pay their fines, but were not arrested for this act of defiance.

The defiance tactic spread to Melbourne where, in one case, a private prosecution for breach of the Crimes Act made it to court. The magistrate dismissed the charges, saying that the process "was an attempt to use the court as a public forum" and accused Reverend Moore, who was prosecuting, of "working in cahoots with the charged people" (Irving, 2017, p. 176).

The Melbourne City Bylaw 416 was challenged in April 1969 by a high-profile group of older activists including Federal Labour MP Jim Cairns. After being convicted for breaching the bylaw, Cairns and two others declared that they would refuse to pay the fines and go to jail if necessary. The action brought public and media focus onto the bylaw, which was repealed on 9 April 1969 (Irving, 2017).

Members of the women's anti-conscription group Save Our Sons (SOS) held "fill-in-a-falsie" parties in which draft registration papers were filled in with names of pets, government politicians, Hitler or even elderly relatives (Langley, 1992; McHugh, 1993). These were then filed and served to clog up what was then a manual registration and recording system.

The Draft Resisters Union (DRU), formed in 1970, emphasised "non-compliance", whereby young men liable for conscription refused to register or co-operate. The DRU received official papers which recorded that 11,000 young men had failed to register between 1965 and 1970 (Langley, 1992).

K. Direct action

Morris and Clawson (2005) described the "hallmark of mass movements" as "the use of unconventional strategies and tactics to create wide-scale social disruption that serves as political leverage" (p. 686).

> The civil rights movement succeeded, because it generated the power necessary to overthrow the Jim Crow regime. That power derived from the ability of the

> civil rights movement to create social disruption. The goal of nonviolent direct action was to overthrow legally mandated racial segregation by creating such massive crises within the Jim Crow social order that the authorities of oppression had to yield to the demands of the movement before order could be restored. Without such disruption, the Jim Crow social system could not have been overthrown. (Morris & Clawson, 2005, p. 685)

Drawing on these lessons, they commented:

> *Our baseline premise is that workers' rights can be won only through a mass movement taking risks and engaging in direct action*. In the last century, such mass movements were central to workers' advances in the 1930s, African Americans' victories in the 1960s, the gains of the Second-Wave women's movement, winning welfare rights, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the freedom struggle in South Africa. (Morris & Clawson, 2005, p. 686)

Civil disobedience was also a long-standing tactic of USA pacifist groups like the WRL which encouraged and assisted young men who avoided the draft, including participating in mass draft card burning.[191] After 1966 this was extended to encouraging servicemen to desert and assisting those who did so (McReynolds, 1992).

From 1966, another USA group, WSP, had used its unique social position and resources to help draft resisters and conscientious objectors. Swerdlow (1992) described WSP members as "middle-aged, middle-class, white women" who had "achieved social standing in the community" (pp. 159-161). In mid-1967, the WSP National Consultative Committee issued a "Statement of Conscience and complicity with draft resistance", the latter being a defiance of the USA Selective Service Act (Swerdlow, 1992, p. 167). To publicise this statement WSP organised a "demonstration in support of draft refusal" which included picketing the White House (Swerdlow, 1992, p. 168).

When police lined up to block the marchers from reaching the White House, the protesters pushed through police lines and "dashed into the road to reach the White House" where they sat down in the road (Swerdlow, 1992, p. 169). None of the women were arrested, but two young draft resisters who had joined them were "dragged several hundred feet, beaten and arrested" (Swerdlow, 1992, p. 169). "This only affirmed the WSP conviction that middle-aged mothers could get away with more militancy than radical young men, and that WSP had to do more in its own name to end the war" (Swerdlow, 1992, p. 169).

[191] In 1965, the burning of draft cards was made illegal in the USA.

McReynolds (1992) wrote that among the vocal critics of civil disobedience were the "Old Left" like the CPUSA and the SWP. He questioned how these organisations could "fail to understand that the government would not give way except under pressure" (McReynolds, 1992, p. 65).

He added that:

> Unions would still not be organized if workers had done nothing but hold legal rallies on Sundays, and the South would still be segregated if the racists knew the movement could be contained behinds the barriers of a legal rally. (McReynolds, 1992, p. 65)

And:

> From my own perspective, serious movements use *every* means consistent with their ends, and whilst this rules out violence and lying, it includes about anything else – from lobbying and vigils to refusing to pay taxes. For each of these tactics there is a time and a place. There is no virtue in a tactic as such. (McReynolds, 1992, p. 65)

In 1971, NPAC decided to hold mass marches on 24 April, one week before the already planned May Day actions which were aimed at mass non-violent civil disobedience with the objective of shutting down Washington (McReynolds, 1992). May Day organisers[192] saw the NPAC move as a deliberate attempt to undermine their activities (McReynolds, 1992). After some debate, accommodation was reached between the groups and both activities proceded. Between 200,000 and 500,000 people took part in the Washington march.

At the start of the May Day activities, the police shut down a legally permitted peace rock concert and drove the 50,000 attendees out of the park. On 3 May, Washington police mobilised over 700 police and National Guard (with 10,000 troops in reserve) brutally attacking protesters and some bystanders. Nearly half of the 15,000 protesters were arrested by police who completely ignored the legal arrest rules (McReynolds, 1992).

While arguments continued following the activities, Noam Chomsky saw the events as complementary:

> The march provided evidence of majority opposition to the war; the Mayday action provided an implied threat that if the liberals in Congress do not act to end the war, future large-scale demonstrations may follow the path of Mayday, rather than 24 April. (McReynolds, 1992, p. 87)

[192] The activities were organised by the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), formerly named the National Coalition against War, Racism and Repression.

In Auckland during the 1960s and 1970s, many arrestees were represented by civil rights lawyer Frank Haigh, who gave his time freely. Later, Tom Newnham wrote that while Haigh "may occasionally privately regret the recklessness of the immature, he prefers it to apathy" (Newnham, 1989, p. 6).

L. Violence

The "showdown with the police" fear that Len Reid expressed (see above) was shared by more conservative elements who described more militant groups like PYM as seeking confrontation. Jackman (1979) repeatedly referred to violence with the police, or violence with the state – even though he admitted that PYM "never initiated any violence against the police" (p. 105). This latter comment accords with Melucci's observation, noted above, that violence in social conflicts "is almost always first resorted to by the agents of social control" (Melucci, 1996, p. 369).

In this study, "violence" is used to refer to violence between people, and does not include violence to property (as in Gamson, 1989). My approach accords with Zinn (2013), who distinguished between "violence to people and violence to things" (p. 46). Zinn asked, "Can we conceive that it might be necessary on certain occasions to depreciate, despoil, occupy or appropriate some piece of property to call attention to some grievous evil?" (p. 47). By way of illustration, he contrasted the act of a protester breaking windows at the Pentagon with decisions made in the Pentagon that caused the deaths of thousands of USA servicemen (Zinn, 2013, pp. 46-47).

Participant comments

A significant number of study participants referred to the differences in the movement, between groups and between individuals, primarily the sectarian stances often taken.

Ben said he "tried to avoid a lot of the sort of internecine struggles between political factions and stuff."

> That was my biggest sadness really, to see the classic left-wing destroying itself by arguing with each other when united fronts and big popular struggles actually were able to achieve results. But fighting against ourselves in a small country like NZ with such a tiny proportion of the country actually involved in left-wing politics – it was quite depressing.

Adrian

I always found it really difficult – the kind of barriers that were thrown up between this group or that group, or some other group.

Jack

With the Ky demonstrations. When that started we went along, and we wanted absolutely rigid tight bloody demos. A lot of other people said no, no we should have silent demonstrations, we should do this and we should do that. We fought bitterly over it and as it turned out they were bloody right, the large group of people there, because the demo that finished up had the religious groups and all of the groups that didn't want to do anything as "violent" as we wanted to do, and all we wanted to do was chant nasty chants and stuff.

They were bloody right because we got people out in their thousands, tens of thousands for that demo and it was bloody huge and when the police attacked it didn't matter if you were religious, a communist or what, you bloody fought back.

I think if we learned to work with people rather than making them turn into us a little bit faster, we would have done very well.

Karen

I recall talking to the people who had experienced that suddenly the dogma changes and they are left excluded. There's been a turn of who you are following, and suddenly you are on the wrong side. Also, talk within PYM. I was aware that the ones they hated the most was the Trotskyists who were kind of five degrees of separation. I developed a very healthy skepticism of people that followed ideology over relationships.

There were conversations which I just thought were appalling and it kind of gave me an awareness of dogma in ideologues. It's not unique to the PYM. They're everywhere. I remember feminist ideologues, 'you've got to do this and you've got to behave like that'. I remember walking into a meeting, putting on bright red lipstick before I went in, and saying "Oh sorry I can't come to this meeting I'm off to the pub" as an act of rebellion.

I just can't bear it when that sort of sanctimonious disapproval ideology overrides everything.

It made me very wary of extreme polemic.

Anna

I think the sectarianism was not good. People took positions strongly, and I think that was unfortunate because I am sure it led to people leaving or feeling less confident and comfortable. Also I think it cut us off from groups who were we were really aligned with, with slight variations.

I do think the sectarianism was unnecessary among people who were much more-like minded and weren't trying to oppose but maybe took a different view on the particular divisions that were going on in the left-wing socialist-communist movement or had a slightly different way of doing things.

I'm not talking about major political differences such as with some people in the Council on Vietnam. I believe that some of them, such as someone like Bill Andersen, actually tried to deliberately distract and control the movement and didn't want to have action that would lead to effective protest. I think that the role that Bill Andersen played was actually to intimidate people. I saw him intimidating Len Parker, who is a very little person, before people marched on to Paritai Drive [October 1968].

Barry

In regard to the question of militant tactics, we didn't take an either/or position. There has to be room for all kinds of levels of activity – and we didn't oppose the more conservative activities – but the conservatives like the SUP, SAL, etc, tried to restrict and denigrate what they considered to be militant actions.

Our general approach was to push up the political and action level but not to the point of alienating people. We never aimed to have people deliberately arrested – but did take things as far as we could before backing down or changing tack. (Correspondence with Barry Lee, cited in Boraman, 2006, p. 267).

Discussion

The analysis set out above helps explain the roots of substantial divergence and variance in the wider anti-war movement in NZ, Australia and the USA during the 1960s and 1970s. This divergence frequently reflected strategic and tactical differences, which occasionally manifested in sectarian squabbling or attempts by one group or another to undermine other organisations or control the movement and its overall direction. Participant comments show that the personalisation of differences can lead to an obscuring of the real issues at stake.

There is a danger that these different approaches to strategy and tactics can be exploited by the media, who give voice to those groups they consider "acceptable" and denigrate those they consider too radical or activist. If organisations based their activities on trying to placate the media and appear respectable, then they easily slipped into policies of exclusion and sectarianism towards those they considered too radical.

The example of the NZMAC illustrates how people committed to a humanitarian cause are prepared to defy the law when they consider that the law or its application is wrong. Another, less visible defiance was illustrated by the women in SOS, who filled in "falsies" to jam up the Australian conscription process.

There is a strong body of evidence that civil disobedience is a legitimate and effective protest tactic and clearly this developed into situations which some groups found unacceptable. Certainly, in the NZ context, there is no evidence that "trying to influence the Labour Party" (Haas, 1967) contributed to building the movement. As McReynolds (1992) put it "the lions and the lambs" could "lie down together" in the common struggle against the war. The difficulty arose when one group or other tried to control the agenda.

The following chapter discusses participant recollections of attitudes within the PYM in relation to the issues of race, gender equality and gay rights which became the focus of new movements as the 1970s progressed.

Chapter 9 Attitudes to issues of race / gender / sexuality

Part way through the interviewing process, after discussion with my supervisors, I added a new question regarding internal attitudes to issues of race, gender and sexuality in the movement at the time. The new question was circulated to the five participants who had already been interviewed, and their replies are included.

Most participants focussed on the issue of gender attitudes and practices within the movement, which was an issue subject to critique in NZ, Australia and the USA as the anti-war and other movements developed during the 1960s and into the 1970s.

Gender issues

A. Women in the movements

One of the earliest and most well-known documents on this issue was a memo written by USA activists Casey Hayden and Mary King (1965). The memo was circulated among women in the USA movements and stimulated probably the first workshop on "Women in the Movement", at the 1965 SDS conference (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985). The memo repeated and developed an earlier document developed anonymously for a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee position paper in 1964.

Both documents challenged stereotyped roles for men and women in the movements, questioning why "women who are competent, qualified, and experienced, are automatically assigned to 'female' kinds of jobs such as typing, desk-work, telephone work, cooking, and the assistant kind of administrative work but rarely the 'executive' kind" (Zaroulis & Sullivan, 1985, p. 61).

In his study on gender roles in the USA draft resistance movement, Thorne (1975) wrote that "like other New Left groups in the 1960s" activities in the resistance movement were designated on a gender basis (p. 181). "Women's work tended to be confined to Movement offices, where they typed, mimeographed,[193] collated, licked envelopes, kept records, made coffee" (B. Thorne, 1975, p. 181). In the USA New Left these activities were commonly known as the "shitwork" (B. Thorne, 1975).[194]

Piercy (1970) described how this division of labour in the USA movement mimicked the

[193] Duplicated.

[194] When I joined PYM at the end of 1967, I was one of very few members who could type efficiently (thanks to my 19 months' police training) and I frequently typed leaflets and by far the bulk of the Gestetner duplication stencils used to produce the *Rebel*. However, this would have been an exception in the wider movement.

standards of capitalist society:

> If the rewards are concentrated at the top, the shitwork is concentrated at the bottom. The real basis is the largely unpaid, largely female labor force that does the daily work. Reflecting the values of the larger capitalist society, there is no prestige whatsoever attached to actually working. Workers are invisible. It is writers and talkers and actors of dramatic roles who are visible and respected. The production of abstract analyses about what should be done and the production of technical jargon are far more admired than what is called by everybody shitwork. (p. 476)

Cable (1992) also wrote that, within social movements, "the roles women play are likely to reflect female socialization". ... "Men are the formal leaders while women are the organizers, performing solidarity and affective functions for the group" (Cable, 1992, p. 38).

A detailed study of gender roles in the New York tenancy movement from the early 1900s by Lawson and Barton (1980) found that women were numerically dominant among activists and even leaders of Building Organisations. However, when it came to Neighbourhood Organisations (NOs) and later federations of NOs, the leaders were predominantly men. This was partly as a result of wanting to appear more "professional" in dealings with bureaucrats and officials.

Male leaders of the NOs and federations were also found to be more career driven, and there was a higher turnover of men in responsible positions than women, especially in a downturn of activity. However, in the 1970s, the situation changed, especially in regard to top-level voluntary positions. The authors linked this shift to the "growth of the modern women's movement" (Lawson & Barton, 1980, p. 246) as well as the increased availability of women with legal, organising and political experience.

In her book on the rising women's movement in NZ during the 1970s, Dann (1985) wrote that when feminist Janet Bogle tried to raise the issue of "women's liberation" at the Dunedin Radical Activist Conference in 1969 she was "howled down by the men present" (p. 3). Dann (1985) noted that in 1970 the radical activists "were showing women's liberation a little more respect" (p. 4). It was during 1970 that the first two women's liberation organisations were formed in NZ. One of these was the Auckland Women's Liberation Movement formed by PYM.

Dann (1985) described the Auckland WLM as believing that "women's liberation should be a radical cell within the general socialist movement" because "the liberation of women

would only be successful in a socialist society" (p. 5). A similar outlook is reflected in L. Hall's (2003) thesis on women in the CPNZ. Hall (2003) wrote that in the CPNZ the ideal of women's equality was "deferred until after the revolution" (p. 370). She described the CPNZ as being "male dominated" and reflecting "the structure of power relations in NZ society" (L. Hall, 2003, p. 370). Regardless of this male domination, "the Party offered opportunities to women not easily available elsewhere" (L. Hall, 2003, p. 370). Hall (2003) also recorded that "women members of the CPNZ were instrumental in the formation of what eventually became the New Zealand Family Planning Association (FPA) and possibly had more impact on the material circumstances of people's lives than any other Party activity" (p. 2).

On a personal level, Hall (2003) found that the participant women's "reflections about the experience of CPNZ membership were overwhelmingly affirmative; friendships made there are particularly valued" (p. 9).

The women in her study also mentioned:

> [T]he benefits of Party membership: the useful skills they learned, the sense of community, and in particular the tremendous sense of purpose and political vision the CPNZ provided. Most reject the view that all their hard work was in vain. (L. Hall, 2003, p. 9)

B. The backbone of peace organisations

Curthoys described women's place in the Australian anti-war movement as "contradictory, ambivalent and varied" (1995, p. 331). "For many women, it was the best opportunity they had ever had to be independent political actors" (Curthoys, 1995). She found that women who had been in separate women's organisations (like the anti-conscription group SOS) "remember their role as powerful rather than subordinate". ... "It was in the mixed organisations that women usually felt subordinate and rarely achieved leading positions" (Curthoys, 1995, p. 331).

Curthoys (1995) quoted former activist Beverley Symons as describing married women volunteers as the "backbone" of the local organisations. "They did the typing, did the Gestetnering[195], made the endless cups of tea", [plus] "filling all the envelopes, getting the mail-outs done and all that kind of thing" ... "It was women who kept the peace movement going really" (Curthoys, 1995, p. 331).

[195] A Gestetner was a duplicating machine very common in the 1960s and 1970s. A man named Gestetner was its inventer.

C. Participant comments

Recollections of participants in the current study varied widely.

Adrian

> I think we were acutely aware of the gender issues. We tried pretty hard as I recall in the PYM. There were quite a few women involved, and I don't ever recall them in any other way than as members of the PYM really.

Danny

> When I joined PYM, I believe the secretary was a woman.
>
> I was aware of gender issues.

Bernie

> I used to think I was fairly progressive on issues of race, gender, sexuality. However, I had a lot to learn – and still working on it.

Richard

> It was a new thing for me as a man. I think the lip-service aspect might apply to some degree, but I think there was a reasonable awareness of those issues.

Graham

> In the early days, PYM (and most left-wing groups) reflected outdated notions of gender equity.

Peter

> At that time I held the view that males and females were of equal worth and value but don't recall this as being a topic for discussion during the time I was involved with PYM. I became more directly engaged with this as the women's liberation movement developed and women I knew were involved with it. This was after my participation in left activism had moved from PYM to other areas,

Allan

> I think there were some problems with thinking that some probably weren't the best towards women. I think some of the guys sometimes

weren't the best, perhaps didn't treat things quite as equally as they should have. A bit domineering on the men's side.

Jo

When I first got really involved in PYM activities in 1969, the kind of sexism that would not be tolerated now was just the normality of the time, and no one seemed to be questioning it. By this I mean the attitude that men had all the important positions, made all the big decisions, and women were only there to make the tea and provide sexual services.

I don't think the PYM was any different from any other political organisation of the time. It was extremely difficult for any woman to have her views taken seriously and to be treated with genuine respect and this was the case throughout society at the time. As I was still very much in the "only just starting to wake up" category regarding women's issues, I wasn't particularly concerned about it, although I can remember wondering what I would have to do to get my ideas listened to.

Karen

I remember as I got more involved in things in the women's movement I would go to social gatherings where [Communist] Party people and PYM people were there and the women would start talking to me in the kitchen. They knew that I was interested in the women's issues where they hadn't obviously been heard in their own political movement which they had been involved in, the Party.

Anna

One of the issues that we did discuss and debate in PYM was the rising issue of women's liberation. I had always come, I suppose, from what might have been called a feminist perspective because I knew that women could do everything. My mother did, and it was my expectation that women could think and do whatever they needed to and that they could enter into debate and had as much intellectual rigor as any men or boys.

In terms of women's liberation or women, I think that the attitude probably reflected the society of the day which was inequality There were some people who were very male chauvinist and very competitive and there

were some who weren't. There were some who thought women should do what their husbands told them, and on one occasion I got down and prayed to one, who didn't really appreciate it.

It was the young men who held the positions of leadership within PYM. I also think there was a huge diversity of opinion in PYM and in practice. We had some quite backward elements and some quite progressive on women's issues. I think there was a significant proportion of the young women in PYM who definitely expected to be taken seriously.

Sue

I think we were pretty typical of the times. There was a growing awareness of the gender issues, but they were not directly addressed that I remember. I do remember having reservations about some of the more 'radical' feminist ideas whilst intellectually espousing the lip-service gender equality of the communist movement. In practice we discovered this had more to do with women taking on roles in the workforce on top of their domestic roles, rather than a sharing across the board which didn't begin to happen in New Zealand until a decade later.

I thought my husband was pretty terrific because he helped with the dishes every evening! The work women did in the home was not considered work still in the 1960s and early 1970s. Housework and childcare were certainly not "manly activities".

In the PYM there was no feeling of inferiority of women and we all had an equal input to decisions as far as I remember, but the main leadership was all male.

Mary described her time in PYM as the stage "when we started thinking about women 's liberation and women's rights and stuff".

I remember that Richard would push our son up the road in the pram and people would look at him because men didn't do that in those days. But Richard was actually quite good. He really actually believed all that, and he supported me to go to university because his parents were 'tut-tutting'. My parents actually supported me but Richard's dad sort of tut-tutted away. That was the influence that sort of made us think about women's rights and doing stuff.

John

> Within PYM, I think there was probably lip-service done to it [gender equality]. I think it was difficult for women in the PYM, but they had a better role within PYM than they did in normal, outside organisations.

D. Discussion

Comments from several participants reflect a feeling that attitudes to women and gender equality tended to reflect the wider social norms. It is interesting that the differing opinions on this are not delineated entirely by participant gender.

Even though the agenda for a PYM "General Meeting" in 1969 listed two men and two women as being on the PYM executive[196], it is clear from participants' comments that in general the women "leaders" seem to have been eclipsed by their male counterparts. This could reflect a difference between intentions and actual practice or, given the lapsed time, participants reflections related to an overall perception of who was, in the words of Piercy (1970, p. 476), "visible and respected".

Participants like Sue, Anna and Mary described the "social norm" in NZ society at the time and it appears, to varying extents, this "norm" was reflected within PYM and the left movement. However, during the lifetime of PYM that "social norm" was under increasing criticism which may reflect John's remark about a "better role within PYM than they did in normal, outside organisations".

Sexuality issues

A. Political climate

NZ social attitudes towards homosexuality in the 1960s were contradictory and frequently very negative (Brickell, 2008). There was increased "public awareness of homosexuality" (Brickell, 2008, p. 276), but while punishments for homosexual "crimes" had been reduced, the police became more zealous in trying to prosecute consenting adult men for homosexual acts. Brickell (2008) noted that "the numbers of convictions for homosexual

[196] PYM internal circular (*Agenda - First General Meeting 1969*, 1969).

offending" reached "their zenith during the mid-1960s" (p. 277).[197]

The broader social attitude was such that there was also considerable social and family pressure to conform to the "norm" of heterosexual marriage. Allen (2017) described heterosexual marriage as "one of the foundational principles of society" at the time (p. 128). It was seen as the "normal thing to do" and gay men often submitted to pressure or "family expectations" and married a woman (Allen, 2017, p. 164).

Brickell (2008) described "liberal opinion" towards the end of the 1960s as being in favour of tolerance towards homosexuality. The tendency, however, was to regard it as an illness or "personality disturbance", as reflected in the stance of the early Homosexual Law Reform Society (Brickell, 2008, p. 289). This was the view expressed in an editorial statement in a 1975 edition of the *People's Voice* ("Women's lib and homosexuals," 1975). The statement referred to homosexuality as an "aberration" and a person practising such an aberration as being "afflicted with a degree of neurosis" ("Women's lib and homosexuals," 1975, p. 5).[198] The article went on to state that "we do not believe that any form of neurosis should be punished unless it harms the community (e.g. child molestation by heterosexuals or homosexuals)" and "we do not believe any neurosis should be ridiculed or praised" ("Women's lib and homosexuals," 1975, p. 5). The statement also criticised an attempt by former National MP Dr. Gerald Wall to have any discussion about homosexuality with someone under the age of 20 being made illegal.[199] Taylor (1977) wrote that the SUP "declines to commit itself" on the issue, but he noted that some individual SUP members had spoken in favour of gay rights (p. 131).[200]

Gay Liberation in NZ[201] developed as a movement in 1972 (Brickell, 2005) and "drew on a number of other political movements, including pacifism, socialism, and feminism"

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[197] Homosexual acts between consenting males were illegal and punishable by up to seven years imprisonment at this time. The Homosexual Law Reform Act finally legalised consenting homosexual relations in 1986 (Allen, 2017).

[198] One of the first acts of the new revolutionary Soviet Government in 1917 was to legalise homosexuality, followed by a raft of social reforms including legalisation of abortion in 1920. Under Stalin's leadership homosexuality was criminalised in 1933. This stance became the mantra for Communist Parties throughout the world. For a more in depth outline of this and other social reverses in the 1930s refer Dee (2010)

[199] I recall that, in the late 1970s, a CPNZ member (and former PYM member) was quietly asked to resign from the Party after he was found to be in a homosexual relationship. No explanation for his departure was ever made to the party membership.

[200] The one prominent socialist group which did identify with and support the developing gay liberation movement was the Trotskyist SAL (Brickell, 2008). The SAL high profile in the Gay Liberation Movement may have contributed to PYM's failure to become involved (refer Chapter Eight section on "sectarianism".

[201] The first Gay Liberation Movement was formed in the USA following what is known as the "Stonewall Riot" against police harassment which took place in Greenwich Village in June 1969 (Dee, 2010).

(p. 76). Early gay activist Lindsay Taylor described the formation of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in NZ:

> All the people who joined the movement or wanted to form it at that time had backgrounds in the women's liberation movement or the anti-war movement or Maoist politics[202] or whatever, so they shared a fairly common view. (cited in Brickell, 2008, p. 294)

Unsurprisingly, the gay movement in NZ "consistently supported" the anti-war and pro-abortion movements (L. Taylor, 1977, p. 130). In the USA the GLF founding statement declared that the Front identified "with all the oppressed" and cited the "Vietnamese struggle, the third world, the blacks, the workers" among its examples (Dee, 2010, p. 96).

A quantitative study by Bowman (1979), which examined attitudes to homosexuality in NZ, showed that on this issue the CPNZ and SUP may have been lagging behind more enlightened ideas in society. The researchers interviewed heterosexual adults in two cities and found that the vast majority of the 322 interviewees thought that "what consenting adults do together is their own business" (93.8%) and "a person's sexual orientation is their own business" (93.2%). Almost three-quarters of participants favoured decriminalisation (74.4% of 309 replies) (Bowman, 1979, p. 233).

An early PYM policy statement declared "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and "everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, speech, religion, and peaceful assembly" (PYM, 1966a). Later policy statements contained similar themes, but I could find no specific mention of gay rights or calls for decriminalisation of homosexual acts between consenting males in any PYM document.

B. Participant comments

Study participants expressed differing views.

Anna

> In terms of politics of sexuality, I would say people were oblivious to any support for the gay and lesbian community. There may have been some discussion, but I can't remember it specifically. I think the message was 'that it didn't exist', but at the same time the organisation was very tolerant towards people.

[202] I am not sure who Taylor classified as "Maoist" because Maoist China took (and present day China still takes) a very punitive attitude towards homosexuality.

> In PYM people were there on the basis of righting injustice and if it had been seen as an injustice then it would have been opposed. I think that it was beyond people's experience and comprehension and out of the radar. No doubt that was harmful in itself, but I think the obliviousness was probably it.

That "out of the radar" situation is partially reflected in the recollections of some other participants.

Adrian

> Homosexuality was a crime in those days. People were regularly being bashed and occasionally put in prison. I could never understand that. We used to talk about those sorts of things quite a lot. I think we were reasonably advanced in our thinking for the times.

Allan

> The homosexual issue I don't think ever was raised. It was never raised. I don't think anybody was homosexual in PYM anyway.

Chris

> I'm gay, and I know other young men in PYM were gay. I didn't want to make an issue of my sexual orientation as I did not want to be vulnerable to homophobic people in the PYM, if there were any, and I did not want to be vulnerable to the state forces as they may have used my and others' sexuality against us if we were arrested in demonstrations or whatever.
>
> I think the CPNZ was very anti-gay as they believed that being gay was degenerate.

Graham

> I believe that there may have been an anti-gay culture in the organisation.

Sue

> Attitudes towards sexuality were fairly mainstream as well. "Queers" were still queer, but would not have been discriminated against and lesbianism was practically unheard of, so far hidden it was. As for transgender, I don't think that even entered the conversation in those days either in the PYM or wider society.

C. Discussion

Perhaps Anna's summation that the issue was "out of the radar" most accurately described the attitudes to homosexuality in PYM and possibly most of the broader movement at the time. Undoubtedly the CPNZ's negative attitude to issues such as homosexuality impacted within PYM and would have been the major factor in PYM's standing off from the development of the GLF.

While to my knowledge there were at least three former PYM members who later identified as gay, it is clear from Allan's comment that these young men kept their sexual identity secret. In part that may have been, as Chris said, protection from legal discrimination but it must also be indicative of the individuals not feeling confident that their acknowledgment of being gay would be appreciated within the movement.

While the attitude on this issue may have been "mainstream", a couple of participants believed that PYM would have opposed discrimination of people on the basis of sexuality.

Race

A. Social and political background

PYM's introduction to Māori land rights issues occurred at Paranui Marae, near Foxton, during the Auckland to Wellington march over Xmas 1967, although some participants in this study indicated an awareness of race issues in NZ at the time.

Throughout NZ society there was a widely held belief that race relations in NZ were good. In his memoir, Tom Newnham (2003) recounted his interview with a left-leaning high school principal in England who regarded race relations in NZ as "ideal". Newnham recalled:

> I didn't disabuse him, for in truth, it was what I believed myself at that time. I found later it was a myth purveyed through all the school history books in the English speaking world and nowhere was it absorbed more eagerly than by Pākehā New Zealanders. (Newnham, 2003, p. 77)

By 1960, the strong movement in opposition to the NZRFU's agreement to exclude Māori players from an All Black team going to South Africa had stimulated widespread debate about not only apartheid in South Africa but also "about New Zealand's own race relations" (Sorrenson, Newnham, & deBres, 1974, p. 3).

Harris (2004) wrote that modern Māori protest could be "traced down its own rich, indigenous historical lines" but was also "part of a protest family that emerged in the 1960s and matured in the seventies and eighties" (p. 15). She specifically cited the anti-

Vietnam War and anti-apartheid movements as part of this "protest family" which played a "role in shaping the nature and style of Māori activism" but she also stressed that it was government policies "which provided a more immediate, home grown catalyst for the rising Māori discontent" (Harris, 2004, p. 15).

By the end of the 1960s, the Māori Organisation on Human Rights (MOHR) emerged in opposition to the 1967 land grab law.[203] This was followed in the early 1970s by Nga Tamatoa, which took a "more demonstrative and confrontational approach especially with regard to the Waitangi celebrations" (Greenland, 1984, p. 90). A year later, in June 1971, the Polynesian Panther Movement was formed and in November 1973 the name was changed to the Polynesian Panther Party (PPP) (Anae et al., 2015). The PPP developed social programmes modelled on those run by the Black Panthers in the USA, but also took a broad approach to social issues and protest (Anae et al., 2015).

Nga Tamatoa participated in the April 1971 mobilisation march in Auckland (Locke, 1992). Following this, the organisation's council voted not to support the anti-Vietnam War movement as an organisation because it "was outside the scope of its immediate objects" although individual members continued to actively support anti-Vietnam War protests and Nga Tamatoa did express concern at the way "young New Zealanders, especially Māoris, are being lured into the army for Vietnam service" (Rabel, 2005, p. 324). The PPP protested "against the Vietnam War, apartheid or any other forms of inequality" (Gillon, 2015, p. 67). Another PPP member regarded the Vietnam War as a "catalyst for many":

> New heroes emerged for us like Ho Chi Minh and General Van Nguyen Giap. We all identified with Muhammad Ali, for example, when he refused to be drafted in the Vietnam War.... (Tuiasau, 2015, p. 89)

When Nga Tamatoa initiated protests at the annual Waitangi Day celebration in February 1971, they were joined by PYM members. A PYM participant later described being welcomed at Te Rapunga Marae,[204] where elders present "pledged their support for a protest" ("Would you celebrate if your land was stolen?," 1971, p. 2). The following morning (Saturday 6 February) the group assembled under the Waitangi flagpole, where a young Māori activist lowered the White Ensign[205] and tried to burn it as a protest. The

[203] This was the 1967 Amendment to the Māori Affairs Act which legalised the confiscation of unused Māori land.
[204] At Waiomio, near Kawakawa.
[205] The White Ensign is the NZ Navy flag.

Rebel reporter wrote that "unfortunately, not having planned this, they lacked the right fuel to get it blazing" ("Would you celebrate if your land was stolen?," 1971, p. 2).[206]

The same issue of *Rebel* also contained a "Statement to the Tamatoa Council" from PYM, which began: "The Progressive Youth Movement (Auckland) fully supports the stand taken by the Tamatoa Council over ratification of the Treaty of Waitangi" ("Statement to the Tamatoa Council," 1971, p. 4).

PYM continued to support struggles against racism and around Māori land issues throughout its history. Fifty-one issues of *Rebel* (out of the 120 issues produced over eight years) contained articles on Māori or race issues. These included articles about Māori land or language issues, racism towards Māori and Pasifika people, police harassment, dawn raids and items from PPP publications.

In April 1972 the PYM, the PPP and AVC issued a joint leaflet advertising the 21 April mobilisation ("Support the people of Indo-China in their struggle against U.S. aggression," 1972, p. 8).

Early in 1974 the police began early morning raids on Pasifika families, arresting alleged over-stayers and illegal migrants ("Blackbirding the capitalist way," 1974, p. 6).[207] The *Rebel* article called for readers to support a protest outside Auckland Magistrates' Court on 28 February ("Blackbirding the capitalist way," 1974, p. 6).

In October 1974 the Auckland Council for Civil Liberties held a public meeting and protest activity opposing threats to civil liberties. The main issues highlighted were the activities of the Police Task Force[208] and a police raid and seizure of files at the Remuera Medical Aid Centre, a clinic which performed safe and legal abortions ("Civil liberties demonstration," 1974). Among the speakers at the march were representatives of the PPP, Nga Tamatoa and PYM ("Civil liberties demonstration," 1974).

In order to counter the activities of the Task Force, the PPP and others organised Police Investigation Group (PIG) patrols to follow the police vans and "observe and note police

[206] The front cover page of this issue of *Rebel* featured a photo of two young protesters crouched over the lowered flag.

[207] Blackbirding was a term used describe the enslavement of Pasifika workers by "force and deception" to work in Queensland sugar and cotton plantations ("Blackbirding," n.d.).

[208] The Auckland Police Task Force was a squad which targeted hotels frequented by predominantly Māori and Pasifika people in a provocative manner, inciting arrests (De Bres, 2015). Eighty percent of people arrested by the Task Force were Polynesian and, contrary to police claims that it was set up to deal with violent crime, 85% of those arrests were for trivial offences ("Increasing police repression," 1974).

behaviour" ("The P.I.G. patrol," 1974, p. 7). PYM supported the PIG patrol and members participated in it.

PYM members also participated in the Takaparawhā (Bastion Point) occupation from the beginning and publicised the struggle and its background in *Rebel* (e.g."The last few acres - Bastion Pt," 1977; "Takaparawha: Bastion Point tent town - a short history of the land," 1977).

B. Participant comments

Sue

> I think we were pretty open and certainly passionate about racial equality, demonstrating against South African policies and rugby interaction long before the famous riots, as well as equality of jobs and housing in our own country. It is worth noting however that there were no persons of colour as far as I recall, in the central part of the PYM. Nor was there any consciousness of the Treaty of Waitangi as more than a historical document, it being still in its "100-year sleep" at that point in the country's history.
>
> Te Reo was not on any of our publications, nor any cultural considerations part of our everyday activities. When I look back on our unconscious racism, I guess it was at about the same stage as gender equality!
>
> PYM probably helped all of us to eventually free our minds of so much conventional thinking. It was a first step in the development of an expanded consciousness for many thousands of young people. Something to take pride in I think, despite its primitiveness.

Joe

> I was more interested in Māori and Polynesian issues. There seemed to be far too little of that, yet the whole working class (where I worked) was Polynesian.

John

> Looking back on it, one of the main things I was doing was a discussion on what we called the Māori Wars. To me, you couldn't be a New Zealander unless you understood what the hell colonisation was all about.

> To me, one of the things I tried to introduce into the PYM was a discussion on race.

John felt that this was being ignored.

> Totally and utterly. To me it was a glaring sort of thing. It was the whole question of education. The whole question of understanding what we were on about was not just Vietnam but there was a whole thing there but was being totally and utterly ignored, and that was my passion.

Anna

> In terms of racial equality, we had good relations with organisations such as CARE and the Polynesian Panthers and joined in events with them.

C. Discussion

The brief history of PYM activities above shows that the organisation consistently opposed racism in NZ (as well as abroad, such as the opposition to South African apartheid). However some study participants clearly felt that, on reflection, the organisation could have done more.

Sue's comment regarding non-Pākehā participation in PYM is interesting because during its history there were several members of Māori descent and at least one with Samoan heritage. For example, Cliff, who was PYM secretary in the late 1960s, said at the start of his interview that his mother was from Ngāpuhi. This indicates that, especially in the early years of the 1960s protest movement, ethnic identification was not as common as later.

Chapter 10 PYM vision and policy

The Progressive Youth Movement is a totally unnecessary and totally undesirable organisation. (Robert Muldoon)

As PYM developed from a Vietnam War-specific organisation to one which covered a wider range of issues, its written policies changed accordingly.

PYM policy declarations

An early PYM bulletin, *Youth,* dated April-May 1966, contained sections from the PYM's General Policy:

> 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.
>
> 2. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, speech, religion, and peaceful assembly.
>
> 3. All people have the right to take part in the government of their own choice. The will of the people shall be the basis of authority of government. (PYM, 1966a)

In November 1966, *Youth* contained a more detailed policy statement:

1. World peace. Independence for the peoples of all countries. Opposition to wars of aggression. The destruction of all nuclear stockpiles and the cessation of nuclear weapons production.
2. Independent NZ. Independent foreign policy for NZ. No foreign control of industry or transport.
3. Rights and conditions. Improved working conditions and rates of pay for young New Zealanders (especially for apprentices, student nurses, and trainee teachers.) Increased holidays. Equal payment for men and women. 18-year old vote.
4. Opposition to conscription.
5. Education and health. More state finance. Better facilities. Increased opportunity for higher education.
6. Sport and cultural clubs to be state aided (especially surf life saving clubs). Cheaper sports clothes and equipment.
7. Friendship between youth of all countries. Unity of action for peace and independence. (PYM, 1966b, p. 2)

Subsequent policy statements during the later 1960s and into the 1970s followed similar themes.

The leaflet distributed from Auckland to Wellington during the 1967 – 1968 march contained three specific demands:

- Full employment
- Get out of Vietnam
- No conscripts for Vietnam. (PYM, 1967a)

On 8 January 1968, at the request of the Iwi at Paranui Marae where march participants were guests for the night, a further demand "Stop Māori Land Grab" was added to the above demands and an appropriate placard made, which was carried from there to Wellington.[209]

In late 1968, the *PYM Organiser*[210] outlined PYM policy as:

> National independence and the right of self-determination for all countries. Equal human and civil rights for all the peoples of these countries.
>
> 1. Withdrawal unconditionally of all NZ and other foreign troops from Vietnam.
> 2. Political, economic and military independence for NZ.
> 3. No participation in sport or trade with countries who [sic] practice apartheid.
> 4. Freedom of speech, assembly and movement.
> 5. State ownership of the news media with the demand that there is factual reporting and representation of majority and minority views.
> 6. Give support for 18-year old vote campaign. (PYM, 1968b, p. 4)

By mid-1970 PYM policy was becoming both broader and more detailed. *PYM Organiser* listed the policy points under the following headings:[211]

- National Policy – which included:

  Takeover of all foreign-owned industries, land, communications and military bases in NZ.

  A National shipping line for NZ.

- Social Security – which included:

  40-hour living wage for all.

  Peg prices and profits.

  Free health care and medicines.

- Defence – which included:

  Abolition of SIS, armed forces and police – replaced with a "people's militia".

- Industry and Agriculture – which included:

  Worker control of industry etc.

  Farmers to own land they farm, end to multiple land ownership, absentee owners.

[209] The 1967 Māori Affairs Amendment Act mentioned earlier.
[210] The issue is undated, but from the contents it was obviously published between 28 October and 5 November 1968.
[211] Policy points have been edited from the much lengthier statement.

State ownership of forests and products.

- Education – which included:

  Free education. Teacher-student control of schools and universities.

- Equality – which included:

  End to social and racial discrimination. Protection of minority cultures.

  End trade and sporting contact with countries which practice apartheid.

- Civil Rights – which included:

  Freedom of speech and movement.

- Foreign Policy – which included:

  Support the rights of people of all countries to independence and self-determination.

  Recognise NLF, PRG of South Vietnam, China, Albania, and Cuba.

  Independence of all NZ colonies, aid to be given to the former colonies. (PYM, 1970, pp. 14-15 - abridged)

During its life, PYM produced leaflets and posters supporting striking or locked out workers and reported on their struggles in *Rebel*. Workers who were supported included, for example, Auckland Bus Drivers ("ARA drivers strike," 1970); Teachers ("Teachers' Protest Meeting," 1970); Boilermakers ("Industrial Disputes (or Workers Struggle): Boilermakers," 1970); Bakers ("Industrial disputes (or workers struggle): Bakers," 1970); Seafarers ("Support seamen," 1971) and School Student actions (e.g. "News from schools," 1970; "School Students," 1970).

Articles in *Rebel* also warned of problems facing society in the future. For example, an article in July 1975 warned of the increasing problem of dealing with plastic rubbish (an issue which is a hot topic in NZ at the time of writing this thesis). "Slowly but surely many countries are becoming littered with plastic rubbish. Some yachtsmen say it's now quite common to find plastic debris floating in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean" ("Send back plastic," 1975, p. 6). The article suggested that people sent empty plastic containers back to the suppliers to pressure them to "recycle their goods" ("Send back plastic," 1975, p. 6).

While these broadening of policies can be seen to reflect Liu's (2005) analysis of the link between supporting one moral issue to supporting others, SIS Director Brigadier Gilbert saw a far more sinister motive. In a report to the Minister of Education A. E. Kinsella,

Gilbert described this as PYM being "quick to support any contentious issue, and to cause maximum embarrassment to the Government" (Gilbert, 1968a, p. 2). The phrase was repeated in a report on PYM dated 30 June 1969 (Gilbert, 1969g, p. 2).

By the end of October 1969, Gilbert's analysis had extended his claim. In a report to Prime Minister Holyoake he claimed that PYM was now "quick to support any contentious issue" and "endeavours to cause maximum embarrassment to all forms of authority" (Gilbert, 1969h, p. 2). A short time later he again extended this allegation, informing Holyoake that "the PYM objective now appears to be to challenge and disrupt all forms of authority" (Gilbert, 1969e, p. 1).[212] This wording was repeated in a report dated 11 November 1969 (Gilbert, 1969d) and again in January 1971 (Gilbert, 1971, p. 3).

It is apparent that the SIS considered activism around real social issues of the day as something to be feared.

Numerous SIS letters and reports labelled PYM as "communist controlled" (e.g. Gilbert, 1967b), and "guided and strongly influenced by the CPNZ" (e.g. Gilbert, 1969h). In the eyes of SIS Director Gilbert the CPNZ regarded PYM as "its Red Guard movement" which it directed "toward provocative and aggressive action" (Gilbert, 1969f).

In a letter to Prime Minister Holyoake, dated 14 November 1969 (cited in Chapter 7), Gilbert took a more measured tone:

> It, the PYM, is directed, guided, assisted and exploited by the Communist Party for its own ends as part of its Maoist policy of encouraging militancy in youth. The majority of PYM members, however, are not Communist Party members, although they appear to have no objection to the Communist Party influence and direction. (Gilbert, 1969i)

While it did seem from the above to be beyond Gilbert's comprehension that youth could rebel without CPNZ guidance and direction, in a detailed report in September 1969 he gave the following characterisation of leading PYM member Bill Lee: "He plays a leading part in radical youth activities inspired by the CPNZ in Auckland. The CPNZ considers Lee their most effective representative in this field, although he is prone to ignore Party advice at times" (Gilbert, 1969a, p. 10).

[212] This report was prepared to accompany a shorter document designed as a public statement on PYM for Holyoake to use. In his accompanying letter, Gilbert cautioned that "the achievement of publicity is one of the prime objectives of the PYM and I suggest that you might bear this in mind" (Gilbert, 1969b).

A less doctrinaire assessment of PYM is presented in a quote from a prominent UK academic and activist of the time, which was quoted in a later SIS report on PYM. During a brief visit to Auckland, UK activist Robin Blackburn told an Auckland campus meeting: "Your Progressive Youth Movement has moved ahead of the rest of the world. I've noticed they are not just students. A connection between the 'working class' and students is being sought after in overseas movements" (Gilbert, 1971, pp. 4-5).[213]

A sharp contrast to the policy statements printed above was the 1969 "Damn" leaflet[214] which was based on one produced by Auckland anarchists. The leaflet was republished in the *People's Voice* as the "Youth Manifesto" and the type[215] was used to reprint many thousands of copies as a leaflet[216] issued in the name of PYM. The decision to reproduce it as a leaflet was made by the CPNZ leadership, and I have no recollection of this being discussed or decided at a PYM meeting.

The leaflet lambasted many features of contemporary social norms, which generated considerable controversy (Jackman, 1979), but, lacked any policy statement. Jackman (1979) described the leaflet as "the most effective of the PYM's own publicity from this period" (p. 91) which "had a sparkle untypical of Progressive Youth Movement publications generally" (p. 169). Ironically, he also criticised PYM as "low on doctrine, high on action" (p. 169).

Boraman (2006) rejected the "low on doctrine" criticism, writing that PYM was "high on ideological content as well as activism" (p. 268), but he also described the "Damn" leaflet as PYM's "most successful leaflet" (p. 268).

A. Participant comments

Study participants were asked what they thought PYM's vision for the future had been. Responses were varied.

Adrian said he thought that "we all had this kind of sense that people were stuffing around with our country and that wasn't right."

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[213] This quote, taken from a newspaper report, was also re-published in a PYM publication. I have been unable to locate the original source. In practice, the worker-student alliance referred to is overstated in regard to the Auckland PYM. While there were student members and there was co-operation with student groups, Auckland PYM had almost no independent activity on campus, unlike Wellington and Christchurch.

[214] This was a censored version on the leaflet which Gary referred to in describing his 1969 arrest, see chapter 7. It was originally titled "Fuck" and this word began every sentence.

[215] At the time the *People's Voice* was produced on a letterpress system which used lead type.

[216] Jackman (1979) quoted Bill Lee as saying that 15,000 copies were printed and "sent throughout New Zealand for distribution" (p. 92).

> I think they were committed and they had a clear kind of picture. You might even say a dogma really, eventually. We were a hard-arsed bunch really, but everybody was well motivated, however that was expressed. I think people were there because they believed that what they were doing was the right thing to do.

Mary felt that "it got a bit woolly".

> They wanted a New Zealand that was not under the Americans' control, an independent NZ and also based on sort of socialist-communist principles rather than capitalist-type principles. You'd read about how good China was because there were all these books at the bookshop. It was alright, but it was a bit foreign really. It was hard to visualise how that applied to NZ somehow.

Steve reflected that sense of woolliness too.

> I don't know if we actually thought in those terms, other than just building the forces for the struggle and getting young people who were naturally rebellious and giving them some politics to go with their rebellion.

Peter said he didn't "think that's something that I was particularly conscious of."

> I became aware that PYM was closely aligned with the Communist Party and I was aware of the sort of vision for the future associated at least with a Marxist view of history. But that, probably, at that time, seemed to be something that would have been a long way in the future, and it was hard to envisage a revolutionary situation developing in NZ.
>
> I think myself and I assume most people in PYM weren't anti-war in a pacifist sense and supported the North Vietnamese cause.

Allan

> I think they just saw it as changing the atmosphere in NZ. They were strongly against the National Government. The internal politics I wasn't really all that aware of all that. It came along as I got educated. I was getting educated as well as being active.

Bill

> Really the aim was to stop the Vietnam War and then it developed more into the '81 Tour and the nuclear question. After that the protest movement died. Things went very flat after Bastion Point and the nuclear issue.

Jack

> For a start it was just Vietnam, but it very quickly developed to the whole situation for young people in NZ – for employment, for education. Thus we had the Auckland to Wellington protest march.
>
> Some people wanted to lead it very left. That wasn't the original concept. We wanted to have a broad, general sort of a movement. There was a constant struggle within the PYM. That's quite natural I suppose, the same as any other organisation. I thought the extreme left position was going to isolate us from a hell of a lot of people who in fact could be our supporters and could be with us.

Some saw PYM as an adjunct of the CPNZ.

Karen

> I was very naïve really. I had no idea it was really a youth branch of the Communist Party. There was this mixture of people. I knew there were people in the Party. It just seemed like a fluid thing.

Jo felt the PYM vision was probably "pretty much similar to the Communist Party."

> Ultimately revolution [Laughter]. That was ok with me. I thought "bring it on." The faster it happened the better.

Cliff described PYM as "basically a surreptitious youth branch of the Communist Party".

Chris felt that people in the CPNZ viewed it that way also.

> I was in the Communist Party first of all, and then the Communist Party encouraged us to belong to the PYM because they looked on it as a youth extension of the Communist Party organisation, which I didn't really feel it should be. It was obviously like the Communist Party because it had a lot of the ideals of the Communist Party. I felt the PYM should be a separate entity completely and have its own rules and its own agendas and its own everything.

Peter R

I was aware the PYM had a connection with a communist party. I didn't share their enthusiasm for a communist revolution, but I had had a friend who was a Communist Party member, so I wasn't fazed about that aspect.

Anna

I suppose the first thing was that it be a youth group run by youth, aged 13 to 21 and that the focus would be on Vietnam, although the people were concerned about other issues, and that we would be informing the general population, our peers, about what was happening in Vietnam and also very strongly opposed to NZ troops going which was seen as 'guns for butter' as it were – like a trade-off.

It took a lot of debate on whether we should widen the issues and make it Progressive Youth Movement instead of just Vietnam.

I think for PYM our vision was for a very idealistic society without want. The key issues would have been equity and without oppression, the end to war, self-reliance and social justice and racial equality. For quite a few it would be control in a workers' state with a great NZ character to it.

It was an era of anti-authoritarianism which was more that people could take destiny into their own hands. I think that for the people who came around PYM, and in those other organisations, the Communist Party was influential and provided a great deal of support and, at times, direction, sometimes probably a bit too much direction.

Ben also emphasised social equality

I can still remember the words of Steve Robertshaw - "We want everyone in this country to have the right to drive a big Cadillac" [Laughter.].

It was that egalitarianism. Even then it was the whole idea of the power sharing stuff as well. It was obvious the inequality of it, from my understanding of Irish history you could see the similarities between the Irish struggle for independence and for republicanism and taking control away from a declining power, to taking control away from an imperialist power, all that sort of stuff. So it sort of gelled with me.

Sue

The vision for the future very definitely was one of no nuclear weapons, getting rid of nuclear weapons totally. No wars. I had this incredibly utopian vision of people being very equal and very cooperative and nations being cooperative rather than at war over resources. We didn't have very much in the way of environmental consciousness as such, other than not destroying it all with nuclear weapons.

Rick

Make youth aware about injustices in New Zealand.

No foreign control – reject US and British interference.

Move towards genuine Socialism and a more equal society.

Susan-Jane

I was with PYM for a long time. Rugby issues, nuclear issues, housing issues.

I wanted PYM to continue on and win the battles we were up against.

Richard

I first thought that some members wanted peace and change, and even potentially revolution (which we sometimes discussed with not all agreeing) then it later morphed to the 1981 Tour and the nuclear issue which is still relevant.

I saw that the PYM had some visions for the future: but these were not always clear at meetings. Obviously there were similar aims as the Communist Party and many of the joining members wanted change if not revolution. The leadership were strong on militant actions and the main focus was the Vietnam War issue.

I felt that the leaders lacked a good analysis of theory and practice. However the general idealism of everyone was motivational. While the general push was toward change and socialism, even a greater egalitarianism, this wasn't discussed in sufficient depth. It wasn't clear enough. But it was clear what the leadership and members were "angry about".

John also emphasised concern at a lack of political education

> I felt they were doing a hell of a lot of activities. What was missing was the education behind that sort of thing, the Marxism theory. Very quickly I started to push for more education sort of stuff.

John felt the leadership were "very much let's do, let's do, let's do, let's demonstrate, let's go postering, let's go painting."

> I was looking at it from my perspective that I'd met all these anarchists in England who wanted to 'do, do, do, do' without any knowledge of why they were doing it. To me, the whole thing smacked of a touch of anarchism.
>
> I wanted to push the educational side of it, not to turn down the activity. That was really wonderful. I wanted to add that educational thing and I felt that there was a lot of conflict there.
>
> It was the whole question of education. The whole question of understanding what we were on about was not just Vietnam but there was a whole thing there but was being totally and utterly ignored and that was my passion.

B. Literature and discussion

The various policy statements above reflect attempts to define a more specific political agenda for PYM rather than single issue politics. Although not spelt out in those terms, it was the difference between being a protest organisation or more resembling what Rucht (1996) described as an "interest group" or a "political party".

Rucht (1996) divided what he called "mobilising agents" into three categories – " social movements", "interest groups" and "political parties" – each with its own "mode of operation" and "structural features" (p. 187).

Social movements were described as focussed on protest action and comprised of "networks of groups and organisations" (Rucht, 1996, p. 187). Interest groups were defined as being "formal organisations" focussed on "influencing policies" through actions like lobbying, and political parties were also described as "formal organisations" but focussed on "occupation of political offices" (Rucht, 1996, pp. 187-188).

In the NZ context, groups like PYM had varying degrees of formal organisation combined with a fluid membership. Participants' input has revealed a combination of the "political

protest" approach and a more concretised political programme. While Auckland PYM began with a formal membership subscriptions this became forgotten or disregarded as the period progressed. Nevertheless, there was a measure of formality in whether or not people were members (for example, see Rick's comment about being "invited to join" in Chapter 5).

Unlike Rucht's (1996) "interest groups", PYM did not prioritise lobbying of political office holders to try to change their stances, but rather combined political protest with advocacy of PYM policy objectives through leaflets and other publications. However, it did not adopt the degree of formality to be considered a political party.

Burstein (1999) emphasised the similarities between these categories, and suggested that it would be more useful to classify "two types of nongovernmental political organisations" (p. 8). These types were political parties (which he described as having "a special legal status") and "interest organisations" which covered both the looser movements and interest groups such as Rucht (1996) defined (Burstein, 1999, p. 8). He also recognised that there were "many similarities" between these two "types" (Burstein, 1999, p. 8).

Diani (1992) also emphasised the fluidity in definitions of this kind. He raised the possibility of political parties being part of a broader social movement, a concept which he wrote would "surely raise many eyebrows" among researchers (Diani, 1992, p. 15). Diani (1992) considered that the inclusion of a political party was "likely to be the exception rather than the rule" (p. 15). In the NZ context the CPNZ was a political party, and at various times in its history participated in parliamentary and local body elections. However, its main focus was extra-parliamentary activism focussed primarily on what it saw as the "working class" but it also participated in and, at times, initiated broader protest activities.

The end of PYM

Unlike Vietnam War-specific protest organisations, PYM's role did not end with the conclusion of the war. However, it is clear from the above that long-term objectives tended to be "woolly" (to use Mary's term). Participants' reflections give an impression that many were focussed on the immediate concrete issues, with less regard for long-term objectives. Others were looking for a more formalised policy programme which would be more akin to a political party.

This vagueness regarding long-term objectives was not an issue unique to PYM, as outlined by Flood and Grindon (2014) and cited in Chapter 5.

My personal recollection is of some discussion about the future direction of PYM among PYM members, who were also probably CPNZ members, during the later PYM period. My feeling was that the organisation needed to have a more definite political programme, maybe as a young socialist organisation. One evening, probably in 1976 or 1977, three of us had a meeting with members of the CPNZ leadership to raise our concerns. In the office in Dick Wolf's house used as the CPNZ National Office, we met with members of the CPNZ National Secretariat, the effective leading body of the CPNZ. Present were Dick, Ray Nunes and another – probably Harold Crook.

I recall that Ray Nunes (who maintained an active role in rank-and-file party branch activities) was able to comprehend the issues we were dealing with, but the other two were quite firm in the view that the organisation should continue as it was.

I do not recall the winding-up of PYM. Only four issues of *Rebel* were produced during 1977. The final one (number 120, 25 November 1977) carried the following statement:

> We apologise to all those regular *Rebel* readers for the irregularity with which the mag has appeared this last year. It is for reasons not entirely out of our control and we hope 1978 will see *Rebel* out on the streets more regularly! (PYM, 1977)

I can find no mention of the wind-up of PYM in the 1978 editions of the *People's Voice*.

A. Participant comments

Several study participants spoke about the future of PYM and the wind-up:

Adrian described PYM as an organisation "of its time".

> I've no idea what the events around its demise were, which was five years or so after I left. But it was certainly a grouping of its time. It was always destined to have a short, potent life really, because it was never established as a formal political party, like you'd go off and join the Communist Party, or the Labour Party or the National Party or whatever. Although it was heavily influenced by the Communist Party, there were still lots of other influences floating around.

Anna

> The purpose for which PYM had been established had ended and we thought it would be a good idea to make a formal end to the organisation.

This was partly because the political situation had changed and partly because we had been a youth organisation – 13 to 21, then extended to 25 – so people were growing older. For ten or more years it had been in existence, and some of the issues were being taken up by other organisations, so it seemed timely that the era be rounded off with a formal culmination of PYM.

There was not a lot of pomp and ceremony in it at all. It was a number of discussions and then a social event to say this is a full stop.

We did the major job that we set out for. The Vietnamese, although terribly harmed by the invasion of the American forces along with a few NZ forces and Australian forces, had won. It was terribly damaged, but in fact the Vietnamese people did win and the Americans had to get out. They lost that war and they also lost a lot of American lives and spent a lot of resources which should have been spent on the American people.

The other issues, such as the development of Māori sovereignty, were more appropriately being taken up within Māoridom and we, as individuals, as we had as an organisation, supported those things. We continued to go to Waitangi protests. Issues such as the Māori Land March, Bastion Point and the Raglan Golf course protests were strongly supported by ourselves as individuals and as an organisation.

Bill

After the Vietnam War, we were all getting past youth. We were concerned it would fall into the wrong hands and be retrograde in its history. It was better to wind it up nice and clean than let it all sort of fall apart. But we were all past the youth stage.

Steve

In part, there was nothing to get your teeth into. The Vietnam War was over and there was the anti-apartheid movement, but there was no real need for PYM to be involved in the anti-apartheid movement. If we'd all left PYM and joined the anti-apartheid movement, it wouldn't have made any difference.

> It had become a little bit redundant in its own way and we tried a few different things like opening that little stall in Cook Street Market which was good because it gave us a lot contact with young people in Auckland. But again, unless you are actually doing something…
>
> With the Whanganui Computer [protest] that was a good idea, but the average person didn't even know what a computer was.

B. Discussion

The literature and participant input reflect a period characterised by "upheaval and change throughout the world" (to quote Graham's comments earlier). PYM arose to meet a need, and there was clearly no long-term plan as to its future. Possibly this could be said of many of the organisations which arose through this period, which had limited lives.

My personal recollection is that whilst PYM was not a single issue group, the Vietnam War had provided a significant and core focus over a relatively lengthy period. The end of the USA wars in Indochina did affect the relevance of PYM to a younger cohort and as Bill noted "we were all getting past youth".

I have not explored issues regarding the "national independence" theme which permeated PYM policy statements, especially in the early years. This policy permeated the Stalinist-Communist movement from the mid-1930s[217] and I aim to examine it in later publications. Analysis of the issue may also involve comparisons of between the Maoism of the CPNZ and the CPA (ML).

Clearly the anti-communist hysteria of Brigadier Gilbert, and others quoted earlier, had little impact on participants, who were more concerned with serious issues affecting humanity.

What clearly united people in an organisation like PYM were social evils like the war in Vietnam, apartheid, and many other issues, and the desire to build a more equitable and peaceful future. Sue summed this up as trying "to create a better world for our children and just a better future."

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[217] In the 1960s and 1970s Mao Tse Tung promulgated a number of theories based on this outlook, culminating in the Theory of Three Worlds which split the Maoist movement in 1976 and succeeding years. These theories were taken up by Maoist-aligned Communist parties throughout the world. Whilst the CPNZ never wholeheartedly endorsed this class-alliance approach during that period, elements of it came through in CPNZ publications and the theme was strongly advocated by some leading members, so would have had an influence on PYM outlook.

Chapter 11 Consequences of activism

Continued activism

The issue of continued activism of 1960s and 1970s protesters has been the subject of many studies overseas, particularly in the USA. The final part of Mannheim's (1925) theory of generations argued that a generation's social attitudes, which were inspired by generational influences, generational location and adolescent socialisation, remained with the individuals concerned for the rest of their lives.

There have also been numerous international studies into the later life political opinions and directions of activists from the 1960s and 1970s era (e.g. Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988; Franz & McClelland, 1994; Hoge & Ankney, 1982; M K Jennings, 1987; Whalen & Flacks, 1984). These researchers have generally found that former activists had maintained views that were "considerably to the left of their contemporaries" (Whalen & Flacks, 1984, p. 63) and they tended to be employed in academic or social services occupations which were lower paid than their non-activist peers. Many were still active in some form of non-institutional politics.

A 25-year longitudinal study of USA civil rights activists from the early 1960s found that political activities at college [university] were an "excellent predictor of adult politics" (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988, p. 783). The researchers compared "radical activists" (those who took part in protests and unconventional political activities), "institutional activists" (civil rights advocates who utilised conventional institutional methods) and "non-involved" students. 61% of radical activists reported having participated in a protest march in the previous two years, and 74% had attended a protest meeting. This contrasted with institutional activists (7% and 37%) and the non-involved sample (9% and 25%) (Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988). This 1988 study utilised as many participants as could be contacted from a 10-year project previously conducted by Fendrich and Tarleau in 1973 which obtained similar results (as cited in Fendrich & Lovoy, 1988).

McAdam's (1989) study of former "Freedom Summer"[218] volunteers had the unique advantage that the researcher had access to questionnaires completed by the volunteers who had participated in the project, and volunteers who had withdrawn from the project

[218] The Freedom Summer Programme involved hundreds of northern USA students, mainly white, travelling to Mississippi in summer 1964 "to help staff freedom schools, register black voters and dramatize the continued denial of civil rights throughout the South" (McAdam, 1989, p. 748). McAdam (1989) wrote that "as instances of activism go, the summer project was time-consuming, physically demanding, and highly newsworthy" (p. 748).

and did not participate in what was a high-risk and intense political action. Both groups were surveyed about their political activities and beliefs six years later, in 1970, and again in a detailed survey 20 years after the events.

McAdam (1989) found that participants and the group he called "no-shows" appeared to have been "reasonably active politically before the [freedom] summer" (p. 749). The follow-up survey in 1970 found that the Freedom Summer Programme "did more than radicalise the volunteers. It also put them in contact with like-minded people" (McAdam, 1989, p. 752). McAdam concluded that the volunteers who participated in the Freedom Summer actions "left Mississippi not only more attitudinally disposed toward activism, but embedded in a set of relationships and an emerging activist subculture ideally suited to reinforce the process of personal change begun in Mississippi" (McAdam, 1989, p. 752). As a result they were markedly more active in the protests of the later 1960s than the no-show group.

The later study found evidence that there had been a "remarkable continuity" in the lives of Freedom Summer participants over the following 20 years.

> They continued not only to voice the political values they espoused during the 1960s, but to have remained active in movement politics. Moreover, in a variety of ways they appear to have remained faithful to the New Left imperative to treat the personal as political. Indeed, both their work and marital histories appear to have been shaped, to a remarkable degree, by their politics. (McAdam, 1989, p. 758)

An empirical study in the USA found that former Vietnam War activists are more likely to have carried on campaigning and their children more likely to have protested against wars like that in the Persian Gulf in 1991 (Duncan & Stewart, 1995).

Apart from a very limited study of Wellington anti-Springbok Tour protesters in 1981, which in part showed a level of continued activism of Vietnam War protesters, there has been no investigation of the elements of Mannheim's (1925) theory regarding continued activism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Wellington study, by P. King and Phillips (1982), surveyed 714 anti-apartheid protesters at the end of the 1981 Springbok Tour. Among other results, they found that 36% had participated in more than three marches prior to the Tour, and 40% of those (or 14.4% of the total) had marched against the Vietnam War (p. 10).

A. Participant comments

Interviewees were asked whether they had continued to be politically active after leaving PYM.

As specific indicators, they were asked whether they had participated in the 1981 Springbok Tour protests (nearly four years after PYM was wound up) and whether they had participated in a protest activity in the last ten years. All participants indicated they had been involved in some form of political activity since PYM.

A significant majority of participants had participated in the Springbok Tour protest. Of those who hadn't, all but one had been overseas at the time. Several of these made comments like the following:

Chris

> If I had been in NZ during the Springbok Tour, naturally enough I would have demonstrated against it.

Adrian

> I almost certainly would have. I was hugely supportive of it.

Steve

> I was in Darwin at the time and watching it in amazement. I was pissed off actually missing out on all of that.

Similarly, a majority of participants said they had taken part in some form of protest activity over the past ten years. Eleven of the 15 interviewees said they had done so, and four of the survey participants. Several cited health issues or location as the reason they had not done so. Issues were predominantly the TPPA, environment, community issues or racism.

Anna described herself as a "strong supporter of any anti-war movement wherever".

> I have protested for essential services, whether it be housing or water, against the invasion of civil liberties. Everything from petitions to active out-the-front protest.
>
> During the Springbok Tour I played a very active role in Auckland, and we protested up to the edge to stop the Springbok Tour.
>
> I have very strongly opposed neoliberalism, whether it be in education, whether it be in the union movement or inflicted upon it [the union

> movement] such as the 1991 Employment Contracts Act, or the use of tasers by police or greater state force.
>
> I have supported the different campaigns for social justice that call for a decent living wage for everyone in this country.

Karen

> I don't necessarily march on everything. My career has really been community development, so I'm more interested in what people get on to doing what they want rather than always putting the energy into protesting.

Ben mentioned being involved with issues of health funding and access to health over the last decade.

> The last two years have been really intense with a struggle over confiscated Māori land in Māngere and new government legislation that has removed the communities from involvement in decision-making processes about the use of community land and in particular the Special Housing Areas Act. We've started a massive community campaign in Māngere to try to correct 150 years of injustice there.

Ben has found that younger people in protests groups "feel more confident knowing there are older people around who have done stuff like that."

> It would be great if more people got off their Zimmer frames [Laughter] in similar political actions, because they do have massive amounts to offer.

Future employment

Some USA researchers have examined the future career choices of 1960s and 1970s activists and found that those involved in student protest activities predominantly sought employment in social services sectors (e.g.Fendrich, 1974; McAdam, 1989; Nassi, 1981; Whalen & Flacks, 1984). This accords with Mannheim's (1925) observation about the future life trajectories of members of a generation unit which has participated in a period of significant and rapid social change. There have been no equivalent studies conducted in NZ.

Nearly half of the former activists in Fendrich's (1974) study were teaching in universities, "primarily in the social sciences" (p. 116). The next largest group were working in social services and creative sectors (Fendrich, 1974).

Former activist participants in Nassi's (1981) study were "overrepresented in academic, social service, and creative occupations" (p. 754). However, they were underrepresented in education. Nassi (1981) considered that the occupational choices of the former activists reflected their "socio-political convictions" (p. 759).

Participants in Whalen and Flack's (1984) study "were heavily concentrated in social service, academic, and professional occupations" (p. 63), even though these occupations were lower paid than those in "private sector management or entrepreneurial" careers which tended to be taken up by non-activist former students. The writers interpreted this as the former activists favouring occupations which they saw as "promising opportunities for humanistic service, autonomy, and creativity" (Whalen & Flacks, 1984).

McAdam (1989) found that former activist participants strongly identified with the statement that their social movement participation had affected their employment choices. However, apart from a high percentage who had worked in "full-time activist employment", there was little difference between the activist and non-activist groups (p. 755).

A. Participant responses

Participants in the current study were asked about the areas of employment in which they had predominantly worked. While the results are not as marked as shown in some of the studies above, the majority had been primarily employed in the wider social sector. In quite a few cases they had moved from one sector to another, so the results are not as clear cut as shown below.

Table 6

Future employment

Health	**5**
Education	**3**
Industry[219]	**12**
NGO / Political organisation	**3**
Arts	**3**

[219] This includes trades people, factory workers, technicians, sales etc.

B. Discussion

It needs to be noted that the USA studies above were all conducted among former students, which would explain the predominance of university teachers in Fendrich's (1974) study and possibly explains the concentration in other social services. Most of the participants in the current study were not tertiary students at the time of their PYM activism, so employment choices would have been more limited than their USA counterparts. Also, the USA studies cited above were conducted between 1974 and 1989, which was a shorter time after the period of the participants' activism than in this present research.

I did not attempt to determine salary rates for comparison, which was beyond the scope of this study.

Broader reflections on experiences and consequences

Participants were asked about their recollections of memorable experiences. Some of the responses have been discussed elsewhere in this study, such as experiences of the police, media, or gender and race issues. In addition to those responses, many participants related broader impacts on their personal and political development as a result of their involvement with PYM.

Jo considered the period as central to her development as a person.

> For me the whole psychological thing was very, very big. The fact that I could get away from home, establish friendships with this whole group of interesting people and the fact of the [Communist] Party involvement too. There were the party members who were involved, and they were older people. I think for a young person leaving home, to have support from older people was fantastic. I realised that without the PYM I couldn't have done what I did, which was getting away from home.
>
> It was hard to do and without the support of the PYM and the party people I'd never have done it, never have done it on my own. It was just so wonderful to have all these supportive people around me that made that possible to happen. I hate to think what my life would have been if I hadn't actually taken that step and left. I think I would have been pretty unhappy and screwed up. It was a very valuable step for me.
>
> It was a very important, powerful and helpful part of my growth.

Richard recounted his activism as coming after a personal crisis in his life.

> It changed myself and my life for the better. It was a huge learning experience. Something that is almost central to my life. Incredible and deeply moving to think of it all now.
>
> The lasting impact of the PYM and those times was both the reading and those people I met, as well as a long-term sense of the complexity of politics. Also a wariness. I think that the total experience influenced me in indirect ways. I think that the PYM and others brought about some significant developments.

Chris also experienced wider benefit on a personal level.

> In a lot of ways it made me develop my musical thing a lot more because I became a lot more aware of myself as a person.
>
> It sort of developed leadership things in me too, because I gave a lot of leadership which was a side of me that I hadn't really switched on to before then. I became interested in a lot of things. It sort of made me a more well-rounded person in a lot of ways, because I followed through on my own beliefs to join PYM.

Others also recounted the confidence their adolescent activism gave them.

Rick

> It gave me the confidence to become the union delegate for many years at my workplace and handle stopwork meetings and other challenges that faced the workers there.

Susan-Jane

> I've gained confidence in my beliefs. I continued on and helped establish the women's refuge in West Auckland (what a long battle). I was a very active member of the Labour Party.
>
> One of the interesting things for me being involved with politics and PYM and demonstrations is that it all led to a tremendous number of discussions and debates. It was a wonderful learning platform. Not everyone had the same point of view, and there was a diverse range of backgrounds.

> Discussions were encouraged, everyone was heard, listened to and not judged. Young and old, there was a great level of respect across the board.

Danny wrote that:

> It was a seminal period.
>
> I learnt a lot about leadership and administration. I also learnt about responsibility and being true to one's self and about compromising to work effectively as a group.

Steve

> Undoubtedly it changed my life because I ended up becoming a union delegate and joining other kinds of leftist groups at times.

He described why he liked his job with the Power Board.[220]

> One of the things, being a socialist and being in the electricity industry, a lot of the time you were doing neat things for people. When I was a fault man for the power board when people had a problem with their power they'd phone the power board, and then they'd call me and I'd go out any time of the night or day and fix it. So it was really rewarding in that you actually got to help people. I didn't have to sell anything to anyone. They were always really glad to see me. At times you actually got to break the rules to help people.

John described the time as "heady".

> They were exciting times. We were taking on the world. Young people had a feeling that we were actually doing something. You felt that you were making a difference. For me that was an incredibly exciting period, during my twenties.
>
> I don't regret any of it whatsoever.

Anna emphasised the broader skills gained which enhanced her later activities.

> Belonging to PYM gave me a huge range of experience that sure helped me as a teacher. Not career-wise, but learning to be an organiser, a communicator, a researcher, an advocate, a fundraiser. Learning skills like

[220] Steve was referring to the publicly owned Waitemata Electric Power Board, before the power boards were abolished and the industry privatised.

printing, debating, speaking and links with so many people. Today I think that those were assets that were learned at a young age. I hope that more young people will come to the fore in the new area of new technology and be just as vigorous and make change.

Ben spoke about the "organisation and energy", which has remained with him all his life.

I loved all that side of it.

I'm rapt to have come across all those influences so early in my life, just at a brilliant time where they really have an impact. Probably I was lucky enough to have been open-minded enough to look at stuff. I can thank the Catholic Church for turning me off god and thank the PYM for actually giving me some tools to analyse political structures.

What stayed with me was that idea that you can just challenge everything. You don't have to just put up with things. Through analysis, and through challenging, to action, you can actually make life better for yourselves and for others you are involved with.

Probably the theme that I've stuck with is this empowerment of people and challenging power structures that are oppressive. That's the image I've tried to bring to how I operate.

Sue

It did influence me a lot. It made me politically conscious, and it gave me a huge respect for working people. It made me realise that society absolutely exists on the shoulders of the working class.

I think it was that awareness that led me into women's issues, political women's issues. It got me thinking and I've continued to think. I've continued to be skeptical about the press, about what you are fed in the media. It taught me to think rather than just to accept whatever.

I think also it did make me understand the importance of politics because I do believe that politics is important even though it might almost seem at times to be irrelevant. Everything is politics. It is important because it gives some sort of organisation to society.

I think it taught me to question everything.

Mary also recounted the wider political awareness she gained:

> That's when we started thinking about women's liberation and women's rights and stuff. That was the influence that made us think about doing something about women's rights. I met a lot of women who believed that. Especially when I went to university. That was a real influence.

Peter also spoke about the wider political influence:

> I think what has remained an influence was a basically Marxist way of looking at the world. That became reinforced later when I studied sociology and actually started reading Marx's works in more detail, which I hadn't really done when I was young,
>
> I think it's not so much the physical activity or the organisational activity that's been an influence. It's more the ideas that have remained.
>
> I don't think my vision for the future really changed in terms of wanting the possibility of a future in which people were equal, people weren't discriminated against on the basis of race or gender or other sorts of status. So I think that was a sort of broad vision for the future that I've always held even though I might have thought there were different ways of achieving it from time to time.
>
> I see it as a very positive period in my life. Even though it was very short, I think it's had lasting influences.

Rick also felt that becoming involved gave him "a better understanding of what makes our present society tick and also the world around me".

> It made me aware of the forces and tactics involved in running capitalism, in the local and world stage and how it oppresses people.
>
> It showed me some of the ways the state is used to protect the profits of the investors of capital which is what the word capitalism is about. It showed me the tactics used by the state to try to defeat a struggle, e.g. Bastion Point – divide and rule, media and then outright force.
>
> It showed me that united, determined protest and struggle can achieve positive results.

Cliff spoke of gaining a feeling that resistance is better than submission.

> That's the major thing. It taught me to be a fighter rather than a wimp.

Bernie wrote that he made some good friends in PYM.

> I also became knowledgeable about New Zealand's working class history.

Don described joining in a quiet time for PYM.

> Its glory days were over, but that wasn't obvious at the time. I remember feeling confident that we were part of a growing international movement or consciousness. It was a great feeling to have. Even though political reality was soon to catch up with us, I will always remember the feeling of excitement and hope.
>
> Even though I have changed my views and political positioning somewhat dramatically, I will always remember that time with good feelings, and the people in it were good people.

Graham learned to "inquire" and be "critical".

> Don't fall for the bullshit. I have a hatred of attempts by the right to control all narrative, but I also have a suspicious attitude to left-wing dogma. I am continually checking sources of information used by groups and individuals on both sides of the fence.

He described being saddened "when I see left-wing groups (e.g. trade unions) aligning with the right to the detriment of the environment."

Joe wrote:

> As I got more involved and became more left-wing, I became more suspicious of the Communist Party.
>
> The way of looking at the world has remained, more the ideas, tempered by a disillusion with utopias.

Danny described the period as "a growth experience like no other."

> However, 50 years later, it has no impact on my way of life.

A. Regrets

When asked about negative experiences and regrets.

Mary had no regrets:

> Oh, absolutely not. No, no. It was great. I met my husband there, in the rooms up at St Kevin's Arcade.

Bill said "nothing harmed me".

> The spell in jail was educational.[221] I never had any ill treatment in prison whatsoever. On the contrary, I met some very interesting people.
>
> In general, there's probably things you could say "this was right and I didn't agree with that thing" but everything is ups and downs. In general though it was good.

Bill also had no regrets, but:

> There were some difficulties, people wouldn't accept you because they were more blinded by the red scare and that did cause some problems in some industries. The union officials didn't like me and that didn't help. Between the bosses and the union officials I was sort of on my own to a degree.

Jack said he "wouldn't take any of it back."

> No, I wouldn't take any of it back. But I think I would handle myself a lot differently. That's not from a PYM point of view, just that I could have been a lot better dad. I think I did a lot of things wrong. I didn't focus very much on my family. So they got neglected.
>
> At one stage I was fairly confident I was going to be arrested and that I'd spend the rest of my life in jail.

Several participants spoke about the people they got to know in PYM and in the CPNZ.

[221] Bill was one of two PYM members sentenced to several months' imprisonment as a consequence of the events at Paritai Drive.

John

> I enjoyed the comradeship from them [the CPNZ members he got to know]. They were wonderful people. They were really lovely people.

Steve

> I found the people were just great people. It's funny, people think of the 'communist menace' and most of the communists I ever met were the kind of people you'd want to have as next-door neighbours because they're just great people.

Karen

> I found it fascinating to be talking to people who had been part of that big historical movement through that century. That was interesting.

Sue

> I think actually the protest movement did create some pretty amazing people. You often see them. Every now and again these names come up of people who've done amazing things, and you think "I'm sure that person was in the protest movement".

Overwhelmingly reflections on negative experiences were accompanied by a statement that they were pleased to have been involved.

Peter recalled the attempt to have him sacked for his political activity after he went to the Radical Activist Congress in Dunedin in 1969.

> I went down with another member and gave a talk there, which was reported in the [*NZ*] *Herald.*[222] That came to the attention of the security people at the Naval Dockyard where I worked.

The officials called in Peter's father.

> They wanted to get rid of me because I was regarded as a security risk. And he [Peter's father] said "what if he stops being involved, would that make any difference". They said "no". Nobody spoke to me about it directly.

[222] *NZ Herald*, 18 August 1969, p3.

> The next thing that happened was that the PSA[223] got involved when they found out what was happening. The PSA organiser said that they'd had discussions with the security people or the management of the naval base and threatened to blow the story all out in "*Truth*" and they [management] backed down.

Adrian felt that the Paritai Drive event was "a completely negative experience on all fronts."

> It just grew and blew out of all proportion from what we thought we were trying to do really. I remember going to court and being a witness. I remember going to visit a couple of guys in Mt Eden [prison] afterwards, and I thought this is just bloody dumb, we're not really achieving anything here. We're doing ourselves more harm than good.
>
> However, it was much more positive than it was ever negative.
>
> There's always things you think you'd do differently. There's always easy looking backward. There's always things that benefits of hindsight might confer on your decisions or choices at the time. But no. I think what we did was a bloody good thing actually.
>
> I've never made any secret of it and never hidden it. I've never been ashamed of it. I'm not aware of any ill-effects that have come from it.

Steve

> There was too much of an alcohol culture going on. There was way too much. That was some negative influence within the PYM I think. I think we didn't do ourselves any favours with that. But that was the culture of the society we were in.
>
> To a large extent there was a cost associated with it. But it was great. And it meant that we didn't look up to anybody. We didn't bow our heads to anybody. That's what PYM gave you. In those days we were proud to be working class. We made the world turn. That's quite an important thing to have in your heart or your sense of who you are.

[223] Public Service Association (the public service workers' union).

Jo also recalled a lot of drinking.

> I remember that we did a lot of drinking in those days. But again, in my student days people started to get interested in dope instead.

Allan spoke about the "drug scene".

> I didn't like the drug scene at all. It [PYM] was very anti-drugs but underneath it I heard some rumours about people taking it, and I think it did reflect on some of the activity. They were more prone to go off and have a private smoking session somewhere rather than do something. I was really against that because I've always been strongly anti-drugs.

Anna said "the social life was reflective of the times."

> It was probably more progressive actually. Among some people there was quite a drinking culture and that idea that if you didn't drink in some ways you were lesser. For a few occasions the women would be in the kitchen and the guys would be in the sitting room. But in the main I think it was progressive compared to those times.
>
> It was the era of the hippy culture and breaking down social mores, and particularly drug culture was beginning to emerge quite strongly by the time the 1970s came along. One thing I think was really great about PYM was we had one rule and that was no illegal drugs. I think that was a really wonderful thing.

She also spoke about some of the stressful times:

> Doing things like painting slogans on walls. They were nerve-wracking experiences and there was avoiding being arrested. For me, being arrested was very time consuming, very nerve wracking. It affected people's careers and cost a lot of money. My idea was to protest as vigorously as we could but not have to waste time in court.
>
> It was a very demanding, vigorous life. I remember one week having eight meetings. A meeting didn't just mean sitting in a meeting, it meant going away and doing something afterwards.

Sue also related the personal impact:

> Being extremely tired and I think perhaps my children missed out a bit because I was always tired. They were getting dragged around, but they

> didn't seem to mind. They seemed to be quite happy. Young people in the PYM used to be really fun for them. They used to play with them and be nice to them. I think my attention was more on the future of my children than on the here-and-now of my children.

Like many of the above, Sue was positive about the experiences.

> No, no, no, I don't [have regrets]. Absolutely not. I'm very glad that I was part of all that.

Bernie was more critical:

> There were many things that I aren't proud of now. Particularly the neglect of my wife and daughter and general disregard of some other good people who deserved more consideration.
>
> In spite of my general indoctrination, I began to be more and more uneasy about what we were doing. NZ was steadily edging to the right and we didn't seem to be having any impact on this.
>
> I've become more skeptical about most political belief systems. I've also learned to spot a certain personality-type among some political activists: humourless, narrow, obsessives, driven more by some inner anger than by love for their fellow humans.
>
> Also, I felt uncomfortable about the personality cult surrounding Chairman Mao. Good leaders don't need that bullshit.

B. Discussion

Participants' stories showed a wide impact of their involvement in the 1960s and 1970s protest wave. The data shows a continuation of political conviction and activism, and to some extent an influence on future vocational choices. In the latter case this may have been more limited in the much smaller labour market than that in the USA, but overall there is a reflection of Mannheim's (1925) observations about the impact of adolescent socialisation and experience.

In some cases, the participants regarded the experience as life transforming. Many expressed the self-confidence and awareness they developed through the process both in their political and employment fields and also, like Chris, a confidence to pursue the personal interests they had developed through childhood. Many also reflected positively on the people they got to know in the movement.

Many participants were critical of some aspects of the movement or events but, in the main these issues were seen as reflective of social norms of the day and very much secondary to the positive feeling they had about their involvement and about the other people who were involved.

Chapter 12 Summary and concluding issues

In this study I have given a snap shot of two significant social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and given voice to some of the people who took part. In doing so I have broken through some of the stereotypes and misconceptions about protesters which dominate the media and state institutions. In this concluding chapter, I summarise some of the issues which have emerged in the course of the study.

I also highlight important aspects of the research, its contribution to knowledge and some implications for the future.

Methodology

The study breaks new ground in this participant-orientated phenomenological approach. I have not been able to locate an equivalent study which explores, in depth, the factors which led so many young people to become political activists in the 1960s and 1970s. It also investigates their experiences and recollections in a broad way. Certainly, in Aotearoa New Zealand, there have been no studies which have examined protest participation from the perspective of the activists to this degree.

It is not the role of a phenomenological study to make empirical generalisations or to solve a problem (van Manen, 1990) but to describe and give meaning to participant's experiences. This study has done that by making the questions as open-ended as possible, so that participants had the flexibility to relate what they wanted to say, rather than be restricted by my preconceptions. Empirical data has been included by way of illustration and helps show the diversity of the group of former activists involved in this study.

The literature research included has been largely steered by participant input and presented to help give explanation and meaning to the events of the 1960s and 1970s activism of PYM.

Movement development

My research into the two main protest issues of the time illuminated a continuation of activity which can be traced back to the early twentieth century.[224] Contrary to my pre-conceived assumptions about the origins of the 1960s and 1970s movements, I have outlined a continuum in which a broad spectrum of organisations and individuals

[224] Elsie Locke (1992) traced earlier pacifism back to the land wars of the 1800s.

coalesced into specific campaigns when an issue of concern arose. The emergence of Auckland PYM can be seen as a product of this historical development.

While, as I had previously believed, the Communist Party had played a substantial role in the developing movements, especially the broad anti-nuclear and anti-war movements, it was far from the only influence in this development. The more than 60 years of history traversed in this thesis shows a steady influence from wider sectors, notably church figures and pacifists, and at times the Communist Party was left behind by the developing movements.

In regard to the Vietnam War, the CPNZ played an early part in exposing the developing war, especially through its paper, the *People's Voice*. This information campaign was later developed into small protests in Auckland, probably the first protests against the war to take place in NZ.

The Labour Party, generally regarded as the left parliamentary party at the time, nominally opposed NZ involvement in the war. In practice the Labour Party was divided and seems to have been more intent on distancing itself from the rising anti-Vietnam War movement than encouraging movement building, and I was unable to find any evidence that parliamentary differences over the war had transformed to any great extent into encouragement for the emerging movement. In this respect, the concept of "political opportunity" does not appear to have been a significant factor in the development of the anti-war movement in Aotearoa New Zealand.

On the other hand, there is significant evidence that would support a "resource mobilisation" approach, in regard to the flow-on of individuals and organisations during the period outlined. However, I am cognisant of Jasper's (1997) warning about the danger of broadening the concept of resource so widely that it would smother the spontaneous moral and ethical impulses which transformed into action around significant social issues during the period in question. The "social cause" approach is clearly expressed by Williams (1978) with respect to the formation of CARE. As a consequence, the Aotearoa New Zealand history outlined in this thesis illustrates the necessity to take on board Smelser's (1990) concept of "peaceful pluralism" in regard to social movement theories (p. 279).

One of the most significant features of this history, in Aotearoa New Zealand and also in Australia and the USA movements, is the diversity of organisations which contributed to building what became the anti-war movement.

With respect to the formation of PYM, there is ample evidence that in the 1960s the CPNZ leadership had been developing the concept of increasing its work with young people. One consideration was forming a youth organisation, but the implementation of this in Auckland had become bogged down in disagreement. The initiative was actually seized by younger rank-and-file CPNZ members who saw the need to do something and began organising. In doing so they drew on what could be existing "resources" in terms of young people from families around the CPNZ, but also a much wider range of "resources".[225]

The evidence presented about the movements in Aotearoa New Zealand shows strong influences of both prior experience and socially concerned people, from differing backgrounds, who had concerns about a significant injustice and saw the need to do something.

People becoming involved in PYM

Participant descriptions of how they became involved in PYM show a wide range of backgrounds and political socialisation. I had set out to obtain input from an as diverse a range of backgrounds as I could, and consider this was very successful. There is strong evidence of the generational impact highlighted by Mannheim (1925), both in direct and indirect family influences and wider generational inspiration. In this study I have varied from other studies of generational effect by applying the "generation" principle wider than family influences to include teachers and older workmates. I believe this is consistent with Manheim's (1925) theory.

What the evidence presented in this study shows is that the generational effect was by no means the only route for adolescent radicalism to materialise in young people joining PYM. There is also very strong evidence of what Keniston (1973) described as "instant radicalism" whereby people become activated by a moral imperative to oppose an injustice. This approach is clearly illustrated in the Hart Report (1969) and the Port Huron Statement (1964), and is consistent with Kropotkin's (1902) law of mutual aid and the "sense of justice, or equity" he described as leading people to "consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own" (p. 6).

It could be argued that concerns about the prospect of nuclear conflagration or possible conscription for the war in Vietnam gave a self-interested reason for some young people participating in PYM. However, participant accounts show a high level of "identification

[225] Refer to Jack's comments about speaking to "37 or something meetings" in a month.

with the oppressed" (Kenneth Keniston, 1967, p. 111) and it would be very difficult to surmise any self-interest objective for opposing NZ links with apartheid South Africa.

The tabulated data shows that most participants identified the war in Vietnam as being a major issue of concern at the time they became involved in PYM. This accords with Godbolt et al. (2008) who described the war in Vietnam as being the principal issue for social movements and protests internationally at the time.

When asked about their recollections of their family economic circumstances, most participants described this as "comfortable". Contrary to many of the USA studies, less than a third of participants had a parent who had gained a tertiary education. About half of participants were either students at school or attending a tertiary institution at the time they joined PYM, and the rest were in paid employment. There does not appear to be any pattern to backgrounds and activism shown in the participant data which is as diverse as the impetus for joining. This diversity illustrates the value in taking a qualitative approach in a study such as this, especially in a situation where there has been very limited prior study on the 1960s and 1970s movements in NZ and no other research focussed directly on PYM.

Why protest?

Most participants regarded protest activity as the only way to show there was opposition to injustices and the only way to apply pressure on those in power. Participants expressed confidence that the protest action was effective. The material presented explores the recorded evidence on this issue and broadens the concept of success to encompass the wider political and social effects of the protest movements.

Repression

When participants were asked about memorable experiences, a significant number recounted negative experiences of police violence and persecution, and a smaller number mentioned or alluded to the opposition of NZ mass media and the actions of the SIS. The study explores the underlying basis of these experiences using Boykoff's (2006) "modes of suppression" approach.

In addition to overseas material, the study utilises a wide range of NZ documentary evidence which gives validity to the experiences recounted. This evidence also provides meaning and explanation to the negative experiences from state agencies and the mass media.

Differences between groups

Many participants reflected negatively on what they saw as sectarian attitudes and actions within PYM and the wider movement.

The study has accompanied these reflections with a wider examination of the issues of difference that arose both within the NZ movements and also those overseas. In the process, I have endeavoured to differentiate between genuine differences over policy and tactics, and the sectarian and unnecessarily hostile ways those differences were often expressed.

This broader picture of differences which arise within a wider protest movement will assist present and future activists to find ways to work with different groups and individuals.

Attitudes to race, gender and sexuality

Among the many spin-off movements which grew out of the 1960s and 1970s anti-war and anti-apartheid ferment were movements relating to discrimination and injustice on the basis of gender, race and sexuality.

A. Race

The data shows that PYM members were very conscious of issues of race, both in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas, and participated in a wide variety of protest activities against racism and in support of issues raised by the growing Māori renaissance.

B. Gender

Study participants expressed widely varied views about gender relations and attitudes in PYM. As may be expected, the reflections of women who participated differed from those of some of the male participants. It is clear that the issue of gender equality was recognised as significant, but the recollections of participants show that overall relations inside PYM tended to reflect the social norms of the day, rather than breaking new ground in equality.

In 1970, when Women's Liberation Movements began to spring up around the globe, Auckland PYM initiated one of the first Women's Liberation Movements in NZ. However, according to Dann (1985), the focus of the Auckland Women's Liberation Movement relegated the issue to one that was subservient to the overall struggle to change society, which appears to have been reflective of L. Hall's (2003) observation in regard

to the circumstances of women in the CPNZ – that it became "deferred until after the revolution" (p. 370).

Some study participants reflected aspects of the Hayden and King (1965) critique of relations in the USA movement, and those of Curthoys (1995) in regard to the Australian movement. It is also interesting to observe that, in the eyes of some former members, there were no women leaders when, in fact, at various times women members did occupy executive roles. This is reflective of Piercy's (1970) observation about who is "visible and respected" (p. 476).

Overall, the term "lip service" appears to describe the generally held view of most participants, perhaps with the addition of John's remark that "they [women] had a better role within PYM than they did in normal, outside organisations."

C. Sexuality

PYM and the anti-Vietnam War movement arose at a time when the dominant social discourse was homophobic, and there were savage judicial consequences for men found to be in homosexual relationships (Allen, 2017). At the same time the dominant "left" perception was that homosexuality was abnormal (Dee, 2010). I have found no documentary evidence of PYM having adopted a public stance on the Gay Liberation Movement which emerged in NZ during 1972.

It is significant that there were several gay men in PYM at various stages, one being Chris who participated in this study, but their orientation was secret and "out of the radar".

Vision

When asked about what they had regarded as the PYM's vision for the future, responses showed that, for many participants a long-term vision was not as important as the immediate injustice they were concerned about, principally the Vietnam War and NZ's involvement in it. Former PYM members expressed no reservations about associating with communists, despite the predominant anti-communist climate in NZ society at the time, and felt, in various forms, that the long-term objective was a change in the social and economic system.

Regardless of the various published policy statements, the overall PYM long-term vision was, as Mary said, "a bit woolly".

Consequences

This chapter explored the later-life experiences of participants, both politically and vocationally. The participant input shows a marked level of continued political activity after the end of PYM and an appreciation of the skills gained during their 1960s and 1970s activism. In addition, some participants related how their involvement with PYM had impacted positively and significantly on their personal development as adults.

Overall summation

The participant input presents the former activists as ordinary young people, from widely different backgrounds, who felt compelled to become active against varied social injustices. This characterisation differs vastly from the dominant official discourse at the time (as illustrated in the literature).

Limitations

I had no intent to try to interview a representative sample of former members (which I do not believe would have been possible) but from the outset I expressed the aim of selecting interviewees on the basis of my recollection of their backgrounds at the time of joining. My additional objectives were to have equal numbers of male and female interviewees and an equal number of those joining before 1970 and those who joined in 1970 and later.

The end result shows a predominance of male participants. This was mainly because I found it more difficult to contact women who had been in the PYM, principally because the tendency of our generation was for women to adopt their husband's surname on becoming married. In addition, there were several women former members who I would have approached for an interview, but they have died in the intervening years.

There is also a predominance of interviewees who joined before 1970. This imbalance was mainly because I could only work from memory, and I did not want to exclude an interviewee who fitted the other criteria after I had already contacted them.

The survey approach had fewer responses than I hoped or expected. On reflection, I think it may have been too lengthy. Also it would have been better to edit the sample options given in regard to the "tick boxes" to avoid possible ambiguities which were included.

The inherent limitations of this kind of study are set out in Chapter 2. These relate to the weaknesses in recollected memories and the potential impact of later life experiences. There is no control over these factors, so to that extent the approach taken is a "more or less" reflection of events and experiences (Kirby, 2008). Given the time lapse between

the focus era and the times of the data collection, I cannot see any way these limitations could be avoided.

On reflection, I consider that my application of the methodology limited the ability for in-depth questioning of interviewees, which could have elucidated further useful data. I am not sure whether the potential gains from this changed approach would outweigh the open-ended approach I felt appropriate for a hermeneutic phenomenological study.

The study does not attempt to generalise the data presented to other Progressive Youth Movements in other regions. Nor have I made any suggestion that it reflects Auckland PYM members as a whole, nor other protest organisations in Auckland or NZ during the era.

Key contributions

This thesis examines protest participant experiences in a manner that is unique for Aotearoa New Zealand. It takes what may be described as a "broad brush" approach to the era and the participants, principally because there is such a vacuum in regard to the examination of PYM or the wider movements and advancing years mean that the opportunities for such a study of the 1960s and 1970s era are limited.

I have given voice to the "foot soldiers" of the 1960s and 1970s political struggles in a way that I have not seen in any of the NZ or overseas studies located. This shows the academic potential for deeper examination of social movement events and participants.

Also, I have been unable to locate an academic study which has used a hermeneutic phenomenology approach to the study of social movements and social movement activism. In this respect the study also breaks new ground.

In regard to the historical record, interviewees were asked whether they would consent to the recordings of their interview being deposited in the NZ Oral Archives based at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. This will provide valuable resources for future researchers and historians. In addition, this thesis will be freely available to everyone in Aotearoa New Zealand and internationally from AUT's Tuwhera website.

A. *Looking to the future*

I hope that, in addition to illuminating a significant time in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand social movement activism, this study provides current and future activists with a better insight into the era studied and contains useful information for current and future activists to contemplate.

B. *Wider implications*

The study has illuminated a significant and disturbing weakness in the accountability of state institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand. If similar and allied government structures in the USA and Britain are required to publicly release their files after a statutory period, then I cannot see why their NZ counterparts should not do the same.

The withholding and heavily "redacting" of such old files by the SIS is, in my view, absurd. Even worse is the attitude of NZ Police in "vetting and destroying" potentially historical documents such as their files on PYM. This is, in my view, nothing short of historical vandalism. I can only wonder what the SIS and police are hiding from public scrutiny by this clandestine attitude. In the current political environment where the government espouses more "openness", this secrecy is something they should address.

C. *Suggestions for future research*

NZ's long history of social activism contains fertile ground for academic research. There is a great need for academic institutions to heed the call by R. Summy and Saunders (1995) for greater attention to peace research. On the basis of this thesis I would strongly recommend that this call be broadened to include greater research into social activism on both peace and social justice issues so that recorded history reflects the voices and actions of the opponents of war and injustice rather than being dominated by the militarists and oppressors. In particular, organisations like the NZMAC and NZPC should not be left to disappear from the historical radar without some in-depth examination.

Whilst the current research includes the perceptions of former participants with regard to the efficacy and longer term impact, there would be considerable value in research exploring how social movements such those in the 1960s and 1970 are re-framed and de-politicised by the media and others, including former "leftists. A starting point for such an approach would be Ross's (2002) critique of how the significance of events in France during May and June 1968 had been degraded, depoliticised and distorted during later decades.

Similarly, comparative examination of the impact and dynamics of similar youth organisations which arose in many countries during the period would provide valuable insight into the impact and dynamics of organisations which were closely associated with Maoist oriented parties and were striving to achieve a worker-student alignment referred to by Blackburn (ref. p 208).

Of value also would be more focussed longitudinal examination of intergenerational activism and the long-term experiences and consequences of sustained activism. Studies focussed on these issues would provide valuable insights for future political activists.

D. *Final reflections*

This thesis has presented some of the experiences of a diverse group of people who stood up against the dominant political and often social pressures to oppose injustices, both in NZ and around the globe. It also challenges the frequent portrayal of such movements as having failed. The study shows that the movements of the mid-twentieth century had a significant impact on social changes which followed. Despite the many historical reverses, I believe that as Saunders and Summy (19860) put it "the trend has been upward" (Saunders & Summy, 1986, p. 72).

Ordinary people can make the world a better place.

Glossary of acronyms

Aotearoa New Zealand

A. Political parties

CPNZ

Communist Party of New Zealand. The original NZ Marxist party formed in 1921 and affiliated to the Communist International (Comintern).

ADC Auckland District Committee of the CPNZ

ADE Auckland District Executive of the CPNZ

NS National Secretariat of the CPNZ

SAL

Socialist Action League. A Trotskyist group aligned with the USA Workers Socialist Party. The SAL was formed in the later 1960s and was based predominantly in universities.

SUP

Socialist Unity Party. The party formed in 1965 during what is commonly referred to as the "Sino-Soviet split" in the world communist movement. The SUP was closely aligned with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the pro-Soviet trend in the international socialist movement.

B. Other NZ left and protest groups

ACoV

Auckland Council on Vietnam. An umbrella group formed in 1967, encompassing a wide range of organisations.

AVC

Auckland Vietnam Committee. Originally named the Auckland Peace for Vietnam Committee (PFVC).

CABTA

Citizens All Black Tour Association The ad hoc organisation that spearheaded the NZ-wide campaign against the NZRFU plans to exclude non-white players from the All Black team to tour South Africa in 1960. CABTA's policy was that if Māori players were excluded there should be no tour – the slogan was "No Māoris – No Tour".

CARE

Citizen's Association for Racial Equality.

CND

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

COV

These initials can refer to quite a number of organisations

WCOV refers to the Wellington Committee on Vietnam.

GLF

Gay Liberation Front.

HART

Halt All Racist Tours.

MOHR

Māori Organisation on Human Rights.

NCW

National Council of Women. The NCW referred to in this thesis was formed in 1896 (Locke, 1992).

NZMAC

NZ Medical Aid Committee for South Vietnamese Peoples in National Liberation Front Areas. The Medical Aid Committee (as it was generally known) raised money for medical aid to be sent to the NLF Red Cross to aid people in the liberated areas. It was modelled on the Spanish Medical Aid Committee which fundraised in the 1930s for medical supplies which were sent to the Republicans. That committee also recruited three NZ nurses who went to Spain in 1937 to work in the International Brigade Hospital (*NZ Medical Support*, 2012).

NZPC

NZ Peace Council. Formed in 1948. The NZPC was affiliated to the World Peace Council (WPC) and had links to similar organisations in quite a number of countries. The NZPC had branches in several NZ cities and members throughout the country. Members of the CPNZ participated in the NZPC, one prominent CPNZ member, Flora Gould, was national secretary of the NZPC for quite a few years. The NZSIS regarded it as a "communist front organisation".

Several NZPC members became members of the WPC Presidential Committee, including Rev. Dean Chandler, Prof. Keith Buchanan and Prof. Willis Airey (the first NZPC President) (Urlich, 1998). The NZPC was wound up on 9 March 1971, but the Wellington Branch continued for a few years under the leadership of Harold Slingsby. In 1978 the NZPC was re-formed and continued until the 1990s.

PYL

Progressive Youth League. The PYL was a youth organisation closely associated with the CPNZ in the early 1950s.

PYM

Progressive Youth Movement. In this thesis PYM is used to denote the Auckland PYM. Where PYM organisations from other areas are mentioned, the city name is mentioned.

WILPF

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. WILPF was founded at an international meeting of women at The Hague in 1915, in the midst of WWI. The NZ section of WILPF was formed in 1917 and was an active participant in protests against the Vietnam War. It is still active in 2019. The USA section of WILPF was also active in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

WILPF international held its centennial conference at The Hague in 2015.

C. Other NZ

FOL

NZ Federation of Trade Unions. The national organisation of Aotearoa New Zealand (non-state sector) trade unions.

NZRFU

NZ Rugby Football Union.

SCOR

Supplementary Criminal Offence Report. This was a form completed by police after an arrested person had been convicted. The SCOR was used to record as much personal and other detail on the person and forwarded to the Police Records Branch to compile a dossier on the subject.

SIS

NZ Security Intelligence Service. It was formed in 1956 to replace the Police Special Branch.

The first attempt to form a separate "Intelligence" agency (The Security Intelligence Bureau) in 1941 ended a year later in ridicule when its head, a former MI5 officer Major Folkes, was taken in by a con-man named Sidney Ross. Ross fed Folkes a story about Nazi plotters and German agents which, at the height of WWII hysteria, Folkes believed. Ross spent three months living the high life, driving a large American car and spending Bureau money before his story was exposed, Folkes was sent back to Britain, and the Bureau taken back under police control and then abolished (Parker, 1979).

USA

BPP

Black Panther Party.

CIA

Central Intelligence Agency – the USA external spy agency. In the 1960s the CIA had its own military forces, including an air force, and waged a secret war in Laos. In 2016 then USA President Obama admitted that "for years the American people did not know" about the war. The CIA has also been implicated in organising and facilitating military coups (e.g. Chile 1973), assassinations and other paramilitary actions around the world.

CPUSA

Communist Party of the USA.

FOR

Fellowship of Reconciliation. A Christian organisation formed in Britain in 1914 to oppose WWI. Its USA section was founded by Rev. A. J. Muste in 1915. Muste played a prominent and important role in the development of the anti-Vietnam War movement in the USA.

SANE

Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. SANE was formed in 1957 and was an early participant in the USA anti-Vietnam War movement, SANE was very

conservative and pursued an "exclusion" policy towards groups considered communist.

SDS

Students for a Democratic Society. SDS was formed in 1960, developing from the Student League for Industrial Democracy. Its founding document, the Port Huron Statement, was a lengthy programme against war and for participatory democracy.

SWP

Socialist Workers Party. The most prominent and influential Trotskyist group in the USA during the 1960s and 1970s. SWP advocated mass legal marches and strongly opposed civil disobedience or direct action tactics. This approach was followed by the SAL in NZ.

WSP

Women Strike for Peace. WSP was formed in 1961 to campaign for complete disarmament and a ban on nuclear testing. WSP engaged in direct-action activities and pursued a policy of "non-exclusion" towards people considered communist.

WRL

War Resisters League. Formed in 1923 as the USA branch of War Resisters International, WRL was a radical pacifist organisation which practiced non-violent direct action and civil disobedience. WRL's base was among pacifists and conscientious objectors who had no religious affiliations. WRL initiated draft card burning among opponents of peace time conscription following WWII.

Australia

ALP

Australian Labour Party.

APC

Australian Peace Council.

ASIO

Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.

CICD

Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament. The CICD was based in Victoria and superseded the Victoria Peace Council.

CDNSA

Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act. This was an ad hoc group formed by the AICD to wage a campaign against conscription by defying the National Service Act.

CPA

Communist Party of Australia.

CPA(ML)

Communist Party of Australia (Marxist Leninist). Maoist party formed after "Sino-Soviet split" in 1965

DRU

Draft Resisters Union. Organised on the basis of non-compliance with the National Service Act, the DRU initiated an "underground" which helped liable young men escape from prosecution for non-registration.

SOS

Save Our Sons. SOS was a women's anti-draft group.

Other international entities

ANZUS

A military alliance comprised of Australia, New Zealand and the USA.

DRV

Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The DRV was commonly referred to as North Vietnam.

NLF

National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The political movement and guerrilla force in the South which was labelled by the USA CIA and South Vietnamese Government as the "Viet Cong". Karnow (1997) described this latter title as "a pejorative label invented by the South Vietnamese Government to brand the rebels as communists" (p. 10) The NLF was an independence movement

comprised of nationalists and other forces as well as communists. In this thesis, I have used the acronym NLF.

PRG

Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. A provisional government formed from the NLF and Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces on 10 June 10, 1969 (Burchett, 1977, p. 4). The PRG was an official participant in the Paris Peace Talks as an independent entity.

SEATO

South East Asia Treaty Organisation. A military pact organised by the USA immediately after Geneva Conference on Indochina. The regime in South Vietnam was a member, in direct contravention of the Geneva Agreement.

WPC

World Peace Council.

UN

United Nations Organisation.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Study Participants

Alan	Ashby
Don	Asquith
Susan-Jane	Bishop-Evans
Adrian	Buttimore
Ben	Corbett
John	Croxford
Rick	De Vries
Chris	Donovan
Graham	Franklin-Brown
Jack	Gabolinscy
Sue	Gabolinscy
Jo	Jackson
Karen	Johns
Cliff	Kelsall
Peter	King
Joe	Lane
Anna	Lee
Bill	Lee
Mary	Manoah
Steve	Robertshaw
Bernie	Ryan
Peter	Ryan
Richard	Taylor
Gary	Teale
Danny	Thompson

Note:

Participants are listed in alphabetical order of surnames. I have not identified any participants who have used a pseudonym in order to respect their request not to be named.
In cases where a former PYM member has changed their surname since PYM, I have used the surname by which they were known at the time.

Appendix B

AUT Ethics Committee approval – Interviews

5 August 2015

Marilyn Waring
Faculty of Culture and Society
Dear Marilyn

Re Ethics Application: **15/253 The Auckland protest movement in the 1960's and 1970's: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories?**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 5 August 2018.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 5 August 2018;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 5 August 2018 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

AUT Ethics Committee approval – Surveys

1 August 2016

Marilyn Waring
Faculty of Culture and Society

Dear Marilyn

Re Ethics Application: **16/283 The Auckland protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Subcommittee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 1 August 2019.

As part of the ethics approval process, you are required to submit the following to AUTEC:

- A brief annual progress report using form EA2, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. When necessary this form may also be used to request an extension of the approval at least one month prior to its expiry on 1 August 2019;
- A brief report on the status of the project using form EA3, which is available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics. This report is to be submitted either when the approval expires on 1 August 2019 or on completion of the project.

It is a condition of approval that AUTEC is notified of any adverse events or if the research does not commence. AUTEC approval needs to be sought for any alteration to the research, including any alteration of or addition to any documents that are provided to participants. You are responsible for ensuring that research undertaken under this approval occurs within the parameters outlined in the approved application.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval from an institution or organisation for your research, then you will need to obtain this. If your research is undertaken within a jurisdiction outside New Zealand, you will need to make the arrangements necessary to meet the legal and ethical requirements that apply there.

To enable us to provide you with efficient service, please use the application number and study title in all correspondence with us. If you have any enquiries about this application, or anything else, please do contact us at ethics@aut.ac.nz.

All the very best with your research,

Kate O'Connor
Executive Secretary
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: Barry Lee

Appendix C

Participant Information Sheet – Interviews

Participant Information Sheet

AUT
TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TĀMAKI MAKAU RAU

Date Information Sheet Produced:

9 July 2015

Project Title

The Auckland protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories?

An Invitation

Kia ora,

I am Barry Lee, a student at AUT University completing a PhD thesis on the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM). I was active in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) from October 1967, until it was wound up in 1977.

The purpose of the study is to record the experiences and recollections of people like yourself who participated in the PYM during the period it was active. The process being taken is to interview a selection of former members, followed up with a written questionnaire to all those others who can be contacted.

The selection of interviewees has been done to try to get as wide a range of views as possible, to include those who joined in the 1960s and those who joined later and has also been aimed to get to balance of men and women interviewees.

The number of interviewees is limited to around 16 for practical purposes of transcribing and collating data.

I am asking you to become an interviewee for the study. This will involve a one-to-one interview exploring the circumstances which led you to become involved in the PYM, and the effects of that involvement on your later life. Questions will be open-ended so that you will be able to express your views freely.

Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the completion of data collection, expected to be December 2016. In the event that you did decide to withdraw, your data would be eliminated from the study.

You do not have to reply to any questions asked during the interview if you do not want to, and you are free to ask the recording to be stopped at any time during the interview.

You will have the option of having your identity concealed in the final thesis if you wish, or being identified.

In addition to the study, if you consent, recordings of interviews will be lodged with the Oral Archives section of Alexander Turnbull Library of the National Library of New Zealand, Wellington. This would necessitate you completing the Oral Archives consent form, which includes the ability for you to place conditions on the availability of your material.

The interview is expected to take no more than 2 hours and will be taped. The interview tape will be transcribed by myself. A copy of the transcript will be given to you.

What is the purpose of this research?

The study will result in a thesis which will become publicly available through the AUT library.

It may later become the subject of a book and/or journal or other academic papers.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

The selection of interviewees has been made to try gain a balance of interviewees. Therefore they have been selected on the basis of four criteria:

- Former PYM members who joined prior to 1970.
- Former PYM members who joined in 1970 or later.

Within these two interview groups I have endeavoured to gain a balance of men and women interviewees.

I have made this selection on the basis of my own recollections or old PYM documents which I possess. I have located your contact details either through my own resources, publicly available resources, or where contact has been made through a third party they have been asked to forward a request for you to contact me.

What will happen in this research?

If you agree to participate in the interview, this will involve a one-to-one interview with myself at a venue of your choice. You will be provided with the broad questions prior to the interview. Subsequent questions will arise during the interview around these two broad themes.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is a possibility that some interviewees may feel that their identification with PYM may cause them problems with employment or with family. There is also a possibility that an interviewee may identify themselves with an activity that was contrary to the law whilst participating in PYM and the broader protest movement.

It is possible some interviewees may feel embarrassed or uncomfortable about their participation in PYM or the protest movement at that time.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You have the right have your identity concealed in any published material from the study. In this case, data from your interview will be used in a way that you cannot be identified. If you would like to be named, this will be done.

If you do disclose information regarding activities that may have been unlawful, that information will be deleted from the interview and will remain confidential to myself. However you do need to be aware should you divulge such information there is always the possibility of the data being subject to a court order and seizure by the authorities.

If you feel uncomfortable during the interview, or afterwards, you will have the right to withdraw from the study and have your data removed.

What are the benefits?

The research will collect and collate information regarding the PYM and its members and become a record of events which have until now not been recorded. The research will present the views and experiences of the former members from the participant point of view.

The additional benefit for myself will be fulfilling the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at AUT.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name and contact details will not be given to other participants. If you chose not to be identified in the study you will be asked to nominate a pseudonym by which you will be referred throughout and every effort will be made to protect your identity

However you do need to be aware that, owing to the size and nature of the group under study, there is a possibility that other people may be able to figure out who you are.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

It is expected that interviews will not last longer than two hours. You will later be given a transcript of that interview to read and comment on. There may be a need for me to contact you later to clarify points from the interview.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

You will have a period of one month to consider whether you wish to participate in this research.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate please communicate your agreement to me. You will then be provided with an outline of the questions which will be asked and a participant consent form for you to sign.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes you will receive feedback as described above and advised when the thesis is completed and how to access a copy. Feedback will be via e-mail where possible, otherwise by mail.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Barry Lee, cpv8486@aut.ac.nz or barrylee60@gmail.com. C/o Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology, Mailbox A 8, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz. Professor: Institute of Public Policy Auckland University of Technology, Mailbox A 8, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142.

Second supervisor, Dr Sue Bradford, suebr73@gmail.com.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *type the date final ethics approval was granted*, AUTEC Reference number *type the reference number*.

Participant Information Sheet

Information sheet for survey participants

Date Information Sheet Produced:

21 July 2016

Project Title

The Auckland protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories?

An Invitation

Kia ora,

I am Barry Lee, a student at AUT University completing a PhD thesis on the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM). I was active in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (PYM) from October 1967, until it was wound up in 1977.

I am asking you to participate in this survey to contribute your experiences and recollections to the study. The survey contains questions discussed during interviews with a selection of former Auckland PYM members and a summarised range of their responses. You are asked (where 'tick boxes' are provided) to identify the responses which you feel are similar to your own experiences and/or write your own reflections in the spaces provided. You are welcome to continue on the back of survey pages or on separate sheets of paper if you wish.

Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time up until the completion of data collection, expected to be March 2017. In the event that you did decide to withdraw, your data would be eliminated from the study.

You do not have to reply to all of the questions and are welcome to relate experiences important to you but which are not covered in the survey.

You have the option of being acknowledged in the final thesis if you wish, or not being identified.

It is expected completion of the survey will take no longer than 20 to 50 minutes.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of the study is to record the experiences and recollections of people like yourself who participated in the PYM during the period it was active. The process being taken has been to interview a selection of former members, followed up with the written questionnaire to all those others who can be contacted.

The study will result in a thesis which will become publicly available through the AUT library. It may later become the subject of a book and/or journal or other academic papers.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

I believe that you were a member of Auckland PYM for some time during its existence. I have located your contact details either through my own resources, publicly available resources, or where contact has been made through a third party they have been asked to forward a request for you to contact me.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate in the interview, please complete the consent form enclosed.

What will happen in this research?

You are asked to complete the survey and return by post in the stamped envelope included.

What are the discomforts and risks?

There is a possibility that some interviewees may feel that their identification with PYM may cause them problems with employment or with family. There is also a possibility that an interviewee may identify themselves with an activity that was contrary to the law whilst participating in PYM and the broader protest movement.

It is possible some interviewees may feel embarrassed or uncomfortable about their participation in PYM or the protest movement at that time.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

You have the right to have your identity concealed in any published material from the study. In this case, data from your survey will be used in a way that you cannot be identified. If you would like to be named, this will be done.

You are asked not to disclose information regarding activities that may have been unlawful at the time. If you do disclose such information it will be deleted from the thesis and all records and will remain confidential to myself. However you do need to be aware should you divulge such information there is always the possibility of the data being subject to a court order and seizure by the authorities.

If you feel uncomfortable during the survey, or afterwards, you will have the right to withdraw from the study and have your data removed.

What are the benefits?

The researcher will collect and collate information regarding the PYM and its members and this will become a record of events which have until now not been recorded. The research will present the views and experiences of the former members from the participant point of view.

The additional benefit for myself will be fulfilling the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy degree at AUT.

How will my privacy be protected?

Your name and contact details will not be given to other participants. You will only be identified in the study if you consent to do so. If you do not wish to be identified every effort will be made to use your data in a way that protects your identity

However you do need to be aware that, owing to the size and nature of the group under study, there is a possibility that other people may be able to figure out who you are.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

It is expected that completion of the survey will not take longer than 50 minutes. There may be a need for me to contact you later to clarify points from the survey.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Participation is voluntary and you are free to not participate if you wish.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Yes you will be advised when the thesis is completed and how to access a copy. Feedback will be via e-mail where possible, otherwise by mail.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz. Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Barry Lee, cpv8486@aut.ac.nz or barrylee60@gmail.com. C/o Institute of Public Policy, Auckland University of Technology, Mailbox A 8, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142.

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Marilyn Waring, marilyn.waring@aut.ac.nz. Professor: Institute of Public Policy Auckland University of Technology, Mailbox A 8, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142.

Second supervisor, Dr Sue Bradford, suebr73@gmail.com.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *1st August 2016*, AUTEC Reference number *16/283*.

Appendix D

Participant Consent Form – Interviews

Consent Form

For use when interviews are involved.

Project title: **The Auckland protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories?**

Project Supervisor: Dr Marilyn Waring

Researcher: Barry Lee

- ○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 9 July 2015.
- ○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ○ I understand that I have the choice whether I will be named in the final report or my identity concealed and that I can change this choice at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ I understand that I have the choice whether my recorded interview will be deposited with the National Oral Archive collection at Alexander Turnbull Library and that if I choose to do so I will be required to complete the separate Oral Archive consent form.
- ○ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.
- ○ I would like to be named in the final report (please tick one): Yes○ No○
- ○ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: .....

Participant's name: .....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

…….

…….

…….

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEC Reference number type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form

Participant Consent Form – Surveys

Consent Form

Survey Consent Form

Project title: The Auckland protest movement in the 1960s and 1970s: What led young people to become activists in the Auckland Progressive Youth Movement and how did that involvement affect their future life trajectories.

Project Supervisor: Dr Marilyn Waring

Researcher: Barry Lee

- ○ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 17th July 2016.
- ○ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ○ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ○ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- ○ I agree to take part in this research.
- ○ I wish to be identified in the research findings (please tick one): Yes○ No○
- ○ I wish to receive a summary of the research findings (please tick one): Yes○ No○

Participant's signature: ……

Participant's name: ……

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

…….

…….

…….

…….

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on type the date on which the final approval was granted AUTEC Reference number type the AUTEC reference number

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix E

Indicative questions for interviews

PYM study questions

Below are a summary of the interview questions/prompts.

Questions will be open ended and flexible, and allow the participant to speak freely about the things on their mind without interruption or pressure. This includes participants being free to talk about things outside of the areas covered below.

The most important thing is that interviewees say what is important to them, rather than just respond to questions.

1. General opening question: Can you tell me about the circumstances which led you to become involved in Auckland PYM?

Follow up questions would seek elaboration on:

- What appealed about PYM?
- Concerns at the time regarding political, social, economic issues etc.
- Family back ground and influences.
- Educational/employment background.
- Hopes for the future (at the time)
- When joined / left PYM?
- Any other points interviewee would like to raise.

2. What were some of the more significant events or experiences during time in PYM and how did they influence your life?

Follow up questions would seek elaboration on:

- In what ways interviewee feels they benefitted from these experiences
- Any experiences didn't find so good?
- How these experiences influence later life (positive and/or negative).
- Post-PYM political activities, ideas etc?
- Post PYM employment fields.
- Any regrets about being involved?

3. Any other comments you would like to make about the PYM and the wider protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s?

Appendix F

Reflection on first interview

Notes on my first interview, 23.10.15

I was all ready to go with my interviews. I had done two pilot interviews and made the necessary contact with three potential participants. However, some of life's issues took over and two had to be deferred after all the ethics protocols had been met. The third lived in another part of NZ and we were planning to be there over an upcoming long weekend for family occasion.

I had made a tentative arrangement to do the interview, but explained that here could be an element of uncertainty about whether I would be able to make it at the time or have to defer till later. That was fine at the other end, but as the planned date of our departure approached I felt increasingly unprepared.

First lesson – be prepared

On the morning of our booked departure we finally decided it was going ahead. I managed to get a little time to prepare for doing my interview. I printed out a couple of copies of the AUT consent form (just in case the one I had send had been mislaid), two copies of my questions (one just in case I mislaid the other) and another copy of the information sheet I had send (just in case). Then I located the large state-of-the-art recorder which I had use of and my trusty dictaphone for a backup. I knew the memory card in the large recorder contained interviews performed by someone else for a totally unrelated project, but there was a spare in the box, so I swapped them over and found the replacement was blank. I packed the instruction manual, because I had used the recorder once for my second pilot a couple of months back and hoped to get a chance to familiarise myself before the interview. I put in the mains power lead, but knew that the recorder had new batteries so decided to not take a small extension lead and operate on battery power to avoid complications.

Suddenly things were looking more organised. I was never a boy scout – but I felt prepared.

We packed our things and were off in a rush. The next day I contacted my interviewee and it was all go for the following afternoon. When I had a few minutes I decided to get my documents together in advance. It was then I discovered that I had forgotten to pack my printouts. But there was no problem because I had my laptop and a memory stick and I located a copy centre on my route to town.

On the morning of the interview I was home alone, so I decided to copy my list of questions/prompts by hand onto my pad (just in case). It was also a useful way to remind myself about the issues I wanted to discuss. Then I got out the big recorder and manual and reminded myself of a few details, like where the "on switch" was located – because this was not obvious. At this point I also discovered that the 1.56 showing on the recorder screen meant that my memory card was only good for one hour and fifty six minutes. Now I understood why the previous users of the machine had obtained another one. For a possible two hour interview the time was a bit tight, but then I could buy a bigger one on my way to town, so all was not lost.

I departed with an hour up my sleeve - a little tighter than I had hoped but I was confident I could make it by 1pm as arranged. I had a good map so once I got to the copy place on the edge of town I could locate my destination. However, by the time I got near where I had found a copy centre I looked at the map and realised that my final destination was on the other side of town. If I wanted to stop for the prints I was going to be very late.

I decided I would make do with my handwritten notes, and hope that one hour and 56 minutes was enough (and I did have the Dictaphone which would last much longer). After frequent stops to consult my map I arrived at the destination just a couple of minutes after 1pm.

I had not seen my interviewee for over 35 years, but we had spoken to each other on the phone 5 or 6 times over the previous five years, mainly in relation to a mutual friend whose health was failing. We greeted each other and sat down to chat over a coffee. I recalled the advice that it was better to chat after the interview – because there is the risk of covering interview material before the interview started and the recorders were on. However he has keen to talk about mutual friends, world events and other things, so we chatted away for over an hour before we got down to business. We were both petty relaxed so I felt the interview climate was good.

My interviewee apologised for having mislaid the consent form, so I relaxed things by relating how the previous Friday I had obtained an important document for a lawyer and had get another on Monday because I had lost it over the weekend. It was no big deal because I could get another to him before I left for home.

I set up my recorders and clipped one of the small microphone to my interviewee's sweatshirt. I was just unwinding the wires on my microphone when the phone rang, so I dropped what I was doing and hastily unclipped the other while he headed for the phone. After the call was over we laughed about what happened and were on with the interview.

Expect the unexpected

I asked my initial broad open-ended question and he responded. There was a huge amount of information, sometimes off the specific topic but genuine "from the heart" relating of lived experiences. I began anxiously looking at the "time remaining" on the recorder and feeling that I may lose my interview before I had covered all I had planned, but I remembered that in phenomenology the interviewee was the expert and I was important to let them say it how they recalled it.

After a fair amount of time I managed to ask one of my questions. Then a visitor briefly arrived and went and I managed to throw in a few more of the specific points I had listed in relation to the literature. Sometimes the answers were brief, and sometimes I tapped into another reservoir of memories. I was glancing at my handwritten questions and marking off what we had covered. Suddenly things weren't going so badly.

Then the big recorder screen began flashing "battery low" and I realised that battery power was a backup and not a substitute for the real thing. Fortunately I had the recorder lead and there was a wall socket nearby. Interview stopped and started. We had another laugh and carried on.

I little while later the recorder screen showed that there were just over two minutes left, and there were a couple of points we hadn't covered. For some strange reason the recorder seemed to find extra memory as the numbers jumped up to seven, down to three, back to five, and I threw in my last questions.

Another visitor arrived, but we got past that and proceeded.

We ended the interview and I assured my interviewee that I had indeed got "everything I wanted". It was all there in two hours of tape, but not in the systematic neat boxes I had expected. It was my job to uncover the detail.

I thanked him and was immediately thanked in return. For years he had wanted to talk to someone who understood about the period and events and at last they had been able to do it – "you have really made my day". It was then I realised that whilst he had done me a favour by being interviewed I had presented the opportunity for him to have a voice about experiences which had a major influence of his later life.

Another cup of coffee followed, another interruption and another couple of hours chat. We agreed to meet up again before I returned to Auckland and I drove back to where we were staying – thinking about how the unexpected had happened. This was true in relation to how I received the data, but the content of that data was also incredibly revealing.

Reflection after three interviews

Reflections on interviews to date - 12.11.15

My independent pilot interview (Sue Bradford) enabled me, with the input of my two supervisors, to extend the range and depth of my questions.

The next interview (the second after myself) carried many lessons, firstly in being prepared (see separate document). Also, I found a participant who was dying to tell his story, so that my first question was like turning on a tap and being flooded with words. After initial concerns I learned that the information won't be in simple Q & A boxes, but it will be up to me as researcher to extract the data from the stories of the interviewees.

The next interviewee was a pivotal figure in the formation of PYM, but someone who stressed that his memory is "shot". I was relying on the expectation that once we got going he would recall things, which did happen. However, several times he commented that he did not manage to respond to questions immediately and it would have been better if he had received the questions earlier so that he could think about them before the interview.

I had been reluctant to provide too much detail of questions in advance because I felt this may lead to participants responding to my points rather than telling their stories as they saw it. The latter could diminish the opportunities for surprises in the form of new ideas and experiences being raised. Nevertheless I raised the idea of providing a summary of my questions in advance with my next scheduled interviewee and another. Both of them thought that having an advance idea of what the questions would be would be helpful.

As a consequence I have drawn up a summary of the specific questions and I sent it to my next interviewee and another future participant.

My second interviewee also had difficulty with my question regarding the benefits he felt that there had been from participation in the events and experiences they had related to. The difficulty was that he interpreted the question too narrowly as meaning 'financial benefits'. I have now re-phrased this to hopefully open the way for participants to raise the ways they feel they benefitted from these experiences in a broader sense.

The data from my fourth interviewee was completely unexpected and amazing. For her, involvement with PYM and the contact with others (adults in the Communist Party) transformed her life.

I have transcribed all four and coded them to NVivo. I have another interview on Monday, which I hope to have transcribed by late Tuesday. On Wednesday I have the NVivo Intermediate course.

I have another 7 or 8 interviewees organised who I have sent the material to.

I do need to discuss how I feed back the transcripts – I am thinking it may be best to send the sections I have coded for potential use and then provide the whole transcript if people want.

Appendix G

Survey questions

A. Circumstances which led you to become involved in Auckland PYM?

1. **How did you become interested in left wing politics:**

☐ *- I was working as a bus driver and met a Communist Party member. I was young and idealistic and also had a lot of belief about social issues. So I joined the Communist Party.*

☐ *- My father was quite left leaning, had been active in the trade union movement in Australia in the '30s. He was very strongly opposed to the war in Vietnam and I would have arguments with him about it. Finally I realised that what he said made sense.#*

☐ *- When I was in the 6th form one teacher was able to convey a critical view about things in the normal course of teaching, encouraging people to be critical and questioning.#*

☐ *- Bus depots were targets for leafletting during the Vietnam War and my friend would arrive at school with all these leaflets from the PYM or the CP which was way more interesting than what we were being given at school.#*

☐ *- My friend starting to talk to me about the Vietnam War. At that point I didn't even realise there was a war going on but she was so really adamant that this was something terrible what was happening and we all had to do everything we could to try and stop it.#*

☐ *- I was 18 and before I got involved in PYM. I used to go down to the bookshop [Progressive Books] every Wednesday to buy a copy of the People's Voice.#*

☐ *- When I left home and moved to town in May of 1970 I started going to demonstrations on Friday nights. They used to start at the Town Hall, anti-Vietnam War and we'd march down Queen Street. About 300 people and people would be pretty sort of anti us I think. So that's how I got involved.#*

☐ *- I had dropped out of school but I was reading books by Bertrand Russell and Hermann Hesse. I really liked Bertrand Russell. He was a big influence. His analysis of political things was really very practical.#*

Reflections:_____

2. **How did you become involved with PYM:**

☐ *- It looked as though NZ was going to become involved in Vietnam. We joined the Auckland Peace for Vietnam Committee. We realised that it was quite alienating for a lot of young people. So we decided we'd start up a youth movement. We'd heard about the Progressive Youth League.#*

☐ *- Having grown up defending my siblings from fights at schools or out on the street when I heard about the Progressive Youth Movement it was in my moral charter. I was absolutely against the Vietnam War and military establishments.#*

☐ *- In all these leaflets from the PYM we found an address for the North Shore just a couple of minutes from the school. We headed up after school and that was the North Shore PYM HQ.#*

☐ *- When we were in the 5th form, we would have been 14 or 15, we decided we wanted to join the Communist Party. After school we went to St Kevin's arcade and knocked on the door of the Communist Party headquarters. The man who opened the door…..was very, very nice and talked to us for quite a while. He suggested that "No, you don't want to join the Communist Party straight away. Why don't you join the PYM?" He gave us some information about how to get in contact.#*

☐ *- I was living at Resistance Bookshop at the time, so I got all fired up and went to the PYM meetings.#*

☐ *- My brother became involved in protest activities in Auckland and became a member of the Progressive Youth Movement. He also gave me different things to read when I was home on holiday.#*

Reflections:_____

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3. **What year did you join PYM?** _____

Reflections:_____

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4. **What were the political events or issues at that time which inspired or led you to become involved?**

☐ *- The Vietnam War was a catalysing thing.#*

☐ *- There was the anti-tour, anti-apartheid.#*

☐ *- We were lap-dogs. We trotted along behind the United States and did exactly as we were told. And our government told one bloody lie after another.#*

☐ *- There was this huge anxiety. Would a bomb go off? Would America suddenly decide to go megalomaniac completely and march all over the world? Or would Russia do the same thing?#*

☐ *- a general historical thing that capitalism had got as good as it was ever going to get, and it was all downhill from here. We could see the kind of society that we were being eroded. That kind of Americanism. There was something of a reaction to that.#*

☐ *- It was brilliant to come across an organisation that was committed to trying to analyse what was going on. To me it was a god-send.#*

Reflections:_____

How did you see the social, political and economic climate in NZ at that time?

☐ *- It was sort of a golden age from the point of view of young fellows at school. There was no pressure on us. The biggest pressure was the doomsday clock ticking up to midnight.#*

☐ *- There was full employment. Lots of cheap state houses. Lots of good paying jobs.#*

☐ *- The working class were pretty poor. Wages were very low, costs were very high, and commodity costs were very, very high. The political situation was incredibly apathetic and conservative.#*

☐ *- I was brought up in a pretty tough town and we saw a lot of stuff that was just frankly racist and unjust every day. I think at the time I just had a real feeling of injustice.#*

☐ *- The system we lived under was oppressive. It was discriminatory in a lot of areas like race.#*

Reflections:_____

5. **What was it about PYM that attracted you?**

☐ *- It was a youth movement getting stuck in and doing something. We were getting adventurous and trying doing things that the more conservative anti-war people didn't necessarily do.#*

☐ *- It was the first group that I came across in that context. Perhaps if there had been another group I might have entered the movement via that. But PYM was there and visible.#*

☐ *- It was fun. I really liked the people and it was a bit rebellious and that was exactly what I needed and it was just a whole wonderful new life for me.#*

Reflections:_____

6. **What did you see as PYM's vision for the future?**

☐ *- The aim was to stop the Vietnam War and then it developed more into the '81 Tour and the nuclear question.#*

☐ *- What sticks in my mind is an older member saying "We want everyone in this country to have the right to drive a big Cadillac." It was that egalitarianism and power sharing.#*

☐ *- No nuclear weapons, getting rid of nuclear weapons totally. No wars.#*

☐ *- Pretty much similar to the Communist Party. Ultimately revolution.#*

☐ *- It was a Communist Party subsidiary.#*

Reflections:_____

7. **What made you think that protest action was appropriate?**

☐ *- There weren't any other avenues for the ordinary citizen could take to show their feelings about those things.#*

☐ *- Demonstrations and protest were the only way to bring opposition to the War to the general conscience.#*

☐ *- It felt good. I felt I was standing up for what I believed.#*

☐ *- It was "a way of punching above our weight". It gave a focal point and the PYM in everyone's imagination was a hell a lot bigger than it actually was.#*

☐ *- Because it was working. America was really feeling the heat over the Vietnam War.#*

Reflections:_____

8. What did your family think about that?

☐ *- My parents weren't really opposed to it. They might have preferred I followed a more normal life, career path but they could see injustice and actually came to one march.#*

☐ *- They didn't like it, they hated it.#*

☐ *- I was completely alienated from them [my parents] for years because of it.#*

☐ *- They were concerned about me being in PYM which I could get into trouble with.#*

☐ *- They didn't mind so much.#*

Reflections:_____

9. Did you hold any leadership positions in PYM?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

10. Was there prior political involvement by yourself and / or influential close family, friends or workmates?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

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11. How would you describe the economic position of your parents?

☐ - Wealthy.

☐ - Comfortable.

☐ - Single working wage but managing.

☐ - Poor.

Reflections:_____

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12. Did either of your parents have a tertiary education?

☐ - Yes both.

☐ - Yes, one did.

☐ - No.

13. Did religion play a big role in your upbringing?

☐ - Not at all.

☐ - Went to Sunday School/church but dropped it as I got older.

☐ - Yes, it gave me my values, but I stopped believing in religion in my teens.

☐ - Yes, it still does.

Reflections:_____

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Did you go on from high school to tertiary education?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

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14. **What was your occupation when you joined PYM?**

☐ - Still at school.

☐ - At university/polytechnic.

☐ - Working.

Reflections:_____

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15. Were you involved in other political activities or organisations at the time?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

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B. Significant and influential events or experiences that influenced your life?

16. What were some of the more significant events or experiences that you had when you were in PYM or around that time?

☐ *- Friday night demonstrations. They were the sort of main-stay, regular things. Giving out leaflets down Queen Street.#*

☐ *- All the arrests I suppose.#*

☐ *- The police coming around and sitting across from our house where we were with the two kids. They'd sit there for hours sometimes. Sometimes a couple of cop cars would just sit there. It was just pure intimidation.#*

☐ *- The biggest impression was connecting with the student's movement up at the university getting exposed to these movies and that were coming out of Vietnam and later out of South Africa. It was just mind blowing to be exposed to that level of documentation of how things were developing internationally.#*

☐ *- I was just impressed with the creativity and the energy of the groups. There were so many things going on.#*

☐ *- The demonstrations when Marshall Ky came to NZ and I got thoroughly bashed up by a policeman.#*

☐ *- The march from Auckland to Wellington, the different responses we got in the different places.#*

☐ *- I enjoyed meeting the older Communist Party members. I found it fascinating to be talking to people who had been part of that big historical movement through that century.#.*

Reflections:_____

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17. Were there any big lessons from those experiences that changed or influenced your life?

☐ *- It sort of made me a more well-rounded person in a lot of ways because I followed through on my own beliefs to join PYM and it made me develop my musical thing a lot more.#*

☐ *- I had shown leader qualities which was a side of me that hadn't really switched on to before then.#*

☐ *- As I got more involved and became more left wing I became a member of the Communist Party.#*

☐ *- What has remained an influence was a basically Marxist way of looking at the world. Not so much the physical or organisational activity but more the ideas that have remained.#*

☐ *- The fact that I could get away from home, establish friendships with this whole group of interesting people and older people. I met older CPNZ people and I think for a young person leaving home, to have support from older people was fantastic.#*

☐ *- A feeling that resistance is better than submission. That's the major thing. It taught me to be a fighter rather than a wimp.#*

☐ *- What I learnt was, about the dogma changes in the left. There's been a turn of who you are following and suddenly you are on the wrong side. And also talk within PYM. I was aware that the ones they hated the most was not the communists it was the Trotskyists who were kind of 5 degrees of separation, but they were the worst enemy that you can imagine and people who were students were pretty close second. I developed a very healthy scepticism of people that followed ideology over relationships.#*

Reflections:_____

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18. Were there any other ways you think these experiences impacted on your future?

☐ *- It made me politically conscious.#*

☐ *- It gave me a huge respect for working people and made me realise society exists on the shoulders of the working class.#.*

☐ *- It made me more aware and that led me into women's issues – political women's issues.#*

☐ *- I have continued to be sceptical about what you are fed in the media.#*

☐ *- What stayed with me was that idea that you can challenge everything and you can make life better.#*

☐ *- What I have stuck with is the empowerment of people and challenging power structures that are oppressive.#*

Reflections:_____

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18. Were there experiences which were not so good?

☐ *- Anyone who was involved paid a price in terms of their career and so forth, their own well-being.#*

☐ *- There was too much of an alcohol culture going on.#.*

☐ *- I didn't focus very much on my family, so they got neglected.#*

☐ *- Some people wouldn't accept you because they were blinded by the red scare and that did cause problems in some industries.#.*

☐ *- No, I see it as positive experiences.#*

Reflections:_____

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Do you have any regrets about that experience/time?

☐ *- No regrets at all. I'm wrapped to have come across all those influences so early in my life.#*

☐ *- No. It was an exciting time in my life actually.#.*

☐ *- Absolutely not. I'm very glad I was part of all that.#*

☐ *- It was a very important, powerful and helpful part of my growth.#*

Reflections:_____

Did you continue to be politically active after leaving PYM?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

23. Did you participate in the 1981 Springbok Tour protests?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

24. Have you participated in protest activities or a protest group over the last 10 years?

☐ - Yes.

☐ - No.

Reflections:_____

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25. Do you have any reflections/views on internal attitudes to race, gender and sexuality issues at the time?

☐ *- I would have liked it to be more pro-gay and what have you.#*

☐ *- I remember as I got more involved in things in the women's movement I would go to social gatherings where PYM people were there and the women would start talking to me in the kitchen. They knew that I was interested in the women's issues where they hadn't obviously been heard in their own political movement.#.*

☐ *- I think there was probably lip-service done to gender issues. It was difficult for women in the PYM but they had a better role in PYM than in outside political organisations #*

☐ *- I think we were acutely aware of the gender issue. We used to talk about those sorts of things quite a lot. I think we were reasonably advanced in our thinking for the times.#*

Reflections:_____

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26. What fields of employment have you mainly worked in since?

☐ *- Health.#*

☐ *- Social services.#.*

☐ - *Education.#*

☐ - *Industry.#*

☐ - *Political organisation / NGO.#*

☐ - *Other.#.*

Reflections:_____

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26. Are there any other reflections or experiences you would like to relate regarding the PYM and the wider protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s?

Comments:_____

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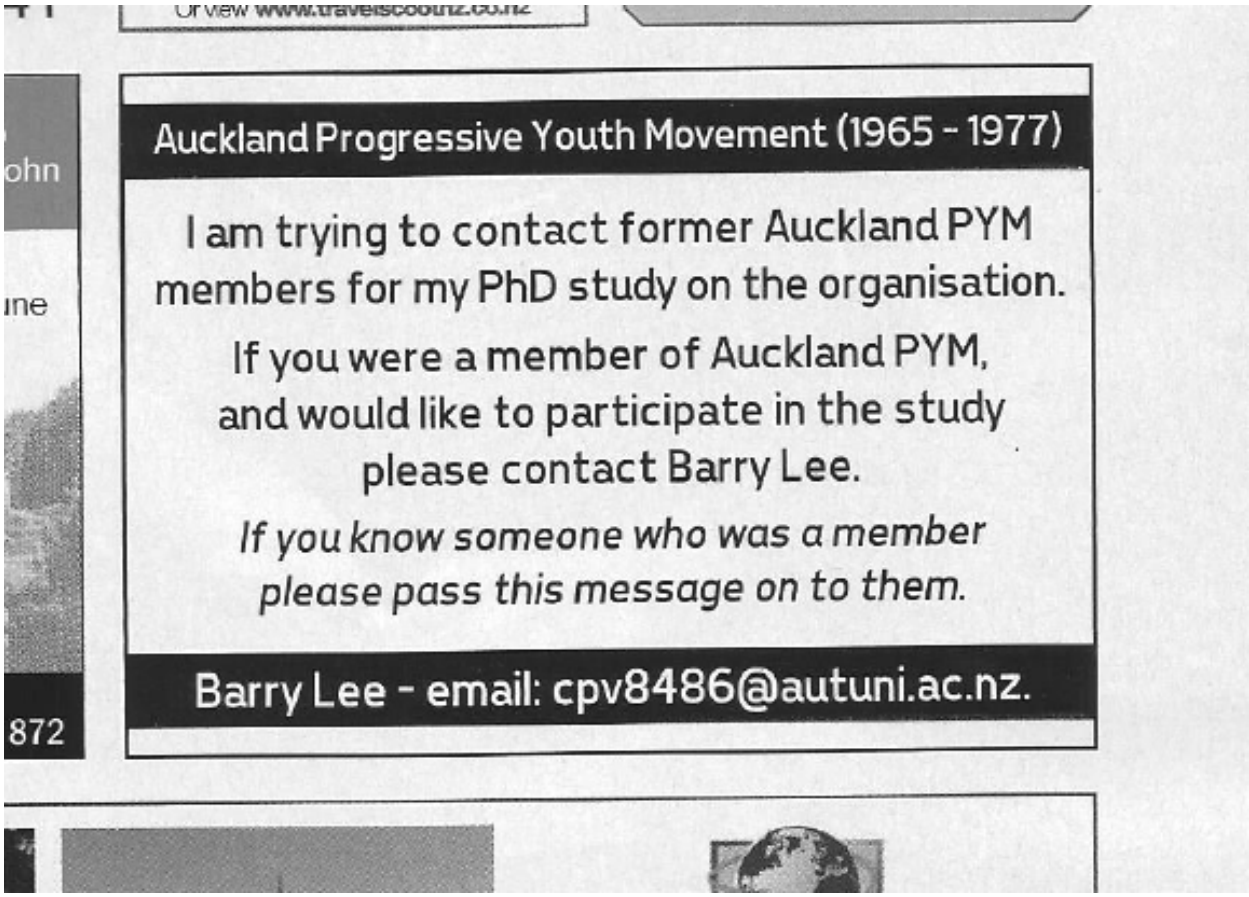
Appendix H

Listener and North and South magazines adverts

From 27 March 2016 edition of the *Listener*



Auckland Progressive Youth Movement (1965 - 1977)

I am trying to contact former Auckland PYM members for my PhD study on the organisation.

If you were a member of Auckland PYM, and would like to participate in the study please contact Barry Lee.

If you know someone who was a member please pass this message on to them.

Barry Lee - email: cpv8486@autuni.ac.nz.