

An Anti-nuclear Journey

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Hiroshima in November 1945.

The US bomber had detonated the 'atomic bomb' about 600 metres above ground at 8.15 am on 6 August 1945.



Hiroshima 1956, when I visited.

*In the millionth part of a second, a new sun flamed in the sky, a glaring white light,
A hundred times brighter than the heavenly sun.
And this ball of fire radiated several degrees of heat on the city of Hiroshima.
At that moment, 86,100 people were burned to death.
At that moment, 72,000 people were severely injured.
At that moment, 6,820 houses were blown to pieces, and the vacuum thus created sucked
them several miles into the air as particles of dust.
At that moment, 3,750 buildings collapsed, and the ruins began to burn.
At that one moment, deadly neutrons and gamma-rays bombarded the site of the explosion
over an area of three-quarters of a mile.*

Karl Bruckner. *The Day of the Bomb.*



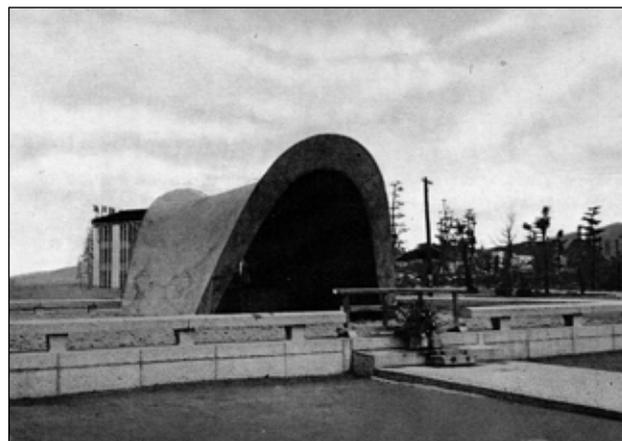
A 'Hiroshima Shadow' – the remains of a person fused into the concrete.

I visited Hiroshima in May 1956. It was the start of my anti-nuclear journey.

It was just over ten years after the US Air Force had bombed the city – the first time a nuclear bomb had been used in war.

At first, Hiroshima seemed a normal bustling city. However, the skyline was dominated by the ruins of the Industrial Exhibition Centre. This had been directly below the explosion centre, and the ruins had been left, and still remain, as a peace memorial.

Then we visited the Peace Memorial Museum*, which had been opened only the previous year. As well as photographs of those who suffered horrendous deaths, it contained a collection of their belongings – a child's melted bike, a wristwatch with its hands fused to the face ... heart-rending reminders of an awful act of war. The sight of a 'Shadow', where a human body had been vapourised and its remains burnt into the concrete, will haunt me always.



*Memorial Cenotaph in Peace Park, Hiroshima, 1956.
"Repose ye in peace,
For the error shall never be repeated*



We went on a bus and boat tour from Gotemba to the foot of Mt Fuji. The hostess for the trip passed round her microphone and asked everyone to sing something. The four of us sang "You are my sunshine", and our fellow passengers loved it. At that time, it didn't occur to us that the choice might have had some significance in the 'Land of the Rising Sun'.

Four of us young National Servicemen had been granted a month's leave in Japan. This was the final day of our visit.

We were stationed in Hong Kong and were able to travel by troopship to and from the US Naval Base at Kure, but had to go as civilians, in civilian clothes and with Hong Kong civilian passports.

Before we left Hong Kong, we were given a War Office Discussion Brief entitled "Gentlemen or 'Yellow Bellies'", which attempted to reconcile the brutality of many Japanese soldiers towards prisoners-of-war during the second World War, with the 'code of restraint and manners' which they observe in their home surroundings.

Everywhere we went, we were treated with, not only courtesy, but friendship and kindness, and attracted some humour at our sign language attempts to communicate.

These were a people who had been A-bombed!

* "The Peace Memorial Museum collects and displays belongings left by the victims, photos, and other materials that convey the horror of that event, supplemented by exhibits that describe Hiroshima before and after the bombings and others that present the current status of the nuclear age. Each of the items displayed embodies the grief, anger, or pain of real people. Having now recovered from the A-bomb calamity, Hiroshima's deepest wish is the elimination of all nuclear weapons and the realization of a genuinely peaceful international community."

I had enlisted for my two-year National Service on 2 September 1954. This had been brought in at the start of the Cold War in 1948, and was compulsory for all 18-year-old males.

However, a few of my contemporaries sought ways of avoiding it. We had grown up during the blitz and doodle-bug raids of the second World War, and the prospect of another seemed inconceivable, and National Service a waste of time. One of my schoolmates went for a mining engineering degree course and another for a marine engineering degree; both courses gave exemption. A third friend, who was a born-again Christian, obtained exemption but had to serve two years as an orderly in a tuberculosis hospital. We all had intense discussions about pacifism.



A British anti-personnel shrapnel mine like ones I used in training. All landmines have been prohibited under a United Nations Convention in 1997.

I agreed with my father's stance that, ultimately, one might need to fight to defend one's family and home. I joined what we perceived as a mainly defensive and non-combatant part of the services, the Corps of Royal Engineers. After basic training, I was posted to Hong Kong, our troopship, the *Empire Clyde*, arriving in May 1955.

There, on an advanced field engineering course, I learned that it was not just about building bridges. Besides learning to shoot to kill, I was taught how to lay minefields (including horrible anti-personnel mines) and set booby traps to kill and maim people. So much for wanting to be non-combatant!

Mercifully, the Chinese never invaded Hong Kong – and were never likely to – and I spent most of my time there operating a bulldozer.

However, I had been able to travel half way round the world – and to go on leave to Japan.

I returned in August 1956 to study for a degree in forestry at Oxford University.

A year later, a Government White Paper re-defined Britain's defence role, due partly to costs of maintaining forces in Germany and the Far East, partly to decolonisation, and partly to the emergence of guided missiles and nuclear "deterrence" meaning there was no need for such large numbers of troops. National Service began to be phased out, the last intake being in 1960. I wasn't aware of it immediately, but the White Paper also led to a change in forestry policy, as it was considered no longer relevant in a nuclear war to have built reserves of standing timber for use in conventional war; when I graduated there were simply no available forestry jobs in the UK.

In the late 1950s, the general public knew very little about the full effects of the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The US occupying forces there had strictly controlled information "by censoring newspapers, by silencing outspoken individuals, by limiting circulation of the earliest official medical reports, by fomenting deliberately reassuring publicity campaigns, and by outright lies and denial" (<https://theconversation.com/the-little-known-history-of-secrecy-and-censorship-in-wake-of-atomic-bombings-45213>). Disinformation continued long after US withdrawal.

None of us in Britain had known much about the escalating "arms race" either. However, things were changing. Britain developed its own hydrogen bomb in 1957, emphasising its complicity in the confrontation with Russia. Moreover, France followed suit the following year. Most bomb tests had been above ground, and the danger of radioactive fallout saw the formation in Britain of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which started a programme of public information and protest marches.

A special H-bomb issue in 1958 of the University magazine, *The Isis*, which I have kept, berated politicians for "this fantastic delusion" of Britain's "formidable deterrent" outlined in the Defence White Paper. It maintained that a continual stream of government propaganda on radio, newsreels, and in newspapers was designed to condition people to accept the inevitability of the arms race, and force them to accept the "lunatic paradox that the arms race – which will eventually annihilate the status quo – is part of the status quo."

Oxford undergraduates were strictly controlled by the University's police, the Proctors, and participation in public demonstrations of any sort was forbidden. The Proctors initially denied permission to join CND marches, but then relented. Nevertheless few took part, fearing being fined or, worse, being sent down. I didn't take part.



A special H-bomb issue of the University magazine, The Isis, in February 1958 showed pictures like this from Hiroshima with accompanying bizarre quotes; in this case: "To parley successfully, we must arm successfully" PM Harold Macmillan, 4 January 1958.

Oxford University Proctors relented on a ruling to prevent undergraduates participating in CND marches, as they had permitted a march by the University's Officer Training Corps on Remembrance Day.

I graduated in 1960 and married Ann shortly afterwards. Problems of finding a long-time career in the absence of openings in forestry, and the need to save to buy a house and start a family preoccupied us.

Everyone was jolted into awareness by the so-called Cuban missile crisis in October 1962. The US had installed missiles in Italy and Turkey, so the Soviets in response moved to install some of their missiles in Cuba. The standoff between US President Kennedy and Soviet President Khrushchev took their countries to the brink of nuclear war. Fortunately Khrushchev backed down and took the missiles back, while in April 1963 Kennedy ordered the US missiles out of Italy and Turkey.

Cherwell 28 Nov 1959

Proctors Recant On CND March

The Proctors have reconsidered the decision they made earlier this term forbidding undergraduates to take part as a University contingent in the CND march from Brize-Norton to Oxford which takes place tomorrow.

They now say that they will O.U.O.T.C. were permitted to allow undergraduates to march through the streets on Remembrance Day. march the whole way, which includes the City itself.

Frances Kaldor (Somerville) and others are keeping a 24 hour vigil at the gates of the Base before the March.

Some confusion may be expected since the Christ Church and New College Beagles, by coincidence, also meet at the gates on Sunday morning.

This new position is defined in a letter sent by the Senior Proctor to Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, Fellow of Magdalen. Senior Member of CND. In it he says, "The Proctors are prepared to allow undergraduates to march on this occasion . . . Permission



The Cuban missile crisis led to setting up a hotline between the two leaders and the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty between the US, UK, and Russia. Tests were limited to being underground.

In Britain, the Civil Defence Corps was issued redesigned material that had been produced during the second World War, to distribute to advise householders how to build nuclear shelters and otherwise protect themselves against a nuclear strike. It included suggestions such as putting bookcases in front of windows to keep out radiation. Many believed that this had more to do with making the public feel that they could do something to protect themselves should nuclear war break out than with giving genuinely useful advice. The booklets implied that a nuclear war was survivable!

While skeptical, we all had to get on with our lives. For me, having a family and bringing them up, and moving to better jobs in different places was the main focus, and the possibility of war was pushed to the back of my mind. Redundancy in 1971 led ultimately to our big decision – we left England. I had accepted a job in the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR) in New Zealand, and we arrived in Wellington to begin a new life in October 1972.

Introduction

The primary purpose of the Government's defence policy is to prevent war; but until general disarmament has been achieved and nuclear weapons brought under international control there still remains some risk of nuclear attack.

If such weapons were used in war they would cause casualties and damage on a vast scale. In areas close to the explosions most people would be killed instantly and nearly all buildings would be completely destroyed. Outside these areas the destructive effects of nuclear weapons diminish and there are precautions which could be taken to mitigate them further. Survival during and immediately after an attack would depend largely upon the actions taken by individual men and women.

This booklet tells you what you could do to protect yourself, your family and your home.

4

The Introduction in a Civil Defence booklet about nuclear fallout shelters.

Until we arrived here, I hadn't known about the New Zealand Government's representations to the French Government over its nuclear testing programme in the South Pacific and the radioactive fallout likely to harm the peoples of the neighbouring South Pacific nations.

However, a month after we arrived, a new Labour government was elected, and the new Prime Minister, Norman Kirk, advised that New Zealand would take action against French testing at the International Court of Justice. France pressed ahead notwithstanding, so, in mid-1973, New Zealand sent two frigates, HMNZS *Otago* and HMNZS *Canterbury* to the testing area at Moruroa as a protest (while US, British, Russian, and Chinese military forces were nearby merely as observers). A small fleet of private

vessels went, too. Fraser Colman, a Government Minister was chosen by ballot to be on board the *Otago*, and two other Ministers, Phil Amos and Matiu Rata, went on private vessels. The heavy-handed arrests of occupants of the protest yacht *Vega* by French commandos brought enormous adverse publicity worldwide.

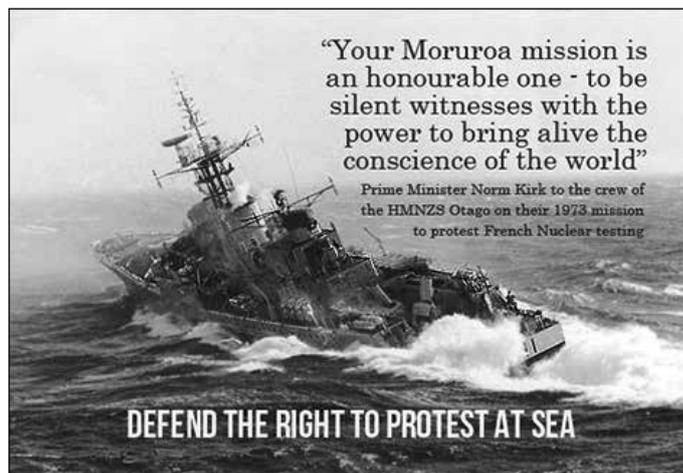
As a result of these protests, the French Government decided to move its tests underground.

Later that year, I was invited to become honorary editor of the *NZ Science Review*, the journal of the New Zealand Association of Scientists. This gave me the unexpected opportunity of making a small contribution to the anti-nuclear movement, by way of providing information. In the 4th issue of *NZ Science Review* for 1974, I was able to publish scientific articles about the levels of radioactivity in fallout from nuclear tests. Articles by Dr B. O'Brien of the Institute of Nuclear Sciences, and J. McCahon, of the National Radiation Laboratory gave increases as percentages of natural radiation received, but, in a third article, Dr Robert Mann, of the University of Auckland, asserted that putting the figures in this way was a political decision, as it minimised the fact that actual numbers of people would suffer genetic defects from this increase.

In 1974, too, the possibility of having nuclear power generation in New Zealand was being canvassed, prompting the Prime Minister to affirm that it would not be considered until the problem of disposal of toxic wastes had been solved. I obtained the promise of an article from Bob Mann about reasons for not having nuclear power in New Zealand, and was able to obtain an article from the New Zealand Electricity Department (NZED) putting their case for introducing it. The topic was considered so controversial politically that the Government established an Independent Fact-Finding Group on Nuclear Power under Sir Malcolm Burns (in 1975), and DSIR made 'nuclear power' one of the issues (with 'native forests') on which only designated spokesmen were allowed to comment. So, in the issue of *NZ Science Review* in which the articles by Bob Mann and an unnamed NZED author appeared (1976, no. 1), I used a pseudonym for my editorial arguing that selling nuclear power to a nation is a form of 'economic aggression' akin to drug trafficking.

At Bob Mann's invitation, I attended the inaugural meeting of the Campaign for Non-Nuclear Futures (CNNF), held in Wellington on 12 June 1976 (see extract from Minutes, below). This was an amazing event. About 200 representatives attended. They came from a wide range of community groups, environmental groups, student groups, peace organisations, and women's organisations – a total of over forty 'associate' organisations. Importantly, it was non-political.

We all were segregated into workshops to plan activities in gathering technical information, launching a petition to Parliament (to be called Campaign Half Million), gaining publicity, and so on, as given in the Minutes (below).



CAMPAIGN FOR NON-NUCLEAR FUTURES

MINUTES OF THE INAUGURAL MEETING held in the Even Hall, YWCA, Upper Willis St, Wellington, 12 June 1976, chaired by the Rev. Bob Scott.

The meeting opened at 9.40am. Bob Scott introduced the meeting as arising out of one held in Wellington on March 20, which resolved 'this meeting believes that the energy future of New Zealand should exclude nuclear power plants and affirms that alternatives are both feasible and desirable' and that 'this meeting appoints a steering committee to establish an organisation that will work to achieve these aims.' He also mentioned the international nature of nuclear power problems as evidenced by the call of Non-Governmental Organisations at the 'Habitat' Conference for a moratorium on nuclear power.

In the absence of the expected film 'Energy: the nuclear alternative', Dr L.R.S. Mann addressed the meeting on some of the main unresolved problems of nuclear power and then went on with his planned talk 'Why We'll Win'.

I was part of the newsletter workshop, and was asked to be the editor. I created a name, *Non-Nuclear News* (or *NNN*, for short), designed a layout, and with the information provided from the meeting and workshop, produced the first issue later that month. The first of its two pages is shown here.

The organiser of Campaign Half Million, Raewyn MacKenzie, from Auckland, had sprung into action quickly, as she expected initially to close the petition by 1 September. She had a network of hundreds of co-ordinators throughout New Zealand, and they organised signature gathering by door-knocking, at shopping areas and market stalls, in schools, churches, sports clubs, and businesses. Several groups declared 31 July 1976 'National Campaign Half Million Day', and organised walkathons and other events to gather signatures (and campaign funds).

I was kept busy, working with Molly Melhuish, the CNNF Secretary, to gather information and assemble further newsletters. We included notices of talks by visiting overseas experts (such as Greg and Pat Minor, Walt Patterson, and Paul Ehrlich), energy conferences and digests of their proceedings, notices of relevant books (such as Patterson's book *Nuclear Power*), energy usage statistics, and information about alternative sources of energy.

In September 1976, the National Government announced the setting-up of a Royal Commission on Nuclear Power Generation in New Zealand, chaired by Sir Thaddeus McCarthy, which would take public submissions until 2 February 1977, as well as considering expert advice, and would report by 31 December 1977.

Because of this development, the CNNF decided that more frequent newsletters should be sent out after the fourth issue (in October 1976). I was relieved to be able to hand over the editing to Valerie Blennerhassett, who lived near Molly Melhuish and could liaise more easily with her than I could. It had become a huge spare-time commitment on top of my editing of the *NZ Science Review*.

This fourth issue gave information about the Royal Commission and its terms of reference, and encouraged everyone to make their own submissions in addition to the one that CNNF would prepare. It gave guidance on how to make a submission, and suggested that it was important to include broader economic and social consequences of alternative forms of energy supply as well as nuclear. Discussion of means of energy conservation was also important.

It was a revelation to me that simply anyone could make a submission!

This poster put out by CNNF recognised the addition to its aim of opposing nuclear reactors of: 'and in the waters under New Zealand's control'.



Non-Nuclear News

No. 1 June 1976

Newsletter of the Campaign for Non-Nuclear Futures
Registered at Post Office Headquarters, Wellington, as a magazine

P. O. Box 6814 Te Aro, Wellington
P. O. Box 41143 St Lukes, Auckland

P. O. Box 1770 Christchurch
P. O. Box 607 Dunedin North

Campaign for Non-Nuclear Futures was launched in Wellington on June 12 at a meeting attended by almost 200 people. Enthusiasm and a very positive attitude were evident, spurred on by Bob Mann's informative and stimulating speech. Workshop groups organised for the afternoon discussed plans for future action and produced a great deal of constructive planning. The following were the areas considered:-

.. the gathering of technical information .. finance .. news-letter .. organisation of speakers and films .. whom to lobby .. graphics .. publicity .. development of information kits .. Campaign Half Million petition.

Anyone wanting further information on what was discussed in any workshop, a copy of the Minutes, or of the aims and rules of CNNF, please write to:- The Secretary, CNNF, Box 6614, Te Aro, Wellington.

Royal Commission

The announcement of a Royal Commission immediately after CNNF's inaugural meeting is a worthwhile victory, but it must not cause anyone to let up in collecting signatures. Royal Commissions are meant to delay and defuse. We must show that most of the New Zealand people favour safe alternatives to nuclear power.

Board Members

Secretary: Molly Melhuish, 42 Waitohu Road, York Bay, Eastbourne.

Treasurer: Ron Wilson, 4 Hibiscus Grove, Maungaraki, Lower Hutt.

Ross Forbes, Pamapurua, R.D. 1, Kaitaia.

Jeanette Fitzsimons, 8 Ngapuhi Road, Orakei, Auckland 5.

Bob Mann (Dr L.R.B.) 34 Norana Avenue, Remuera, Auckland.

Lindsay Jeffs, P.O. Box 39-065, Auckland West.

Denis Hocking, Rangitoto, R.D. 2, Bulls.

Dave Dawson, 62 Central Terrace, Wellington 5.

Terry Goodall, 909 Lower Styx Road, Christchurch 5.

Owen Wilkes, C/o Resistance Book Shop, Box 2258, Christchurch.

Dates to Note

28 JUNE YC Network, National discussion and talkback show with Mr Muldoon.

1 JULY CANWAR (Campaign Against Nuclear Warships). Public meeting at Wellington Town Hall at 7.30 p.m.

Notes for this column from people around the country would help establish communication amongst interested people.

Walkathon

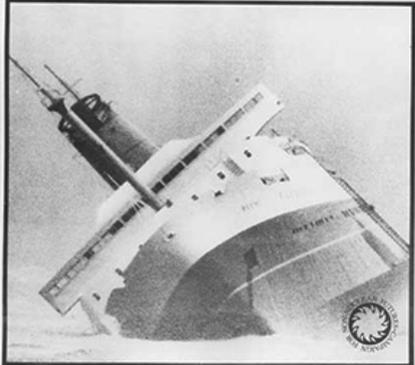
Planned by Campaign Half Million for July 31, this will coincide with the beginning of National Conservation Week all over New Zealand. Details from local petition co-ordinators later.

Say no to nuclear power _____

_____ **Say yes to the alternatives**

April 10th, 1968. 51 die in Wahine Disaster.

**Had this ship
been nuclear powered,
thousands
could have died.**



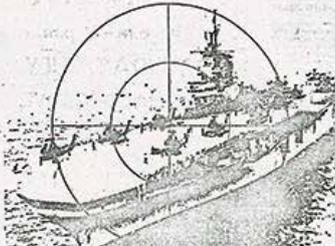
NO TO NUCLEAR WARSHIPS

PUBLIC MEETING TO ORGANISE OPPOSITION TO NUCLEAR WARSHIPS

WELLINGTON TOWN HALL

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 7.30 p.m.

THE MEETING WILL BE ADDRESSED BY
HON. FRASER COLMAN
 AND OTHER LOCAL SPEAKERS



• New Zealand's involvement with the United States will make us a target in a nuclear war.
 • The ANZUS Pact does not force us to have nuclear warships visit. The Australian Government banned visits by all nuclear ships in 1971 and only changed its mind this month.
 • Our Government has not bothered to investigate the safety of nuclear weapons on the warships.
 • The New Zealand Atomic Energy Committee in 1971 stated "a nuclear accident could happen at any time".
 Incited by Interim Committee of Campaign Against Nuclear Warships.

The change to a National Government in late 1975 had brought a change in policy towards visits from US nuclear-powered warships with the capability of carrying nuclear arms. CNNF made it clear to its coordinators that the policy was for New Zealand to prohibit all nuclear power plants, whether on land or sea. If nuclear-powered ships arrived, it would still be worth while to sign the petition.

Although the petition didn't reach its target of half a million before it had to be closed, it still passed a third of a million. Raewyn MacKenzie, the overall coordinator, presented it to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Petitions on 27 April 1977, just over 9 months after it had been started. It was the

Third Of Million Oppose Use Of Nuclear Power

Parliamentary Reporter

A PLEA from 333,000 New Zealanders for the Government to scorn nuclear power generation in New Zealand was put before the parliamentary select committee on petitions today by Campaign Half Million.

The petition, the largest in New Zealand history, calls specifically for a ban on nuclear power reactors either on land or on ships in New Zealand waters.

It also requests the Government to publish, within a year, a programme launching a sustainable non-nuclear energy system.

After consideration in private by the petitions committee, the proposal will be submitted to Parliament with either no recommendation, or a recommendation indicating how strongly the committee feels they should be supported by the Government.

In the submissions, presented by the campaign organiser, Ms Raewyn MacKenzie, the campaign states that nuclear power is the least popular form of energy when compared with oil and coal.

Ms MacKenzie said the petition concentrated particularly on burner fission reactors which would form the

basis of any nuclear power programmes in New Zealand.

Fears

People approached to sign the petition had feared that the decisions on a power programme would be left to "the experts." Many felt the decision on nuclear power was a moral issue. Many signatories were displeased by governmental secrecy on nuclear matters.

The campaigners argued that conventional power stations already under construction would suffice for projected energy needs in the turn of the century. Electricity could be preserved by a greater emphasis on alternative energy sources such as thermal insulation, solar water heating, and neighbourhood solar space heating.

Many signatories showed concern at the risk of radiation leaks, caused by routine releases from fuel and waste management; earthquakes, accidents and sabotage; and diversion of nuclear materials for weapon production.

In reply to questions by a committee the Minister of Tourism (Mr Lapwood) the campaign spokesman, Dr Bob Mann, said no judgment could be made on the supposed "accident-free history" of nuclear power in the US Navy as reports on its safety record were kept secret.

Asked about fail-safe devices in nuclear power stations, Dr Mann said he doubted whether there could be a proven fail-safe method of preventing leaks. The American fail-safe systems had never been fully tested.

The committee is scheduled to consider three further petitions on nuclear energy — from Messrs J Langdon (11,868 signatures), G Brybrook (1,655) and M Bevelidge (2,258).

From the Evening Post 27 April 1977.

largest ever petition in New Zealand – an astonishing achievement!

Meanwhile, people had presented their submissions to the Royal Commission in January 1977. Of 141 submissions made, "by far the most were opposed to nuclear power."

My personal submission covered:

- the capriciousness of hazards and uncertainties of risk analysis for nuclear accidents;
- nuclear power had become too expensive and would deprive those providing alternative energy sources of government finance;
- nuclear power plants alienated land semi-permanently and threatened the environment; and
- supporting people's self-help towards energy conservation and use of alternative energy sources was the democratic solution to energy needs.

Over the previous year there had been several developments. NZED had revised its forecasts of increased demand downwards drastically. The Minister of Energy Resources stated that there was no longer any urgency about a decision on nuclear power generation. The DSIR supported investing in New Zealand's own geothermal energy, and also suggested postponing any nuclear decision.

The Royal Commission concluded that New Zealand had "sufficient indigenous resources to enable it to meet its reasonably projected needs for electricity into the next century."

A great victory for CNNF!

At the Annual General Meeting of CNNF in July 1978, it was resolved to dissolve the organisation as its aims had been fulfilled. It was subsumed into ECO – Environment & Conservation Organisations of New Zealand (Inc.).

Non-Nuclear News had been changed to *Energywatch* at the end of 1977, and continued for many years with Molly Melhuish as its editor. She became recognised as the energy guru the media turned to for independent comment on all energy policies and developments.

Many anti-nuclear activists turned their attention to visits to New Zealand by US nuclear warships. There was considerable public confusion over whether these were also capable of being nuclear-armed, and whether they were in fact nuclear-armed. US Government policy was to 'neither confirm nor deny' whether these ships were nuclear-armed. This policy was increasingly seen as arrogant.

The first visits, of the USS *Truxtun* and USS *Long Beach*, both in 1976, attracted an amazing waterborne protest, with large numbers of vessels obstructing them as they entered port. Many of us were concerned that the presence of nuclear-powered ships was exposing us to unnecessary risk of a nuclear accident. However, the main concern expressed by peace activists, notably the Peace Squadron, was that nuclear-powered ships might also be nuclear-armed, and we risked becoming a target if we were seen to be a regular venue for them.

Further protests on land and sea confronted the submarines USS *Pintado* in 1978 and USS *Haddo* in 1979.

In 1976, Labour MP Richard Prebble had introduced a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Bill to Parliament, but it failed to get a majority. Mr Prebble tried again in 1982 with the Nuclear Free Zone (New Zealand) Bill, which would have banned only nuclear-armed ships, but not nuclear-powered ones, but again it was defeated. The following year, Social Credit leader, Bruce Beetham MP, introduced a Prohibition of Nuclear Vessels and Weapons Bill, but it, too, met the same fate.

Meanwhile, in the USA.....

(1) An accident at Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania on 28 March 1979 threatened to cause a meltdown and a release of radioactive gases, which led to a general emergency and evacuation of pregnant women and young children near the plant. It brought to a halt all plans for new nuclear power stations in the USA.

(2) After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter withheld signing a Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) treaty. Instead he signed, in July 1980, Presidential Directive 59 – ‘Nuclear Weapons Employment Policy’ – changing US strategy to preparing to fight a nuclear war in stages with the hope of ‘enduring’. This seemed to lower the threshold for the USA to start a nuclear attack. Carter’s successor, President Reagan, followed this up by proposing his ‘Star Wars’ defence initiative, aiming to protect America from a nuclear response. This, too, greatly heightened tension with Russia.

I had written an editorial in *NZ Science Review* in 1981 (vol-ume 38, no. 5), saying that, because many scientists were contributing to weapons development and use, others should work with peace organisations to negate this. Scientists had international connections, which could be used to ‘build bridges’, and their knowledge could be used to make the public aware of their governments’ aggressive intentions. In the same issue I listed New Zealand peace organisations. More information about these groups and their activities were given in correspondence in the subsequent two issues of the journal.

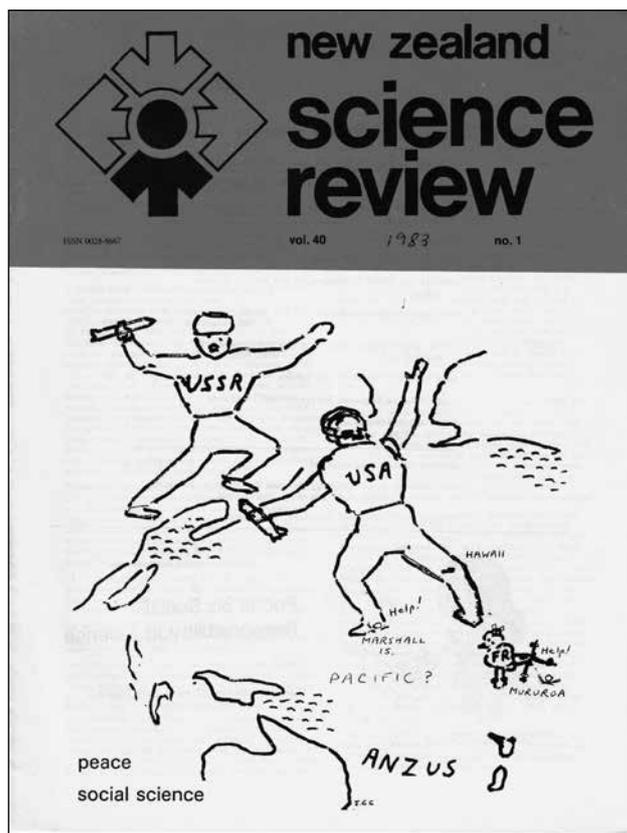
At the Pacific Science Congress in Dunedin in September 1981, which I had attended to present a scientific paper, I was also a panellist at a discussion on freedom of information. I told the meeting that the USS *Truxtun*, which was due to visit New Zealand again in 1982, was described as being nuclear-armed in the American scientific literature; yet the US Government still maintained its stance to ‘neither confirm nor deny’! We needed scientists, with this knowledge and a sense of social responsibility, to speak up about these facts and show up the duplicity of political leaders on all sides. I reported this in *NZ Science Review* 1983, no 1.

I used a cartoon on the cover of NZ Science Review to show the nuclear powers carrying out their activities in our seas and skies.



There were increasingly large – and sometimes reckless – protests from boaties against visits of nuclear-powered ships, which had the potential to be nuclear-armed.

The US Government’s ‘neither confirm nor deny’ policy increasingly angered New Zealanders, as a bullying tactic to get us to accept complicity in the nuclear arms race between the ‘superpowers’.



In *NZ Science Review* 1983, no. 2, I published the opening address to the newly formed New Zealand Branch of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, by its Chairman, Professor Derek North: 'Physicians speak out - The realities of nuclear war'. Referring to this group in my editorial, 'A certain callousness of soul', I suggested that scientists might form a similar organisation.

This generated more correspondence than the journal had ever received before. In particular Dr Peter Wills and his colleagues, Dr Patricia Lewis and Professor Robert White, at the Physics Department, University of Auckland, wrote that they had formed a New Zealand Branch of Scientists Against Nuclear Arms (SANA).

In response to this, Dr Jock Churchman, of DSIR Lower Hutt, phoned me to say there was considerable interest in forming a SANA branch in Wellington/Hutt. Would I be willing to chair a meeting if he got people together? I wrote to Peter Wills about our plans, and he confirmed (7 June 1983) that they would welcome formation of other branches, and, within months, branches had also been

formed in Waikato, Manawatu, Christchurch and Dunedin. Peter sent me a copy of their first newsletter (dated June 1983), which contained the constitution, based on the Australian SANA. He also referred people to my editorial in *NZ Science Review* 1983, no. 3, in which I gave a bibliography of recent articles about the arms race in overseas scientific journals, besides berating New Zealand media for their inadequate and biased coverage of the topic.

The initial local SANA meeting was held at the Institute of Nuclear Sciences, Lower Hutt, on 11 August 1983. About 40 scientists attended. I chaired it, outlining what SANA was, and describing contacts I had made with the local organiser of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), Dr Ian Prior, and the founder of Engineers for Social Responsibility (ESR), Gerry Te Papa Coates. I suggested that close links should be maintained with these groups. Our aims would be to inform ourselves, to talk to other groups and the public, and to provide specialist help to other groups.

THE BAY OF PLENTY TIMES, TUESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1983 7

Scientist urges NZ role in broad peace effort



NEW ZEALAND could have a big impact on international nuclear disarmament by acting as an independent adjudicator according to the co-ordinator of the newly formed Scientists Against Nuclear Arms group, Mr Geoff Gregory.

Mr Gregory, a Wellington scientist with the DSIR, addressed a meeting in Tauranga yesterday of people interested in having Tauranga declared a nuclear weapons-free zone.

"New Zealand is a non-threatening country," he said.

"We should play a much more active and independent role as an adjudicator between the super-powers of Russia and America."

Access

Mr Gregory's group has only recently been formed. He says it will take a stance similar to that of the international organisation, Physicians Against Nuclear War.

"Scientists have access to a lot of scientific information about the arms race which the general public does not see," he said.

"We know how deadly serious the situation is and hope, that by spreading this information to people everywhere, we can stir them into taking action to prevent this escalation of nuclear arms."

Mr Gregory said that 60 New Zealand scientists had joined the group to help inform people about the arms race.

"At the moment, we are concentrating our work on getting enough scientists with sufficient knowledge to go around teaching people," he said.

Pressure

"We concentrate on scientifically accurate information and have no political allegiance. We are a completely professional organisation."

Mr Gregory said that by expanding the number of nuclear-free zones in the world, pressure would be put on the superpowers to disarm.

"It doesn't matter that we can't tell when a breach of the nuclear-free zone occurs, but it does put a great moral pressure on countries like Russia and America," he said. "So far, both these countries have observed the nuclear-free zones."

Mr Gregory said one particular frightening fact of the last few years was the 1980 American Presidential Directive 59.

"In this directive, Carter put forth the idea of counterforce and of limited nuclear wars being winnable," he said.

"Scientists developed a first-strike weapon which was designed to start a limited nuclear war and win it."

"We believe this is just crazy - it is impossible to control a war in war conditions, so we should protest very much at these weapons which include things like the Cruise missile."

MR GREGORY . . . scientists know how deadly serious the situation is

Having been asked to talk to Tauranga Community College about 'Science and Society' (later published in NZ Science Review 1983, no. 6), I took the opportunity of contacting the Tauranga Peace Group, as reported here, to talk to them about the arms race. I was also interviewed on their local radio station.

I started to give occasional talks – to schools, church groups, and Rotary Clubs, as well as to SANA and the NZ Association of Social Science Researchers, These I combined into an article about ‘The arms race: scientific aspects’ in *NZ Science Review* 1983, no. 5.

I also appeared on Sharon Crosbie’s *Morning Report* on national radio, talking about the arms race and a phenomenon of atmospheric nuclear explosions known as ‘electro-magnetic pulse (EMP)’.

Other members of SANA also gave talks to schools and church groups. Dr David Lowe and Jim Salinger gave talks on their specialty, ‘nuclear winter’, and took a visiting Australian scientist, Dr Barrie Pittock, a specialist on the same topic to Parliament to speak to Helen Clark and other interested MPs.

In October 1983, I helped Philip Tremewen, a journalist with the *Dominion*, with information for *Outlook* (see extract alongside), a series of ‘Newspapers in Education’ posters devoted to the nuclear debate. With the payment I received, I was able to buy sets of these to give to schools.

Meanwhile the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies had organised a speaking tour, in April 1983, by Australian medical doctor Helen Caldicott, a prominent charismatic, anti-nuclear activist. She spoke to overflowing audiences in Auckland and Wellington. Marilyn Waring, a National MP who later (with Mike Minogue MP) crossed the floor when the next anti-nuclear bill was presented to Parliament, which precipitated a general election, described it as “transformative”, and her speeches “inspired people to act”. In particular, on 24 May 1983, women in Auckland organised a huge peace rally in support of the UK Women’s Peace Camp outside the US nuclear weapons base at RAF Greenham Common (near where Ann and I had lived, on Greenham Road, Newbury, when we were first married).

In April the following year the IPPNW, in conjunction with the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies and SANA, ESR, and nearly 20 other organisations, brought Helen Caldicott back again. I was among the full audience when she spoke at Wellington Town Hall. It was another enthusiastic crowd, who, after a karakia by Wiremu Parker, also heard from Professor Derek North, for IPPNW, and peace researcher Owen Wilkes, and the Topp Twins entertained us with appropriate ditties.

In Parliament, in June 1984, Richard Prebble again introduced the Nuclear Free New Zealand Bill. The was the one that Marilyn Waring and Mike Minogue voted for, against the National Government of which they were a part. The Government only defeated the Bill by one vote because two independent MPs voted with them. The Prime Minister, Rob Muldoon, in an apparent drunken pique, slated Marilyn’s “feminist anti-nuclear stance” and called a snap general election.

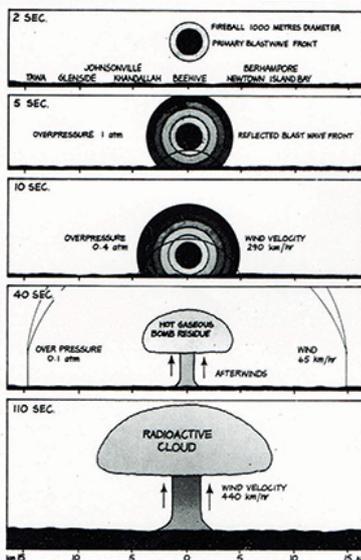
At that election, held in July 1984, the Labour Party, running an anti-nuclear campaign, won a landslide victory.

Outlook specially



The Nuclear Debate

NUCLEAR war has always seemed unthinkable, yet many people in Europe now expect it to happen in the next 10 years. New Zealand is far from the European battleground, yet we too could be a target for nuclear weapons and would, in any case, have to completely change our lives if we did survive. This four-part series shows something of the effect of nuclear weapons, the importance of the Pacific to the arms race, the protest movement and, finally, what it would mean to be among the few survivors of a devastating nuclear war. We also list further resources for study and discussion. Feed-back to Outlook is welcome. Contact the compiler of the page, Philip Tremewen, Newspapers in Education, Box 3740, Wellington.



Blast effects

- NUCLEAR explosions emit a flash of intense heat followed by a blast wave — a wall of compressed air. The wave is measured as “overpressure”, the amount by which it exceeds the normal atmosphere.
 - Most buildings collapse under about 0.4 atmospheres of overpressure. The human body can stand much more but injury is likely from flying debris.
 - Secondary effects could include ground shocks, tidal waves in nearby bodies of water, extremely high winds and mass fires. The fires can kill both through heat and asphyxiation because oxygen is rapidly consumed.
 - Global effects include delayed fall-out, possible long-term cooling of the climate because of suspended dust and possible damage to the ozone layer that shields the earth from lethal ultraviolet radiation from the sun. These effects would be significant only if thousands of bombs were exploded.
- Source: Scientific American.

1984
INITIATIVES FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR
DR HELEN CALDICOTT



WELLINGTON — TOWN HALL — THURSDAY APRIL 5th, 7.45 pm
AUCKLAND — Y.M.C.A. — FRIDAY APRIL 6th, 7.45pm

Initiative: *That which initiates, begins, or originates; the first step; hence the act of taking the first step or lead...*
OXFORD DICTIONARY

WHO TAKES THE FIRST STEP? — YOU
WHERE? — HERE
WHEN? — NOW

Visit sponsored by: International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War New Zealand Branch, and the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies, with assistance from many other groups and individuals.

NUCLEAR ISSUES FACT SHEET

NUMBER SEVEN OCTOBER 1984

P.O. BOX 6289,
WELLESLEY ST.,
AUCKLAND 1,
NEW ZEALAND.

PRODUCED BY NEW ZEALAND DOCTORS, ENGINEERS AND SCIENTISTS

NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREE ZONES

Banning nuclear weapons from their territories is an active means by which non-nuclear governments can express their abhorrence of the arms race and complement their diplomatic efforts to halt and reverse it.

A nuclear weapons free zone (NWFZ) is established when one nation or a group of nations:

- * decides or agrees not to acquire nuclear weapons
- * forbids the storage of such weapons within their territories
- * forbids the transit of nuclear weapons through their territories
- * forbids the local use of nuclear weapons.

For formal recognition these policies must be embodied in a statute or treaty. Compatibility with existing defence treaties or international laws and endorsement by a majority of the United Nations General Assembly would ideally follow.

Further advantages of NWFZs include:

- * limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons
- * reduction of the risk of nuclear weapons being used in the zone
- * moves towards global arms control and the establishment of other zones
- * stabilization of the local balance of military power.

INTERNATIONAL ZONES

There are currently four international NWFZs:

1. The Antarctic Treaty of 1959 created the world's first NWFZ. Twenty-seven states including New Zealand have signed it.
2. In 1967 the United Nations General Assembly endorsed a US-USSR Treaty on the Use of Outer Space. A further 82 states including New Zealand have since signed. The treaty prohibits the placing of any weapons of mass destruction in orbit, on celestial bodies or in outer space.
3. In 1972 the United Nations sponsored a treaty prohibiting the placing of nuclear weapons on the sea bed. By 1984, 74 states including New Zealand had signed it.
4. The Latin American states completed the Treaty of Tlatelolco in 1967, establishing the first inhabited NWFZ. It is an agreement whereby the Latin American states do not store, build or keep nuclear weapons. Visits by nuclear armed warships are allowed and have taken place.

No existing NWFZ recognized by the United Nations complies with all theoretical requirements. All lack an independent verification and enforcement provision. None has the unqualified agreement of every relevant state. Most have loopholes such as the right of transit of weapons or development of nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes (e.g. canal construction). In no case have potential incompatibilities with existing defence treaties been fully resolved.

Four other international NWFZs have received endorsement by the UN General Assembly but await agreement by key zonal states or one or more of the nuclear powers before formalization in a treaty or declaration: Africa (sponsored by the Organisation for African Unity in 1964, Nigeria in 1974), the Middle East (by Iran and Egypt in 1974), South Asia (by Pakistan in 1974) and the South Pacific (by NZ, Fiji and the South Pacific Forum in 1975, 1984).

The new Prime Minister, David Lange, barred nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships from entering New Zealand waters. A US request for the USS *Buchanan* to visit was refused on the basis that it was capable of carrying nuclear weapons, although the US Government maintained its 'neither confirm nor deny' policy. The USA put strong pressure on New Zealand, threatening trade sanctions and effectively banishing us from all military cooperation. Most of us reacted strongly against these bullying tactics. According to subsequent opinion polls, the ban on nuclear-armed warships was widely supported by the New Zealand public. These, compared with earlier polls, showed a sea change from just under half the population to three-quarters opposing nuclear-armed ship visits (although the feeling about nuclear-powered ships was less definite).

PM David Lange's subsequent riposte in an Oxford Union debate in March 1985 that he could 'smell the uranium on the breath' of his opponent brought worldwide acclaim and made us proud.

SANA members, in collaboration with IPPNW and ESR had begun producing single-page fact sheets on various nuclear issues, such as no. 7 (shown here) on Nuclear Weapons Free Zones. Other topics included: Nuclear winter in New Zealand; Cruise missiles; The doctrine of nuclear deterrence; Weapons for Star Wars; Fallout; and Nuclear forces in the Pacific. Altogether 17 of these fact sheets were pro-



In 1981, Larry Ross in Christchurch had established the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee, with the object of getting local councils, homes and workplaces to declare themselves nuclear-free.

One of the first councils to do so (by a narrow margin) was Wellington City, in April 1982. Labour Councillor Helene Ritchie proposed the motion and persuaded two of the Mayor's majority Citizens party to effectively cross the floor to vote with Labour on this issue.

I declared our home and my work office nuclear-free zones, marked by stickers obtained from Larry Ross's Committee.

By the 1984 election, 86 local councils had declared themselves nuclear-free. This accounted for nearly 2 million people (61 per cent of the population), which explained why Labour was voted in on a nuclear-free platform.

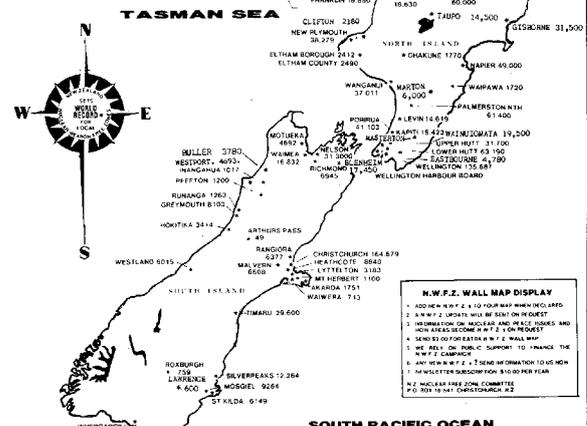
About this time, New York city was one of the earliest cities in the USA to defy US government policy and declare itself nuclear-free. This two-faced US official attitude on its policy did not go un-noticed in New Zealand.

NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES IN NEW ZEALAND

As at March 15 1985.

**2,090,522 PEOPLE
OVER 65% OF NEW
ZEALANDERS LIVE IN
98 NUCLEAR WEAPON
FREE ZONES**

As at March 15 1985.



HELP STOP WAR

DECLARE NEW ZEALAND A NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE WITH POSITIVE NEUTRALITY.
ACTIVE PEACEMAKING AND SUPPORT FOR A SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONE

NEW ZEALAND NUCLEAR FREE ZONE COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 1541 CHRISTCHURCH NEW ZEALAND

The Royal Society of New Zealand created an ad-hoc committee to produce a review of the scientific data on the effects of a nuclear war in the Northern Hemisphere on New Zealand.

I was asked to edit it by the President, Dr Ted Bollard.

It contained articles describing the currently perceived climatic, medical, social, and economic effects to New Zealand of a nuclear war in the Northern Hemisphere. It also proposed ways of alleviating these threats and roles for scientists in so doing.

I finished the task in April 1985, and attended a function (by invitation) at which it was launched by Prime Minister David Lange.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY of NEW ZEALAND



Library and Rooms: 11 Turnbull Street
Science House: 4 Halswell Street
Thorndon, Wellington

Mailing: Private Bag, Wellington, N.Z.
Cable: "Royalsoc"
Telephone: 727-421

19 June 1985.

Mr J.G. Gregory,
N.Z. Geological Survey, DSIR
P.O. Box 30-368,
LOWER HUTT.

Dear Geoff,

Ad Hoc Committee on Effects on New Zealand
of Nuclear War

Following the production, publication and launching of the above Committee's report, Council decided at its June meeting to dissolve the above Committee.

From the time of proposal of the project, by Ian Prior, at the Fellows' meeting in Auckland in May 1983 to its launching by the Prime Minister in April it was less than two years, making it one of the speediest of the Society's publications. Council has asked me especially to pass on its thanks to you for the major part you played in its production. The task would not have been easy, but I hope that you found it worthwhile. It presented for the first time the facts as we saw them in New Zealand in the noblest cause of all - the eradication of nuclear weapons.

With best wishes,

Trevor Hatherton,
President.

The President
of the
Royal Society of New Zealand
invites you to be present at the launching by the
Prime Minister
Rt. Hon. D. R. Lange
of the Society's report
The Threat of Nuclear War:
A New Zealand Perspective
to be held at Science Centre,
11 Turnbull Street, Thorndon, at 5 p.m.
on Monday, 29 April, 1985.

duced in 1984-1985 and they were circulated widely, including to MPs from all political parties. My own proposed fact sheets were pre-empted by the *Dominion's* 'Newspapers in Education' posters (referred to previously), to which I contributed information and which I considered had a better prospect of delivering information more widely. I like to think that these activities of SANA, IPPNW, and the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee had contributed to a much better informed public wanting to have nothing to do with nuclear arms or nations using them to threaten others.

Meanwhile the Government was attempting to redefine New Zealand's relationship with the USA in an ANZUS (Australia/New Zealand/USA) alliance that enabled military co-operation without us relaxing our policy of excluding nuclear weapons from New Zealand. Richard Prebble had re-launched the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone legislation, but the Government delayed implementing it. They wanted to first explore the implications for the nation's defence policy. A completely new approach would be needed.

In May 1985, a small group of us in the Wellington/Hutt branch of SANA prepared a critique of the previous Defence Review, conducted in 1983, for the Minister of Defence Frank O'Flynn (see next page). It advocated a new way of thinking, and offered fully referenced advice on the latest 'smart' non-nuclear weapons available as a much cheaper and more effective way of meeting our defence needs.

Non-nuclear mobile defence proposed

SMART missiles, small, fast patrol boats and new maritime patrol aircraft should be the basis for a non-nuclear New Zealand defence force, a group of antinuclear scientists said yesterday.

The Wellington-Lower Hutt branch of **Scientists Against Nuclear Arms** said that an anti-nuclear commitment demanded a new way of thinking for the military, not merely cosmetic changes.

The scientists have submitted the report to Defence Minister Frank O'Flynn. It is in response to the government review of the 1983 defence review made after the United States had reacted to New Zealand's ban on nuclear ships.

The interim review will be detailed by Mr O'Flynn in a speech to the diplomatic community in Wellington tomorrow.

The scientists' report said anti-submarine as well as submarine capability should be phased out.

It said the navy's frigates and the air force's Orion aircraft should be scrapped. They had little military purpose apart from being an extension of the United States nuclear strategy.

The Falklands war had shown the superior capability of inexpensive, smart weapons

— non-nuclear precision-guided missiles.

"We recommend using smart weapons as the basis for our defence, using a larger number of small, cheaper mobile platforms rather than a smaller number of large expensive ones," the report said.

These missiles should be bought in from Europe rather than the United States so as to be unambiguously non-nuclear.

Some United States Harpoon missiles were nuclear-capable.

Anti-submarine and submarine warfare, which has been a key role for New Zealand, was part of the nuclear-war game, and as destabilising as the Star Wars scenario.

The report recommended frigates should be replaced by smaller, faster patrol ships of between 500 and 1500 tonnes equipped with guns and missiles.

The Dominion newspaper, 6 May 1985, summarised a SANA report to the Minister about a radical new defence policy. We thought that there were lessons to be learned from the Falklands War of 1982, in which missiles were shown to be highly effective and warships highly vulnerable.

Regrettably, Prime Minister Robert Muldoon had offered a New Zealand frigate in support of Britain's offensive there.

While our daughters were attending Erskine College, Wellington, I was elected to the Parent/Teacher Association, and volunteered to become the school's coordinator for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award (D of E) scheme, a role which I filled from 1981 to 1984.

One of the most challenging parts for me to organise was the Service requirement, but I managed to arrange series of activities with the Red Cross Auxiliary Unit, the Accident Compensation Corporation, and a local district nurse. I also discussed with the National Secretary, Brigadier Morrison, the possibility of making a Peace Studies syllabus for it. Coincidentally, Brigadier Morrison had been one of two New Zealand official military observers at the British atomic bomb tests at Maralinga, South Australia. He told me to 'go for it', and agreed to present a case for it to the New Zealand D of E Council.

I modelled it on the D of E syllabus for Commonwealth Studies, and based it on material from and discussion with the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies. The idea was for students to realise by personal contacts that people the world over are just like us. They have the same sorts of hopes and fears and loving relationships, and any differences between peoples are worth fostering, not fighting over.

Unfortunately the College closed in 1985, and Brigadier Morrison retired, and it became too hard for me to pursue the proposal further.

PEACELINK March 1984

Page 14

Peace Studies Award

Geoff Gregory writes from Wellington:

"I've been working on a Peace studies syllabus for the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme with the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies. I've now got an approved draft syllabus, and I need some people taking the Award to do this as their 'skills and

hobbies' option . . . If the trial is successful, the course could become an accepted one in New Zealand and we could try the idea in the UK and elsewhere, too. Young people aged 14-23 are eligible to participate in the Scheme."

Here's the outline Geoff sent us:

Duke of Edinburgh Award Peace Studies

For beginners

- Participants should show evidence of having made contact by correspondence (or personal approach if it has been possible) with someone of their age in both
 - the USA, UK, or France or other western nation and
 - the USSR or Communist China or other communist nation.
- List similarities and differences in the daily family life of someone from 1 (a) and (b).
- Make a survey of violence in one of the following:
 - children's toys
 - TV programmes
 - popular fiction
 - video games.
- Comment on the amount of violence in our society. Do you think it helps people to solve their differences?
- Prepare a display contrasting world spending on armaments with that on overseas aid to the poorest nations.

For those with some knowledge

- Continue the contact with the people from the countries chosen in 1.
- Plan a video programme, about life in countries chosen in 1, designed to improve understanding of each other's ideology. What aspects of their life would you include, and why?
- Outline the contribution to peaceful protest made by Jesus, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and Te Whiti.
- Collect newspaper cuttings about a country undergoing civil war or war with its neighbour. What problems do both sides believe justify fighting each other?
- What are the advantages of neutrality? Why did warring nations respect neutrality, e.g. Switzerland, in World War II?

For the more advanced

- Continue the contact made in 1.
- Collect cartoons from countries where language is not English, and contrast the humour with that in an English or American journal.
- Some countries claim that an armaments industry provides employment and helps the economy. Find what you can about alternative products that workers in armaments factories could make and about alternative means of helping the economy.
- What criteria have been proposed to enable a conflict to be called a "just" war? These criteria imply recognition of rules of war. Outline the rules proposed in the Geneva Convention and the UN Arms Control Agreement. Do you think these rules could be extended to prevent war?

Contact:

Geoff Gregory
467 Broadway
Wellington 3.

This report helped to make the Minister more receptive to the need to consult experts from outside the military establishment, as shown when he spoke at a seminar on 'The Next Step – The Retreat from a Nuclear Future towards Global Interdependence', organised by IPPNW and the Pacific Institute for Resource Management. At that seminar also, Professor John Roberts advocated setting up a committee to specifically encourage public participation in establishing New Zealand's future policies for national security.

In 1985, the Government announced that a Defence Committee of Enquiry would be set up, which, contrary to past precedents, would invite submissions from the public.

Peace organisations were excited by this prospect and immediately began to plan submissions.

A group of representatives of several of these organisations met in Wellington in October 1985 to discuss the implications of this unprecedented opportunity and devise strategies to persuade the Government that the defence needs of New Zealand could be fully met without any nuclear alliance.

I was a member of that group. I had chaired a SANA meeting in September at which a visiting British scientist, Professor John Ziman, spoke about non-provocative defence postures based on conventional weapons as an alternative to the European policies threatening use of so-called 'theatre' nuclear weapons. This alternative was being promoted by a British organisation called 'Just Defence'. I proposed that I should write to this group and obtain their permission to use their name for our group.

They were pleased to do so, and the New Zealand organisation Just Defence was born.

Weekly meetings were efficiently organised, with different members of the group taking on producing a letterhead, finding printers, setting up an account, organising fund-raising, and contacting suitable knowledgeable and/or distinguished people to act as technical advisers and patrons. We wanted to obtain authentic input from people with defence and diplomatic backgrounds. We used them to help us define our philosophy and inform ourselves, and were able to bring in various speakers to discuss their particular areas of expertise.

We planned an extensive submission, so different members of the group took on the task of preparing particular chapters.

I was elected as spokesperson at our late-November meeting, and we planned a series of media releases and interviews to promote discussion of the issues.

Just Defence was formally launched on 18 December 1985, and my first press release was issued to notify it.

After a break over Christmas, I started a schedule of weekly press releases over the next three months. A few of us would meet in Wellington on a Sunday morning to prepare a release about a particular aspect of our policy. Then a couple of us would go to the Parliamentary Press Gallery – no security clearance seemed to be needed at that time! We handed out copies to the reporters there and I would make a two-minute broadcast recording for Radio NZ and a 30-second one for the private radio consortium.

The media loved us! Newspapers and talkback radio thrive on controversy, and our material was controversial as well as being topical, and well researched and presented. The newspapers were flooded with correspondence about us and the radio chat shows were full of it. We were called 'muddled', 'ivory tower', 'Dad's Army advocates', and more. We also had supporters!

There was widespread anger around New Zealand when, on 10 July 1985, French agents bombed the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior, while it was docked in Auckland preparing to mount another protest against French nuclear testing in the Pacific. My colleagues in New Zealand Geological Survey provided outstanding forensic work on soils and pollen left in the campervan hired by two of the agents involved, Alain Mafart and Dominique Prieur, and this enabled their movements to be identified leading to their being charged within two weeks of the bombing. The other agents were, however, able to escape. The subsequent arrogant behaviour of the French authorities, and the fact that neither the UK nor the USA condemned France's actions, widened and confirmed public support for a nuclear-free New Zealand and Pacific.



JUST

Just for defence



DEFENCE

For a defence that is just

Just Defence is born

The Government's defence review has led to the formation of a new organisation. Called JUST DEFENCE, we are a group of people interested in defence issues — drawing together ex-military people, peace activists, scientists and others.

Accepting that in the 1980's New Zealanders are not inclined to either pacifism or nuclear alliances, JUST DEFENCE intends to promote a practical and effective defence policy for New Zealand. There need to be two guiding principles: ensuring a defence that is just, and designing armed forces and policies that are just for defence, not for aggression, against any other people or nations. That's what JUST DEFENCE means.

In this first issue we discuss the defence review, set out what we consider to be the important issues for the review and describe how to write a submission.

The Generals open the debate

It is customary in New Zealand for the defence chiefs to make most of the important defence decisions without too much interference from politicians — and with the public probably not even aware a decision has been made.

For members of the public, the current defence review is a new experience. We are being asked our views on all aspects of our future defence. It's worth using this opportunity, and making sure they listen, because it might not happen again.

The first shots in the review debate came, appropriately, from the military — or rather the ex-military.

Stuck forever with the label 'Geriatric Generals,' these ex-defence chiefs took the unprecedented action on October 12 of 'going public' with their views. They are still wondering why their loud and urgent call left the public so unmoved.

continued on page 4



Published by Just Defence P.O. Box 2114, Wellington. Registered at POHQ as a magazine.

This was the front page of our first newsletter, published in January 1986, which informed people of the overall aims of the new organisation, Just Defence, and sought subscriptions. An initial print of 5000 was soon dispersed and a reprint of 8000 had to be ordered.

Forces marshal for Just Defence



ROGER FOLEY

Late last year amid the quickly gathering storm clouds of Anzus, the Lange Government released details of a comprehensive review of defence. It will involve a five-step process culminating in the publication of a Government Defence White Paper.

For the first time the public is being consulted. On December 5 Prime Minister David Lange released details of a panel of four which will receive submissions from the public. It will also test opinion by conducting polls. Mr Lange has said the panel's report, expected in June, will be taken into account in the preparation of the White Paper.

The public has till February 28 to make written submissions. It is a rare chance, unique in New Zealand and possibly within the Commonwealth.

The peace movement is keen to capitalise. A number of the key figures have banded together under a new banner Just Defence. Given the identity of those involved, their considerable intellect and political connections, their submission should find favour with the Government. Political reporter, ROGER FOLEY, examines who and what is Just Defence.

LAST Thursday half a dozen people stood outside two defence buildings in Wellington handing out pamphlets.

They called for an end to the Anzus defence alliance with the US and Australia, an end to New Zealand's association with any nuclear power, and for radical changes to New Zealand's defence forces.

It marked the start of a propaganda round with a new pressure group, Just Defence, taking its planks direct to the "enemy", defence headquarters, Wellington.

Just Defence was established to make a submission to the new committee of inquiry on defence and to encourage others to do the same.

It is not a group that can be dismissed lightly. Most of the key figures come from the ranks of the peace movement, intellectually sharp and battle-hardened.

Several have direct links to the Labour Party and an open door to the Minister of Defence, Frank O'Flynn.

Front man and the only public figure so far, is Geoff Gregory, a 49-year-old head of information of the geological section of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Geoffery does not fit your usual jeans, t-shirt and tousled hair peacenik image. He has a master's degree from Oxford, is



GEOFF GREGORY . . . trade unions and less brutality for the services

Picture: GREG BAKER

married with three teenage children, did much of his national service with the Royal Engineers in Hong Kong, and is a member of Rotary.

He is not a pacifist but would like to be. He's a pragmatist, believing pacifism is currently impractical.

Gregory is strongly antinuclear, a sentiment substantially reinforced when, as a national serviceman, he went to Hiroshima in 1955, 10 years after the blast. The experience brought home that nuclear weapons are vastly different from "ordinary warfare".

Gregory helped found the Wellington branch of Sana, Scientists Against Nuclear Arms. It was through this and his close association with a former DSIR member, Kevin Hackwell, that Just Defence came into being.

Hackwell, who gave up his full time job as an ecologist to work for Peace Movement Aotearoa, wanted to get a group established to make submissions on the defence review, says Gregory. They took the name, Just Defence, from a body of the same name with a similar outlook and purpose in Britain.

The New Zealand version of Just Defence held its first meeting in October and meets weekly, often at Hackwell's Brooklyn home in Wellington. From 12 to 20 attend. They are not looking for more members.

The links between the key members are not coincidental, Gregory knows Hackwell through their shared DSIR background. Hackwell is not taking a high profile because he is employed full

time as a researcher and activist with Peace Movement Aotearoa.

Dr Peter Wills, a lecturer from the Auckland University, is a founding member of Sana and a prominent campaigner against the defence communications spy station at Tangimoana, north of Wellington.

Peter Winsley is a member of the peace and justice forum, a ginger group attached to the Wellington Labour (party) Council. Winsley was involved in the preparation of a radical defence paper calling for non-alignment, which the New Zealand Times featured in April last year. He shuns press contact but is known to be on good terms with O'Flynn.

Patrons of Just Defence include former secretary of defence, Sir Jack Hume, political science professor at Victoria University, John Roberts, zoology professor at the Auckland University, John Morton, former Ombudsman, Sir Guy Powles, FOL deputy head, Sonja Davies and the Pacific People's anti-nuclear action committee delegate, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira.

Just Defence has three levels of involvement: organisational, intellectual and patron. Serving and retired military officers are known to be involved at the second level, well in the background. They have supplied ideas and offered criticism.

Gregory says Just Defence is separate from the peace movement because there is some resentment in the movement to militarism.

Just Defence believes the central concern must be the removal of the risk of nuclear conflict. Visits by nuclear capable warships, exercises with nuclear armed forces, contributions to nuclear weapons' command and control systems and a military alliance with a nuclear weapon nation reduces, not enhances, New Zealand's security.

Gregory says Just Defence wants to re-orientate New Zealand's defence posture so it is more "defensive" rather than "offensive". Technology, he says, has improved to such an extent that New Zealand can reasonably defend itself without "big brother help".

He says offensive weapons, such as big ships (frigates), strike aircraft (Skyhawks), tanks and heavy artillery are not cost-effective because small nations can now afford "smart" weapons, precision-guided missiles.

For instance, he says, a \$50,000 shoulder launched missile can bring down a \$50 million aircraft.

Just Defence, says Gregory, believes New Zealand should be more self-reliant, non-aligned but not armed and neutral. The difference is that non-alignment gives a nation flexibility. Neutrality does not.

Just Defence wants the army re-organised along commando lines, the navy changed to a resource protection role concentrating on the economic zone, and the air force given a resource boost to become the primary defender of New Zealand.

The group dismisses the need for New Zealand to have a "blue" water frigate squadron to protect its trade routes in times of hostilities. Gregory says the wider New Zealand's trade contacts are the safer New Zealand will be at such times. "We want to be orientated to the South Pacific but no further and even then New Zealand's role should be limited to helping local island nations only against outside aggression."

Just Defence is dead against the army's ready reaction concept, still in vogue within defence headquarters but not supported by many activists within the Labour Party. Gregory's own brand of pacifism shows through when he says "we should not need to brandish weapons at people. Problems should be resolved diplomatically".

To suggestions that limiting New Zealand's defence mobility could lead to an unstable political vacuum in the South Pacific, Gregory argues that the best defence against that is social justice, to ensure New Zealand directs its aid well to help other local nations stand on their own. If force is required, then it should come through the United Nations, says Gregory. New Zealand is too small to have an answer for all occasions.

Just Defence has already completed much of its submission for the defence inquiry. Gregory says it still has to address the question of New Zealand's relationship to the South Pacific, and combining the three services into one. Activists feel the New Zealand forces are too small to have separate services.

There is also considerable discussion within the ranks on democratising and de-brutalising the military. The first involves the introduction of trade unionism to service people, the second emphasising, through training, and the type of weapons used, that it is often better to maim an opponent than kill him.

Gregory says it may be too difficult, given time constraints, for Just Defence to finalise a policy on these two points.

I was interviewed for an in-depth profile by several journalists, but the best result was this article by Roger Foley for the unfortunately short-lived national newspaper, New Zealand Times.

This item in the Evening Post of 21 January 1986 is an example of the success we had with the numerous press releases we issued during January to March 1986.

Meanwhile, Peter Winsley in our group had been gathering the contributions to our submission and giving them a preliminary editing. The first draft was circulated to the group and our advisers and patrons by 15 February 1986. Peter was also able to keep Minister of Defence Frank O'Flynn, and the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Select Committee, Helen Clark MP, informed about our activities.

Kevin Hackwell (a former DSIR colleague) and I then incorporated comments and I did a further overall editing before it was circulated again for a final long scrutiny and discussion. I then finished it off and, having obtained an extension of the deadline, we were able to print and submit copies to the Defence Committee of Enquiry on 7 March.

At 40 pages, it was easily the most detailed and comprehensive the Committee received:

- It analysed potential threats, asserting that association with nuclear-armed nations, far from increasing our security, brought threats that otherwise would not exist for us.
- It advocated giving priority to positive peacemaking foreign policies, and working through the United Nations to promote comprehensive nuclear disarmament.
- It recommended establishing a South Pacific Island Security Community to promote cooperation in security matters, as well as maritime surveillance and fisheries protection in our region. We should follow up on South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone initiatives. We also should increase economic and educational aid to South Pacific nations.

Kevin Hackwell and I appeared before the Committee on 16 April 1986 to present our case and answer questions.

Below is what the Dominion (2 April 1986) made of our submission.

NZ Navy's problems blamed on frigates

WELLINGTON, Jan 20. — The Royal New Zealand Navy's "considerable problems" stemmed from years of bad planning and could not be blamed on the ANZUS row, the Just Defence group said today.

Just Defence was responding to comments by the retiring Chief of Naval Staff Rear Admiral Cedric Steward, who said last week the navy was stretched to its limits trying to maintain its level of expertise as a result of the ANZUS dispute.

He said the row was causing considerable problems for the navy, and he called for a return to "co-operation and understanding" between New Zealand and the US.

However, Just Defence spokesperson, Mr Geoff Gregory, said today it had long been known that a navy based on frigates was impractical and too costly for New Zealand.

"All the ANZUS crisis has done (by cutting off ANZUS exercises for the frigates) is highlight the absolute unsuitability of frigates for New Zealand's particular defence needs," he said in a statement.

Mr Gregory said the 1983 Defence Review described the frigates as "configured essentially as anti-submarine escorts best suited to operations in a fleet environment.

"For the only role specifically for the defence of New Zealand, namely patrol of our exclusive economic zone, they are excessively costly and lack manoeuvrability," he said.

Just Defence advocated replacing the frigates with smaller corvettes to form a "fast, effective, adaptable marine resource protection fleet."

Just Defence is a Wellington group which monitors defence spending. It is understood to include a number of former Department of Defence employees. — NZPA

Big defence overhaul sought

BIG CHANGES to the armed forces are long overdue if defence policy is to be made more relevant to the strategic and geographic realities of New Zealand, a report by Wellington-based defence review group Just Defence says.

The report is the group's submission to the defence commission of inquiry.

It includes phasing out naval frigates, Skyhawk and Orion aircraft, tanks, armoured personnel carriers and heavy artillery, because they are unsuited to defence needs.

It says armed forces equipment has been bought to replace and update existing systems without scrutiny of overall defence requirements or cost efficiency.

"Successive defence reviews

have emphasised that there is little threat to New Zealand's security," Just Defence spokesman Geoff Gregory said.

"Instead the organisation of our armed forces has been geared to participating in the wars of our major ally.

"Just Defence, in contrast, has put forward a positive and realistic alternative in which an outward looking peacemaking foreign policy is backed up by modernised and well-equipped armed forces that are truly defensive."

Under the group's plan the air force would be enlarged, the navy radically restructured and the army greatly reduced.

The main role in the new defence structure, which would have a unified command to avoid interservice rivalry, would be

filled by the air force in anti-shiping and resource protection duties.

The navy would replace frigates due for renewal with special purpose resource protection ships such as corvettes.

The army would be organised into smaller commando-style units, the Singapore battalion disbanded and the money saved diverted to development aid.

In line with its stated first principle that defence policy be non-nuclear, Just Defence says New Zealand should withdraw from all military operations with nuclear powers.

This would include a review of activities at the Tangimoana communications station and the return of the Tui, the navy research ship engaged in sonar research, to the United States,

which has leased it to New Zealand for a peppercorn rent.

Because the submarine threat to the South Pacific and New Zealand was "so minimal", the report says sonar research, which is not used extensively by the New Zealand navy, but is important to the United States, contributes indirectly to the nuclear arms race.

Other recommendations include full withdrawal from Anzus, the disbanding or radical reduction of the ready reaction force, the establishment of a South Pacific island security community based on economics, education, resource protection, civil defence and disaster relief assistance from New Zealand — "these being more helpful and appropriate aids to security than military preparations".

An advance copy of the Committee's report was sent to PM David Lange on 31 July 1986. His reply, sent on 4 August, noted the hard work put into its preparation and had 'no problems' with the parts putting together public submissions and conducting an opinion poll. However, he took exception to a criticism that he should not have made a major policy change – presumably to keep nuclear weapons out of New Zealand – before conducting an enquiry into it. Mr Lange reminded Mr Corner of the electoral mandate he'd received, and questioned the fairness, accuracy and objectivity of some of the Committee's comments, particularly on the historic role of the ANZUS alliance between the US, Australia, and New Zealand.

We in Just Defence were perturbed about the influence of the military establishment, military clubs, and US officials on the report's recommendations, which basically were to work with Australia until it became possible to reactivate a full military alliance with the USA.

We had, however, made a huge impact.

The public became much better informed and felt empowered to make further protests.

When the Government issued its Defence Review 1987, it emphasised that, 'for the first time, we have adopted in formal policy terms the concept that the New Zealand armed forces will have the capability to operate independently' in our region. We'd recommended this.

It meant a combined land/air/sea force instead of each part of the forces being a separate component of a larger allied force (possibly nuclear-armed) operating in a wider sphere.

In other words we would no longer take part in other people's wars in other people's countries.



In 2001, the Skyhawks were not replaced when due, and the strike aircraft squadrons were disbanded. This was one of several of our recommendations that were implemented in the two decades after Just Defence was active.

In December 1985, David Lange had re-introduced the draft New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Bill. It was passed into law with support from all parliamentary parties except National, and came into effect on 8 June 1987.

It prohibited acquiring, stationing, and testing of nuclear explosive devices in New Zealand and its territorial waters, and visits by nuclear-powered ships. It also prohibited biological weapons.

It also implemented in New Zealand the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty 1985.

Later in 1987, at the general election, Labour was again returned to power, campaigning on its success in making New Zealand nuclear-free.

Having achieved our aims, both the Wellington/Hutt branch of SANA and Just Defence went into recess.

I took what was to be a greatly prolonged break in my anti-nuclear journey. My role with the media had been rather 'like having a tiger by the tail', as a friend put it!

Internationally, a chain of events reduced the tension over nuclear confrontation:

In December 1987, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty between the USA and Soviet Union was signed in Washington. Both countries began to eliminate these weapons.

On 9 November 1989, the Berlin Wall between East and West Germany came down. Germany became one nation again in the following year.

The Soviet Union began to disintegrate in 1990, and was finally dissolved by the end of 1991. The Cold War was at an end.

However, the French became a problem for nations of the South Pacific, resuming nuclear weapons testing at Moruroa in 1995. In New Zealand, in a move emulating that of PM Norman Kirk more than 20 years earlier, PM Jim Bolger sent a naval ship (unarmed), Tui, to accompany a flotilla of nearly 25 protest ships, led by the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior II.

Although SANA in Wellington had become inactive, the Auckland branch of SANA, the engineers in ESR, and especially the doctors in IPPNW carried on their anti-nuclear campaigning, taking it to the international stage.

Inspired by a speech by retired magistrate, Harold Evans, IPPNW sponsored a resolution supporting a World Court Project to declare nuclear weapons illegal, and it was adopted by IPPNW's World Congress.

The New Zealand Government, however, dragged its heels over it, and when a National-led Government replaced the



PM Jim Bolger sending the naval vessel Tui to the French nuclear-weapons testing zone at Moruroa, 1995.

Labour Government at the 1990 election, the project seemed doomed. However, the new PM, Jim Bolger, pledged to continue New Zealand's nuclear-free policy.

After the French resumed nuclear weapons testing at Moruroa in 1995, Mr Bolger took New Zealand's case to the World Court, joining with Australia and fourteen other governments. Numerous citizen groups including a Japanese delegation had submitted thousands of signatures to the World Court and Declarations of Public Conscience asserting that nuclear weapons violated international law.

On 6 July 1996, the World Court decided that 'a threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law.'

Nuclear weapons became illegal – a great victory!

Thirty years after New Zealand's nuclear-free legislation passed, on 8 June 2017, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hon Gerry Brownlee, moved in Parliament that 'this House marks the thirtieth anniversary of our nuclear free legislation'. He said that the symbolism of this legislation had become a 'defining aspect of this country's international reputation, and New Zealand continues to work for a nuclear-free world'.

A month later, the United Nations adopted a Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The New Zealand Government played a key role in the negotiations, and 122 nations voted in favour of the ban.

Let's hope the ban can be observed!



Members of the New Zealand negotiating team at the United Nations following adoption of the nuclear ban treaty.

Many, many others have taken anti-nuclear activism much, much further than I ever could, and my anti-nuclear journey is over!