

## **Murray Horton**

### **Interviewer (Greg Jones) -**

This is the interview with Murray Horton on Tuesday, 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2004 and we are at Kipling Street in Addington. The interviewer is Greg Jones. The interview is being recorded on a Sony tcm 5000 tape-recorder. And this is a Christchurch/Otautahi Peace Stories Oral History Project. So, we will start off Murray with a bit of background about who you are and where you were born and....

**Murray** - Okay. Oh well.... I was born in Wellington in 1951, 53 yrs and 2 days ago. I got involved in all this sort of stuff. Do you want to cut into that or who I am now?

**Greg:** Oh, I think just a bit about your background....

**Murray:** Oh well, my background - I've been involved as a political activist since, when - 1969, in terms of being paid to do it, since 1991; I currently work as the Organiser for the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa and the Anti-Bases Campaign. And I work from home on a self-employed basis for those two organisations. I'm also involved on an unpaid basis with the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa, and with GATT Watchdog --- two other groups of whose committees I am on. I'm more active on the PSNA one; for the first 20 something years as a political activist I did it in my own time as most people do, fitting around various jobs I worked fourteen and a half years as a railway labourer and had various other jobs. Of course when I started of back in '69 I was a student at the University of Canterbury; so that probably in a very short sary.

**Greg:** That's good, any significant people role models from way back?

**Murray:** Well I got involved as I said in 1969 as a school boy I actually, sort of, probably supported the war in Vietnam and supported the All Blacks going to South Africa and the Springboks coming here and I think from memory during the 1967 Six Day War I supported the Israelis. Which shows the power of propaganda you see; and that sort of at that time in NZ is the sort of stuff we were spoonfed; so role models - from that time, I got active in 69 - I started university, I was already at that time opposed to the Vietnam War and my views had changed. I got active in groups in my first year at university as I soon as I went there I got involved in the PYM the Progressive Youth Movement .. Role models – do you mean here in NZ or internationally or what? (interviewer nods to `internationally'). Oh well I mean in the Vietnam War of course, I mean, my whole generation would have been inspired by the resistance of the Vietnamese people which was ultimately successful; so I suppose therefore, you'd have to say Ho Chi Minh. China was building socialism, it's a different story now; so I suppose to some degree, it was in fact at that time it was undergoing the Cultural Revolution so Mao although I was never a big you know.. Maoist, I've never belonged to any political party. Never a big fan of Che Guevara I see he's still around with sort of selling everything from shampoo to God knows what else; because I consider that he basically was a sort of revolutionary romantic who basically threw his life away and failed! And you can't export your solution to other people's problems.

**Greg:** Within NZ?

**Murray:** ... a fellow who you wouldn't have heard of called Keith Duffield who was a sort

of like a mentor to the younger members Keith was 47 when I was 18; he died of a heart attack in 1979 when he was 57 so he was an old lefty; he went on and joined the Communist Party at which point he became less effective from our point of view um but he was the sort of mentor in the sense that he was a prominent activist in the Christchurch scene at the time and he was a conscientious objector he'd been in prison and detention camps from the war etc and then he'd become a communist with a small 'c' and Keith sort of provided all the sort of practical hands on sort of approach assistance that us young people probably definitely required at the time when you're that age and certainly in that generation you tend to think that you know all the answers and all that sort of stuff and when I look back now, I'm 53 now, and look back from the other end of the telescope of doing that sort of thing with young people even in their 20's let alone 18 it's quite a daunting sort of prospect; so we took it all for granted So there'd be him,... I don't know, who else,... I suppose to some degree James K Baxter who was involved ...certainly not the religious stuff, sorry Greg, (laughs) the mysticism, I mean Baxter presented it utterly alternative sort of lifestyle which I very briefly had a look at he died far too young, he sort of wore himself out to an early grave but I mean in hidebound NZ in the late 1960's he certainly stood out I mean there was the likes of Tim Shadbolt etc.. who was a sort of colourful individualist ..so there were those sort of people ..and he always put his neck out and during the protest movement of that time; so you know, I mean, there was all this so-called (overseas) New Left stuff; I can't remember anybody that I considered anything of a role model I was an anarchist when I started off; I used to walk around with this 6 foot by 3 foot black flag and get told that I was bringing the anti-Vietnam War protest into disrepute; and why didn't I bugger off; etc.. so I'm certainly no longer an anarchist now and wasn't for much longer after that; but I can't think of any individuals it was more the sort of generally as I say inspired by the resistance, the hammering that the Vietnamese people were getting from the Americans, inspired by the sort of anti-apartheid movement, etc etc that's a big long answer anyway.

**Greg:** That's good; we often talk about peace people and that's the subject of many books based on that really; (M - -Elsie Locke wrote a book entitled that actually) So how do you see the concept of, you know, what is the peace movement, what was it then, what is it now?

**Murray:** Okay well I suppose then and then going all the way back to as I say '69, it was probably more of an anti-war movement than a peace movement I think there is a crucial difference, it was a protest movement against the war in Vietnam and also specifically NZ's involvement in it; it became a, I mean there always there was whole strain within that was a peace movement. Interestingly what Keith Duffield used to call the pacifist gangsters the CND's etc some of those actual peace movement people are still very actively involved. I mean what are we now, its Tuesday, just on Sunday I saw Larry Ross in the Art Centre. Now Larry's on the wrong side of 75 now, he was a legendary figure then by the time I got involved in 1969 Larry had sort of been and gone and retired from his first phase as a peace person. He was the NZ representative of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and he was legendary for having apparently, according to Keith Duffield, of having produced 1 million leaflets which is quite a fair old number ...and of course Larry came back into the 70's and 80's with a nuclear free movement and he's back again now; with the current sort of opposition to Bush etc. So I mean there's some people who have gone all the way through.. unbroken for all those decades; in Larry's case he sort of dipped in and out of working for insurance companies and building societies and that when he needed a job for money; I suppose it became a peace movement as opposed to an anti-war movement in the nuclear-free, anti war movement

of the of the 70s and into the 80s which culminated in NZ becoming nuclear free which is a major achievement and now there would be that same probably different strains now you would have an anti-war people and you'd have a peace people and they are different. And you'd have also people who would describe themselves as anti-imperialism anti-globalisation etc all mixed up in together; I mean I'm thinking specifically of like the coalition approach that Peace Action Network has here in ChCh not, that I attend their meetings but I have some idea of what's going on; so, yes I mean that's I think it was an anti-war movement which contributed tens of thousands of people to the progressive movement for the next several decades and it became more of a peace movement fighting the battle against nuclear warships etc from the decade of the 70's till the passage of the legislation; no through till the stopping of the warships here in 84, 85.

**Greg:** So, PYM, can you give me a brief summary? How did it form here?

**Murray:** I wasn't involved in the formation of it; I was just thinking about it the other day as I was walking home from a rally on Saturday carrying a banner on my shoulder. Apparently PYM (Progressive Youth Movement) in ChCh was founded because there was a demonstration in Lyttelton against the visiting US warship and one of the people present was accused of shoving a banner pole through a car window; shades of the Christine Clark case, there's something about Lyttelton.. somebody drove into their line or something so there was a meeting called apparently - I wasn't involved then - to sort of get organised around defending possible legal action and it was decided that as there already was a PYM in Auckland, which was a very different kettle of fish, they might as well grab the name for here; I mean Auckland PYM which began earlier and finished a lot later than elsewhere was essentially a junior branch of the Communist Party of NZ and it was quite different; and there was all sorts of people went in and out of it. I mean the likes of Sue Bradford apparently I remember reading an article where she said she was an Ak PYMer and then left because she wasn't prepared to sign onto the Party programme; in Wellington it was very much students, in ChCh it was mainly young workers; I was an exception in that I was a student ; I joined fairly early on in 69 when it already existed and its reason for being was a protest movement against the war in Vietnam against NZ's involvement against ...well in 1970 the All Blacks went to South Africa and a range of other things also and we also saw ourselves rather grandiosely as some sort of political movement. We had a whole long session devoted to drawing up a manifesto which is probably still lying around somewhere; we tried to engage with workers etc to a greater or lesser degree we had for example a working relationship with the Seafarers Union or Seamen's Union as it was called; Dave Morgan has just now in the last few months retired as President of the Union; he was then the Secretary; I think the first ever meeting of PYM I ever attended was in his flat in Linwood; and he was then in the Communist Party which he left a year or two later and he was the Lyttelton Secretary of the Seamen's Union; so that relationship goes all the way back to there.

**Greg:** Numbers?

**Murray:** Numbers - we held demos every Sunday, don't ask me why I can't remember; marching through town I think we'd get 100 or more people on those; the actual core of the group would be considerably smaller, it's the same old story; but I mean 10, 20 or something who were the core; I mean some of those are still around in ChCh not necessarily politically involved. There was a funeral in February of.. a friend of ours who died of cancer and so Becky (my wife ) and I had two of those PYM early activists in the car with us; one had come back over from Sydney and one lives at Chippenham. So

they're still around but they are widely dispersed; so.. I mean somewhere here I've got a notebook dating back to that time with names in it and that would be the core group and it would be several dozen people with a core group much smaller. I honestly can't remember how we functioned in terms of meetings and things like that, it was all reasonably chaotic I think; and the other side of it I suppose it's worth pointing out is it was as much a lifestyle thing. I don't mean that in any disparaging way ... we were living the life of ... the revolutionaries I mean it was the time (I'm sure you'd remember) where if you had long hair or something you were accused all sorts of slurs on your sexual orientation and gender and God knows what else and people used to stop us a try to fight us on the streets and Christ knows what else; there was the whole counterculture which is a word which has vanished from the language; there was all that sort of stuff; there was the whole living away from home, flatting, parties music, blah blah blah; and I mean a lot of it was extremely chaotic I mean compared to the sort of life I lead now... as a political activist- which is much more structured - that wasn't, but it was a lot to do with our age and that sort of stuff 18 when I started all of this.

**Greg:** So, where would you put the PYM in that spectrum of anti-war and peace?

**Murray:** ... sort of far Left probably; I mean we considered ourselves to be the radicals and would have been regarded as a bunch of obnoxious young shits, I would imagine, by plenty of other people in the political movement; I mean there were the likes of the Socialist Action League who were an organised Trotskyist group who organised all the large mobilisations etc and they were have regarded us as the (what's the word) bourgeois adventurers or something like that; and its quite funny actually as one of our guys was going around with one of their women and so she made available to him these files they kept files on the other groups in ChCh!... and we used to get to read what they wrote about us; and I think we were some sort of "Robin Hood" or something, sort of romantic revolutionaries; we went around and confronted them about this which somewhat took them aback. So there were then the pacifists and the sort of established old peace groups which were old Left. They regarded us I imagine with horror; in much the same way that today old peace activists look down their nose noses at sort of what shall we say, "anarchist vegans"? in the Waihopai context, it's the whole lifestyle sort of thing but in two words we'd put ourselves on the far Left of that. Not in any political party sense.

**Greg:** And, so that style of protest for you over the years... can you just....

**Murray:** you mean the whole lot right through?

**Greg:** yes;....

**Murray:** Going back to those days it was regular demos; both through the streets to the American Consulate to the American base at Harewood which is still there; some confrontational with the police; obviously in more recent years ABC (We'll forget about CAFCA for the purposes of this interview) but the ABC stuff (Anti Bases Campaign) which the campaign against the Waihopai Spy Base dates back to the late 80's; those protests started off as being not so much confrontational with the police but confrontational with the Base and confrontational with the secrecy of the Base and so which led to arrests up to and including a mass arrest of 20 people including your good self; in 1997; since that, in the last seven years there has been a deliberate policy change or tactic change; thereby we haven't gone in for this sort of invading the base

which had also included things like damaging it, cutting fences, not actually attacking people but, more symbolically than really, attacking fences and things like that; in the last seven years the emphasis has gone on holding actions in Blenheim etc and outside the Base that could actually attract people and attract middle NZ and I think, it's our conclusion that that has succeeded; I'm not saying our previous tactics were wrong, far from it; but we had done that for ten years.. so this is just basically a change .. I mean I've been involved in a whole range of tactics - from militant protests both here and overseas; I've been involved in things in Australia and the Philippines to you know, the classic old lobbying, presenting information; I mean I've been involved in writing for publications (right now today!) writing stuff for various newsletters in the case of the CAFCA newsletter, *Foreign Control Watchdog*, it goes back 30 years, in the case of *Peace Researcher*, the ABC newsletter, it goes back over 20 years; I've only been heavily involved with *Peace Researcher* for say the last ten; so that whole range and also getting stuff out into the media ; influencing public opinion, etc etc.

**Greg:** So, what precipitated getting involved fulltime?

**Murray:** That was precipitated by unemployment, redundancy, specifically, 13 years ago now, 1991 just a couple of weeks before the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act; I was made redundant; I had worked in the Railways for 14 and a half years as I said I used to do in my own time, namely nights and weekends, what I'm doing now; and I used to do it with a typewriter in pre-computer days; I used the typewriter since the 60's actually; and so I said at the time then to the two groups with which I was involved, CAFCA and ABC, that if money could be found to provide an income, then I would do it on a paid basis which is a sort of leap of faith; and I was away in the Philippines and they set it up; I said at the time I would do it for the same pay as I was getting paid as a railway labourer which was \$9 per hour. Well this is March 23 2004, and on April 1<sup>st</sup> this year the minimum wage goes up to \$9 per hour so it has taken 13 years to get to what I said I'd do it for; the same bloody pay I was getting as a railway labourer 13 yrs ago, so there's a number of factors why I've been able to do that; I mean its certainly not for the money, I mean the fact that I have a freehold house, a working wife who earns considerably more than I do and no kids; definitely three factors I can think of; I used to say no car but that's no longer the situation; but it was precipitated by unemployment, I'd been on the job for 14 and half years it was either go and get another job or do for pay, minimal, literally minimum pay, in fact for quite a number of years it was below the minimum wage; do what I'd previously done voluntarily and it's... so far its worked... it's had one or two crises, in fact one quite recently...but it's pulled itself out of that, so... I'm still doing that 13 years later.

**Greg:** So, how would you describe yourself, personality wise; I'm thinking that not many people have probably tried what you've done ... one, working from home, and two, sticking to something for a long time; so what's the secret of your success?

**Murray:** I suppose, yeah .... all those years it's not a question of flogging a dead horse and it's certainly not doing it for the money... I haven't had a holiday for four years; the secret of longevity is twofold. I think one is a sense of perspective, so you can quite easily plunge yourself in and burn yourself out; quite hard and fast and there's quite a few people who have done that; another one certainly is a sense of humour; that doesn't mean that everything is funny, that everything is a joke but it certainly helped to see the funny side of things; and also because I sort of made a commitment to myself decades ago that this is the way I'd lead my life.. not certainly this in the sense of working but I

mean this politics etc to me is not simply a lifestyle choice, it's a sort of vocation, to use a word that with which you'd be familiar. So, and everything else flows from that I mean virtually with few exceptions all my friends, personal relationships and everything flow from that I mean looking at it... if I was describing it as a job then I'd say it's opened doors to me all around NZ, it's opened doors to me all around the world, basically virtually everything that's happened in my life, both good or bad has, directly resulted from that. There are very few people I can think of that I know from other fields; I can only think of a handful in a similar situation. And basically I have no regrets; well I have some individual regrets, but overall none; I don't sit back and think, Oh God, I've wasted 35 years of my life or something - it's terrible; and I don't believe in it anymore - I do believe in it; and - you've got to be in it for the long haul. I mean it's pointless thinking that you're going to solve these problems; sometimes you can actually; I mean sometimes you can run a short sharp single issue campaign and achieve success or you know, stop whatever it is but most of the time, like with the Waihopai thing you're dealing with sort of large invisible government sort of thing .. security and intelligence agencies and politicians in their pockets and therefore you've got to be in it for the long haul. But the fact of the matter is that if we, the Anti-Bases Campaign, did not do what we do about Waihopai nobody else would. Well there might be some, but not the same sort of stuff; so if we didn't do it, it would stop.

**Greg:** And what's a typical day for you?

**Murray:** Oh well, I work from home; so a typical day for me is the computer, the word processor is my key tool; for example today, I'm working away on editing *Watchdog* for CAFCA. One particular article I'm working on is also going to go to *Peace Researcher*. It's March so we are looking at an April issue; April, August, December are our three *Watchdog* issues of the year, so working on that - editing, writing, researching, email - more and more of a curse that email takes up most of the day- that's where most of our communications come from email; -heading out on my trusty, rusty old bike and clearing the mail, going to the bank; yesterday, for example, I had an appointment with Kiwibank to discuss a problem that CAFCA has with their bank fees; photocopying stuff, essentially writing , researching, if something is on, like we're now March and in January there was the Waihopai protest and in February, wearing my CAFCA hat, there was the Roger Award event in Dunedin, so in that case there may well be media work -either journalists ringing up, or me sending stuff out etc, so liaising with the media is quite regular, liaising with politicians is quite regular, the only sort of party left in Parliament now that we have dealings with are the Greens ; but both ABC and CAFCA have each got a new committee member and in each case they are a young Alliance activist -so we still have regular dealings with the Alliance; yeah, but that's it - basically working from home by myself in lovely monastic silence writing, researching, reading and going out at least once a day to either get things done or collect mail etc.

**Greg:** And what about frequency of meetings?

**Murray:** Both CAFCA and ABC have a fortnightly meeting; every Thursday night I've got a meeting, either CAFCA or ABC; this week is unusually busy, I've got to go out to CAFCA's annual strategy meeting tonight; tomorrow afternoon I've got GATT Watchdog which meets here, it should have been today but it's been put back a day; and on Thursday night I've got the regular ABC meeting and then ABC has its own strategy meeting on Sunday week (the annual strategy meeting). And the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa (PSNA) has a monthly meeting on a Wednesday night. PSNA will

be more active this year because we are organising a speaking tour by one of Becky's aunts actually. She's the head of the main human rights organisation over there - so that's for October. So we'll be involved in all that practical sort of stuff. So, a meeting every Thursday night -sometimes the CAFCA one varies but it's at least one night meeting every week; and I try to keep it at that, otherwise you can spend the rest of your bloody life running around; meetings and things

**Greg:** So, what's kept you going? There must be some light relief.

**Murray:** Well yes and also a sense of perspective and a sense of humour; and trying to have a life outside of; what's the buzz word now - - life balance? Or something that's the Government's buzz word; I don't spend evenings or weekends if I can avoid it working; I'm quite happy to spend evenings either reading or watching TV or enjoying life going out with Becky, for example; or just quiet nights at home; so that as far as I'm concerned it's a job; there's work in the daytime and I try to work from roughly 9 - 5; it's not exact you know with an hour for lunch or something; and I suppose what sustains it is the belief that it's worthwhile I mean like everybody else I get bored with it and sick of it and think "what's the point"? etc; but I mean you do that in any other job -I actually enjoy what I do; when I get up each day I look forward to it; whereas other jobs I've worked at in the past there's a feeling that I do this because it brings in the money; I mean; yes, it's boring, it might sound glamorous and interesting but it's basically repetitive stuff producing newsletters and all that stuff; it can get boring; all work by definition is repetitive and all work by definition is partially boring; but compared to all other jobs I've done it's a much more interesting sort of boring.

**Greg:** You mentioned the word "belief" before - I'm aware that you're not a religious person, so ...can we delve any deeper into...

**Murray:** Well, I call myself a socialist; I mean, I don't mean by that a sort of Labour Party sort of socialist; I mean my beliefs.. in terms of spirituality , well they don't really play a part in it; if I believed in anything I'd believe in - I did a whole court case on this! - Pantheism which is "if there is a God, God is in everything"; everything therefore has a sense of the divine in it and therefore if you follow that all the way down then you're saying that everything is sort of entitled to be treated with respect and reverence etc; beyond that I don't prescribe to any religious beliefs; I think that religion, or the practice thereof, has accounted for a large number of problems in human society and continues to do so today. But, no, my political beliefs are socialism - I've never joined any political party -none of them actually- but yeah socialism and the recognition that in certain contexts certainly in the Third World etc that the only way to achieve political change is through armed struggle; I mean in countries like Vietnam or in the Philippines where it's happening now where there's no other way to do it - or limited ways of doing it - then it has to be done by taking up a bloody gun. That's not a solution that I'd suggest for here; because the circumstances are different; NZ needs a revolution and it needs socialism but it needs a socialism that takes into account NZ realities; which are quite different to Chinese or Filipino or Palestinian realities, for example, any real socialist government in NZ would have to take into account that the vast majority of New Zealanders, workers included, own their own homes, own private property, and if you suddenly said "that's it boys, it all belongs to the State now, goodbye, that's ours, thanks" - you'll run into major problems; in exactly the same way that the Filipino Communists obviously, I don't mean formally, but informally, have come to an arrangement to leave alone the Church and Catholicism, they seem to quite happily co-exist with a devoutly Catholic country; they

haven't actually gone around burning down Catholic churches and shooting all the priests, for example, unlike the Spanish Civil War; then you need to accommodate your politics, that doesn't mean you compromise, sellout or anything you just need to face reality; that if we did have a socialism in this country you'd need to take that into account - that the vast majority are not landless peasants but are actually people that own their own homes ...and I'm not saying that because I own my own home! That's just the reality. The plumber who was here this morning was telling me that he's just bought his own house and how pleased he was; and how sick he was of being a tenant; so all that sort of stuff is one example; so, yes, those are my beliefs - you need a NZ form of socialism; and we certainly don't get it through the likes of the Labour Party or through the Greens and you're not going to get it through parliamentarianism; how you get it is another question altogether, but you keep on working away at it!

**Greg:** So overall, looking back over 35 years, (M - "35 years!!!") What effect do you think the peace movement, the protest movements.... have had?

**Murray:** Major! ...But although NZ is a nuclear-free country, we still have American bases here, we still have Waihopai, we're still in the pockets of the Americans in the sense of Iraq and Afghanistan and all that; you've got to look at it in the broader context when this started off in the 60s - to be a protester about anything was a novelty in itself ; that was the story; I mean my ex-partner, Christine, did a TV interview, *Gallery*, with Brian Edwards, and this was a programme entirely about protests; what did protesters want? That was it; not what were they on about; why were you protesting; what was this whole novel concept; so now of course its everyone does it; I mean the sort of people who in the past wouldn't be seen dead doing it, teachers and bank workers and nurses and white collar workers I mean all routinely do it; militant too! The old blue collar unions have been decimated it's the white collar ones that are the militant; like the teacher unions; so that's been a whole sea change in NZ; the business of having an independent foreign policy as opposed to being a mouthpiece for whatever empire we belonged to; firstly the British, secondly, the American; that has been partially won; as I say, with the nuclear free thing, you know yourself, ABC's policy is that we have to go the full distance and finish the job. What's been achieved? A sea change in thinking - people do not automatically accept what they're spoon fed by the Government in office at the time; the party in office - and by authorities in general; I mean; you're the same age as me, Greg, we grew up in a bloody generation whereby conformity was all important, I mean, it was full employment and all that sort of stuff, but I mean you were expected to conform , to fit in and to take your place in society and to shut up.

### **Tape one Side One**

**Greg:** If you could just continue from

**Murray:** Okay, what were we talking about; we were talking about what had been achieved; I mean, the whole implanting of a consciousness of, that... I mean I've been involved with the "Left" not in any political party sense for those 35 years; the views of the Left have gone in and out of fashion and have been up and down in that time obviously we have been through all this sort of stuff like Muldoon and Rogernomics etc and National in the 90s; but I think there has been a very consistent strain of opposition to that, which has run all the way through for those 35 years that I can personally remember. And well, what have we achieved? The sort of "we told you so" after the

Rogernomics years. Because it was a coup; I won't use the word revolution, because it was a coup from the Right, from a tiny faction of the Right from within the Cabinet. I mean it was a situation where people had to say where they stood, "which way are you going to jump"? and all sorts of people who were nominally on our side jumped the other way! And some are still running around now, having done quite nicely - you know, from having jumped; having betrayed or shown their true colours; we actually presented a critique which simply said this is all bullshit; it won't work and didn't and so we can say "we told you so"; it got to be more than saying "we told you so" though; I mean the whole vast opposition to the war in Iraq that blew up last year and has just manifested itself in the last few days -we would take credit, and I personally and people I've been involved with in the groups I'm involved in, would take some credit in our own small way for that whole tidal wave of opposition coming along, that's grown out of - I don't say I was personally involved in those demos or anything, but that whole thing has grown out of all the ground work that has been done over the last several decades and we built on previous people's work; so that's what has been achieved; you have opposition to the American Empire -it doesn't matter which empire it was; or is ; and that you have-what's the word? - people-centred, grassroots movements; not electing people to Parliament or relying on politicians or presidents or gurus or whatever; that's got to be done yourself; I mean, the 20<sup>th</sup> Century which you and I are the products of, was the age of the common man, or the common person to avoid sexist language, be it in whatever way; I mean the two great movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century were Communism in the first half and Communism and Nazism, which were both different interpretations of the common man, mass movements etc. Nazism, which was defeated fortunately, was a perversion of that; and then it became Communism versus capitalism; and capitalism, US imperialism, defeated the sort of perverted version of socialism put up by the Soviet Union etc; but I mean that desire, that need, for common people to run their own lives, control their own destinies and not have their own lives run for them by parties or corporations or armies or empires or churches is still there now; and it counts for major social trends in the world today. It's still the "big story"; and so in that respect, I suppose the word we're looking for is "democracy"; and I don't mean our interpretation of "democracy" which is the parliamentary stuff you do every three years; and you might have a few more parties to vote for; but democracy to me in the truest sense the ordinary people running their own lives; and running the lives of their own societies and communities and countries.

**Greg:** Have you seen change in emphasis with the peace movement; I'm conscious of say, environmental issues coming more to the fore.. {yeah}., how has that affected you?

**Murray:** Well CAFCA, for example, CAFGINZ as we were when we started - we grew out of the anti-war movement of the early 70s - sort of ad hoc committees that ran protests at US bases like Harewood for example and then when CAFGINZ for example came along we sort of married the environmental to do with, say, protests against Comalco or West Coast native forestry schemes. The event that actually lead to the birth of CAFGINZ was the 1975 South Island Resistance Ride and we went round like US bases, Comalco smelter, West Coast Forestry scheme, for two weeks on two buses. That was where the synthesis occurred; for us, for me personally - that was probably our emphasis throughout the 70s; go back through the old *Watchdogs*, there an awful lot of peace movement stuff and then come the 80s and certainly through the 90s our emphasis was to put aside all that peace movement and certainly environmental stuff became sort of, not irrelevant, but we only went into the environmental stuff if it involved a foreign corporation for example; so, I mean, from the 80s and all through the 90s our emphasis was economic and progressively things like free trade agreements and

globalisation; it's only since the emergence of Bush and the War on Terror and all that sort of stuff that we have swung back; CAFCA has swung back to looking at that anti-imperialist, anti-war stuff again. The reason we put that all aside was that there was the Anti-Bases Campaign, with its own publication, handling all that sort of stuff, now it's not so neatly divided. Yes, there has been environmental emphasis; neither CAFCA nor ABC are involved in that stuff; I mean there has been the whole personal; I mean the politics of the personal stuff grew out of the movement in the 70s; I'm talking about the.. whole women's movement; whether there is a women's movement now I'm not sure and I'm not necessarily the person to ask; but there's certainly nothing compared to the feminist movement there was of the 70s into the 80s; the whole gay rights movement grew out of gay liberation etc ; basically the forerunners of the Maori nationalist movement grew out of that; so you had a whole explosion out of the 60s and early 70s in this country and I think worldwide; and it's all gone off into various directions.. I mean some have died out; some are purely single issue groups and there are others that are still working together; but I mean as I say it all grew out of that; the first kernel of that was the sort of fact that it was okay to protest against society in general; I mean the way things were run, so therefore all those people worked in together and then began the specialisation; okay, I'm a gay that's marching against the war in Vietnam okay, but then I want to look at what concerns me; etc etc.

**Greg:** So, do you think that if some groups hadn't taken up more, you know, environmental issues, that you would have perhaps been more involved in environmental stuff?

**Murray:** I don't know; I honestly don't know till this day. Like for this issue of *Watchdog* - we're soliciting an article from the Cape Kidnappers Protection Society who have got a concern about a luxury resort and golf course being built at Cape Kidnappers where the gannets roost outside Napier; so we're looking at running stuff on that. So, I'm not actively involved and never have been actively involved in the environment movement; I mean when I was on things like the Resistance Ride and that it was always it was always CAFGINZ or CAFCA - always within the context of that; so, I've never belonged specifically to an environmental group; I mean I have all sorts of contacts in the environmental groups; and personal friends who are active in Forest and Bird and groups like that; but I have personally not been involved; I mean I do my bit for the environment because I don't drive, so I ride a bike around; maintaining a low footprint or whatever the word is; low impact; this is as much for convenience as it is for political statement; it's simply the fact that I don't drive a car so *I (Greg: walking softly on the earth)* Is that what it is-or biking noisily and squeakily! [laughs]

**Greg:** So, being a child of the 60's and brought up in this environment, how do you see yourself compared to people in Australia, Philippines, the States; you're emailing people from all around the world; what's ... being a New Zealander and involved in ....

**Murray:** We have a distinct culture and could not be confused with for example, transplanted English people; I mean I've been to Britain, not for 20 years but I've been there and I can remember quite distinctly thinking at the time - well this is where my ancestors came from and thank God they got out of here; and I also thought that there's no way that the people here in Britain and London etc, who I like, that they could be confused with us and vice versa. We've developed our own distinct NZ culture, Pakeha NZ culture actually which is simply the way you do things and the way that you lead your lives; so that also reflects in the politics and reflects in the way things are done

politically here which are different for example to the way things are done in Australia; I mean some things in Aussie that I've personally experienced are done better than here in the peace movement; the peace, anti-war, anti-bases movement in Australia faces much bigger obstacles than we do. I mean all Australian governments, be they Labour or Liberal, have all been craven bloody puppets of the Americans - quite happy to host nasty bloody bases like Pine Gap etc, fight American wars etc etc and that whole mentality is much more prevalent in Australia which is also by the way a vastly more racist society than NZ and I've personally witnessed that; NZ's far from perfect racially but compared to Australia it virtually is perfect; and I mean obviously compared with like the Philippines, then we are in a very different situation; I mean they are a completely different culture and different reality and in many respects because they were dealing with a literal life and death struggle against the bases for example, the Americans who are coming back in, minus bases, to the Philippines, then the movement there is probably, more, more for keeps, and .... One whole side of it is fighting a bloody war for 35 years; as long as I've been involved there has been a war going on in the Philippines. A significant number of activists in all the various movements in the Philippines would have personally served in or actually had contact or involvement with the underground movement, the revolutionary movement, out of sheer necessity. For a period there, 14 years or something, no, 15 years the Philippines was under martial law, any form of opposition-that was it; no free newspapers-no nothing! It was all locked up. So that's a very different reality to what we've dealt with; I mean we are a First World, bourgeois democracy with what the Filipinos would call "democratic space"; so we haven't had the situation of people being rounded up en masse and chucked into prison for simply thinking the "wrong" thoughts.

**Greg:** So, the NZ Government would be far more accessible in the sense that you can go down the road and have a chat with the local MP?

**Murray:** Well it's a small society with only four million of us; by that alone, having talked to Bob Leonard (ABC committee member) about the US experience - Congressmen and Senators- you can't just wander down and see them; even appearing before Select Committees and that which I've only done a couple of times here, it's much more low key from what I've seen on TV of the US thing with these big intimidating desks and blokes up there, Senator so and so peering down at you from on high. Yes, this is a very informal society which has got good and bad sides to it; I mean everyone in this country either knows everybody or is related to everybody or has been married to everybody else at various times; which means there is all sorts of funny connections - I mean, where I stay in Wellington usually, I haven't stayed there for a couple of years, but where I normally stay, my host is the ex-brother-in-law of the head of the GCSB , which runs Waihopai. I've never met him, but I've met his sister, my friend's ex-wife and I've met his son and his daughter and discussed "Dad's work" with the boy, so it is that very small society which has its advantages and disadvantages; the disadvantage is that the likes of Douglas and co were able to effect radical and very destructive change from the Right, although they were only a tiny handful of people; up and down the country and that's also because of our political system; I mean, unlike Australia or US where you've have State governments; in NZ if you effect a coup and seize control of, like the Cabinet, then you can pass laws which effect from one end of the country to the other.

**Greg:** So, you're an advocate of the "Upper House"?

**Murray:** No, no, no; God no - not an upper house, we don't want a House of Lords; I'm

just saying that's one of the disadvantages of a unicameral centralist sort of system of government where you don't have states and provinces and all that sort of stuff; on the other hand the Australians have got so many bloody politicians every time you turn around you bump into one; I mean I'm not proposing that as a better model.

**Greg:** Perhaps we could move on; back to your personal life -do you see; ah you mentioned before evenings and weekends you ...

**Murray:** I try to keep them free; I had one night a week guaranteed meeting-either CAFCA or ABC and that's part of my job; and the reason for that is that other people are not available in the daytime; but, yeah, evenings and weekends we try to get out to a movie if we can; on the cheap night; on Sundays, get out for a walk or something like that; socially we don't live a flamboyant life, far from it, but I mean we have a whole circle of friends with whom we socialise -and we've been doing plenty of that lately; so I also consider friendships to be important; they come and they go depending on how busy you are; but it is important to be able to relax and socialise with people; I have an interest in sport; purely as a spectator; and rugby, not so much cricket; certainly rugby's a bit of a pain trying to get involved in it this year; [laughs]; I've heard.. people come up to me at conferences and say, all; ... they seem to think I spend my day listening to Kim Hill or something or Linda Clark; and relax by listening to the Red Army Choir singing Shostakovich or something like that; not in the slightest; I watch bloody rugby; I never listen to the radio.. don't listen to people tell me "did you hear so and so"; no I never even turn the radio on; I couldn't even tell you how to do it; it's a habit I've got completely out of decades ago, listening to the radio; I haven't read a work of fiction in decades; I mean English was my first love at school and university but I've just got out of it; I find that I've got quite enough to read just in the course of my job; and in some respects I find fiction irritating; I find real life interesting enough; without having to escape if you know what I mean- into another world or something; we go to the movies; I mean, to me movies are the 20th Century art form (I know we're in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century) and so it's not unusual for us to go out at least once a week; haven't been able to do it lately cause I've been involved with other things at night; but, yeah, cinema would be the main sort of thing; cinema, videos,

**Greg:** So your working life, your private life are they consistent? Do you believe, as some would, that you know, you must live in the way that you...

**Murray:** You'd have to talk to Becky about that; she would say that she would do all the bloody cooking; the traditional female role; I mean I could defend myself on some of that stuff; about the politics of the personal; well I don't have a large share portfolio or skin cats or something out in the garage and sell them to Chinese restaurants at night, so yeah, I try to keep it as consistent as possible; I mean I lived 18 years with my first partner who was a "militant feminist" - and who's now a lesbian in Sydney, no longer a feminist - and so all that sort of stuff, rough edges were hammered out to some degree over that period; all those sort of, I was going to say gender wars - but all that whole stuff - perfectly familiar with all that sort of business and I mean she worked in the women's health movement; THAW (The Health Alternatives for Women) so became more familiar than I ever wanted to be with all sorts of female bloody diseases and God knows what else and men's attitude towards and treatment of women etc; so, my view is that as far as possible the personal and the political should be in alignment; but as I say - talk to

Becky - she would say "I end up doing the cooking"; but I suppose I'm not as bad as some other guys ; in the sense that I do my share of other things around the place etc.

**Greg:** Would you describe yourself, , we talked earlier about armed conflict being necessary (was it?)

**Murray:** Oh, in context of countries such as, places in the Third World; in this country, I mean, I wouldn't recommend going down that path unless it was absolutely necessary and you were doing it to defend; all if for example there was a dictatorship, there was the equivalent of a martial law regime or that people involved in movements that I'm involved with were being murdered, as they routinely are for example in the Philippines, then you would have no alternative but to take up arms and defend yourself; I would not recommend, ... the mistake made by a lot of Western "ultra-Leftists" in the 60s and 70s , the so-called urban guerrillas in parts of South America and Europe, e.g. the Bader Meinhoff gang, was that they launched off in this sort of thing to provoke a revolution; they'd go and shoot capitalists or police or kidnap or whatever and they just become isolated as a bunch of terrorists; people swing behind the law and order forces and it becomes a spectator sport; who's going to pull off the most spectacular stunt. Are they going to blow something up or kidnap and shoot somebody or are they going to all get captured? And so they had only tiny support; whereas for example a group like the IRA which is routinely berated because this country reflects the official British line and its media etc; routinely berated as terrorists etc to this day, continues to have significant support among the Catholic or nationalist community in Northern Ireland; why... because they were rejuvenated by the sort of Protestant Establishment , police etc attacking them and the response to the civil rights movement in 69; and then the Catholic community was virtually defenceless against these attacks and the British Army was sent in originally to keep the two sides apart and protect the Catholics but then became an instrument of oppression, as occupying armies always do, against the Catholics and therefore they had their readymade army to defend them; as to their tactics that's a whole other story; as to what they've done etc; and you've seen exactly the same thing in Iraq at the moment; I mean the Western media which we get routinely says that the people killing Americans and blowing up police stations and things like that are either foreign terrorists or what is it, supporters of the old Saddam Hussein regime, they cannot admit to themselves that it is simply probably bloody Iraqis doing what anybody would do if their country was occupied by a foreign army and resisting; occupiers by definition-you can see this in Israel you can see it in today's headlines; an occupation army by definition is a brutal affair; and if this country had been for example occupied by the Japanese in WW2 then we would be expecting the same; and if you were reading Japanese papers in 1945 then you'd be reading all about NZ terrorists shooting up our lovely boys who are over there bringing the greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to NZ; I mean if we were invaded by Iraq it would be the expected duty of the likes of you and me to get out and shoot the bastards; or at least do something; turn the street signs round so that they got lost or something like that; that would be considered to be our patriotic duty as New Zealanders fighting a foreign occupying army; it doesn't matter that they'd come over to throw over the evil "Don Brash" regime for example, and then they could go home once they had done that; but of course the Americans have overthrown the evil regime for their own purposes and they haven't gone home; so you get a lot of people in Iraq, who think they are probably ordinary, everyday, middle class people etc who think stuff these guys, I didn't like Saddam Hussein, but I don't like them also; so

he's gone, I'm going to shoot at somebody else; shoot at them; and this is what's happening; that's the context in which an armed struggle is perfectly, not only understandable, it's probably imperative; that sort of thing; I mean the very people that we praise as heroes in WW2; I remember Alan Pyatt when he was the Bishop of Christchurch, got a lot of flak for making the speech in the Cathedral; this is the Bishop, not Helen Clark; by comparing the Viet Cong to the French Maquis, the Resistance in ww2 and, Oh my God the uproar, this one lot were on our side and fighting filthy Germans and the other lot were of course Vietnamese Communists - shooting at our boys and the Americans; so, he must be a Communist or worse; yeah.. [Laughs]

**Greg:** So, we haven't mentioned East Timor..

**Murray:** Okay, I mean I wasn't involved in the solidarity movement there; I did interview Jose Ramos Horta, when I was in Australia, for a trade union publication, so I've met him and interviewed him; well they had no alternative but armed struggle; they had, they wanted to resist a particularly vicious, genocidal occupation army and they had the peaceful protest option which they did and they got shot for their troubles; in their thousands and it was basically survival; they were being massacred by the Indonesians, so they put up, as the ANC did in South Africa, a fairly ineffectual armed struggle. Mandela was gaoled as an armed terrorist, not for being a saintly Mahatma Gandhi type character, he was gaoled being one of the leaders of the ANC armed struggle wing, so that's why the Americans who played a vital role in handing him over to apartheid South Africa always regarded him until very recently as a Communist terrorist; I mean suddenly he became the saintly old man; sickening actually...! I mean the change in perspective; I mean the likes of Bolger are still going on about Mandela; characters who are still in Parliament today, Lockwood Smith, would go on about Mandela having been a Communist and all that sort of stuff; so he certainly practised, as I say, ineffectually, and wound up in prison, an armed struggle, because they didn't have any alternative; to it - there's only so much you can put up with; with being whacked around the head, shot, hung, locked up etc etc; I mean I registered as a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War, but I also see that when you're dealing with the likes of Hitler or something, then you're not going to get much headway with non-violent resistance; his policy was mass murder.

**Greg:** It was Bonhoeffer who did a big turnaround

**Murray:** Well, yeah, I can see all the arguments for that but.. back to what you asked about Timor - they had no alternative and of course what swung it was the intervention of foreign powers coming in; because it became expedient, in the interests of the US and then their lapdogs like Australia and NZ ran along behind to say oh yes, we've always supported East Timorese independence from these nasty Indonesians; they must get out now; I mean it was hilarious- Clinton was coming here to Auckland for the APEC Conference in '99 and he was about to get on his plane when he sort of said the Indonesians must get out of Timor and by his plane touched down here in Auckland the NZ Government was running round saying -oh, these Indonesians, they must get out of Timor, we've always said that. [laughs]

**Greg:** So, just back to more personal things here - being involved in protest movement, peace movement, whatever you want to call it, has that closed doors?

You've mentioned about doors being opened; what about the flip side? Has it had a detrimental effect in your life at all?

**Murray:** I suppose in the early days, I mean, there was a lot of hostility; because I mean you were seen as a threatening sort of; not so much a threatening figure personally, but representing something unknown and threatening - the sort of "who are these protesters"?, were they Communists, were they drug addicts, were they homosexuals or all the above"? And my father's ultimate riposte was – "you are anti-sport"! [laughs]; Springbok tours and things like that; you're anti-sport and that was it! And it was the worst thing to be in NZ- to be anti-sport; because sport and politics don't mix; I'm sure you've heard exactly that line before Greg;

**Greg:** Tim Shadbolt formed the HART rugby team!

**Murray:** Yes, that's right. So, I've been arrested several times- so I don't know I don't know if I'd ever get a visa to go to America, I've never tried. And don't have any particular desire to go there; so I suppose that in terms of a career, well I mean... what are my qualifications, to qualify me to be... I suppose a teacher, or maybe an academic or something.. so as I've never attempted to pursue that line of employment or career I don't know whether the doors would close or not. I never particularly wanted to..I didn't think oh I'm depriving myself of the chance to be a history lecturer, for example, by doing this; I think that if I'd gone off and for example become an academic then attempting to become a political activist at the same time would have been very difficult I think I'm very pleased I didn't go into academia, because it's quite a childish and unrealistic world I'm afraid; Teaching? It never appealed to me. I agree with George Bernard Shaw –“Those who can do, and those who can't, teach”; well that's disparaging towards it .. it was not for me. My father was an education bureaucrat -I'm afraid I've got rather a jaundiced view of education from that, having got his side of the story, he saw teachers as an impediment to the smooth functioning of the education bureaucracy. [laughs]. As hotels probably regard guests as an impediment to their smooth functioning! So. Becky.. the first job she ever applied for her in Christchurch was some bloody company .. and they asked her what her husband did and she said oh he works from home ; and they said - who for? And she said - Campaign Against Foreign Control....' And that was it; she didn't get the job. So she was concerned for some years that I not meet with her bosses and all this sort of stuff, but actually they all see me on TV etc; it never was, and it isn't an issue for them. Etc etc.

**Greg:** Ever had stones thrown at you as you bike around town?

**Murray:** I don't think so; I've been called various names and things in the very early period of time and certainly used to get hassled a lot by the cops in those early years. I used to get stopped regularly if I was walking along the street at night or riding my bike. Walking along the street – “What are you doing out at this time?” that was the sort of society NZ was; and riding the bike – “Do you own that bike?” Sort of stuff, I suppose the equivalent to pulling Maoris over in the cars now – “Do you own that car?” So all that petty harassment sort of business; and I was certainly well known to the police etc. And in one court case, falsely convicted on perjured evidence, after having brought a private prosecution against a cop who had thumped me in the face. So that sort of stuff, but in

terms of opportunities missed , life chances missed - no, because I made a deliberate decision, this was the way I wanted to leave things - I did a TV interview at Xmas, just before Xmas, for this, I told you about this bloody "People's History of NZ" - what's it called ? ah `Frontier of Dreams'; on exactly this PYM period. And I told the woman - look I've had to think about my own life, for this, and I consider basically I can hold my head high and look at myself in the mirror because I don't think back and think I held all these views and looked like that and lived like that then and now it's completely different - no it's not actually. So there's a reasonably sort of consistent pattern all the way through and I suppose I'm lucky in the sense that I'm able to make a living, albeit minimal, out of what I actually like doing. As opposed to doing it as a hobby - there's plenty of people who do these sort of things as a hobby - voluntarily because there's no money in it. I mean, I take heart from the sort of support; as you know, there's been a begging letter gone out in the last month saying that the fund that pays my wage has hit a record low; well I take heart from the tremendous support that we got back from that - raised thousands of dollars and picked up; last time I looked at least a dozen new people paying money into a bank account etc. So, we've raised, money's still coming in today, over \$7,000. And when I compare that. I've just finished reading *Peace News* which you would know from your days in the ABC - major British peace publication - they were just thanking their supporters and readers for contributing to their annual appeal - a thousand pounds! That's about \$3, 000; right, in England, London; so, we've picked up double that - here! In a country that's half the size of London. So, I'm greatly heartened by that support, that personal support. And I've no illusions that it's "name recognition"; in fact Bill Rosenberg said this at the last CAFCA meeting - It would be an interesting exercise to put out the equivalent begging letter to say we need financial support for our organiser Fred Smith; and I have no hesitation in ascribing that to the name recognition thing. And I mean that a selling point. It's not arrogance or anything like that - it's simply the fact that - it was Warren's (Thomson) idea actually that there should be a report in every issue of *Watchdog* and *Peace Researcher* saying what I was doing and so people became interested. And respond to that personal level.

**Greg:** I'm just coming to the end of this tape, but I need to ask you just one more question... [I'm sorry]

## **Tape 2 - -side one.**

**Greg:** I was going to ask Murray if there was anything else he wanted to say and also what lessons he might have learnt from all his experiences - 35 years; tat's a big one.

**Murray:** Lessons? Well I think I probably covered that earlier that you've got to be in it for the long haul; Well, I mean if you're talking about personal lessons, as opposed to tactical things or something for groups; you've got to be in it for the long haul, a sense of perspective, otherwise you will get that bum out, you will get depression etc etc, and a sense of humour is vital. I mean you could testify Greg, you've been on the ABC committee with us, essentially if a committee functions as a group of friends, it's that much better than being a group of strangers working together... I mean it's not essential; but it is certainly preferable that you have some sort of personal friendship and bonds

and you become pals with each other etc I mean I've made an awful lot of friends -I didn't go into this as a social thing; but certainly it helps. Lessons? ... Don't lose contact with ordinary people, don't lose contact with the grassroots; which is easy to do when you're in this sort of business... I mean I have to get myself out and about, otherwise you do start to think that everyone thinks the same way as yourself; one of the good grounding experiences of working in a job like the Railways was you were dealing with people who disagreed with you violently and were quite prepared to violently express that opposition! My nickname in my last job in the Railways was "Pol Pot"! I mean my workmates made me a little red flag with a hammer and a sickle on it! I meet them now, they wouldn't remember, my name, but they'd know me as "Pol" but then again, they respected me for sticking to my point of view and whenever they had some bloody hassle about overtime they'd come to me and say "Oh, hello Pol, well you're the union bloke, can you fix this up?" I was the work stirrer; and if you stuck to your point of view and stuck to your guns they would respect you; they might call you every name under the sun and threaten to give you a black eye or something; working in the Railways in times of, like the Springbok tour and that .. you couldn't avoid it; this wasn't ivory tower academia - this was railway bloody workshops! Where blokes were telling me they were going along to Lancaster Park to see "blank blanks like you" getting their "blank blank" heads "blanked" in! So, you know there was all that sort of stuff; at that level in a job like that things are expressed in very black and white terms; I was working with Maori ex-Vietnam vets and all that sort of stuff; and other guys from the wrong side of the tracks; it was a good sort of "reality check"; and I'd still be friends with those guys now - I hardly ever see them; but they knew who I was and what I stood for; etc and if you stick up and are not afraid to sort of stand up for what you believe in, then people might respect you for it; they might not like you for it; they mightn't agree with you - probably don't; but they will respect you for it; and so at least we know where you stand; etc etc. You need to have a common humanity and recognise that you're dealing with people and that the people you are dealing with on "the other side" are also human beings and that you have that much in common; I'm not saying that you find accommodation with them -this is what happens in Parliament where they say, oh he's not a bad bloke, you know, Tory bastards etc; but you realise you're dealing with human beings, realise you're dealing with the real world and it's not all going to be cut and dried and hard and straight bloody line; to me the enemy are fundamentalists or any stripe, be they religious fundies, capitalist fundies of the likes of bloody Brash or Douglas or co, or Communist fundamentalists of the likes of Pol Pot etc - they're the enemy, because they're trying to turn themselves into machines; they're ideologues they're saying that's it, you just turn on the motor and go; and follow the manual; whatever the manual is, be it Adam Smith or bloody Stalin or whatever; or Koran; so you need to have some give and take, and never underestimate, never regard ordinary people as being stupid; you get that sometimes because some election result doesn't go the way that you like and you hear people say - "oh the people in this country are so bloody stupid - it's their own fault"; it's not really; people in this country-they followed Muldoon, they followed Douglas etc; they'll make up their own minds - it is our job as political activists to attempt to persuade them otherwise; and if the worst comes to the worst, to say, well "I told you so"; and we've had people come back to us after the crash of the Stock Market in the 80s, saying what was all that funny old stuff you were going on about - you know about what goes up must come down? That's a fundamental law, not the law of economics, the law of gravity! What goes up will come down. [laughs] I mean, those are some of the things I can think of off the top of my head. And I think that's probably it.

**Greg:** Anything else you would like to add?

**Murray:** Not really - we've gone over quite a lot of material.

**Greg:** Thank you!