PEACE IS
MORE THAN THE ABSENCE OF WAR

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GIL HANLY
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Text by Sonja Davies / Karen Mangnall / Kathleen Ryan
Hilda Halkyard-Harawira / Pauline Thurston / Helen Clark
Fe Day and Tamsin Hanly / Yvonne Duncan / Alyn Ware

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The most valuable resource in New Zealand's peace movement is the people, the wide range of people involved in a great variety of activities. I wanted to make a book to celebrate and show some of this range and variety. Although most of the photographs are taken around Auckland where I live and work, they are a microcosm of what is happening throughout the country.

In particular I wish to thank all the contributors to this book; Sonja Davies, Karen Mangnall, Kathleen Ryan, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira, Pauline Thurston, Helen Clark, Tamsin Hanly, Fe Day, Yvonne Duncan and Alyn Ware; the editors and designer, Wendy Harrex and Diane Quin for all their time; George Armstrong, Gene Becroft, Tom Newnham, Rinny Westra and Judy Wood for their help and advice; and all the hundreds of other people involved in the peace movement who have given encouragement and support. I am grateful to Patrick who has shared the disruption at home while this book was produced; the United Nations International Year for Peace committee and Greenpeace for their help and funding; and the Foundation for Peace Studies for their support for this project.

Peace is crucial to the world’s continued existence. Through the peace movement everyone can contribute, change, and help decide their future. It's time to affirm our future and work towards new ways of dealing with conflict, new ways of living.

GIL HANLY.

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The Earth Ball — a large inflatable canvas ball representing the Earth, used by the mobile Peace Education Unit.
This historic book of photographs produced by Gil Hanly in this United Nations International Year of Peace is yet another symbol of the will of the people of this country for peace.

Declared in 1982 by member states of the United Nations on the Initiation of Costa Rica, the 1986 Year of Peace has sparked off a world-wide flood of initiatives for peace. As well, millions of feet have pounded the pavements of cities and small towns protesting about the awesome level of danger to life on earth, nurtured by the continuing testing and development of space weaponry. The fragile nature of the artificially contrived Summit meetings by the two super-powers seems to have resulted in a disenchantment among ordinary people in the ability of those leaders to come to terms with reality. It is of great concern that at a time when the United Nations and its initiatives based on the original Charter are needed as never before, a powerful political lobby — the Heritage Foundation — backed by ultra conservative financiers, is seeking to dismantle it.

In New Zealand the Year of Peace has reached thousands of people and support for peace crosses all political boundaries, all strata of society, races and age groups until now it is a grass roots groundswell that underpins the government's nuclear policies. The government’s decision to ask the Secretary-General of the United Nations to mediate on the fate of the two French terrorists who were part of the team which sank the Greenpeace vessel Rainbow Warrior, and his subsequent decision were for me a signpost to the way we must, in future, resolve conflict. When I was speaking with United Nations Secretary-General, Perez De Cuellar, at the U.N. recently he expressed his belief that New Zealand, in taking that course, is an example to the whole world. It is easy to want to hit out at those who introduced terrorism to our country. Much harder to listen to the voice of reason.

Whenever I go overseas I am asked why it is that these remote little islands of ours contain people with such conviction on the peace issue. The years of dedication by the early pacifists such as Archibald Baxter, Arch Barrington and Ormond Burton, the courage and conviction of those who went to gaol rather than go to war, the efforts of women such as Elsie Locke, Mary Woodward, Merle Highland in the sixties, the men and women who opposed nuclear arms and the Vietnam War, laid the foundations. Gil Hanly's photographs and the accompanying texts record, in the eighties, the struggle by the peace squadrons against the entry of nuclear submarines and warships to our ports, and the constant presence of women in large numbers in all these activities — rich patterns in our belief in a peaceful world. This book is about people and the many and varied activities they undertook in this most important of all causes. It provides for posterity a living history of the struggle. It cannot, of course, portray the cost to many who dared to protest. Today, peace is more respectable. The influx of the doctors, teachers, lawyers, scientists and engineers and many more churches than ever before, is a very necessary development.

Gil Hanly's skill as a photographer, her commitment to people and their well-being, have resulted in a book which will be sought after by all who want to know something of the history of the peace movement in this country.

"Of all the issues facing us today, peace has to be the most important. In a world beset by nuclear fallout, dumping of nuclear waste, and the build-up of weapons of terrifying proportions, we must convince the powerful politicians of the world that peace is the only way to go." — Sonja Davies
'Peace means taking loving care of ourselves, each other, and our Earth. We all live on one earth, we are all interconnected.'

As with the Earth, we can play with the ball and have a good time, but we need to look after it and each other.
An extraordinary social phenomenon began blossoming in New Zealand in mid-1982. In four years it had subverted some of this country's fondest defence myths, realigned its political landmarks, and given New Zealanders an international profile which, for all its stereotyping, has changed forever the way we see ourselves. But outsiders pondering the evidence — nuclear-free legislation and an emasculated ANZUS treaty — might as well be deciphering the mysteries of Stonehenge or the statues of Easter Island: what, who, how and why? Writing this in August 1986 I find it hard to recall precisely the biting, visceral fear which lived with each of us. But I can remember who we were. Mostly white, middle-class, apolitical and female and imbued, at least in the beginning, with the confidence of a group used to being on the winning side. To the media we were and remain a paradox; a crackpot minority which became the respectable majority by ignoring the moulders of public opinion.

To the politicians we were more like an infestation of noxious weed. For me it was like being in an invisible, humming web. Perhaps only photographs can capture its essence and hindsight, explain its successes. It is, of course, the peace movement.

The cutting edge was New Zealand's support for American nuclear war plans through 'rest and recreation' port calls by United States submarines and warships.

Successive National Governments collaborated with this American version of our ANZUS obligations, despite New Zealand's being a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Following the nuclear-free years of the 1972-1975 Labour Government, American nuclear vessels paid six port calls by 1983, an average of one every 15 months. By then cabinet ministers, defence chiefs and editorial writers had convinced themselves that the massing peace movement was the work of communists, radical feminists, a case of emotional hysteria. So the Government set about burning out the movement. Seven American nuclear vessels and the nuclear-capable

In May 1982 the USS Texas was opposed by several dozen Peace Squadron boats and 1000 marchers when it arrived in Auckland. When the USS Texas arrived in August 1983, 120 Peace Squadron boats launched a direct confrontation, and 6000 Aucklanders took to the streets in their lunch hour. Back in 1982 only 250 Aucklanders had commemorated Hiroshima Day. In August 1983, incensed by the presence of the USS Texas in the Waitemata Harbour, 40,000 marched up Queen Street to commemorate the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The USS Texas call at Wellington brought out more boats, 7000 marchers and the Seamen’s Union struck, paralysing Cook Strait ferries for a week. The successive visits in November 1983 of the nuclear submarine USS Phoenix and the British Task Force headed by the aircraft carrier HMS Invincible and the floating nuclear armoury HMS Renown, brought out Peace Squadrons of 100 boats, dozens of protesters jumping into the vessels’ paths and increased police violence on the water.

By the March 1984 visit of the nuclear submarine USS Queenfish and its escort of four nuclear warships, land protests had levelled out at about 6000 each march. Politicians and newspapers were keen to point out that the peace movement was running out of steam. Or so it seemed. In fact the peace movement was happening elsewhere.

Peace groups had quietly proliferated as people reacted to Cruise and Pershing missiles going into Europe and Ronald Reagan’s vision of a winnable limited nuclear war. But it was Dr Helen Caldicott’s April speaking tour and the 24 May 1983 women’s march in Auckland which catapulted neighbourhood peace groups into life and overnight made opposition to nuclear war respectable. We had little political experience, no fixed ideas on how to lobby, no leaders. Mainly we fed into existing community networks, used what was most familiar to us, and — most of all — we identified with the system. Very quickly our concern about nuclear war raised questions of control over the political system which acted in our name. I can still recall a woman, managing several young children and a home, who had asked for reassurance that she could visit her member of Parliament demanding he lobby for the Beecham Bill. A few days later I asked her how the visit had gone. She positively screamed with indignation: ’That little rant. He asked me if my husband knew where I was. We’ll teach him!’ And her group did, for he lost his seat in the next election. Patronising...
refusals of nuclear-free petitions by local councils shocked them and steeled the peace movement. For most, it was an object lesson in being on the losing side. We found right was not might.

The National Party was prepared to patronise us while the Labour Party saw us as their secular wing, providing the body count they could manipulate for their own ends. We knew from the British and Australian experiences how futile it would be to hitch our fortunes to one party. We began to build our own power-base. With the media and press closed to us, we turned to the streets, the shopping centres and our
'No one wins wars.' Large demonstration against Russian invasion of Afghanistan, 1980.

'Peace and tranquillity in the world is a positive threat to the power of the military-industrial power base. Nations no longer take kindly to being under the thumb of the so-called great powers. Most people prefer living to dying. Those who would work for peace must exploit this will to live by forcing political leaders to act to reduce tension and hostility in international relations.' — John Kenneth Galbraith

We petitioned our local councils to declare our communities nuclear-free. By mid-1983 almost half New Zealand's population lived in a nuclear-free zone. In Auckland a small delegation from Remuera shocked a trenchant Auckland City Council into its nuclear-free declaration. By the time the Auckland Regional Authority, covering about 800,000 people, went nuclear-free in September 1983, the peace movement had already begun a massive campaign for the nationwide local body elections on 8 October.

Every candidate was surveyed or visited personally to sign the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament nuclear-free pledge. In the weeks before voting day national newspaper advertisements listed candidates who had signed; tens of thousands of leaflets were dropped around Auckland listing nuclear-free candidates. Entire councils were overturned. But, more importantly, we had sent a message to the two main political parties: we could get organisers on the street and we could get people to vote on a single issue.

On 3 August 1983, as the country hosted the nuclear warship USS Texas, a private members bill calling for a nuclear-free New Zealand was put to Parliament. Several weeks earlier National Member of Parliament Marilyn Waring had signalled she would cross the floor to vote with the opposition if any anti-nuclear bill was blocked by the Government (which had a majority of one). Social Credit MP Bruce Beetham's Bill was sent without division to the select committee on disarmament and arms control. Immediately a national network put out the call for lobbying to force public hearings and a report back to the House before Christmas. When public submissions were called for, we were given one month. In its 15-month life the select committee had previously received fewer than 100 public submissions. In four weeks it received 350, many simply letters from individuals. Several dozen groups
presented submissions in person. There would be no more secret deals and power sharing behind the scenes with the defence establishment and other governments. On the last sitting day of 1983 the country was treated to the rare spectacle of a National MP arguing against his Prime Minister’s instructions to dump the Beetham Bill. The committee chairman, Doug Kidd, was committed to seeing it through. It survived. By May 1984, Labour MP Richard Prebble gave notice he would soon introduce his own nuclear-free bill — which, unlike the Beetham Bill, was workable in law.

Demonstration when French warship visited Auckland, 1982. ‘If it’s safe, test it in Paris,’ was one of the slogans.

France reminded of their own ideals of justice, liberation and independence.

On 12 June 1984 the Prebble Bill was defeated by one vote. Rebel National MPs Marilyn Waring and Mike Minogue had crossed the floor but they were counterbalanced by two disaffected Labour MPs who voted with the Government. Most astoundingly, before the vote, Defence Minister David Thomson informed the House and the nation that if the bill was passed the Government would not take it to the Governor-General for consent. Within 48 hours, Marilyn Waring had withdrawn her confidence on the National caucus. On the evening of 14 June Prime Minister Robert Muldoon called a snap election.
The Votes for Peace campaign had been running for a mere six months but already had a minimum pledge to legislate New Zealand nuclear-free adopted by all parties, with the exception of National. The machine tested in the local body elections was put in motion, concentrating on marginal electorates and Labour seats. It was a good investment. After their election victory, Labour sent signals to 'lay off' calls for legislation. We didn't. We remembered David Lange's 1983 campaign to dilute the nuclear-free zone by allowing nuclear-propelled vessels through. Predictably, the United States reacted, announcing it would send the USS Buchanan to test the new govern-

'Grow-up or blow-up' — one of the 'Schools Against the Bomb' banners, 1982.

The people say 'yes to life'. One of many demonstrations when nuclear warships visited our ports, 1982.
ment's nuclear-free policy. Thousands of letters landed on government desks in a matter of weeks and 20,000 turned out to demonstrate in Auckland at 48 hours notice. Eventually the United States and the Labour Government realised that a policy supported by 75 per cent of the electorate has to be carried out. Nuclear-free legislation was introduced. ANZUS was suspended, and defence review hearings were held around the country with an amazing 4000 public submissions.

The subterranean shifts which tumbled the National Government and ANZUS are still going on. As we focussed on the nuclear connection we learnt about New

Demonstration at the wharf when USS Hoel visited Auckland, 1983.

An early Pacific Peace Band gig, outside the wharf, when USS Hoel was in the harbour.
Zealand's other links: Tangimoana, Black Birch, the various ANZUS exercises, intelligence links, the Mutual Assistance Programme in which New Zealand troops train Pacific Island troops to be faithful to the western way, our defence links with the Marcos regime in the Philippines and our support of Indonesia's military and their massacre of East Timorese and West Papuans. But most of all we began, under the challenge of a small group of Maori activists, to see the links with colonialism, and the possession of the lands and seas of the Pacific for mining, testing, dumping and bombing. For many it resurrected the subconscious contradictions all Pakehas live with in our essentially colonial country. Some accepted it immediately, others were too hurt to respond and many will no doubt bury their feelings. But there is cause for optimism. Many Pakehas found out what it is like to fear for their children's future and yet be pushed down by authority; that memory cannot be wiped out. For many more the experience of the peace movement has turned them to opposing violence in our society — in anti-pornography groups, men against rape groups, anti-racism and education groups, all concerned with facets of peace.
Women in New Zealand have always been involved in peace movements and related movements opposing violence in society — from Maori women at Parihaka, to Princess Te Puea’s opposition to Maori men fighting in World War I; to pacifist women’s support of conscientious objectors during both world wars, to the more recent movements opposing racism, heterosexism, violence, poverty and exploitation, and the destruction of the environment.

The nineteenth century women’s suffrage movement gained the vote for Maori and Pakeha women in 1893, but it was also concerned with other issues. When the National Council of Women was set up in 1896, one of its concerns was peace. They condemned what they saw as increasing militarism, and congratulated the Czar of Russia on his disarmament proposal. At their second convention in 1897, they passed a resolution calling for the ‘abolition of war between nations calling themselves Christian and claiming to be humane and enlightened’. At their fourth conference in 1899 they passed a motion deploring the continuous growth of armaments and the cost of these as being a crushing burden to all people.

The outbreak of World War I led to an upsurge in movements for peace. 1915 saw a women’s international peace conference at The Hague. Despite the difficulties posed by travelling during war and across war zones, almost 1500 women from 12 nations attended. They called for neutral nations to mediate an immediate end to the war, and for women to be involved in peace negotiations. They set up the highly respected Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (W.I.L.P.F.) and invited women in different countries around the world to set up their own branches. In 1917, an Auckland woman, Mrs Marcus Jones, started a branch. In its early days, members were drawn from Labour Party supporters; the League was affiliated to the Labour Party for some years.

Though always a small group, W.I.L.P.F. was involved in a variety of peace and justice issues. They supported the League’s international petition for disarmament which called on the governments of the world to abandon war as a means of conflict resolution. In Auckland, W.I.L.P.F. organised a large meeting to publicise this, and eventually gathered 44,000 signatures. Millions were collected worldwide. Also in Aotearoa they opposed compulsory military training, pushed for improvements in maternal and child welfare, and supported the introduction of the motherhood endowment. They supported calls for Samoa’s independence from New Zealand and on behalf of Samoan women forwarded a petition to the United League of Nations Mandate Commission.

Understandably, the 1930s was a busy time for the League. For example, in 1934 they took part in a torchlit anti-war march to the Auckland War Memorial Museum; they wrote to the Pope asking him to intervene in the war between Italy and Abyssinia; they advocated boycotting of Japanese goods after that country attacked China; in 1938 they asked the government to press at the League of Nations for the protection of small nations threatened by aggressive powers; and in 1939 they urged governments to convene an international conference to ‘prevent the collapse of the world into war and anarchy’.

There was much peace activity by women generally between the wars. A revived
'Peace movement re-newed in 1980s — it's not new, but now very visible.'

Early morning demonstration, Devonport Ferry Terminal, 24 May 1983.

A three-day peace camp preceded International Women's Day for Disarmament. Every evening a silent vigil was held outside the Devonport naval base, where wharfing facilities were being enlarged — possibly to accommodate nuclear warships.

Making paper cranes (Japanese bird of peace) at the Devonport three-day peace camp.
National Council of Women urged women to work for peace, while putting its faith in the League of Nations. In the early 1930s, it requested the League to act against the private manufacturers of armaments. Muriel Morrison's experience is an illustration of women's involvement in general groups. In the 1920s she was secretary of the No More War Movement, while also being active in the League of Nations; in the 30s, the Christian Pacifist Society; and in the 40s, the Peace Pledge Movement.

The 'war effort' during World War II virtually put the women's peace movement into abeyance. Emily Gibson, writing to the international W.I.L.P.F. office in 1940

stated: 'Our section is only just able to keep alive owing to the war but we hope to revive when peace comes'. During the war, the National Council of Women worked for women affected by the war and for their families. Hardship often faced those women left alone to care for their children, particularly if their husbands were conscientious objectors and in prison. Jan Barrington was left with three young children, while Rita Graham, with two children, had to cope with an aggressive neighbour and a hostile church community.

At the end of the war, people refocussed and drew the threads of their personal lives together again. While some felt uneasy about the new glamour weapon, the nuclear bomb, it was not until the late 1950s that another mass peace movement began.

W.I.L.P.F. reformed some years after the war. In 1958, they put pressure on the government because of its offer to supply weather ships to the Pacific nuclear test zones. In 1956, the National Council of Women passed the first of many resolutions opposing nuclear war. In 1977 they were asked to join the newly established National Consultative Committee on Disarmament. The Maori Women’s Welfare League, formed in 1951, adopted a stance critical of nuclear testing, and calling for peace and justice.

Again, women were also involved in general groups. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament flourished during the very active years 1957-1966. Much of its strength was due to the leadership of two women, Elsie Locke and Mary Woodward, both of whom were on its national committee based in Christchurch, the latter being the national secretary. Elsie wrote in a women’s issue of Peacelink in May 1984: ‘We developed a consistent style and we kept our objectives simple … We wanted New Zealand to adopt a definite policy; to renounce all present and possible involvements
with nuclear weapons including nuclear alliances; to take positive steps towards disarmament. We gained over 80,000 signatures for our first nuclear weapon-free zone petition, "No bombs south of the line", the largest then since the women's franchise. Aided by well-prepared submissions, it won a "most favourable consideration" finding from Parliament. They, with people in other centres, including Sonja Davies in Nelson and Shirley Smith in Wellington, helped organise meetings, marches and demonstrations, wrote pamphlets and ensured that MPs were constantly lobbied. They also commemorated Hiroshima Day.

The early 1960s, writes Judy Smith in her unpublished record, saw Voice of Women, a new women's peace organisation in Dunedin. Their aim was 'to unite all women in concern not only for their own children, but also for the children of the world, to help promote the mutual respect and cooperation among nations necessary for peaceful negotiations between world powers having different ideological assumptions and to protest against war and the threat of war'. They collected 13,000 signatures for a petition against French nuclear testing. A small group, it is still going 'because of the sincere loyalty and dedication of women who believe that they must not give up their efforts to work towards a peaceful world'.

New Zealand's entry into the Vietnam War was opposed by existing peace groups and gave rise to new ones. W.I.L.P.F. International sent a fact-finding mission to both North and South Vietnam. Voice of Women wrote to the government, condemning the atrocities committed against Vietnamese women. With the rise of the new generation women's liberation movement women made connections between women's powerlessness and their oppression in the violence of war.

Many women supported the anti-Vietnam war movement – in Christchurch women were about 50 per cent of the membership of the Joint Council on Vietnam, a
coalition of church, trade union and peace groups. Irene Young, the secretary of the China Society, provided administrative support for the coalition as well as a home for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation which opposed the war. Freda Cook, who lived in Hanoi for many years and who contributed a column about life in Hanoi to *New Zealand Monthly Review*, alerted many people to what was happening in Vietnam. She came to live in this country and was involved in anti-war protests. On the fringes was the Progressive Youth Movement. A young, quiet and very sincere woman, who with a male PYM companion successfully firebombed the US Consulate in Christchurch, was sentenced to three years' jail.

The passing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in 1963 had led to retrenchment within the peace movement. In 1966, with French atmospheric testing in the Pacific beginning, there was renewed concern. Elsie Locke published her *Between the Bomb Tests* pamphlet in 1968 in which she pointed out the effects of French testing on the people of Polynesia. In 1973, when the Peace Media Research yacht the *Fri* sailed to Moruroa, three women were on board: American Emma Moodie, and New Zealanders Naomi Peterson and a pregnant Patchouli Yates. The small NZ W.I.L.P.F. wrote some 2000 letters to people in France on the subject of the French tests. At this time W.I.L.P.F. was also involved in taking peace studies into schools, through speakers such as Katherine Knight.

The 1975 re-election of a National government was followed in 1976 by 'visits' from the USS *Truxton* and the USS *Long Beach*. Another compelling issue had emerged. W.I.L.P.F. organised a petition opposing nuclear warship visits which gained 330,000 signatures. When the government decided to build a new, longer wharf at Devonport, local women were concerned that it might be used for nuclear ships. They campaigned against it and for a nuclear-free zone. But the general women's movement for peace continued as well. In the early 1980s Christchurch women organised a large and very successful Mothers' Day Gathering.

The catalyst for many women was Helen Caldicott's visit in April 1983. A month later, when women at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, working to prevent the deployment of cruise missiles in Europe, asked women worldwide to take part in an International Women's Day of Action for Nuclear Disarmament on 24 May 1983, the women of Aotearoa responded in their thousands. New Zealand witnessed the largest-ever public gathering of women when up to 25,000, some with
children, walked up Queen Street, Auckland, to Aotea Square to hear a host of
speakers, including Mira Szasy, president of the Maori Women’s Welfare League
and patron of the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies; Mere Taylor and Betty Sio of the
Pacific People’s Anti-Nuclear Action Committee; Helen Clark, MP, and Maire
Leadbeater of C. N. D.

The scene was repeated all around the country: from Kaitaia in the far north to a
special prayer for peace at the Conference of the Women’s Division of Federated Far-
mers being held in Invercargill. In Dunedin’s Octagon, Christchurch’s Square, in
Geraldine, Nelson, Blenheim, Wellington, Petone, Palmerston North, Wanganui,
New Plymouth, Tokoroa, Rotorua, Opotiki, Whakatane, on the Coromandel,
Waheke Island, Devonport, Whangarei and in the Hokianga there had been rallies
and marches, street theatre and street stalls, displays, videos and slide shows. In Wel-
lington, women encircled the building in which the Ministry of Defence is housed,
taking with them music to play and articles from women’s lives to decorate the build-
ing with.

This action added to the momentum of the peace movement. Some of the organi-
sing groups decided to keep women’s peace groups going, for example, Women Acting
for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) in Auckland, and Wellington Women for
Peace. Other women became actively involved for the first time in the general peace
movement, with some starting up new neighbourhood peace groups, and others refo-
cussing their activities in the mixed groups they already belonged to. There was a
blossoming of peace movement activities. Women’s street theatre developed rapidly
in Auckland and Christchurch. In Auckland there was an influx of new people,
mainly women, at Peace Forum meetings and the Hiroshima commemoration later
that year, which coincided with the arrival of the USS Texaa, saw over 50,000 people
marching. When six Waiheke Island women travelled to Greenham Common, other women camped at Auckland’s International Airport to show solidarity, and performed a ritual at Whenuapai Airport during the Triad exercises.

WAND’s activities have varied from formal submission (supporting, for example, rape law reform, the protection of indigenous forests, the Homosexual Law Reform Act, the nuclear-free bill and a defence review submission calling for Aotearoa to leave ANZUS and to move progressively towards non-violent civilian-based defence) to a women’s tea party in Queen Street protesting at the presence of HMS Invincible. It has organised women and peace workshops, and screenings of videos such as Carry Greenham Home. In 1984, 24 May saw a women’s festival in Albert Park, while a year later the booklet Women on Peace was launched at a women’s peace concert. In addition, WAND has helped organise seminars on ANZUS, and continued doing what all peace groups do: letter writing to newspapers and government, providing speakers.

The 1981 Springboks tour left many women questioning or further exploring the issue of racism in Aotearoa. In the peace movement Pakeha people, both female and male, were made to confront white privilege by Maori women activists deeply committed to the vision of a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific (N.F.I.P.). Their analysis linked racism and colonisation of the Pacific with nuclear test bombing, missile testing, and the rights of indigenous people, including the tangata whenua of this country, to self-determination. This led to workshops run by Pakeha women to explore Pakeha racism, and to actions which questioned it. The group of women walked around East Cape with prams, performing their own show, Pacific Paradise.

Throughout these exciting times women MPs have been amongst those working for peace. When in 1980 Marilyn Waring organised a women’s peace run to Parliament with the runners carrying a peace petition begun by European women, many questioned the action—the petition didn’t question NZ’s support of the nuclear arms race, including membership of ANZUS. Two years later she helped open up the nuclear debate by standing out against her party, thus enabling a nuclear-free bill to be considered by a select committee which received public submissions. In 1984, Prime Minister Robert Muldoon tried to scapegoat Waring for precipitating the July 1984 election but while she had stated her bottom line was the banning of all nuclear-capable ships, she had also said she would not vote against the government on confidence votes. A Labour MP, Helen Clark, has been a long-time peace activist, and is currently the chairwoman of the Select Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs. Her colleague Ann Hercus, Minister of Women’s Affairs, helped set up World Women Parliamentarians for Peace at a conference in Sweden in 1985.

One of the strengths of the peace movement, and of the women within it, is our diversity. Working in different ways, different people are reached. Women’s groups and actions are important in this. They also give women the opportunity to make contact with other women in a women-only environment; to consider how women as women can affect the arms race; to do things in ways women want to; and to be supportive of women, both in terms of their lives in general and in the peace movement. (The peace movement is not free of sexism!)

It is inevitable that there is tension in both the general peace movement and among women, between those who approach the arms race from a nuclear bombs single-issue perspective, and those who adopt a ‘making the connection’ (and obviously different people make different connections!) approach. There are those who work from the basis of accepting society as it is (from sex role stereotyping to Pakeha privilege) and those who work from a feminist and/or anti-racist perspective. For example, some women had difficulty accepting the broader analysis of Maori and
Pacific Island women on 24 May 1983 when they linked nuclear issues with Pacific independence. The single-issue approach has produced some alienating structures that women have had to confront. As one woman asked at the United Nations Peace Researchers Conference, 1986: 'How much longer much indigenous people and women continue to bash their head on the brick wall of planning and structures that exclude their participation? How long must we continue to be seen as disruptive because we ask to be heard? We are not asking for the tokenism of time slots or representation on planning committees with closed ideas on how conferences should be run. We are asking for radical changes which allow space for us to participate in ways that are real for us, not just to be heard and judged on white male terms.'

Sex role stereotyping helps maintain militarism. Until both politics and personal relationships are no longer based on domination, on corrupting hierarchies, we won't have peace. It's important to acknowledge the life-affirming traits associated with the traditional female role - cooperation, sharing, nurturing, sensitivity, compassion. If humanity and this earth are to survive, we must all, female and male, adopt values and attributes which are in tune with nature and with one another.

Maori women, Mere Taylor and Katarina Pipi (left) address the women's Peace Parade, Aotea Square, 24 May 1984. They challenged the anti-bomb, single-issue perspective of peace activists. The arms race needs land and water — preferably other people's. Only with the independence of indigenous people in the Pacific will the nuclear chain be broken. This challenge of the tangata whenua, the indigenous people of Aotearoa, to the Peace Movement upset many people who were not yet ready to make the connections. 'Peace without justice is another form of violence.'

Candle-light vigil by hundreds of women and children on Takaranga (Mt Victoria) at the end of the day, 24 May 1983.
Ko te toto o te tangata, ko te whenua — the life-blood of the people is the land. The issues of peace and land cannot be separated. Women protesting at Takaparawha Tamaki Makau Rau. The banner reads, ‘Stick to the point, RE-occupy’.

Police arrive to move protesters re-occupying Takaparawha, 1982.
TOWARDS A NUCLEAR-FREE AND INDEPENDENT PACIFIC — FROM A MAORI PERSPECTIVE

Hilda Halkyard-Harawira

I nga ra a mua
'Ko te toto o te tangata, ko te whenua.'
(The lifeblood of the people is the land.)

The story of Maori people is very similar to most peoples of the Pacific. In the old days there was a purpose in life. We wanted to live, we knew what we were living for, and we had hope for the future. We knew what our role was. We were caretakers of the land. We were there to ensure the wellbeing of the community, today and tomorrow.

The land was known as the Earth Mother, Papatuanuku. We had our own laws of conservation and environmental protection. Deep within our values we observed the code 'take only what you need'. So if you go into the forest or to the sea, you take only what you need. You don't take any more. It was a real sin to waste anything.

There was a respect for nature and the gods. So all the time there was a process going on, of looking after the land, and when you look after the land, the land looks after you. It is said by some kaumatua that the Maori spent life reconciling the spiritual world with the material world. The language of our people is the key to that life.

In the old days there was respect for old people. Youth was seen as a very important attribute of the tribe. Our tamariki were the future. We had natural medicines, our people were healthy, they were tall. We had a language that embodied within it all the values, all the thought processes, all the rituals and the genealogies and histories of our people. We had a natural religion that kept all things in harmony with each other. We didn't have policemen, because that natural religion set boundaries for us. If anyone knowingly went past those boundaries, they were dealt with by the spirit world or the tribe. This was the way of life for native peoples for thousands of years, for American Indians, Tahitians, people of Micronesia and Melanesia. For the Aboriginal people, this was their life for 50,000 years.

Then colonialism came. The colonisers had many faces. They were British, French, German, American, Spanish, Japanese, Dutch. They all came into the Pacific. They had many faces and many tongues, but they all had the same purpose — to uproot the existing lifestyle and implant their own societies in order to acquire the land. That basically is the bottom dollar of colonialism — the acquisition of land by any means possible.

A lot of processes were used to colonise the countries in the Pacific. Some were very subtle and some involved force. There were diseases — they decimated our peoples and made us a minority where we were once a majority. We were expected to die. Our people were deprived and corrupted. Individuals were approached to make decisions that customarily are made by the whole tribe. How much was Wellington sold for? A few blankets, a few nails. How much of it was taken?

The next form of colonialism was very insidious — missionaries. Missionaries were people who brought the word of one god, and his peace and love. In that name and behind that front, they set about systematically to break down our philosophies and way of life. So they say, before the missionaries came with the bible, the Maoris had the land. Now it is the other way around. The Maoris have the bible, and the

'An indigenous person does not give up the struggle for land and culture and survival, to be overawed by the threat of a big bomb — that would be a luxury. Indigenous people have already been facing the possibility of extinction for 145 years.' — Hilda Halkyard-Harawira.
missionaries have the land.

When the bible had done its best to confuse everybody, the next thing was introduced, the Treaty of Waitangi. It was signed on 6 February 1840. It was an agreement between two nations. It guaranteed Maori people their rights to the lands, their fisheries and their forests. But it really represented the foundation of a relationship between two nations.

Two people trying to accept to live together. But for us native people of Aotearoa it hasn’t been a marriage of convenience. Anybody else would have opted for a divorce a long time ago. But we’re stuck with it. People have all kinds of reconciliations that they try to make but so far nothing has worked. Pakeha people have not been willing to look at the roots – at the real meaning of this document. And now they are trying to cover it up with another sham, a proposed Bill of Rights, that is supposed to guarantee us rights that were never honoured after the Treaty of Waitangi.

Ever since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, there have been laws that openly contravene the Treaty. Every successive government has changed, amended or manipulated the law to get whatever they really desire. And government forces were and are used against us, whenever we challenge injustice. For me, all governments in this country have been the same. They all head for the same direction – capitalism, dependence on superpowers, and most of all white supremacy. New Zealand and Australia have made themselves benevolent rulers, and they have made the Pacific their third world dominion.

The worst part of colonialism is when the natives become internally colonised. We have a Maori word called teka – which means lies, or today is expressed as bullshit. Colonialism offered us tekanology. I call it tekanology. Because when you look at it, what has the Pakeha tekanology offered us since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi? We Maoris have the highest unemployment, we have the highest prison population. We have an education system that selectively alienates Maori people and fails them. Teachers teach Maoris how to fail and accept it. Today if all the urban shops closed, would the Maori survive? We have become so urbanised and dependent on this Pakeha tekanology, we have forgotten how to grow our own vegetables, we have forgotten how to live off the land. I am not opposed to all forms of technology – only those that are of no real human value, for now and the future.

Every day the media prints racist propaganda. Sometimes it is very subtle. That propaganda buries deep in the subconscious of every Pakeha in this country. A fear of Maori people is built. The media builds a mentality that says Maori people are where they are because they deserve to be. You hear things like ‘gang riots’ in Moerewa. You don’t hear that the local police openly challenged them to a fight. You hear ‘225 squatters arrested on Bastion Point’. You don’t hear the story of how in 1867 one of the Land Court Judges, Fenton, declared 700 acres of Orakei land inalienable, and now all that’s left is a cemetery for Ngati Whataua. You hear about Maoris walking out of school on 1st June. People say well, it is because they are so dumb that they are complaining. You don’t hear about fourth form children who are sitting in a classroom and don’t know how to read or write, and the teachers haven’t even detected it. So all the time that subconscious is growing with more fear and hatred towards native people.

After 140 years of colonialism what have we been offered? What is the purpose in life that we as Maori people want? A lot of people are frustrated, they are angry and they are hostile, because they haven’t got anything to live for. They don’t see any future for themselves. They are just marking time. Pakeha society for Maori people is sometimes like a drug addiction. You know that your mind and your body is getting pumped full of shit, but you don’t seem to be able to kick the habit.

I am sure this story I am telling you is the same story right across the Pacific.

Auckland rally against Waitangi Celebrations, 6 February 1982. Since 1979, the Waitangi Action Committee has organised marches to oppose the celebration of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi — 'signed in good faith by Maori people, but constantly dishonoured by successive Pakeha governments'.
'My thoughts of peace have moved from the external, impersonal, political arena to a search for an inner spiritual and emotional peace — to follow a religious peace... kia rangi Marie — be at peace.'
— Mira Szasz

Ka patai koutou ki au, he aha te mea nui o te Ao? Ka ki atu ahu ki a koutou, he tangata, he tangata, he tangata.
(You ask me what is the greatest thing in the world? I answer you all, it is people, it is people, it is people.)

Moment of unity — Te Hikoi with Kotahitanga flag at Te Puea Marae, Mangere, 30 January 1984.

Te Hikoi Ki Waitangi 1984 was a peaceful walk to Waitangi under the banner of Te Kotahitanga, with wide tribal representation. The purpose was to unite Maoridom and to stop the celebrations by sheer weight of numbers and public opinion until the Treaty is honoured. Further, Te Hikoi tried to draw attention to the injustices perpetrated over the years against Maori people; and to provide an opportunity for Maoris to meet and discuss particular issues, making independent decisions for themselves.

Some elders and other Hikoi participants resting on their way north to Waitangi, a 'peace walk' under constant surveillance by police.
Ko tau te rangi marie — keep the peace with you.

Te Hikoi Ki Waitangi being halted at the bridge and prevented from entering the Treaty grounds, 6 February 1984.
‘Peace is helping young people find their identity and realise their self-worth, and sharing their feelings openly.’ — Manu Unuwai, South Auckland

In October 1983 Maori students occupied Auckland University Registry steps, demanding action towards the building of a marae at the university. The three-week action did more than 12 years of submissions, requests, and discussions. Suddenly the marae was at the top of the building agenda and the necessary finance found. In 1986 students are already working in it and the marae complex is virtually finished.

Secondary school children boycotted school on 4 June 1984. Most of them spent the day discussing their dissatisfaction with the syllabus and its lack of relevance to them and their future; submissions from these discussions were sent to the Education Department.
Morning at Te Kohanga Reo (language nest), Hoani Waititi Marae, West Auckland, 1984.

In 1985 a new Maori Primary School opened at Hoani Waititi to cater for some of the children who had spent their preschool at Kohanga Reo. This move to self-reliance is challenging the monocultural New Zealand education system to become more bi-cultural and just.
When people are faced with this nothingness, this lack of purpose, what options do they have? They can rebel, they can accept it, they can opt out and commit suicide, or they work very determinedly to change their situation.

You can’t make changes if you don’t understand what went beforehand and what caused it. Otherwise you will reach only a superficial understanding. We have a saying that our past is our present and our future. But there is a colonial mentality that only likes to accept here and now, that has an amnesia of the past. For our part we young people of the Pacific are descendants of those who worked for change before us. All we want is a better future for our children, a future that is good for everybody. The future that is offered today isn’t good for anybody. That is the value of what indigenous people have to offer – the answers are not overseas – they are under our noses.

The basic tool of resistance is culture. Embodied in the culture are all the things that keep the life force of the people together – language, histories, songs, traditions, land, families and the passing on of knowledge. Culture retention and revival are essential. If the cultural practices of a people are not practised – that marks the degree of colonialism that the people have been submerged within. Culture is our main weapon of resistance. That is why there are pockets of resistance all over the ‘western world’ – colonialism has not been able to destroy all aspects of culture.

The second wave of colonialism has been the nuclear power prancing into the Pacific. They came with the same goals as the first colonisers – they wanted land and someone else’s ocean to perfect their warmongering. Their presence has been deadly.

The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki brought World War II to an end. But we should have learnt from the effects of those bombs. Thousands of people were killed instantaneously. Now, generations later, descendants of the survivors are suffering from long-term effects. There is a crazy mentality in wartime that overlooks the tragic loss of lives. It didn’t matter that thousands of people were dead.

So the Americans go and pick on some little island group, the Marshall Islands. They don’t want to do any nuclear tests in their country, because it will affect American citizens. The Marshallese are way out there in the Pacific, nobody knows about them. ‘There’s only 90,000 of them out there. Who gives a damn? So the U.S. government starts practising on the Marshallese people. They don’t inform them what is really going on or the possible effects. They just tell the islanders they are doing it fo
peace. One day the kids are playing in the sand and they find this white ash falling all over them. They don't know what's going on. One island, Runit, was made untouchable for 25,000 years. One old lady wanted to die there, it was her home island. When she tried to make her way back to the concrete-domed island she was brought back by the military. The US military had not only evacuated the local people from their homelands, but they had also severed them from their spiritual and cultural base.

The United States has a lot to answer for. If the common man is put on a charge for stealing a loaf of bread from a neighbour, or for pinching a transistor radio, why the hell hasn't the United States been taken to court? The Nazis were put on trial at Nuremberg for the annihilation of Jews. The US government has a lot of blood on its hands.

The nuclear testing cycle is a cycle of racism. It is an act of cultural genocide. The black people, brown people, don't matter. The darkies are of no value, they are invisible. I believe the reason there are no nuclear tests in New Zealand is that white people are in the majority. The whole nuclear testing mentality rests on testing it out of the superpowers' range. They regularly tell the native people and their own military that all is safe — if that is the case, then why do they not test their bombs in Washington or in Paris?

By 1980, 250 nuclear tests had been conducted in the Pacific. Imagine the effect of those bombs on the ecological balance. Two years ago, Tahiti experienced five freak cyclones. They have been attributed to nuclear testing causing imbalances in nature. The land, the sea, the culture, the social structures are all affected by the nuclear military presence of an outside foreign power.

Hiroshima, Nagasaki, the Marshall Islands, Moruroa, have been huge sacrifices for their own people and the rest of the world. World War III has been waged under our very noses — only the war has never been declared. The superpowers have been preparing for it, in our backyard, and we the people of the Pacific have been the guinea pigs.

The nuclear issue is merely an advanced form of colonialism. The coloniser has come with a bigger gun, and a bigger message of peace. It's the same thing.

The message of people in the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific movement is

'When the power of love overcomes the love of power, there will be peace.' — Martin Luther King

'Before we can give peace away we need to be at peace ourselves — peace with one's self.' — Hiwi Tauroa

Hilda Halkyard-Harawira reporting from the Steering Committee of the Pacific Concerns Resource Centre.
different to that of many peace groups. In the end we have a common goal, but a different struggle.

Some people have said that the threat of the bomb has pulled us all together, indigenous and non-indigenous people. This is a very naive attitude. Indigenous people have been fighting little bombs ever since the first foreigners came ashore. An indigenous person does not give up the struggle for land, culture and survival to become overawed by the threat of a big bomb. That would be a luxury. Indigenous people have been facing the possibility of extinction and human degradation for over 145

Each year since the 1982 Hawaiian N.F.I.P. Conference, Aotearoa has organised its own sub-regional international gatherings. The peoples of the Pacific bring clear messages — Kanaky, Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, Belau, the Philippines and Aotearoa representatives speak in Aotea Square after the Hui, 1984.
years. The N.F.I.P. movement is not necessary just anti-nuclear, anti military bases, anti-superpower domination; it is also pro the land, pro aroha ki te whenua, pro self determination and pro independence.

Whatever little resources we have and whatever little understanding, we have a responsibility to spread that information to others. I believe in ‘the grassroots movement’.

KA WHAWHAI TONU MATOU


The French flag is judged to deserve no respect by a Tahitian independence leader. Charlie Ching burns the flag outside the French Consulate in Auckland, 1983.
‘Tree let your naked arms fall
Nor extend vain entreaties
to the radiant ball.
This is no gallant monsoon’s flash
No dashing trade winds blast
The fading green of your magic emanations shall not make pure again
these polluted skies . . . for this
is no ordinary sun. — Hone Tuwhare.
Grace Robertson working in P.P.A.N.A.C. (Pacific Peoples' Anti-Nuclear Action Committee) office, Otara.

Group at Kokiri, Otara, after opening of new offices for P.P.A.N.A.C. and W.A.C. (Waitangi Action Committee).
May Day float from the trade union peace office advertising the Pacific trade union forum, with its anti-nuclear and independence concerns, 1986. Delegates from most Pacific countries attended.

May Day 1986. Workers from CORSO, a predominantly white aid agency, express solidarity with Kanaky.

Sousanna Ounel, Kanak patriot, addressing rally, 1984.
'Violence is an expression of ignorance.'
— Yoko Ono

Rally in Auckland to commemorate Hiroshima Day, 6 August 1983.

Mr Naomi Iwai, a Kobe city councillor from Japan, speaks on Hiroshima Day 1983. Learning from the NZ experience, there has been a large growth in local nuclear-free zones in his area. In 1975, Kobe port was declared nuclear-free — the captain of any ship entering port must sign a declaration to confirm no nuclear weapons are on board.
'The nuclear-free policy displays such 'uncommon' sense — perhaps that is why it's so difficult to understand. In the light of the bombing of Libya, failed Titan, Cruise and Challenger launchings, and the meltdown at Chernobyl, it seems strange that the New Zealand model isn't perceived as a common sense model for the planet. Accidents, debris, iodide tablets, pregnant women and children confined indoors; radioactive air, banned food, dumped milk, vegetables, and meat; poisoned water, alerts, fallout and fear, all seem to be trying to tell us something.' — Marilyn Waring.

While some in the peace movement continued with their single issue perspective, others were making connections between peace and justice issues and were acting in solidarity with Pacific issues. None found any comfort under the 'nuclear umbrella' and nuclear ships kept arriving in the harbour. Protest actions continued.
MP Phil Goff on board a Peace Squadron boat during the arrival of USS Texas, 6 August 1983.

In an attempt to 'burn out' the peace movement, seven American nuclear vessels and the nuclear-capable British-Falklands task force visited New Zealand between mid-1983 and July 1984.

Right: A group from South Auckland P.P.A.N.A.C., part of a large land-based protest against Texas arrival.

Opposite Above: Street theatre and speeches took place every lunchtime while Texas was in port.

Opposite Below: Schools Against the Bomb banner behind Jane Cooper from Greenpeace speaking at Queen Elizabeth II Square.
USS Phoenix arrives November 1983, and an American citizen flies his flag upside-down.

Demonstration against HMS Invincible, British warship, November 1983.

Opposite Above: Lunchtime rally when USS Phoenix was in Auckland.


‘The nuclear arms race has no military purpose, wars cannot be fought with nuclear weapons, their existence only adds to our perils because of the illusions they have generated.’ — Lord Louis Mountbatten, May 1979

Below: By 1983 some authorities seemed to have realised that there was no insurance cover for boats on demonstrations. Arrests were suddenly scaled down and confrontation tactics became much more violent and aggressive. Many more boats were damaged and motors knocked overboard.

On 24 March 1984 the Peace Squadron invited many eminent persons (mayors, members of parliament, church leaders and the media) to participate. Their presence had a calming effect on police and navy volunteers and damage to boats decreased significantly.

Opposite Above: Auckland has been declared nuclear-free. Mayor Cath Tizard deplores the presence of a ‘death ship in our harbour’, 1983.

Opposite Below: Part of the crowd listening to Mayor Cath Tizard.
Information board. A man unconsciously shields his child from nuclear horror posters.

Peace stall in local shopping centre on Saturday morning.
"Why fuss over your kids, making them clean their teeth, if you are just going to let them get blown to bits by a nuclear bomb?"

My son was three years old when I heard Dr Helen Caldicott ask this question at a packed meeting in Auckland's Y.M.C.A. on 10 April 1983. I felt a hole open up in my stomach. I stumbled out of the hall, threw 10 dollars into a donation box, and went home. But giving away money didn't change anything. I needed to do much more than that.

A few days later 150 women met together to talk about what more we could do. We decided to have a peace parade up Queen Street on 24 May - International Women's Day for Nuclear Disarmament - and to invite women and children from all over Auckland.

About eight of the women at that meeting were from my own neighbourhood. None of us had media skills, nor did we have the money for newspaper ads, but we quickly spread the word through our own personal networks — through our contacts with other Plunket mothers, playcentre and kindergarten parents, our churches, vegetable cooperatives, other local volunteer groups, as well as our workplaces. We found that there was ready sympathy with the moral issues raised by the possibility of nuclear war. And we knew which shops and offices would be sympathetic to displaying our posters and gathering signatures for our local petition to the council.

At this stage none of our group had heard of Larry Ross, Maire Leadbeater, Hilda Halkyard-Harawira and Owen Wilkes. We later realised that they, and many others like them, have provided invaluable resource material, factual research, inspiration and encouragement within the wider peace movement. For instance, many of the 101 nuclear-free zones around the country have been established thanks to the support of Larry Ross and the Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Committee in Christchurch. Maire Leadbeater and C.N.D. helped us learn how to lobby politicians. Hilda

"Peace-making is integrated into daily living, to reduce it to an academic paper is to become removed from the whole concept of what peace is." — Katie Boanas, Christchurch
Halkyard-Harawira and P.P.A.N.A.C., with the Pacific-wide network organised through Pacific Concerns Resource Centre in Hawaii, made us much more aware of the 'nuclear war' which has been carried on in the Pacific region since 6 August 1945. And Owen Wilkes, with his work for S.I.P.R.I. (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) and later with the New Zealand peace movement through Peace Movement Aotearoa, provided world-standard research on global and local aspects of the arms race.

Our local group had decided to go to the borough council and ask them to declare our borough nuclear-free. As it turned out, we were going to have to do a lot more than just ask. We organised a petition to the council and, in only 10 days, managed to get 2500 signatures. Twenty thousand women and children joined our march on 24 May, but when our small group went to the council with our petition that night, the mayor opposed us, and we were defeated on a technicality. Several of the councillors sneered at us, and belittled our arguments. They seemed determined not to hear us. So this was democracy in action? We were outraged.

One of the problems with the peace parade was that it was for women only. Lots of men said that they wanted to be involved, too. So we set up a neighbourhood peace group in our area to carry on after 24 May. The first meeting was held the night after the council meeting. Forty-five men and women turned up. Even the mayor's wife turned up. 1983 was the year of the local body elections and already our group was seen to have potential for political influence.

We invited Marion Hancock from the North Shore Peace Group to bring us their leaflets on how to start a peace group and to talk about what we might do. We discovered that we had well and truly started already!

The group which formed was very open. There was no executive committee, no hierarchical structure, no chairperson, and no subscriptions. We rotated or shared all the tasks to do with the running of the group. In the beginning we held our meetings in a church hall, but this was very expensive for a group with no money. So we met in our own homes, going to a different house each time, and getting to know each other very well. We all took turns at facilitating meetings, drawing up the agenda at the start of each meeting, and jointly determining the priorities. Decisions were made by those who actually came to the meetings, using the consensus approach. We found that decisions made in this way usually had strong commitment from members to see that they were carried out.

We had no secretary and at each meeting took turns to record any decisions. Nor did we have a chairperson. The coordinator, or main contact person, had the task of keeping in touch with other peace groups in the region, and of channelling information into and out of our group. This job has been rotated, but not as easily as others because of the commitment required to keep your ear to the ground.

The preparation and mailing of our newsletter was shared by about three people. Urgent telephone messages were delivered throughout the whole group using a telephone tree. (We have a sister group in England, near Greenham Common. They have a similar telephone network and discovered that the phones of key people would be cut whenever a protest action was needed at Greenham Common – so they now take dead phones as a signal to meet at Greenham Common!)

We had no spokesperson. Anyone who attended meetings regularly could make media statements on behalf of the group, so long as they consulted first with three other regular members. And we would often consult between ourselves when drafting letters to the newspapers. We also managed without a treasurer. By the end of the first year we had three separate accounts: one for information stalls and peace stock, one for the promotion and sale of a peace poster and cards designed by an artist who was a member of our group, and one for the organisation of a peace education course.
Collecting signatures for an anti-nuclear petition, South Auckland, 1983.

'I am writing on behalf of our 155 members in praise of your nuclear-free policy, and would urge you to resist all efforts to undermine your courageous stance. We in Scotland alas have our lovely lochs used as nuclear submarine bases and our glens as repositories of these foul weapons. We take comfort and hope from the fact that your country is holding out firmly against this menace.'
— Milngavie and Bearsden Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Tom Newham organises a letter of support for David Lange at Whenuapai Peace Camp.
Listening to speakers at a three-day peace camp during combined ANZUS 'Triad' exercises at Whenuapai Airport, 1984.

'I have witnessed at first hand the almost unimaginably terrifying power and arrogance of the American military machine. The spectacle of little New Zealand defying this Goliath has been a ray of light shining through the dark clouds of frustration and fear; who knows it might be the beginning of an earthquake which will shake that military monster to its foundations. It certainly gives fresh hope in our struggle to rid the earth of genocidal nuclear weapons.' — Charlotte Waterlow, M.B.E. (U.K.), NZ Foundation for Peace Studies Annual Lecture, 1985

for adults at the teachers training college. There was a member responsible for each of these accounts, depending on their particular interest.

The whole idea of sharing and rotating these tasks was to give people experience, and to ensure that a solid core group of people felt involved and therefore committed to keeping the group alive. It was a very supportive way of working.

We found that what we needed most was not money, but people who would do things, like collect signatures door-to-door for the petition; design and distribute 10,000 leaflets to every letter box in our borough before the local body elections; lobby local body candidates prior to the elections to ensure support for the nuclear-free zone; write letters to local newspapers; organise displays and educational stalls around local shopping centres; and, yes, bake cakes! After the 1983 local body elections we had majority support within the new council for a nuclear free zone.

Many women now discovered that our neighbourhood networks were very important for all of this activity, and we realised that when it comes to local politics we actually have far more power than a lot of the men. By mid 1983 we knew that declaring our borough nuclear free wasn't much use if nuclear bombs were still able to be brought into the harbour just down the road. So we joined up with approximately 50 other peace groups in the Auckland region. We helped organise the nuclear free petition to the Auckland Regional Authority and to the Harbour Board. The Harbour Board refused to hear our case and wouldn't even allow us to present our 11,000-signature petition. So much for the democratic process, yet again!

For some strange reason the National government was stepping up the invitations for ship visits, usually nuclear-armed and/or nuclear-powered. These ships and submarines provided us with a very tangible focus for our anti-nuclear activity and for our educational campaign. A lot of our activity became very reactive. We had to operate on very short notice most of the time, and most of us found it an exciting challenge to
'If the war movement hated war, there would be no war.'

Topp Twins singing peace songs at Whenuapai.

Karen Mangnall speaking at the peace camp.

Leafleting at Whenuapai air base during the Triad exercises.
work in this way. The speed with which we had to react, together with the lack of funds for media advertising, meant that we were constantly thrown back onto our personal networks.

This is where the telephone tree was most useful. Each group had one or two main contact people who in turn could phone five or six other members, who each had a list of other members to phone, and so on, right across diverse sections of the community. In January 1985, when the USS Buchanan was due to visit Auckland, with the telephone network it took only 48 hours to gather between 20,000 and 25,000 people in Queen Street to oppose the visit. As it turned out, by the time of the demonstration it became a celebration of the Labour government's decision to ban the entry of the Buchanan.

The ship visits also provided an important focus for our deep anger with a political system which seemed designed to silence us, and with politicians who seemed determined not to hear us. We wanted nuclear-armed and nuclear-powered vessels banned from NZ waters and ports, and we wanted a government prepared to put this into law. This became a major campaign leading up to the general elections in 1984. We called it the Votes for Peace campaign.

Local neighbourhood peace groups had an important role to play in this campaign, lobbying candidates from all the political parties, letter-writing furiously, organising public debates on the issue, producing and distributing leaflets in the marginal electorates. The 1983 local body elections had been an excellent training ground and we realised that we had learnt a lot as a result of the nuclear ship campaign. Most of all we had learnt how to cooperate within the peace movement, despite the enormous diversity of skills, ages, political affiliations and values. It was difficult, and we had many opportunities to practise non-violent conflict resolution.

By the time of the general elections in mid 1984 there were approximately 300 peace groups spread throughout the rural and urban areas of New Zealand. The majority of these were local community or neighbourhood peace groups whose members were intimately linked with the values and attitudes of their area. For this reason these groups have had a unique role to play in the recent history of the peace movement. There seemed to be a peace group to suit every kind of New Zealander. Some had large memberships and campaigned on a variety of different issues related to the themes of peace and justice. Others were smaller and had to focus their energies on one or two issues.

There was a lot of cross-fertilisation, especially where you might have a member of an occupational group like doctors or teachers also actively involved in their local neighbourhood or church group, for instance. The range of occupational groups became quite extensive, with special-interest groups forming for scientists, engineers, psychologists, visual artists, lawyers, teachers and doctors. The variety of women's groups often catered for needs not met by membership in these other groups. And then there were groups like Peace Squadron which had a very clearly defined campaign and role in direct action out on the harbour.

A key function of a peace group, whatever the campaign, was to provide a support base for individuals wanting to change the system from within. Teachers for instance found it very important to have this support base. And the base widened when, from time to time, loose coalitions of groups inside and outside the peace movement took up the campaign focus of a special-interest group.

This cross-fertilisation between groups occurred nationally as well as regionally, through the personal contacts which developed around the country. In 1984 this network was formalised with the establishment of Peace Movement New Zealand (now called Peace Movement Aotearoa/NZ). The national peace magazine PeaceLink was set up to assist the dissemination of ideas and information.

'Peace is about real peoples' lives, about people committing themselves to peace work in the immediate context of their daily lives — in their neighbourhoods, churches, work places and social circles.' — Katie Boanas, Christchurch
Networking among local groups resulted in regular meetings called Peace Forums in centres like Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Hamilton and Auckland. This was consolidated with the establishment of offices run by Peace Forums in Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington. By and large these offices have worked in well, sharing information and avoiding duplication, with offices run by organisations such as Greenpeace, the Trade Unions, Pacific People’s Anti-nuclear Action Committee, C.N.D., the Foundation for Peace Studies, and the NZ Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone Committee.

The networking within the New Zealand peace movement is a very special feature. I think its success is due to the open, non-hierarchical structure of the majority of the groups and organisations at all levels. This has meant that the autonomy of each group has been protected, the direction and decisions coming from within, rather than from above. This is the meaning of the term ‘grass roots’.

All this diversity has been our greatest strength — the diversity of people, of campaign issues, and of different ways of organising and working together. It is for this reason that most of the 300 peace groups are still active — helping to amass 4000 submissions on the defence review early in 1985, and another load of submissions on the Nuclear-free New Zealand Bill. It’s my guess that these groups will continue to stay together for some time, working away quietly in the background. Some members have now gone on to other campaigns which they see as consolidating the work of the last few years, working on issues like war toys, violence against women, violence on television, racism, economic inequality and discrimination, pornography, environmental pollution, animal rights, improving parenting skills — all are part of the broader definition of peace.

New Zealand will never be the same again!
Naomi and David Lange are welcomed at the airport by large numbers of people after his successful Oxford Union Debate and much world discussion on the New Zealand anti-nuclear stand.
When I was elected to Parliament in 1981, popular opposition in New Zealand to nuclear weapons was becoming much more vocal. Ever since the end of 1975 when the new National government welcomed the return of nuclear warships, small and sometimes not-so-small groups had gathered to protest their occasional presence in our harbours. During Jimmy Carter's presidency of the United States, those visits were relatively infrequent. Carter's ambassador in Wellington, Mrs Anne Martindell, was not prepared to assist Mr Muldoon politically by accommodating his desire to have United States nuclear-capable warships calling regularly.

The eighties brought new developments at home and abroad. In the United States, Ronald Reagan was elected President. His new ambassador to New Zealand, H. Munroe Brown, ensured that United States warships began to appear more often in New Zealand waters. Another consequence of Reagan's election was the much more aggressive stance taken by the United States towards the Soviet Union. Both superpowers became engaged in a new arms race in Europe with the deployment of new-generation intermediate range weapons. A mass opposition to that emerged in Western Europe. Thus at the very time that New Zealand was strengthening its links with the United States nuclear navy, citizens in the Nato countries were fiercely protesting stepped-up missile deployment in Europe.

It was clear to me as a new Member of Parliament that the anti-nuclear movement in New Zealand was poised to become very large indeed. New Zealanders seemed appalled at the serious deterioration of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and at the possibility of nuclear war breaking out. The desire to make a clean break with our major ally's nuclear weapons had become overwhelming.

Labour came very close to winning the 1981 election. National was left with a one-seat majority in Parliament and a smaller share of the popular vote than Labour. The implications of the narrowness of Labour's defeat and the party's anti-nuclearism did

‘New Zealand cannot . . . be defended by nuclear weapons. We do not wish to be defended by nuclear weapons. The United States and many of the allies of the United States carry the burden of knowing that the deterrent which defends them will also destroy them and all the rest of us if it is ever used. No nation should carry that burden.’ — David Lange, NZ Prime Minister
Within the NATO alliance which, unlike ANZUS, bases its strength on its nuclear arsenals, Denmark and Norway are free to ban nuclear weapons from their territories — similarly Rumania, a signatory to the Warsaw Pact, will not permit nuclear weapons on its soil. It would be indeed curious if New Zealand were permitted less freedom within its loose ANZUS partnership than Rumania has within the Warsaw Pact.’ — Helen Clark, MP

The United States administration has problems with clause 9 of the New Zealand Nuclear-Free Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Bill. This is because of the policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on board US ships and aircraft.

For many years this policy has enabled the United States to fly in the face of the expressed wishes of allies to be nuclear-weapons-free at all times (for example New Zealand, Sweden, Norway) and to breach international treaties (such as with Japan).

This policy no longer has logistical credibility. Two senior US officials have publicly confirmed that Soviet satellites could detect the presence of nuclear weapons on US vessels well before they reach the South Pacific.’ — Marilyn Waring

'I want to congratulate you with your Prime Minister David Lange and his standpoint and engagement against nuclear weapons. That’s a victory for mankind.' — Lisbeth Tengelsen, Norway

not escape the United States administration. From 1981 on, representatives of the United States congress, armed forces, and various arms of the administration made well-publicised visits to New Zealand to warn the public here of the dangers of a nuclear-free policy. Their efforts can only be described as an attempt to shut the door after the horse had bolted.

By 1983 our anti-nuclear movement had come to involve a very wide cross-section of the population. Even conservative city and borough councils were declaring their territories nuclear-free or nuclear weapons-free. The spread of locally-based peace groups was endemic. Women were particularly strongly involved with the growth of the movement. Helen Caldicott’s visit to New Zealand in April 1983 mobilised many women. The women’s march for nuclear disarmament in Auckland the following month, which I addressed, attracted up to 25,000 women. Then, on Hiroshima Day 1983, a traditional focus for anti-nuclear mobilisation, a United States nuclear warship was berthed at the port of Auckland. People were enraged. Some 50,000 thronged Aotea Square, Auckland, for the Hiroshima Day commemoration.

At its 1983 conference, Labour reaffirmed its policy of banning nuclear-powered and/or nuclear-armed warships from New Zealand ports. Its 1984 policy included a pledge to legislate for a nuclear-free New Zealand. Several nuclear-free bills were actually introduced to Parliament by Richard Prebble and Bruce Beetham in the 1981-1984 term. The first Prebble Bill was the catalyst for the establishment of the Disarmament and Arms Control Select Committee and its investigation into disarmament issues. The Beetham Bill was referred to that select committee. In 1982 and 1983 that committee, on which I was privileged to sit, received hundreds of submissions on nuclear issues, the overwhelming majority of which wanted New Zealand to take a stronger anti-nuclear stance.

It was the introduction of Richard Prebble’s next New Zealand nuclear-free bill which led directly to the calling of the snap election. Marilyn Waring supported the bill and informed the Prime Minister that her vote could no longer be counted on for government foreign affairs and defence policies. Sir Robert took the opportunity provided by the effective loss of his parliamentary majority on such important matters of state, to call the early election which National lost. In my campaigning throughout New Zealand it was clear that Labour’s anti-nuclear policy was entirely in line with public opinion and almost certainly consolidated and increased our vote.

Since then, strong public support for non-nuclear policies has been vital to the Government’s ability to translate them into action. Implementation of the port ban on nuclear warships was followed by the United States decision to cut New Zealand out of ANZUS. Given the high level of support for ANZUS expressed over a lengthy period in opinion polls, that could have been a serious blow to the Labour Government. In my view, however, the support for the non-nuclear stance has been so strong that it has outweighed the pro-ANZUS sentiment. In addition the rather extreme United States reaction to New Zealand’s very reasonable and moderate stance has, if anything, intensified anti-nuclear public opinion here.

Looking back on these years, I see the implementation of the non-nuclear policy by the Labour Government as a triumph for democracy. The people spoke loudly. All three opposition parties at the 1984 election responded. The one which was elected imposed a ban on nuclear weapons coming to New Zealand. The policy has stood because of the enormous popular mobilisation behind it. The peace movement here has much to be proud of. Long may its voice be heard!
Alternatives for Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific were considered at Beyond ANZUS in June 1984, a large conference in the Wellington Town Hall organised by a coalition of researchers and activists involved in issues of peace and justice, and a Nuclear-Free Independent Pacific. People from Australia, Japan, Fiji, Philippines and Aotearoa came to examine the treaty and its ramifications.

Owen Wilkes speaking on alternative defence and security arrangements for Aotearoa, beside Gus Yokoyama, Japan, and Maire Leadbetter from C.N.D. Auckland.

'We all want change and change involves the letting go of power.' — N.F.I.P., presentation at Beyond ANZUS.

After two days of sitting in rows and being addressed by experts from the stage, a group of people tried changing the structure, the power of this conference about alternatives. The seating was arranged in open circles and people were given a better chance of participating in a real way.

Jane Cooper and Sousanna Ousni talk to a journalist after visiting the French Embassy to protest at the situation in Kanaky (New Caledonia) during Beyond ANZUS.
Peace Forum Christmas Picnic on Mt Eden, 1984. People from many different groups braved the weather.

"The recent decision by New Zealand is not anti-American, it is a peaceful step in developing nuclear-free zones that will ultimately spread around the world." — Dr Helen Caldicott, U.S.A.

Queen Street rally in support of Labour government policy banning nuclear ships from our harbours, 30 January 1985.
March for Peace, Friday evening, December 1984.

'If only we could import this kind of political courage like we import their lamb, wool and produce.' — Editor of a local paper, Canada

Tim Shadbolt, Mayor of Waitemata City, addressing a crowd after the USS Buchanan was refused entry to New Zealand, January 1985.
‘I feel proud to be a New Zealander; we are doing this because we believe it is right. I hope in the not too distant future that other nations will stand with us, but we would take this stand if we thought we were the only people on earth who believe it is right.’ — Jim Anderton, MP

Exporting the ‘Nuclear-free zone’ concept. Delegates to Peace Conference, Héita, Japan, February 1985. From left: Ngahiti Faulkner, Marie Lufiu, George Armstrong, Ngaire Te Hira, Owen Wilkes, Kathleen Ryan and Marjorie Pearce.

Demonstration outside the Sheraton Hotel when the Japanese Prime Minister visited New Zealand, 1985.
Pauline Thurston with banners and posters after a speaking tour of local peace groups in Japan, 1985.

Devonport peace fair to welcome the Rainbow Warrior to New Zealand, 8 July 1985.
Five Labour Members of Parliament visit the Rainbow Warrior in support of its going with the peace flotilla to protest against testing at Moruroa.

A scroll in opposition to French nuclear tests, signed by Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke and many other federal parliamentary Labour Party members. It was presented to Greenpeace to carry on the Vega to Moruroa test site.

'We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, wholeheartedly support the decision of your government to ban port visits by nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed ships of any nation. We further deplore and oppose the steps taken by our government to retaliate against the people of your country, and we pledge our vigilance and strong opposition to any steps our government may take to destabilise the duly-elected government of your nation.' — Ed Asner, Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Gloria Steinem, I.F. Stone, Lee Grant, and 166 others, including academics, peace group activists, publishers, writers. (From a letter to NZ newspapers)
Surviving crew from the Rainbow Warrior farewell 'Vega' Greenpeace III as it leaves for Moruroa to protest French testing.
Media film Greenpeace demonstration outside the High Court during the trial of two French spies, 4 November 1985.
Steve Sawyer, Greenpeace International, and MP Helen Clark talk to Admiral Gene La Roque on a Peace Squadron boat before the Breeze left for Moruroa. Since his retirement, Admiral La Roque has run the Centre for Defence Information in Washington DC.
Fundraising concert organised by people from Matauri Bay, Northland, 4 January 1986.

Selling badges, stickers and T-shirts at an evening rally.
'All people are by nature equal, all people on earth share the earth. Wanting peace starts with a passion and a passionate valuing of common humanity and a common home: planet Earth.' — Bishop Bruce Gilberd

Greenpeace stall on the wharf near the salvaged Rainbow Warrior sells badges, stickers, posters and T-shirts to raise money for further projects for environmental protection.

Workers doing mail-out of quarterly newsletter in Greenpeace office.
Eastern Suburbs peace group, responsible for the 'Nuke-Free Goods' stickers selling well here and overseas.
In C.N.D. office — Maire Leadbeater and Caz Palmer (office worker) with Peter Wills (S.A.N.A.) Sue Rawson (Eastern Suburbs Peace Group) and Lyn Hume (Peace Squadron).

Trade union peace stall at a Potters Park festival, April 1986.
"We may arrive at some state of peaceful existence when we cease to delude ourselves that the tortuous route can be negotiated by violence." — Judge Mick Brown

Last minute arrangements for Hiroshima Day, 1986. The working group committee is drawn from many different Auckland peace groups (Eastern suburbs, North Shore, W.P.C., Peace Squadron, S.A.N.A. Glendowie).

Peace Forum meeting — representatives from most Auckland peace groups meet monthly.
Speakers on the subject 'What's made, what's bought, what's shown' at a session on selecting programmes for television.

Organisers of Entertainment, Violence and a Peaceful World Seminar, June 1986. From left: Betty Gilderdale, Hilary Haines, Jan Koirala and Dell Braun from NZ Foundation for Peace Studies and Mental Health Foundation.

'Peace is as much about people being able to walk home safely as it is about nuclear disarmament and nuclear-free zones — violence begets violence. — Sonja Davies

'Take back the night' — a street rally in protest at violence against women and children.
C.N.D. van and stall with Pacific Peace Band singing during the ‘Fast for Life’ action organised by North Shore peace groups in solidarity with other actions worldwide, Hiroshima week 1983.

Coromandel Peace Group singing at Outreach women’s concert, February 1982.
Two women doing a 24-hour silent vigil in Aotea Square to mark Hiroshima and Nagasaki. August 1984.

ANZAC celebrations, 25 April 1984 — a wreath for all women, laid on the cenotaph after the dawn parade.
Part of the Pacific Peace Band singing at lunchtime demonstration during the visit of the USS Texas to Auckland during Hiroshima week, 1983.

Pacific Peace Band singing at Otara fleamarket one Saturday morning, 1983.
There is no road to peace.
Peace is the road.' — Ghandi

When we first feel the enormity of the nuclear threat it can overwhelm us. We can feel inadequate and powerless. We may decide to do nothing, to do as we are told and not speak out. There are a million ways of being voiceless and powerless.

When we act, we can use the same weapons that are used on us, that make up the whole structure of oppression — violence, patriarchal structures and power-over tactics. But we soon learn that using those tools we don’t stand a chance. We realise that the means and ends are inextricably linked. If we are talking about and working for peace and justice we must obtain it through peaceful and just ways, new ways and old ways.

Struggling with this is how we begin to learn together, work together, and love together peacefully and justly, and that work is the peace. There are no end goals, no heroes, no ultimate end, the struggle is a part of our everyday lives which become empowered and real in this context.

To change the attitudes and structures that oppress takes long-term, daily work which has to start in our own backyards, our own relationships and our own ways of expressing ourselves. Choosing to take positive action in our everyday lives, by contacting that wise part within ourselves and using it, by trusting our creativity and truth to transform destruction and lies, by building alternative structures and non-violent principles, in whatever form these may take for each one of us, we discover new and peaceful ways to be.

The actions may not always look political or effective. There is no right way or right answer. Each one of us has different struggles and different oppressions. Each one of us needs to find ways to deal with them, ways we can live with and believe in.

Non-violence is being willing to co-operate and communicate, being open, celebrating life and change.

Non-violence is trusting and transforming anger into positive action. It is a rational way of life, whole-hearted and complete.

Creative, non-violent, direct acting is intense, potent, vital, angry, humorous, energetic, loving and daring. Through it we take responsibility for our lives, we contact life more abundantly and we place alternatives in the world. We make positive choices.

The crucial thing is to act. Each moment has two impulses within it — one is to sleep, acquiesce and die, the other to be aware, to struggle and to live.

The Pacific Peace Band formed initially to sing outside the hall for Helen Caldicott’s lecture in April 1983. From there we decided to keep singing every weekend on the streets, at shopping centres, and at peace concerts. Members of the band varied in numbers depending on people’s time and energy.

In the beginning we sang a lot of anti-nuclear songs from Britain, but we began writing our own material and it became much more relevant to the situation here. We found we often had to write songs right there on the spot about something that had come up.

We tried to make the songs fun and provocative. We carried postcards, petitions and pamphlets, and talked with people who wanted to talk.

Eventually the band became an all-women band, and we stayed together loosely for about a year. The core group transformed into other things and developed the songs further, for example, SPANA and Pramazons.
Two SPANA street actions on Bastille Day, 14 July 1983, highlighting the New Zealand scientists' official visit to Moruroa on the invitation of the French government.
In June 1983, Regis Debray, the personal envoy to France’s President Mitterrand and their Third World expert, visited New Zealand to speak with the National government about stopping our pressure on French actions in the Pacific. The visit was supposedly secret, with no media coverage. SPANA street theatre outside his hotel in Queen Street tried to make public his visit and possible reasons for the secrecy surrounding it.
‘If we already have enough nuclear firepower to destroy the earth and everything on it, why do we need more?
What is “strategic superiority”?’

SPANA action — ‘Mrs Alison Hawke’ baking ‘yellow cake’ to highlight the Australian Labour government backing down on their anti-nuclear statements once in power, and going ahead with uranium mining in conjunction with B.P. on sacred Aboriginal land sites.
SPANA action. Sawdust 'tailings' dumped in the lobby of B.P. House, Remuera, to highlight involvement of their Australian branch in uranium mining at Roxby Downs. August 1983.


SPANA action outside American consulate during the visit to NZ by Admiral Sylvester Foley, head of U.S. Pacific forces, July 1983.
SPANA — South Pacific Anti-Nuclear Action in ‘Spain to the world’

SPANA was a group of 13 women who grew out of the 1983 Devonport Women’s Peace Camp in Auckland. We formed mainly because we realised that important information about what was going on in the world and in this country was not getting to the majority of people.

We wanted to leave people laughing, hopeful and informed. We did street theatre, vigils and protests. Our resources were music, singing, a few clown, energy and some access to the media. So we wrote words to old tunes or new ones, wrote simple dialogues, used lots of visuals, props, and simple costumes, and we would do the action over and over.

We performed in the street mostly. If there was a compete involved, we would focus on them, go into their lobby or doorway. We would try to do actions that weren’t just opposing, but nourishing and positive for everyone involved. We would have back-up information if people wanted it. We always tried to have one of us take the role of an observer to see anything happened, and to give us feedback afterwards. We relied on our group energy to take action about a particular issue. They were very powerful actions, but they were simple and they came from us.

Helen Mason and Framarara in Tokomaru Bay, November 1983.

Framarara was a group of women who pushed prams around Te Taiho Whakaiwha from Whakatane to Gisborne in 1983. We performed a show called ‘Pacific Paradise’ which was about colonisation and militarisation in the Pacific, other short stories, a puppet show for kids, and so on.

We took prams initially because we didn’t want to take a car and prams are good carriers. So we filled the prams with food, toys, clothes, instruments and puppets, we left our homes, jobs or children, caught the bus to Whakatane and started walking.

We walked into every community and settlement on the East Coast. Because of the nature of our journey, and of those settlements, every single encounter was a learning experience. We would perform for the community and, afterwards, have discussions about anything that came up, and they would feed us, shelter us.

We challenged us, and questioned us. This process allowed us all to be sharers and learners.

The fact that everyone had to walk on the earth meant that we became really conscious of the earth that we live on, that feeds us. Walking on Maori land meant we had to think about our past and future in this country. Leaving the cities meant that we learnt about rural struggles. Our daily lives became highly politicised.

We were privileged to be able to take this time out of our normal living contexts. It enabled us to make a conscious non-violent direct action. The challenges in the end was to take what we had learned back to our normal living contexts and do something with it. We are still living it, trying to take it further.

‘A peaceful way of living is constantly difficult in a society of competitive and materialistic values. It is necessary to acknowledge the alternatives and let people, particularly children, know they can contribute to changes and help decide their future.’
‘Cactus’ women’s theatre group anti-nuclear show about the Great Barrier Island exercises. ‘Cactus’ played in Aotea Square during a rally when the USS Queenfish was in Auckland harbour, March 1984.

People from Te Hauora and SPANA chained to a pillar in the Defence Department, Queen Street, in protest at Great Barrier military exercises. Called ‘Operation Northern Safari’ this ready-reaction force practised landings on a ‘hypothetical island to rescue the local inhabitants from insurgents’. In this case the Gurkhas, significantly, play the ‘baddies’ while Australian and New Zealand troops play the ‘goodies’.
Waiheke women begin their walk to Wellington to deliver a petition to Parliament, 24 May 1984.


Peace and Justice Roadshow, ‘Te Ata I Rangi Tangata,’ performed around the Bay of Plenty, Coromandel and Auckland during the summer of 1986.
VAANA — Visual Artists Against Nuclear Arms was formed in July 1984 by some members of the Sculpture and Painters Association. The aim was for visual artists to use their creative energies for the peace movement. Membership from all areas of the visual arts was encouraged. VAANA puts artists in contact with other peace groups and associations who need visual material for their activities. VAANA has contributed graphic material for fact sheets, diaries, anthologies, books, banners and posters. It has produced two sets of postcards and recently began a long mural at the corner of Karangahape Road, Auckland. Some members have sent work to peace exhibitions in Japan and New York and organised exhibitions in New Zealand.
Reaching new heights — an exercise in trust.

Exploring new points of balance with the support of others.

Opposite Above: Eight artists working on the first panels of the Peace Mural, Karangahape Road, 1985.

Opposite Below: Painting by Nigel Brown.
Celebrating togetherness after a morning of playing new games — Taupara Centre, Taupo.

Note: Six to ten people form a small circle, put their hands in the middle and each take two other hands (not those of the person next to you). Players then keep going under and over arms and around people gently maintaining hand contact until the circle is reformed.
Playing for the fun of it exciting, challenging, creative games where there are no winners or losers. Taupuna Arts for Peace festival, January 1986.

‘Peace movement celebrates life, sees things in their wholeness.’
The Mobile Peace Van tours schools full time to promote peace studies and peaceful interactions in the classroom. It is equipped with a video unit and tapes, slide shows, displays, teaching units and literature. The Peace Van was set up in 1982 by Jim Chapple, a former school teacher, who travelled with it for 18 months. Since 1984, it has been operated by Alyn Ware, another teacher, who visits schools, youth groups and community groups leading discussions, exercises and games related to peace.

Children visualising a peaceful world in the future.
In these times of great change and stress, people's response to problems is increasingly violent. Research in New Zealand and overseas shows that many young people have negative attitudes to the future caused by their inability to deal with the increasingly complex problems facing society. Most describe the future in terms of the development of new technologies.

Peace education is about developing people, about developing the life skills, attitudes, learning, and values people need to create a viable and fulfilling life now and in the 21st century. Because old solutions are no longer answering the problems of modern society, a paradigm change is necessary. We must move from the aggressive, competitive power-over mode of 'I-win-you-lose', towards a caring, sharing, cooperative, power-sharing mode of mutual support, 'I-win-you-win'. The principles of peace education are based on an understanding of the connections between self and family, community, country and world. If a peaceful world is to be achieved, action must be taken on all these levels. Self-esteem and mutual responsibility need to be fostered, and conflict resolution techniques taught. Conflict can be a source of self-growth as non-violent ways of resolving it are learnt. If we wish to survive on this planet, we must give up exploitation and learn to live with the environment. Modern communications and technology provide both the means and the necessity for us to think globally, recognising that we are one race — the human race. Racial and cultural differences are not to be feared but should be applauded as opportunities for rich learning experiences. Our children need to feel that the future consists of choices and feel empowered to work towards creating a positive future. Every person has a valuable contribution to make to life on this world.

New Zealand first committed itself to peace studies when it joined the decision to adopt the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (Principle 10) that 'The Child shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace, and universal brotherhood.' At the first special session of the United Nations on disarmament in 1978, New Zealand joined other member states in undertaking 'To take steps to develop programmes of . . . peace studies at all levels.' (paragraph 106 Final document). Although this commitment was made, no action followed until 1985 when the Department of Education held a series of Peace Studies Conferences around New Zealand in an attempt to catch up with what was already happening at the grassroots level. The result was the discussion document Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing Peace Studies in Schools, which is being circulated around schools and colleges throughout New Zealand. A national conference was held by the Department of Education in August 1986 to consider priorities for development in peace studies, sample outlines of school schemes, planning and in-service training for teachers.

It is always interesting to discover what motivates people to work for peace. I became involved in peace education not through nuclear issues, but by a very pragmatic route which I know will be appreciated by fellow teachers. Several years ago I was faced with a class in which most of the children (eight to ten-year-olds) had some sort of behavioural, learning, emotional or physical problem. I started teaching the Three Rs with my usual enthusiasm but ran into problems. As soon as one child made any

'The main aim of Peace Education is to foster a long-term change of consciousness to a non-violent ethic; to help pupils explore peaceful relationships and ways of resolving the continuing causes of conflict in our lives, at home, school, community and nation.' John Buckland
progress others attacked that person, unable to allow anyone to succeed because of their own low self-esteem. The destructive atmosphere made it an unpleasant place to work.

I was faced with the choice of becoming more and more authoritarian or finding a new way of dealing with the situation. Fortunately, I obtained a copy of the W.I.L.P.F. booklet *Learning Peaceful Relationships* and realized that the priority for the children was to learn to relate better to each other. I began working on building their self-esteem and ability to resolve conflict, using games such as Christmas Stocking. I am Loveable and Capable, and Mediators. The children enjoyed the games. As their relationships gradually improved and they became more supportive of each other, their academic progress improved as well.

The next few years were a great opportunity for growth as I learned the connections between peace on a personal and on a world level. I realized that it is important for students to read a book to teach the weekly lesson on peace without changing the methods and structures of education. Minister of Education Russell Marshall acknowledged this in his opening speech at the 1985 Peace Education Conference in Wellington when he stated that peace studies must be diffused throughout the curriculum. Peace education can be integrated into all subjects because how you teach is more important than what you teach. The whole environment of the school, its philosophy, the way it functions, and especially how the class teacher's disciplinary methods relate to children will determine how successfully peace studies principles can be taught. Do as I do, not as I say, is a good approach. Authoritarian structures remove power from people and also remove responsibility. Authoritarian teaching removes children's personal power and reduces their ability to change things for the better.

While it is important to look at the world's problems in peace studies, to concentrate too much on the gloom and doom aspect of nuclear weapons causes despair and apathy. One way I found of dealing with this was to let the children themselves select the problems they thought the world needed to solve so they could have a good future when they grew up. They selected nuclear weapons, pollution, unemployment, and human rights. They studied these problems and made peace action books of positive actions they would take to deal with them on the levels of self, family, school, country and world.

In a sequel to this study, the children built three different futures for the year 2000 in New Zealand in withdrawal rooms through which other groups were guided. There they learnt about food production, the society's values, methods of government, culture, etc. These futures were the product of the children's research and creative imagery, a combination of left and right brain thinking.

Positive peace actions taken by the children that year included non-violent ways of dealing with their emotions and conflict, teaching parents to recycle tin cans, joining organizations such as Save the Children and the Forest and Bird Society, raising money to support a child in Fiji, and sending an art exhibition to an international peace conference in Toronto. In 1983, the whole block of one hundred children took part in Peace Child, a play which tells how children stopped the arms race. The following year, as a result of the play, three children took part in a youth forum in Minnesota with children from all over America. There their ideas were listened to by a group of politicians, writers and religious leaders. In 1985, they took part in a National Radio programme with Gillian Woodward called Schools without Failure. As a result of these activities, the children felt empowered about the future because they had taken positive action on every level. They had learnt also that the choices we make now create the future.

Friends of the Earth are now working in schools teaching children to recycle materials and to care for plants and trees. In 1985 they came to our school to help each

'In essence peace studies is about teaching pragmatic skills, not propaganda; skills in analysing and evaluating information, appreciating different points of view, recognising bias, and above all, techniques for resolving conflict.'

'Peace must teach how to think, not what to think. We don't want a generation which accepts unquestioningly other people's opinions.'

'Peace studies, by using 'peace' guidelines in the teaching of every subject, should move us towards less violence in the community, better industrial and racial relations, improved relations between the sexes, between teacher and pupil, and parent and child. Violence as a response to violence has never worked and never will.' — Russell Marshall, Minister of Education

'I think peace is giving, loving, caring, sharing, and happiness and no fighting throughout the world.' — Donald Pillar (primary school student)
child plant a peace tree as a positive way of remembering Hiroshima Day. Reading the story of Sadako and the Thousand Cranes and making origami paper cranes was another way we chose to remember Hiroshima.

Learning to live together and appreciate other groups is an important part of peace education. For Pakehas, a greater understanding of Taha Maori could help us move from attitudes supporting our present materialistic culture to a more people-centred approach to life. Having sister schools is an interesting way to experience other cultures. Our school is a sister school with another Auckland school of different racial

Sticking together game.
If your team can get the other team over the line four times in 15 seconds, your team wins some stickers. Most teams try to pull each other like tug-of-war, which ends in failure for both teams. The solution they eventually work out? Teams co-operate and all jump over the line four times each so that both teams win. When we try to beat others in arguments and fights everyone ends up losing. If people, groups, countries work together, we can find solutions where everyone wins.

‘Discussion groups help children find alternatives to violence at all levels, from fighting over T.V. channels at home, to open violence in the playground and gang fights, to the hidden violence of racism, sexism and hatred. It is most important to foster in young people a belief in the possibility of world peace — and a commitment to help create such a world. What we do now affects the future.’ — Alyn Ware.

make-up, with a school in Japan and another in the United States. We are hoping to establish a further sister school in the U.S.S.R. The children communicate on a heart level about families, pets, games and hobbies rather than on the ideological level represented by newspaper reports.

Peace education is often charged with indoctrination. I see indoctrination in the way violence is consistently presented on television as a solution to conflict. Each
Supporting each other — trusting your partner will catch you!

Building trust with a blind walk — one person leading and the other blindfolded — rediscovering the world through feeling, smell and sound.

'I think peace is a thing to share with all the world, for the world should be like a calm sea, not a rough storm. We have one life to do our best, so don't waste it.' —
Charlotte Albury (primary school student)
year I watch some of the most intelligent boys play war games because they are fascinated by the technology of war. Listen to children's ideas about war and peace and you will certainly find indoctrination — but not in favour of peace. It is important that children be shown alternative models so that they will respect the ideas of others — how to think, not what to think.

While it is important that we all understand the world's problems, the emphasis of peace education should be on learning positive skills for building a peaceful future. The future is indeed a race between disaster and the transforming power of education.

Mirrors: what we see in others is a reflection of ourselves; each child takes it in turn to lead.

Rib Ticklers: 'I like your smile and I think you're kind to others.' With children sitting in pairs facing each other, for 20 seconds one person says all the good things they can about their partner; then vice versa.
Peace, like a spiral, starts off small, with just our selves, then radiates outwards encompassing everyone. Mt Eden primary students make spirals in the playground.
Children learn to fold origami cranes, the Japanese bird of peace and long life.
Peace studies is not a new subject. Rather it is a refocus of what is now taught. For example, in history pupils are taught about the wars and violent revolutions which have influenced the world. A peace focus looks at the non-violent campaigns which have changed society, such as the Suffragette movement, Ghandi, the Black Rights movement, and Te Whiti’s non-violent resistance to the unjust and illegal acquisition of land in Taranaki.

In English, pupils’ thoughts, feelings and images on peace can be expressed through poetry and prose. Drama can be used to experience the differing perspectives of other people, and to explore creative, mutually rewarding, peaceful solutions to conflicts. A relevant and rewarding way of doing this is to get pupils to role-play, that is, to act out their own conflicts, trying different solutions to find the fairest.

A peace focus in economics would consider the opportunity costs of the arms race, the jobs and resources lost because of it, and the human element in economic decisions. The ethics of creating false demand for food by stock-piling it while people starve, or of spending millions on the arms race while people have no clean water, no homes, and no basic medicine, could be debated.

There is an opportunity in maths lessons to critically examine the inaccurate or misleading statistics used by governments and lobby groups for political purposes. Prime examples of inaccurate statistics are those given by both nuclear superpowers to show that the other side is ahead in the arms race and to argue that they must catch up.

My favourite maths problem is one on exponential growth. Just suppose there was only one person in the world who thought that peace and nuclear disarmament were a good idea. The situation would be a bit hopeless, wouldn’t it? However, this person doesn’t give up. She decides to try to convince people of the need for peace. It takes her one week to convince two people. Next week, those two people go out and each convince two other people of the need for peace. The following week, the last four people convinced go out and each convince two people. And so the number of people convinced doubles every week. The question is, how long will it take to convince the whole world? What do you think? Five years? Ten years? Twenty years? The real answer is 32 weeks. That’s all. In reality it may take a little longer, but this exercise shows that peace is possible, and that each person is important in helping to make peace happen, even if it is only something small that each of us does like talking to our friends about the need for peace.

There are many opportunities for social studies teachers to integrate a peace focus into their lessons. Conflicts between people, cultures or countries are often the substance of social studies. By looking at the reasons for these conflicts, children can learn much. In most cases there is no clear right or wrong side. Peace studies involves searching for solutions which consider the needs and perspectives of all sides.

A vital part of peace studies is to act on the solutions that pupils develop for their problems. If, for example, they work out a way of solving vandalism in the school, it is important to follow this up by discussing the idea with the rest of the school, trying out the final proposal, and evaluating the result. If peace studies can be used as a tool for solving pupils’ real-life problems, it becomes very relevant and meaningful to

‘Violence as a response to violence has never worked. Peace studies is a beginning towards creating more peaceful people, who will be enabled to raise more peaceful families, who in turn will work for a more peaceful society and a more genuinely just and peaceful world.’ — Jim Chapple
Many pupils feel the need to work for peace at the community and international level. They have set up peace groups in their schools. Together they educate themselves and other pupils and organise actions on such issues as sexism, racism, nuclear testing, positive peacemaking, political prisoners, human rights, and alternative defence.

The best part about peace studies is that most pupils really enjoy it. I am constantly having pupils stay in after the bell has gone, eager to keep talking or playing more cooperative games. Even some of the pupils who are usually cynical, despondent and apathetic become more interested in participating. I remember one such pupil who said when I first came to his class ‘Peace is boring’. After class he came up to me and said, ‘You know what, Peace is choice’.
Face painting at Potters Park. The Mt Eden group holds a peace festival, 15 March 1986.

Making up for a dance about racism — one group’s project.
Young people from a number of secondary schools brainstorming solutions to youth concerns at a two-day seminar organised by United Nations Association.

Students produce a broadsheet during Green Bay's peace day.

Parihaka, with Te Whiti-o-Rongomai, was the scene of a non-violent, peaceful resistance campaign against the dispossession of Maori land in the 1880s. A tree-planting ceremony during a hui of co-operative groups at Parihaka in 1985.
'All people have the same basic needs — food, shelter, clothing, love. Conflicts can be solved if we are committed to solving them.'

Students from Karanga Youth Peace Camp deliver letters urging a halt to nuclear testing — a nuclear freeze — to French, American, British, Russian and Chinese embassies and consulates, May 1986.

Youth Peace Group sing of their vision for a better world, Victoria Park Market.
‘Perhaps the number one task for teachers is to overcome the feeling that we are powerless.’ — Llewelyn Richards, N.Z.C.E.R.

‘It is appropriate that a day celebrating peace should begin here at the Marae, traditionally the place where conflict has been talked through until the matter is resolved.’ — Karen Sewell, Principal of Green Bay High School.

Students with chalk graffiti in the carpark.
'Shanti, Shalom, Salaam, Usalama, Paz, Paix, Pace, Friede, MNP, Tangnefedd, Pax, Siotchon, Peace — the word is universal.'

Students construct a peace garden at the entrance to their school.

Lunchtime on Hiroshima Day — students and staff form a peace symbol in the playground.
A West Auckland peace group completes giant letters to be raised by individuals on special occasions.
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (C.N.D.) started in England in the 1950s. It is part of a worldwide group which believes that no nation should possess, test, or threaten to use nuclear weapons. They believe that the 'nuclear-deterrent' theory is false and must be rejected, and acceptance of universal disarmament and world co-operation is essential for our survival. The solution to global problems must be found through peaceful means. They believe New Zealand will never acquire, harbour, service or assist in the use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction or be defended by nuclear weapons of any other nation. They support the formation of a nuclear-free-and-independent-Pacific as a first step towards the goal of worldwide disarmament.

Corso is an aid-development organisation unique to New Zealand, not a branch of an overseas network. Began over 40 years ago, it now focuses on third world issues, addressing problems of world poverty, oppression and injustice. Corso supports development projects designed to overcome these problems in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Pacific, and Aotearoa (NZ). Corso has a fund for Maori rural development and because of its aims it has become supportive and involved with nuclear-free-and-independent-Pacific issues in the Pacific and Aotearoa.

Greenpeace is a totally independent ecological organisation with branches in 17 countries throughout the Pacific, Europe and America. They believe environmental concerns go beyond party politics. Their philosophy is one of 'deeds, not words' - of using non-violent direct action, scientific research and lobbying to bring about change in areas of conservation, nuclear testing and toxic chemicals. They have shown that public awareness is a powerful tool for protecting our environment.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (I.P.P.N.W.) aim to inform politicians and decision-makers, other physicians, doctors, and the general public in New Zealand of the real medical consequences of nuclear war. This is done primarily through education, the publication of articles, books, 'fact sheets', the sponsoring of individual professional visits, and organisation of regional conferences.

The New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies Inc is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit organisation with no political affiliations. It aims to promote peace within and beyond New Zealand. Since it began in 1974, the Foundation has maintained a documentation centre, library, books, magazines and fact sheets, and has the country's largest range of peace-related audio-visual resources and static displays. These resources are available to individuals, groups and schools as part of its policy of peace education. It has helped sponsor speakers, organise public seminars and lectures, publish books, produces a publication called Peace Digest, and administers the annual NZ Media Peace Prize. It has initiated research into the causes and solutions of violence in society.

Pacific Peoples Anti-Nuclear Action Committee (P.P.A.N.A.C.) is an indigenous educative networking group which aims to raise awareness of the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific (N.F.I.P.) movement and to implement these issues in New Zealand. From offices in South Auckland, P.P.A.N.A.C. networks with other N.F.I.P. groups in the Pacific and helps co-ordinate campaigns and action alerts.

Peace Forum are monthly gatherings attended by representatives from most of the peace groups in the region to share ideas, co-ordinate action, and utilise available funds in the best possible manner. Out of these meetings loose coalitions form from time to time around particular campaigns. Without this networking at the regional level, and at the national level through Peace Movement Aotearoa and Peacelink magazine, many peace groups would still be working in isolation, and duplicating the work of others.

Peace Movement Aotearoa (NZ) is a national network of over 300 peace groups within Aotearoa. From its office in Wellington, P.M.A. (NZ) organises an annual National Peace Workshop for the peace movement to come together, share knowledge and experiences and formulate strategies for future activities. The national magazine PeaceLink is a means of communication between peace workers and a front window into the peace movement. The Mobile Peace Van is an extension of P.M.A. (NZ) activities and brings peace resources and programmes to schools and groups around the country.

Scientists Against Nuclear Arms — (S.A.N.A.) aims to halt and reverse the arms race, particularly in nuclear, biological and chemical weapons; to provide a forum for discussion, gathering facts, and research.

Te Whanau A Matatiki is a group of Maori and Pacific Island people working on N.F.I.P. issues in the South Island. They work with their own community groups and with the Pakeha peace movement, challenging their perspectives of peace and justice.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (W.I.L.P.F.) aims to unite women throughout the world in working for universal disarmament, human rights and social justice, strengthening of the peacemaking systems of the United Nations and the World Court, supporting a new international economic order, peace education and research. It seeks to establish by non-violent means the conditions
under which all people may live in peace and justice, without distinction of sex, race or creed. W.I.L.P.E.’s methods include research, publications, distribution of information, organisation of seminars, conferences, public forums, demonstrations, appeals and petitions. It co-operates with other groups in activities and provide an effective lobby for women.

NORTHLAND

C.N.D., P.O. Box 1637, Whangarei.

Hibiscus Coast Peace Group, 563 Whangaparaoa Road, Whangaparaoa.

Kaipara Nuclear Disarmament Group, P.O. Box 87, Helensville.

Kaipara Peace Group, 1 Gow Street, Helensville.

Kaitaia Peace Group, 17a Archibald Street, Kaitaia.

Kaiwaka Peace Group, Pakearoro Trust, RD2, Kaiwaka, Northland.

Mahurangi Anti-Nuclear Peace Group, Sharon Denealemcaster, Lothlorien Farm, Ahuroa, RD1, Warkworth.

Nuclear Free Northland, M. Nash, RD3, Kaitaia.


Society of Friends, 42 Mill Road, Whangarei, or 122 Marsden Point Road, Ruakaka, via Whangarei.

AUCKLAND

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 332 West Tamaki Road, Glen Innes.

Auckland College of Education Peace Group, Terry Godall, Private Bag, Symonds Street, Auckland.

Auckland Friends Centre, 115 Mt Eden Road, Auckland, 1.

Auckland Peace Office, P.O. Box 5310, Auckland.

Avondale Peace Group, 15 Bentleigh Avenue, Auckland.

Architects Against Nuclear Arms, 42 Wymund Road, Auckland, 3.

Birkdale College Peace Group, Birkdale College, Birkdale Road, Auckland, 10.

Birkenhead-Northcoast Peace Group, 231 Oneua Road, Birkenhead.

Blockhouse Bay Peace Group, 14 Lynmouth Avenue, Blockhouse Bay, Auckland, 7.

C.N.D., P.O. Box 8558, Symonds Street, Auckland.

Christians for Peace, 78a Lake Road, Devonport, 9.

Computers for Peace, P.O. Box 8671, Auckland.

CORSO, 74 Pitt Street, Auckland, 1.

Churches and Peace Committee, The Chapel, Auckland University, Private Bag, Auckland.

Devonport Peace Group, 37 Stanley Pt Road, Devonport, 9.

Devonport Methodist Peace Group, 193 Victoria Street, Devonport, 9.

East Coast Bays Peace Group, 11 Moorong Heights, Torbay, Auckland, 10.

Eastern Suburbs Peace Group, 21 La Trobe St, Pakuranga.

Engineers for Social Responsibility, P.O. Box 6208, Wellesley Street, Auckland.

Environmental Defence Society, P.O. Box 5496, Auckland.

Epsom Peace Group, 54 Empire Road, Epsom, 3.

Friends of the Earth, P.O. Box 19-065, Auckland.

Glenfield Peace Group, 19 Mortaggia Place, Glenfield.

Green Bay High School Peace Group, Gisborne Road, Tiritiri, 7.

Greenhithe Peace Group, 18 Rolanda Road, Greenhithe.

Greenpeace, Private Bag, Wellesley Street, Auckland.

Henderson Peace Group, 8 Divich Avenue, Te Atatu.

Inner City Peace Group, 206 Richmond Road, Ponsonby, 2.

International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War, P.O. Box 6289, Wellesley Street, Auckland, 1.

Kare Kare/Pihia Peace Group, Mrs Witten-Hannah, Lone Kauri Road, Kare Kare, New Lynn.

Kumeu Peace Group, D. Wallace, RD2, Kumeu.

Mairangi Bay Peace Group, 469 East Coast Road, Browns Bay.

Manurewa Peace Group, 21 Lincoln Road, Manurewa.

Massey Peace Group, Mike Cundy, Sei Bel Road, RD1, Henderson.

Mediation Network for World Peace, P.O. Box 7222, Wellesley Street.

Mobile Peace Van, 63 View Road, Mt Eden, 3.

Mt Albert Peace Group, P.O. Box 77039, Mt Albert, 3.

Mt Eden Nuclear Disarmament Group, 40 Croydon Road, Mt Eden.

Mt Roskill Peace Group, 44 Winstone Road, Mt Roskill, 4.

NZ Christian Pacifist Society, 11 Nikau Street, New Lynn, 7.

NZ Council for World Peace, P.O. Box 1083, Auckland.

NZ Foundation for Peace Studies, P.O. Box 4310, Auckland.

North Shore Peace Group, P.O. Box 85-098, Sunnybank, Auckland, 10.

Nuclear Free & Independent Pacific Coalition, 194 St Johns Road, Parnell.

Nuclear-Free Register, 514 Dominion Road, Auckland, 3.

Peace Action Onehunga, 329 Symonds Street, Onehunga.

Peace Council of Trade Unions, P.O. Box 108, Auckland.

Pacific Peacemakers, P.O. Box 47399, Auckland.

Papakura Peace Group, 1 Victoria Street, Papakura.

Parnell Peace Group, 12 St. Clair Terrace, Parnell.

Peace Forum, P.O. Box 5510, Auckland.

Peace Group, Bible College of NZ, Lincoln Road, Henderson.

Peace Group, 8 Divich Avenue, Te Atatu.

Peace Group, 39 Galaxy Drive Mairangi Bay.

Peace Group, 44 Hogans Road, Glenfield, 9.

Peace Group, 20 Kiwi Road, Pt Chevalier, 2.

Peace Group, 68 Rama Road, Greenhithe.

Peace Group, 671 Riddell Road, St Heliers, Glendowie.

Peace Group, 5 Staffon Lane, Te Atatu North.

Peace Projects, 11 Francis St, Grey Lynn, 2.

Peace Squadron, 18 Kingsley Street, Grey Lynn, 2.

Pharmacists Against Nuclear Arms, P.O. Box 34-030, Birkenhead, 10.
UNITED NATIONS
Association
P.O. Box 16-020,
Sandringham, 3.

V.A.A.N.A., Outreach,
1 Ponsonby Road, Auckland, 1.

Votes for Peace,
30a Kawerau Avenue,
Devonport.

Youth Peace Network,
P.O. Box 5510,
Auckland.

Waiataura-Oriata Peace
Group, P. Radford,
C/o P.O. Box Oriata.

Waiheke Island Peace Group,
110 Wharf Road, Ostend,
Waiheke Island.

Waitangi Action Committee,
P.O. Box 61-140, Otaua.

West Auckland Peace Group,
106 Godley Road, Titirangi.

W.I.L.-P.F., 231 Ponsonby
Road, Auckland, 2.

WAIAKATO
Cambridge Peace Group,
189 Kings Street, Cambridge.

Campus Peace Group,
P.O. Box 13-020, Hamilton.

C.N.D. (Waikato),
Box 837, Hamilton.

Christians for Peace,
14 Brookview Street,
Hamilton.

Computer People for the
Prevention of Nuclear War,
P.O. Box 6015, Hamilton.

CORSO,
P.O. Box 630, Hamilton.

Hamilton Centre for Peace &
Disarmament,
P.O. Box 837, Hamilton.

Hamilton Votes for Peace,
12 Lancewood Avenue,
Hamilton.

I.P.P.N.W., Dr Martin
Wallace, C/o Rental Unit,
Waikato Hospital, Hamilton.

NZ Council for World Peace,
P.O. Box 9052, Hamilton.

Raglan Nuclear Free Group,
G. Gavin, RD1, Raglan.

S.A.N.A.,
1 Inverness Avenue,
Hamilton.

Society of Friends,
14a Peachgrove Road,
Hamilton.

Te Awamutu Peace Group,
Fairview Road, Te Awamutu.

Waikato Campus Peace
Group, Students, P.O. Box
13-069, Hamilton.

Waikato Environmental
Centre, P.O. Box 31,
Hamilton.

Waikato Peace Forum,
P.O. Box 1155, Hamilton.

Waikato Women for Peace,
Centre for Peace &
Disarmament, P.O. Box 837,
Hamilton.

WEL Waikato,
Box 9581, Hamilton.

BAY OF PLENTY,
COROMANDEL,
EAST COAST
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship,
41 Konene Street, Rotorua.

C.N.D./Peace Movement
Gisborne, 44 Waitere Road,
Gisborne.

C.N.D. Tauranga, 3 Hazeltine,
Terrace, Ohinemutu, Tauranga.

Christians for Peace,
P.O. Box 1635, Rotorua.

Citizens for Safety,
P.O. Box 86, Whangamata.

Computers for Peace, Paul
Bielerski, Driving Creek,
Coromandel.

Coromandel Environment
Centre, P.O. Box 74,
Coromandel.

Matamata Peace Group,
The Manse, Meura Street,
Matamata.

Morrinsville Peace Group,
M. Wild, RD3, Morrinsville.

Opotiki Nuclear Free,
65 Buchanan Street, Opotiki.

P.A.C.T. & Society of
Friends, 161 Fraser Street,
Taumarunui.

Paeroa Peace Group,
P.O. Box 17, Paeroa.

Peace Action Tauranga,
P.O. Box 2380, Tauranga South.

Rotorua Peace Group, Rotorua
Environment Centre, P.O. Box
1489, Rotorua.

Te Puke Peace Group,
19 Bishopric Crescent, Te Puke.

Thames Peace Group,
103 Bella Street, Thames.

Tolaga Bay Peace Group,
Cheryl Laurie, C/o Post Office,
Tolaga Bay.

Whakatane Nuclear Weapon
Free Zone Committee, 25
Merit Street, Whakatane.

TARANAKI
Christian Pacifist Society, 23
Mangorei Road, New
Plymouth.

New Plymouth Peace Group,
43b Mangorei Road, New
Plymouth.

North Taranaki Peace Group,
P.O. Box 4030, New
Plymouth.

Society of Friends, 193a
Mangorei Rd,
New Plymouth.

South Taranaki Peace Group,
61 King Edward Street,
Erlham.

Taranaki Environment
Centre,
P.O. Box 769, New Plymouth.

Taranaki Workers for Peace,
28 Hine Street, New
Plymouth.

Taranaki Women for Peace,
28 Hine Street, New
Plymouth.

TAUPO,
TONGARIRI
Society of Friends,
P.O. Box 22, Taupo.
Wairarapa South Peace Group,
12 Kempton Street, Greytown.

WANGANUI
Castlecliff Mothers for Peace,
2a Waitai Street, Wanganui
Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Committee, 111b Somme Parade, Wanganui.
Play for Life,
P.O. Box 2058, Wanganui.
Quaker Acres, 76 Virginia Road, Wanganui.
Wanganui Peace Forum,
3B Bignell St, Wanganui.
Wanganui Peace Telephone Tree, 5 Kawau Place, Wanganui.
Women's Peace Group,
109 Karaka Street, Wanganui.

MANAWATU
Anti-Nuclear & Environment Protection Society, P.O. Box 529, Feilding.
Feilding Community Centre,
Peter Hercock, Fergusson St, Feilding.
I.P.P.N.W., Dr John Campbell McDonald, Palmerston North Hospital, Palmerston North.
Manawatu Peace Movement,
P.O. Box 4187, Rangitikei Street, Palmerston North.
Manawatu Women for Peace,
7 St. John Avenue, Palmerston North.
Massey Peace Group,
University Students Association, Private Bag, Palmerston North.
Merton Peace Group,
8a McDonald Place, Marton.
Peace Movement NZ, 63 Roy Street, Palmerston North.

S.A.N.A. (Manawatu), 254 Park Road, Palmerston North.
Society of Friends, 196a Vogel St, Palmerston North.

WELLINGTON
Action for Environment,
P.O. Box 10-030, Wellington.
Amnesty International,
P.O. Box 3597, Wellington.

New Zealand Nuclear Disarmament Committee,
P.O. Box 6618, Te Aro, Wellington.

Lower Hutt Peace Group,
P.O. Box 30-070, Lower Hutt.

Meditation Network,
84 Todman Street, Wellington.

Maimara Christian Ecumenical Peace Group, 39 Kaitouri Street, Wellington, 3.

Mobile Peace Van, 44 Sydney Street East, Wellington.

National Council of Women,
P.O. Box 12-117, Wellington North.

National Consultative Committee on Disarmament,
P.O. Box 1011, Wellington.

Ngaio/Khandallah Christians for Peace, 22 Perch Street, Wellington, 4.

NZ Council for World Peace,
P.O. Box 703, Wellington.

NZ Foundation for Peace Studies, 3 Fairview Crescent, Wellington, 1.

NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee, 7 Ninian Street, Wellington, 5.

NZ Peace Council, 60 Meehan Street, Wainuiomata.

NZFNP., P.O. Box 7210, Wellington.

NZ University Student Association, P.O. Box 9047, Wellington.

N.F.I.P., P.O. Box 9716, Courtenay Place, Wellington.
Onslow Peace Group,  
P.O. Box 3215, Wellington.

Peace Action Upper Hutt,  
P.O. Box 40755, Upper Hutt.

Peace File, P.O. Box 9314, Wellington.

Peace and Justice for W.R.L.C.,  
P.O. Box 2851, Wellington.

Peace Forum Wellington,  
P.O. Box 12-247, Wellington.

Peace Group, 39 Gordon Road, Plimmerton, Wellington.

Peace Group, 39 Kaitakora Street, Mapuia, Wellington.

Peace Group Lower Hutt,  
78 Hautana Street, Lower Hutt.

Peace Group,  
P.O. Box 41-209, Eastbourne.

Peace Group,  
64 Reynold Street, Taita.

Peace Movement Aotearoa,  
P.O. Box 9314, Wellington.

Peace Tax Campaign,  
38 McLeod Street, Upper Hutt.

Poets for Peace,  
Coast Road, Wainuiomata.

Porirua Anti-Nuclear Committee, P.O. Box 53-022, Porirua.

Presbyterian-Methodist Joint International Relations,  
P.O. Box 17-015, Wellington.

Quaker Peace Committee,  
P.O. Box 657, Wellington.

Rongotai College Peace Group, P.F. Coleman,  
Rongotai College, Coots Street, Kilbirnie.

- S.A.N.A.,  
P.O. Box 9741, Wellington.

St Andrews Peacemakers Group, 9 Ascot St, Thorndon, Wellington.

St Peters Peace Group, 327  
The Terrace, Wellington, 1.

School Children Against Nuclear Arms, 14 Maniti Road, Kelburn.

Society of Friends, P.O. Box 9790, Courtenay Place.

South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Committee, 32 Medway Street, Wellington.

S.R.O.W. Nuclear Disarmament Research Group,  
13 Aorangi Terrace, Wellington, 1.

Students & Teachers Organising for Peace, P.O. Box 13-311, Johnsonville.

United Nations Association,  
P.O. Box 1011, Wellington.

Wadestown Peace Group,  
143 Wadestown Road, Wellington, 1.

Waipatu Peace Group, 20  
Mimihau Grove, Wainuiomata.

Wesley Peace Group, 75  
Taranaki Street, Wellington, 1.

W.I.L.F.E.  
1 Fettes Crescent, Wellington.

Women for Peace, 14 Black Rock Road, Newlands, Wellington, 4.

NELSON,  
MARLBOROUGH

Environment Centre,  
P.O. Box 715, Nelson.

Golden Bay Peace Group,  
Wholemeal Trading, Commercial Street, Takaka, Nelson.

L.P.P.N.W., Dr Richard McKay, Nelson Public Hospital, Nelson.

Marlborough Peace Group,  
P.O. Box 75, Spring Creek, Blenheim.

Motueka Peace Group, 131  
King Edward Street, Motueka.

Murchison Peace Group, Mrs N. Clement, Hope River Farm, Glen Hope, RD2, Nelson.

Society of Friends,  
30 Nile Street, Nelson.

Nelson Women for Peace,  
94 Collingwood St, Nelson.

Riverside Community Group,  
RD2, Upper Moutere, Nelson.

Waima Peace Group, 23  
Wesley Road, Richmond, Nelson.

WESTCOAST

Buller Peace Group,  
P.O. Box 73, Westport.

Greymouth Peace Group,  
Mrs A. Fulford, Blackball.

Hari Hari Peace Group,  
Jim Costello, Hari Hari, South Westland.

South Westland Nuclear Weapons Free Zone Group,  
P.O. Box 38, Fox Glacier.

CANTERBURY

Geraldine Peace Group,  
Beauchamp, RD21, Mahiwhenua, Pleasant Valley, Geraldine.

Hunui Peace Group, L. 
McGurr, RD2, Amberley.

Malvern County Peace Group,  
127 Harridon Street, Darfield.

Mid-Canterbury Peace Group,  
31 Graham St, Timwald, Ashburton.

Oamaru Peace Group,  
58 Wharfie Street, Oamaru.

Rangiora Peace Group, 138  
Broadway Street, Waikuku Beach.

St Pauls Presbyterian Peace Group,  
7 Ranfurly St, Highfield, Timaru.

Society of Friends, 1 Heron Street, Timaru.

Timaru Peace Group, Flat 4,  
41 Waitiri Road, Timaru.

CHRISTCHURCH

Beckenham Residents Peace Group, 65 Birdwood Ave, Christchurch, 2.

C.A.F.C.I.N.Z.,  
P.O. Box 2258, Christchurch.

Canterbury Environmental Centre, P.O. Box 2547, Christchurch.

Catholic Peace Group, P.O. Box 2450, Christchurch.

Christchurch Methodists for Peace and Justice, 291 
Burwood Road, Christchurch.

Christchurch Peace Forum,  
P.O. Box 2547, Christchurch.

Christchurch Peace Committee, P.O. Box 1319, Christchurch.

Christian Pacifists, J. Pollack, Kirkbrae, Church Bay, RD1, Lyttelton.

Christian World Service,  
P.O. Box 297, Christchurch.

Citizens for Demilitarisation, P.O. Box 2258, Christchurch.

CORSO,  
P.O. Box 1905, Christchurch.

Daytime Peace Group, 3  
Truman Road, Christchurch, 5.

Diamond Harbour Peace Group, 10 Te Ra Crescent, Diamond Harbour, Christchurch.

Environment Centre,  
P.O. Box 2547, Christchurch.

Feminist Peace Network of Aotearoa, 17 Damien Place, Christchurch.

Golden Bay Peace Group,  
S. Snellgrove, Allendale, RD1, Lyttelton.

Greenpeace,  
P.O. Box 2547, Christchurch.

Humanist Peace Fellowship,  
P.O. Box 13-129, Armagh, Christchurch.

L.P.P.N.W., Room 410, Clinical School, P.O. Box 4345, Christchurch.

Lyttelton Peace Group,  
49 Vocals Street, Lyttelton.
Methodist Peace and Justice Group,
101 Page Road, Christchurch.

National Council of Churches,
P.O. Box 297, Christchurch.

New Brighton Peace Group,
1 Wainui Street, Christchurch.

N.R.I.P. (Otautauhuni),
P.O. Box 2450, Christchurch.

NZ Catholic Commission for E.J. and D., P.O. Box 2450, Christchurch.

NZ Christian Pacific Society,
2/133 Geraldine St, Christchurch, 1.

NZ Council for Peace, Trade Union Centre, 199 Armagh Street, Christchurch.

NZ N.F.R.Z. Committee, P.O. Box 18-541, New Brighton, Christchurch.

North West Peace Group,
126 Sawyers Arms Rd, Christchurch, 5.

Peacelink Christchurch,
P.O. Box 2828, Christchurch.

Peace and Nuclear Issues Group, Canterbury University Students Association, Private Bag, Christchurch.

Peace Researcher, 10 Colenso Street, Christchurch, 8.

People for Peace, 30 Hockey Street, Christchurch.

Quaker Peace and Service,
P.O. Box 4439, Christchurch.

Rangiora Peace Group, 138 Broadway Street, Waikuku Beach, Christchurch.

Riccarton Peace Group, 35 Rata Street, Riccarton, Christchurch.

Sacred Hearts Peace Group,
62 Ferry Road, Christchurch.

St Matthew's Peace Group,
523 Cashel Street, Christchurch.

St Albans Peace Group,
148 Weston Road, Christchurch, 5.

St Ninian's Peace Group, 51 Hanahan Street, Christchurch.

St Theresa's Peace Group, 88 Pari Street, Christchurch.

(S.A.N.A.) Bolger,
Christchurch Clinical School, Private Bag, Christchurch.

Society of Friends,
P.O. Box 4439, Christchurch.

South Christchurch Peace Group, 52 Rapaki Road, Christchurch, 2.

Spreydon Baptist Peace Group, 5 Carol Place, Christchurch.

S.T.O.P.,
35 Rata Street, Christchurch.

Summer Peace Group, 148 Esplanade, Sumner, Christchurch, 8.

Taura Here I Te Rongomai,
The Christian Peace Network, NCC National Coordinator, P.O. Box 297, Christchurch.

Tai Tapu Peace Group,
P.O. Box 94, Tai Tapu, Christchurch.

United Nations Association,
P.O. Box 476, Christchurch.

Unemployed Peace Forum,
Warehouse Trust, P.O. Box 4335, Christchurch.

Villa Maria Peace Group,
S. Kinabara, Peer Street, Christchurch.

W.I.L.P.F.,
85 Holly Road, Christchurch.

Women for Peace and Justice,
23 Ranfurly Street, Christchurch, 1.

DUNEDIN

Association for Transarmament (Aotearoa),
P.O. Box 5629, Dunedin.

C.N.D. Dunedin, 29 Constitution Street, Dunedin.

CORSO,
P.O. Box 1375, Dunedin.

Dunedin North Peace Group,
15 Clifford Street, Dunedin.

Dunedin N.W.F.Z. Committee,
104 Clyde Street, Dunedin.

Greenpeace Support Group,
2 Bealey Ave, Macandrew Bay, Dunedin.

I.P.P.W.N., Dept of Medicine, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin.

NZ Council for World Peace,
48 Pioneer Crescent, Hellensburgh, Dunedin.

N.F.R.Z. Coalition, P.O. Box 1375, Dunedin.

Otago Peace Coalition, Clubs and Societies Centre, Cnr Castle Albany Streets, Dunedin.

Otago Trades Council Peace
Sub-Committee, P.O. Box 1515, Dunedin.

Otepoti Youth Network Peace Group,
P.O. Box 1375, Dunedin.

Peace Action Dunedin, Room
2, 111 Moray Place, Dunedin or 49 Moray Place, Dunedin.

Peace Group, Knox Theological Hall, Arden Street, Dunedin.

Peace Education,
197 Cargle Street, Dunedin.

S.A.N.A., Molenwar, Biochemistry Dept, University of Otago, Dunedin.

Society of Friends, P.O. Box 6083, Dunedin North.

Student Anti-Nuclear Association,
Otago University Students Association, Private Bag, Dunedin.

Te Whanau a Matariki,
P.O. Box 1375, Dunedin.

Voice of Women, 20c Grove Street, St Kilda, Dunedin.

Young Pacifica, P.O. Box 1375, Dunedin.

OTAGO SOUTHLAND

Amnesty International,
72 Vernon Street, Invercargill.

Country People for Peace,
22 Rana St, Balclutha.

Country People for Peace, A. Scarfe, Waitahuna Road, Lawrence.

Gore Peace Movement,
18 Thistle Street, Gore.

Greenpeace Invercargill,
299 Layard Street, Invercargill.

People Against Nuclear Weapons, 10 Royal Terrace, Alexandra.

Society of Friends, 24 Chelmsford Street, Invercargill.

Southland Peace Movement,
P.O. Box 1669, Invercargill.