

**Peace Activism in the Cold War:  
The Congress for International Cooperation & Disarmament, 1949-1970**

Laura Rovetto  
College of Arts & Education  
Victoria University

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## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the CICD's commitment to the Australian peace movement from its formation in November 1959 and concluding with the first Melbourne Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in 1970. It also traces developments in the post-World War II peace movement, which led to the establishment of the CICD in 1959 as a part of a national association of state peace committees. The historiography of the Australian peace movement during the 1960s and early 1970s has generally focused on student and youth activism and has neglected the activism of the CICD. This thesis will therefore represent the first systematic, scholarly analysis of the organisation's early activism, and will contribute to the redressing of a significant historiographical gap in the history of political activism in Australia, during the Cold War. It draws upon CICD's records collection and related primary and secondary sources to argue that since its formation as the state leading peace body in Victoria, the CICD fostered a particular set of community values and has played an important role in developing effective networks of community alliances for the organisation of mass peace and anti-war protests.

This thesis examines CICD's involvement in general disarmament and anti-nuclear protests, campaigns for a non-aligned Australia, support for struggles of national independence and its opposition to Western policies towards and in Southeast Asia. Despite its claims of political neutrality, the CICD demonstrated an anti-Western imperialist attitude and unquestioned admiration for the Soviet Union. The CICD's approach was largely consistent with the international peace movement's pursuits in this period, which promoted the pro-Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence as a means of brokering international disputes and avoiding a nuclear, third world war. The CICD's political activity was shaped not only by its links with the pro-Soviet international peace movement but also by Australian activist traditions. The correlation between these two factors was important in shaping the scope and nature of the CICD's political activism and its organisational culture.

## **Doctor of Philosophy Declaration**

I, Laura Rovetto, declare that the PhD thesis entitled Peace Activism in the Cold War: The Congress for International Cooperation Disarmament, 1949-1970, is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.

Signature:

A solid black rectangular box used to redact the signature of the author.

Date: 19.02.2020

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## **Glossary**

AAPSO	Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation.
AATTV	Australian Army Training Team Vietnam.
ACC	Australian Council of Churches.
ACTU	Australian Council of Trade Unions.
ACICD	Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
ADMA	Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement.
AEU	Amalgamated Engineering Union.
AICD	Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
AKAC	Anti-Ky Action Committee.
ALP	Australian Labor Party.
ANU	Australian National University.
ANZCICD	Australia and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
APC	Australian Peace Council.
APPU	Australian Peace Pledge Union.
ARU	Australian Railways Union.
ARVN	Army of the Republic of Vietnam.
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation.
ASLF	Australian Student Labour Federation.
BLF	Builders Labourer Federation.
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency.
CICD	Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
CCC	Campaign for Conscience on Conscription.
CCWM	Christian Commonwealth Movement.
CDA	Centre for Democratic Action.
CDNI	Committee for the Defence of National Interests.
CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
CDNSA	Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act.
CPA	Communist Party of Australia.
CPM	Christian Pacifist Movement.
CPA (M-L)	Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).
DRC	Democratic Rights Council.

DRM	Draft Resisters' Movement.
DRU	Draft Resisters' Union.
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
EYL	Eureka Youth League.
FPC	Federal Pacifist Council.
FOR	Fellowship of Reconciliation.
HDC	Hiroshima Day Committee.
ICC	International Commission for Supervision and Control.
LTBT	Limited Test Ban Treaty, also known as Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT).
MLC	Monash Labor Club.
MP	Member of Parliament.
NFZ	Nuclear-Free Zone.
NLF	The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front.
NLHS	Neo Lao Hak Sat Party, the political arm of the Pathet Lao.
NSWPCICD	New South Wales Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
NUAUS	National Union of Australian University Students.
NZCP	New Zealand Communist Party.
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam.
PKI	Partai Komunis Indonesia.
PLAF	People's Liberation Armed Forces.
PPU	Peace Pledge Union, Victoria.
PRC	People's Republic of China.
PRG	People's Revolutionary Army.
PQF	Peace Quest Forum.
QPCICD	Queensland Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament.
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force.
SANE	Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society.
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation.
SOS	Save Our Sons.
SPC	State Pacifist Council.
SUA Vic.	Seamen's Union of Australia, Victorian Branch.
THC	Trades Hall Council, Melbourne.

UAW	Union of Australian Women.
UN	United Nations Organisation.
V-CND	Victorian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.
VCC	Vietnam Coordinating Committee.
VDC	Vietnam Day Committee.
VMC	Vietnam Moratorium Committee.
VPC	Victorian Peace Council.
WCC	World Council of Churches.
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union.
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.
WPC	World Peace Council.
WRI	War Resisters International.
WSA	Worker Student Alliance.
YCAC	Youth Campaign Against Conscription.
YLA	Young Labor Association of Victoria.



## **Chapter 1: Introduction and Literature Review**

This thesis examines the Melbourne-based Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament's (CICD) involvement in the Australian peace movement during the 1960s until May 1970. It also traces developments in the post-World War II (WWII) peace movement, which led to the establishment of the CICD as a part of a national association of state peace committees in 1959. In the context of this research, the Australian peace movement primarily refers to the various state committees formed out of the 1959 Melbourne Congress' state preparatory committees. Through an examination of the CICD's records and related primary and secondary sources, this thesis demonstrates that since its formation as Victoria's leading peace body in November 1959, the CICD has been a continuous, strategic and permanent organisation, which played an important – if overlooked – role in the public sphere. Most notably it did this by cooperating with the existing and emergent peace community, addressing issues of democratic rights and driving movements for Australian non-alignment, national independence and nuclear disarmament, while often acting as a coordinating facility. Given the prevailing Cold War atmosphere, almost any issue associated with peace was considered to be either consciously, or unwittingly, colluding with communism, and was, therefore, treated either with suspicion or contempt. Yet the CICD consciously chose to pursue its peace goals alongside communists. There was a world in crisis and teetering on the precipice of nuclear devastation. The Great War, the Great Depression, the rise of fascism, WWII and the American atomic attack on Japan engendered in many non-communist members of the CICD an anti-Western imperialist outlook and an unquestioned belief in the Soviet Union, while maintaining an ostensible position of political neutrality. This duality shaped their activism.

A complementary aim of this thesis is to examine the inherent and emergent tensions within the CICD, which were emblematic of the broader developments in the communist-inspired and led international peace movement and the Australian political left. In particular, this thesis examines the CICD's efforts to contain those tensions, while developing strong networks of community alliances to bring peace concerns into public prominence, and to help galvanise the movement in a politically hostile and complex environment. This is not a comprehensive study, as the range and depth of the CICD's involvement in the peace movement is too vast. Rather, it is an exploration of how the CICD's policy, structure and praxis affected the democratic governance of the voluntary organisation and how its agency

and status were inextricably linked to the broader political culture – a culture which, by the late 1960s, regarded notions of a pre-eminent state peace body and a monolithic peace movement as an anachronism of the Cold War. Through an analysis of the CICD, this thesis offers a substantial interpretation of Australian active engagement in public political life.

## **Literature Review**

Thus far, the literature on the history of the peace movement in Australia lacks a systematic analysis of the CICD's early history. In 2001, more than a decade after the University of Melbourne Archives (UMA) accepted the CICD's organisational records, an Australian National University (ANU) archivist observed that protest organisations in Australia have received limited attention as the focus of academic archival study and investigation.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after, an essay published by the University of Melbourne History Department examined the CICD's activism over a brief four period in the late 1970s, almost twenty years after the organisation was formed.<sup>2</sup> Given its narrow scope it did not deal adequately with the genesis, nature and evolution of the CICD's interrelated peace concerns, practices or the organisation's character, which is the focus of this research.

Literature on the Australian peace movement during the 1960s until the early 1970s comprises a small number of general survey and period histories, or studies which focus exclusively on peace activism. General reference works more often situate Australian peace movements in the broader historical context of the early Cold War, or the Vietnam War specifically. These histories provide valuable background information on the events with which they are concerned, but say little or nothing explicitly about the individual peace groups organising the protests, such as the CICD. The result is a broad-brush, conventional approach to Australian peace activist history that places the post-WWII movement in a Cold War framework. Early 1960s peace activism is characterised in much the same way as activism of the previous decade – as an isolated movement, largely serviced by communist front organisations atrophied by Cold War anti-communism. In contrast, the movement

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<sup>1</sup> Sigrid McCausland, 'Voices of Opposition: Documenting Australian Protest Movements', *Archives and Manuscripts*, Vol. 29 (2) 2001, 48. An original member of the CICD, the late John Ellis, began organising the CICD collection at the UMA from 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Bridget Stockdale, 'A Multi-Issue Focus: The CICD and Hiroshima Day, 1977-1981' in Belyndy Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land: Studies of Australian Peace Movements Since 1930* (Melbourne: History Dept., University of Melbourne 2006), 183-206. The essay examines the ways in which the CICD sought to use the Hiroshima Day rallies of 1977-1981 to emphasise the interconnection of the prolific uranium debate of that era with disarmament and non-alignment concerns.

which developed during the latter half of the 1960s was characterised by a qualitative change in its composition and protests took place in a broader social debate against the Vietnam War and conscription, involving political parties, the labour movement, religious leaders and campus universities.<sup>3</sup>

In their histories of the Vietnam war, Michael Caulfield and Paul Ham focus more closely on the experiences of those who fought in the Vietnam war and are, at best, dismissive of the protest movement.

Caulfield's *Vietnam Years* says little of the opposition campaign, except to suggest that the women of the Save Our Sons (SOS) brought a 'respectability' to public protest 'that had never been there before' and that they politely tolerated the company of 'ratbags and Commie lovers'.<sup>4</sup> However, the SOS women's stoicism was not, as Caulfield suggests, a product of their middle-class values. It appears that, from its outset, a number of leading members of its Victorian branch were far more political in their outlook than their 'twinsets and pearls' suggested.<sup>5</sup> As Carmen Whelan points out, its organising secretary, Jean McLean, brought to the SOS a matured critique of US policy in Indochina and fellow founding member, Dorothy Gibson, was a prominent communist and current CICD member.<sup>6</sup>

Paul Ham is contemptuous of these political tendencies in the SOS and other elements of the protest movement. He argues that many activists were misguided in their stance on Vietnam and were neither ethical, rational nor pacifist, including the 'grossly ignorant' Dr Jim Cairns.<sup>7</sup> In his view, Cairns was a socialist idealist who misunderstood the Vietnam War. Like Cairns' comrades on the left, he refused to acknowledge the centrality of Hanoi and the involvement of both the Soviet Union and Communist China and, instead, promoted the view that the war

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<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey Bolton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Australia, Vol. 5 1942-1988* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990); Donald Horne, *Time of Hope, Australia 1966-72* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1980); Peter Edwards, *The Essential History: Australia and the Vietnam War* (Sydney: University of New South Wales in association with the Australian War Memorial, 2014); Peter Edwards, *A Nation at War: Australian Politics, Society and Diplomacy During the Vietnam War, 1965-1975* (NSW: Allen & Unwin in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1997), 7-8; Peter Edwards, *Crises and Commitments The Politics and Diplomacy of Australia's Involvement in Southeast Asian Conflicts 1948-1965* (NSW: Allen & Unwin in association with the Australian War Memorial, 1992); Thomas Kenneally, *Australians: A Short History* (Crow's Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Michael Caulfield, *The Vietnam Years: From the Jungle to the Australian Suburbs* (Sydney: Hachette, 2007), 116-117; 356.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 117.

<sup>6</sup> Carmen Whelan, 'The Save Our Sons Movement of Victoria, 1965-1973' in Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land*, 143-164.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War* (Sydney: Harper Collins, 2007), 6; 522.

a spontaneous, grassroots nationalist uprising against a repressive Saigon regime supported by 'Western imperialists'.<sup>8</sup> However, according to Rick Kuhn, Cairns' political stance on Vietnam was 'far from radical'.<sup>9</sup> He argues that while Cairns was the most conspicuous opponent of Australian policy in Vietnam, his support for mass political activism and the antiwar movement in general, is the most significant aspect of his position on Vietnam. Cairns' support for the peace movement has been documented in biographical studies and in scholarship tracing the Australian Labor Party's (ALP) often ambivalent attitude towards anti-Vietnam campaign.<sup>10</sup> As Kuhn observes, there was 'wholehearted' ALP support for the anti-Vietnam campaign solely in Victoria where the influence of the Labor left was most significant and Cairns was its champion.<sup>11</sup>

Consistent with Kuhn's view, Cairns is more often characterised in histories of this period as an unwavering defender of the democratic right to protest and 'a symbol of participatory democracy'.<sup>12</sup> Because of Cairns' theoretical stance on peace issues, his oratorical ability and senior position in the Labor Party, he was politically important for the CICD, which had always sought to gain wide public acceptance for its views. Rather than an examination of the CICD's relationship with the broader ALP left-wing, this thesis sheds light on the CICD's, at times, difficult relationship with the Labor leader during the 1960s and the May 1970 Vietnam Moratorium campaign to provide further insight into the complex nature of the anti-war movement. More generally, the thesis seeks to provide a more nuanced interpretation of the anti-Vietnam campaign by examining the nature of the CICD's relationship and attitude

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.; 456.

<sup>9</sup> Rick Kuhn, 'The Australian Left, Nationalism and the Vietnam War', *Labour History* 72 (1997), 168.

<sup>10</sup> For biographies on Cairns see: Irene Dowsing, *Jim Cairns MHR* (Victoria: Acacia Press, 1971); Paul Ormonde, *A Foolish Passionate Man* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1981); Paul Strangio, *Keeper of the Faith: A Biography of Jim Cairns* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2002). For studies which examine on the ALP's attitude towards the antiwar movement see: Jackie Dickenson, *Trust Me: Australian Voters and their Politicians* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2013); Kuhn, 'The Australian Left', 163-184; Ashley Lavelle, 'Labor and Vietnam: A Reappraisal', *Labour History* 90 (2006), 119-136; Malcolm Saunders, 'The A.L.P.'s Response to the Anti-Vietnam War Movement: 1965-73', *Labour History* 44 (1983), 75-91.

<sup>11</sup> Kuhn, 'The Australian Left', 168.

<sup>12</sup> Strangio, *Keeper of the Faith*, 171-214. See also: Dowsing, *Jim Cairns MHR*, 122; John Murphy, *Harvest of Fear: A History of Australia's Vietnam War*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993), 248; Ralph Summy and Malcolm Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress: Culmination of Anti-Communism in Australia in the 1950s' in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds.) *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's First Cold War, 1945-1959* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 81.

towards Melbourne activist groups, which developed outside the CICD's orbit and in response to Australian commitment and conscription.

Ham and others also discuss how some activists in the anti-Vietnam War campaign promoted propaganda that served the interests of Hanoi and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF) and sent funds to finance the goals of the nation's enemy.<sup>13</sup> Citing Peter Edwards, Ham argues, therefore, that some sections of the movement were 'not truly anti-war, [and] wanted Hanoi and the NLF to win'.<sup>14</sup> As such, this thesis examines the complex and, at times, contradictory nature of the CICD's stance on, and support for, what it referred to as struggles of national independence in Southeast Asia (SE Asia), in the context of decolonisation and Western policies of containment. Through an examination of CICD official and stated policy it will also identify whether the CICD provided explicit support for Hanoi and the NLF or strategically downplayed such support to adopt and promote a set of countervalues around which a broad-based opposition movement could cohere.

In his history of Australia's Vietnam War, John Murphy provides additional analysis and insight into the relationship between the established, post-WWII peace movement and the broad coalition of protest groups involved in the anti-conscription and anti-Vietnam war campaigns. In line with the conventional approach, Murphy argues that the Vietnam War and the movement against it challenged the conservative politics that prevailed throughout the 1950s around the ideologies of a more pluralist 'New Left'.<sup>15</sup> According to Murphy, the New Left was 'a form of politics struggling in different ways to shake off the effects of the Cold War'.<sup>16</sup> Despite having 'an embarrassment of theoretical riches' the various strains within the New Left were uniformly committed to 'defining [themselves] in opposition' to the Old Left.<sup>17</sup> Murphy further argues that these New Left groups formed part of a 'subterranean realignment of political forces' from the mid-1950s, which 'diluted the ponderous influence'

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<sup>13</sup> Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 454; see also P.T. Findlay, *Protest Politics and Psychological Warfare: The Communist Role in the Anti-Vietnam War and Anti-conscription Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1968), 33; 51 and Peter Pierce, Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle (eds.), *Vietnam Days, Australia and the Impact of Vietnam* (Victoria: Penguin Books, 1997), 76-78; 136-137; Caulfield, *Vietnam Years*, 395.

<sup>14</sup> Ham, *Vietnam: The Australian War*, 454; Edwards, *A Nation at War*, 72.

<sup>15</sup> Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 125; 219. See also Malcolm Saunders and Ralph Summy, *The Australian Peace Movement: A Short History* (Canberra: Peace Research Centre, Australian National University, 1986), 35-43. It consolidates their earlier two-part series on a hundred-year history of the Australian peace movement, published in 1984.

<sup>16</sup> Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 125.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-221.

of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) on the peace movement.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, several studies of the peace movement have argued that, following the turmoil created by the significant events of 1956 in the CPA, the peace movement became less influenced by communism and a ‘more diverse peace movement’ emerged.<sup>19</sup> Murphy contends that the CICD represented an attempt by the established movement to form ‘a more pluralistic, and less hegemonic’ peace organisation than the CPA-dominated Australian Peace Council (APC).<sup>20</sup> However, he suggests that the CPA ‘continued to be an influential political presence’ in the peace movement after the 1959 Congress, albeit with ‘less of a ‘leading role’’.<sup>21</sup>

John McLaren evaluates more precisely the contested question of communist political influence over the 1959 Peace Congress, which established the CICD as part of a network of fraternal state peace bodies.<sup>22</sup> McLaren challenges Ralph Summy and Malcolm Saunders’ main assertion that a persistent Cold War myopia, which reflected the anti-communist rhetoric of the Government and fellow detractors, prevented the acknowledgement of the distinction between CPA influence and CPA control of the 1959 Congress.<sup>23</sup>

Summy and Saunders argue (citing Jan Sullivan-Talty) that such CPA influence ‘was of the kind exerted by communists working as individuals, rather than in strict accordance with any party directive’.<sup>24</sup> They further argue that the CPA’s official stance was ‘often ambiguous’ and, therefore, criticisms of Australian foreign policy ‘had to come mainly from the concerned [CPA] members and their like-minded allies outside the party’.<sup>25</sup> However, McLaren proposes that Summy and Saunders’ account of the Congress ‘fails to show how the Congress was itself split by the refusal of the organisers to allow any criticism of the Soviet

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 121-123.

<sup>19</sup> Barbara Carter, ‘The Peace Movement in the 1950s’ in Ann Curthoys and John Merritt (eds.), *Better Dead Than Red: Australia's First Cold War, 1945-1959* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 67; Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 33.

<sup>20</sup> Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 123.

<sup>21</sup> Murphy quoting from *Outlook*, Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> John McLaren, ‘Peace Wars: The 1959 ANZ Peace Congress’, *Labour History* 82 (2002), 97-108. See also David McKnight, ‘Rethinking Cold War History’, *Labour History* 95 (2008), 186-188. For his further discussion on the Congress see, John McLaren, *Free Radicals of the Left in Postwar Melbourne* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2003), 148-150.

<sup>23</sup> Summy and Saunders, ‘The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress’, 74-98.

<sup>24</sup> Jan-Sullivan Talty, ‘The Australian Peace Movement, 1949-1964: A Study in Social Protest with Specific Reference to the Australian Peace Council’, Honours Thesis, University of Wollongong, 1982, 82 quoted in Summy and Saunders, ‘The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress’, 94.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

Union or its allies'.<sup>26</sup> He argues that consensus was only achieved by 'excluding' dissenting views presented at the Congress, thus ensuring that the Congress and the peace movement that grew out of it remained under 'monolithic control'.<sup>27</sup> McLaren concludes that an outcome of the 1959 Congress was its failure 'to build a new alliance on the left...[and] led only to new lines of division'.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, Murphy observed that the nascent CICD maintained an alignment with Soviet foreign policy and, therefore, New Left groups regarded Victoria's state peace organisation, just as 'insufficiently independent' of the CPA and the pro-Soviet international peace movement as the old APC.<sup>29</sup> This thesis examines the basis of such claims by examining the CICD's assumptions and tendencies, the extent to which it was an autonomous organisation, structured democratically and encouraged both participatory forms of organisation and broad representation in its membership.

Murphy also observes that, on the one hand, the diverse protest groups associated with the New Left were, nevertheless, dependent on the organisational resources and facilities of established peace groups, such as the CICD.<sup>30</sup> The CICD, on the other hand, despite having aspired 'for years' to build the kind of coalition evinced by the Moratorium Campaign, realised that supporting such a coalition 'threatened its own viability'.<sup>31</sup> This thesis seeks to determine the ways in which the CICD sought to resolve the dilemma of servicing an alliance of independent and diverse activist groups whilst trying to preserve its status as a leading peace body, in a politically hostile and increasingly complex environment.

Although Murphy's *Harvest of Fear* offers a more complex evaluation of 1960s anti-war activism, the dominant narrative is one of an anachronistic peace movement and an emergent New Left, with 1966 a turning point. The ALP's shattering electoral defeat in 1966 revealed the limitations of conventional protest politics and in its wake developed a yawning gulf between the Old Left and New Left.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the 1960s in Australia is generally characterised as a period of transition from the Old Left, embodied by the CICD, to the New Left, with the late 1960s acting as watershed moment in the movement's development. Accordingly, references to the CICD in *Harvest of Fear* and more oblique references in Saunders' and Summy's brief history generally serve to emphasise a polarisation between the Old Left's

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<sup>26</sup> McLaren, 'Peace Wars', 99.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 98; 106.

<sup>29</sup> Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 127.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 267.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., Chapter 12; Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 39.

conventional protest politics, and that of the emergent New Left groups. More recently, attempts have been made to challenge this old/new binary; however, these conceptual and historical frameworks have persisted.<sup>33</sup> While dissonance within the movement can be generally delineated between these divergent positions, the thesis aims to complicate the simplistic taxonomy of activists as either the moderate Old Left or radical New Left to reveal the more complex and, at times, fluid nature of the movement using the CICD as a frame of reference.

When peace activism during the period is the central focus of historical inquiry, the scope is often narrow and limited. The relevant literature is generally concerned with the role of radical students in the anti-war or anti-conscription movement, particularly during the later stages of the Vietnam Campaign, to the detriment of the movement that preceded it.

Scholarly work or popular histories are generally written by former activist-participants and much of it is autobiography, interview collections and memoirs. One former-participant historian, Ann Curthoys, notes that she is one of several former activists, namely Michael Hamel-Green, Malcolm Saunders, Ralph Summy and Barry York. But there are numerous others she does not mention, including Alan Barcan, Verity Bergmann and Ken Mansell, who have produced scholarly accounts of protest events they were involved in.<sup>34</sup> Like Barcan,

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<sup>33</sup> Dianne Kirby and Sean Scalmer, 'Social Movements, Internationalism and the Cold War: Perspectives on Labour History', *Labour History* 111 (2016), 1-10.

<sup>34</sup> Ann Curthoys, 'The Anti-War Movements' Jeffrey Grey and Jeff Doyle (eds.), *Vietnam: War, Myth and Memory: Comparative Perspectives on Australia's War in Vietnam* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 82. Long-time activist, Alan Barcan, was lecturing at the University of Sydney during this period, Verity Bergmann has documented numerous political campaigns she participated in since the 1960s, Ann Curthoys was a member of the Eureka Youth League (EYL) before the Vietnam War and participated in the antiwar movement, Michael Hamel-Green was a member of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) and a draft resister, Ken Mansell, became politically active from early 1965 and was a member of the EYL and Youth Student League (YSL) in 1967/1968, the Monash Labor Club (MLC) in 1968 and the Prahran Moratorium Coordinator in 1970, Saunders was a member of the South Australian Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, Summy was active in anti-war protest and Barry York was a student activist and president of the La Trobe Labour Club. The following is a far from an exhaustive list of the scholarly work produced by these and other former participant-activists: Alan Barcan, *Radical Students: The Old Left at Sydney University* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2002); Verity Burgmann, *Power and Protest: Movements for Change in Australian Society* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 106; 189-191; Ann Curthoys, 'The Anti-War Movements', 81-107; Curthoys, 'Vietnam: Public Memory of an Anti-war Movement', in Kate Darian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds.), *Memory and History in Twentieth Century Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114-131; Curthoys, 'Mobilising Dissent: The Later Stages of Protest' in Gregory Pemberton (ed.), *Vietnam Remembered*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: New Holland, 2002), 138-163; Michael Hamel-Green, 'Vietnam: Beyond Pity', *Australian Left Review*, 1(24), 1970, 53-65; Hamel-Green, 'The Legitimacy of the 1964-1972 Australian Conscription Scheme', MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1975; Hamel-Green, 'The Resisters: A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement 1964-1972' in Peter King (ed.), *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second*



Curthoys acknowledges the integrity and ethical challenges of using an authoritative voice in writings based on personal recollections, especially when written long after the event.<sup>35</sup> The ubiquity of participant-activist history has influenced this body of work in decisive ways. While providing unique insights, it demonstrates a tendency to credit youths and students as the primary drivers of the antiwar movement, particularly after 1967. Curthoys claims that

the rise of the new Left [during the second half of 1960] was almost entirely student-based...the anti-war movement was part of a broader movement of dissent on campuses...and amongst the growing young middle class generally. By the end of the 1960s, the Left was emerging as a significant force in university and intellectual circles; it would get stronger as the 1970s proceeded.<sup>36</sup>

Most significantly, this body of work's general focus on the later stages of the Vietnam campaign tends to obscure or, in some instances, dismiss earlier peace campaigns, led by the CICD in Victoria, aimed at mobilising a passive or rigidly orthodox constituency.

Furthermore, privileging accounts which emphasise the involvement of radical student and youth activists after 1967 does not allow for a more holistic interpretation of peace and anti-war activism during the 1960s. The CICD's continuous activism from late 1959 suggests that there was a longer tradition of peaceful opposition to Western foreign and defence policies that are largely ignored in the historiography of protest in this period. Thus, through a critical and rigorous analysis of the CICD's campaigns and activities this thesis seeks to restore the CICD's place in the longer history of 1960s peace activism.

In addition to participant scholarly histories, former student radicals, activists and academics have also contributed to the vast body of work by producing research studies, popular

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*Indo-China War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 100-128; Ken Mansell, 'The Yeast is Red', MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1994; Malcolm Saunders, 'The Vietnam Moratorium Movement in Australia: 1969-73', PhD Thesis, Flinders University, 1977; Saunders, 'Law and Order' and the Anti-Vietnam War Movement: 1965-72', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 28(3) 1983, 367-379; Ralph Summy, 'The Australian Peace Movement, 1960-67: A Study of Dissent', MA Thesis, University of Sydney, 1971; Summy, 'The Australian Peace Council and the Anti-Communist Milieu, 1949-1965', in Charles Chatfield and Peter Van Den Dungen (eds.), *Peace Movements and Political Cultures* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1988), 233-264; Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*; Summy and Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress'; Barry York, 'Sources of Student Unrest in Australia, with particular reference to La Trobe University 1967-1973', MA Thesis, University of Sydney, 1983; York, *Student Revolt! La Trobe University 1967-73* (Campbell ACT: Nicholas Press: 1989); York, 'Power to the Young' in Verity Burgmann & Jenny Lee (eds.), *Staining the Wattle: A People's History of Australia Since 1788* (Fitzroy: McPhee Gribble Publishers, 1988), 228-242.

<sup>35</sup> Curthoys, 'The Anti-War Movements', 81; Barcan, *Radical Students*, 18.

<sup>36</sup> Curthoys, 'The Anti-War Movements', 103.

histories, oral accounts and memoirs.<sup>37</sup> With limited exceptions, this work says little to nothing explicitly about the CICD's involvement in the peace movement and also tends to focus on the later period of protest, particularly after 1967.

Founding CICD member, Norman Rothfield, dedicates one chapter to the CICD in his memoir.<sup>38</sup> While it provides useful insights into the tensions between the hard-line pro-Soviet elements within the CICD and those like himself who were prepared to criticise the Soviet Union's less than democratic tendencies, it is almost entirely focused on the period after 1967.<sup>39</sup> Curthoys, Saunders and Summy discuss the earlier protest movement, but unlike Summy's research, their work also contributes to the body of work that concentrates on the later period denoted by the conspicuous involvement of radical students and youths.<sup>40</sup> A focus of Summy's thesis is on the accusations of communist affiliation that continued to be directed at the 1959 Peace Congress and its network of state peace bodies, including the CICD. Summy characterises the early 1960s peace movement as a 'failure' in terms of its limited public support, which he largely attributes to its 'restrictive and unimaginative' orthodox methods.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, in successive historical accounts of 1960s activism, orthodox protest practices, indicative of the CICD's approach, were generally regarded as inadequate, inappropriate and a relic of the early Cold War. According to Summy, the movement's adoption of cautious and moderate tactics was conditioned by 'Cold War animus'.<sup>42</sup> The movement's leaders during the 1950s and early 1960s were reluctant to adopt militant tactics at a time when peace organisations were under close scrutiny of security police and subjected to virulent anti-communist attacks, as demonstrated during the 1950 and 1959 Melbourne

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<sup>37</sup> Mick Armstrong, *One, Two Three, What Are We Fighting For? The Australian Student Movement from its Origins to the 1970s* (Melbourne: Socialist Alternative, 2001); Horne, *Time of Hope*, 41-68; Greg Langley, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Home Front* (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992); Philip Mendes, *The New Left, The Jews and the Vietnam War, 1965-1972* (Victoria: Lazare Press 1993); Daniel Robins, 'Melbourne's Maoists: The Rise of the Monash University Labor Club, 1965-1967', Honours Thesis, Victoria University, 2005; Robert Scates, *"Draftmen Go Free": A History of the Anti-Conscription Movement in Australia* (Melbourne: Robert Scates, 1989); Beverley Symons and Rowan Cahill (eds.), *A Turbulent Decade*, (Sydney: Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 2005); Bernie Taft, *Crossing the Party Line, Memoirs of Bernie Taft* (Newham: Scribe Publications, 1994), 245-248.

<sup>38</sup> Norman Rothfield, *Many Paths to Peace: Political Memoirs of Norman Rothfield* (Melbourne: Yarraford Publications, 1997).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 58-62.

<sup>40</sup> Curthoys, 'The Anti-War Movements'; Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*; Summy, 'A Study of Dissent'; Summy, 'The Australian Peace Council'.

<sup>41</sup> Summy, 'A Study of Dissent', 166.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

congress. The relative silence in the historiography of the CICA's activism also reflects an emphasis on the highly-visible, radical youth-led activist movement in the late 1960s that symbolised a rupture with the Cold War conservatism of the 1950s and early 1960s. More recently, however, the relative merits of a range of practices, from the most orthodox to the most provocative, are being considered by activists. Commenting on contemporary activism long-time participant activist and academic, Marty Branagan, argues that 'nonviolent praxis has been a key ingredient in the successes of many Australian environmental campaigns...contributing to the concept of popular disaffection rather than lawlessness'.<sup>43</sup> In his view, nonviolent and disciplined protest, from direct action such as blockading roads to spiritual efforts such as prayers and vigils, is likely to receive widespread support and avoids an 'unresolvable discord of inconsistency between means and ends' associated with more utilitarian precepts of what constitutes a social good.<sup>44</sup> This research uses the CICA as the frame of reference to re-define 1960s activism as part of a continuum of non-violent Australian activism, which was of vital importance in the evolution of the protest movement in this period and for future protest campaigns.

Some historians have reassessed early 1960s protest in terms of a longer tradition of Australian activism. Among them, Nick Irving argues that the lack of detail about early 1960s protest is compounded by the Cold War framework for peace activism.<sup>45</sup> Like Deery and Jordan, Irving argues that in the given Cold War political climate peace activists were characterised as either knowingly or unwittingly serving international communist interests by 'fomenting' discord at home.<sup>46</sup> Indeed successive monochrome accounts of the post-WWII peace movement dismiss it as communist inspired and controlled and its non-communist supporters, their dupes.<sup>47</sup> The focus of Irving's research and fellow contemporary, Jon

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<sup>43</sup> Marty Branagan, 'We shall never be moved': Australian developments in nonviolence', *Journal of Australian Studies* 27(80) 2003, 201. See also: Marty Branagan, *Locked On! The Seventh and Most Illegal in the Hitchhiker's Guide Trilogy* (Sweden: Irene Publishing, 2018); Marty Branagan, *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence: The Art of Active Resistance* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Marty Branagan, 'Art Alone Will Move Us: Nonviolence Developments in the Australian Eco-Pax Movement 1982-2003', PhD Thesis, University of New England, Armidale, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Branagan, 'We shall never be moved', 202.

<sup>45</sup> Nick Irving, 'Global Thought, Local Action: Australian Activism During the Vietnam War 1961-1972', PhD Thesis, The University of Sydney, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Irving, 'Global Thought, Local Action', 6; Phillip Deery & Douglas Jordan, 'Fellow Travelling in the Cold War: the Australian Peace Movement' in Greg Patmore *et al.* (eds.), *The Past is Before Us. Proceedings of the Ninth National Labour History Conference* (Sydney: ASSLH, 2005), 115-123.

<sup>47</sup> Hal Colebatch, 'An examination of the sources, ideologies and political importance of peace movements in Australia from approximately 1950 to approximately 1965', MA Thesis, Department of Politics and History, University of Western Australia, 1974; Harold Crouch, *The Melbourne Peace*

Piccini, is on the global dimensions of 1960s Australian protest; however, they say almost nothing about the CICD.<sup>48</sup> Piccini and others contend that Australian radicalism has ‘always’ had an internationalist element, which was gradually eroded during WWII and then stultified by the Cold War political culture.<sup>49</sup> On the one hand, argues Piccini, the 1960s saw a multiplicity of groups emerging outside of the Soviet Union’s purview and influenced by global ideas of 1960s revolt, and on the other, ‘the Old Left’s uneven globalisation’.<sup>50</sup> Despite a multifaceted divergence in the political left from the mid-1950s, the CICD maintained its global character, particularly through its leadership’s membership with the pro-Soviet, international peace body led by the World Peace Council (WPC). As such, this thesis considers the nature of the CICD’s international engagement in the context of an Australian activist tradition to identify the particular moments when international developments, WPC decisions and trajectories had decisive impacts on the specificities of the CICD’s own policies, assumptions and praxis.

While some studies adopt transnationalism as a line of historical inquiry to reassess 1960s peace activism, the focus of other studies is the emergence of non-pacifist activism in the immediate post-WWII period and how it was experienced by a variety of advocates. In light of the considerable continuity of personnel, practice and outlook between the CICD and the antecedent movement, these studies provide a useful entry point into understanding the *raison d’être* and assumptions of early Cold War peace activism, which carried into the future movement. It is comprised of scholarly studies, as well as memoirs and

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*Movement: A Study of the Policies and Performance of the A.N.Z. Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament* (Melbourne: Dissent Pamphlet, 1964); J.P. Forrester, *Fifteen Years of Peace Fronts* (Sydney: McHugh Printery, 1964); National Civic Council, *Conflict: A Nation Faces the Challenge* (Melbourne: Freedom Publishing Co. for the National Civic Council, 1962), 46-49; Fred Wells, *The Peace Racket, with an Introduction by Geoffrey Fairbairn* (Sydney: Ambassador Press, 1964); J. S. Whitehall, ‘Who’s Who in the Australian Peace Movement’, *Quadrant*, 26(9) 1982, 13-23.

<sup>48</sup> Nick Irving, ‘Global Thought, Local Action’; Nick Irving, ‘“Couldn’t we actually try and do this in Australia?”: Reading the Vietnam Moratorium in its Global Context’ in Phillip Deery and Julie Kimber (eds.), *Fighting Against War: Peace Activism in the Twentieth Century* (Melbourne: Leftbank Press, 2015), 268-290; Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s: Global Radicals* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Jon Piccini, ‘A Whole New World: Global Revolution and Australian Social Movements in the Long Sixties’, PhD Thesis, The University of Queensland, 2013.

<sup>49</sup> Piccini, *Global Radicals*, 5. See also: Alistair Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia, A Short History* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institute Press, 1969), 21; Douglas Jordan, ‘Conflict in the Unions: The Communist Party of Australia, Politics and the Trade Union Movement, 1945-1960’, PhD diss., Victoria University, 2010, 300; and Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 6.

<sup>50</sup> Piccini, *Global Radicals*, 5-7.

autobiographies mostly produced by former activists.<sup>51</sup> Among them, a number of studies have contributed to this significant body of work by examining the individual activism of the APC's executive members. They offer critical historical insights into the (future) CICD leadership's motivations, ideological disposition and organisational culture.

The CICD's first secretary, Sam Goldbloom, is the focus of Sam Redlich's research.<sup>52</sup> Like many non-pacifist activists of his generation, Goldbloom's admiration for the Soviet Union was shaped by his experience of the Great Depression, warfare and anti-Semitism. Redlich argues that although Goldbloom's political ideology was underpinned by anti-(Western) imperialism, it was moderated by a socialist humanitarian disposition which could not find purchase in the current anti-communist climate. For Goldbloom, the peace movement represented the only vehicle for political dissent that accompanied the anti-communism of the early Cold War. Redlich's essay draws almost completely upon Goldbloom's personal testimony and offers a sympathetic view of the peace activist, more often depicted as a casualty of Cold War political prejudice.<sup>53</sup> Goldbloom's aspirations for a career in politics with the ALP in 1958 were 'blighted' by allegations of communist affiliation, allegations

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<sup>51</sup> For scholarly studies see for instance: Carter, 'The Peace Movement in the 1950s', 58-73; Les Dalton, *Politics of the Australian Peace Movement: 1930s to 1960s* (Melbourne: La Trobe University Centre for Dialogue, 2011), Phillip Deery, 'War on Peace: Menzies, the Cold War and the 1953 Convention on Peace and War', *Australian Historical Studies* 122 (2003), 248-269; Phillip Deery, 'The Dove Flies East: Whitehall, Warsaw and the 1950 World Peace Congress', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 48, no. 4 (2002), 449-468; Phillip Deery, 'Community Carnival or Cold War Strategy? The 1952 Youth Carnival for Peace and Friendship' in Ray Markey (ed.), *Labour and Community: Historical Essays* (Wollongong: University of Wollongong Press, 2001), 71-77; Kyle Harvey, 'Early Cold War Opposition to US Bases in Australia: Peace, Independence, and the Challenge of Security', *History Australia* 14(2) 2017, 266-284; Craig McLean, 'Fear of Peace? Australian Government Responses to the Peace Movement 1949-1959', MA Thesis, Faculty of Arts, Victoria University, 2001; McLaren, 'Peace Wars', Sullivan Talty, 'The Australian Peace Movement'; Summy, 'The Australian Peace Council', Summy and Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress'. For memoirs and auto-biographies see for instance: Audrey Blake, *A Proletarian's Life* (Victoria: Kibble Books, 1984); Lenore Coltheart (ed.), *Jessie Street: A Revised Autobiography* (Sydney: Federation Press, 2004); Ralph Gibson, *My Years in the Communist Party* (Melbourne: International Bookshop, 1966); Robin Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists: Communism and the Australia Labour Movement 1920-1955* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975); Leonie Sandercock and Stephen Murray-Smith (eds.), *Ian Turner, Room for Manoeuvre: Writings on History, Politics, Ideas and Play* (Melbourne: Drummond, 1982); John Sendy, *Ralph Gibson, An Extraordinary Communist* (Melbourne: Ralph Gibson Biography Committee, 1988); John Sendy, *Comrades Come Rally: Recollections of an Australian Communist* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1978).

<sup>52</sup> Sam Redlich, 'Personal Politics: Sam Goldbloom in the Victorian Peace Movement' in Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land*, 20-38.

<sup>53</sup> Redlich's research is largely based on Sam Goldbloom and his wife Rosa's, oral history conducted in 1998 by historians 'Itel and Renate', most likely, Itel Bereson and Renate Howe and held by the University of Melbourne Archives (UMA): Sam Goldbloom Collection, 103/2, Box 8, file 9 <https://gallery.its.unimelb.edu.au/imu/imu.php?request=multimedia&irn=4956>.

which seemingly ‘pushed Goldbloom towards the peace movement’, argues Redlich.<sup>54</sup> The focus is Goldbloom’s early activism. This thesis seeks to identify the ways in which Goldbloom’s political outlook informed his approach to activism and his leadership style in the following decade with the fledgling CICD.

The political activism of the future chairman for the CICD, Presbyterian Rev. Alfred Dickie, is the focus in Kim Thoday’s research.<sup>55</sup> Like Redlich, Thoday, examines Dickie’s early activism, as president of the APC. Like his fellow executive members of the APC, Revs Hartley and James, Dickie was primarily motivated by personal religious faith, but that faith intersected with other socio-political and ideological forces to shape his worldview.<sup>56</sup> Thoday argues that Dickie’s radical Christian convictions caused him to be ‘paradoxically’ both attuned and resistant to communist influence and yet he knowingly chose to work alongside communists.<sup>57</sup> Thoday’s research complicates anti-communist Cold War assumptions that clergy, like Dickie, were simply the unwitting agents of an international communist conspiracy in a Cold War global struggle.

This question of agency is the focus of Phillip Deery and Douglas Jordan’s aforementioned study. It challenges a Cold War tendency to conflate peace activism with communism by suggesting that non-communist contributions were often blurred by an unwillingness to concede the subtleties within the movement.<sup>58</sup> They highlight the contempt reserved for religious peace activists, such as the APC’s executive members, Dickie, Hartley and James, who were regularly excoriated as ‘dupes’ or ‘fellow-travellers’ by Cold War crusaders.<sup>59</sup> Instead, they assert that activism is far more complex than the traditional view allows, given that, for instance, the ‘peace parsons’ commitment to the peace movement predated the establishment of the CPA-influenced APC in 1949 and before the CPA decided to use the peace movement as a ‘transmission belt to the masses’.<sup>60</sup> Framing peace workers in a Cold War construct, they

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 51-53.

<sup>55</sup> Kim Thoday, ‘“A harder thing than dying”: Peace Activism and the Protest Left in Australia during the Early Cold War’ in Deery and Kimber (eds.), *Fighting Against War*, 224-245, Kim Thoday, ‘Christian Socialist Dialogue during the early Cold War: a study of the Protest Left in Victoria 1949-1954’, MA Thesis, Victoria University, 2014.

<sup>56</sup> Thoday, ‘Christian Socialist Dialogue during the early Cold War’, 18-19.

<sup>57</sup> Thoday, ‘“A harder thing than dying”’, 124.

<sup>58</sup> Phillip Deery and Douglas Jordan, ‘Fellow-travelling in the Cold War: the Australian peace movement’, in Greg Patmore, John Shields and Nicola Balnave (eds.), *The Past is Before Us. Refereed Proceedings of the Ninth National Labour History Conference* (Australian Society for the Study of Labour History and University of Sydney, 2005), 115-123.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

argue, minimises their contribution and individual capacity to respond to peace issues on their own terms, albeit in synch with the CPA.<sup>61</sup> Similarly with Murphy and Richard Trembath, Deery and Jordan further argue that in light of the current political realities of the era, the peace parsons were compelled to choose between two rigid, ideologically opposed Cold War frameworks. Consequently, they elected to work alongside the CPA, the only other political ally that challenged western government policies, and adopted the communist's own polarised vision of the Cold War, which was 'a mirror image of the conservative worldview, but with different personnel acting as heroes and villains.'<sup>62</sup>

A number of other studies have also explored the phenomenon of the APC's peace parsons and challenge essentialist depictions of the clergy as communist dupes.<sup>63</sup> Among these, Robert McArthur and Valerie O'Byrne confirm conclusions drawn by Deery, Jordan and Thoday that the three peace parsons' activism was primarily driven by their personal religious convictions.<sup>64</sup> However, McArthur argues that Dickie and Hartley each held a particular belief that their political activism and their association with the political Left was 'God's Will' and, furthermore, it was their Christian duty to proselytise their politics to the nation.<sup>65</sup> McArthur also argues that their particular view of God's will and 'self-identification as prophets' produced a kind of political fundamentalism that reinforced their apocalyptic 'Manichaeian' worldview.<sup>66</sup> Like Murphy, McArthur attributes the hostility the clergy encountered from parishioners and those outside the church, to their unrepentant moral

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Trembath paraphrasing Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 56-60, Richard Trembath, 'No Line is Followed': Peace Parsons and Australian Opposition to the Korean War (1950-1953)' in Ellen Warne and Charles Zika (eds.), *God, the Devil and a Millennium of Christian Culture* (Melbourne: History Department of the University of Melbourne, 2005), 174; Deery and Jordan, 'Fellow Travelling', 116-117.

<sup>63</sup> Ralph Summy and Malcolm Saunders, 'Disarmament and the Australian Peace Movement: A Brief History', *World Review* 26 (4) 1987, 15-57; Ralph Summy and Malcolm Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress'; Barbara Carter, 'The Peace Movement in the 1950s'; Barbara Carter, 'Nuclear Opposition and the Victorian Peace Movement', *Melbourne Journal of Politics* 14 (1983), 58-67.

<sup>64</sup> Valerie O'Byrne, 'The Peace Parsons: The Involvement of the Clergy in Peace Movements in the 1950s', MA thesis, Monash University, 1984, 220; Robert McArthur, 'Locating Christ in a Communist World: The Reverends Frank Hartley and Victor James as Political Travellers', *Australian Historical Studies* 40(2) 2009, 196.

<sup>65</sup> Robert McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing': The Centrality of 'God's Will' to the Cold War Political Activism of the Reverends Frank Hartley and Alfred Dickie', *Journal of Religious History* 34(3) 2010, 355. For further discussion regarding Hartley's activism see Robert McArthur, 'Christ's World or No World': Rev. Frank Hartley and the 'Battle for Peace', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 33(1) 2005, 25-38.

<sup>66</sup> McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing', 355; 371.

absolutism in a conservative Cold War culture, a culture which demanded conformity and ‘helped to establish alienation and dissent [as politically deviant] sentiments’.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Dianne Kirby notes that communist-sympathetic, political radicalism was at odds with many church members at a time when religious belief was still important and when Western political leaders and some church leaders ‘appropriated Christianity’ as a weapon to undermine the appeal of communism.<sup>68</sup> McArthur argues that far from being Cold War casualties, Dickie and Hartley reinforced Cold War divisions, which, in turn, reinforced their own sense of prophetic duty and bi-polar worldview. There appears to be a historiographical consensus that the peace parsons’ activism was based primarily on their personal theological belief system. This thesis will illuminate this consensus by distilling more precisely their attitude towards peace activism during the 1960s, in the context of Murphy’s ‘subterranean’ shifts in the political Left and towards a more pluralist protest movement.

Like Goldbloom, the peace parsons’ respective ideological worldview was shaped by their personal experience of successive world crises during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their fundamentalist form of faith contrasts with the perspectives of other local peace advocates, far less receptive to the idea of communism as a panacea for a world in crisis and far more discerning of the Soviet Union and China’s role in SE Asia during the 1960s, such as Pax Christi’s Joseph Camilleri.<sup>69</sup> More recently, in his discussion of Australian regional security, Camilleri builds a case for Australian non-alignment, nuclear disengagement and neutrality without any discernible trace of either ideological dogmatism or anti-American sentiment.<sup>70</sup> The ways in which the CICD executive’s unwavering commitment to their outlook impacted their leadership style, approach to activism and organisational culture will be examined in

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 356; Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 54.

<sup>68</sup> Dianne Kirby, ‘Religion and the Cold War – An Introduction’ in Dianne Kirby (ed.) *Religion and the Cold War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) 1-2; Dianne Kirby, ‘Divinely Sanctioned: The Anglo-American Cold War Alliance and the Defence of Western Civilisation and Christianity 1945-1948’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 35(3) 2000: 392-396.

<sup>69</sup> Political scientist and philosopher, Joseph Camilleri, has been actively involved in the Pax Christi ecumenical movement since 1969 and the founding president of its Australian chapter from 1974-2004. His earlier work concerns strategies to overcome the deleterious consequences of industrial society in a global context. See for instance, Joseph A. Camilleri, *Civilization in Crisis: Human Prospects in a Changing World* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1976). Regarding his analysis of China’s role in Southeast Asia, see Joseph A. Camilleri, *Southeast Asia in China’s Foreign Policy* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Occasional Paper no. 29, April 1975).

<sup>70</sup> Joseph A. Camilleri, *The Australia-New Zealand-U.S. Alliance: Regional Security in the Nuclear Age* (Milton: Routledge, 2019). See also: Joseph Camilleri and Michael Hamel-Green, Special Issue on ‘Prohibiting Nuclear Weapons: Implications & Possibilities’, *Global Change, Peace and Security*, 30(2) 2018, 87-93.



this research. Branagan notes that conventional protest politics has been criticised for its authoritarian and intransigent approach to organisation.<sup>71</sup> This study draws upon the ideas of Robert Michels and later theorists such as Seymour Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman to identify possible oligarchic tendencies in the CICD, which was ostensibly committed to democratic organisational structures and decision-making.<sup>72</sup> It considers whether CICD leadership could be identified as being representative of its constituents' interests and the interests of the broader coalition movement, or whether the maintenance of the CICD's power base as the leading state body was its primary concern and, therefore, necessitated increasingly oligarchic approaches.

It should now be evident that there is an extensive literature on the role of youth and student activists in the Australian anti-war and anti-conscription campaign, particularly after 1966. There is also much discussion on the 1950s post-war protest movement, while transnational protest in the 1960s is the focus of a related body of work. However, there has been no systematic, scholarly analysis of the CICD's involvement in the 1960s protest movement. This thesis seeks a coherent understanding of the extent, limits, challenges, contradictions and character of the CICD's activism during the long decade of the 1960s and the first Melbourne Moratorium Campaign in May 1970. To that extent, it fills a major historiographical gap.

Chapter 2 traces the scope and nature of the post-WWII peace movement until the CICD's formation in 1959 as Victoria's state peace body. It provides the necessary context for the establishment of the CICD as part of a national association of state peace committees, which aimed to carry forward the work of the antecedent movement. Chapter 3 examines the response of the CICD to nuclear disarmament and Australian non-alignment concerns during the early 1960s. Against a background of political crises – assisted by the 1960 Summit failure, the Soviet decision to break the 1958 nuclear test moratorium and the Sino-Soviet split – the CICD attempts to contain increasing tensions in the peace movement. Chapter 4 turns to political developments in SE Asia, also during the early 1960s, and the CICD's support for what it considered were struggles for national independence. CICD's activism

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<sup>71</sup> Branagan, 'We shall never be moved', 201.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, [1911] 1962); Seymour Lipset, 'Introduction' in Robert Michels, *Political Parties A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, [1911] 1962), 1-39; Seymour Lipset, Martin Trow and James Coleman, *Trade Union Democracy* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1956).

during this period is indicative of a longer tradition of opposition to Western policies affecting the region that precipitated Australian commitment in Vietnam. By 1965 CICD saw a proliferation of anti-war and anti-conscription groups no longer willing to accept the official ideology of the Government or its interpretation of the national interest in response to crises in SE Asia. Chapter 5 examines the CICD's response to Australian involvement in Vietnam and conscription, and the broader protest movement which emerged in response to such Government policies. The sixth and final chapter examines the ways in which the CICD sought to maintain its relevance and status as the state peace body in a broad coalition movement that demanded democratic organisation

## **Methodology**

The methodological approach of this thesis is premised on three fundamental assumptions that are central to empirical historical research. First, that people in the past experience their present time as an authentic reality; second, that a variety of texts resulting from the ideas and actions of people in the past have 'survived into the present'; and third, that these texts offer valid clues in the present to attitudes, activities and experiences of people in the past. Together, these assumptions enable historians 'to consider surviving texts... as "sources" or "evidence" for what people in the past actually thought and did, and it allows historians to 'infer' statements of fact from these sources.<sup>73</sup>

The CICD has maintained extensive records which indicate the breadth of its campaign activities and enduring commitment to the Australian peace movement. Accordingly, this thesis will be largely underpinned by systematic archival research. Relevant archival collections are located at repositories in both Melbourne and Canberra. The key archive for this research is the vast CICD collection at the University of Melbourne Archives (UMA). The collection comprises 72 archive boxes, representing more than thirty years of ongoing activity.<sup>74</sup> Various archival collections of individuals and organisations linked to the CICD have also been accessed. These collections are held by the UMA, the State Library of Victoria, Victoria University, the Noel Butlin Archive in Canberra, and private individuals. Additional relevant records created by the Australian Security Intelligence Organization (ASIO) and federal governments offer a counterpoint perspective – that of the state's attitude

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<sup>73</sup> Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *Fashioning History: Current Practices and Principles* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 3.

<sup>74</sup> See the CICD Collection index, University of Melbourne Archives, <https://gallery.its.unimelb.edu.au/imu/imu.php?request=multimedia&irn=2472>.

toward the CICD, which embodied a critique of Australian foreign and defence policies during the 1960s and 1970s. These files were accessed from the National Archives of Australia (NAA) in Canberra.

A key advantage archival research has over other research methods is the accessibility of relevant records in the public domain. With the data contained in the texts already collected, it is an efficient method of accessing empirical data – what remains is to evaluate the content and quality of the texts. Furthermore, archival research is ‘unobtrusive and non-reactive’, in that it is ‘unaffected’ by the research process. It eludes concerns regarding the possible effect observation or interaction may have on the research, which are inherent in other qualitative approaches.<sup>75</sup> However, there are limitations to archival research. Notwithstanding issues of quality regarding the readability of documents, actual access to interstate archival collections and requests for digitisation of records were restricted by time pressure and/or associated costs. Despite increased digital access to archival documents in high public demand, most remain in hard copy only, due to limits of funding and broader public interest.<sup>76</sup>

The process of transforming the various texts into sources and the construction of facts from these sources is fundamental to the history method.<sup>77</sup> In practice, it involves a myriad of established techniques. These techniques aim to do the following: attribute authorship and determine the origin of the text in time and place, establish the credibility and authenticity of its form and contents; and interpret the text within its historical context to elicit meaning and develop empirical knowledge.<sup>78</sup> Critical analysis and the synthesis of data occurs throughout the research as it progresses from data collection through analysis to synthesis and presentation of results.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Glenn A. Bowen, ‘Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method’, *Qualitative Research Journal* 9(2) 2009: 31.

<sup>76</sup> Michelle T. King, ‘Working With/In the Archives’ in Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (eds.) *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 24. [13-29]

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. German historian, Ernest Bernheim, is generally acknowledged as one of the first to develop a systematic study of the history method in his *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode* (1889), a method that is analogous with the scientific method which Frances Bacon set forth in the early seventeenth century. Sherman Kent, *Writing History* (NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc, 1941), 5-6; Jean Delanglez [foreword] in Gilbert Joseph Garraghan, *A Guide to Historical Method*, (NY: Fordham University Press, 1946), v.

<sup>78</sup> Berkhofer Jr., *Fashioning History*, 12-13; Bowen, ‘Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method’, 27; Kent, *Writing History*, 6; Robert Jones Shafer, *A Guide to Historical Method*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Illinois: The Dorsey Press, [1974] 1980), 41; see also Christine Bombaro, *Finding History: Research Methods and Resources for Students and Scholars* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2012), 16-17.

<sup>79</sup> Shafer, *A Guide to Historical Method*, x.

Appraisal of source data is also dependent on a sound knowledge of the historiography. More than ‘a body of scholarship to mine for information’, our historiographic knowledge helps us to make evaluative judgements about the credibility of sources, corroborate our historical claims and identify where it is located within the broader field of knowledge. Conceptualised as kind of ‘historiographic mapping’ this approach is used to assist in contextualising, interpreting, appraising and categorising source data.<sup>80</sup> Accordingly, the available texts were appraised for this thesis to determine their relevance to the conceptual framework of the research. The selected data was then organised chronologically as well as thematically, without being overly deterministic, to allow certain histories to surface organically from the records.<sup>81</sup>

The CICD collection includes minutes of meetings, annual reports, official statements, newsletters, circulars, publications, correspondence and campaign material. These documents were treated as authentic because, in most instances, they were either signed and dated, or authorised by the CICD, and, therefore, formed part of its official records. However, all sources are context-specific. Alistair Thomson reminds us that ‘every source is a constructed and selective representation of experience’ and, therefore, considering the influences that ‘shape the source’ is a critical part of the history method.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, the contents of the texts were evaluated to determine credibility of evidence.

Analysis requires that texts are examined for internal bias, accuracy, and contradiction, and in consideration of the author and their intention.<sup>83</sup> The available texts produced by the CICD were aligned with its policies and procedures, and with the agenda of CICD principles. Documents were at times fragmentary, incomplete and often selective. They were also uneven, with extensive information on some aspects, such as propaganda material circulated by the CICD, and little to nothing on others. Minutes of CICD meetings and reports were not consistently maintained and there were no comprehensive membership, staff or financial records, which could also reflect the attitude or emphasis of the administrative staff that handled record-keeping. This is particularly true of CICD documents relating to its first decade of operation, which is the main focus of this thesis. Nevertheless, despite their

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<sup>80</sup> Laura Westoff, ‘Historiographic Mapping: Toward a Signature Pedagogy for the Methods Course’, *Journal of American History*, 98(4) 2012:1119; 1123.

<sup>81</sup> King, ‘Working With/In the Archives’, 33; 22.

<sup>82</sup> Alistair Thomson, ‘Life Stories’ in Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (eds.) *Research Methods for History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 102.

<sup>83</sup> Shafer, *A Guide to Historical Method*, 128-179; Bowen, ‘Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method’, 33; Berkhofer, Jr., *Fashioning history*, 3.

incompleteness, the records provide contextual richness and insights into the CICD's policies, outlook, organisational processes, praxis and activities. They include specific details and references and provide a broad coverage over time, and of numerous events and contexts.

To resolve problems arising from issues of consistency, internal bias, or contradictory evidence and to weigh the quality of the sources, efforts were made to locate corroborative evidence from other relevant sources. These included digitally archived newspaper articles, government publications and reference works. The process of locating other sources of evidence to check for validity is also contingent upon a comprehensive knowledge of the historiography.<sup>84</sup> However, inconsistencies in qualitative research might also indicate alternative counter-narratives, rather than pose contention to the credibility of the research.<sup>85</sup> Essentially, a rigorous critical approach requires continual reflection throughout the research process. This involves asking central questions about the data and findings, being aware of how they fit with the relevant historiography and what the inconsistencies represent.<sup>86</sup>

Analysis also requires identifying one's own potential biases.<sup>87</sup> This research was undertaken at an historical distance, that is, from a position of 'detached observation made possible by the passage of time'.<sup>88</sup> It should also be noted that no formal connection exists between either the CICD, relative organisations or political groups and myself. Nevertheless, inquirers should always be mindful of personal perceptions that, unwittingly, can impose interpretations and thereby distort one's view of the text and its contents.

To augment the data provided by archival records I have embedded oral history into the thesis. I determined that official CICD organisational documents would not necessarily offer the views of individual members. Oral history provides depth of understanding of the past by providing an insight into how individuals experienced historical events.<sup>89</sup> Eyewitness accounts contribute various perspectives that can fill in the gaps in documented history, make corrections or sometimes contradict the official records. Interviewers can also ask questions about partial or missing information.<sup>90</sup> A small sample of former and current CICD

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<sup>84</sup> Westoff, 'Historiographic Mapping', 1119; 1123.

<sup>85</sup> Patricia Bazeley, *Qualitative Data Analysis: Practical Strategies* (London: Sage Publishing, 2013), 210.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>87</sup> Shafer, *A Guide to the Historical Method*, 167.

<sup>88</sup> Mark Salber Phillips, *On Historical Distance* (UK: Yale University Press, 2013), 13-14.

<sup>89</sup> Thomson, 'Life Stories', 101-102.

<sup>90</sup> Robert Chadwell Williams, *The Historian's Toolbox: a student's guide to the theory and craft of history*, 2nd ed. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, [2003] 2007), 154-159.

committee members were contacted through the current CICD Secretary, Romina Beitseen, and invited to participate in the research. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with ethics approval.<sup>91</sup>

Oral history is a complementary data collection procedure that supports source triangulation with other evidence to check for validity.<sup>92</sup> Archival documents were particularly useful in pre-and post-interview situations. I used data from the documents to validate interview data and, inversely, data from the interviews was used to check data in the documents.

Information in archival documents provided leads for asking questions, while the documents were also used to help interviewees reflect on an event or situation long after it occurred.

Therefore, as uneven and incomplete as they were, the reviewed archival texts provided a useful function in this component of the research. Issues with memory are generally considered one of the foremost ‘pitfalls’ of oral history. Often the memory of emotion associated with the situation or event is recalled more vividly than the memory of the details. However, Robert Chadwell Williams argues that this ‘intensity of feeling’ is part of what makes oral history such a rich and potent tool for understanding the past, so long as historians maintain an ‘emotional distance’ from the testimony.<sup>93</sup>

Appraisal of oral history data should also consider the aims of both the researcher and its participants. Although the oral history recordings were initiated by the researcher, the decision to participate is often prompted by factors that invariably influence the interview.<sup>94</sup>

Interviewees for this research were keen to share the CICD’s story which they felt was overlooked in favour of a more high-profile history of radical youth-led activism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their willingness to discuss their involvement with the CICD, and their responses to open-ended questions allowed many further questions to evolve organically from the conversation. A challenge, therefore, was maintaining a focus on the research areas of inquiry without overly dictating the process.

A further contention regarding the reliability of oral history is that interviewees may be subject to the ‘researcher effect’, alluded to earlier, which suggests that participants’ behaviour may be influenced by the presence of the researcher.<sup>95</sup> To increase the validity and

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<sup>91</sup> Ethics Approval ID: HRE 16-299. Ethics Approval date: 13 December 2016 -13 December 2018.

<sup>92</sup> Thomson, ‘Life Stories’, 102; Michael Quinn Patton, ‘Enhancing Quality and Credibility of Qualitative Analysis’, *HSR: Health Services Research* 34:5 (1999):1193.

<sup>93</sup> Williams, *The Historian’s Toolbox*, 154-155; 159.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid*, 159-160; Thomson, ‘Life Stories’, 105.

<sup>95</sup> H.I.L. Brink, ‘Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research’, *Curationis*, 16(2) 1993:36.

reliability of responses, participants were made very clear on the nature of the research, how the data would be collected and how it would be used. A trust-relationship was built with the participants first; audio-recorded results were compared with other evidence; and I maintained an awareness of the participants' personal circumstances. Further safeguards against bias were implemented by design, in that I selected participants who held diverse positions in, and connections to, the CICD.<sup>96</sup> Further efforts to provide a representative sample was limited by the availability of potential participants. Many former CICD members had already passed away, such as, former general secretary and founding member, the late Pauline Mitchell. Her daughter, Kisten McCandless, provided her account of her mother's time and work with the CICD. Despite Pauline's life-long commitment to the CICD, the main voices represented in the records for the period in question were almost exclusively those of the executive members of the CICD, who were all male. If the records allowed it, an examination of the women's political and civic participation in the CICD would complement this research and contribute to broader gender research exploring the experiences of a diverse array of women in the past. There is very little in the way of memoir or private collections and only a few security files on some of the CICD women are held at the NAA in Canberra.

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

## **Chapter 2: Towards a ‘Declaration of Hope’**

This chapter provides an overview of the scope and nature of the Australian peace movement from the immediate post-WWII period until the CICD’s formation following the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress. Immediately after the war, a foremost concern for both secular and non-secular pacifists was the latest weapon of mass destruction and the attendant threat of atomic annihilation. Despite their limited resources and influence, pacifists campaigned against all preparations for war and advocated world government to secure long-term peace. Beyond pacifism, some liberal internationalists looked to the nascent United Nations Organisation (UN) to promote and ensure international stability. By 1947, an attempt to form a coalition of peace forces was initiated against the establishment of the Woomera rocket range in South Australia. The campaign was supported by a diversity of organisations who considered weapons testing in Australia immoral. Attempts were made to broaden the debate against the British testing program, particularly by those who opposed foreign military operations in Australia. However, the various interest groups struggled to unify the different emphases in the protest, and their actions had minimal impact on the Australian public. The post-war period was an era of heightened international political tensions underpinned by a wave of anti-communism. By 1949, another world war seemed imminent and a harrowing prospect in the new atomic age. Peace activists felt that the only way they could help to defuse Cold War attitudes and counter the threat of atomic war was to build a mass, broadly-based disarmament movement. In 1949, the formation of the Australian chapter of the world peace movement, the Australian Peace Council (APC), denoted the founding of a national peace committee, which subsequently established the organisational basis for the future peace movement. Initially, the APC was a provisional body. Its objectives included: promoting the establishment of state peace bodies and local auxiliary groups; organising a national peace congress in 1950; and establishing a permanent peace committee to lead the various Australian peace groups. Under the auspices of the APC, a series of nation-wide peace actions were undertaken during the 1950s which contributed to the first anti-nuclear movement and culminated in the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress. State peace bodies were reconstituted as continuing committees, such as the CICD, to carry forward the work of the 1959 Congress.

In contrast to the APC’s alleged position of political neutrality, the APC was influenced by communist policy and strategy. It regarded the Soviet Union as the touchstone for world



peace and supported its 'peace offensive'. Therefore, it effectively acted as a mouthpiece for Soviet foreign policy. By promoting proposals for nuclear disarmament, an independent Australian foreign policy, and peaceful coexistence, the APC swam against a strong Cold War current of anti-communism during the 1950s. Australian government attempts to publicly discredit the peace movement as a communist ruse affected both its trajectory and influence, but also demonstrated the limits of a liberal democracy during the Cold War. On the one hand, the APC-led peace movement was a proactive, grass-roots response to the dominant Cold War ideology, which in turn, served to both stifle and inspire it; on the other hand, the APC's partisan worldview perpetuated, rather than countered, the Cold War thinking it purported to transcend. Moreover, its emphasis on unanimity and conformity belied self-professed claims of impartiality and allowed an opportunity in the late 1950s to broaden its base of support beyond that of communists and their supporters.

### **Post-war pacifism**

Pacifism was displaced in WWII when fighting fascism was largely accepted as the 'lesser evil'; however, pro-war sentiments persisted after the war.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the first two atomic bombs were dropped over Japan, an overwhelming majority of Australian opinion considered that the action was 'justified' – it expedited the end of the war in the Pacific and the further loss of Allied lives.<sup>2</sup> While the experience of the survivors appeared to be beyond the limits of comprehension and imagining,<sup>3</sup> a leading pacifist, Rev. Frank William Coaldrake, noted Australian attitudes to the first victims of atomic warfare when he wrote in 1950:

The depressing thing, as I look back now, was to find among the several thousand people I spoke to in meetings and services, very few began by acknowledging the human-ness of the people of Japan.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Carolyn Rasmussen, *The Lesser Evil? Opposition to War and Fascism in Australia 1920-1941* (Parkville History Department, University of Melbourne, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> A Gallup Poll reported nationally confirmed that only 12 per cent of Australians took exception to use of the atom bomb on Japan because they considered it 'inhuman and barbaric', 'Gallup Poll Says: Japs Deserved Atom Bombing', *Herald* (Melb.) 22 September 1945:5; 'Public Opinion Poll: Australians Think Japan Deserved Atomic Bombs', *Advertiser* (Adel.) 22 September 1945:10; 'Gallup Poll', *Sun* (Sydney), 23 September 1945:4; 'Australians Believe Japs Deserved Atom Bombs', *Mercury* (Hobart), 24 September 1945:13; 'Gallup Poll Says: Japs Deserve Atom Bombing', *Daily News* (Perth), 25 September 1945:70; 'Japs Deserved Atom Bomb, Says Gallup Poll', *Courier-Mail* (Bris.), 6 October 1945:4.

<sup>3</sup> 'A Blast That Rocks the World', *Herald* (Melb.), 7 August 1945:4.

<sup>4</sup> Coaldrake was reflecting on his brief visit to Australia in mid-1950 after which he returned to Japan where he worked as an Anglican missionary from mid-1947. Rev. Frank Coaldrake, *Newsletter*

Naturally, pacifists were opposed to the atomic bombings on Japan, and they feared that the action represented the moral degradation of Western civilisation. Coaldrake declared that the war had ‘warped the mind of even the Christian among us’, and fellow pacifist, Eleanor Moore, regretted that the ‘allied victory had come with new forms of ugliness and the shame and horror of the atomic bomb’.<sup>5</sup> While pacifists ‘shuddered’ at the news of the bombing, they held concerns about the atomic bomb becoming inevitably part of future war.<sup>6</sup> Coaldrake’s *Peacemaker*, the pacifists’ official monthly organ, articulated the grave sense of danger they held for the future of humankind.<sup>7</sup> However, such foreboding contrasted with earlier reactions to the bombings on Japan. Some pacifists reasoned that this new means of destruction had made war untenable, as there could be no winners in an atomic war. Such hopes were encapsulated in the leading article of the September 1945 issue of *Peacemaker* titled, ‘The World Agrees at Last – there must not be another war’.<sup>8</sup> The *Peacemaker*’s belief that ‘mankind ‘[could] not afford another war’ was also shared by the non-pacifist peace movement, led by the APC.<sup>9</sup> Broadly, the non-pacifist peace movement involved activists who shared a sense of political disaffection. It could also refer to those who might support war or aspects of war, particularly when all non-violent avenues had been exhausted, premised on utilitarian precepts of a ‘just’ war.<sup>10</sup> Gradually, the APC’s campaigns were

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No.31, August 1950 in William H. Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan from War to Peace: The Coaldrake Records 1939-1956* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 7; 23; ‘Cleric Due from Japan’, *Examiner* (Tas.), 6 March 1950:2; ‘The Churches: Missionary for Japan’, *Sydney Morning Herald* (hereafter, *SMH*), 17 May 1947:12.

<sup>5</sup> Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan from War to Peace*, 23; Eleanor May Moore, *The Quest for Peace as I Have Known It in Australia* (Melbourne: s.n. Wilke & Co, c.1949), 156. Moore first became involved in the pacifist movement at the onset of WWI. She served as international secretary of Dr Charles Strong’s, Sisterhood of International Peace (SIP) before it became the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) in 1920. Mimi Colligan and Malcolm Saunders, ‘Moore, Eleanor May (1875–1949)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1986) <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/moore-eleanor-may-7635/text13349>.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Peacemaker’s 10-Year Struggle’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 11(10), October 1949:3.

<sup>7</sup> *Peacemaker* Vol. 8(2), February 1946:1. Coaldrake was the founder, editor and initially financed *Peacemaker: An Australian Venture in Reconstruction*. In its first issue, dated 29 September 1939, Coaldrake explains that it was produced in response to WWII and to provide a shared forum for and by pacifists. ‘The Peacemaker’s Policy,’ *Peacemaker: An Australian Venture into Reconstruction*, Vol. 1(1), 29 September 1939:2. See also Letter from Acting Inquiries Officer to the Commonwealth Investigation Branch, Brisbane, 29 December 1939, Frank William Coaldrake, (hereafter, Coaldrake) National Archives of Australia (NAA): A6119, 714, f.7.

<sup>8</sup> *Peacemaker*, Vol. 7(8) September 1945,1.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ibid.; ‘Declaration of Hope’, *Documents of The Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament* (Melbourne: Challenge Press, 1959), 2, in author’s personal collection and UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 50, file 67, (hereafter, ‘Declaration of Hope’).

<sup>10</sup> Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 6-8.

supported by individual pacifists and secular pacifist groups, such as the Australian Peace Pledge Union (APPU) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).

Pacifism in Australia comprised several diverse groups based on either religious philosophy, such as the Christian Pacifist Movement of Victoria (CPM), or secular values, such as the APPU and the WILPF.<sup>11</sup> These small state councils were among the most active pacifist groups after the war operating under the aegis of the Australian division of the War Resister's International (WRI), the Federal Pacifist Council (FPC).<sup>12</sup> The FPC was established with the help of Rev. Coaldrake who served as its president from 1943-1946.<sup>13</sup> Shortly following its formation, FPC's future seemed unclear when a meeting held in Sydney on 10 July 1943 moved to 'liquidate' the nascent, national body.<sup>14</sup> However, Rev. Coaldrake argued successfully that the FPC should be allowed to continue to prove its utility by defending civil liberties and promoting pacifism as an alternative to war.<sup>15</sup> As noted, pacifism barely survived WWII when there was little mainstream willingness to discuss the abolition of war, and after 1945, it continued to operate on the periphery of Australian society.<sup>16</sup> Despite

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<sup>11</sup> See for instance the following report of the 1947 annual FPC conference which considered the ideologically complex and often interrelated grounds for pacifism based on philosophical precepts, Christian religious dogma and passive resistance theory. Kenneth Deakin Rivett, 'Fundamentals of Pacifism' in *Towards Peace: A Full Report of the 1947 Australian Pacifist Conference* (Mt Evelyn, January 1947), <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000821.htm>. See also, Sally Wilkin, 'The Australian Peace Pledge Union', *Pacifists Out of Place in the 1940s* in Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land*, 62-64.

<sup>12</sup> Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 31; Wilkin, 'Australian Peace Pledge Union', 73-74. The WRI was the parent body of the international pacifist movement. See for instance, 'World Pacifists', *Peacemaker* Vol. 1(1) 29 September 1939, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan from War to Peace*, 3-4; Ember Parkin, 'Against the Mainstream' in Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land*, 86. By some accounts, the FPC was established in 1942. Coaldrake (ed.), *Japan from War to Peace*, 3; Saunders and Summy, *A Short History*, 31. Conversely, Wilkin writes that the Victorian branch of the State Pacifist Council (SPC) was formed in 1942, incorporating the smaller Peace Pledge Union (PPU), Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Goodwill Service Community with the larger Christian Pacifist Movement (CPM), while the FPC was formed the following year, in January 1943. Wilkin, 'The Australian Peace Pledge Union', 74. By 1949, the constituent state councils incorporated by FPC were APPU and Fellow of Reconciliation (FOR) in New South Wales (NSW); APPU, CPM and Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Victoria (Vic); APPU in South Australia (SA); FOR in Queensland (Qld); and the Tasmanian Pacifist Fellowship. Letter from Miss J. M. Russell, Hon. Secretary Federal Pacifist Council to Prime Minister J.B. Chifley, 27 February 1949, 'Personal Papers of Prime Minister Chifley, Correspondence 'P' Part 1', NAA: M1455, 366, f.2.

<sup>14</sup> 'Federal Pacifist Council', [extract] *Post and Telegraph Censorship Bulletin*, No.58, 27 July-9 August 1943, Coaldrake, NAA: A6119, 714, f.38.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> *Peacemaker* had a national circulation of about 2,000 copies and 40 copies overseas in 1942, Letter from Commonwealth Security Service to Director-General of Security, ACT, 21 November 1942, and

measures to gain stronger advocacy through consolidation, at its height in 1947 the FPC's membership numbered only 1,300.<sup>17</sup>

### **A proposal for world order: World Government or the UNO?**

For a time, the post-war pacifist campaign to abolish war found expression in the movement for world government that was formally established by an international convention held in Montreux, in August 1947.<sup>18</sup> An Australian branch of the international movement, called the World Movement for World Federal Government, was established by mid-1949.<sup>19</sup> The aims and objects of the movement for world government were based on Clarence Kirschmann Streits' 1939 monograph, *Union Now*, while Emery Reves' *Anatomy of Peace* (1945) helped to generate mass-appeal for post-war world federalist sentiments.<sup>20</sup> In the September 1946 issue of *Peacemaker* Moore declared that a world government was the only way to 'create security against destruction by the atomic bomb...not [the] UNO'.<sup>21</sup> Following Moore's article, *Peacemaker* announced that the proposal for world government would be discussed at the next annual conference in early 1947.<sup>22</sup> By September 1947, *Peacemaker* noted that 'many' pacifists viewed the proposal for world government favourably and it was a leading issue at both the 1948 and 1949 national conferences.<sup>23</sup> However, by 1949 the FPC began to view the idea of a supra-government with caution. During its 1949 national conference, a

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Letter to the Director-General of Security, ACT, from E.G. Bonney, the Chief Publicity Censor, Canberra, 10 November 1942, Ref: CPC/5426, both in Coaldrake, NAA: A6119, 714, f.30; 25-26, respectively.

<sup>17</sup> Wilkin, 'Australian Peace Pledge Union', 78; Lawrence S. Wittner, *One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953, Vol. 1: The Struggle Against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 102.

<sup>18</sup> According to *Peacemaker*, the British Federal Union initiated an international conference held in Luxembourg in October 1946 which decided to establish a movement for World Federal Government. The association officially took shape the following year during a convention representing 23 nations held in Montreux, 17-24 August 1947. 'World Federal Government', *Peacemaker* Vol. 9 (9), September 1947:2; see also Federation of the World', *Peacemaker* Vol. 10(7), July 1948, 2.

<sup>19</sup> [extract] *Post & Telegraph Censorship Bulletin*, No.42, 23-29 March 1942 and World Movement for World Federal Government (NSW) Circular, 16 May 1949, both in World Movement for World Federal Government, NAA: A9108, no folio number (hereafter n.f.) [digital p. 170; 43, respectively].

<sup>20</sup> Letter from Deputy Director, Commonwealth Investigation Services to Director, Canberra, 23 July 1948, World Movement for World Federal Government, NAA: A9108, n.f. [digital p. 100].

<sup>21</sup> 'World Government – Not UNO', *Peacemaker*, Vol. 8(9), September 1946, 2.

<sup>22</sup> The conference was held between 30 January - 2 February in Mount Evelyn, Victoria. *Peacemaker* Vol. 8(12), December 1946, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(11), November 1947, 2; *Peacemaker* Vol. 19(2), March 1948, 1; 3; '4<sup>th</sup> Australian Pacifist Conference', *Peacemaker* Vol. 11(3), March 1949:1. 'World Government' was the key issue of the Vic. State Pacifist Council's 3-day 'Pre-Conference Conference' on 28 November 1947, *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(11), November 1947, 2.

discussion on the subject concluded that 'it was evident' there were inherent problems with world government, particularly its notion of a centralised world authority and the attendant potential for world dictatorship.<sup>24</sup> In mid-1949, *Peacemaker* reprinted a memorandum issued by the annual Council of the WRI warning that although the establishment of a world government might appear 'desirable', pacifists should be on 'guard against over-centralisation'.<sup>25</sup> It was 'vitally concerned' that if world government came to fruition, it 'should not be backed by military force'.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, the triennial World Pacifist Meeting held in India in December 1949 issued two statements on the subject: the first favoured a non-military world government, and the second concerned pacifist opposition to world government.<sup>27</sup> A month later the 1950 FPC's annual conference agreed that the WRI was 'worthy' of pacifists' 'fullest support' and would increase its annual donation to the international body; *Peacemaker's* report did not mention world government.<sup>28</sup>

Pacifists' reservations regarding the limitations of world government by 1950 were reflective of similar attitudes in the broader community. Some sections of the public considered world government and its potential for a global dictatorship naïve and even dangerous.<sup>29</sup> However, exponents of world government presented it as a *fait accompli* and proclaimed that it had a 'definite plan' for establishing a world government by 1955.<sup>30</sup> Leading representatives of the movement for world government reasoned that it was no coincidence that eminent world figures advocated it. Accordingly, the chairman of the NSW division of the movement H. N. Rhodes claimed, it was 'in fact...simply a matter of bringing this proposal before people and the majority agree to support it'.<sup>31</sup> At first glance, it appears that a majority of Australians

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<sup>24</sup> 'Pacifism and World Government', *Peacemaker* Vol. 11(3), March 1949, 1.

<sup>25</sup> 'World Government', *Peacemaker* Vol. 11(5), May 1949, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> 'World Pacifist Meeting', *Peacemaker* Vol. 12(2), February 1950, 1; 'World Pacifist Meeting' *Peacemaker* Vol. 12(3), March 1950, 3.

<sup>28</sup> 'Australian Pacifist Conference', *Peacemaker* Vol. 12(3), March 1950, 2.

<sup>29</sup> 'Letters World Federal Government "Artless Credulity"', *SMH*, 5 April 1950:2; 'World Government', *SMH*, 10 March 1950:2 'World Government', *Advertiser* (Adel.), 7 March 1950:4.

<sup>30</sup> World Federal Union (Australia), pamphlet, c.1947; see also: 'Can a World Government Guarantee Peace?', *Picture Post* (England), Vol. 40(13), 25 September 1948:7-10; esp. p. 9; 'Crusade for World Government: The Plan in Outline', British Committee of the Crusade for World Government, n.d., all in World Movement for World Federal Government, NAA: A9108, n.f. [digital pp. 60-61; 50-53; 70-78].

<sup>31</sup> H. N. Rhodes in 'World Government', *SMH*, 31 March 1950:2; see also a similar article from the Victorian division of the World Movement for World Federal Government, 'World Government', *Argus*, 15 December 1950:2.

supported the proposal, although a significant number were ambivalent towards it.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, by late 1950 the Australian branch of the movement had a membership of only 700.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, when the head of the United Nations (UN) Status of Women Commission, Mary Tenison Woods, concluded that the public ‘confused it [the UN]...a voluntary organisation of sovereign States...with a World Government...capable of forcing its opinion and decision on member States’, she inadvertently explained the discrepancy between the poll results and actual support for the proposal.<sup>34</sup>

While pacifists deliberated the possibility of world government without the ‘risk of totalitarianism’,<sup>35</sup> some progressive liberal internationalists favoured the UN proposal and, in particular, Dr H. V. Evatt’s endeavours to ensure the smaller powers had a stronger voice in the international organisation.<sup>36</sup> Commonwealth-assisted, state branches of the United Nations Association of Australia also provided active support for the UN.<sup>37</sup> Despite its limitations, the APC and its successor CICD, as well as many on the left, declared ‘unequivocal support’ for the UN Charter and the organisation’s role in promoting international stability.<sup>38</sup> In the following chapter it will become evident that, while supporting the international body, the peace movement led by the CICD maintained that its effectiveness was contingent upon ‘the admission of the China People’s Republic and ...all the other non-

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<sup>32</sup> Between 1952-1958, Australian opinion was tested triennially on the question of whether the UN should be made into a world government with control of the armed forces of all nations. On average almost 48 per cent of respondents favoured the proposal (with 52.8 per cent at its highest and 43 per cent at its lowest), 33 per cent disagreed and 18.8 per cent were undecided. ‘Australian’s View in Gallup Poll’, *Courier-Mail* (Bris.), 20 November 1952:3; *Australian Gallup Polls* (hereafter *AGP*), Survey 115, December 1955 [computer file]. Canberra: Australian Data Archive, Australian National University (hereafter, ANU), 1989; *AGP*, Survey 134, October 28, 1958 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1989.

<sup>33</sup> Wittner, *One World or None*, 103.

<sup>34</sup> ‘UN’s Work to Stop World Wars’, *SMH*, 22 Oct 1954:5.

<sup>35</sup> ‘World Government Congress in Rome: Risk of Totalitarianism’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 13(7), August 1951, 1.

<sup>36</sup> ‘Trust Placed in the United Nations’, *Age*, 18 May 1949:2; ‘People of All Nations’, *Age*, 19 June 1946:6. For Church support of the UN see: ‘Church Leaders Seek Support For United Nations’, *The Mercury* (Tas.), 22 October 1949:7; ‘Church Support For United Nations’, ‘Churches: United Nations Day’, *SMH*, 23 October 1948:10; *Advertiser* (Adel.), 21 May 1948: 2; ‘United Nations Week Begins’, *Age*, 30 September 1947:4. On Evatt see: ‘Small Nations are Having a Say in Paris Talks’, *SMH*, 5 August 1946:2; ‘Definite Gain, Says Dr Evatt’, *SMH*, 5 October 1945: 3; ‘Security Needs Small Powers’ Role’, *SMH*, 21 March 1945:3. Dr Evatt was Deputy PM in the Chifley Government from 1946-1949.

<sup>37</sup> ‘United Nations Association’, *Age*, 19 November 1945:2.

<sup>38</sup> Rev. James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall, Melbourne, Monday 12 September 1949, Attended by 112 Representatives of 49 Organisations, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000707.pdf>; ‘Declaration of Hope’.

members nations' to the UN.<sup>39</sup> The UN was also supported by the ALP, including its left-wing. With the war-time Labor government re-elected for a second term in 1946 under J.B. Chifley, the left-wing of the ALP resolved to stand firmly behind its party programs and execute its policies, including the proposal to establish a guided weapons range in Central Australia.

Opposition to the proposed rocket range in Central Australia denoted a first post-war attempt to launch a unified campaign critical of the Government's defence policy; however, it was indicative of some of the emergent tensions and challenges the peace movement encountered during the early Cold War. The anti-rocket range campaign was initiated in an increasingly hostile Cold War landscape by a diversity of organisations that recognised a disjuncture between humanitarianism and environmentalism on the one hand, and national security on the other.

### **The Rocket Range Protest**

The Minister for Post-War Reconstruction, John Dedman, confirmed plans of a joint program for a rocket research station in Central Australia on 1 November 1945.<sup>40</sup> Great Britain, it said, 'needs large uninhabited areas, and the Commonwealth has willingly consented to make such areas available'.<sup>41</sup> Australia's primary role was to provide a site for the British guided missiles project, which the Government regarded as being of the 'utmost importance to the defence of the Empire'.<sup>42</sup> Ultimately, the program failed to enable Britain to become an independent nuclear power and Australia gained very little useful scientific and technical information. The tests displaced local inhabitants from their traditional lands without reparation and some became contaminated by radiation. The circumstances surrounding Australian co-operation in the British atomic testing programme from 1946-1963 and its technical aspects are beyond the scope of the thesis. However, the extensive programme involved top secret, smaller weapons tests called 'minor trials' that were renamed 'assessment tests' in late 1958, and became the 'Maralinga Experimental Program' in

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<sup>39</sup> 'Declaration of Hope'.

<sup>40</sup> 'Empire Rocket Research in Central Australia', *SMH*, 1 November 1945:1. A report from London outlining the proposal was reported in the Australian press up to three days earlier. 'Rocket Fuel Tests in Australia, Five Experts from Britain: "The Age" Special Correspondent', London, Oct. 28', *Age*, 29 October 1945:1; 'Rocket Fuel Research in Central Australia: British Expert Coming by Agreement With U.K', *Canberra Times*, 29 October 1945:1; 'Rocket Research Plan for Central Australia', *SMH*, 30 October 1945:1.

<sup>41</sup> 'Empire Rocket Research in Central Australia', *SMH*, 1 November 1945:1.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

December 1959. These minor trials were renamed to avoid the interpretation that they were nuclear explosions during the comprehensive test ban moratorium.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, it is essential to bear in mind that the program was shrouded in official secrecy and disinformation when considering public attitudes in the early Cold War to nuclear testing in Australia.<sup>44</sup>

Shortly following the early press announcement of a proposed weapons site in Central Australia, a few interested groups began to publicise their concerns. They opposed the proposed rocket research site on two fronts: the likely impact on local Aboriginal people and their lands in the Central Reserve, and the potential threat it posed to world peace.<sup>45</sup> As the campaign developed, attempts to accommodate the twin issues represented by the diverse groups proved problematic. In the former regard, the government played down the risks it posed to the Central Reserve and its inhabitants with platitudinous reassurances; on the latter question, the government reacted with outright hostility in an increasingly Cold War political climate, which, in turn, influenced the trajectory and character of the campaign.

Initially, the protest centred on humanitarian concerns for the wellbeing and preservation of Aboriginals on the reserve and their way of life. Aboriginal welfare and Church-led mission groups were among those who first registered their concerns. Secretary of the Aborigines Protection League, William Ferguson regarded the plans as tantamount to ‘declaring open season’ on the inhabitants of the Central Reserve.<sup>46</sup> Anthropologist, Donald F. Thompson, and Secretary of the National Missionary Council, J. Whitsed Dovey, expressed similar views

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<sup>43</sup> For instance, the programme involved an estimated 600 ‘minor trials’ at Emu Field, and Maralinga conducted from 1953-1963; two atmospheric atomic *Totem* tests at Emu Field in 1953; four *Buffalo* tests at Maralinga in 1956; and three *Antler* tests in 1957. The British program also involved atomic tests code-named *Hurricane* in 1952 and *Mosaic* in 1956 at the Monte Bello islands, 130 km off the Pilbara coast of north-western Australia; and thermonuclear tests at Christmas Island in the Pacific during 1957-1958 when world leaders were debating a proposal for a comprehensive moratorium on atmospheric testing. *The Report of Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests in Australia Vol. 2* (Canberra, Government Publishing Services, 1985), 395. See also Peter N. Grabosky, ‘A toxic legacy: British nuclear weapons testing in Australia.’ In *Wayward Governance: illegality and its control in the public sector* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1989), 235-253; Harvey, ‘Early Cold War Opposition to US Bases in Australia’, 276.

<sup>44</sup> The idea of protecting national security interests was invoked to justify official secrecy. ‘Secrecy of Rocket Range Test’, *Age*, 8 March 1947:16.

<sup>45</sup> For non-Aboriginal activists’ perspective on the rocket range protest, see Debra Wilson, *Different White People: radical Activism for Aboriginal Rights, 1946-1972* (Crawley: UWA Publishing, 2015), 110-113. On the radical left’s response to the project and Australian national security during the Cold War, see Harvey, ‘Early Cold War Opposition to US Bases’, 266-284; esp. 272.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Protest Against Rocket Tests’, *Daily Examiner* (NSW), 18 April 1946:1.



and generally sought the evacuation of both Aboriginals and missionaries.<sup>47</sup> *Peacemaker* also shared similar concerns.<sup>48</sup> However, fears for the welfare of the Aboriginals and tribal lands were dismissed as ‘premature’ by the Minister for Air Herbert Johnson, and later, ‘groundless’ by University of Sydney anthropologist, Professor Adolphus P. Elkin, while a panellist on ABC’s *Nation’s Forum* stated that, ultimately, any attempt to oppose the program would be futile.<sup>49</sup>

In light of the government’s enthusiasm for the rocket range program, missionary and Aboriginal advocacy groups asked if the Government might consider an alternative location for the guided missiles project, rather than abandon the whole project. In response, the Government and its spokespeople gave repeated assurances in the press ‘that everything possible would be done to safeguard the lives and interests of the native population’ and stressed the project’s critical importance to the future security of the Empire and Commonwealth.<sup>50</sup> In line with the Government’s enthusiasm towards the range, many leading newspapers reported that a majority of Australian public opinion favoured the guided missiles range at Woomera, despite substantial ambivalence in the community.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Donald F. Thompson, *The Aborigines and the Rocket Range* (Melbourne: Rocket Range Protest Committee, 1947); ‘Aborigines in Rocket Area: Mission Appeal for Safeguards’, *Age*, 21 October 1946:2.

<sup>48</sup> See letters to the Editor, *Peacemaker* Vol. 8(11), November 1946, 2 and *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(2), February 1947, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Herbert Johnson in ‘Rocket Range Not Yet Decided’, *Age*, 11 October 1946:3. Elkin was speaking as President of the Association for the Protection of Native Races and a specially co-opted member of Guided Projectile Expert Committee to look after the welfare of the Aboriginals, ‘Aborigines Not Doomed By Rocket Project’, *SMH*, 20 May 1947:2; ‘A Professor Said Aborigines Were Safe From Rockets’, *Sun* (Syd.), 2 March 1947:4. One of four academics on ABC’s ‘Nation’s Forum of the Air’, broadcast on 30 October 1946, stated that ‘it would make no difference how much we protested [the rocket range] as the matter would be decided by big capitalists and militarists in England’, ‘Rocket Range’, *Sun* (Syd.), 4 November 1946:4; ‘Should Australia Be Made Bomb-Alley’, *Newcastle Sun*, 29 October 1946:14.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Rocket Tests and Aborigines’, *Age*, 22 October 1946:2; ‘No Rocket Peril to Aborigines Report from Committee’, *Herald* (Melb.), 6 March 1947:14; ‘Rocket Range Experiments ‘Will Not Menace Aborigines’’, *Age*, 7 March 1947:12; ‘Rocket Tests No Danger to Aborigines’, *Argus*, 7 March 1947:15; ‘Rocket Tests Are Necessary’, *Age*, 3 April 1947:2; ‘“Rocket Tests Vital to Australia” - Evatt’, *Sun* (Syd.), 6 June 1947:7; ‘“No One Must Frustrate Our Security” Rocket Tests Vital, Says Mr Menzies’, *Argus*, 17 June 1947:20. See also Letter from PM, J.B. Chifley, to Secretary of the London Peace Pledge Union, 22 July 1947, [Personal Papers of Prime Minister Chifley] Correspondence ‘P’, Part 1, NAA: M1455, 214; Thompson, *The Aborigines and the Rocket Range* (Melbourne: Rocket Range Protest Committee, 1947).

<sup>51</sup> Of those tested, 53 per cent favoured the Woomera rocket range proposal, 28 per cent disapproved and 19 per cent were undecided. ‘Gallup Poll Rocket Range Wanted’, *Herald* (Melb.), 17 May 1947:12.

By early August 1946, a meeting in Adelaide convened by Common Cause, a liberal progressive organisation led by the President of the SA Aborigines Protection League, Dr Charles (Chas) Duguid, resolved to send a signature protest to PM Chifley urging for the relocation of the range.<sup>52</sup> While Chifley received ‘a bulky envelope containing a large number of petitions’ on a daily basis protesting the proposed location of the testing range, the Government enjoyed bi-partisan support for the programme.<sup>53</sup> As noted, the Labor Party, including the Labor left, was primarily concerned with supporting and executing its Party policies while it was in government and only one parliamentarian spoke against it.

Independent MHR and ardent pacifist, Doris Blackburn, registered her opposition to the rocket range when she gave notice of a motion to the Government in late 1946 to speak against it.<sup>54</sup> Three months later she moved that the proposal to establish a rocket bomb testing range in Central Australia

is an act of injustice to a weaker people who have no voice in the ordering of their own lives; is a betrayal of our responsibility to guard the human rights of those who cannot defend themselves; and a violation of the various Charters that have sought to bring about world peace, ... such action is against the interests of the whole of the people in this Commonwealth.<sup>55</sup>

Blackburn questioned the integrity of the Labor government that purported to uphold the UN Charter but demonstrated double standards in its treatment of Aboriginals and its alleged

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<sup>52</sup> ‘Rocket Range Protests to Canberra’, *News* (SA), 9 August 1946:5. Common Cause was formed during WWII at a public meeting at the Adelaide Town Hall in 1943, ‘Common Cause’, *News* (SA), 11 March 1943:3. Dr Duguid was the founding member of the Government Aboriginal Protection Board and President of the Aborigines Protection League, South Australia in 1935. ‘Aborigines Protection League Elects Officers’, *News* (SA), 21 June 1935:5.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Petitions Daily to Chifley’, *News* (Adel.), 24 February 1947:6. Within a month, Common Cause had collected signatures from 10,000 concerned citizens. ‘Rocket Range Protests to Canberra’, *News* (Adel.), 9 August 1946:5; ‘Rocket Testing Range’, *Advertiser* (Adel.) 16 October 1946:1.

<sup>54</sup> ‘In Parliament Move Against Rocket Tests’, *Canberra Times*, 5 December 1946:4. Blackburn began her political career with the Women’s Political Association in 1913. She was campaign secretary for fellow pacifist and suffragist, Vida Goldstein, and continued to work for peace advocacy with the WILPF and with the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). During the 1950s, she co-founded the Aborigines Advancement League and the Federal Council for Aboriginal Advancement. Carolyn Rasmussen, ‘Blackburn, Doris Amelia (1889–1970)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. 13*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blackburn-doris-amelia-9517/text16755>, and more recently, Carolyn Rasmussen, *The Blackburns: Private Lives, Public Ambitions* (Carlton: Melbourne University Publishing, 2019).

<sup>55</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 6 March 1947, 435  
[http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470306\\_reps\\_18\\_190/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470306_reps_18_190/).

preparations for war; Blackburn's motion straddled both issues in the debate. Nevertheless, she received no support from either side of the House on this occasion, nor in May 1947, when she spoke again in the House and her fellow parliamentarians summarily dismissed her arguments as 'too emotional and unenlightened'.<sup>56</sup>

Beyond parliament, opposition developed. On 14 February 1947, the Presbyterian Board of Missions joined the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), spearheaded by Blackburn, to form the Rocket Range Protest Committee.<sup>57</sup> The Committee took shape at a meeting on 3 March that invited delegates from all interested bodies and organisations. It represented 45 organisations, including pacifists and communists.<sup>58</sup> The initial protest urged the government to relocate the programme in the interests of preserving the Central Reserve and its inhabitants, however, many pacifists and progressives also argued that the project should be abandoned because the rocket range threatened world peace. Ultimately, there was little uniform willingness to maintain a united protest. While pacifists opposed all war preparations, given increased international tensions, communists and their sympathisers believed the rocket range was an Anglo-American strategy to develop guided missiles in preparation for a new war against the Soviet Union.<sup>59</sup> Discord in the campaign and attempts to overcome it were evident during Rocket Range Protest Committee meetings.

At the preliminary meeting on 3 March 1947 Aborigines League Secretary, Pastor Douglas Nicholls, outlined the terms of the meeting. He stated that the objective of the meeting was to 'secure justice for the native' and declared that he would reject any attempt to 'include a ban on the rocket range entirely'. Pastor Nicholls' attempt to confine the debate was seconded by another voice which called out, "Quite right. This meeting has not been called to discuss pacifism". However, the meeting's final resolution declared its disapproval of 'the principle involved in the rocket range project'.<sup>60</sup> The general terms of the statement acknowledged the broader basis for the protest, which was later confirmed by President of the CPM, Victoria,

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<sup>56</sup> 'Federal House Yesterday: Private Members Had Little Say', *SMH*, 7 March 1947:2; H of R, *Debates*, 6 March 1947, 435-439; 441, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470306\\_reps\\_18\\_190/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470306_reps_18_190/); H of R, *Debates*, 1 May 1947, 1827-1828, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470501\\_reps\\_18\\_191/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470501_reps_18_191/).

<sup>57</sup> 'Rocket-Range Protest Meeting', *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(5), May 1947, 1.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* The meeting was held at Centreway, Collins Str. 'Rocket Range Protest by Missions Board', *Herald* (Melb.), 27 February 1947:18; 'It's Your Opinion, Rocket Range', *Argus*, 21 May 1947:2.

<sup>59</sup> Ralph Gibson, *My Years in the Communist Party* (Melbourne: International Bookshop, 1966), 126; 'Secret Anglo-USA Military Pact, Australia Will Be Drawn in', *Tribune*, 24 December 1946:1; 'Yanks Want Aust. Rocket Range', *Tribune*, 18 May 1949:9.

<sup>60</sup> 'Rocket Range Protest', *Age*, 4 March 1947:12.

Robert H. Green. Writing in *Argus* on the 3 March meeting, he discerned that despite some minimal opposition the assembly

revealed with (only five dissentients) that the protest was based [firstly] on a desire to protect the aborigines, [and secondly], a conviction that such tests in peacetime were not in the best interests of international goodwill.<sup>61</sup>

The 3 March meeting decided to hold a public meeting of protest in the Melbourne Town Hall on 31 March. In the interim, a committee meeting on 24 March was presented with a drafted resolution to be moved at the 31 March meeting which attempted to narrow the debate.<sup>62</sup> Contrary to the decisions of the 3 March meeting, the draft resolution only sought to protest against the threat to Aborigines on the Reserve.<sup>63</sup> After a heated discussion, the committee finally agreed to support the broader premise of the protest, with six dissentients.<sup>64</sup> Although the draft resolution presented to the 31 March public meeting addressed both issues, the meeting was advertised solely to protest against the menace to aboriginal life.<sup>65</sup> According to *Peacemaker*, this was the result of an administrative error – allegedly publicity arrangements were made prematurely. To ameliorate this, pacifist organisations printed and distributed a pamphlet outside the Melbourne Town Hall before the meeting titled, ‘The Black and White of the Rocket-Range’. It stated that to oppose the rocket range because of the threat to Aborigines ‘is a good reason, but it is not the only one, or the most important’.<sup>66</sup>

Depending on the account of the public meeting on 31 March, there were either 800 or 1,300 participants at the Melbourne Town Hall who agreed ‘almost unanimously’ to urge the government to abandon, rather than relocate, the whole programme both as a danger to Aborigines and as a disservice to the cause of world peace.<sup>67</sup> *Peacemaker* pointedly remarked that delegates from pacifist organisations and numerous others fought to ensure that the protest ‘should be on the wider basis and not merely a protest on behalf of the

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<sup>61</sup> ‘It’s Your Opinion: Rocket Range’, *Argus*, 21 May 1947:2.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Rocket-Range Protest Meeting’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(5), May 1947, 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> ‘Rocket Range Menace’, poster, 31 March 1947, Maurice Blackburn Papers, State Library of Victoria (SLV), MS 11749, Box 85.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Rocket-Range Protest Meeting’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(5), May 1947, 1.

<sup>67</sup> According to *Peacemaker*, there were about 1,300 participants, whereas, the press reported that as many as 800 participated in the public meeting. Rev. Dr R. Wilson Macaulay (Presbyterian) chaired the meeting, and speakers were Duguid, Blackburn and Australian Aborigines League’s, Bill Onus. ‘Rocket-Range Protest Meeting’, *Ibid.*; ‘Protest Against Rocket Range Project’, *Argus*, 1 April 1947:3; ‘Rocket Test Over Canberra’, *Age*, 1 April 1947:3.

aborigines'.<sup>68</sup> Thus, the question of an alternative range was dropped and the motion expressing disapproval for the whole programme carried. The committee meetings appeared to have bridged the divide between the two main emphases in the debate. However, by mid-1947, any hope of maintaining a unified front was lost. While the committee was consolidating a strong body of public opinion against the testing project, communists and their sympathisers pursued a more militant approach to the protest.

An attempt by the Building Trades Federation to black ban the range with the Presbyterian Assembly's blessing was narrowly defeated.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the CPA circulated a pamphlet, *Rocket Range Threatens Australia*, amongst sympathetic unionists, which the government considered subversive.<sup>70</sup> However, the Party's Central Committee issued a statement declaring the black ban 'a mistaken policy' and the ACTU rejected the proposed union boycott soon after.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the Chifley government hastily implemented preventative measures, directed at the CPA and its supporters, to circumvent actions considered to be inspired by an international communist conspiracy to foment political discord at home.<sup>72</sup> First, the Government declared the testing range an 'immediate defence project' bringing it under the umbrella of Dr Evatt's recently enacted, *Approved Defence Projects Protection Act* (1947).<sup>73</sup> Second, Evatt's *Hands off the Nation's Defences* warned Australians not to be seduced by communists serving 'the interests of Soviet Russia...even though the defences of

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<sup>68</sup> 'Rocket-Range Protest Meeting', *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(5), May 1947, 1.

<sup>69</sup> At this juncture, only two unions endorsed a federal ban – the Building Workers Industrial Union and the Operative Painters and Dockers Union. 'Rocket Range Opposition to Continue', *Age*, 15 May 1947:3. The Building Trades Federation's attempt to obtain support from the Presbyterian Assembly to boycott the rocket range was narrowly defeated by two votes, 29 to 27. 'Presbyterians Reject Rocket Move', *Argus*, 16 May 1947:1.

<sup>70</sup> The contentious pamphlet, written by SA CPA secretary and Central Committee member, Alf Watt, objected to Australian complicity in Anglo-US war preparations and argued that the rocket range would be viewed as a military target. Alf Watt, *Rocket Range Threatens Australia* (Adelaide: S.A. State Committee, Australian Communist Party, 1947), 3, 6, 14.

<sup>71</sup> CPA Central Committee executives, L. Sharkey, R. Dixon and J.B. Miles rejected both the black ban and the insinuation in the press that the CPA only opposed the ban to avoid unwanted hostility. 'ACP Opposes Rocket Range Ban', *Tribune*, 16 May 1947:6; 'Range Not Opposed', *Advertiser* (SA), 14 May 1957:1. The Melbourne Trades Hall Council (hereafter, THC) endorsed the ACTU decision to reject the ban. 'Rocket Ban Rejected', *Age*, 13 June 1947:16.

<sup>72</sup> 'Blocking Rocket Range Plan', *Age*, 15 May 1947:1; see also Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 107-108; 132-133.

<sup>73</sup> The rocket range was the first project declared off-limits under the new law, which was summarily passed into legislation with only Blackburn's opposition. Maximum penalties for interfering with a declared defence project included a maximum penalty of £5,000, or a one-year term of imprisonment, or both. 'Notice of Approval of Defence Project', *Gazette* no. 108, 1665, 'New Law Protects Rocket Range', *Advertiser* (Adel.), 21 June 1947:1.

Australia may be imperilled'.<sup>74</sup> The official view that there was a seditious communist plot to undermine Australia's defences in the current 'disturbed' political state of the world, was variously reinforced in the press.<sup>75</sup> While a spokesman for the Opposition criticised the Chifley government for not having gone far enough, Blackburn accused the Government of inciting discord in the protest by dropping a communist 'stink bomb' on it.<sup>76</sup> Subsequently, the campaign lost its earlier momentum and fractured under such pressure.

A Rocket Range Protest Committee meeting on 12 May agreed to continue the campaign; however, in consideration of the political controversy now surrounding the issue, it decided to hold a conference 'by the end of June' to determine the most 'advisable' way to urge the Government to abandon the project.<sup>77</sup> A circular calling the 12 May meeting signed by the vice-chairman of the Committee and state president of the WCTU, Dora Nankivell, was not sent to the 31 March meeting's chairman, the Very Rev. R. Wilson Macaulay, Ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly, who claimed to know 'nothing of it'.<sup>78</sup> Macaulay's exclusion from the 12 May meeting was perhaps no surprise given that he was among those who believed the union move was 'inspired from another country'.<sup>79</sup> In light of the Government's reaction to opposition to the 'defence' project, other members of the Rocket Range Protest committee felt compelled to clarify their positions on the issue. CPM Victorian President, Robert H. Green, addressed what he felt was a growing misconception that the Committee was initiated other than by 'Christian conscience', and declared that communists did not dupe its non-communist members in the Committee.<sup>80</sup> Conversely, Thompson and Duguid retreated from the 31 March resolution by confirming that they were only concerned with 'the

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<sup>74</sup> Herbert Vere Evatt, *Hand's Off the Nation's Defences* (Canberra: Federal Capital Press, 1947).

<sup>75</sup> 'Communist Range Ban Attacked 'Would Please Moscow'', *Argus*, 12 May 1947:20; 'Move to Ban Rocket Test, 'Sinister Action'', *Age*, 12 May, 1947:2; 'ALP Support for Rocket Range, Warning by Dr Evatt', *Herald* (Melb.), 14 May 1947:1; 'Blocking Rocket Range Plan', *Age*, 15 May 1947:1; 'The Communist Retreat', *SMH*, 15 May 1947:2; 'Reds Blamed for Threat to Rocket Range 'Black' ban Mooted', *Townsville Daily Bulletin*, 13 May 1947:1; 'Dragnet Out for Possible Rocket Saboteurs', *Mercury* (Tas.), 16 May 1947:1; 'Rocket Bomb Range, Fears of a Plot, Close Scrutiny of Suspects', *West Australian*, 16 May 1947:1; 'Traitorous Commo. Plot Rocket Range Threat', *Worker* (Bris.), 19 May 1947:1.

<sup>76</sup> Harold Holt MHR suggested that the Labor government should call a Royal Commission into the activities of the CPA. H of R, *Debates*, 13 May 1947, 2219, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470513\\_reps\\_18\\_191/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1947/19470513_reps_18_191/); see also Menzies' attitude, 'Threat to Rocket', *SMH*, 12 May 1947:1; Blackburn in 'AWU Leaders Call to Battle', *Tribune*, 20 May 1947:6.

<sup>77</sup> 'Rocket Range Meeting Called', *Argus*, 17 May 1947:45.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> 'Presbyterians Reject Rocket Move', *Argus*, 16 May 1947:1.

<sup>80</sup> 'It's Your Opinion, Rocket Range', *Argus*, 21 May 1947:2.

choice of [the] particular site' and did not 'presume to criticise the Government's defence policy'.<sup>81</sup> The Rocket Range Protest Committee did not reconvene by the end of June as per initial arrangements. When it did meet in late August, it did so with the possibility of prosecution under the *Approved Defence Project Protection Act* (1947).<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, the Rocket Range Protest Committee's resolution at the 24 August public meeting only urged the Government to 'stop violating the rights' of Aboriginals, although it acknowledged opposition within the Committee against the *Act*.<sup>83</sup> Calls within the Committee to repeal the *Act* argued on the basis that it exceeded reasonable measures to protect defence projects. The Committee framed the argument as a civil rights issue regarding free speech, rather than a protest against the Government's defence project and, therefore, it had little bearing on the rocket range protest *per se*.<sup>84</sup> As a consequence of punitive government legislative measures and the hardening of Cold War attitudes, the protest retreated to what was regarded the less politically contentious concern – the preservation of Aboriginal life.

Although the rocket range in Woomera resonated with a variety of interested groups, the attempt to accommodate the broader emphases in the debate was stifled by legislation and riven by Cold War political tensions. Parliamentarians deepened divisions in the protest by promoting suspicions of a communist plot to de-stabilise Australia's defences, and this was reinforced in the mainstream media. The campaign failed to either maintain unity among the diverse forces around points of agreement or generate significant public support, and the rocket range project went ahead.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> 'Spells Disaster', *Mail* (SA), 24 May 1947:2; Thompson, *The Aborigines and the Rocket Range* (Melbourne: Rocket Range Protest Committee, 1947). A decade later, in his 1957 address to the Aboriginal Advancement League, Duguid continued to focus on the Government's failure in its responsibility to safeguard the Central Aboriginal Reserve, Charles Duguid, 'The Central Aborigines Reserve, Presidential Address', presented at the Aborigines Advancement League of South Australia, 21 October 1957, [https://indigenoustrights.net.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0003/381135/f4.pdf](https://indigenoustrights.net.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/381135/f4.pdf).

<sup>82</sup> 'US Experts to See Our Rocket Tests: Will Still Call Protest Meeting', *Herald* (Melb.), 26 July 1947:3.

<sup>83</sup> 'Defence Projects Repeal Sought', *Age*, 25 August 1947:4.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*; 'Free Speech', *Herald* (Melb.), 23 August 1947:4; 'Free Speech', *Herald* (Melb.), 21 June 1947:4; 'Approved Defence Projects Protection Act: Control of Opinion', *Peacemaker* Vol. 9(9), September 1947, 1-2.

<sup>85</sup> In mid-1947, Duguid resigned in protest from his position on the board of the Aborigine Protection Board for its complicity in the rocket range program. 'Aborigines Board Change', *News* (SA), 10 July 1947:5; Thompson, *The Aborigines and the Rocket Range* (Melbourne: Rocket Range Protest Committee, 1947). Equally disenchanted, Australian Aborigines League's William (Bill) Onus, retreated from the campaign by the early 1950s. 'Natives Put Plans to Minister', *SMH*, 26 May 1949:7; Onus, his brother Eric and Nicholls, revived the Australian Aborigines League and organised a small deputation of Aboriginals from Vic and NSW to visit the Minister of the Interior, Herbert V. Johnson, to make an appeal to the Federal Government against building the rocket range in Central

The post-war rocket range protest was illustrative of the challenges the APC-led peace movement encountered and endured during the politically hostile years of the early Cold War, when anti-communist attitudes sought to undermine its aim to unite the diverse forces against preparations for war. Moreover, the rocket range protest in the late 1940s could not depend on the parliamentary left to help unify support for the campaign. While in government, the left-wing of the ALP was not prepared to support a broadly-based, grassroots movement against the rocket range in the late 1940s; nor were communists and their sympathisers.<sup>86</sup> The latter group preferred more militant approaches and proposed a black ban on the range and circularised Watt's politically contentious, anti-rocket range pamphlet, rather than collaborate closely with the Protest Committee. However, owing to a series of events, both the ALP-left and communists later revised their respective attitudes towards the peace movement. Following the exodus of the ALP right-wing to the DLP, the Labor Party in Opposition adopted policies for peace at the 1955 Federal Conference, held in Hobart, which were partly congruent with peace movement demands. Thereafter, ALP members were free to participate and support peace activities.<sup>87</sup> As for communists, coupled with a decrease in its numerical strength, the CPA was beset by legislative measures to curtail its influence in the unions and the Menzies government's attempt to outlaw the Party. By 1949, the CPA had abandoned its moderate war-time policy and gave the Australian peace movement, led by the APC, its vigorous support; the CPA's revised attitude towards world peace concerns in the post-war period was ushered in by developments overseas.<sup>88</sup> As we shall see, the rocket range protest foreshadowed challenges the CICD confronted by the mid-

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Australia on their behalf. This action was first mooted three years earlier by Nicholls. 'Rocket Protest: Natives May March to Canberra', *Daily News* (Perth), 21 November 1946:4.; Ian Howie-Willis, 'Onus, William Townsend (Bill) (1906–1968)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2000), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/onus-william-townsend-bill-11308/text20185>.

<sup>86</sup> Saunders & Summy, *A Short History*, 32; Summy, 'The Australian Peace Council', 234; Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 104-106; Jordan, 'Conflict in the Unions', 70-159.

<sup>87</sup> Clause 9, 'Eligibility of Members of the ALP to Associate with Peace Conventions', adopted at the ALP Federal Conference held in Hobart in March 1955, declared that it did 'not intend to discourage organisations genuinely concerned for peace free from communist influence'. On international affairs and world peace, the ALP opposed the use of Australian military forces in Malaya; advocated universal membership of the UN, including China and other nations associated with Russia, and it opposed the use of nuclear weapons by any nation. *Australian Labor Party (hereafter, ALP) Official Report of Proceedings of the 21st Commonwealth Conference* (Hobart, March 1955), 10-11; 45-46.

<sup>88</sup> See for instance: Phillip Deery & Neill Redfern, 'No Lasting Peace? Labor, Communism and the Cominform: Australia and Great Britain 1945-1950', *Labour History* 88 (2005), 63-86; Phillip Deery, 'Chifley, the Army and the 1949 Coal Strike', *Labour History* 68 (May, 1995), 80-97; Phillip Deery (ed.), *Labour in Conflict: The 1949 Coal Strike* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1978); Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 100; 103; 126-146.



1960s that were occasioned by significant shifts in the Australian and international communist movement and is illustrative of the ongoing connection between the CICD and the international communist movement.

### **The Cominform peace offensive and the CPA**

At the inaugural conference of the Communist Information Bureau, or Cominform, in Poland in September 1947, Andrei Zhdanov delivered his ‘two camps’ thesis. It divided the world irreconcilably into two sharply opposed camps: the ‘peace-loving...anti-imperialist camp’, based on the Soviet Union, and the ‘imperialist, anti-democratic camp’ – led by the US.<sup>89</sup> While creating a dichotomy between the defenders of peace and the ‘promoters of new wars’, Zhdanov addressed the need to contain the aggressive imperialist camp through a peace ‘offensive’.<sup>90</sup> It involved securing a reduction of armaments, outlawing atomic weapons, and forcing the withdrawal of foreign troops that were impeding movements for national independence.<sup>91</sup> Although the CPA was not a Cominform member, it was ideologically allied with Soviet communism.<sup>92</sup> Accordingly, the Cominform’s post-war analysis had a significant impact on future CPA policy.

The significance and authority of the Cominform were acknowledged at Central Committee meetings in the lead up to the CPA’s Fifteenth Congress in May 1948; in the CPA National Secretary, Lance Sharkey’s report to the 1948 Congress; and in CPA resolutions.<sup>93</sup> Despite

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<sup>89</sup> *Report on the Communist ‘Peace’ Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 1; 4; <https://archive.org/details/reportoncommunis00unit/page/4>; ‘Political Resolutions’, *The Way Forward, Resolutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party* (Sydney: May 1948), 3, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000475.pdf>.

<sup>90</sup> *Report on the Communist ‘Peace’ Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 1-7.

<sup>91</sup> Andrei Zhdanov in ‘Report on the International Situation to the Cominform, 22 September 1947’, in *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 80th Congress, Volume 94, Part 9*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948: A-1288; <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1947-2/cominform-and-the-soviet-bloc/cominform-and-the-soviet-bloc-texts/report-on-the-international-situation-to-the-cominform/>; ‘Political Resolutions’, *The Way Forward, Resolutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party* (Sydney: May 1948), 5.

<sup>92</sup> Membership to the Cominform was restricted to representatives of Communist Parties of the Soviet Union; six Soviet satellite countries; and Italy and France, but also provided the correct ‘line’ for the international communist movement. *Report on the Communist ‘Peace’ Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 4; Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 102.

<sup>93</sup> Geoffrey Roberts, ‘Averting Armageddon: The Communist Peace Movement, 1948-1956’, in Stephen A. Smith (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 323-325; Lance Sharkey, *For Australia, Prosperous and Independent:*

some opposition, which was addressed in Sharkey's report, the 1948 congress resolved that it was the

duty of communists to lead the resistance to the warmongers and to organise peace-lovers around a broad program of peaceful co-operation among the nations, for the restoration of the UNO as a peace-preserving organisation, for the outlawing of atomic weapons and war propaganda, for universal disarmament and the ending of armed intervention ... in countries struggling for liberation.<sup>94</sup>

The CPA had formally abandoned 'Browderism', the war-time policy of class-collaboration espoused by former CPUSA general secretary, Earl Browder, and declared that the ALP leadership was wedded to Western imperialism. Here the CPA proposed to 'lead Australia out of the camp of the warmongers', by joining the Soviet Union's 'peace offensive'. It determined that the Soviet Union's interests would be best served by a peaceful international order which would need the support of peace movements in the West to move it forward in that direction. This involved 'uniting and activising [sic] the masses' through front movements.<sup>95</sup> The CPA's proposal to build a popular movement led to numerous new front organisations in the 1950s, including the APC in 1949.<sup>96</sup>

The third Cominform conference in November 1949 focused on the issue of uniting and broadening the peace movement on a local, national and international scale.<sup>97</sup> In this regard, Soviet delegate and elected member to the Central Committee Secretariat, Mikhail Suslov, stipulated the duties of the various communist parties in connection with the communist-led and inspired, international peace campaign. He advised that:

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*Report to the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party, May 1948* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1948), 12-14, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001115.htm>.

<sup>94</sup> Sharkey criticised CPA President, Richard Dixon for condemning as 'premature and unreal' the idea of launching a 'people's front'. Sharkey considered the strategy the solution to many issues facing the Party and called for an 'ideological and educational crusade' within the party to 'clarify the minds of members' to bring them back into line. Sharkey, *For Australia, Prosperous and Independent: Report to the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party, May 1948* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1948), 29-30; 'Political Resolutions', *The Way Forward, Resolutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party* (Sydney: May 1948), 5.

<sup>95</sup> 'Political Resolutions', *The Way Forward, Resolutions of the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party* (Sydney: May 1948), 6; Sharkey, *For Australia, Prosperous and Independent: Report to the 15<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Australian Communist Party, May 1948* (Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1948), 12-14; 20.

<sup>96</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 104.

<sup>97</sup> *Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 5-6.

Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into the peace movement trade-unions, women's, youth, cooperative, sport, cultural, education, religious and other organisations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary, and other political and public leaders.<sup>98</sup>

Furthermore, Suslov outlined the specific methods to be employed in building a mass movement for peace. He stated that the 'task' of the communists was to direct peace campaigns within 'all mass public associations' and to unify the broad sections of the movement through 'mass demonstrations, meetings, rallies, drawing up of petitions and protests, questionnaires, [and the] formation of peace committees' in town and regional districts.<sup>99</sup> Writing on communist involvement in the peace movement, a member of the Central Executive NSW Branch of the ALP, John P. Forrester, noted the significance of a 1949 Cominform resolution which outlined the character and strategy of the communist-led, international peace movement and directed that peace 'should now become the pivot of the entire activity of the Communist Parties'.<sup>100</sup>

### **World Peace Council**

Of particular significance in developing the post-war communist-led, international peace movement was the first World Congress of Partisans of Peace, held concurrently in Paris and Prague between 20-24 April 1949.<sup>101</sup> The Paris Congress established the World Committee of Partisans for Peace, rechristened the World Peace Council (WPC), at the second international

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 6; Mikhail Suslov, 'The Defense of Peace and the Struggle Against the Warmongers' in *Working Class Unity for Peace, Reports and Resolutions Adopted by the November 1949 Meeting of the Communist Information Bureau* (New Century Publishers, February 1950), <https://www.marxists.org/archive/suslov/1949/11/x01.htm>.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Forrester, *Fifteen Years of Peace Fronts*, 2.

<sup>101</sup> The Prague session accommodated delegates barred from entering France because they were considered subversives, and was linked to the Paris meeting by long-distance telephone cable and radio. *Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 16. Two communist-front organisations convened the Paris conference: The International Liaison Committee of Intellectuals for Peace and the Women's International Democratic Federation which grew out of the World Congress of Intellectuals for Peace held in August 1948, in Wroclaw. Accordingly, the Wroclaw Congress was also considered integral to the development of the communist international peace movement. Roberts, 'Averting Armageddon'; *Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 5; 8; 16. See also: Alec Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', *Australian Left Review* 27 (1970), 39-40; Ian Turner, 'My Long March' in *Room for Manoeuvre*, 127; Gollan, *Revolutionaries and Reformists*, 260.

peace congress held in Warsaw, between 16-22 November 1950.<sup>102</sup> The WPC followed the official foreign policy of European communist parties and functioned as the parent body of the pro-Soviet, international peace movement.<sup>103</sup> Its structure comprised a 12-member permanent Executive Bureau, led by eminent scientist and member of the Communist Party in France, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie.<sup>104</sup> Almost all WPC Bureau members were either communists or receptive to communism; two future prominent APC and, later, CICD executive members, Revs. Dickie and Hartley joined the Bureau's ranks.<sup>105</sup> While the second international peace congress in November 1950 established the WPC, the April 1949 Paris Congress issued a manifesto that recommended the establishment of national committees; the APC was formed by the following July.<sup>106</sup>

The CPA's involvement in the development of the world peace movement at the Paris Congress was evident when CPA General Secretary, Lance Sharkey, announced in his June 1949 report to the Central Committee that:

The Communist Party and all friends of peace ha[ve] a tremendous responsibility to bring before the Australian people the decisions of the [Paris] Peace Congress and to organise a corresponding peace movement and peace sentiment throughout Australia.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> *World Peace Movement: Resolutions and Documents 1949-1959* (United Kingdom: Secretariat of the World Council for Peace for the Fifth Anniversary of the World Peace Movement [1956], 2016). 47; 55.

<sup>103</sup> Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', 450; Roberts, 'Averting Armageddon', 327.

<sup>104</sup> Joliot-Curie was a Nobel Prize-winner for Physics and High Commissioner for Atomic Energy and member of the *Institut de France*, *World Peace Movement*, 199-200; Deery, 'Dove Flies East', 450-451; *Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 18.

<sup>105</sup> Deery, 'Dove Flies East', 450-451; *Report on the Communist 'Peace' Offensive, A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States* (Washington: Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, 1 April 1951), 17; 112; 166. APC executives Revs. Frank J. Hartley and Alfred M. Dickie were members of the WPC Bureau by 1951 and 1952 respectively, Rev. Hartley, Frank Jonathan (hereafter, Hartley) Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.162-163; 'Peace Conference 'Privilege'', *Advertiser* (SA), 21 July 1952:3; 'Back Big Peace Rally', *Tribune*, 20 August 1952:2.

<sup>106</sup> 'Manifesto of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace' and 'Resolution Defining the Organisational Structure & the Activities of the Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace', both in *World Peace Movement*, 25 April 1949, 20-25; 'Paris Unites 600 Million for Peace People's Plan to Stop War', *Tribune*, 7 May 1949:2; see also 'More Vigorous Peace Action', *Tribune*, 30 April 1949:2; Suslov, 'The Defense of Peace'.

<sup>107</sup> 'History's Greatest Peace Congress', *Tribune*, 22 June 1949:1.

A six-member Australian delegation led by Party member, Rupert Lockwood, conveyed the message of ‘unite for peace’ from the Paris Congress’ manifesto upon their return.<sup>108</sup> The Australian delegation to the Paris Congress were all communists, such as Stephen Murray-Smith, who later became the APC’s organising secretary.<sup>109</sup>

According to Hartley, the APC was ‘organisationally linked with the WPC’, though it was through individual membership to the WPC, and annual subscription to the WPC bulletin, that the APC maintained its relationship with the world peace movement.<sup>110</sup> On the one hand, its connection to the communist-led world peace movement cast doubt on the sincerity of the APC’s alleged political neutrality; on the other hand, for many non-communist members of the APC, the establishment of the world peace movement during the first major international Cold War crisis – the beginning of the Berlin Blockade in 1948 – gave cause for renewed optimism. The first World Peace Congress in 1949 and the WPC seemed to transcend the geopolitical and ideological divisions created by the Cold War.

Then, in November 1951, the World Council of Churches (WCC) met with the WPC in Vienna and pledged to maintain contact with it.<sup>111</sup> The WCC arose from the ecumenical movement that sought to establish a fellowship of Christian churches before WWII and provide a forum for East-West dialogue during the Cold War.<sup>112</sup> The significance of the

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<sup>108</sup> ‘World’s Leading Intellectuals Appeal to Australians: Unite for Peace’, *Guardian*, [extract] 20 May 1949:3; ‘Resolution Defining the Organisational Structure & the Activities of the Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace’, 23-25.

<sup>109</sup> Lockwood addressed the Paris conference and was joined there by Melbourne artist Noel Counihan and CPA intellectuals, Daphne Gollan, Stephen and Nita Murray-Smith. ‘More Vigorous Peace Action’, *Tribune*, 30 April 1949:2; ‘Tribute to Australia’, *Tribune*, 7 May 1949:2; Rowan Cahill, ‘Rupert Lockwood 1908-1997: Journalist, Communist, Intellectual’, PhD Thesis, School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, 2013, 231; 258-259. Murray-Smith became APC’s general secretary by 1952, Stephen Murray-Smith (hereafter, Murray-Smith) Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 68, f.129. According to a fellow member, Dorothy Gibson, Murray-Smith was initially employed part-time until he finalised his resignation as teacher at Essendon High School, and thereafter became a permanent employee of the Peace Council. ASIO Report No. A2613, 6 February 1953, Dorothy Jean Gibson (hereafter D. Gibson) Vol. 1, NAA A6119, 1299, f.9.

<sup>110</sup> Hartley was cited writing in the December issue of the Bulletin of the World Peace Council, (hereafter, *Bulletin of the WPC*), first produced in 1953. [extract] *International Organisations*, No.19, January 1961, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.113. The documents of the WPC refer to Australian individual members of the WPC and WPC Bureau, rather than the APC, *World Peace Movement*, 202; 296.

<sup>111</sup> Rev. Alfred M. Dickie, Unitarian Half Hour, Radio 3XY Melbourne, 15 October 1961 in ‘Unity for Peace’, [extract] *The Beacon*, November 1961, Rev. Alfred Matthew Dickie (hereafter, Dickie) Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1100, f.24-25.

<sup>112</sup> The WCC’s formation, initially in 1938, was interrupted by the onset of WWII. At its first world general assembly held in Amsterdam in August 1948, almost all denominations were represented, except for the Roman Catholic Church. ‘Churches of the War’, *Age*, 6 March 1948:3; *World Council of Churches*, <https://www.oikoumene.org>.

meeting between the WCC and the WPC was highlighted by Hartley and Dickie, who praised the pro-Soviet, international peace movement for ‘breaking down religious bigotry and other barriers between men’, and ‘giving content’ to the UN charter as a ‘common meeting ground’ for peoples of ‘all nations and beliefs’.<sup>113</sup> In 1954, Dickie applauded the Presbyterian Assembly’s refusal, albeit by a slight majority, to officially renounce any connection with the WPC on suspicion of its association with communism.<sup>114</sup> In his considered opinion,

[the Assembly] would one day thank God there had been a World Peace Council. The peace movement had attracted Christians and non-Christians, Catholics and non-Catholics. If the motion was agreed to, they would disavow all who were working for peace.<sup>115</sup>

Dickie and Hartley, as well as other prominent figures in the APC, became long-standing members of the WPC despite the growing polarisation of the Cold War and the knowledge that the international peace movement, under the auspices of the WPC, was a communist-led initiative.<sup>116</sup>

### **Australian Peace Council**

The APC was the Australian division of the World Peace Council that grew out of the 1949 Paris Peace Congress. It was officially launched at a Melbourne Town Hall meeting on 7 September 1949.<sup>117</sup> It organised itself initially as a provisional Melbourne-based national

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<sup>113</sup> ‘Rev. F. Hartley Sees New Hope for Peace in Church Talks’, *Tribune*, 28 November 1951:3; ‘Rev. Dickie Hails Churches’ Stand for Peace’, *Tribune*, 2 January 1952:3.

<sup>114</sup> ‘Church Will Not Bar Peace Body’, *Age*, 15 October 1954:3.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> In addition to APC executives Dickie and Hartley, other WPC members and leading members of the APC were Ex-ALP Senator William Morrow; Vice-chairman of the UN Commission on Status of Women, Lady Jessie Street; General Secretary of the Docker’s Federation, James ‘Jim’ Healy; and Methodist Rev. Allan D. Brand, *World Peace Movement, Resolutions and Documents 1949-1959*, 202. By 1955, both Street and Morrow were members of the WPC Bureau. ‘The World Council of Peace – The Sixth Great Power’, *Australian Peace Movement, If You Want Peace Prepare for It: Their Future, Our Concern*, WPC Booklet, c.1955:8, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

<sup>117</sup> ‘Australian Peace Council Launched’, *Tribune*, 7 September 1949:5; ‘2,000 Cheer as Aus. Peace CCL. Launched’, *Tribune*, 10 September 1949:3. The Melbourne press advertised the official launching of APC as a free public peace rally sponsored by the APC. Speakers included Victor James, J. W. Legge, John Rodgers and James F. Cairns. Advertising: ‘Rally for Peace’, *Age*, 6 and 7 September 1949:2; Advertising: ‘Rally for Peace’, *Herald* (Melb.) 6 and 7 September 1949: 2; 8 respectively.

body and state and local auxiliary groups soon followed.<sup>118</sup> According to its leadership, the APC's core tenets were framed and adopted at its inaugural meeting on 1 July 1949 and articulated in a manifesto shortly after its official launching in September.<sup>119</sup> The main themes of the manifesto included support for the UN charter; nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation; peaceful co-existence and dialogue between different social systems; the defence of democratic liberties; the rights of national self-determination; and the repudiation of the inevitability of war.<sup>120</sup> Such broad demands formed the basis of the peace movement during the 1950s and, as we shall see, into the early 1960s. Despite the nonpartisan tenor of the APC principles in its manifesto and later, public statements that defended a position of politically neutrality – a position that was held earnestly by its non-communist members – communist policy and strategy profoundly influenced the APC.<sup>121</sup> Such influence was evident from its inception.

There are varying accounts of the APC's origins. One report signed by the APC leadership suggested that its genesis was primarily inspired by a meeting of a diverse representation of the broader community held at James' Melbourne home, the Unitarian manse at Cathedral Place, on 1 July 1949.<sup>122</sup> The signed document claimed that at the inaugural meeting of about a dozen 'foundation members' the APC was established, its objects were defined, and an interim executive committee of six was elected; it comprised: Chairman and Hon. Treasurer, Dickie; Joint Hon. Secretaries, Hartley and James, Melbourne University lecturer, and future CICD President, Dr Jim Cairns; Student Christian Movement representative, Heather Wakefield; and the Director of Australia-Soviet House, John Rodgers.<sup>123</sup> An alliance between the peace clergymen and left-wing activists was forged earlier when council members denied

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<sup>118</sup> APC's headquarters were on 2<sup>nd</sup> Fl., 330 Flinders Lane., Melbourne. *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 26.

<sup>119</sup> APC, *You Can't Ban Peace! To the Victorian Executive of the ALP* (Melbourne: Capricorn Printing, 1950) <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000814.htm>; James, *Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall*, 1-2; see also 'Australian Peace Manifesto', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 4.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*; 'Manifesto of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace', 25 April 1949 in *World Peace Movement*, 20-22.

<sup>121</sup> The APC executive avowed that the CPA 'did not establish' the APC nor 'control its policy or activities', *You Can't Ban Peace!*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>123</sup> Shortly following its inauguration in September, Presbyterian minister, Rev. E. Gwyn Miller, Canon W.G. Thomas and Party members Ian Turner and Alec Robertson joined the national executive. *Ibid.*

Rodgers the use of the Melbourne Town Hall in February 1949, when he planned to present a public lecture on his recent tour of the Soviet Union. A group of clergymen reacted to the incident, including Dickie and Hartley, and led to the formation of the left-wing Democratic Rights Council (DRC).<sup>124</sup> Hartley was DRC's first secretary and its 'prime mover'.<sup>125</sup> The DRC shared many of the same personnel with the APC although the organisations were not formally linked. They included Dickie, Hartley, James, Blackburn and future CICD executive member, Sam Goldbloom. The DRC also subscribed £220 to 'forward the peace movement' in connection with the APC's public launching on 1 September 1949.<sup>126</sup>

Other accounts of the APC's origins suggested that it was inspired solely by clergymen. Although James undersigned the first version, he later confirmed, on two separate occasions, that the APC's inaugural meeting at his home on 1 July 1949 was attended by himself and only 'two other people' – Dickie and Hartley.<sup>127</sup> However, neither the first nor the second account take into consideration the extent of communist influence in the APC, despite the Council's emphatic denials.<sup>128</sup> Such denials of CPA involvement were, at times, ambiguous. An APC leaflet, signed by APC leadership and addressed to the Victorian ALP Executive which had decided to proscribe the group was prefaced in the following way:

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<sup>124</sup> 'Writ Issued When Hall Refused: Speech was not to Advocate Communism', *Age*, 22 February 1949:1; 3; 'Church Interest in Cancelled Town Hall Booking', *Mercury* (Tas.), 28 February 1949:5; 'Protest on Town Hall by Clergy', *Herald* (Melb.), 11 March 1949:3; 'Not Communists, Clerics Say, But Want Free Speech', *Argus*, 14 April 1949:5. See also John Rodgers, *Report on the Soviet Union by John Rodgers: the speech which was banned by the Melbourne City Council* (Melbourne: Australia-Soviet House, 1949) <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/161685>.

<sup>125</sup> ASIO document, extracted on 26 May 1952, Hartley Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1101, f.156; see also Marion Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail: The Rev. Cr. Francis John Hartley, B.A., B.D: A Noble Life in Quest of Truth, Reconciliation and Peaceful Co-Existence* (Melbourne: Spectrum Publications, 1982). 66.

<sup>126</sup> 'Two Thousand at Great Peace Rally', *Tribune*, 3 September 1949:8. James, Victor Montgomery Keeling, ASIO document, n.d. Victor Montgomery Keeling James (hereafter, James) Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.204; 'Barbara Carol Weston', ASIO internal document, 5 February 1954, James Vol.1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f. 172. Goldbloom was recorded as a member of the DRC in 1951 as well as a council member of the Victorian branch of the APC, the VPC, see 'Samuel Mark Goldbloom', Samuel Mark Goldbloom (hereafter, Goldbloom) Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.127; Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.31; Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.20.

<sup>127</sup> Memorandum for ASIO Regional Director, Victoria (hereafter, RD, Vic.), 7 April 1954, James Vol. 1, NAA A6119, 2175, f.181. James confirmed for Brian Fitzpatrick that only Dickie, Hartley and James were present at the APC's foundation meeting, Brian Fitzpatrick, 'Letter to the Editor: Peace Movements in Australia', [extract]*The Bulletin*, 7 July 1962, Brian Charles Fitzpatrick Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 152410.

<sup>128</sup> See for example, *You Can't Ban Peace!*; 'Ministers' Answer To Slanders', *Tribune*, 18 March 1950:7; M. Hartley, *Truth Shall Prevail*, 251-254; 'Peace Council Denies Charges', *Age*, 10 April 1950:4; 'Peace Body Denies 'Red' Tie-Up', *Argus*, 12 May 1950:5.



We Swear that the Communist Party did not establish the Australian Peace Council, does not control its policy or activities, and cannot use it for ends, other than advancing world peace.<sup>129</sup>

While the APC declared that the CPA did not have executive control of the group, by implication the CPA could ‘use it for ends’ to advance world peace. To be clear, the communist question is not in dispute. As already discussed, the CPA after 1949 attached considerable significance to the peace movement. Although many APC members were non-communist, the impetus behind the newly created APC *was* the CPA.<sup>130</sup>

The CPA’s involvement in the APC was confirmed by Davidson who asserted that the APC was formed ‘after considerable groundwork by party intellectuals’.<sup>131</sup> Davidson’s assessment was further confirmed by its first national organising secretary, Ian Turner, when he wrote that the APC ‘had its origin in a top-secret meeting of party members and close sympathisers in Melbourne...[that] agreed to initiate a broadly-based Australia Peace Council’.<sup>132</sup> The CPA did the lion’s share of the organisational work and its first three organising secretaries, Ian Turner, Alec Robertson and Steven Murray-Smith, were all party members; Murray-Smith was secretary for the longest of the three from 1952-1958. In a letter explaining the CPA’s involvement in the APC Murray-Smith wrote that generally the Council executive

accepted our leadership on just about everything .... The parsons [Dickie, Hartley and James] and others who worked with us accepted the fact that, unless the Left, and the politically organised Left, did do the donkeywork and did give leadership, behind the scenes in all sorts of ways, then there would be no peace movement and no challenge to the policies of the Menzies government. Only we had the experience, the apparatus and the contacts with the unions and other mass organisations.<sup>133</sup>

That a closely-structured communist bloc within the Council directed its programme and organisation was also indicated by Turner, who alleged that the party was at times ‘over-

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<sup>129</sup> [extract] *You Can’t Ban Peace!* An extracted copy of the statement was also printed in Melbourne’s *Maritime Worker*, ‘You Can’t Ban Peace!’, *Maritime Worker* (Melb.), 26 August 1950:1

<sup>130</sup> See Deery & Jordan, ‘Fellow Travelling in the Cold War’, 115.

<sup>131</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 104.

<sup>132</sup> Turner, ‘My Long March’, 127. Turner joined the APC secretariat by 1950, *You Can’t Ban Peace!*

<sup>133</sup> Ralph V. Summy, ‘A Reply to Fred Wells’ in Roy Forward and Bob Reece (eds.) *Conscription in Australia* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1968), 210.

manipulative'.<sup>134</sup> In this regard, former APC secretary, Alec Robertson, and member of the CPA National Executive stated that an aspect of CPA policy, until the early 1960s, was 'the refusal to be party to any statement which explicitly, or by implication, criticised the policies of the Soviet Union, China or other communist country'.<sup>135</sup> Both Robertson and Turner indicated that this caused the early withdrawal of some APC members.<sup>136</sup> They included, Melbourne barrister, writer and public servant, Leonard Mann, Presbyterian Rev. E. Gwyn Miller, and for a time Dr Jim Cairns.<sup>137</sup> As we shall see in the following chapters, Cairns frequently supported the CICD as a member of parliament, although he did not always share the CICD's views on all peace issues.

Turner highlighted further the degree of CPA influence when he described the manner in which he was removed from his leadership position with the APC in early 1951 by the CPA, which installed Robertson in his place.<sup>138</sup> While Turner wrote that he did not 'last long' in his role as APC secretary, he had no idea why CPA leadership removed him from the position in early 1951.<sup>139</sup> In addition to Turner, CPA State Committee member Dorothy Gibson stated that she was 'responsible for Peace activity' in the APC and had 'received instructions' from the CPA Central Committee leadership on 'efforts to revive Peace activities' in Victoria.<sup>140</sup> But the CPA's interest in the peace movement was 'no secret'; Turner wrote:

The headquarters were in the old Australia-Soviet House in Flinders Lane; John Rodgers, the secretary of the Australia-Soviet Friendship Society, was a leading member of the Peace Council executive; my affiliations were known.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Turner, 'My Long March', 128.

<sup>135</sup> Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 43.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 43-44; Turner, 'My Long March', 128; 129.

<sup>137</sup> Turner, 'My Long March', 128; 129; see also Strangio, *Keeper of the Faith: A Biography of Jim Cairns* (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 65.

<sup>138</sup> The Party leadership removed Turner from his position as an APC leader after returning from the November Warsaw Peace Conference in November 1950. Turner, 'My Long March', 130-131; see also Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', [footnote, (hereafter f.n.) 104] p. 465.

<sup>139</sup> Deery provides a more detailed explanation for why Turner was removed by CPA leadership from the APC secretariat position in early 1951 to work in the railways: Phillip Deery, 'Shunted: Ian Turner's "Industrial Experience", 1952-53', *The Hummer*, Vol. 4(2) 2004, 18-29; Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> See recorded conversation between Ted Hill and Dorothy Gibson. Director General to PM Menzies, 6 March 1959, Records of conversation and correspondence between Director General ASIO and the Prime Minister Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 2428, f.63-64. Dorothy Gibson nee Alexander was recorded as a longstanding member of the CPA and wife of Ralph Siward Gibson, member of the Victorian State Committee of the CPA, ASIO document c.1960, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1299, f.69.

<sup>141</sup> Turner, 'My Long March', 128.

Notwithstanding CPA involvement in the peace movement through the APC, many of its members were non-communist and far from communist ‘dupes’.<sup>142</sup> In contrast to the view propounded by officialdom, which held that communists manipulated highly suggestible ‘peace-loving people’ and ‘deluded’ religious ministers, Turner suggested that the non-communist members of the APC were ‘prepared to work with communists’ on issues concerning peace and social justice, and for doing so, they ‘caught both the wrath of bourgeois society and contempt of anti-Stalinists’.<sup>143</sup>

In the midst of growing anti-communist sentiment, the APC was well aware that it would be regarded ‘red’ by its critics in order to subvert its rudimentary aim: to unite the forces of peace and build a ‘great popular movement’.<sup>144</sup> As Goldbloom pointed out, ‘always the strategy was to increase the level and breadth of the movement and to win new forces’.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, the APC promoted itself to the public as an independent, ‘non-party’ political and ‘non-denominational’ body, calling all to ‘unite for peace without distinction of politics or religion’.<sup>146</sup> The APC argued that its anti-sectarian, liberal attitude meant that it *had* to allow communists to participate, and the organisation was neither contrived nor dominated by communists. In this regard, the APC attempted to reappropriate the communist slant by turning it into a strength. The APC adopted the democratic socialist slogan, ‘discrimination by none, exclusion of none and domination by none’.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, Hartley stated that in matters of peace ‘the Party relied upon him, a good deal, for guidance’.<sup>148</sup> Inadvertently, Hartley’s comment confirmed the close relationship between the CPA and the APC in executive matters concerning the peace movement.

The APC’s policies reflected the policies of the world peace movement, which were influenced by Soviet foreign policies, and communist influence in the APC was ensured through CPA involvement in its organisational matters. Therefore, the presence of clergymen at the helm of the APC executive was considered a communist strategy to give the APC mainstream credibility. Accordingly, the APC’s so-called three ‘peace parsons’, Dickie, Hartley and James, were often considered communist ‘dupes’ despite having established their

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<sup>142</sup> Deery and Jordan, ‘Fellow Travelling in the Cold War’, 115.

<sup>143</sup> Menzies, ‘Communist Party Dissolution Bill 1950’, H of R, *Debates*, 27 April 1950:1995; 2003; Turner, ‘My Long March’, 121.

<sup>144</sup> James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall.

<sup>145</sup> Goldbloom, ‘The Peace Movement in Motion’, 228.

<sup>146</sup> James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall, 1-2.

<sup>147</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 71.

<sup>148</sup> ASIO Report no. 4609, 18 December 1953, Edward Fowler Hill Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 211, f.160.

peace credentials long before the CPA's involvement in the peace movement. In the clergymen's case, the pejorative term takes no account of their convictions as both religious leaders and committed socialists. The three peace parsons experienced first-hand the Great Depression and the two world wars, and the rise of fascism. They therefore believed that a new social world order was both necessary and imminent. Given the central roles Dickie, Hartley and James were to play in the CICD from 1959, it is important to provide a contextual history of the three ministers. As we shall see, it will provide relevant insights into the inherent and emergent tensions in the movement. For instance, given the peace parsons' resolute faith in their activism they demanded strict adherence to their peace principles, which were at variance with increasingly pluralist trends in the movement.

### Three Peace Parsons

Dickie, Hartley and James were well acquainted with the systemic nature of war and inequities in modern capitalist societies.<sup>149</sup> Dickie was raised and worked alongside the labouring poor and, later, as a home missionary during the economic Depression, he witnessed the stultifying effects of poverty on working-class Melbourne, before learning of the horrors of the Holocaust.<sup>150</sup> Hartley and James both served in WWII, while James served in the two world wars, and bore witness to the hardships that colliers endured under brutal working conditions and their struggles to improve them.<sup>151</sup> For the three peace parsons, and for many on the left, the successive catastrophic global events profoundly impacted their lives and confirmed their reservations about capitalism, their abhorrence of war, and their shared belief that a new ethical and moral social order was needed, based on the theological precepts of peace and social justice. Such beliefs found resonance in progressive liberal traditions that existed within the church. During the virulent anti-communism of the early Cold War, non-communist activists, such as the three peace parsons, were referred to as 'fellow-travellers' or 'pink parsons' for their leftist views.<sup>152</sup> However, their attitude was a product of their

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<sup>149</sup> For a concise analysis of structural forms of direct and indirect violence, see Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research* 6(3) 1969:167-191; see also an anthology of Galtung's key peace works, Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer (ed.), *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013).

<sup>150</sup> McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing', 357; Dalton, *Politics of the Australian Peace Movement*, 20.

<sup>151</sup> Judah Waten, 'Profile: Rev. Frank Hartley', *Australian Left Review* 1(6) 1967, 57-58; Dalton, *Politics of the Australian Peace Movement*, 20.

<sup>152</sup> The term 'fellow-travelling' describes socially-progressive, Western intellectuals who were at once Soviet-sympathetic and non-communist. The phenomenon presupposed that although fellow-travellers did not 'tie [their] fate' directly to the Soviet Union, they were highly susceptible to the Communist

respective inner convictions formed well before they became activists in the peace movement.<sup>153</sup> Although all three answered a calling in the church, their social conscience predisposed them towards a people's movement to maintain world peace and inspire social reformation. Nevertheless, they based their peace work on the tenets of their faith and a resolute sense of social responsibility.

### **Rev. Alfred Matthew Dickie**

Dickie's liberal tendencies and belief that the cause of peace and social justice were intrinsic to the Christian faith were forged in his mind long before he became involved in the peace movement. Dickie was born in 1903 and raised in Collingwood, a lower socio-economic suburb of Melbourne that was synonymous with slum housing and endemic poverty.<sup>154</sup> He worked as a fitter and turner before his ordination in 1933 and was appointed to minister to the North Essendon Presbyterian congregation in 1943.<sup>155</sup> Like many other liberal-minded clergymen who experienced the upheaval of WWI and the long years of the Great Depression, Dickie shared the post-war internationalist vision of co-operation between nations and developed a radical cynicism towards *laissez-faire* capitalism.<sup>156</sup> Such views were not altogether in line with Providential constructs or the puritan attitude of Presbyterian Churches to the Depression, which interpreted the economic crisis as either an antidote or penance for the hedonism of the 1920s.<sup>157</sup> Instead, Dickie's leftist views found resonance in Christian Socialism, a liberal progressive stream that existed within the church which

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suggestion that the Soviet Union was for peace and that only the Western powers pursued war. Such assumptions underpinned David Caute's analysis of the phenomenon who wrote that 'fellow-travelling involved commitment *'at a distance...It is remote-control radicalism'*, David Caute, *The Fellow-Travellers: Intellectual Friends of Communism* (London: Yale University Press [1973]1988), 3-4. The phrase 'pink parsons' accounted for the incidence of Christian clergymen among fellow-travellers, 'The Phenomenon of the "Pink Parson"', *Advocate*, 1 October 1953:6.

<sup>153</sup> Deery and Jordan, 'Fellow Travelling in the Cold War', 115-123.

<sup>154</sup> Internal Correspondence, Commonwealth Investigation Service, Canberra, 27 July 1948, Dickie Part 1, NAA: A 6119, 487, f.8-9.

<sup>155</sup> 'Presbytery of Penola: Licencing of Mr A.M. Dickie', *Naracoorte Herald* (SA), 28 April 1933; 'Penola Presbytery: Ordination and Induction of Rev. A. M. Dickie to Millicent Church', *Naracoorte Herald* (SA), 25 July 1933:3; Dickie returned to Victoria in 1939 accepting a call to the ministry of Mia Mia Presbyterian church, 'In the Parishes: Presbyterian', *Age*, 30 December 1939:21; Dalton, *Politics of the Australian Peace Movement*, 20; McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing', 358.

<sup>156</sup> Kim Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 24; 27; 52.

<sup>157</sup> 'Australia's Problems: Attitude of Presbyterian Church', *Age*, 6 May 1931:10; 'Presbyterian Assembly', *West Australian*, 13 May 1931:10.

emphasised the practical application of Christian precepts within everyday life.<sup>158</sup> Christian Socialism gave the church the moral authority to do something constructive about the political and economic structures impacting society. It accorded with Dickie's belief that to 'teach and preach' was not sufficient, living the word of God involved acting with others 'of good will to create a morally just society'.<sup>159</sup> At the foundation meeting of an APC local peace group in 1949, Dickie declared in his peroration, 'we are here...not just to talk about peace, but to work for it'.<sup>160</sup>

Prior to his involvement as chairman of the APC, Dickie actively supported inter-faith and social justice initiatives while ministering to the North Essendon Presbyterian congregation. In the mid-1940s he became convenor of a North Essendon branch of the interdenominational Christian Commonwealth Movement (CCWM).<sup>161</sup> The CCWM sought to establish a new social order based on the Christian precepts of peace and social justice to ameliorate the conditions created by unchecked capitalism.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, Dickie spoke in favour of Jewish immigration in 1943, with the Assembly's support, and by 1948 he was recorded as a member of the Committee for a Christian Approach to Jewry.<sup>163</sup> In this connection, he was a guest speaker at a mass rally supporting the State of Israel in Palestine on 22 July 1948 at the Assembly Hall, along with Norman Rothfield and Brian Fitzpatrick.<sup>164</sup> In his address to the

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<sup>158</sup> 'Christian Socialism', *Age*, 21 April 1894:15; Deery and Jordan, 'Fellow Travelling in the Cold War', 117; McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing', 357-358; Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 22-52.

<sup>159</sup> McArthur, 'The Gospel Has Always Been Disturbing', *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> 'Camberwell Citizens Fight for Peace' [extract] *Guardian*, 18 October 1949, Dickie Part 1, NAA: A6119, 487, f.1.

<sup>161</sup> Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 43.

<sup>162</sup> The CCWM was a 1939 British initiative established soon after in Australia. The Victorian Council of Churches sponsored the inaugural meeting of the CCWM in Victoria held on 27 April at the Collins Street Baptist Church. 'Christian Commonwealth Movement', *Herald* (Melb.), 26 April 1939:20; 'Missionary Welcome', *Argus*, 22 April 1939:4; 'Christian Commonwealth Movement', *Age*, 22 April 1939:22. By September 1939, the movement developed into NSW and Tasmania with the possibility of a corresponding branch in SA, and in early 1940, the CCWM planned to establish a federal advisory committee to help coordinate the activities of the national movement, 'Christian Commonwealth Movement's Progress', *Herald* (Melb.), 21 September 1939:37.

<sup>163</sup> 'Need to Rescue Jews From Europe', *Herald*, 4 May 1943:3; 'Church Help For Refugee Jews', *Argus*, 5 May 1943:2; 'Reopening Palestine to the Jews: Presbyterian Petition', *Argus*, 12 November 1943:4; Rev. Dickie, 'A Jewish State', *Age*, 24 November 1943:2; 'Church Postwar Plans: Sharing Responsibility', *Age*, 9 May 1944:3 Internal Correspondence, Commonwealth Investigation Service, Canberra, 27 July 1948, Dickie Part 1, NAA: A6119, 487, f.8-9.

<sup>164</sup> The rally was organised for the Melbourne Jewish Youth Council by the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism. Fitzpatrick could not speak at the rally owing to a delay although his pamphlet, *Australia and Israel*, was in circulation at the time. 'Support the Yishuv in Israel', [extract] *Australian Jewish News*, 16 July 1948 in Internal Correspondence, Commonwealth Investigation Service.

rally, Dickie declared that he was speaking unofficially as a Christian minister who was, nevertheless, 'ashamed' of Christians' anti-Semitism both during and after WWII.<sup>165</sup> Dickie, Rothfield and Fitzpatrick soon forged alliances in the DRC and the peace movement the following year.

For Dickie, his commitment to the peace movement was congruent with his Christian convictions. While Christian Socialism provided a theological basis for his activism, Dickie drew inspiration from other radical Christian clergymen, such as Abbe Jean Boulier, a French Jesuit priest whose speech at the communist-inspired Wroclaw Peace Assembly in November 1948 provoked solemn condemnation from his superiors.<sup>166</sup> Boulier warned Dickie, who asked whether Abbe's peace work helped him in his work of evangelism, that 'peace is ... to be worked for without any hope of reward'.<sup>167</sup>

Similarly, Dickie ran a hostile gauntlet of anti-communism from within his church for his peace activism. In Dickie's 1973 retirement speech as CICD Chairman, he referred to the challenges he encountered in his church in the late 1940s and early 1950s.<sup>168</sup> He acknowledged that he 'must have been a terrible burden' to his church and added that 'it would not have surprised [him] if [his] pastoral ties with the congregation had been severed'.<sup>169</sup> Despite the growing discontentment in sections of his church, Dickie's political stance was unwavering. In mid-1948, his 'Minister's Message' and his small press pamphlet *Should Such a Faith Offend?* both argued for his right to preach according to his conscience.<sup>170</sup> Dickie did accept the findings of the Presbyterian Assembly's committee report in 1949, which determined that communism was incongruous with Christianity.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Minute Paper, Attorney-General's Dept., 26 July 1948, Rev. Dickie Alfred Matthew, Part 1, NAA: A6119, 487, f.6-7.

<sup>166</sup> Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Century*, Rev. edition, Margaret Hebblethwaite (London: Continuum, [1984] 2000), 108.

<sup>167</sup> Rev. Alfred M. Dickie, *Statement of Common Beliefs* (Melbourne, 1963), 1.

<sup>168</sup> An official dinner to pay tribute to Dickie who retired as chairman of CICD and to the new Chairman, Dr Jim Cairns, MHR, was held in the South Melbourne Town hall on 16 March 1973. Dickie announced his retirement from CICD the previous year in August 1972 at 68 years of age. Dickie in 'The Peace Movement in Motion', 228; 'Anti-War Veteran Steps Down', *Tribune*, 29 August 1972:8; CICD Annual Minutes, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 2, file 5.

<sup>169</sup> Dickie in 'The Peace Movement in Motion', *Ibid*.

<sup>170</sup> 'Minister's Message' appeared in the monthly newsletter of the North Essendon Presbyterian Church, *The Record*. Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 70; Alfred Dickie, *Should Such a Faith Offend?* 1948, 2-5, UMA: Reverend Alf Dickie 1983.0081, Box 4, file 7.

<sup>171</sup> Dickie sat on the Presbyterian Committee on Communist Theory and Practice which was formed in 1947 to present a report on the effect of Communism on the church. Minute Paper, Attorney-General's Dept., 26 July 1948, Dickie Part 1, NAA: A 6119, 487, f.4A-7; 'Big Church Probe on Communism', *Advocate*, 6 May 1948:5; 'Presbyterian move Against the Reds', *Herald* (Melb.), 4

However, he pointedly remarked that communism was itself a product of Christianity's inaction and subsequent failure to adequately address social problems and injustices.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, he argued that it was 'immensely important' that he should be able to work for peace 'as an accredited minister'.<sup>173</sup> Dickie emphasised with moral certitude that:

Peace workers should be ever working on two fronts – the front of their own particular organisation endeavouring to bring the whole weight of that organisation into the peace struggle; and the front created by the co-operation of as many organisations as possible on mutually agreed programmes for peace.<sup>174</sup>

Dickie chafed against the restrictive attitude of his church while he maintained a 'single-mindedness' in his vision of a new social world order.<sup>175</sup> He appeared unwilling to engage with notions that challenged his faith in the goodwill of the Soviet Union, despite the prevalence of reports in the 1930s describing the repressive measures which accompanied forced collectivisation.<sup>176</sup> Macintyre argued that Party members and their sympathisers 'justified' such measures as 'necessary' for the successful realisation of a socialist utopia.<sup>177</sup> Dickie uncritically accepted the optimistic reports about economic and social advances in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Thoday noted that amongst the plethora of articles Dickie meticulously collected over many years, 'he only archived material that supported his world-

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May 1949:3; 'The Protestant Attitude to Communism', *Methodist* (Syd.), 29 October 1949:1; 3; 'Presbyterian Committee Reports on Communism', *Advocate*, 22 December 1949:11.

<sup>172</sup> Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 70.

<sup>173</sup> Goldbloom, 'The Peace Movement in Motion', 228.

<sup>174</sup> Rev. Alfred M. Dickie, Unitarian Half Hour, Radio 3XY Melbourne, 15 October 1961, f.25.

<sup>175</sup> Dickie, Statement of Common Beliefs, 1.

<sup>176</sup> See for instance: William Henry Chamberlain's highly publicised 1934 *Russia's Iron Age* gives an account of Russia, after having spent twelve years living there as a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. He wrote that despite the 'constructive sides of the Soviet regime, there remains a formidable burden of facts on the other side', which included the 'permanent and odious system of terrorism'. William Henry Chamberlain, *Russia's Iron Age* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1934), 373; 'New Books: Life in Russia', *Age*, 16 March 1935:4; 'What Russia Looks Like Today', *Herald* (Melb.), 25 March 1935:6. See also: 'Soviet Persecutions', *Argus*, 17 February 1930:7; Religious Persecution: Denied by Soviet, *Age*, 17 February 1930:9; 'Trotsky's Analysis of the Stalin Regime: "The Revolution Betrayed"', *Herald* (Melb.), 15 June 1937:6; 'Russia Stages a Mock Election Sunday Will be Polling Day in Soviet Russia: Citizens are Free to Elect Communist Candidates!', *Advocate* (Melb.) 9 December 1937:39; 'Russia is Silent', *Herald* (Melb.), 28 November 1938:6; Letters to the Editor: 'Russia To-Day', *Age*, 1 May 1939:10.

<sup>177</sup> Stuart Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia from Origins to Illegality* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1998), 378.



view'.<sup>178</sup> Dickie reasoned that opponents of the world peace movement simply did 'not want to see a united peace force in the world'.<sup>179</sup>

Although Dickie had forged his socio-political beliefs long before he joined the peace movement, he was nevertheless sympathetic towards Soviet-communist analyses of the post-war world, which ostensibly coincided with his aspirations for a new social order based on world peace and social justice. He was deeply concerned about what he believed were the plans of Western leaders to unleash war, threatening all humanity, and eschewed the brutalities accompanied by the decolonisation process. In this regard, Dickie held that the world's people 'must accept the idea that capitalism and Socialism exist as the two major social systems of our world and condemn all attempts to oppose social change by force'.<sup>180</sup>

### **Rev. Frank Jonathan Hartley**

The second 'peace parson', Frank Hartley, was born in 1909 and raised as Methodist in the coal-mining town of Wonthaggi, where he developed a deep respect for the miners who struck for justice, despite the hardships it imposed upon their families and the township.<sup>181</sup> He recalled his pride when his father returned from WWI that his 'Dad had gone to the war to end all war'.<sup>182</sup> From an early age, Hartley learned that suffering for a righteous cause was both honourable and implicit. Before Hartley decided to follow a call to the Methodist ministry, he declared that he was 'determined to serve humanity and... prepared to make sacrifices' in the cause for peace and justice.<sup>183</sup>

Barely two years after graduating from Melbourne University with a BA and BD, Hartley was among the first group of chaplains to enlist in the Australian Defence Force in WWII; he was 'quite sure that Hitler and Mussolini had to be stopped'.<sup>184</sup> The warnings he overheard from his fellow officers during his return trip home about the spread of communism and the probability of a future war, made an indelible impression on Hartley.<sup>185</sup> After fighting against

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<sup>178</sup> Thoday, 'Christian-Socialist Dialogue during the Early Cold War', 32.

<sup>179</sup> Rev. Alfred M. Dickie, Unitarian Half Hour, Radio 3XY Melbourne, 15 October 1961.

<sup>180</sup> 'Camberwell Citizens Fight for Peace', [extract] *Guardian*, 18 October 1949, Dickie Part 1, NAA: A6119, 487, f.1.

<sup>181</sup> Frank Jonathan Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace* (Melbourne: ANZCICD, 1965), 3; Waten. 'Rev. Frank Hartley', 56; Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.164.

<sup>182</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 3.

<sup>183</sup> Waten, 'Rev. Frank Hartley', 57.

<sup>184</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 3; Waten, 'Rev. Frank Hartley', 57-58.

<sup>185</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 5-6; Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 65-66. His war experiences also inspired him to write *Sanananda Interlude*, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A 6119, 1102, f.164.

fascism, the Cold War formulation ‘against Godless Communism’ seemed surreal and indistinguishable to Hartley from the ‘propaganda of Goebbels and Hitler’; he claimed that this became the impetus for his activism and he wrote that ‘the struggle against the assumptions of the Cold War led me into the struggle for Democratic rights in Australia and into participation in a movement for peace’.<sup>186</sup>

Hartley worked as a minister with the Methodist Church after the war, he led the Prahran Methodist Mission as Superintendent from 1955 and served as councillor for the City of Stonnington from 1969, until his death on 5 July 1971.<sup>187</sup> However, his activities outside the church and Council constituted a core aspect of his peace work. Whether he preached its doctrine on the Yarra Bank or as an activist with the DRC and the peace movement, it involved forging an alliance between the church and the working class against war and social injustice.<sup>188</sup> In this regard, he encouraged a dialogical integration between Christianity and Marxism, and he advocated peaceful co-existence between opposing social systems, which he regarded as the ‘touchstone’ for world peace during the Cold War.<sup>189</sup>

A leading influence in Hartley’s thinking from the early days of the post-war peace movement was a Lutheran clergyman and Professor of Theology in Prague, Joseph L. Hromádka. Hromádka conceded the revolution in his country and along with his Czechoslovak Church he accepted the State’s new church laws.<sup>190</sup> Moreover, Hromádka explicitly endorsed anticapitalist dogma.<sup>191</sup> Hromádka had spent the war years in the US, but at the aforementioned WCC’s first general assembly in August 1948, he spoke as a clergyman from behind the Iron Curtain. He declared that communism was the ‘product of

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<sup>186</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 6.

<sup>187</sup> After the war he was appointed minister of the Murrumbidgee and then Newport Methodist Church, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A 6119, 1102, f.163-164. In 2011, Hartley was recorded as the Prahran Methodist Mission’s ‘longest serving’ leader to date. Annual Report 2010-2011, Prahran Mission, [https://www.unitingprahran.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/PM-Annual-Report\\_2011.pdf](https://www.unitingprahran.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/PM-Annual-Report_2011.pdf).

Hartley’s first attempt to get elected in 1966 was unsuccessful see City of Prahran Municipal Elections, flyer August 1968, Hartley Vol. 7, NAA: A6119,2915, f.14; Prahran Councillors, City of Stonnington, <https://www.stonnington.vic.gov.au/files/assets/public/history/prahran-councillors.pdf>.

<sup>188</sup> From June 1949, Hartley and fellow Methodist Rev. Rex Mathias preached from the Yarra Bank platform every Sunday for more than thirteen years. Marion Hartley, *The Truth Will Prevail: The Rev. Cr. Francis John Hartley, B.A., B.D.: a noble life in quest of truth, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence* (Melbourne: Spectrum, 1982), 72-73; 76-77.

<sup>189</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 7.

<sup>190</sup> Clarence Augustus Manning, ‘Religion Within the Iron Curtain’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 271, Moscow’s European Satellites (September 1950), 116; ‘A Special Correspondent: Churches in Council, Expression of Faith at Amsterdam Assembly’, *The Times* (London), 4 September 1948:5.

<sup>191</sup> Manning, ‘Religion Within the Iron Curtain’, *Ibid*.

anti-Christian capitalism' and that capitalism was 'more of an enemy' to Christianity than atheist communism.<sup>192</sup> He condemned the West as being both morally and politically bankrupt while suggesting that much of the 'social impetus of Christian history' underpinned communism.<sup>193</sup> Hromádka's highly controversial views at the WCC Amsterdam Assembly were widely publicised.<sup>194</sup> Additionally, Hartley noted with interest that Hromádka was an executive member of the World Council of Churches and associated with the people's movement for peace.<sup>195</sup>

In Hromádka, Hartley sought confirmation that reconciliation between Christian theism and communist ideology was possible and in 1951 he crossed the world to meet his so-called 'star in the East'.<sup>196</sup> To his delight, he found Hromádka 'quite definite and confident' that Christianity could be delivered under a communist state, despite telling Hartley that, 'at this stage in history it is not our function to argue on this or that philosophical point, but to give a profound and deep witness to what we believe'.<sup>197</sup>

While Hromádka admitted that it was not within the scope of the church under communism to either challenge communist dogma or proclaim the Truth according to Christian Theism, it did not appear to concern Hartley. Hromádka explained the terms of the *modus vivendi* between the church and State, which 'only asked for active cooperation' of the church.<sup>198</sup> Hromádka claimed that in matters of internal theology of the church there was 'no interference', and he stated that visiting lecturers were prohibited from discussing the social and economic problems in the country with respect to Marxian philosophy.<sup>199</sup> However, Hartley's report of Hromádka's account belied the findings of the Presbyterian Committee Report on communism published in late 1949. The report stated that a compulsory State-appointed lecturer had been teaching Marxism in the Jan Huss Theological Seminary in

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 116-117. See also Manning's article reprinted by the *Advocate* 'Persecution of Religion Behind the Iron Curtain', *Advocate* (Melb.), 15 March 1951:8.

<sup>193</sup> 'The Amsterdam Assembly of the World', *Methodist* (Syd.), 2 October 1948:1; see also 'Cleric's Praise for Communism', *Tribune*, 16 March 1949:7.

<sup>194</sup> 'A Special Correspondent: Churches in Council, Expression of Faith at Amsterdam Assembly', *The Times* (London), 4 September 1948:5; 'Soviet and World Peace', *Age*, 25 August 1948:1, 'Criticism of Soviet at Church Talks', *SMH*, 25 August 1948:3; 'Christianity Wasn't Just Another Marshall Plan', *Sun* (Syd.), 29 August 1948:8; 'Message of Amsterdam For World's Churches', *SMH*, 18 September 1948:2; 'Amsterdam Has Happened', *Methodist* (Syd.), 23 October 1948:1.

<sup>195</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 7; 'The Amsterdam Assembly of the World', *The Methodist* (Syd.), 2 October 1948:1; see also 'Momentous Meeting of Church Leaders', *SMH*, 21 August 1948:2.

<sup>196</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 6-7.

<sup>197</sup> M. Hartley, *The Truth Will Prevail*, 89.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

Prague since February 1949 after a State decree declared that all Czech theological colleges, including Catholic seminaries, must have such lecturers.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, new acts establishing repressive State control over Czech churches and theological seminaries were instituted and enacted upon during 1950, before Hartley visited Czechoslovakia.<sup>201</sup> Nevertheless, Hartley accepted Hromádka's account of a conciliatory fellowship between the church and the Czech government and, afterwards, referred to Hromádka as 'my bridge between the East and West'.<sup>202</sup> Hartley noted similar appraisals from other church leaders behind the Iron Curtain, including Moscow, where he was 'showered' with hospitality.<sup>203</sup> Upon his return, Hartley gave glowing accounts of his experiences in Eastern Europe reporting that religion was 'completely free' in Moscow and that its Christian population was both 'free to criticise the government' and 'completely satisfied' in their relations with the State.<sup>204</sup>

Hartley believed that through a 'ruthless examination' of official texts and diligent adherence to the Methodist tradition, the 'Truth' could be revealed.<sup>205</sup> His wife Marion described Hartley keeping a notebook in triplicate during his travels, meticulously recording

the gist of every conference speech, the essence of every conversation...every message. Names and data – he checked and double-checked, and many are signed alongside the page, where his friends co-operated to keep his record accurate...one copy he sent home, one to the peace movement and third...in a row of volumes in a bookcase.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> The Presbyterian Report included statements from the Catholic Press and official statements from Christian bodies, the Amsterdam Assembly, the Lambeth Conference, and a summary of Pope Pius XI's Encyclical on Atheistic Communism. 'Presbyterian Committee Reports on Communism', *Advocate*, 22 December 1949:11.

<sup>201</sup> All Church schools and seminaries in Czechoslovakia were abolished, in line with the provisions of the Penal Code of 1950. Clergy training was only provided by three State-run theological faculties, one each for the Catholic, Protestant and Czechoslovak Church, with limited admissions. Zábaj Horák, 'Religion and the Secular State in the Czech Republic', in *Religion and the Secular State, National Reports*, Reports issued for the occasion of the XVIIIth International Congress of Comparative Law, Washington, D.C, 25 - 31 July 2010, 254, <https://www.iclrs.org/content/blurb/files/Czech%20Republic.pdf>.

<sup>202</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 6.

<sup>203</sup> Hartley spoke to a number of church leaders in Czechoslovakia. Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 90; 93; 147-148.

<sup>204</sup> Hartley was an official guest of the Russian Orthodox church and attended a Baptist service and the Catholic church in Moscow. 'Rev. F. Hartley Sees New Hope for Peace in Church Talks', *Tribune*, 28 November 1951:3; Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 148-149.

<sup>205</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 10 [emphasis in original].

<sup>206</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 152-153.

Despite his approach, Hartley appeared to accept testimony at face value, if it coincided with his world-view, and disregarded as propaganda views that challenged his own. According to Macintyre, the dilemma was that Soviet enthusiasts, such as Dickie and Hartley, were so acclimatised to anti-communist slurs that they often ‘ignored the contradictions and dismissed the objections’.<sup>207</sup> Reporting upon his visit to the Soviet Union in 1952 Hartley wrote:

There is no war propaganda in the Soviet Union. One word above all others is written into the consciousness, and the word is peace...Anybody who knows the slightest thing about war propaganda knows that you cannot glorify peace...and then lead the people to attack others.<sup>208</sup>

Hartley advocated peaceful co-existence between opposing social systems.<sup>209</sup> However, at the same time, he unfalteringly praised the Soviet Union as the greatest force for peace in the world while counterposing the West, led by the US, as the greatest threat to peace. A security report noted in 1959 that Hartley’s outlook had ‘reached the point where he attribute[d] the ills and anomalies of Australian society to the Capitalist system of Government’.<sup>210</sup> Moreover, Hartley considered that Australian workers would eventually ‘wak[e] up’ to the suffering inherent under a capitalist system and ‘a similar revolution would happen here in due course’.<sup>211</sup> As will be shown, throughout Hartley’s involvement in the peace movement until his death in 1971, he perpetuated the dualistic rhetoric of the Cold War which demanded that one must take sides.<sup>212</sup> Accordingly, he proclaimed that:

One of the modern heresies that is embraced by many modern peace workers is, that because there are faults on both sides, therefore, each side is equally blameable for the threat to peace...Those who have wrecked the discussions on disarmament time and time again will be exposed .... There are nations who have consistently made positive

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<sup>207</sup> Macintyre, *The Reds: The Communist Party of Australia*, 377.

<sup>208</sup> Rev. Frank Hartley Visits USSR, *Tribune*, 13 February 1952:7.

<sup>209</sup> See for instance Radio Melbourne 3AW Broadcast 18 June 1962, Town Meeting Chaired by well-known anti-communist and radio commentator, Norman Banks, and a panel comprising Hartley, Prahran Methodist Mission and John Turner, Vic. branch RSL, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.179; 186

<sup>210</sup> ASIO Report No. 16596, 21 September 1959, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.26

<sup>211</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/435, 23 February 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.46

<sup>212</sup> Hartley passed away on 14 July 1971, aged 62. Waten, ‘Rev. Frank Hartley’, 56.

suggestions for advance towards International Understanding and Disarmament.

There are other nations who have consistently blocked such advance.<sup>213</sup>

On the one hand, Hartley sought to reconcile the inherent contradiction between Christianity and communism through the example provided by religious leaders such as Hromádka. On the other, he reinforced the same Cold War rhetoric he allegedly rejected. Hartley held contradictory notions simultaneously and in order to make sense of such dissonant cognitions, he maintained that the path of the righteous was often the most difficult.

According to Hartley's wife, she and Hartley experienced personal abuses for sympathising with the Soviet Union, and their relatives were mortified that they were 'fellow-travellers'.<sup>214</sup> Hartley's sermons alienated some parishioners who felt politics should not 'disturb the expected consolation of church worship', while others were vociferously opposed to his peace work.<sup>215</sup> Elements within the church attempted to 'muzzle' Hartley, and he offered to resign when a few delegates of the Methodist Conference voted against him.<sup>216</sup> Marion explained that the period coincided with the widespread belief that all Christians, indeed all theists, should contrive to 'wipe [Communism] from the face of the earth'.<sup>217</sup> However, for Hartley, the 'persecution of the champions of progress [was] not new' and he often reverted to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Tolpuddle Martyrs for reassurance.<sup>218</sup> While Hartley identified with prophetic martyrs, such as religious reformer Jan Huss, his martyrdom manifested as a selfless commitment in what he believed to be a just cause.<sup>219</sup> Hartley accepted early in life that suffering was inherent, even necessary; therefore, the persecution he endured probably demonstrated for him the righteousness of his cause.

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<sup>213</sup> Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 10.

<sup>214</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 84-85.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 82-84.

<sup>216</sup> Waten, 'Rev. Frank Hartley', 59.

<sup>217</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 84.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-103. The DRC's official organ *Liberty* includes in its banner a quote from a song, 'The Gathering of the Unions', considered treasonous when it was read out during the Tolpuddle trial on 19 March 1834. It read, 'We raise the watchword Liberty! We shall - we SHALL be free!' It was read out by George Loveless, one of the six Dorset farmers who were sentenced to transportation for swearing a secret oath to the Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers. Official organ of the DRC, *Liberty* No.4, 27 October 1950; Alan Gallop, *Six for The Tolpuddle Martyrs: The Epic Struggle for Justice and Freedom* (South Yorkshire: Pen & Sword History, 2017), xiii; 88-89.

<sup>219</sup> In 1951 when he first went to Czechoslovakia and met Hromádka, Hartley had his photograph taken in front of a statue of Jan Huss. Huss was a leading Czech religious reformist who was convicted of heresy and burned at the stake in the early 15th century during the Great Western Schism in the Roman Catholic Church between competing claimants for the papal office. Hartley, *My Pilgrimage for Peace*, 9.

### **Rev. Victor Montgomery Keeling James**

The third ‘peace parson’, Victor James, was born in Pontypool, Monmouthshire in 1897, an industrial town on the eastern edge of the South Wales coalfields where the general strike of 1926 belonged to a long history of British labour disputes.<sup>220</sup> He was skilled as a joiner, and he practised dentistry for several years before becoming a Unitarian minister in 1928 in South Wales.<sup>221</sup> James served on the frontline in France during WWI, and in WWII he first served with the RAF as a squadron leader in Britain, and then as Provost-Marshall in Hong Kong, organising the capture and disarming of 20,000 Japanese.<sup>222</sup> James was discharged from active service in mid-1946, and a year later he migrated to Melbourne, Australia to accept an appointment as the new assistant-minister for the Unitarian.<sup>223</sup> James’ experiences of war convinced him that it was utterly horrendous and he vowed to do his utmost to prevent its recurrence.<sup>224</sup> As with Hartley and Dickie, James’ earliest experiences formed his beliefs; however, he stated that such beliefs, were, ‘in a general sense, a rebellion’ against those he accepted during his early formative years.<sup>225</sup>

James’ family on his father’s side were predominantly clergy, and he was raised in ‘the atmosphere of strict Christian orthodoxy’.<sup>226</sup> However, his experiences during WWI compelled him to question the familial ideological beliefs he had inherited. For James, the vivid reality of trench warfare in France clashed with the ideological structures of his worldview and a revolution began to place in his thinking. In this connection, James explained that:

The whole theological thinking structure which, at one time, had gone unquestioned, was now not only meaningless but utterly ridiculous.... It began to dawn upon me that I had been grossly deceived, that the comfortable, convenient, packet-sized theology

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<sup>220</sup> ASIO Internal Report, 3 September 1957, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.21; ‘Mr Lloyd George in Wales: Coal Dispute Policy; Attitude on General Strike’, *The Times* (London), 27 May 1926:8.

<sup>221</sup> ASIO Director-General, Internal document 5 February 1954, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.172; 204; Personal and Service Particulars, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.137-138.

<sup>222</sup> Victor James, ‘If I Only Had One Sermon to Preach: A talk given by Rev. Victor James on Sunday evening, 10 January 1965’, *Beacon Supplement*, 1965:1-5, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.91-95; ‘Clergyman’s Adventures: Chasing Pirates in Hong Kong’, *Age*, 4 July 1947:3.

<sup>223</sup> ‘Clergyman’s Adventures: Chasing Pirates in Hong Kong’, *Age*, 4 July 1947:3; ‘Barbara Carol Weston’, ASIO internal document, 5 February 1954, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.172; Personal and Service Particulars, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.137-138.

<sup>224</sup> ‘Clergyman’s Adventures: Chasing Pirates in Hong Kong’.

<sup>225</sup> James, ‘If I Only Had One Sermon to Preach’, 1.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*

on which I had been weaned offered me now no satisfying answer. Indeed, it seemed to mock me. There was no answer from the heavens.<sup>227</sup>

During his early adulthood, James began to question the concept of God and the ideology built around the idea of God. He reasoned that in war ‘we had seen humanity at its worst, and often at its best, and we found no help from the skies’. Through a process of rationalisation, James abandoned the idea of a supernatural framework for creating meaning and morality. Consequently, he proclaimed:

My experiences and my thinking have led me to utterly reject belief in the Christian God, in a Supreme intelligence or Life-force. It means that I am not a Christian and that I have learned to believe that Christianity has played its part to muddle people as have other religions or teachings.<sup>228</sup>

Having renounced his inherited worldview, James searched for new beliefs that were ‘more in accord with the facts’ as he saw them. James believed foremost that the world’s problems had to be considered in terms of ‘happenings between man’, and he developed a philosophy which assumed that humanity could become its own saviour without the ‘aid of a convenient God’.<sup>229</sup>

Such ideas found resonance within Humanism, a liberal movement based on reason that emerged during WWI, and articulated within Unitarianism. During the early sixteenth century, Unitarians became known as free-thinking dissenters, or heretics, whose ideas evolved towards notions of religious freedom, tolerance, rationalism and humanism. As a contemporary strain within Unitarianism, its ideas developed during the 1920s and were embodied in a ‘Humanist Manifesto’.<sup>230</sup> The period coincided with James joining the Unitarian ministry in 1928, at 31 years of age. At its core, Humanism emphasised the natural over the supernatural, believed in the worth and dignity of humankind rather the worship of

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 1-2.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>230</sup> University of Michigan philosopher and Unitarian layman, Roy Wood Sellars drafted the manifesto’s statement which was signed by thirty-four leading philosopher’s and Unitarian ministers such as John Dewey, John Dietrich and Curtis Reese. Dietrich and Reese originally inspired and drove the movement within the Unitarian Church. William R. Murray ‘One Hundred Years of Unitarian Universalist Humanism’ in Kendyl L.R. Gibbons & William R. Murray (eds.) *Humanist Voices in Unitarian Universalism* (Boston: Skinner House Books, 2017), 6-8.



God and considered social justice and social responsibility above personal piety.<sup>231</sup> James shared Dickie's and Hartley's belief in the possibility of creating a new world order that was free from war and social injustice, but with undeniable Humanist overtones. Despite man's cruelty and inhumanity, as demonstrated in war, James held it that was 'within [humankind's] power, unaided by supernatural means, to make this life beautiful and eminently satisfying'.<sup>232</sup>

Although James' beliefs found accommodation within the Unitarian church, within two years of accepting his post in Melbourne and becoming co-minister, newspapers described a crisis in the church involving a 'bitter political feud' between James and a leading minister, Rev. William Bottomley.<sup>233</sup> Bottomley declared himself opposed to the direction James was taking the Unitarian church and accused James of 'exalting [Communist] political ideology above the spiritual purposes of the church'; it led to Bottomley's resignation and James' appointment as leading minister in 1949.<sup>234</sup> The 'crisis' in the church coincided with a period of growing anti-communist sentiment. As a leading Unitarian minister James was described as 'rather authoritarian' and was accused of operating the Unitarian church 'in close conformity with the Communist line on social and political issues'.<sup>235</sup> Some members described the Unitarian church under James as a 'monolithic organisation', not unlike the CPA, and suggested that his main value to the Party resided in his influence over the Unitarian's membership.<sup>236</sup> Future fulltime CICD secretary John Lloyd, who was also a

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<sup>231</sup> Murray, 'One Hundred Years of Unitarian Universalist Humanism', 9; 'Creedless Cult: New Faith for a New Age', *Advocate*, 2 April 1930:16.

<sup>232</sup> James, 'If I Only Had One Sermon to Preach', 4.

<sup>233</sup> ASIO Internal Report, 29 August 1958, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.30. Bottomley was first inducted as minister of the Melbourne Unitarian Church on 15 April 1926, 'Church, Men and Events', *Herald* [Melb.], 15 April 1926:26; '21 Years in Australia', *Age*, 12 April 1947:11. On the feud between Bottomley and James see: 'Church Feud Led to Crisis', *Age*, 2 November 1949:3; 'Unitarian Church Feud: Reply to Minister by Chairman', *Herald* [Melb.], 1 November 1949:5; 'Church Feud: Why Minister Left', *Herald* [Melb.], 31 October 1949:3; 'Minister's Final Sermon', *Age*, 29 October 1949:10.

<sup>234</sup> 'Church Feud: Why Minister Left'.

<sup>235</sup> ASIO Internal Report, 29 August 1958, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.30.

<sup>236</sup> In particular, Roy Hartkopf, who was unilaterally dismissed by James from his position as Secretary of the Church and his wife Nellie, who managed the Women's Section of *The Beacon*, the official organ of the Unitarian. After Nellie insisted on discussing the Hungarian revolt in her columns, James first 'cut the Women's Section out' of the paper before placing the paper under the control of the Church Council. *Ibid.*

Unitarian minister in Melbourne, recalled overhearing conversations in his youth concerning James, which suggested that James was a 'strange' fellow.<sup>237</sup>

James admitted that in politics he was socialist and confessed that he 'would like to be convinced capitalist society is disintegrating'.<sup>238</sup> As with Dickie and Hartley, James held the view that socialism offered 'more opportunities for the practice of Christianity than monopoly capitalism'.<sup>239</sup> Nevertheless, at least until the late 1950s he was recorded as having 'never shown' any explicit 'interest' in the Communist Party or communist theory, and he appeared to 'fellow-travel with the party only on specific lines of common interest'.<sup>240</sup> Moreover, James was described by ASIO informants as indefatigable in his dedication to world peace and that 'peace' work absorbed most of his time.<sup>241</sup>

As well as being active in the DRC, the Council for Civil Liberties and a founding member of the APC, James was also a founding member of the Australia-China Friendship Society in 1951, and he led the Australian delegation to the Peking Peace conference in 1952.<sup>242</sup> He was Vice-President of the Peace Liaison Bureau of the Asian Pacific Peace Committee, a regional body established in 1952 and 'closely related' to the WPC.<sup>243</sup> By 1964, his sympathy with the Peking communist line was evident when he became estranged from the CICD and established the Australian Peace Liaison Committee as a rival peace group. The establishment of the rival group under James' leadership coincided with the formation of breakaway CPA Marxist-Leninist (M-L) group.<sup>244</sup> While Dickie and Hartley remained faithful to the Soviet Union's peace offensive, James advanced the view that the Peoples' Republic of China (PRC) exemplified how humankind and society could change for the

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<sup>237</sup> Lloyd was referring to his father, also a Unitarian minister, speaking of James. John Lloyd, interview with author, 4 December 2018. All interviews conducted with ethics approval, see Ethics Approval ID: HRE 16-299 and conducted between ethics approval date from 13 December 2016 until 13 December 2018.

<sup>238</sup> Victor James, *Window on the Years* (n.d.), 242, UMA: Reverend Victor James 1981.0143 Box 20, file 2.

<sup>239</sup> 'Reports by Special Groups', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 24.

<sup>240</sup> ASIO document, n.d. James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.204.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.; 'Barbara Carol Weston', ASIO internal document, 5 February 1954, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.172.

<sup>242</sup> ASIO document, n.d. Ibid., f.204.

<sup>243</sup> 'The World Council of Peace – The Sixth Great Power', *Australian Peace Movement, If You Want Peace Prepare for It: Their Future, Our Concern*, VPC Booklet, c.1955, 8, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

<sup>244</sup> 'Australian Peace Liaison Committee, Aims and Objects', ASIO Report No. 2328/64 c.1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.85-87. The date given on the record is illegible due to fading.

better, along revolutionary lines. As it will be shown throughout the thesis, James' revised view was illustrative of the schisms in the political left evident from the mid-1950s, which variously affected the peace movement. During his final radio broadcast in 1965, James stated,

if one only cross[ed] the border to Lo Wu in Hong Kong ... [they] will feel the difference and understand what I mean, all this in fifteen years! Even those few leaders who have influenced the people by their examples and teachings, these have been in turn influenced by the way in which the contradictions in society have stirred them to wage war against injustices and plan for better things.<sup>245</sup>

Despite a divergence in emphases by the mid-1960s amongst the three peace parsons, their involvement in the peace movement following the formation of the APC in 1949 was a result of significant historical events which shaped their personal worldviews and motivated their aspirations for a post-war new social order. For Dickie, Hartley and James, Christianity had not fulfilled its promise of being an effective agent of social and political change and the rise of socialism and communism was symptomatic of that failure. Consequently, they determined that the world now looked to socialism to deliver the fundamental Christian values of equality, peace and justice. With the emergence of the Cold War and the threat of a nuclear holocaust, world peace became an immediate and existential moral imperative which galvanised their peace activism. Towards this end, they dedicated their lives to promoting the aims of the communist-led world peace movement, and consolidating support for the movement at home, which they believed was the only practicable way for the people to counter the drift towards a new war.

## **APC programs for peace**

### **State and local auxiliaries**

As noted previously, when the APC formed in mid-1949, it was set up as a provisional body. In the interim, it sought to establish a permanent national council and a network of semi-autonomous state and local peace auxiliaries to incorporate into a national association.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> James, 'If I Only Had One Sermon to Preach', 4.

<sup>246</sup> John Rodgers, 'How to Work for Peace', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 21; 23.

Except for Tasmania, where D.C. Jacob was the state's sole representative,<sup>247</sup> state peace councils were established in each of the mainland states. The Queensland Legion of Ex-Servicemen and Women Queensland formed a branch of the peace council by the end of September 1949, and a meeting at the Sydney Radio Theatre in early October formed the NSW branch.<sup>248</sup> In this connection, Hartley and James appealed to the Union of Australian Women (UAW) to send delegates to the Sydney meeting where the women's auxiliary played a leading role in the formation of the NSW Peace Council; UAW's president, Jessie Street was appointed Chairperson, and fellow UAW member and ALP official, Nell Simpson, was appointed honorary secretary.<sup>249</sup> In Adelaide, a 'State Peace Council' already existed alongside both the war-time PPU and the recently formed pacifist Women's Peace Crusade; by August, these three South Australian peace groups met in Hahndorf to discuss the new 'world' peace movement.<sup>250</sup> In Perth, a peace rally at the City Town Hall on 29 November formed a West Australian division of the APC, and before the end of 1949, the APC claimed that more than 150 local peace groups were affiliated with the state branches of the APC.<sup>251</sup> An extensive campaign to promote the establishment of such groups was initiated in late 1949 in the lead up to the first national peace congress in April the following year.<sup>252</sup> The auxiliaries were formed according to occupation, special interests, locality or region, and significant attention was given to their establishment by the labour movement.

The APC approached trade unions that were most receptive to the peace movement's aims, such as the Waterside Workers Federation, and addressed stop-work meetings.<sup>253</sup>

Commenting on the novelty of it, then Victorian State secretary of the Seamen's Union of Australia (SUA), W. Bird, said it was 'probably the first time' that a representative of the

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<sup>247</sup> James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall; 'Peace on Earth', *Mercury* (Tas.), 23 December 1949:5.

<sup>248</sup> 'Peace Committee Plea to Clergy', *Courier-Mail* (Brisbane), 23 September 1949:3; 'Q'land Peace Council', *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Qld), 3 October 1949:4; 'Police Guard for Peace Council', *SMH*, 20 October 1949:1.

<sup>249</sup> 'United Associations of Women', 27 June 1950, James Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2175, f.17-18.

<sup>250</sup> 'Peace in Greece Move', *News* (Adel.), 3 February 1949:3; 'Peace Group to Meet Soon', *News* (Adel.), 12 May 1949:3; 'Ministry of Peace Desired', *Recorder* (SA), 23 July 1948:3; 'Peace Meeting at Hahndorf', *Mount Barker Courier* (SA), 11 August 1949:2.

<sup>251</sup> Advertising: 'Peace Rally: Unite for Peace', *Daily News* (Perth), 29 November 1949:13; Summy, 'Australian Peace Council', 240.

<sup>252</sup> 'Peace Fighters' Army is Growing', *Tribune*, 9 November 1949:5.

<sup>253</sup> 'Editorial: Peace Moves Rejected: Workers Must Have Positive Peace Policy', *Maritime Worker* (Melb.), 12 February 1949:4; 'Security Can Only Come Through Peace', *Maritime Worker*, 8 October 1949:4.

church addressed a stop-work meeting on international affairs.<sup>254</sup> If Bird's estimation is correct, then the meeting on 29 November 1949 marked the beginning of ongoing and close relations between the Victorian Branch of the Seamen's Union and the APC and its successor, the CICD. Left-wing unions sympathetic to the cause for peace provided instrumental support to the peace movement. According to Bird, 'the theme of Dickie's address was that all religious, political and other ideals that are keeping [people] apart should be dropped in an effort to maintain peace'.<sup>255</sup> It is evident that the APC consciously endeavoured to establish links with the workers; both Dickie and Hartley led an extensive campaign among union members following the APC's formation, addressing factory meetings five days a week.<sup>256</sup> In a single week, the APC addressed sixteen stop-work meetings in Melbourne, four of which immediately decided to form an auxiliary peace group.<sup>257</sup> However, not all trade unions were so receptive to the peace movement's aims. The APC had to navigate the reality of a frequently hostile environment in the unions under the influence of the right-wing ALP Industrial Groups (or 'Groupers'). To conduct a meeting at a factory or workplace the APC generally sought the support of a trade union representative or shop committee, or in lieu of such support, it conducted a meeting and recruited anyone sufficiently interested to act as their agent and cultivate enough support to establish an official auxiliary.<sup>258</sup>

The emphasis the APC placed on locally-led organisation was influenced by the decisions of the world peace movement and confirmed by the APC's stated belief that 'only through a network of such auxiliaries' could all sections of the community be drawn 'into [a] united and determined action for peace'.<sup>259</sup> International and local conditions that were evident by late 1949 also drove the establishment of local groups. By 1949, the Cold War climate was intensified by a number of contextual factors, namely, the Berlin blockade; the Soviet detonation of an atomic bomb that ended America's monopoly and the communist victory in China. By the end of the year, a conservative Liberal government had been elected that pledged to outlaw the Communist Party, and whose leader, Menzies, intimated at a possible

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<sup>254</sup> 'Clergyman Speaks to Melb. Seaman', *Age*, 30 November 1949:6.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.; 'Seamen Cheer Clergyman's Talk on 'Peace'', *Argus*, 30 November 1949:7.

<sup>256</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 67-68.

<sup>257</sup> 'Peace Council Active: Melbourne Meetings', *Tribune*, 1 March 1950:8.

<sup>258</sup> Jordan, 'Conflict in the Unions', 85; 88.

<sup>259</sup> James, APC Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall.

third world war, a position he sincerely held.<sup>260</sup> In its consideration of these factors, the APC criticised Australian military arrangements with Britain and the US and its policy in the Pacific, as well as Australian obeisance to Britain by hosting the rocket range program, which it argued 'are all linked together and all point straight to war'.<sup>261</sup> The sense of immediate crisis that was, to many, a spur to 'unite for the cause of peace' fuelled the APC's clarion call to form hundreds of local peace initiatives.<sup>262</sup> The APC decision to form auxiliary peace groups was influenced by the pro-Soviet world peace movement. From its outset the APC was set up as an interim body to form a nation-wide network peace organisation to consolidate and mobilise broad-based public support for the movement's aims. In particular, the APC actively sought to build a connection with the anti-capitalists of the labour movement which could provide numerically strong and staunch support. The two-tiered network of state and local groups constituted the organisational basis of the communist-led peace movement for the following two decades. The drive to establish auxiliaries was bolstered by the APC during its 'Peace Week' in late 1949 in the context of increased Cold War world tensions.

### **'Peace Week'**

A national 'Peace Week', initially scheduled for late October 1949, was launched in Melbourne the following month between 13-20 November, to allow time for preparation. The extensive national campaign aimed to saturate systematically the public with peace propaganda and raise funds for the first national peace congress early the following year.<sup>263</sup> It proposed the distribution of tens of thousands of copies of each of the following: a sixteen-page peace booklet, posters, stickers, buttons, a double-sided broadsheet, and 250,000 copies

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<sup>260</sup> 'West Virtually in a State of War', *Age*, 4 May 1949:3; 'What Menzies Promised in Policy Speech', *Herald* (Melb.), 13 December 1949; 'Defence Warning in Menzies' Final Speech', *Age*, 9 December 1949:4; McLean, 'Fear of Peace?', 20.

<sup>261</sup> Editorial, *Peace* [journal of the APC], Vol. 1(1), April 1950.

<http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000685.pdf>.

<sup>262</sup> 'Start a Peace Auxiliary in Your District Now!', *Tribune*, 8 October 1949:8; 'Sturdee's War Talk Shows Need of Mass Peace Movement', *Tribune*, 22 October 1949:3; 'Help to Form a Peace Auxiliary', *Tribune*, 26 October 1949:3; 'Unite for the Cause of Peace', [extract] *The Building Worker*, November 1949 in M. Hartley, *The Truth Will Prevail*, 244-245; 'United Front Best Answer To Menzies' Election Win', *Tribune*, December 1949:1; 'Peace Ministry Badly needed in Australia', *Tribune*, 14 December 1949:6; 'Form Peace Auxiliaries', *Tribune*, 17 December 1949:3; 'Peace Call Points Way To Beat 'Lib' Plan For Conscription, War', *Tribune*, 21 December 1949:5. 'Peace Ballot Launched In NSW; Big Vote Planned', *Tribune*, 24 December 1949:7.

<sup>263</sup> James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall.

of a general propaganda leaflet.<sup>264</sup> Activities and the timing of peace week varied by state. However, the uniform emphasis was on raising public awareness around world peace, particularly in the lead up to the federal election in December; promoting the notion of unity for peace; and raising revenue for the first national congress in the new year.<sup>265</sup>

At factory workshops and residential households, the APC distributed national peace ballot and 'How to Vote' leaflets. Making peace an election issue was a strategy the APC and its successor adopted, in the lead up to subsequent federal elections. The leaflets emphasised the role that ordinary Australians could play in shaping policy on peace and war and defending civil liberties.<sup>266</sup> During 'Peace Week' in Melbourne, public meetings held in the suburbs provided polling booths for the public to cast their vote for peace.<sup>267</sup> Activities concluded with a peace festival on the Yarra Bank, addressed by Hartley. He openly declared, 'It is time to co-operate with the Communists, with all those who have a useful contribution to make to the peace of the world...[without] distinction of class, colour or creed'; a collection gathered some £50.<sup>268</sup>

Ground level support from CPA cadres was particularly significant. Party member Keith McEwan recalled the active role communists played in obtaining signatures to the APC peace ballot, he stated: 'our efforts...went on for months'.<sup>269</sup> For its part, *Tribune* continued to promote the peace ballot and the formation of peace auxiliaries in the lead up to the first peace congress in April 1950.<sup>270</sup> Despite Hartley endorsing communist involvement in the peace movement, certain quarters of the community who noted the CPA's presence in the

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid.; 'Communists Ordered by Party to Rally Behind New Peace Movement', *Sun* (Syd.), 20 October 1949:7.

<sup>265</sup> 'Peace Week Plan For This Month', *Western Star* (Qld), 14 October 1949:1; 'Queensland Unions' Stirring Peace Call', *Tribune*, 30 November 1949:7; 'Mobilise for Peace Week This Month', *Workers Star* (Perth), 7 October 1949:4; 'Australian Peace Council', *Whyalla News* (SA), 10 March 1950:7. Although a division of the APC was not formed in Australia's Northern Territory, the APC forwarded peace ballot papers in early 1950, via the North Australian Workers' Union and their representatives, and many organisations were also invited to help distribute the peace ballot in the Territory. 'Peace Ballot in Progress', *Northern Standard* (Darwin), 24 February 1950:3.

<sup>266</sup> James, Australian Peace Council: Summary of Reports to a Meeting at Nicholas Hall; 'Peace Ballot Questions', *Tribune*, 23 November 1949:6.

<sup>267</sup> Advertising, *Age*, 15 November 1949:5.

<sup>268</sup> 'Peace Week Meetings Gave New Unity to Fight Against War', *Tribune*, 26 November 1949:6.

<sup>269</sup> Keith McEwan, *Once a Jolly Comrade* (Brisbane: Jacaranda Press, 1966), 21.

<sup>270</sup> 'Peace Ballot Activity as Auxiliaries Move Ahead in All States', *Tribune*, 11 January 1950:5; 'Big Rush on Peace Ballot', *Tribune*, 4 February 1950:1; 'Quarter of a Million Peace Votes Flooding in', *Tribune*, 11 March 1950:8.

peace movement began to question the sincerity of the APC.<sup>271</sup> Moreover, despite the broad and moderate tone of the APC's claims for peace, the post-war movement was at odds with the political zeitgeist of the period which demanded an anti-communist consensus and encouraged a bipolar Cold War view of the world. For challenging the normative views on foreign and defence policies, the APC was charged with providing a 'vehicle for red propaganda'.<sup>272</sup> James later surmised:

These were the days .... of the beginning of the Cold War... the days of the Korean War, ... of the banning of passports, the banning of halls, days when those who spoke for peace were regarded, and accused, as traitors of their country.<sup>273</sup>

These were also the days which saw Party general secretary, Lance Sharkey, convicted of sedition against a swelling chorus of anti-communism. That chorus was reflected in opinion polls.<sup>274</sup> Accordingly, in the early 1950s, the Party leadership strongly urged their cadre members to downplay their communist allegiances in all non-party peace activities, to avoid discouraging potential supporters from the broader community.<sup>275</sup> Meanwhile, the APC supported the WPC's international ban-the-bomb petitions to stimulate broader debate on the nuclear weapons issue and 'widen the peace front'.<sup>276</sup>

### **Ban-the-Bomb Signature Campaigns**

The APC's national peace ballot became known as the 'Stockholm Appeal' when a WPC meeting in Stockholm on 19 March 1950 issued a petition demanding the prohibition of nuclear weapons.<sup>277</sup> The Stockholm Appeal was the first international 'ban-the-bomb'

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<sup>271</sup> 'Reds Join Peace Council', *Sunday Mail* (Bris.), 2 October 1949:3; 'Reds Give Patronage to "Peace Council"', *Sun* (Syd.), 19 October 1949:7; 'Communists Ordered by Party to Rally Behind New Peace Movement', *Sun* (Syd.), 20 October 1949:7; 'Reds infiltrating into New Peace Council', *Sun* (Syd.), 29 November 1949:19. For the Waterside Workers reaction to the press articles, see 'Press Opposes World Peace Movement', *Maritime Worker* (Melb.), 3 December 1949:6.

<sup>272</sup> 'Hall Refused to Peace Council', *Age*, 6 December 1949:3; The Lab. Member for Hoddle, Jack Cremean to the Lib. Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt, H of R, *Debates*, 16 March 1950:869, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500316\\_reps\\_19\\_206/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500316_reps_19_206/).

<sup>273</sup> James quoted during Unitarian broadcast on radio 3XY on March 1958 in Dalton, *Politics of the Australian Peace Movement*, 20.

<sup>274</sup> Public opinion in September 1947 indicated that 66 per cent of Australians would ban the Communist Party, while the figure rose to 70 per cent by February 1949, 'Most Australians Would Ban Communist Party', *Herald* (Melb.), 19 March 1949:9; 'Sedition Charge Sharkey Convicted, but Judge Postpones Action', *Age*, 21 June 1949:2; 'Sentencing of Sharkey', *Age*, 12 October 1949:3; 'Sharkey Sentenced Today', *Argus*, 17 October 1949:7.

<sup>275</sup> McEwen, *Once a Jolly Comrade*, 21; Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 42.

<sup>276</sup> 'Peace Movement Grows Big Drive to Ban A-Bomb', *Tribune*, 12 April 1950:1

<sup>277</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 32.



petition, and it became a mass demonstration of public opinion collecting some 500 million signatures by November 1950, according to the WPC, which included over 160,000 signatures from Australia.<sup>278</sup> Two further nuclear disarmament petitions, initiated by the WPC, were canvassed by the APC following the decisions of WPC meetings. The second signature campaign, adopted by the WPC on 25 February 1951, was the 'Five-Power Peace Pact'.<sup>279</sup> With the war in Korea and growing hostilities in Indo-China, the WPC appeal was the by-product of an appeal to the five world powers made by the second world peace congress held in Warsaw, in November 1950.<sup>280</sup> Just over a year later, the WPC announced that over 603 million signatures had been collected for the Five-Power Peace Pact, exceeding the achievements of the Stockholm Appeal by more than 100 million; Australia contributed about 191,000 signatures.<sup>281</sup> The third WPC signature campaign adopted by the APC was called the 'Vienna Appeal', or alternatively, the 'Helsinki Appeal'. It was issued by a Bureau meeting of the WPC in Vienna on 19 January 1955 in the lead up to the World Assembly for Peace, held in Helsinki between 22-29 June 1955.<sup>282</sup> When the peace talks in Helsinki opened on 22 June, 600 million signatures were reportedly collected worldwide, and Australia contributed well over 100,000 signatures.<sup>283</sup> By November, the Australian total had trebled, and Hartley's appeal for a 'mighty effort' to reach a total of 350,000 mark by Christmas was allegedly reached.<sup>284</sup> The world peace movement considered the international petitions' a resounding success; on average, about 21 per cent of the world population supported each of the three petitions. The WPC claimed that the Stockholm Appeal prevented the use of the

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<sup>278</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 402. 'Make Peace and How to Fight for Peace: 160,000 Australian Sign to Ban A-Bomb', *Liberty* No.4, 27 Oct 1950:4; 'Drive for Peace Signatures', *Tribune*, 2 November 1950:1; According to Alec Robertson 200,000 signatures were collected in Australia, Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 41.

<sup>279</sup> First Session of the World Council of Peace, Berlin, 21-26 February 1951, *World Peace Movement*, 60. For the launching of the Five-Power Peace Pact Appeal by the APC see: 'Five Power Main Election Task', *Tribune*, 12 April 1951:2

<sup>280</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 43-44; 49.

<sup>281</sup> The WPC Bureau meeting was held in Oslo between 29 March – 1 April 1952, *World Peace Movement*, 102; 'Peace Total Over 134,000', *Tribune*, 13 February 1952:1; 'Peace Calls Point the Way to Unity', *Tribune*, 23 April 1952:12; 'Carnival Week Climax: Join Big Mass Peace Drive This Sunday', *Tribune*, 19 March 1952:2.

<sup>282</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 192; 244; WPC Calendar, 1945-1960, *Bulletin of the WPC 1960*, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.115. For the launching of the Helsinki Appeal see '119 Ministers' Call to Ban the Bomb', *Tribune*, 9 March 1955:1.

<sup>283</sup> 'Australia Tops 100,000 as Helsinki Peace talks Open', *Tribune*, 22 June 1955:3; 'R. A. King, MLC, Signs Appeal', *Tribune*, 6 July 1955:1.

<sup>284</sup> 'New World Appeal Drive', *Tribune*, 16 November 1955:2; *Australian Peace Movement, If You Want Peace, Prepare for Peace: Their Future, Our Concern*, WPC Booklet, c.1955, 4-5, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

bomb in Korea and Indo-China, and, that the petitions provided a good indication of the growing public support for world disarmament.<sup>285</sup> Indeed, there was a notable increase in Australian support for the Helsinki Appeal that coincided with a shift in Australian public opinion against testing in Central Australia, which was evident by December 1954.<sup>286</sup> Eight months earlier, the US detonation of an H-bomb near the Bikini Atoll on 1 March 1954 provoked an international outcry over nuclear testing and gave momentum to a large-scale nuclear test ban campaign that focused on world disarmament.<sup>287</sup> Accordingly, many prominent Australians were among those who supported the Helsinki Appeal, including members of the ALP.<sup>288</sup> As previously indicated, the split of 1955 lessened the anti-communist, right-wing influence on ALP Federal policies and members could choose to participate in peace related issues.<sup>289</sup> While the international petitions were an integral part of the APC peace program, they were amongst a range of strategies adopted by the peace movement.

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<sup>285</sup> Seventh Session of the WPC held in Stockholm between 18-23 November 1954, *World Peace Movement*, 171; and generally, on growing public support for nuclear disarmament, 248.

<sup>286</sup> In the latter half of 1953, 52 per cent supported atomic testing, one month before the Totem 1 and 2 tests were conducted at Emu Field, while only 28 per cent disapproved and 20 per cent were undecided. 'Gallup Poll: Public Approves Woomera Test', *Advertiser* (Adel.), 22 Aug 1953:4. By December 1954, previous majority support had 'disappeared'. Of those tested, 55 per cent opposed H-bomb testing in the area, 29 per cent were in favour, and 16 per cent were undecided, although they knew that atomic testing was already conducted in the area. 'Gallup Poll: H-Bombs Tests Here Not Favoured', *Advertiser* (Adel.), 18 December 1954:5.

<sup>287</sup> 'H-Bomb Warning in Commons', *SMH*, 25 March 1954:1; 'Awesome Fury of H-Bomb Arouses World Alarm, Britain to Seek Ban on Use of Atom Weapons', *Dubbo Liberal and Macquarie Advocate* (NSW), 26 March 1954:1; 'U.S. Will Continue H-Bomb Tests, Fears Voiced in Many Countries', *Age*, 27 March 1954:1; 'Japan Ship Poses a Problem', *Herald* (Melb.), 27 March 1954:2; 'Pressure on Churchill To Suspend Atom Tests', *Daily Advertiser* (NSW) 27 March 1954:1; 'Call on Christians to Unite in Demand for Ban on A-Bomb', *Mercury* (Tas.), 27 March 1954:1; 'Ban Tests', *Argus*, 30 March 1954:4; 'Ban Atom Tests, Scientist Urges', *West Australian*, 30 March 1954:19; 'World Press Calls for H-Bomb Ban', *Daily Mercury* (Qld.), 30 March 1954:11; *World Peace Movement*, 161.

<sup>288</sup> Signatories included Robert A. King, secretary of the NSW Labor Council; Frank Chamberlain, president of the ALP federal executive; Victorian Senator P J Kennelly; WA Housing Minister Graham; and, NSW Transport Minister Wetherell, 'R. A. King, MLC, Signs Appeal', *Tribune*, 6 July 1955:1. British theatrical personality, Dame Sybil Thorndike signed the Appeal, while in Sydney, as well as a number of Methodist clergymen, 'Big Names Sponsor Appeal', *Tribune*, 20 April 1955:3; 'World Opinion Brings Great Peace Gains', APC newspaper, September 1955, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

<sup>289</sup> The Australian Assembly for Peace, held in Sydney, in September 1956, was the first peace event the ALP did not proscribe. Forrester contemptuously admitted that the peace movement had secured a 'tremendous breakthrough' in securing ALP support; *Tribune* called the Opposition leader, Dr Evatt's message of well-wishes a 'highlight' of the Assembly's opening proceedings. Forrester, *Fifteen Years of Peace Fronts*, 35; 'Dr Evatt Greets Peace Assembly', *Tribune*, 12 September 1956:2.

The activities of the peace movement throughout much of the 1950s involved propagandising peace issues at conferences and meetings, as well as through audio, film and print media to broaden its sphere of influence. This supplemented the additional use of direct action and demonstration-type activities adopted during the following decades. As discussed, the moderate and low-key character of the 1950s peace movement was the result of a confluence of factors that were variously affected by the hardening of Cold War attitudes in the early post-war period that came to regard dissent as a socially deviant sentiment.<sup>290</sup> Such hostile attitudes were particularly evident during the large-scale mass peace activities, which were constituted, in the main, by triennially-held national peace congresses.

### **National Peace Congresses**

National peace congresses were a dominant feature of the peace movement during the 1950s. These were the 1950 Melbourne Peace Congress; the 1953 Australian Convention on Peace and War, held in Sydney; the 1956 Australian Assembly for Peace, also held in Sydney; and the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress.<sup>291</sup> The national peace congresses were largely inspired in name and theme by the decisions of WPC congresses and meetings which were variously attended by members of the APC. We have seen that the proposal for the 1950 Melbourne Peace Congress was encouraged by the decisions of the 1949 Paris Peace Congress, attended by APC secretary Murray-Smith and fellow CPA members. Similarly, the 1953 Australian Convention on Peace and War was initially inspired by recommendations adopted by the WPC Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace held in December 1952, which was attended by APC organising secretary, Alec Robertson, and NSW Peace Council executive, Rev. Alan D. Brand (Methodist).<sup>292</sup> The WPC recommendations declared in part that

the peoples have the means for putting an end to the Cold War and exacting an easing of international tensions...[and] recommends that ...exhibitions, festivals and meetings of an international character be held...in all countries.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 54; Summy, 'Study of Dissent', 161

<sup>291</sup> See Congress pamphlets, including a pamphlet on the Festival of Arts. UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>292</sup> 'Rev. Brand Vienna-Bound in Peace Bid', *Tribune*, 24 September 1952:12; 'Reverend Brand Writes from Great Vienna Peace Rally, 'Better Than Our Best Hopes'', *Tribune*, 7 January 1953:2.

<sup>293</sup> 'Congress of the Peoples for Peace: Recommendations Adopted by the Commission of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace Entrusted with Examining Problems Relating to Lessening of International Tension, Vienna, 19 December 1952', *World Peace Movement*, 130; 133.

Brand returned from the Vienna Congress in early 1953 certain that more should be done for world peace by the 'people themselves' and the churches.<sup>294</sup> By April, a meeting with Brand and nine other mostly Protestant clergymen proposed forming a convention for 'the people... to meet and discuss ways and means of winning the peace and saving humanity'.<sup>295</sup> Although the clergymen determined to preclude members of the CPA from its organising positions, to ensure that control of the Convention remained 'firmly in the[ir] hands', they refused to exclude communists from participating in discussions, and ultimately many were active in its 'machinery'.<sup>296</sup> A principal organiser and member of the Peace Quest Forum (PQF), Rev. John Owens, reluctantly admitted that communists and their sympathisers were not only present at the convention, but they also assisted 'by doing a great deal of the chores'.<sup>297</sup> Years later, during the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress, British writer and social commentator, John B. Priestley stated:

You've got to realise that it's the communists who make these meetings possible. They're the ones who hire halls, find voluntary help, work back at nights, do the correspondence, lick the stamps and seal the envelopes. They're very valuable that way.<sup>298</sup>

Priestley's comment harks back to McEwan's depiction of Party cadres tirelessly canvassing the APC's first ban-the-bomb petition for 'many months'.<sup>299</sup> This has been a distinguishing feature of left activists' engagement in peace activities, particularly if that engagement was supported and organised by unions and political parties.

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<sup>294</sup> Phillip Deery, 'War on Peace', 252; See also 'Reverend Brand Writes from Great Vienna Peace Rally; 'Rev. Allan Brand in Debate at Mosman', *Tribune*, 15 April 1953:4; 'Peace' Committee formed in Wollongong', *South Coast Times and Wollongong Argus* (NSW), 17 August 1953:3.

<sup>295</sup> Australian Convention on Peace and War: A Gathering of Citizens to Discuss and Promote International Goodwill and Peace (Redfern: W.J Anderson & Co., 1953); John James Eric Owen, *Road to Peace: An Experiment in Friendship Across Barriers* (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1954), 4; see also Australian Convention on Peace and War: Programme and Participation, Sydney 26-30 September 1953 (Glebe: Liberty Press, 1953).

<sup>296</sup> 'Viewpoint: 'We're not Dupes', *Argus*, 26 September 1953; 'Peace Group Says It Hopes to Keep Reds Out', *Herald* (Melb.), 9 September 1953; Owen, *Road to Peace*, 62. For a comparative account of the Conventions' formation and development, see Owen, *Road to Peace*; 'Background to Peace Convention', *Catholic Weekly* (Syd.), 3 September 1953: 1; 14; see also Deery, 'War on Peace', 248-69.

<sup>297</sup> Owen, *Road to Peace*, 62.

<sup>298</sup> Annex A, 'Conference Procedure', Agenda item 3c. Communist exploitation of the 'Peace Movement'. Collated paper prepared by Australia. Annex A: The Australia-New Zealand Congress for International Co-Operation and Disarmament Melbourne November 1959 (1960), NAA A9954 SE/13/D29:17.

<sup>299</sup> McEwen, *Once a Jolly Comrade*, 21.

The origins of the following congress, the 1956 Assembly for Peace, can be credited to the World Assembly for Peace held in Helsinki, in December 1955, and a Special Session of the WPC held in Stockholm, in April 1956; Hartley, James and Street all attended the Special Session.<sup>300</sup> As for the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress, it was inspired by the WPC Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation, held in Stockholm, in July 1958, (hereafter, the 1958 WPC Stockholm Congress).<sup>301</sup> The Melbourne Peace Congress adopted the WPC's policy of 'international cooperation and disarmament', which was reflected in its full title, Australia and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (ANZCICD) and Festival of the Arts. The WPC policy encapsulated the international peace movement's embrace of the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence and it coincided with increased global concerns regarding public and environmental health risks associated with atmospheric testing. By the late 1950s, the WPC believed that the current political situation was conducive to building a popular movement of opposition to nuclear proliferation and testing.<sup>302</sup> As we shall see, the 1959 ANZCICD's overseas origins was a source of considerable government interest. The APC secretary at the time, Murray-Smith selected several delegates to attend the Stockholm meeting, who were led by Hartley.<sup>303</sup> Included in the delegation was future CICD executive and covert member of the CPA, Sam Goldbloom.<sup>304</sup> Australian delegates to Stockholm travelled with a New Zealand trade union

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<sup>300</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 119; 277; 282; 288-289; ASIO Memo, 'World Peace Council Special Meeting on Disarmament', 9 March 1956, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A 6119, 1102, f.59-61; Forrester, *Fifteen Years of Peace Fronts*, 34. According to executive member of the Assembly and president of the continuing committee, the NSW Australian Assembly for Peace, Rev. Norman St. Clair Anderson (Congregational), the proposal to hold the 1956 Convention was endorsed by twenty-seven individuals gathered at a meeting on 27 April 1956, which was convened 'in response to an invitation by the APC'. He was speaking at a press conference on 18 May 1956. 'Australian Assembly for Peace', *Peacemaker* Vol. 18(6), June 1956:1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113; 'Peace Assembly Next September', *Tribune*, 23 May 1956:3.

<sup>301</sup> *World Peace Movement*, 367-371. A committee was formed to sponsor Australian participation in the Stockholm meeting, which included Dickie and Hartley, see the journal of the NSW Australian Assembly for Peace, *Peace Bulletin* (1), June 1958:1; 'What is the Stockholm Congress', Australian Sponsoring Committee Pamphlet (Melbourne, 1958) both in UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113; Stephen Murray-Smith, [extract] 'Stockholm Conference: Meeting Place of World Opinion' *Peacemaker* 20, no.7 (July 1958),3, Murray-Smith Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.145.

<sup>302</sup> 'Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation', WPC Executive Committee Communique, 23 January 1958, *World Peace Movement*, 328-329.

<sup>303</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 156; Copy of attachment to ASIO memo dated 22 July 1958 'Australian Delegates to the Stockholm Conference', 9 July 1958, Murray-Smith Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.138.

<sup>304</sup> In extracts of a report of an interview conducted in July and August 1960, Goldbloom was referred to as a 'Guardian customer' who 'recruited himself' in 1950-1951 and a covert Party member who worked in the VPC. RD, Vic. to ASIO HQ [Extract, Memo no. is redacted], 29 September 1960, Samuel Mark Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.44. In 1951, Goldbloom was expelled from

delegation, led by Secretary of the NZ Peace Council and Party member, Fiona Gould, who, in the spirit of the 1958 WPC Stockholm Congress, favoured the proposal for the joint Australia and New Zealand Congress to be held the following year.<sup>305</sup>

National peace congresses provided a forum for the APC to propagandise and its views and build support for the movement. However, they were more often divisive between the movement and its opponents, than cohesive in the given political climate – a climate which accommodated and encouraged the most extreme views at either end of the political spectrum. Cold War prejudices and intolerance reached fever pitch as both sides claimed to be defending liberties. The peace movement fought for the right to hold peace congresses, while its critics believed such congresses promoted views that threatened and undermined our liberal democratic way of life. Notwithstanding the controversy surrounding the congresses, and in this connection both the 1950 and 1959 Congresses were particularly spectacular, they were also significant regarding the organisational development of the Australian peace movement during the 1950s and the establishment of the CICD in 1959. As we shall see, the 1950 Melbourne Congress established the APC as the peak national body, whereas, the nucleus of the movement shifted to the continuing state bodies, such as the CICD in Victoria, which grew out of the organising committees of the 1959 Congress. The 1959 Congress represented an attempt by the leadership to establish a less monolithic movement than the post-war movement led by APC. However, it will be shown that the CICD was formed, and

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the ALP when he stood unsuccessfully as an Independent candidate for Isaacs in the 1951 Federal election. A report dated 8 April 1951 stated that the Melbourne University Labor Club would support 'a Communist candidate or an Independent Progressive' in the 1951 election, and that Goldbloom was 'regarded as a Party member'. RD Victoria, 18 August 1952 cited in, 'Summary of Information, Samuel Mark Goldbloom', Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.20. Goldbloom first came to notice in a *Guardian* article, 'Gibson Calls for Recognition of Israel', 7 June 1948, which reported that as Vice-President of the communist-dominated Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism, Goldbloom spoke to a meeting of Jewish people assembled to hear the CPA statement on Palestine, 'Samuel Mark Goldbloom', Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4467, f.127; Goldbloom, Vol. 4 NAA: A6119, 4475, f.31. In addition to a list of activities during 1953-1954 in connection with the St Kilda Branch of the CPA, in December 1954 Goldbloom was reported to be a full-time CPA functionary largely responsible for peace work since 1951 in the VPC. He was also described as an undercover party member in a Victorian 'Q' Report No. 6876, 7 December 1954, 'Summary of Information, Samuel Mark Goldbloom', Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.18-20. See also Correspondence from Director-General C.F. Spry, 9 August 1965, Ref No. 5105 BB, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4467, f.128.

<sup>305</sup> Hartley, *The Truth Shall Prevail*, 156; 'Peace is a Communist Weapon' both in ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.36. On Gould's attitude to the proposed Congress see: 'The Australian Peace Council and its Activities in Connection with the Stockholm Congress', 7 July 1958, Murray-Smith Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.139-140; *H of R, Debates*, 10 November 1959, 2527 [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591110\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591110_reps_23_hor25/).

essentially directed by the same leadership in the APC and its state body, the Victorian Peace Council (VPC).

### **The 1950 Melbourne Peace Congress**

Following the formation of the State peace council in each of the mainland states and a network of local peace auxiliaries, a permanent and representative national council of fifty-five members, drawn from all the mainland states, was elected by the 1950 Melbourne Peace Congress, held between 16-19 April.<sup>306</sup> The APC national council comprised a broad representation of the community. Among them were leftist clergymen, trade union officials, academics, professionals, council members, artists, and representatives of both women's groups and ex-servicemen.<sup>307</sup> The APC's ten-member executive was based in Melbourne. Dickie was elected chairman; Hartley and James, Joint Secretaries; and Rev. E. Gwyn Miller was elected Treasurer. The other seven executive members were also closely aligned with the founding of the APC in 1949 and elected to the interim national executive in September 1949.<sup>308</sup> Although it was a matter of formality, the APC national council was officially mandated by the 1950 Peace Congress to represent the Australian peace movement as its peak national body. The executive members of the APC were also members of the Victorian division of the APC, the VPC, also led by Dickie, Hartley and James.<sup>309</sup>

Although the APC was launched amidst relative political quiet, press reports began to filter through warning that the APC was a communist front organisation adopted by the CPA to carry forward the Soviet 'peace offensive' in Australia.<sup>310</sup> As previously suggested, the APC's three peace parsons tended to ignore those views that challenged their own. At best, they generally denied or dismissed such attitudes as the by-product of Cold War thinking while maintaining a position of political neutrality. Although the APC claimed that it was 'determined' to keep the APC 'free of political distinctions', in reality, it did little to support

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<sup>306</sup> 'Peace Congress Appoints All-State National Council', *Tribune*, 6 May 1950:7.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Dr Jim Cairns, Canon W.G. Thomas, Jim Cairns, Heather Wakefield, John Rodgers, Ian Turner and Alec Robertson were elected to the executive along with Dickie, Hartley, James and Miller. 'Peace Congress Appoints All-State National Council', *Tribune*, 6 May 1950:7; 'National Executive of the Australian Peace Council', Hartley Vol. 1, NAA A6119,1101, f.13.

<sup>309</sup> Victorian Division of the Australian Peace Council; Photostat Copy of the VPC Contact Book containing the names of both the Victorian members of the APC and the names of the VPC members [extract] ASIO Q. Report No. 4022, 19 August 1953, Ibid., f.13 and f.179-181, respectively.

<sup>310</sup> 'Communists Ordered by Party to Rally Behind New Peace Movement', *Sun* (Syd.), 20 October 1949:7; 'Reds Infiltrating into New Peace Council', *Sun* (Syd.), 29 November 1949:19;

this aim.<sup>311</sup> Far from being politically neutral, the tenor of the 1950 Congress was distinctly sympathetic to the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the APC's first Congress was largely viewed by its critics through the lens of Cold War politics.

When news first emerged that the infamous 'Red Dean' of Canterbury – the Rev. Dr Hewlett Johnson, American singer, Paul Robeson, and the Vice-President of the PRC, Madame Sun Yat-sen, were invited by the APC to attend the Melbourne 1950 Peace Congress, the government was asked both in the House and by the press whether they would be permitted to enter Australia.<sup>312</sup> The Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt, was initially reluctant to provide a comment but indicated that neither the Chinese delegate, nor Robeson, had yet made an application for entry visas.<sup>313</sup> Later in Parliament, Holt confirmed that Johnson would be granted a visa, provided he was travelling with a valid British passport, but he added that would be 'very surprised' if his department granted a visa to either Robeson or Madame Sun Yat-sen.<sup>314</sup> Holt said he had 'no illusions about the origin ... and character of the peace congress', while some sections of the Melbourne press began condemning the Congress as a communist propaganda campaign.<sup>315</sup> Ultimately, the Congress was conducted in their absence. Robeson's passport had in fact been confiscated by the US government soon after receiving the invitation from the APC because of his political views; his passport was restored eight years later.<sup>316</sup> The proliferation of international peace conferences held during the 1950s meant that peace activists attending such assemblies represented the most

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<sup>311</sup> 'Fighting Words at Peace Rally', *Herald* (Melb.), 21 February 1950:7.

<sup>312</sup> James made the official announcement in early February, 'Paul Robeson Invited to Australia', *Advertiser* (SA), 4 February 1950:3; 'For 'Peace' Talks', *Courier-Mail* (Bris.), 4 February 1950:4; 'Invitation to Singer', *West Australian* (WA), 4 February 1950:9; Red Dean Invited to Visit Aust. Plans for Peace Congress, *Examiner* (Tas.), 6 February 1950:9; 'Invited to Australia', Northern Standard (NT), 10 February 1950:7; 'Australian Peace Congress in April; Dean, Robeson Invited', *Tribune*, 15 February 1950:1.

<sup>313</sup> 'No Comment on Peace Congress', *Age*, 21 February 1950:3; 'Peace Congress Delegates Will Be Reviewed', *Canberra Times*, 21 February 1950:2; 'Invitations to Peace Congress', *Morning Bulletin* (Qld.), 21 February 1950:5; 'Minister Silent on Peace Congress', *Warwick Daily News* (Qld.), 21 February 1950:2.

<sup>314</sup> Jack Cremean (Lab. Vic.) and Athol Townley (Lib. Tas.) respectively to the Lib. Minister for Immigration, Harold Holt, H of R, *Debates*, 16 March 1950, 869; 867, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500316\\_reps\\_19\\_206/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500316_reps_19_206/).

<sup>315</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 16 March 1950; 'This Dicky Flew from Moscow', *Herald* (Melb.), 17 February 1950:7; 'Australian Peace Congress' Is Latest Red 'Front', Australian Communists Obey Cominform's Order Leaflets, Posters and Badges, advertising an 'Australian Peace Congress,' *Advocate* (Melb.), 23 February 1950:3.

<sup>316</sup> Ann Curthoys, 'Paul Robeson's visit to Australia and Aboriginal Activism, 1960' in Frances Peters-Little, Ann Curthoys and John Docker (eds.), *Passionate Histories, Myth Memory and Indigenous Australia* (ANU E Press, 2010), 163; 168. Very little information was forthcoming on the issue at the time.



significant movement of people in connection with the Communist Party.<sup>317</sup> The circumstances surrounding Madame Sun Yat-sen's absence are unclear; however, according to Deery a restrictive passport policy was enacted to subvert large scale peace assemblies and became a feature of the early 1950s Cold War.<sup>318</sup> Although Johnson held a valid British passport, he was nevertheless vetted by Australian security services who reassured Holt that Johnson's views were 'so widely known that his presence ... would merely focus attention on the real character of the Congress'.<sup>319</sup> Johnson excelled in this regard.

In his address, Johnson urged the Congress to unite with Russia to 'rock warmongers from their thrones' and denounced those who 'wickedly lie about the conditions in the Soviet Union'.<sup>320</sup> He claimed that religion was completely free in the Soviet Union and declared that it was peace loving. He stated that in the Soviet Union 'they plan peace, they think peace [and] they speak peace'.<sup>321</sup> While Johnson described communism as morally and socially superior to Western democratic liberalism, he also spoke of the communist movement as an inevitable force. On communism, he declared that 'it is a Christian movement that is surging upward in every part of the world and can never be crushed'.<sup>322</sup> While he delighted his supporters, Johnson's provocative speeches played into the hands of those eager to denounce the Congress. Johnson's views provided substance to their contention that the Congress was a communist ruse and that its non-communist supporters were merely dupes.

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<sup>317</sup> McLean, 'Fear of Peace?', 13.

<sup>318</sup> Deery provides numerous examples of restrictive passport policy affecting the peace movement which included: the Second World Peace Congress in November 1950, which had to be relocated at the last minute from Sheffield to Warsaw; the Peking Conference in 1952, which deferred its opening by about a fortnight to allow delegates time to find alternative and even unassisted passage to China; and the 1952 Australian Youth Carnival for Peace and Friendship, which came together at the eleventh hour in spite of officialdom's coordinated efforts to 'wreck' the event. Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', 449-468; Deery & McLean, 'Behind Enemy Lines', 407-422; Deery, 'Community Carnival or Cold War Strategy?', 71-77; see also Jane Doulman and David Lee, *Every Assistance & Protection: A History of the Australian Passport* (Sydney, Federation Press, 2008), 125-149.

<sup>319</sup> 'Dean to Attend Peace Council'; H of R, *Debates*, 19 April 1950, 1570, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500419\\_reps\\_19\\_207/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500419_reps_19_207/). Dr Johnson's *The Socialist Sixth of the World* (1939) and *The Secret of Soviet Strength* (1943) demonstrated his resolute admiration of, and faith in, Communism and Stalin.

<sup>320</sup> 'Peace Council Conference', *Age*, 17 April 1950:3.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid.; 'The Dean of Canterbury's Message to Australia', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), [centre spread].

<sup>322</sup> 'Let Chinese Fill Your Empty Spaces, Says Dean', *SMH*, 21 April 1950:4; see also 'The Dean of Canterbury's Message to Australia'.

At the Congress and during his Australian tour, Johnson met with both ‘cheers and jeers’ from his audiences.<sup>323</sup> While Dickie called Johnson a ‘prophet’ auguring the coming of a new social world order, in the British House of Lords he was referred to as an ‘evil charlatan’.<sup>324</sup> Initially, Menzies regarded Johnson a ‘singularly foolish person’, and later accused him of committing a ‘new form of blasphemy’.<sup>325</sup> In a similar vein, religious leaders regarded him variously as ‘an embarrassment’ to the church; ‘a traitor to the Christian faith’; and expressing ‘sentiments contrary to our way of life’.<sup>326</sup> As for pacifists, some regarded Johnson, and the APC, ‘plain humbug’ for their non-pacifist stance.<sup>327</sup> However, their general attitude towards the APC and the Congress could be described, at best, as cautious.

The FPC reluctantly conceded that individual pacifists were free to participate in APC activities. Two months before the Peace Congress’ opening the FPC announced that the pacifist movement ‘could not affiliate’ organisationally with the APC, and it ‘explicitly’ requested *Peacemaker* not to publish any APC material in its columns.<sup>328</sup> However, following

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<sup>323</sup> ‘Dean Jeered and Cheered’, *News* (SA), 24 April 1950:2; ‘Cheers and Jeers for ‘Red’ Dean at Varsity’, *Brisbane Telegraph*, 24 April 1950; Big Crowd Cheers Red Dean in Sydney, *Daily News* (WA), 15 April 1950:5; ‘Students Booed Dr Johnson’, ‘Lively Reception for Dr Johnson’, *Canberra Times*, 27 April 1950:1, *Daily Mercury* (Qld.), 25 April 1950:1; ‘Police Rescued Dr Johnson’, *Daily Mercury* (Qld.), 19 May 1950:6.

<sup>324</sup> ‘The Dean of Canterbury’s Message to Australia’, *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), [centre spread]; ‘Most Papers Bitter Helpless’, *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Preparing for War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 14; ‘Vansittart Warns – Soviet Plans of Aggression’, *Herald* (Melb.), 30 March 1950:1; ‘An Evil Charlatan’, *Daily News* (WA), 30 March 1950:5; 30 March 1950:1; ‘Lord Vansittart’s Allegations Taint of Communism, in Army and Navy Headquarters’, *Cairns Post*, 31 March 1950:1; ‘Reds in British Navy, Says Peer’, *Daily Telegraph* (NSW), 31 March 1950:2; ‘Red Dean Attacked in Lords’, *Courier-Mail* (Qld.), 31 March 1950:4; ‘Peer Sees ‘Red Signs In U.K.’’, *News* (SA), 30 March 1950: 18.

<sup>325</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 21 April 1950, 1774, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500421\\_reps\\_19\\_207/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500421_reps_19_207/); ‘PM Says Dean ‘Very Foolish’’, *Age*, 22 April 1950:4; ‘Warning by Mr Menzies’, *Age*, 4 September 1950:3.

<sup>326</sup> ‘Peace Council Conference’, *Age*, 17 April 1950:3; ‘Weekly Notes, *Catholic Weekly* (NSW), 20 April 1950:4; ‘Folly of the ‘Red Dean’ is Cause for Christian’s Sorrow’, *Catholic Weekly* (NSW), 27 April 1950:2.

<sup>327</sup> Johnson was criticised for not renouncing all violence and for suggesting that there could be ‘goodies’ in war. ‘Pacifists and the Peace Council’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 12(11), November 1950, 2; see for instance: ‘Peace Council Conference: Russia Against War Dean Tells Meeting’, *Age*, 17 April 1950:3; ‘Malayan Action Imperialistic War, Says Dean’, *Age*, 26 April 1950:3.

<sup>328</sup> The decision came out of the FPC annual conference held in Adelaide, in January 1950. It followed a recommendation by the World Pacifist Meeting held in India in December 1949, which declared it ‘unwise’ for pacifists to ‘collaborate’ with ‘so-called united fronts’, ‘Where the Pacifist Movement Stands: Our Attitude to the Australian Peace Council’, *Peacemaker* Vol. 12(9), September 1950, 1; see summary of Report ‘A’ from the World Pacifist Meeting in ‘Relations of Pacifists with Communists’, *Peacemaker*, Vol. 12(9), September 1950, 2.

the formation of PQF in 1951, which included pacifist clergymen and members of the APC, the FPC adopted an increasingly positive attitude towards the APC-led peace movement.<sup>329</sup> The FPC's revised attitude was reflected in numerous issues of *Peacemaker*.<sup>330</sup> It noted the APC's reaction to the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, which Dickie called a 'violation of the UN Charter and a threat to peace', and later, when the President of the Australian Assembly for Peace, Rev Norman St. Clair Anderson, denounced the executions and internments of political dissidents in 1958.<sup>331</sup> These public statements helped to alleviate concerns that the APC-led peace movement was under monolithic communist control.

The ALP also withheld its support from 1950 Peace Congress with only a minor exception. As noted earlier, before 1955 the ALP spurned the peace movement. In February and March before the 1950 Congress, the Victorian and NSW Executives of the ALP declared the APC a proscribed organisation on the pretext that it was a subsidiary of the CPA.<sup>332</sup> The APC challenged the move in a letter to the ALP titled, 'You Can't Ban Peace'; however, the decision preceded the Federal executive ban a year later, which declared: 'it is not competent for any member of the ALP to be associated therewith... [the APC, specifically] and remain a member of the ALP'; Senator William Morrow (Tasmania) was the only dissident.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> PQF was launched by a group of eighteen Melbourne clergymen in March 1951 to provide a weekly forum to discuss matters concerning peace. Although it had no formal connection with the APC, Dickie, Hartley and James were among the PQF Committee members, and APC members, Cairns and Blackburn were among the twenty-seven citizens who endorsed the Committee's formation. Advertising, 'War or Peace?', *Age*, 12 March 1951:6; '350 at First Peace Forum', *Age*, 17 March 1951:6; see also *The Target Was Peace Making: Some Addresses Given at the Citizens' Conference on Peace & Disarmament held in Melbourne 18th, 19th 21st July 1952* (Melbourne: Spectator Publishing, [Peace Quest Forum]1952), 40.

<sup>330</sup> 'Peace Quest Forum', *Peacemaker* Vol. 13(3), April 1951, 1; 'Peace Quest Forum', *Peacemaker* Vol. 13(4), May 1951, 2; Rev. J. F. Long, 'Letter to the Editor: Peace Quest Forum', *Peacemaker* Vol. 13(5), June 1951, 1; 'Australian Assembly for Peace', *Peacemaker* Vol. 18(6), June 1956:1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113; *Peacemaker* Vol. 21(8), August 1959, 1; *Peacemaker* Vol. 21 (9), September 1959, 2; *Peacemaker* Vol. 21 (10), October 1959, 2; *Peacemaker* Vol. 21(12), December 1959, 12.

<sup>331</sup> 'United Nations Must Not Fail', *Age*, 9 November 1956:2. For its part, the WPC regretted the tragic bloodshed and expressed its 'desire' rather than demand for the 'withdrawal of Soviet troops' and the 'full exercise of Hungarian sovereignty' concerning the principles of sovereignty and independence in the UN Charter, World Peace Movement, 295-296. 'Executions in Hungary' [extract] *SMH*, 14 July 1958 and 'Notes' in Extract from 'International Organisations', No. 93. 1 January 1958, both in Rev. Norman St. Clair Anderson Part 2, NAA: A 6119, 482, f.31; f.41, respectively.

<sup>332</sup> 'ALP May Ban Peace Council', *Herald*, 17 February 1950:1; 'ALP Warns on Peace Council', *Sun* (Syd.), 23 February 1950:20; 'Victorian ALP Bans Peace Council', *Advertiser* (Adel.) 4 March 1950:3; 'Labor Brands Council as Communist Puppet', *Age*, 8 April 1950:3.

<sup>333</sup> APC, *You Can't Ban Peace! To the Victorian Executive of the ALP* (Melbourne: Capricorn Printing, 1950) <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000814.htm>; Clause 9 and Clause 10, ALP Federal Executive, *Australian Labor Party Official Report of Proceedings of the 19th Commonwealth Triennial Conference* (Canberra, March 1951), 11-12.

Morrow was also the only parliamentarian to address the Congress and was criticised for doing so by the new Liberal Government.<sup>334</sup> Morrow's pro-Socialist and anti-war disposition made him an easy target and he was long suspected a covert communist.<sup>335</sup> For his political stance and support of the APC, he was not re-endorsed for the 1953 Senate election.<sup>336</sup> The ex-Senator's union contacts were nevertheless critical for the NSW Peace Council when he later became its secretary in 1955, and then joint secretary with Geoff Anderson in the 1960s with the successive NSW Peace Committee for the International Co-operation and Disarmament (NSWPCICD) in 1959, and the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) in 1964.<sup>337</sup> In 1955 Morrow joined Jessie Street by becoming a member of the WPC Bureau.<sup>338</sup>

The Melbourne 1950 Peace Congress established the organisational framework for the future peace movement; however, from the outset it became synonymous with the controversy surrounding the notorious Red Dean. During a press conference in mid-April, fellow overseas speaker, Professor Joseph Fletcher of the Episcopalian Theological College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, summarised the situation by remarking:

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<sup>334</sup> 'Peace Council Conference', *Age*, 17 April 1950:3; 'Extract from the Speeches of the Dean of Canterbury', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), [centre spread].

<sup>335</sup> In 1951, his speech against the war in Korea was broadcast on Radio Moscow; however, Morrow was long-suspected of being a communist. Audrey Johnson, 'William Morrow (1888-1980) Senator for Tasmania, 1947-53, Australian Labor Party' in *The Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate*, Vol. 2, 1929-1962 [online edition] (Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Vic., 2004); see also Deery & Jordan, *Fellow Travelling in the Cold War*, 119.

<sup>336</sup> 'ALP Executive Under Fire', *Mercury* (Tas.), 9 March 1953:2; 'Prepare Strategy for Senate Campaign', *Mercury* (Tas.), 30 March 1953:3; see also: Deery & Jordan, *Fellow Travelling in the Cold War*, 119; Johnson, 'William Morrow'; Jordan, 'Conflict in the Unions', 277.

<sup>337</sup> Morrow was former senior Vice-President, of the Tasmanian Australian Railways Union, 1937-1942; vice-president and later president, Tasmanian Trades Union Council 1943-1946. Deery & Jordan, *Fellow Travelling in the Cold War*, 119; Jordan, 'Conflict in the Unions', 277; Ralph V. Summy, 'Robert William Morrow' in *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders* edited by Harold Josephson (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 666-667. On Morrow's position in the NSW branch of the APC, see Correspondence from ASIO Director-General, C. F. Spry to Attorney-General, Garfield Barwick, 21 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.179-180.

<sup>338</sup> 'The World Council of Peace – The Sixth Great Power', *Australian Peace Movement, If You Want Peace Prepare for It: Their Future, Our Concern*, VPC Booklet, c.1955:8, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

Nobody has asked any questions about peace – which is, after all, the purpose of our visit. It is interesting that most of the questions have been about Communism, Russia or some other bogey, and have been tendentious, perhaps deliberately tendentious.<sup>339</sup>

At best, the press offered little in the way of encouragement for the peace movement. The APC referred to the daily press as ‘enemies of peace’, which for the most part, it stated, did its best to the ‘defame’ the Congress.<sup>340</sup> Similarly, members of the NSW Illawarra district peace auxiliary were displeased with the lack of balanced coverage on the Melbourne Peace Congress and noted ‘that...the Press in general has [instead] been only too eager to publicise any and every attack upon the Congress’.<sup>341</sup> Before leaving Australia, Johnson commented on the press in the following way: ‘The Australian press is the worst I have ever encountered. Even the American press is much more objective and accurate’.<sup>342</sup>

Despite efforts to defame the 1950 Congress, organisers called it a resounding success.<sup>343</sup> The opening rally at Melbourne’s Exhibition Hall drew a crowd of 14,000, in the APC’s estimation, or 10,000 according to the mainstream Melbourne press.<sup>344</sup> The APC reported that 674 official delegates accredited to over 330 organisations, representing some 549,000 Australians in a population of less than 8.5 million, attended the Congress.<sup>345</sup> Over four days separate commissions of trade unionists, religious ministers and church people, educationalists, scientists, youths and women held discussions.<sup>346</sup> Each specialist commission was required to submit their report to the Congress based on their particular attitude to peace concerns. In this way the national congress could promote the idea that it represented the

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<sup>339</sup> ‘“Sun” Distortion Outdid all Others’, *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing for War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 14.

<sup>340</sup> *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 14.

<sup>341</sup> ‘Peace Only Aim of Peace Council’, *Illawarra Daily Mercury* (NSW), 1 May 1950:2

<sup>342</sup> ‘Dr Johnson Attacks Press’, *Age*, 2 May 1950: 5.

<sup>343</sup> *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 10.

<sup>344</sup> ‘14,000 Cheered Peace on “That Triumphant Sunday”’, *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 11; ‘10,000 Hear “Red Dean”’, *Age*, 17 April: 1; ‘10,000 Hear “Red Dean” at Peace Congress’, *Weekly Times* (Melb.), 19 April 1950:6; ‘Russia Couldn’t Want War, “Red Dean” Tells Great Crowd’, *Argus*, 17 April 1950:3.

<sup>345</sup> ‘Decisions Were Unanimous’, *In Support of the World Peace Committee’s Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 9.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*

views of the community, rather than those of the Congress organisers. However, for the most part, such commissions were represented by those who were receptive to the APC's views.

The religious commission at the 1950 Congress, for instance, devoted considerable attention to the relations of Christians to the APC. Although it recognised that the policy of the APC '[wa]s not a full statement of the Christian position', it supported the concept of peaceful co-existence and stated that 'socialism offered more opportunities for the practice of Christianity' than capitalism.<sup>347</sup> Furthermore, the commission 'deplored the ill-informed criticism' of the APC and 'disagreed' with those that called it a 'communist-front organisation'.<sup>348</sup> The views of the various commissions were similar in tone and emphasised above all a desire to unite for peace.<sup>349</sup> The emphasis on unity, and unanimity was a persistent feature within the movement under the leadership of the APC, and later, the CICD, during the following decades. The 1950 national congress was effectively a political 'echo chamber' for the amplification and reinforcement of the APC's partisan beliefs.<sup>350</sup> Accordingly, a final resolution was adopted 'unanimously' by the 1950 Congress; it called on all Australians to support the Stockholm Appeal to ban-the-bomb, and it declared as 'war criminals' the first to employ the use of atomic warfare.<sup>351</sup> The declaration was significant given that within three months Australian troops were in Malaya and also preparing to leave for Korea.<sup>352</sup> These steps taken together with the stationing of the US 7<sup>th</sup> fleet in Taiwan and the US-Japan Treaty signed in 1951 were considered by the political left and the APC, an encirclement of Communist China.<sup>353</sup> Although there was public support in the early 1950s for Australian military involvement in both Malaya and Korea, as we shall see, most Australian citizens

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<sup>347</sup> 'Reports by Special Groups', *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 24.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.*, 23-25.

<sup>350</sup> The concept of an 'echo chamber' metaphorically denotes an environment in which certain political beliefs are amplified and 'dissenting opinions are screened out'. Florian Justwan, Bert Baumgaertner, Juliet E. Carlisle, et al., 'Social Media Echo Chambers and Satisfaction with Democracy Among Democrats and Republicans in the Aftermath of the 2016 US Elections', *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 28 (4), 2018, 424.

<sup>351</sup> *In Support of the World Peace Committee's Stockholm Meeting, the Australian Peace Congress Challenges Those Who Are Preparing World War* (Melbourne: APC, 1950), 9.

<sup>352</sup> 'Mr Menzies in US: Our Part in Korean War to be Discussed', *Age*, 29 July 1950:4.

<sup>353</sup> 'Chinese Masses Vow to Liberate Formosa, Expel US imperialism', *Tribune*, 22 July 1950:4; US 'Peace Treaty' Is Grave Danger to Australia', *Tribune*, 30 November 1950:3, 'Peace Council on Japanese Treaty', *Tribune*, 21 June 1951:2.

made an apparent distinction between such support and the use of nuclear warfare in Korea and China.

## **Attitudes to the Peace and Disarmament Movement**

### **1950-1954**

In 1950 Australian attitudes to the Korean war and more specifically on the use of atomic warfare were tested. While a majority of opinion supported Australian involvement in the Korean war, they were against the use of atomic warfare, in either Korea or China, even if the war was, as most believed, the product of communist aggression.<sup>354</sup> Even while the war persisted, a majority were opposed to the use of the A-bomb, including a proposal to limit its use to military targets in Korea.<sup>355</sup> These attitudes contrasted with those in 1945 when a majority accepted that the bombing on Japan had expedited the end of the war.

Despite Australian opposition to atomic warfare, the Stockholm Appeal proved to be just as divisive as the 1950 Peace Congress. Its critics denounced it as communist propaganda to exploit the desires of those who genuinely wanted disarmament, solely to serve the interests of Soviet communism. While some cautioned that it was 'unreasonable' to demand the absolute banning of the A-bomb without an international regulatory system of control, many community leaders and the press warned Australians not to sign the appeal, for they claimed that the CPA, not the atom bomb, was the 'greatest evil and the gravest threat' to world peace.<sup>356</sup> It should be noted, however, that while many non-communists questioned this

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<sup>354</sup> An August 1950 poll showed that 71 per cent approved sending Australian troops and artillery and 20 per cent were opposed. Of those tested 42 per cent attributed the war to communist aggression, 16 per cent to Russian aggression, less than 20 per cent to civil war and 24 per cent were undecided. Even though support for the war decreased by December, almost 60 per cent felt Australia should continue fighting in Korea and 28 per cent were opposed. The August poll indicated that more than 73 per cent disapproved testing the use of the A-bomb in Korea, while the December poll showed that 47 per cent opposed using the A-bomb against Chinese soldiers crossing into Manchuria and 36 per cent were in favour. On the use of the bomb on Chinese industries, 73 per cent opposed and 17 per cent were in favour, 'Gallup Poll Australian Attitude On Korean Situation', *Advertiser* (SA) 24 August 1950: 3; 'Majority Favours Stand in Korea', *Sun* (Syd.), 27 December 1950:10.

<sup>355</sup> 51 per cent opposed; 33 per cent in favour; 16 per cent undecided, 'Gallup Poll A-Bomb in Korea Opposed', *Advertiser* (SA), 10 January 1952: 4.

<sup>356</sup>(editorial) 'Don't Sign This Petition', *Catholic Weekly* (Syd.), 20 July 1950:1; Director of the Catholic Social Science Bureau in Sydney, Dr P. J. Ryan, 'Peace Drive Seen As Red Spearhead', *Sun* (Syd.), 19 July 1950:17; NSW Deputy Premier, Joseph Cahill (Lab.), 'Cahill Denounces Fake Peace Bodies', *Sun* (Syd.), 20 July 1950:13; (editorial) 'Red Stockholm 'Peace Pledge'', *Advocate* (Melb.), 27 July 1950:22; (editorial) 'Column 8', *SMH*, 15 July 1950:1; State President of the ALP (NSW), John A. Ferguson, 'A-Bomb Petition Warning', *Sun* (Syd) 15 August 1950:14; (editorial) 'Peace Council to Invade Suburbs', *Sun* (Syd.), 5 August 1950:3; State President of the RSL (NSW), Mr W. Yeo, 'RSL

attitude and even signed the petition, such as, Professor Walter Murdoch, (who also admitted that he ‘disliked Communism very heartily’), there was little evidence of support for the petition in the mainstream media.<sup>357</sup>

The hostility towards the peace movement was conducted against a backdrop of increasing geopolitical conflict, the communist revolution in China, the Malayan Emergency and the war in Korea. These developments heightened both anti-communist sentiments and the sense of an imminent international crisis. By September 1950, with Australian troops in Malaya and preparing to land in Korea, Menzies announced plans to implement global and national defence preparations.<sup>358</sup> Furthermore, Menzies’ announcement followed legislation introduced to parliament on the 27 April 1950 outlawing the CPA. The Government introduced the bill on the pretext of preventing ‘a fifth column’ forming in Australia for the Soviet Union in a war of aggression; it appeared to have a majority of public support that was reinforced in the daily press.<sup>359</sup> Similarly, a majority of public opinion supported the upcoming 1951 referendum to overturn the High Court ruling against the bill.<sup>360</sup> Despite a late shift in public opinion against the referendum held on 22 September, which reflected growing concerns about the future implications for democracy rather than the fate of the CPA, the mainstream press continued to reinforce support for it.<sup>361</sup> It was the culmination of

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Warning on Peace Council’, *Sun* (Syd.), 10 August 1950:2; (editorial) ‘Dialogue on the Bomb’, *Herald* (Melb.), 21 September 1950:10.

<sup>357</sup> ‘Canvassing with an A-Bomb Petition’, *Sunday Times* (Perth), 20 August 1950:26. For non-communist support of the petition reported in communist press see for instance: ‘Famous Britons Sign’, *Tribune*, 30 August 1950:3; ‘Catholic Priest Tells Why He Signed Ban-the-Bomb Petition’, *Tribune*, 15 September 1950:4; ‘Splendid Support for Ban Bomb Petition’, *Tribune*, 9 November 1950:3. CPA leader, Jack Blake criticised the results of the petition, which he attributed to anti-communism, ‘Implications of Peace Council Petition’, *Herald* (Melb.), 11 September 1950:3.

<sup>358</sup> ‘Defence Must be on World Basis, Mr Menzies Calls for Great Effort’, *Age*, 21 September 1950:1; ‘Board to Study Resources Decide Priorities in ‘Pre-war’ Effort’, *Age*, 26 September 1950:1.

<sup>359</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 27 April 1950, 1994-2007,

[http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500427\\_reps\\_19\\_207/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500427_reps_19_207/). In February 1949, 70 per cent of public opinion agreed that the CPA should be banned and made illegal. The *Herald* claimed that the poll indicated a hardening of opinion against the CPA when compared with a poll in 1947 which showed that 66 per cent of respondents agreed the CPA should be banned. ‘Most Australians Would Ban Communist Party’, *Herald* (Melb.), 19 March 1949:9. A December 1949, poll taken to forecast the upcoming federal election reported that only 0.6 per cent of respondents would vote for either the CPA or Independent party. *AGP*, Survey 69, 2 December, 1949 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1982.

<sup>360</sup> In August 1951 a poll taken to forecast the upcoming referendum to ban the CPA revealed the following result: 73.1 per cent would vote ‘yes’; 17.4 per cent would vote ‘no’, and 9.2 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 82, 3 August 1951 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 1989.

<sup>361</sup> A poll taken about a week before referendum indicated that compared with the result of the August 1951 poll, the ‘no’ vote increased by 121 percent, the ‘yes’ vote decreased by about 27 percent and



a public campaign against the CPA in the late 1940s, which continued throughout the 1950s and which also targeted the peace movement.<sup>362</sup>

As in the UK and the US, politically motivated propaganda was fuelled by the federal government which advanced the view that the aims of the communists in the peace movement had nothing to do with the prevention of war but were instead intended to foment discord in the community and compromise Australia's ability to fight a war.<sup>363</sup> In introducing the Communist Party Dissolution Bill, Menzies declared:

The Soviet Union has perfected a technique of cold war and has accompanied it by the organisation of peace demonstrations designed not to promote true peace, but to prevent or impair defence preparations in democracies.<sup>364</sup>

To this, he added that the peace movement,

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less than 8 per cent were undecided. Of those tested, 69.9 per cent said they would not change their vote, *AGP*, Survey 83, 13 September 1951 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 1989. Despite the shift in public opinion, the Gallup poll continued to forecast a win for the 'Yes' vote, albeit by a narrow margin, while the press urged the public to guarantee a win for the 'Yes' vote. 'Million Swing, Gallup Says', *Courier-Mail* (Bris.), 20 September 1949:1; 'Gallup Poll Shows Overwhelming 'Yes' Vote in all States', *Sun* (Syd.), 23 August 1951:2; Early Gallup Poll Analysis Gives 'Yes' Majority', *Herald* (Melb.), 20 September 1951:1; 'Gallup Poll 'Yes' Vote Forecast by Poll', *Advertiser* (Adel.), 20 August 1951:3; 'Voting Will Be Close', *Mercury* (Tas.), 20 September 1951:2. According to Goot, Roy Morgan wanted to forecast a win for the 1951 referendum. Morgan was a member of the Public Relations Institute of Australia (Victoria) and a self-described 'public relations man' who was 'close to the Liberal Party and the newspapers that employed him [which also] supported the referendum'. Murray Goot, 'Referendums, Opinion Polls, and Public Relations: The Australian Gallup Poll and the 1951 Referendum on Communism', *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, Vol. 26(4) 2014: 424-425; 434-435.

<sup>362</sup> Phillip Deery, 'There is no half way': Australia's Cold War at Home,' in Deborah Gare & David Ritter (eds.), *Making Australian History: Perspectives on the past since 1788* (Melbourne: Thomson, 2007), 462; 466. While campaigning in mid-1949 and in the lead-up to the 1951 referendum to ban the CPA, Menzies repeatedly referred to the Party as a fifth column in Australia. See for instance: 'West Virtually in a State of War', *Age*, 4 May 1949:3; 'Menzies Warns Heckler', *Sun* (Syd.) 4 May 1949:5; 'Unruly Meeting', *Age*, 7 May 1949:4; 'The Red Fifth Column in Industry', *SMH*, 17 September 1951:2; 'Fighting Communism Cannot Wait for War to Start, Referendum Question Posed by PM', *Age*, 20 September 1951:4; 'Our Communist Fifth Column', *SMH*, 21 August 1951:2.

<sup>363</sup> On the UK and US' use of anti-communist propaganda to counter sympathetic attitudes towards communism in the early Cold War, see for instance: Kirby, 'Divinely Sanctioned: The Anglo-American Cold War Alliance', 385-412.

<sup>364</sup> 'Full Details of Mr Menzies' Speech Bill Is In 'Self-Defence Against Fifth Column', *Argus*, 28 April 1950:6.

with its attendant conferences and propaganda ... serve[s] Communist aims and Communist aims only, ... they are calculated only to have a 'softening-up' effect on the democratic world and on the unity of that world.<sup>365</sup>

For Menzies, the peace movement was equally or perhaps even more sinister than the CPA in its preparedness to act as a fifth column for the Soviet because it played on the sentiments of those who sincerely wanted peace. Accordingly, he declared the peace movement was 'as authentic and deadly as the communist-inspired campaign in Korea', and throughout the 1950s efforts were made, including the use of furtive means, to discourage supporters with the spectre of the communist bogey.<sup>366</sup> Although Menzies' ambitions to ban the CPA did not come to fruition, a majority of Australians were predisposed towards the view that the Soviet Union's peace campaign was a cold war propaganda technique.<sup>367</sup> Despite the prevalent anti-communist atmosphere, by the mid-1950s worldwide anti-nuclear sentiments began to gain a foothold of support in public opinion.<sup>368</sup>

### 1954-1959

Australians were not only opposed to the use of atomic warfare in Korea, but also to the testing of nuclear weaponry in Australia. As indicated earlier, Australian attitudes were influenced by their fear for public safety concerning contamination from fall-out which followed the US testing of the H-bomb near Bikini Island on 1 March 1954. By mid-1956, atomic testing on Australian soil had become a highly contentious issue amidst growing public anxiety about the dangers nuclear testing represented. After British atomic tests at the Monte Bello Islands in mid-1956, the wind shifted to the mainland and radio-active rain was recorded first in South Australia and then Queensland.<sup>369</sup> Moreover, when the Buffalo series

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<sup>365</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 16 September 1953, 257, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1953/19530916\\_reps\\_20\\_hor1/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1953/19530916_reps_20_hor1/); see also, H of R, *Debates*, 27 October 1959, 2343, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027_reps_23_hor25/).

<sup>366</sup> 'Warning by Mr Menzies', *Age*, 4 September 1950:3.

<sup>367</sup> In September 1951, 7.2 per cent of respondents thought Russia's peace campaign was genuine; 73.2 per cent did not; and 19.6 per cent were undecided or did not provide a response, *AGP*, Survey 83, 13 September 1951, [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1989.

<sup>368</sup> Six years after the first referendum in 1951, Australians were asked how they would vote if another referendum were held on the question of banning the CPA. Of those tested, 65.2 per cent would vote yes; 26.8 per cent would vote against it and less than 10 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 125, June 1, 1957 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1982.

<sup>369</sup> Concerns for public safety were expressed about the passage of the Mosaic G2 cloud and radioactive rain in South Australia and North Queensland, despite reassurances from the government. 'Radio-Active Rain Not From Monte Bello, Says Beale', *Canberra Times*, 6 June 1956:5; 'Sir Arthur Fadden Says No Risk From Monte Bello Tests', *Canberra Times*, 26 June 1956:1; 'Radio-Active

of tests at Maralinga in September 1956 were postponed because of adverse weather conditions, it highlighted the potential danger of the tests.<sup>370</sup> By the end of 1956, the polls indicated a growing opposition to the tests in Australia.<sup>371</sup> The political left, of course, was united in its opposition to atomic testing in Australia. It argued that the program placed Australia in a uniquely precarious position, and subjected the nation to the whims and fancies of imperial ambitions.<sup>372</sup> However, *Peacemaker* noted ‘the growing revulsions to H-bombs’ by various sectors of the global and national community, including political leaders and scientists.<sup>373</sup> Most notably amongst the scientific community was Pugwash, an international group of nineteen scientists. It was established in July 1957 to assess the dangers the nuclear development represented to humankind.<sup>374</sup> As for the ALP, Dr Evatt regarded nuclear testing as sheer ‘madness’, and criticised the UN ‘for failing to even suggest a suspension’, and on 13 July 1956 an ALP Federal Caucus meeting decided to oppose further expenditure on the British rocket range program.<sup>375</sup> With increased opposition to nuclear testing, and during the second series of Antler tests at Maralinga, the SA Peace Committee convened a national conference, held in Adelaide between 11-13 October 1957. It received broad community support, and members of the ALP addressed the disarmament conference.<sup>376</sup> By September

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Fall-Out from Atom Tests’, *Central Queensland Herald* (Qld.), 13 September 1956:5; *Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests*, 493.

<sup>370</sup> Royal Commission into British Nuclear Tests, 494; ‘Weather Upsets A-Bomb Tests Schedule’, *Canberra Times*, 17 September 1956:3.

<sup>371</sup> At the end of 1956, 47.1 per cent were opposed to atomic testing in Australia, 39 per cent approved and 13 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 122, 8 December 1956 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1989. Three months before the Antler series of trials in October 1957, 48.6 per cent were opposed, 38.6 approved and 12.6 were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 125, 1 June 1957 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1982.

<sup>372</sup> ‘Australia Menaced by Menzies Schemes for Atomic War’, *Tribune*, 10 April 1957:2.

<sup>373</sup> *Peacemaker*, Vol. 18(6), June 1956, 1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

<sup>374</sup> An original national sponsor of the 1959 ANZCICD, Prof. Marcus Oliphant, Research School of Physical Sciences, ANU was also an original member of Pugwash, which was first convened 6-10 July 1957, in Nova Scotia, Canada, and claimed to have drawn its inspiration from the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 1955 and Professor Linus Pauling’s Statement. C.B.O Mohr (ed.), *World Scientists on Nuclear Hazards* (Melbourne: Coronation Press, 1959); *Pugwash Conference on Science and Worlds Affairs*, <https://pugwash.org/>; Assoc. Prof. C.B.O Mohr quoted in *Australian and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament and Festival of the Arts*, Congress Pamphlet, 1959.

<sup>375</sup> ‘Evatt Repeats Demand for Bomb Truce’, *Canberra Times*, 6 April 1956:1; *Peacemaker*, Vol. 18(6), June 1956, 1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113; *Australian Labor Party Official Report of Proceedings of the 22nd Commonwealth Conference*, 11 March 1957, 41.

<sup>376</sup> Gertrude Melville (MLC., NSW) and Gordan Bryant (MHR, Vic.) were among the speakers who addressed the Adelaide Conference held during the Antler series of tests conducted at Maralinga, ‘Calling National Conference Next Month on Atomic Tests’, *Tribune*, 4 September 1959:3; ‘Successful SA Peace Conference Declares Against Maralinga Tests’, *Tribune*, 16 October 1957:3; ‘Australia: National Rally in Adelaide Protest to Maralinga’, [extract] *No More Hiroshimas* Vol.

1958, the following year, more than sixty per cent of Australians indicated their support for the US and Britain to join the Russian proposal to implement a moratorium on nuclear testing from 31 October 1958.<sup>377</sup> The moratorium was the culmination of the broader worldwide concern and mounting opposition to nuclear testing; the three nuclear powers maintained it until 1961. Before the end of the decade, twelve nations, including Australia, signed the treaty in Washington protecting Antarctica from nuclear testing.<sup>378</sup> The 1959 Antarctic Treaty was the first international agreement establishing a nuclear-free zone. It also set a precedent for a proposal to extend the Treaty to the Southern Hemisphere. While the peace movement applauded both the Treaty and moratorium on nuclear testing, the Treaty's terms were tenuous following France's intention to conduct its first test.

The French Government proposed to conduct its first nuclear test in the Sahara in early 1960. On 10 November 1959, French President de Gaulle indicated that the projected test would be abandoned only if the three nuclear powers destroyed all their nuclear stocks.<sup>379</sup> In the unlikelihood of that occurring, the French test in 1960 threatened the 1958 suspension and encouraged nuclear testing by other nations. Campaigns to oppose French testing and to extend the Antarctic Treaty were forwarded in the early 1960s by the nascent CICD, which emerged from the 1959 ANZCICD.

### **The 1959 ANZCICD**

As with previous peace congresses, the ANZCICD and Festival of the Arts, held in Melbourne during 7-14 November 1959, was equally divisive between proponents of the peace movement and those who believed it was part of a communist propaganda campaign.

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4(13), 1957, 4-5, Anderson, Part 2, NAA: A6119, 482, f.23-24; *National Conference Adelaide, October 11, 12, 13, 1957*, Pamphlet (SA, Courier Press, 1957), UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 55, f.113.

<sup>377</sup> In April 1958, respondents were asked whether the US and Britain should agree with Russia to ban the H-bomb or continue testing, 45.6 per cent agreed; 39.4 disagreed; 13 per cent undecided; 2 per cent missing, *AGP*, Survey 130, April 12, 1958 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 1989. In September Australians were asked the same question. 63.8 per cent agreed; 26.2 per cent disagreed; 9.9 undecided; 0.1 per cent missing.; *AGP*, Survey 133, 26 September, 1958 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 1989.

<sup>378</sup> 'Pact Ensures Peaceful Use of Antarctic', *Canberra Times*, 2 December 1959:1.

<sup>379</sup> *Hansard* Vol. 613, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19 November 1959, 1473, <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1959/nov/19/french-atomic-tests-sahara>; 'France Says Sahara A-Vote Will 'Prove Our Friends'', *Age*, 13 November 1960:4; 'UN Orders Speed-Up as Assembly Time Runs Out, Debates on Arms, A-Tests Dragging', *Age*, 16 November 1959:1.

The government and ASIO, in particular, noted the ANZCICD's overseas origins.<sup>380</sup> However, the controversy which enveloped the Congress was the result of both external hostility and tensions within the Congress itself. While on the one hand, officialdom undermined the Congress by both underhanded and explicit means; on the other hand, the Congress' emphasis on unanimity and conformity, which characterised previous congresses, highlighted the tensions which developed in the political left from the mid-1950s following Khrushchev's revelations and the Soviet invasion of Hungary.

Summy and Saunders give a comprehensive account of anti-communist attitudes against the Congress and, in particular, the government's deliberate campaign to derail the national event.<sup>381</sup> They outline the extent of government's actions which encouraged the withdrawal of high-profile sponsors of the Congress – such as the Dean of Melbourne, Dr S. Barton Babbage, and Professors Marcus Oliphant and A. K. Stout – and deterred prospective public support.<sup>382</sup> Summy and Saunders' article was published in the mid-1980s and largely draws on parliamentary debates, press reports and activist's interpretations. More recently, John McLaren's study largely draws from the personal papers of various commentators and individual Congress delegates to examine the character and consequences of communist influence over the Congress and for the future movement.<sup>383</sup> ASIO records shed further light on the extent of the government's anti-Congress crusade.

As discussed above, the 1959 Congress aimed to advance the work of the July 1958 WPC Stockholm Congress. Shortly after the Australian delegation's return from Stockholm, the

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<sup>380</sup> 'Australian Peace Council and its Activities in Connection with the Stockholm Congress', 7 July 1958, Murray-Smith Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.139-140; 'Origin of the Peace Movement and the World Peace Council', Agenda item 3c. Communist exploitation of the 'Peace Movement'. Collated paper prepared by Australia. Annex A: The Australia-New Zealand Congress for International Co-Operation and Disarmament Melbourne November 1959 (1960), NAA: A9954, SE/13/D29, f.13; Correspondence from C. F. Spry to, R. G. Casey, 5 December 1958, ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.53; 26-27; H of R, *Debates*, 27 October 1959, 2343, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027_reps_23_hor25/); *H of R, Debates*, 10 November 1959, 2526-2527, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591110\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591110_reps_23_hor25/). For non-government criticism of the 1959 ANZCICD see Peter Kelly, [extract] 'Peace Movements in Australia', *Bulletin*, 23 June 1962, Dickie Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1100, f.65-66.

<sup>381</sup> Summy and Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress'.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid. See also, Crean, Haylen, Whitlam and Cairns regarding the Government and ASIO's role in the withdrawal of Congress sponsors, and for providing private information to public citizens. H of R, *Debates*, 27 October 1959, 2279-2280; 2346-2352, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027_reps_23_hor25/); 'Security trying Not to Dissuade Sponsors of 'Peace' Congress', *Canberra Times*, 28 October 1959:3.

<sup>383</sup> McLaren's study draws largely from the personal papers of ex-CPA members, Stephen Murray-Smith, Ian Turner and Ken Gott; ALP member, Vincent Buckley; and also, the World Council of Churches', Sir John Latham. McLaren, 'Peace Wars'.

director general of ASIO, C.F. Spry, alerted all Australian state and territory regional directors of plans for a national peace congress in 1959 and requested that headquarters be advised of 'any further information concerning this Congress as it becomes available'.<sup>384</sup> In early December, more than four months before plans for the Congress were publicly announced, the Minister for External Affairs, R. G. Casey sought information from ASIO regarding the Congress; Spry forwarded a report to the minister the very next day.<sup>385</sup> Since at least September 1958, ASIO gathered information on the Congress and had sufficient time to compile a dossier.<sup>386</sup> Spry also reassured Casey that he was 'making a detailed study' of the Congress, which he called 'a major Communist effort in the "Front" field'.<sup>387</sup>

Casey was concerned about the growing public interest in the Congress which had secured the official endorsements of many high-profile community leaders and personalities. Their endorsement corresponded with increased global opposition to nuclear weapons and testing and manifested in various disarmament initiatives, such as the 1958 moratorium, as well as the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND); the US Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy; Linus Pauling's disarmament petition; and Pugwash.<sup>388</sup> Therefore, the Congress was conceived in an atmosphere that was receptive to its promotion of disarmament and international cooperation. Within two weeks of the press conference announcing plans for the 1959 Congress, a draft memo from Spry dated 4 May and addressed to the Secretary of the External Affairs Department stated:

I have been informed that the Minister [of External Affairs, R.G. Casey] is concerned at the anticipated size of the Congress and has expressed the desire to give as much publicity as possible to the aims of the Congress ... in order that Australians may be

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<sup>384</sup> ASIO Memo, 23 October 1958, ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.12.

<sup>385</sup> 'Director B1', Internal memo, 4 December 1958; Letter from Spry to Casey, 5 December 1958, both in ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.28; 29. For public announcements see: 'Plans for a Peace Congress Announced', *Tribune*, 22 April 1959:1; 'Oliphant Launches Peace Congress', *Guardian*, 23 April 1959, ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.144; 149; and the first issue of the VPC publication, *Pax*, produced until 1962, *PAX: a digest of world news and views about peace*, 22 April 1959, CIGD Papers 1979.0152, UMA, CIGD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52.

<sup>386</sup> ASIO noted the earliest references to the Congress in the 18 and 30 September 1958 issues of *Guardian*, and see also 'Congress on Disarmament', *The Peacemaker*, Vol. XXI (1&2) Jan-Feb 1959, all in ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.26-27; 38.

<sup>387</sup> Memo from C.F. Spry to Dept. External Affairs n.d. [c. 4 May 1959], ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.94-95.

<sup>388</sup> The CND held its first Easter disarmament march in 1958, 'Second Nuclear Protest March Planned', *Canberra Times*, 15 January 1959:1; Pugwash: 'Scientists Assess Atomic Age', *Canberra Times*, 11 July 1957:1; 'Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy', *Peace Action*, <https://www.peaceaction.org/who-we-are/our-mission/history/>.

left in no doubt as to the true motives of the promoters of the Congress. While I am wholeheartedly in agreement with this proposal and will give it every assistance in my power, I am of the opinion that the exposure of the Congress and its organisers ought to be approached with some care, especially as to the method and timing, [the following was crossed out with a biro] it would be unfortunate, for example, to launch a premature public campaign which had the effect of giving the Congress gratuitous publicity, or which gave its organisers time to reform their defenses in the light of our revelations.<sup>389</sup>

It is clear that the Minister sought assistance from the head of ASIO to discourage public interest in the Congress. As an immediate step, Spry drafted and attached a 'ministerial [press] statement' for Casey, which he suggested 'would at least advise moral persons as to the true aims of the Congress'.<sup>390</sup> Ten days later, the External Affairs Department confirmed that Casey would ensure the publication of Spry's draft statement, albeit with 'certain modifications' at a briefing meeting with the press on 18 May.<sup>391</sup> What followed was a barrage of warnings in the press, underwritten by Casey, advising the public not to attend the Moscow-inspired Congress.<sup>392</sup> Commenting on the effectiveness of the government's anti-Congress campaign, Solicitor-General Prof. Kenneth Bailey confirmed that

the course of events at the [peace] conference might have been very different if the Government had remained silent about its parentage. But of course, I realise that one may admit this, while still objecting to what the Government did.<sup>393</sup>

Later, when ALP members questioned government ministers and ASIO's actions which precipitated the withdrawal of Congress' sponsors, Menzies countered:

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<sup>389</sup> Memo from C.F. Spry to Dept. External Affairs n.d. [c. 4 May 1959] ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, 94-95.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

<sup>391</sup> Letter from Assistant Secretary external Affairs Dept. to Spry, 14 May, ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f., 170.

<sup>392</sup> Casey Warns on 'Peace', *SMH*, 17 June 1959:14; Casey Gives Advice, *Daily News* (Perth), 19 May 1959:9; Mr Casey Urges Inquiry into Congress, *Age*, 20 May 1959; Separating Camouflage from Facts, *Age*, 21 May 1959; see also extracts from the press in ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, 190; 194; 197; 203; 204; 206; 213.

<sup>393</sup> Letter from K.H. Bailey to Myra Roper, 25 January 1960, Melbourne Peace Conference, NAA: M1505, 808 [no folio number]. Myra Roper was Principal of University Women's College in Melbourne and a veteran peace activist associated with the Australian Convention on Peace and War and the APC during the 1950s, 'Peace Convention Gets Support', *Tribune*, 5 August 1953:3; *What is the Stockholm Congress?*, Pamphlet, Australian Sponsoring Committee, 1958, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

It is perfectly clear that this conference has been made the main 1959 activity of the Communist Party in Australia. This is their great effort for this year, and if it succeeds in attracting the attention of a sufficient number of thousands of non-Communists, they will regard that as rather a propaganda victory.<sup>394</sup>

According to Menzies, Australians were at risk of being seduced by Congress propaganda which skillfully exploited the public's fears to gain support and sympathy. Therefore, he argued that his government was acting in the interests of protecting ordinary Australians and their way of life. While government actions influenced the shape and character of the Congress, the 1959 ANZCICD was also notable for the tensions and conflicts within it.

Two events in 1956 had a profound impact on international communism and hastened internal tensions in the Australian political left: Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes and the Soviet invasion of Hungary.<sup>395</sup> These events led to bitter feuds between Party intellectuals and its leadership, the latter of whom held fast to democratic centralism and generally deferred to the Cominform. Notwithstanding those who were either reprimanded or expelled from the Party, such as Turner, some two thousand, mainly intellectuals, left the CPA, including Murray-Smith.<sup>396</sup> Nevertheless, many of these departures maintained their allegiance to radical politics and were most notably associated with the journals *Overland* and *Outlook* associated with the political 'New Left'. The expelled Turner, for instance, remained a devout socialist until his death in 1978.<sup>397</sup> According to Turner, intellectual ex-communists shared 'a general commitment' to what became known as 'socialist humanism';

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<sup>394</sup> 'Mr Menzies Says Security Not Political, Peace Congress is Communist Show', *Age*, 28 October 1959:1; H of R, *Debates*, 27 October 1959, 2343, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027\\_reps\\_23\\_hor25/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19591027_reps_23_hor25/).

<sup>395</sup> The decisions of the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPSU in February 1956, Blake's removal from the Central Committee of the CPA, and the reinstatement of Yugoslavia also contributed to the tension in the political left. Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 119-120 and more recently, Phillip Deery, 'Australian Communism in Crisis: 1956' in Jon Piccini, Evan Smith and Matthew Worley (eds.), *The Far Left in Australia since 1945* (London & New York: Routledge, 2018), 21-40.

<sup>396</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 120. Turner refused to retract a letter of protest he had written to the *Guardian* and *Pravda* on the execution of Hungarian PM, Imre Nagy. ASIO [extract] Memo, 19 August 1958 Murray-Smith Papers Vol. 5, NAA: A6119,3474, f.176-177; Internal Memo for Director General ASIO, 11 November 1958, Murray-Smith Papers Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.20; McEwen, *Once a Jolly Comrade*, 76-86; esp. 80-81. Murray-Smith resigned in 1958 in solidarity with the expelled Turner, over Nagy's execution. ASIO [extract] Memo, 19 August 1958 Murray-Smith Papers Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 3474, f.176-177; Internal Memo for Director General ASIO, 11 November 1958, Murray-Smith Papers Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 280, f.20; McEwan, *Once a Jolly Comrade*, 76-86; esp.80-81; 'Top Red Out of Party; Rift Over Hungary', [extract]*Herald* (Melb.), 17 July 1958; ASIO Report No. 13433, 23 July 1958, both in Ian Alexander Hamilton Turner Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3743, f.30; 36.

<sup>397</sup> Deery, 'The Dove Flies East', f.n. 104, 465.



they sought to revive socialist theory through journals such as *Outlook* and increasingly through the ALP left, the labour movement and the peace movement.<sup>398</sup> Developments in the CPA and its leadership's attitude were highlighted by the conservative press. According to the *Observer*, the CPA began 'systematically attacking and smearing' the ex-party intellectuals, and it noted that in the *Communist Review* they were described as 'the main danger to the worker's movement'.<sup>399</sup> The CPA's attitude was also outlined in *Tribune*. In May 1959, Chiplin wrote that *Overland* and its editor, Murray-Smith, had come 'dangerously close to earning the pejorative label, 'revisionist''.<sup>400</sup> Then, within days of the Congress' opening, the CPA charged the 'reactionary' *Outlook* of having a disruptive influence on the political left by 'sowing ... seeds of confusion'.<sup>401</sup> The developments which followed the events of 1956 meant that left-wing politics had become more nuanced after 1956. The independent socialist *Outlook* differentiated between the 'new' and 'old' hard-line left and, for the first time at a peace congress, an opportunity existed to discuss minority views, which were previously unrepresented.<sup>402</sup>

However, discussions at the Congress erupted over issues concerning freedom of speech and the Soviet actions in Hungary, including the execution and internment of Hungarian political dissidents. During discussions, the separate conferences of Youths, Citizens, and Writers and Artists rejected out-of-hand minority views. Accordingly, McLaren argued that the consensus of this Congress, like its predecessors, was achieved by stifling criticism of the Soviet Union.<sup>403</sup> Among the list of motions which were rejected by the separate conferences were those calling for freedom of the press, including freedom from Government control; freedom of the people of Formosa to decide their form of government; and calls for the Congress to disassociate from the WPC.<sup>404</sup> The motions were rejected, in ASIO parlance, because they did not accord with communist policy, or as Congress officials euphemistically put it, 'on the

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<sup>398</sup> Turner, 'The Long Goodbye' in *Room to Manoeuvre*, 144-149.

<sup>399</sup> 'Communism in Australia', [extract] *Observer*, Vol. 2(21), 17 October 1959, 647  
<http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000691.pdf>.

<sup>400</sup> 'Overland – Where's It Being Taken?', *Tribune*, 13 May 1959:7.

<sup>401</sup> 'Revisionism Turns to Disruption', *Tribune*, 4 November 1959:9.

<sup>402</sup> Chiplin noted that *Outlook* was a self-proclaimed 'socialist review of the new left', 'Overland – Where's It Being Taken?', *Tribune*, 13 May 1959:7.

<sup>403</sup> McLaren, 'Peace Wars', 97.

<sup>404</sup> The motions were rejected by the Youth, Citizens, or Artists and Writers conferences, Annex A, Agenda item 3c. Communist exploitation of the 'Peace Movement'. Collated paper prepared by Australia, ANZCICD, NAA: A9954, SE/13/D29, 169-170.

basis of reducing international tension'.<sup>405</sup> Appeals for the release of 'writers and others imprisoned for their political views' were also rejected lest they were construed as an allusion to Hungary.<sup>406</sup> Murray-Smith was amongst those at the Writers and Artists conference who fought, unsuccessfully, to have the Hungary issue included in a minority report.<sup>407</sup> He argued that without acknowledging the Hungary issue, the Congress seemed 'phoney', and he declared, 'those poor bastards in Budapest are rotting in gaol, while we make concessions to Stalinists whose rigidity makes Khrushchev seem like the king of the revisionists'.<sup>408</sup>

Murray-Smith regarded the Writers and Artists conference the most effectively 'steered' by hard-line communists, although he asserted that 'throughout the whole Congress, Party manipulation was evident in a host of ways'.<sup>409</sup> British writer and guest speaker at the Congress, J.B. Priestley, was vexed about its proceedings and blamed the rigidity of the hard left in the movement for undermining the whole Congress. He considered that his credibility would be compromised for having supported a purportedly broad peace congress which 'could not take even one pace towards an appeal which ha[d] been endorsed by communists' elsewhere in Europe; he added, 'this bloody action... smears the whole congress'.<sup>410</sup>

That the minority views were not represented in the final documents illustrates the inherent value the Congress attributed to conformity. McLaren argued that the Congress had a 'polarising' effect between the soft and hard lines in the political left. Yet the battle lines were drawn and their respective positions were posted on the field well in advance of the 1959 Congress.<sup>411</sup> From the outset, Congress organisers made 'unanimity' the condition on which the final joint statement would be issued.<sup>412</sup> Such terms indicated that ultimately, there would be no provision for the eventuality of any disagreement. The themes of the Congress'

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<sup>405</sup> Cf. Annex A, Agenda item 3c. Communist exploitation of the 'Peace Movement'; 'Source's Comments', ASIO Report No: 17115, 16 November 1959, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.33-34, Collated paper prepared by Australia, ANZCICD, NAA: A9954, SE/13/D29, 169-170; Murray-Smith criticised the decision not to adopt the motion, Stephen Murray-Smith to Ian Turner, 15 November 1959, Murray-Smith Papers, SLV, MS 8272, Box 196, file 8-1.

<sup>406</sup> Annex A, Agenda item 3c. Communist exploitation of the 'Peace Movement'. Collated paper prepared by Australia, ANZCICD, NAA: A9954, SE/13/D29, 169-170.

<sup>407</sup> Murray-Smith Papers, SLV, MS 8272, Box 196, file 8-1.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid.

<sup>411</sup> McLaren, 'Peace Wars', 98.

<sup>412</sup> *ANZ Congress for International Co-operation & Disarmament and Festival of the Arts*, Congress pamphlet, 1959; 'The Goal of Peace is Nearer', [Journal of] *The Congress*, c. 1959, Noel Butlin Archives Canberra (NBAC): Seamen's Union Australia, Victoria Branch (hereafter, SUA Vic.) Z263, Box 43.

final statement, called a 'Declaration of Hope', were prepared in advance and formulated as to be analogous with those of the 1958 WPC Stockholm Congress, nominally 'international cooperation and disarmament'.<sup>413</sup> Accordingly, the State peace groups were rechristened as continuing committees by variously adopting 'international cooperation and disarmament' in their title name, including the Melbourne-based CICD. The minority views did not reflect the spirit of Stockholm, or by extension, the Congress. However, by rejecting such views, it undermined the integrity of the Congress' claim that it was non-partisan and not dominated by the CPA. By implication, it also brought into question the sincerity of the APC's statement on Hungary in 1956 which had previously helped to assuage the concerns of those who suspected it was under communist control. The Congress' attitude highlighted its rigid adherence to unanimity in the movement. For the Congress organisers, and later, for the CICD, the term unanimity meant uniform agreement on a decision or proposal. To achieve unanimity was a likely desirable aim for the movement's leadership because it reinforced the notion that they were correct in their thinking, particularly in an era when the movement faced considerable criticism and suspicion from the officialdom, the broader community and from within the political left. The leadership's emphasis on unanimity was demonstrated six months before the November 1959 Congress, when Hartley dedicated an entire article on the alleged unity between the peace forces, which he attributed to an 'adherence' to the movement's fundamental precepts, crucially that of the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence.<sup>414</sup> One month after it, Hartley told delegates they had 'experienced the wonderful unity that was achieved by people of all kinds of opinion and conviction' at the Congress, and now there could be 'great hope' that its aims could be achieved.<sup>415</sup> Without acknowledging views which were critical of world communism it perpetuated Cold War political rhetoric, rather than rising above it, and ultimately, it compromised an opportunity to be as truly representative of the divergent approaches to peace and peace issues, as it purported and hoped to be.

Despite its limitations, for many, the APC-led peace movement represented the only practical means for ordinary people to challenge Cold War concepts and the threat of an imminent

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid. The 'Declaration of Hope' was also referred to as a peace charter, 'Charter of Hope', *Guardian*, 19 November 1959:3.

<sup>414</sup> 'Building Co-operation Between the Peace Forces: Experience from the Australian Peace Movement by the Rev. Frank J. Hartley B.A., B.D.', *International Organisations* No. 99, 21 May 1959, n.p., Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.21-22A.

<sup>415</sup> Text of CICD circular dated 14 December 1959, signed by Hartley. ASIO Report No. 60/145, 21 January 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.39.

war.<sup>416</sup> A life-long member of the CICD, John Ellis, recalled almost sixty years later the profound impression the 1959 ANZCICD made on him, and on his decision ‘to sign up’ to its continuing committee organisation, the CICD.<sup>417</sup> Ellis attended the 1959 ANZCICD and became a member out of a sense of fear and hope. Like many supporters of the peace movement living under threat of an atomic holocaust, he rejected the attendant sense of defeatism in the hope that there was ‘still time’ to do something practical about it.<sup>418</sup>

## Conclusion

This chapter has traced the scope and nature of the Australian peace movement from the post-WWII period until the CICD’s formation with the 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress. The immediate post-war period emphasised a need to provide collective international security to maintain world peace and mobilise against the attendant threat of atomic annihilation. While the UN was mandated as the international peacekeeping body, the Australian government agreed to host a British missile testing program in Woomera, in Central Australia. A diversity of groups initiated a campaign protesting the rocket range in a growing anti-communist environment, heightened by an increasing sense of international crisis. In such a hostile climate and without public and political support, there was little uniform willingness among the diverse groups to maintain a united front. Neither the left wing of the ALP, while Labor was in government, nor communists were prepared to work together in a broadly-based coalition of forces in the immediate post-war period. However, these political groups eventually revised their respective attitudes.

Following the 1955 split, rank and file ALP members were free to support the peace movement, whose aims coincided, in part, with those of the parliamentary Opposition. As for communists and their allies, developments in the international communist movement from 1947, occasioned by the Cominform, precipitated the CPA’s embrace of the peace movement in 1949. The 1949 Paris Congress was of particular significance in developing the post-war international peace movement. Attended by members of the CPA it recommended the

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<sup>416</sup> Turner, *Room for Manoeuvre*, 128; Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 105.

<sup>417</sup> John Ellis, interview with author, 29 April 2017.

<sup>418</sup> *Ibid.*; Keith Sodden, Interview with author, 5 July 2017; Kisten McCandless, Interview with author, 20 June 2017. McCandless discussed her mother, Pauline Mitchell’s long-time devotion to the CICD since its formation and as its secretary from 1995 until she passed away on 20 March 2013, aged 81. McCandless is currently a CICD committee member. The ‘still time’ quote is a reference to Stanley Kramer’s, *On the Beach* (1959) based on Nevil Shutes’ novel about the destruction of humankind in a nuclear holocaust. It was filmed and premiered in Melbourne and simultaneously in about twenty cities worldwide on 17 December 1959.

establishment of national peace committees. Within three months of the Paris Congress, the APC was established as the Australian division of the international peace movement. Thus, from the outset, the origins of the APC were linked directly to the CPA and the Soviet-inspired international peace movement.

Following the recommendations of the 1949 Paris Congress, the APC organised itself as a national peak peace body with a network of state and local divisions. The APC policy was drafted and articulated in a manifesto whose themes were analogous to those of the international peace movement that operated under the parentage of the WPC. The APC manifesto was adopted as a foundation document by successive peace committee organisations and represented continuity in the movement. The main activities of the Melbourne-based APC were inspired and prescribed by the WPC during bureau meetings and international conferences, attended by members of the APC. Activities included holding a national conference every three years, and canvassing international ban-the-bomb appeals with the instrumental support of the labour movement and CPA cadres.

After providing the groundwork, the CPA ensured its continued involvement in the organisational aspects of APC through each of the APC's organising secretaries. Its non-communist executive members, such as the three peace parsons, were happy to work alongside communists in the peace movement. These ministers of religion demonstrated a strong socialist disposition, cultivated long before the communists considered peace a virtue, and believed that a new social order was both necessary and inevitable. For countering the Cold War consensus against communism, for their unquestioned admiration of the Soviet Union, and for criticising government foreign policies, their critics regarded them as fellow-travellers and the APC denounced as a front organisation for the communist 'peace offensive'.

Pacifists, therefore, were generally wary of the nascent APC when it was first formed. However, they gradually reviewed their attitude after noting both the increased presence of clergymen in the movement hastened by the formation of the PQF in 1951, and the APC's criticism of Soviet actions in Hungary in 1956. Thus, by the mid-1950s, communists and their supporters, the left-wing in the ALP, and both religious and secular pacifist activists joined forces in the APC-led peace movement. Support from these diverse interests in peace and disarmament concerns coincided with increased global concerns regarding the health risks associated with nuclear testing in the mid-1950s.

For many of its supporters, the APC-led peace movement with its broad network of alliances and resources represented the only viable means to actively counter the Cold War consensus and the pervasive threat of atomic war. Nevertheless, the APC was fraught with contradictions, some inherent, others emergent. While it defended a position of political neutrality, communist foreign policy and strategy profoundly influenced the APC which was sympathetic to Soviet analyses of the post-war world. Its alignment with the Cominform's 1947 'two camps thesis' belied the non-partisan tone of its manifesto and played directly into the hands of critics eager to denounce it as a communist ruse. Cold War anti-communist attitudes influenced the shape and trajectory of the peace movement, in particular, the triennial national peace congresses.

At one level, the national congresses were illustrative of the challenges the peace movement encountered throughout the 1950s and would continue to endure during the following decades of the long Cold War. National congresses were also significant for their role in establishing the organisational framework of the Australian peace movement. The 1950 Congress established the structure for the future peace movement at a national, state and local level while subsequent congresses established continuing peace committees. The 1959 Congress re-constituted existing fraternal state bodies as committees for international cooperation and disarmament, including the Melbourne-based CICD, which brought forward the aims of the pro-communist international peace movement into the following decade. However, the 1959 Congress also illuminated the APC's hard-line emphasis on unanimity, particularly in light of new divisions in the political left. It suggests that in the main, the APC conducted national congresses to amplify and reinforce its partisan beliefs. As we shall see in the following chapter, the nascent CICD inherited the contradictions of its predecessor by contributing to the Cold War rhetoric it purported to transcend, and emphasised unanimity above all other considerations, including building a broad base of support beyond that of communists and their allies.

### **Chapter 3: The CICD and the early disarmament campaign, 1960-1964**

This chapter examines the CICD's attitude and approach to disarmament issues in the early 1960s, its organisational character and relationship with the VPC, which continued to operate alongside the CICD during this period. Through a review of the CICD's major disarmament and non-alignment campaigns, this chapter demonstrates that the CICD-led campaigns formed part of a tradition of Australian activism. Despite the contradictions in its particular worldview and the organisation's hierarchical approach to decision-making, the CICD was a highly responsive, and strategic organisation that emphasised unity within the peace movement. It used high profile events to bring its peace concerns into public prominence, and developed a network of support to help galvanise the movement, in a politically hostile and complex environment. Conventional historiography characterises the early 1960s disarmament campaign as a victim of Cold War anti-communism. Although the ideological rigidities of the Cold War blunted the effect of the CICD's campaigns, this chapter argues that CICD leadership refused to accept criticism of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, it emphasised containing developing tensions and dissonance within the movement, which it considered antithetical to the primacy of unity, rather than building a broad consensus of the political left around disarmament and non-alignment concerns. Thus, in effect, the CICD primarily sought to mobilise support for the Soviet Union's position on world peace, disarmament and international cooperation.

#### **'What's in a name?'**

In the early 1960s, the VPC continued to operate independently as a state peace body and helped to preserve contacts and links with the pro-communist international peace community.<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Summy's suggestion that the VPC 'continued to exist in a fairly moribund state' alongside the new CICD, this chapter will show that the VPC helped to establish the CICD as the new leading state peace group in Victoria.<sup>2</sup> Although the VPC was formally rechristened on 22 October 1962 as the Victorian Peace Council (VPC) Research

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<sup>1</sup> The VPC operated from an office premise at 259 Collins Street and CICD's office was located at 94 Elizabeth Street. Addresses of Secretaries of Interstate and Provincial Peace Committees. [extract] *Peace Action*, Vol. 1, No.1, June 1960 APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.141.

<sup>2</sup> Summy, 'A Study of Dissent', f.n.1, p. 175.

and Information Centre, it continued to share the same executive support and staff with the CICD.<sup>3</sup> In its revised capacity, the VPC resolved to:

provide material to all sections of the Australian Peace movement...receive calls to action...from all over the world and translate them into the kind of material needed to stimulate campaigns or to raise the level of understanding of the Australian people.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, while the VPC Research and Information Centre saw itself as both a conduit of information, which it modified for its purposes, and a rudder for the direction of the Australian peace movement, it effectively operated as a propaganda organisation for the CICD and the peace movement.

The new arrangement also resolved another issue of practicality, highlighted by Hartley's wife, Marion. Marion Hartley was one of the six members appointed to a sub-committee to make recommendations to the executive, regarding the future role of the VPC.<sup>5</sup> She raised concerns about a potential 'loss of hundreds of pounds' in printed stationary bearing the VPC letterhead, although, at the time, she suggested that the name APC, rather than VPC, should be maintained.<sup>6</sup> Marion argued that the APC was an internationally recognised brand developed over the previous decade. However, Marion failed to grasp that maintaining the APC name was a moot point. A foremost aim of the 1959 ANZCICD was to establish an ostensibly less monolithic network of state peace bodies, than the antecedent movement under the national APC. Thus, the dissolution of the APC was a foregone conclusion. In this regard, establishing a sub-committee to make recommendations to the executive, was a little disingenuous. As we shall see, the use of sub-committees in the decision-making process was also adopted by the CICD as a practical measure, while it provided the semblance of democratic organisation.

It is important to note that no distinction existed in the outlook and policy of the APC, VPC and CICD, which were concomitant with that of the WPC. Moreover, the Melbourne-based

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<sup>3</sup> VPC resolution, 22 October 1962 and VPC newsletter, 24 October 1962 both in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 54, file 97.

<sup>4</sup> VPC letter to members, 24 October 1962, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 54, file 97.

<sup>5</sup> Resolutions 'Moved by Marion Hartley', 26 September 1962, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 54, file 97. In addition to Marion Hartley, Dorothy Gibson, Revs. Hartley and Silverwood, Marjorie Broadbent and Goldbloom were appointed to make recommendations to the Executive on the proposed scope and implications of the VPC's new role. Special Executive VPC resolution, 25 September 1962, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 54, file 97.

<sup>6</sup> Resolutions 'Moved by Marion Hartley', UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 54, file 97.



committees shared almost all the same leadership.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, and contrary to the aims of the 1959 ANZCICD, the CICD initially assumed the role of a foremost state peace body in the communist-inspired Australian peace movement, at least until the mid-1960s, which saw the broadening of a more independent movement. Therefore, despite the saliency of Marion's argument regarding the dilemma of losing the APC name, Dickie, Hartley and especially James, who was not a CICD executive member, continued to publish statements as executives of either the VPC or the APC in the early 1960s. This was particularly evident when they addressed the Menzies Government and organisations which associated the peace officials with either the VPC or the APC. However, their statements were congruent with the views of the CICD. The leadership's ongoing identification with the APC and VPC illustrates both the ideological and organic connection and continuity between the CICD and the antecedent groups, while it was also a matter of practical necessity.

### **Summit talks and spy planes**

The CICD's first major campaign for disarmament coincided with a Summit meeting between the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France. It was scheduled to begin in Paris in May 1960 and it dealt with questions on disarmament and nuclear testing. The political significance of the talks was evident to CICD leadership by March, when a late change in the VPC 'Summer School' weekend programme ensured that a discussion on the Summit was also high on the agenda. The theme of the weekend seminar, held in Dromana 11-14 March, was 'Let the Pacific be an Ocean of Peace and a Highway of Friendship'. CICD leadership initially intended to convey to the Summer School, the views and resolutions adopted at the Indonesian Peace Assembly, which they attended in Bandung, 25-30 January.<sup>8</sup> The significance of the Bandung Assembly for the CICD will be addressed in the following chapter, which examines the CICD's support for what it regarded were movements for national independence in SE Asia during the 1960s. The topics for discussion at the weekend Summer School centred on Australian relations with Pacific nations and a

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<sup>7</sup> VPC executives Dickie and Hartley were also CICD Chairman and Treasurer respectively, VPC member, Rev. Athol McGregor, was the CICD Vice-Chairman and fellow VPC members, Sam Goldbloom and Norman St Clair Anderson, its Joint Secretaries. RD Victoria to ASIO HQ, 22 November 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.25. For a list of CICD Executive and Committee members, see for example, CICD Circular, 26 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. The new CICD executive members were all 1959 Peace Congress officials. See, for example: Memo for ASIO HQ, 28 May 1959, RD Victoria and 'Great Plans for Peace Festival' [extract] n.p. 1959, both in ANZCICD Vol. 1, NAA: A6122, 1292, f.220; 130.

<sup>8</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/420, 22 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.24.

proposal to extend the Antarctic Treaty to the region.<sup>9</sup> VPC executive, James, was initially billed to speak on 'relations with China', but following an amendment in the programme, he spoke on the pre-Summit disarmament situation.<sup>10</sup> In the lead up to the Summit, daily publications reported positive indications and high hopes for the Geneva meeting's success.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the CICD leadership and James were ambivalent as to whether the Summit meeting might achieve any measurable progress on the disarmament issue, although they supported the talks, in principle.<sup>12</sup> For the CICD and the VPC, progress on the disarmament issue prior to the Summit was largely one-sided. They attributed the 'improved world atmosphere' in early 1960 largely to Soviet initiatives, which included exchanges of diplomatic visits during 1959 between heads of state, Soviet proposals for total disarmament, and their test-ban concessions at Geneva talks in March.<sup>13</sup> Both the CICD and the VPC were critical of the West's proposals for disarmament, while also doubting Western sincerity at the upcoming disarmament table.

In his appraisal of the pre-Summit situation at the Summer School James compared the Soviet's 'firm proposition' for total disarmament with Western indecisiveness, and was critical of British Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd's proposals for partial disarmament and total disarmament subject to international control.<sup>14</sup> In accordance with WPC's view, which was in essence - 'No disarmament without control, no control without disarmament', he asserted that the only way to break the deadlock between the nuclear powers was by general and complete disarmament *before* control, and asked the Summer School to consider which

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ASIO Report No. 60/501, 2 March 1960 and ASIO Report No. 60/502, 3 March 1960, both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.28; 30, respectively. See also, 'Preliminary Announcement: Victorian Peace Council, Summer School by the Sea', c.1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52.

<sup>11</sup> 'Big Four at the Summit', *SMH*, 19 January 1960:6; 'Summit Outlook Pleases Reds', *SMH*, 6 February, 1960:3; 'New Plea for Universal Disarmament', *Canberra Times*, 13 February 1960:1; 'West Makes Progress at Arms Talks', *Canberra Times*, 29 February 1960:1; 'Soviet Ready to Join in Experiments', *Canberra Times*, 21 March 1960:1; 'MacMillan Sees Hope of Nuclear Accord', *SMH*, 28 March 1960:2; 'Mr Eisenhower on Latest Soviet Arms Concessions', *Age*, 1 April 1960:4; 'China Supports Soviet Disarmament Plans', *Canberra Times*, 12 April 1960:3; 'West Tables New Proposals On Disarmament', *Canberra Times*, 28 April 1960:8. Walter Lippman, New York correspondent for *The Age*, described a 'stable' Europe just before the Summit, despite tensions outside the continent, in Korea, Congo, Cuba and SE Asia. 'Quiet Before the Summit', *Age*, 5 May 1960:2.

<sup>12</sup> 'Declaration of Hope'.

<sup>13</sup> 'Message to the Summit', VPC, c.1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.94; Rev. Hartley, 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>14</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.51-52.

plan was best – ‘Khrushchev’s firm proposals or Selwyn Lloyd’s half-hearted plan?’<sup>15</sup> He urged the writing of letters and articles to the media, although he also suggested that change would be ‘difficult’, as the US economy is ‘geared for war’.<sup>16</sup> For James, US economic interests were incompatible with propositions for general and complete disarmament and, therefore, he questioned US intentions on the disarmament issue. Similarly, Goldbloom questioned US intentions, particularly in the Pacific region. He criticised the US/Japan Treaty and similar US-directed policies aimed at extending American political, economic, and cultural control over the Pacific region.<sup>17</sup> While it should be noted that this assessment was by no means confined to the Communist left,<sup>18</sup> the assumption that Western policies were irreconcilable with peace was a commonly-held communist precept, shared by VPC and CICD leadership alike, and was similarly conveyed the following year at the VPC Summer School by Party stalwart, Lloyd Churchward.<sup>19</sup>

Also addressing the school was Dr Jim Cairns MHR who spoke on ‘what disarmament would mean’ for Australia and globally from a budgetary and defence perspective.<sup>20</sup> The disproportionate allocation of federal funds for defence was a key argument for disarmament, particularly for the labour movement.<sup>21</sup> In contrast with the conclusions drawn by the CICD and VPC leadership, Cairns suggested that some federal expenditure on defence may be ‘misdirected’ and asked the school to consider what kind of defence was appropriate for

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<sup>15</sup> [emphasis added] Ibid. ‘World Body’s Call for Disarmament’, *Peace Action*, July 1960, 4, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6. [An extract copy of the article also in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.40].

<sup>16</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.51-52.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., f.49-50.

<sup>18</sup> For instance, the Japanese People’s Council to Stop the Revised Treaty, which initially met on 28 March 1959, was a broad church of 134 groups representing left, centre-left organisations and even a few conservative business cooperatives. Nick Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads: Conflict and Compromise after Anpo* (London: Harvard University Press, 2018), 19; see also, George R. Packard III, *Protest in Tokyo: The Security Treaty Crisis of 1960* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966).

<sup>19</sup> ‘Summer School Discussion by the Sea Programme’, VPC leaflet, March 1961; ‘Peace Council’s Summer School’, [extract] *Guardian*, 9 March 1961:3 both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.140; 107, respectively. See also SUA Victorian Branch Newsletter, No.5, 10 March 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1960-62.

<sup>20</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.50-51. Marion Hartley and John Legge spoke on a paper by Chairman of the WPC, Professor J.D. Bernal, titled ‘World Without War’, and the Revs. Dickie and Hartley spoke on Australia-Indonesia relations. ASIO Report No. 60/502, 3 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.30.

<sup>21</sup> See for instance: ‘Disarmament! A Must Now!’, VPC flyer, 1960, [extract] *Peace Action*, September 1960, both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A 6122, 1406, f.176; 215, respectively; ‘Peace is Trade Union Business’, Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) Flyer, c.1962, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1960-62.

Australia.<sup>22</sup> While Cairns implied that policies on defence spending could be revised, the subtext of Goldbloom's and James' analysis saw little scope for change given Western adherence to economic policies for the build-up of armaments.

Despite the CICD leadership's ambivalent attitude towards the Summit, Hartley suggested that in early May demonstrations by the peace movement would be held synchronously in all major Australian capital cities, to 'coincide' with the Summit peace talks.<sup>23</sup> He also asked the sixty or so people attending the school, which included members of regional peace committees, union members and CICD organisers, to reserve the evening of 9 May for a special pre-Summit meeting at the Collins St. Assembly Hall.<sup>24</sup> With plans for nation-wide, pre-Summit demonstrations already proposed, the school resolved, in closing sessions, to make May 1960 a 'monster month' for disarmament protests by holding a Summit-eve march and rally in the city, including participation in the annual May Day parade.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the school was held to endorse and implement decisions already formulated by peace movement leadership. Despite reservations about Western attitudes on the disarmament issue, and by extension, the Summit's success, campaigning around the Summit issue for the CICD's first disarmament demonstration was a politically strategic decision. The Summit meeting had global importance, it was a timely issue and it had the potential to attract significant publicity and support. Although the 9 May Assembly Hall meeting was called on the pretext of the upcoming Summit, the CICD used the high-profile event to propagandise broader peace concerns concurrently with the disarmament issue.

A leaflet publicising the 9 May meeting was titled '1960 – the Year for Disarmament to Begin!' and hailed 'success to the summit talks!'<sup>26</sup> However, the leaflet also reminded readers that the meeting would coincide with the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of V.E. Day and warned that militarism, colonialism and Nazism were 'evils that still stalk the earth today'.<sup>27</sup> Based

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<sup>22</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.50-51.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., f.51. A corresponding rally in Sydney, sponsored by NSWPCICD, was connected to the Melbourne rally by a two-way landline, while Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth also held marches or rallies in support of the Summit. 'Room for You On 'Summit Rally'', *Tribune*, 11 May 1960:1. 'Sydney Rally in Support of Summit', *SMH*, 16 May 1960:10; 'Big Disarmament Rallies in Sydney and Melbourne', *Canberra Times*, 16 May 1960:3.

<sup>24</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.51.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., f.57. In Melbourne and in Sydney many of the banners in the May Day procession urged for support of the Summit conference. 'May Day Marchers Drenched in Rain' and '8000 in Sydney Procession', *Age*, 2 May 1960:5.

<sup>26</sup> '1960 - the Year for Disarmament to Begin!', VPC leaflet, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.135.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

on current peace council literature it referred to West German and Japanese remilitarisation, latent Nazism in West Germany and, following the Indonesian assembly in Bandung, Dutch colonial interests in West Irian.<sup>28</sup> The leaflet suggested that public participation in the event would demonstrate both a ‘determination to remove these evils from the world’ *and* a collective demand for total disarmament.<sup>29</sup> It was illustrative of the CICD’s strategic approach to use the Summit as a pretext to advance its particular peace aims.

On the morning before the 9 May public meeting took place, the *Age* reported a US official admission that the American U2 plane, shot down by the Soviets and piloted by Gary Powers, was “probably” conducting an aerial reconnaissance over Soviet territory.<sup>30</sup> The evening meeting was chaired by Dickie and addressed by Goldbloom and James.<sup>31</sup> Two films were shown: one featured the Aldermaston to London march, as billeted on the flyer.<sup>32</sup> The speakers encouraged the meeting to support the CICD’s Summit-eve, ‘Aldermaston’ march and rally at the Myer Music Bowl the following Sunday, 15 May, while the *Guardian* also publicised the event.<sup>33</sup> In this way the *Guardian* helped to establish the CICD’s prominence as the new State peace group, while the newspaper remained in circulation until 1966, and it illustrates the close links between the CICD and the communist press. Although the CICD’s ‘Aldermaston’ march on 15 May was not held in solidarity with the UK in 1960, it referred to the high-profile, overseas event for added effect. The second film screening, not advertised in the flyer, dealt with the German invasion of Russia during WWII.<sup>34</sup> According to an ASIO report, the second film juxtaposed German aggression and ruthlessness, with Russian

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<sup>28</sup> For Goldbloom’s attitude towards US-led West German rearmament and latent Nazi militarism see ASIO Report No. 60/504, 3 March 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.31. For VPC literature, see *Pax Supplement* [the title was later shortened to *Pax*], VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52 and also in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122 1406, f.104; [extract] VPC Information Bulletin, 28 January 1960, ASIO Report No. 60/419, 22 February 1960; [extract] VPC Information Bulletin, 17 December 1959, ASIO Report No. 60/81, 12 January 1960 both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.23; 19, respectively.

<sup>29</sup> ‘1960- the Year for Disarmament to Begin!’ VPC leaflet, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.135.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in ‘USA Admits Plane Spied behind Iron Curtain’, *Age*, 9 May 1960:1.

<sup>31</sup> ‘1960 - the Year for Disarmament to Begin!’, VPC leaflet, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.135.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*; ASIO Report No. 60/11-12, 17 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.103.

<sup>33</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/11-12, 17 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.103; ‘World Peace Rallies on Eve of Summit’, *Guardian*, 5 May 1960:1.

<sup>34</sup> ‘1960 - the Year for Disarmament to Begin!’, VPC leaflet, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.135; ASIO Report No. 60/11-12, 17 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.103.

communist principles of unity, equality and industry.<sup>35</sup> The film's perspective, endorsed by the CICD, is problematic given the claim in its 'Declaration of Hope', which stated, 'we believe that the responsibility for war is never one-sided and that all nations should forgive past wrongs.'<sup>36</sup> Goldbloom spoke on West German rearmament and the Summit, and although the records are quiet on James' address, the meeting unanimously endorsed resolutions for both German demilitarisation and Indonesia's claim to West Irian.<sup>37</sup> While the 9 May meeting was clearly critical of Western defence and foreign policies and sympathetic towards the Soviet Union, the subtext of the meeting's message cast doubt over Western intentions at the Summit. Whether a discussion on the spy plane issue took place at the meeting is unclear; however, the upshot of the assembly was a statement endorsed by the meeting, which alluded to the affair. Without explicitly mentioning the American U2, the 'Message to the Summit' suggested that attempts to sabotage the Summit were afoot by stating 'this meeting is aware, that the very successes achieved by the forces of peace, cause men to find other methods of preventing it'.<sup>38</sup> By late May, the Summit's failure was self-evident and the CICD openly blamed the US for its collapse.

The CICD pointed to the spy-plane incident as indicative of the true attitude of the US Government. In his address to meetings both within and beyond the peace movement, Goldbloom presented three reasons to suggest US culpability for the Summit collapse. Firstly, the U2 spy plane over Russia; secondly, the US announcement for plans to continue underground nuclear testing just prior to the Summit; and, finally, by the US ordering its defences on a continuous alert during the Paris negotiations.<sup>39</sup> Thus, for Goldbloom, the US intentionally sabotaged the Summit conference. Similarly, communist publications alleged that the Americans plotted to 'wreck' the Summit many months in advance.<sup>40</sup> A resolution was sent to the four heads of State and declared that 'under no circumstance can the sending of a spy plane to the Soviet Union on the eve of the Summit talks be justified'.<sup>41</sup> For its part,

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<sup>35</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/11-12, 17 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.103.

<sup>36</sup> 'Declaration of Hope'.

<sup>37</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/11-12, 17 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.103.

<sup>38</sup> 'Message to the Summit', VPC, c.1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.94.

<sup>39</sup> Goldbloom addressed the Socialist Club of Malayan Students, 21 May 1960, ASIO Report No. 60/1225, 30 May 1960, and an Elwood/St Kilda Peace Fellowship meeting, 27 May 1960, ASIO Report No. 60/1286, 15 June 1960, both in Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.38; 39, respectively.

<sup>40</sup> 'Stop U.S. From Wrecking Peace of the World', *Tribune*, 18 May 1960:1; 'How US Wrecked Summit', *Guardian*, 19 May 1960:1.

<sup>41</sup> 'Peace Council on Summit Failure: 'We Will Redouble Our Peace Efforts'', *Guardian*, 26 May 1960:3.

the WPC called the incident ‘a violation of international law’ and that US attempts to justify the U2 operation and Eisenhower’s refusal to apologise were ‘the main reasons for the breakdown’.<sup>42</sup> Thus, it is evident that the CICD was aligned in its attitude with the CPA and fellow pro-Soviet allies, such as, the WPC. Conversely, the ALP Opposition Leader, Arthur Calwell, and ACTU President, Albert Monk, expressed their disappointment over the breakdown.<sup>43</sup> As for Menzies, he was not alone in suggesting that Khrushchev orchestrated the Summit collapse by persisting with unrealistic demands, including an apology from Eisenhower, and by using the spy plane to gain propaganda points.<sup>44</sup> A majority of Australian public opinion also blamed the Soviet Union for the Summit failure.<sup>45</sup> There may have been good cause to question Khrushchev’s actions at the Summit, nevertheless, Hartley challenged the allegations made against the Soviet Premier. While Goldbloom criticised the US, Hartley rushed to Khrushchev’s defence in a paper entitled, ‘Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them’.<sup>46</sup>

In his defence of Khrushchev, Hartley suggested that there were warning signs that presaged the Summit collapse when he alluded to Thomas Campbell’s *Lochiel’s Warning* (1801). Including the signs outlined by Goldbloom, he argued, ‘many more things could be written to show that strong elements in the US did not want the talks to succeed’, and therefore, the collapse of the Summit cannot be ‘laid at Khrushchev’s [sic] door’.<sup>47</sup> He argued that the accusations against Khrushchev were incongruent with the Soviet Premier’s acts of political goodwill in the months leading up to the Summit. According to Hartley, Khrushchev ‘started the idea’ of diplomatic visits between heads of state. He described how Khrushchev broke the deadlock on the negotiations by accepting the West’s conditions at the Geneva conference in March, regarding prohibition, control and inspection of atmospheric tests contingent upon a

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<sup>42</sup> *Peace Action*, July 1960, 6, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>43</sup> At CICD’s Summit-eve rally, ACTU President, Albert Monk, called the incident a ‘tragic situation’, [extract] *Guardian*, 19 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, [no folio number]; Opposition Leader, Arthur Calwell, called it a ‘foolish gesture of strength’ at a most inauspicious time. ‘Summit Harmed By “Stupidity”’, *Labor Concern Over Western Setbacks*, *Age*, 16 May 1960:5.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Khrushchev’s Attitude at Summit Absurd, Says, Menzies’, *Canberra Times*, 19 May 1960:30; ‘West Blames Khrushchev for Failure of Summit’, *Age*, 18 May 1960:1; ‘Claim Khrushchev Planned to Wreck Summit’, *Canberra Times*, 26 May 1960:10.

<sup>45</sup> In a recent opinion poll on the Summit collapse, 53.6 per cent of respondents attributed its failure to Russia, 16.1 per cent blamed the US, while 26.2 per cent were unsure. *AGP*, Survey 144, May 27, 1960 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1989.

<sup>46</sup> ‘Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them’ Rev. Hartley, ‘Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them’, 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

three-power moratorium on testing.<sup>48</sup> Hartley suggested that such ‘facts’ need to be examined to answer the question: ‘who has consistently followed the path towards Peace and disarmament and who has deviated again and again from that path?’.<sup>49</sup> Hartley reiterated Khrushchev’s claims, as reported in the press, that the Soviet Union had ‘repeatedly urged the Western Powers [to also] show good will’ and pledged that he was ‘ready to sign an agreement’ on disarmament immediately with even the strictest controls – a pledge he repeatedly maintained thereafter, according to VPC literature.<sup>50</sup> Hartley also noted Khrushchev’s avowal that the Soviet Union is ‘a nation that follows a path of peace’.<sup>51</sup> According to Hartley, Khrushchev made the statement in an interview conducted during a WPC meeting in January 1959, which Hartley attended. Other records suggest that Hartley was in Moscow the following month to attend a WPC meeting during 21-25 February.<sup>52</sup> Although the CICD, like the APC before it, was not formally affiliated with the WPC at this time, both Hartley and Dickie were members of the WPC and as noted often participated in overseas WPC Bureau meetings. Hartley took Khrushchev’s word at face value despite admitting that he ‘only kn[e]w Mr. Khrushchev from his speeches’.<sup>53</sup> Consistent with this view, ‘the forces of peace’, referred to in the ‘Message to the Summit’ endorsed by the 9 May meeting, were led by Khrushchev and supporters of Soviet policy.<sup>54</sup> In his testimonial,

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Disarmament Challenge by Khrushchev’, *Canberra Times*, 9 July 1960:3; ‘Fresh Soviet Attack on America’, *Age*, 23 June 1960:4; ‘Mankind is in Danger’, VPC Executive statement, 5 September 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62; ‘The Bomb, Its Threat and Its Challenge’, VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them’, Rev. Hartley, ‘Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them’, 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113; ‘Mission of Peace and Friendship, Interview with Khrushchev’, [extract] *Guardian*, 12 March 1959, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.159.

<sup>52</sup> Hartley, Bill Morrow, and AEU President Melb. District, Walter Thomas Butler arrived in Moscow on 19 February 1959 to attend the WPC meeting, ‘Australians in Moscow’, [extract] *Herald* (Melb.), 20 February, 1959, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.156; ASIO Memo 3/2/40, 4 March 1959; Overseas Travel Notification, 17 February 1959, all in Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.156; 157; 152 respectively. Regarding details of the WPC meeting see, Circular from William Morrow, 10 February 1959, ASIO Record No 3/HL/B6/441/I, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.6; ‘World Peace Council’, [extract] *International Organisation*, No.99, 1 May 1959, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.22A; see also ‘Mission of Peace and Friendship, Interview with Khrushchev’, [extract] *Guardian*, 12 March 1959, Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.159.

<sup>53</sup> Hartley admitted this much during a radio broadcast panel meeting chaired by anti-communist radio commentator, Norman Banks, and a panel comprising representative of the RSL Victorian branch, John Turner, to answer questions about the current RSL campaign against communism in Australia. [extract] Transcript, Broadcast Radio 3AW, Broadcast 11 June 1962, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.179.

<sup>54</sup> ‘Message to the Summit’, VPC, c.1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.94.



Hartley recalls Macmillan's visit to Moscow also took place during the WPC meeting.<sup>55</sup> Significantly, Hartley takes no account of the British PM's passionate concern to hold a Summit meeting in May 1960, which was a concern of the MacMillan-Khrushchev talks in February, let alone credit him, as some considered, as the Summit's 'architect'.<sup>56</sup>

Hartley's defence of Khrushchev illustrates a willingness to carefully select information which supports his own views and discard those that do not. Not only does Hartley clarify his unreserved support for Khrushchev's policies, he argues that there is a 'moral obligation' to do so – firstly, because he considers the neutralist position 'to be both intellectually and morally lazy' and, secondly, because he unquestioningly believed that Khrushchev's policies were 'for peace, ... disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons'.<sup>57</sup> Hartley's stance was inconsistent with the neutral tenor of the CICD's peace charter, which claimed that culpability was 'never one-sided'.<sup>58</sup> In simplistic terms, for Hartley, Khrushchev's policies are for peace and the West's are for war. While Hartley's paper clarified the CICD's position on the Summit issue and may have been circulated among its membership, the VPC reprinted the Soviet Union's latest proposals for disarmament to help maintain an anti-Western consensus within the peace movement.<sup>59</sup>

The spy plane sensation heightened public interest in the CICD's Summit-eve disarmament rally as well as those held in many of the nation's capital cities.<sup>60</sup> However, the negative consequences of the Summit collapse were soon evident. The breakdown in the Summit talks was followed by a sharp decline in East-West relations across a range of crises in Berlin,

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<sup>55</sup> 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', Rev. Hartley, 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>56</sup> 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', Rev. Hartley, 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113; 'Macmillan to Make Summit Talk Plan', *Canberra Times*, 10 February 1958:1; see also 'Week in Westminster Summit Talks Debacle Tragedy for Macmillan', *Canberra Times*, 30 May 1960:2; 'Summit Sensation', *British Pathé*, [1960] 13 April 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2uuNpesaDP0>.

<sup>57</sup> 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', Rev. Hartley, 'Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before Them', 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>58</sup> 'Declaration of Hope'.

<sup>59</sup> 'The Latest Proposals of the Soviet Government for General and Complete Disarmament, June 2nd 1960: Reprinted with Introduction and Epilogue by the Victorian Peace Council', VPC, 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.42.

<sup>60</sup> CICD's Summit-eve rally and the corresponding rallies held in NSW, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth were reported in the press. 'Summit Sunday – May 15', [advertisement] *Age*, 13 May 1960:3; 'Big Disarmament Rallies in Sydney and Melbourne', *Canberra Times*, 16 May 1960:3; 'Sydney Rally in Support of Summit', *SMH*, Monday, May 16, 1960:10. *Guardian* and *Tribune* also covered the pre-Summit peace activities. 'Hurry – Peace Marchers Call to Summit', [extract] *Guardian*, 19 May 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, [no folio number]; 'Perth, Summit Activity', *Tribune*, 18 May 1960:2; 'Room for You on 'Summit Rally'', *Tribune*, 11 May 1960:1.

Congo, Laos and Cuba.<sup>61</sup> Following its review of the post-Summit situation, the WPC's presiding committee issued its policy on disarmament on 29 May, which reaffirmed its call for disarmament before control.<sup>62</sup> The WPC chairman, J. D. Bernal, warned that,

At this dangerous time the Peace Movement calls on the four great powers not to revert to the methods of the cold war, which would put back even further the prospects of peace and relaxation of tension ... [and] to pursue in all possible ways negotiations already undertaken...on the stopping of nuclear tests [and] on disarmament.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the neutral tenor of the WPC's official statement, a VPC telegram to be forwarded to Eisenhower at the time gives a more precise indication of the peace movement leadership's attitude. It criticised a 'renewed' US commitment to war and arms 'build-up', and charged that such actions 'make crystal clear your aim is war'.<sup>64</sup> The WPC also gave a clearer picture of its attitude at a full meeting of the Council's international committee in Stockholm, the following month in July.<sup>65</sup> Upon his return from Stockholm, Dickie reported that the WPC meeting issued an 'Appeal to the Peoples' to support the Soviet Union's disarmament proposals.<sup>66</sup> A report of WPC meetings and other overseas conferences invariably followed at a large public meeting, usually at Assembly Hall, Collins Street, to convey the direction of the world peace movement. On this occasion, Dickie addressed an Assembly Hall meeting on 5 September upon his return from 'two stirring World conferences' - the WPC meeting in

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<sup>61</sup> 'US Ambassador to Cuba Recalled', *Canberra Times*, 23 January 1960:1; 'Nationalism is on the March in Africa', *Canberra Times*, 18 April 1960:2; 'UN Seeks Formula to Avoid Bloodshed: Vital Meeting to Solve Congo Crisis', *Age*, 9 August 1960:1; 'Civil War Threat Hangs Over Laos, Says Prince', *SMH*, 30 August 1960:4; 'War Says Congo as Belgium Sends in More Troops', *SMH*, 25 July 1960:3; 'Russia Charges US with 'Inspiring Activities Against Cuba'', *SMH*, 20 July 1960:3; 'US Faces Policy Crisis Over Cuba's Seizure of Refineries', *SMH*, 4 July 1960:1.

<sup>62</sup> 'World Body's Call for Disarmament', *Peace Action*, July 1960, 4, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.40.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> The telegram was sent to the US Ambassador in Canberra following the US Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee's hostile treatment of Prof. Linus Pauling regarding his disarmament petition. 'Peace Lovers Act Quickly to Support Pauling', [extract] *Guardian*, 30 June 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.138.

<sup>65</sup> 'World Body's Call for Disarmament', *Peace Action*, July 1960, 4, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>66</sup> 'March and Public Meeting for World Disarmament', *Guardian*, 1 September 1960:1; 'Peace Council's New Call for Disarming', *Guardian*, 1 September 1960:1; 8.

Stockholm and a conference in Tokyo, commemorating the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hiroshima Day.<sup>67</sup>

The CICD channelled considerable resources into sending a delegation, including Dickie, to the Tokyo conference sponsored by Sixth World Conference Against A & H Bombs and held 2-9 August.<sup>68</sup> While the reason for this will become apparent, Goldbloom's original arrangements included the debiting of all six Victorian delegates' fares, but this was later revised to three given likely financial restraints.<sup>69</sup> Contrastingly, the CICD's Hiroshima Day in Melbourne would be a modest affair, although commemoration activities were highlighted by a film screening of *Voice of Hiroshima*, a gift from the Japanese to the VPC.<sup>70</sup> Already a picture is emerging of the CICD's close connection with the peace movement at a national and local level, with fraternal state and local peace groups, trade unions and the communist press; and at an international level, with the WPC and its Presidential Committee members, such as Japan.<sup>71</sup>

The CICD was keen to ensure that it was well represented at the August Tokyo event, which promised to draw significant world-wide attention to the disarmament issue ahead of the next Summit in September.<sup>72</sup> In the lead up to the Hiroshima Commemoration, Japan experienced some of the largest protests in its post-war history, which erupted over the revised security

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid.; 'Disarmament! A Must Now!', VPC flyer, 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A 6122, 1406, f.176.

<sup>68</sup> [extract] *Peace Action*, September 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.215; *Peace Action*, July 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6; ASIO Report, 29 July 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2 NAA: A6119, 4461, f.48; CICD letter, Joint Secretaries Hartley and James to the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, 29 May 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263 Box 43, 1961-62; '20 Million March in Japan: Australians Prepare to Leave for Tokyo', [extract] *Guardian*, 21 July 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A 6122, 1406, f.158.

<sup>69</sup> The VPC paid for PQF's Revs. Brimacombe and Bruce Silverwood and CICD paid for Cr. Nola Barber, the other three were paid by the AEU and THC. ASIO 'Contact' Report, 29 July 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.48.

<sup>70</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/1573, 30 August 1960, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.194; 'Hiroshima Day March Tuesday', [extract] *Guardian*, 4 August 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.191; see also 'Peace March Through City', [extract] *Age*, 8 August 1960:3, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.192. Valued at £100, the *Voice of Hiroshima* film from Japan was stolen from Hartley's car and recovered a few days later, still intact, on the roadway of Wellington Pde., East Melbourne, 'Japanese Peace Film Recovered', *Guardian*, 21 July 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406; according to an *Age* report the recovered film was titled, *The Ashes of Hiroshima*. 'Missing Film on Tram Tracks', [extract] *Age*, 11 July 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.74.

<sup>71</sup> Japan was also represented by 15 members on the WPC Committee, compared with Australia's 6 members. *World Peace Movement*, 202; 226-227; 425.

<sup>72</sup> CICD Circular, 11 April 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

treaty between Japan and the US.<sup>73</sup> As noted, the CICD opposed the treaty and US-directed remilitarisation of Japan.<sup>74</sup> In this context, ASIO sources cited reports from communist press anticipating unprecedented levels of participation in the 15<sup>th</sup> anniversary Hiroshima Commemoration rally in Tokyo.<sup>75</sup> Contrary to the projected ‘millions’ turning out to the event, an estimated 10,000 participated in the 10,000 mile trek from various parts of Japan to Tokyo.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, over the course of fifteen months, from March 1959 through June 1960, an estimated ‘one-third of Japan’s population of 92.5 million’ actively supported protest activities opposing the treaty.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the political significance of the Tokyo conference was not lost on the CICD and 18-strong official Australian delegation, nor Khrushchev, who sent his own message of support.<sup>78</sup>

The increased geopolitical tension following the Summit collapse was a cause of considerable concern in the Australian peace movement, which was articulated in *Tribune* and the New South Wales Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament’s (NSWPCICD) monthly *Peace Action*.<sup>79</sup> As for the CICD, it asked supporters to reaffirm their faith in the CICD’s ‘Declaration Of Hope’ during its first anniversary Congress, held from 25

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<sup>73</sup> A series of demonstrations in Japan opposing a further ten-year US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security, forced both the cancellation of US President Dwight Eisenhower’s June visit to Japan and Japan’s Premier, Kishi Nobusuke, to step down from office. ‘Jap. Students Demonstrate’, *Canberra Times*, 4 May 1960:4; ‘Demonstrations in Tokyo’, *Canberra Times*, 14 June 1960:13; ‘Eisenhower’s Visit to Japan Postponed’, *Canberra Times*, 17 June 1960:1; ‘Japanese Premier to Resign’, *Canberra Times*, 24 June 1960:1. For a lurid account of the treaties’ ratification in Japan’s Parliament, see, ‘Parliament’s a Riot’ (1960), [video] *British Pathé*, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpY\\_CO2Zdhk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mpY_CO2Zdhk).

<sup>74</sup> CICD circularised a leaflet and held a public meeting at Assembly Hall on 5 July 1960 with speakers, Goldbloom, Rev. Silverwood and Acting Secretary of the SUA Victorian Branch, Roger Wilson, regarding the implications of the Japan-US Treaty for the Japanese and Australians. ‘What is Happening in Japan, How Does it Affect Australians?’, VPC leaflet, 16 June 1960; ‘Japan and Australia, Friend or Foe?’, VPC flyer, July 1960, both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.139; 136.

<sup>75</sup> ‘20 Million March in Japan: Australians Prepare to Leave for Tokyo’, [extract] *Guardian*, 21 July 1960; ASIO Telegrams: Scorpion Melbourne 3/3/129, 19 July 1960, both in APC, ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A 6122, 1406, f.158; f.167, respectively.

<sup>76</sup> *Japan, Tokyo, Nationwide Anti-Bomb Trek Opens, 1960*, [video] British Pathé, 8 August 1960, <https://www.britishpathe.com/video/VLVA1QK80XR311LJY8F9418K3I0EE-JAPAN-TOKYO-NATIONWIDE-ANTI-BOMB-TREK-OPENS/>.

<sup>77</sup> For a detailed figures and account of the scope of the protest see Kapur, *Japan at the Crossroads*, 1, f/n 1, p.277.

<sup>78</sup> ‘“Point-blank” Battle Against War Forces’, *Tribune*, 10 August 1960:1. For the delegation list, see *Peace Action* Vol. 1(3), August 1960:2, UMA: CICD 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6; ‘Calls on Soviet to resume “Earnest” Disarmament Talks’, *Canberra Times*, 5 August 1960:3.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Action Call: Defend Peace Work Right!’, *Tribune*, 12 October 1960:3; *Peace Action*, October 1960:1, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6; ‘Uren, MP, at Adelaide Peace Meeting’, *Tribune*, 26 October 1960:3.

November to 2 December 1960.<sup>80</sup> In turn, their unified support for the charter demonstrated for CICD leadership ‘the correctness of [their] policy’.<sup>81</sup> The collective feeling amongst the Congress delegates was that with the Summit failure orchestrated by the US, the Cold War had reached a ‘dangerous stage’.<sup>82</sup> An eleven-point resolution statement adopted at the CICD’s anniversary Congress reflected a sense of the inevitability of war when it stated, ‘lasting peace is not possible while the economy of the nations is geared to the arms race and the Cold War.’<sup>83</sup> Although it is framed in comparatively general terms, the proposition is reminiscent of James’ view that Western economies are ‘geared for war’, and by extension that war was inevitable.<sup>84</sup> The collective anxiety over renewed threats of war, exhibited at the 1960 Congress, were exacerbated by an official announcement that American Air Force operations would soon be deployed in Victoria’s Gippsland region.

### US bases in Australia

In October 1960, one month before the CICD’s first anniversary Congress, the Minister for Defence, Athol Townley, announced that more than twenty US Air Force planes, including three U2 planes, would be operating high altitude research from the RAAF base in East Sale, by the end of the month.<sup>85</sup> The CICD was cognisant of the heightened censorship during the Cold War and that, consequently, they were operating at the intersection of national security concerns and freedom of information. For instance, the CICD considered the Menzies Government’s amendments to the *Crimes Bill 1914*, which were hastily rushed into law, were strategic moves, ahead of the U2’s arrival, to make dissent ‘reasonable’ and to protect US military equipment and bases in Australia against ‘sabotage’.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, the CICD

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<sup>80</sup> ‘ANZ to Mark 1st Anniversary’, *Guardian*, 27 October 1960:1; ‘Unions for Peace; Reaffirm Hope Declaration’, *Tribune* 19 October 1960:5; Interviews with Goldbloom: ‘ANZ First Anniversary Week Preparations Well Advanced’, *Guardian*, 10 November 1960:1.

<sup>81</sup> Goldbloom in ‘Peace Spokesman – ‘1961 Could Be Year of Decision’’, *Guardian*, 21 December 1960:3.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Peacemovement (sic) Hits New High as 60’s Close’, *Guardian*, 15 December 1960:8.

<sup>83</sup> Congress Resolution, ANZCICD Anniversary Conference, 1960, Samuel Goldbloom; Circular, ANZCICD, 12 December 1960, both in Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.66; 67, respectively.

<sup>84</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/638, 22 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.51-52.

<sup>85</sup> ‘US Air Force Sending Planes to Australia’, *Canberra Times*, 7 October 1960:9.

<sup>86</sup> CICD campaigned against amendments to the, alongside and together with, the labour movement in 1960. The bill to amend the *Crimes Act 1914* was passed into legislation within two months, despite opposition from the Leader of the Opposition, Calwell, his Deputy, Gough Whitlam, Cairns and Eddie Ward. H of R, *Debates*, 22 November 1960, 3082; 3083; 3094; 3099. ‘World Peace Leaders Warn on Crimes Bill’, *Tribune*, 14 December 1960:8; ‘Peace Council Calls for Spy Plane Protest’, *Tribune*, 2 November 1960:2; Rev Victor James, [extract] *No More Hiroshimas*, Vol. 8 (8), October 1961, James Vol. 2, NAA:6119, 2176, f.100; Rev Frank J. Hartley, *A Crime to Work for Peace?* (Melbourne:

distrusted the official line remarking that the 180 US airmen to be based in Sale '[are] a rather large team for its stated task of checking the radio-activity count south of Australia!'.<sup>87</sup> Decades later, government records on the U2 operation remain classified; however, US records reveal that the object of 'Project Crowflight' was to monitor Soviet nuclear facilities, using radiological methods.<sup>88</sup> In contrast to press reports, the CICD continually reminded its readership of the U2's connection with espionage, including its role in torpedoing the 1960 Summit talks, and Australia's possible role in future US nuclear-related programs within its borders.<sup>89</sup> The CICD regarded the proposed U2s and US bases in Australia, such as the naval communication station at North West Cape, located at the northern most tip of Exmouth Gulf in north-western Australia, as the inevitable consequence of the Federal government's failure to develop independent foreign and defence policies. It argued that foreign bases would compromise Australia's independence on matters of foreign and defence policy; turn Australia into a military target, if war broke out; and offend 'over 1000 million Asian NEIGHBOURS' who would 'see these bases as a menace to their security'.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, it maintained that the establishment of US military bases in Australia and arrangements, such as the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO), were part of a 'world-wide pattern' that

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Coronation Press, 1960), 1-11; see also 'New Drastic Laws to Deal with Treason and Sabotage', *Canberra Times*, 9 September 1960:1; 'Australian Political Chronicle July-December 1960', *Australian Journal of Politics & History* Vol. 7(1), 1961, 95-119.

<sup>87</sup> *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, f.13.

<sup>88</sup> According to Philip Dorling, the U2s were measuring global distribution and concentration of krypton-85 to approximate total Soviet plutonium production and, therefore, the extent of the Soviet's nuclear weapons inventory. Philip Dorling, "Atomic Spies in Southern Skies: Operation Crowflight—United States high altitude radiological sampling in Australia 1960-1966", *Special Reports*, March 15, 2016, <https://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-special-reports/atomic-spies-in-southern-skies-operation-crowflight/>; 'Revealed: Secrets of the Spies in Our Skies', *Age*, 10 September 2005, <https://www.theage.com.au/national/revealed-secrets-of-the-spies-in-our-skies-20050910-ge0uiu.html>. On the official line on U-2s use in 'weather research' missions, see also Telegram No. TOCAH 14 from U.S. Department of State to U.S. Embassy Paris, 17 May 1960, National Archives, Record Group 59, U.S. Department of State, Decimal Files 1960-1963, 761.5411/5-1760., <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB7/docs/doc05.pdf>.

<sup>89</sup> 'Peace Council Calls for Spy Plane Protest', [extract] *Tribune*, 2 November 1960:2, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.16; *Peace Action*, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, f.6; *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, f.13; 'Australian Military Bases', *Pax Information No.4*, VPC c.1961, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 115.

<sup>90</sup> [emphasis in original] 'Are We to Have Foreign Bases in Australia?', VPC pamphlet, c. 1961, cover page only in APC/ANZCICD Vol.4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.124; for a copy of full pamphlet, see <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000764.htm>; see also *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, f.13; Letter from the Committee Against Foreign Military Bases in Australia to CICD Sponsors, 12 May 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

Australia was following, for 'war-like' plans involving Australia.<sup>91</sup> Thus, while the CICD rejected Cold War rhetoric about the inevitability of war, it simultaneously held that Western policies for the build-up of armaments, for military arrangements, and the establishment of bases, ensured the inevitability of war. Notwithstanding the contradiction between the two positions, the CICD did not advance the widely perceived view that the Cold War could turn hot if the current great power policies remained unchanged and, conversely, that a major conflict could be averted if the world powers opted for cooperation and disarmament. For the CICD, Western policies were driving the Cold War arms race competition for its supremacy in nuclear warfare. During the Cuban missile crisis, two years after Townley announced the arrival of the U2s at Sale, the CICD underlined the dangerous implications of US military bases, and, moreover, it considered their establishment in Australia would make the achievement of a Nuclear-Free Zone (NFZ) in the Southern Hemisphere 'more difficult'.<sup>92</sup> The CICD's opposition to the U2s at Sale marked the beginning of its long campaign against foreign military bases in Australia, under the umbrella of the CICD's broader campaign for disarmament. During the early 1960s, the CICD held cavalcades to the Victorian RAAF bases at Sale, on 27 May 1961 and at Laverton, on 16 December 1962; and supported a national petition drive against North West Cape, initiated in early 1963, to present to Federal Parliament.<sup>93</sup> The cavalcades were organised to protest the establishment of American bases 'on Australian soil and for the withdrawal of all foreign bases, wherever they may be'.<sup>94</sup> Despite the CICD's concerted efforts, the campaigns received limited public support. As it

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<sup>91</sup> 'Australian Military Bases', *Pax Information No.4*, VPC, c.1961, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 115; 'Bases threaten Peace' - Hartley', [extract] *Guardian*, 7 July 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.73.

<sup>92</sup> CICD letter to Sponsors from Joint secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 22 October 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>93</sup> For the cavalcade to Sale see: ASIO Report No. 61/723, 5 June 1961 and ASIO Report No. 61/666, 25 May 1961; 'Big U-2 Protest Convoy from Sale on May 27', [extract] *Guardian*, 11 May 1961:1 all in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.102; 92; 69, respectively; 'Support U-2 Protest Motor Convoy Saturday', *Guardian*, 25 May 1961:1; 'Protest Visit Against U-2 Base', *Age*, 10 May 1961:6. For the cavalcade to Laverton see for instance: CICD letter to members from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 22 October; 12 November and 7 December 1962; Laverton Cavalcade Programme, 28 November 1962; all in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; [extract] QCICD Report from Interstate Meeting, Melbourne, 8 December 1962, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.1. For the 1963 national petition see: CICD letters to sponsors, 4 March 1963 and 6 March 1963 both NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963; Williamstown Regional Peace Committee meeting, 29 March 1963, ASIO Report No. 63/1212, 15 May 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.40; 'Australia, Nuclear Base or Nuclear Free?', NSWPCICD, c.1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>94</sup> CICD letter to members from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 12 November 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

will be discussed in following chapters, on the one hand, public anxiety over developing multiple crises in SE Asia saw Australia adopt increasingly conservative Cold War stances and majority support for US policies in and towards the region. Conversely, the CICD failed to build a broad consensus against Western defence and foreign policies. Although it claimed to oppose foreign bases *writ large*, in its official response during the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 it qualified the claim regarding Soviet missiles in Cuba with an ‘if’ conditional clause, while pointing a stern finger at the ‘almost world-wide chain’ of American bases encircling the Soviet Union.<sup>95</sup> Despite the inherent contradictions in the CICD’s particular views and its tendency for bias, the CICD strategically designed its campaign programme for maximum public exposure and effect. Thus, in 1961 the CICD’s campaign programme focused on the upcoming state and general elections, and sought to promote its policies for disarmament.

### **Making disarmament an election issue, 1961**

By early 1961, the arms race was accelerating and the 1958 test ban moratorium hung in the balance as negotiations continued to falter. Summarising the current situation, a VPC bulletin suggested that an ‘artificial stalemate’ had been reached, halting negotiations on a test ban treaty.<sup>96</sup> The VPC bulletin described the dilemma in the following terms: that the Soviet Union ‘proposes’, while the Western delegates at Geneva ‘insist’, and without a resolution, the ‘French factor’ has entered the nuclear equation.<sup>97</sup> The CICD feared France’s nuclear testing program would be relocated from the Sahara – considered politically ‘too hot’ for France – to the Kerguelen Islands 4000 kms south-west of Perth.<sup>98</sup> The bulletin also reminded its readers that the US had declared that it was relieved of any obligation to observe the

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<sup>95</sup> CICD cited ‘U.S. Bases Ring the World’, *Herald* (Melb.), 23 October 1962 in its press statement. ANZCICD Press Statement, October 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. For a summary of CICD’s statement see: ‘NSW Peace Committee Statement on Cuba’, *Tribune*, 31 October 1962:2.

<sup>96</sup> Verification and inspection issues continued to form the crux of disagreement, and more recently at the Geneva talks beginning in March, disagreements ensued specifically regarding the ratio between Socialist nations, Western and neutral countries in the control organisation., ‘The Bomb, Its Threat and Its Challenge’, VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>; see also ‘Reds Reject U.S. Demand On Arms Veto’, *Canberra Times*, 8 April 1961:5.

<sup>97</sup> ‘The Bomb, Its Threat and its Challenge’, VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*; ‘Hydrogen Bomb Test Planned by France’, *Canberra Times*, 3 March 1961:1; see also ‘Antarctic H-B Test by France Forecast’, *Canberra Times*, 18 January 1961: 8. Regarding French-Algerian tensions during the planned French withdrawal, see: ‘Algiers Tension Mounts’, *Canberra Times*, 6 January 1961:1; ‘De Gaulle’s Call on Referendum’, *Canberra Times*, 7 January 1961:3 ‘Violence Fear in Algeria’, *Canberra Times*, 9 January 1961:1.



current test ban moratorium and that the Soviet Union pledged that it would be ‘compelled’ to follow in the case of that eventuality.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, it suggested, if the Soviet Union resumed testing *after* the US, the US was to blame. Moreover, while stating that ‘all that holds up the agreement is petty and disruptive’, the inference being that Western leaders were purposefully stalling negotiations, because the US planned, in all probability, to break the test ban moratorium.<sup>100</sup>

On 18-19 February 1961, a national meeting of all-state representatives was held in Sydney.<sup>101</sup> The agenda for the meeting, which dealt primarily with questions of foreign policy, the *Crimes Act 1914* and disarmament, was determined by a CICD planning committee at a Victorian state conference and a NSW state conference held before the end of 1960. This indicated their respective key positions in the direction of the national peace movement.<sup>102</sup> A general policy statement was adopted unanimously by the national meeting based on ‘positive’ policies, in contrast to the Government’s current policies, which the CICD referred to as ‘outmoded, negative and dangerous’.<sup>103</sup> The object was to ‘inject the principles of [their] policy statement’ into the general election campaign.<sup>104</sup>

*Peace Action* emphasised that the national meeting would be representative of all state peace groups; however, as noted, the direction of the national meeting was previously decided by CICD and NSWPCICD leadership. Furthermore, before the national meeting, *Peace Action* flagged that the national meeting would make the 1961 Federal election a pivot of activity for the peace movement when it stated: ‘consideration of the most effective forms of action and

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<sup>99</sup> ‘The Bomb, Its Threat and its Challenge’, VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> *Peace Action*, February 1961, 1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6. Eleven peace groups were represented including representatives of four NSW regional peace committee groups including the Canberra Peace Committee and the NSWPCICD. [extract] ‘That they May Live’, leaflet c.1961, attached to ‘Q’ report No. 14256, 3 July 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.127; Report from ASIO Director General, C.C.F. Fry to Attorney-General, Sir Garfield Barwick, 21 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.178-181. Barwick requested the report from ASIO on 14 September 1961.

<sup>102</sup> *Peace Action* suggested the national meeting would discuss foreign military bases, particularly US bases in Australia; Geneva conference talks, stayed until March; movements for national independence in Congo, Cuba and SE Asia, proposed French nuclear testing at Kergeulen Island and a campaign to repeal amendments to the *Crimes Act*. *Peace Action*, February 1961, 1, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>103</sup> ‘Report from ASIO Director General, C.C.F. Fry to Attorney-General, Sir Garfield Barwick, 21 September 1961; ‘Peace Meeting Seeks New Policy’, *Tribune*, 22 February 1961:12; CICD letter to Secretaries of Trade Unions, 29 May 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>104</sup> CICD letter to members, 24 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z260 Box 43, 1961-62.

the co-ordination of campaigns will ...require [the national meeting's] attention. In this connection the Federal election...will have important significance'.<sup>105</sup> For the CICD, it meant making disarmament an election issue in 1961, for both the Victorian State election on 15 July 1961 and the general election on 9 December. It was the first in a series of successive 'election campaigns' organised by the CICD seeking to influence prospective candidates and to ensure its peace concerns became campaign issues.<sup>106</sup>

Three days after the national meeting, CICD sponsors attended a meeting at Assembly Hall to discuss proposals for the 'year's work' that were previously deliberated by the CICD's planning committee, at the aforementioned Victorian state conference.<sup>107</sup> Like the APC, the CICD relied heavily upon the backing of a few trade union officials at the Melbourne Trade Hall Council (THC), such as the secretary Vic [J.V.] Stout, and the loyalty of rank and file from sympathetic unions, such as the SUA, which were 'pledged' to peace.<sup>108</sup> At the Assembly Hall meeting held on 21 February, CICD sponsors also received an oral report of the national meeting delivered by Anderson. Both the national meeting on 18 February and CICD sponsors meeting three days later were convened by CICD leadership to give currency to its views. Moreover, it gave the impression that decisions were arrived at democratically and, therefore, representative of all groups participating in CICD actions. While the CICD leadership invited its sponsors to discuss the CICD's 'year's work', the program was developed before the sponsors meeting and its direction was already endorsed by the national meeting. The outcome of these were also summarised in a letter to CICD members.<sup>109</sup> In this way, the Australian peace movement operated at a national, state and local level, with links to regional and sponsor organisations, as well as the pro-communist international peace movement.

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<sup>105</sup> *Peace Action*, February 1961, 1-2, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>106</sup> 'Peace Issues in Election: ANZ Congress Brochure', *Guardian*, 14 November 1963:3; 'No French Tests: Questions to Consider in Federal Elections, November 1963', CICD Handbill, 1963; VPC Special Election Newsletter No.8, November 1963 both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>107</sup> CICD letter to sponsors, 9 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>108</sup> The ships' unions were among the CICD's most consistent supporters of the CICD and the VPC 'Peace Pledge' sponsorship program. 'SOS', VPC Circular c.1959, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, file 13; 'General information re: Pledgers etc.', November 1961, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1. More than 60 ships paid pledges to the VPC either directly or through the SUA Vic., 'Pledges and Donations to Victoria Peace Council Received from Ships During 1961', NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>109</sup> CICD letter to members, 24 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z260 Box 43, 1961-62.

According to ASIO's Director General, the policy statement adopted by the national committee mirrored a statement from a meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960.<sup>110</sup> Although Spry's report does not accord with the movements of CICD executives in the period, according to other ASIO reports, Hartley was overseas at the time. Hartley attended a WPC Presidential in Bucharest, rather than the meeting in Moscow.<sup>111</sup> In a press statement on the Bucharest WPC meeting held in November 1960 Hartley stated that

It was generally accepted by the presidential meeting that the World Peace Council... encourage[ed] the closest co-operation with all the peace forces in the world that are not linked with the [WPC]...throughout 1961...and even assis[t] other peace movements to run campaigns in their own right – side by side.<sup>112</sup>

The WPC recommendation to support other peace efforts coupled with the aim to make disarmament an election issue saw the CICD throw its weight behind the Victorian ALP's anti-nuclear rally on 5 March 1961.<sup>113</sup> Suggestions on how the CICD might contribute positively to the event were discussed at the CICD's aforementioned sponsors meeting in February, while a CICD circular urged its members and regional committees to give their vigorous support to the planned cavalcade and concluding anti-nuclear rally.<sup>114</sup> The cavalcade in March was a dress rehearsal for the CICD's first campaign against US bases in Sale two months later. The 400-strong march from the Trades Hall to the Yarra Bank rally was led by a giant banner held by Labor MHR's Jim Cairns and Gordon Bryant in a van 'which featured

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<sup>110</sup> Report from ASIO Director General, C.C.F. Fry to Attorney-General, Sir Garfield Barwick, 21 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.178-181.

<sup>111</sup> [copy]Letter from Hartley to Department of Immigration, 31 October 1960; ASIO document, 29 November 1960, ASIO report No. 60/2051, 10 November 1960; 'Rev. Hartley Issues Press Statement on Bucharest Peace Council Meeting', [extract] *Guardian*, 8 December 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.89; 82; 95; 90; 102 respectively. While Dickie usually attended WPC meetings, he was overseas earlier in the year when he attended a meeting in London on disarmament and a WPC meeting in Warsaw, 'Rev Dickie at Peace Meetings in UK, Poland', [extract] *Guardian*, c.1961 APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.193. 'International Meeting on Disarmament, London 13-16 September 1961', UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>112</sup> 'Rev. Hartley Issues Press Statement on Bucharest Peace Council Meeting', [extract] *Guardian*, 8 December 1960, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.102.

<sup>113</sup> In early February, the CICD had been advised by the Peace and Fellowship Committee of the ALP that its annual Atomic Week would involve a rally. It is not clear whether the CICD was invited or if it approached the ALP organising group. CICD letter to sponsors, 9 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic, Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>114</sup> CICD letter to sponsors, 9 February 1961; CICD letter to members, 24 February 1961, both in NBAC: SUA-Vic, Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

a mock ballistic missile'.<sup>115</sup> The decision to join forces with the ALP anti-nuclear rally was strategically effective for the CICD. Goldbloom used the opportunity to promote an international anti-nuclear proliferation petition, which was being circulated by eminent scientist and Noble Peace Prize recipient, Linus Pauling.<sup>116</sup> In comments he made to the press, Goldbloom announced that the CICD had initiated the promotion of the petition in Victoria.<sup>117</sup> Thus the Victorian ALP rally underlined the CICD's association with both a major political party and Pauling's signature appeal to the UN and it was in line with the WPC Bucharest meeting's recommendation to support broader peace efforts. However, as noted, Pauling was guest speaker at the 1959 Peace Congress and the Federal ALP's stance on disarmament, since the mid-1950s, was not dissimilar from that of the CICD.<sup>118</sup> Most significantly, the Victorian ALP's proposal for world peace at the ALP Federal Conference in Canberra, a month later, was almost identical to the CICD's 'Declaration of Hope'.<sup>119</sup> The CICD was inclined to support independent peace activities which were congruent with its own aims and approach to activism, however, it will be shown in this and following chapters that there were limits to the CICD's benevolence. While the CICD supported the Victorian ALP rally on 5 March, Menzies was making his way to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London and coverage of that conference was of great interest to the CICD for its election campaign.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> 'Labor MPs March in Anti-Nuclear Rally', [extract] *Sun* [Melb.], 6 March 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.105.

<sup>116</sup> 'Nobel Peace Fighter Wins Nobel Prize', *Tribune*, 23 October 1963:5. It was Pauling's second Nobel prize, the first in 1954 was for his work as a bio-chemist. 'The Linus Pauling Papers – Two Nobel Prizes', U.S. National Library of Medicine, <https://profiles.nlm.nih.gov/ps/retrieve/Narrative/MM/p-nid/68>.

<sup>117</sup> 'Labor MPs March in Anti-Nuclear Rally', [extract] *Sun* [Melb.], 6 March 1961; 'Labor Party 'Atom Rally' Spills on to Cricket Field', *Age*, 6 March 1961:6 both in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.105-106. See also letter from CICD to the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, asking the union to help circulate the petition. Letter to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, from the CICD Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 24 March 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic, Z260 Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>118</sup> See f.n. 87, p.40 regarding ALP, *Official Report of Proceedings at 21<sup>st</sup> Commonwealth Conference* (Hobart, March 1955), 10-11; 45-46.

<sup>119</sup> A motion to discharge the Victorian ALP's proposal, Item 24 'World Peace', was carried. A motion moved by D.A Dunstan on foreign and defence policy was carried. It provided that all nations have a right to membership in the UN, it advocated total disarmament 'in conformity' with the decisions of the Hobart 1955 conference and that SEATO should be 'replanned' to serve social rather than military needs, ALP, *Official Report of Proceedings at 24<sup>th</sup> Commonwealth Conference* (Canberra, April 1961), 35-36.

<sup>120</sup> 'Conference of Prime Ministers Opens East-West Relations Discussed', *Canberra Times*, 9 March 1961:3.

The reports on the London conference were doubly significant for the CICD. Firstly, the conference's proposals for disarmament, which included a test ban treaty, and secondly, on the question of the People's Republic of China's (PRC) admission to the UN.<sup>121</sup> In the former regard, an unprecedented joint approach by all thirteen nations proposed guiding principles for total disarmament.<sup>122</sup> The Commonwealth Prime Minister's Statement on Disarmament on 6 April 1961 was prefaced in the following way:

The aim must be to achieve total world-wide disarmament .... In view of the slaughter and destruction experienced in so-called "conventional" wars and of the difficulty of preventing a conventional war, once started, from developing into a nuclear war, our aim must be nothing less than the complete abolition of the means of waging war of any kind.<sup>123</sup>

Given the parallels between the aims of the conference with those of the CICD, the CICD welcomed the statement. The disarmament statement supported the immediate resumption of direct negotiations between the principal military powers, including France, the latest member of the nuclear club.<sup>124</sup> In the latter regard, the CICD noted the following phrase with particular interest, which read:

Since peace is the concern of the whole world, other nations should also be associated with the disarmament negotiations, either directly or through some special machinery to be set up by the United Nations, or by both means.<sup>125</sup>

The CICD was not alone in thinking that the London conference was seeking to resolve the matter of China's admission to the UN. Insofar as the CICD was concerned, the PRC's recognition at the UN was central to any international disarmament agreement, in particular, a proposal to extend the Antarctic nuclear-free zone to the Southern Hemisphere. The CICD already noted that the Indonesian Peace Assembly in Bandung, Premier Zhou Enlai, and the 6<sup>th</sup> World Conference Against A & H Bombs in Tokyo supported a proposal to convert the

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<sup>121</sup> [copy] ANZ Congress Press Statement, 10 March 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>122</sup> 'Annex 1: Statement on Disarmament', *Final Communique, Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, London, 17 March 1961*, 6 April, 1961, <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00000297.pdf>; See also [copy] 'Statement on Disarmament Issued by Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, March 1961', NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

entire Pacific basin into a nuclear free zone.<sup>126</sup> However, Zhou Enlai stated unequivocally that China would not be bound by any international agreement without representation in the UN.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, the significance for the CICD of the PRC's membership in the UN. Meanwhile, the Australian press quoted Menzies' statement at the London conference that it was 'ridiculous' that Communist China would acquiesce to any decisions on disarmament without having first contributed its own point of view.<sup>128</sup> Even so, it was a far cry from the PM advocating for China's seat at the UN, a move which the US also consistently opposed.<sup>129</sup> Attorney General Barwick explicitly rejected such interpretations, which he described as 'highly imaginative...inaccurate' and therefore misrepresentative of the essence of the talks.<sup>130</sup> Four days later in Parliament, Barwick added that in retrospect he may have been 'very kind' in his reaction, and in an effort to self-correct, he stated that the press reports were both 'untrue and groundless'.<sup>131</sup> Thus, in a press statement the CICD commended the Commonwealth PM's conference statement on disarmament for its 'realistic attitude', while it pointed out the 'contradiction' between Menzies' attitude at the London conference with Government proposals to extend the scope of operations at Woomera and establish an atomic submarine base at North West Cape.<sup>132</sup>

For the CICD, the 1961 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' statement on disarmament brought into question Menzies' sincerity at the London conference, just as it had questioned the Western leaders' sincerity before Summit disarmament negotiations in 1960. The CICD argued that the Federal Government's decision to facilitate the development of NATO powers' nuclear arsenal on Australian territory contradicted the principles of the

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<sup>126</sup> *Pax Supplement*, VPC, [c. February]1960 UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52; *Pax Information*, No.4, 1961, 5, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 115. A VPC booklet stated that China proposed a Pacific NFZ in 1955 and reiterated the proposal in 1960 while addressing a Swiss National Day reception. 'Nuclear Free Zones in the Pacific and the World', VPC, c.1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>127</sup> 'China Supports Soviet Disarmament Plans', *Canberra Times*, 12 April 1960:3.

<sup>128</sup> 'World Disarmament Discussed by Prime Ministers', *Canberra Times*, 10 March 1961:1; 'PM's Favour UN Seat for Red China', *Age*, 10 March 1961:4.

<sup>129</sup> The US supported the NZ Government's move to circumvent PRC's admission to the UN ahead of the General Assembly in September 1961. 'US Backs Talks on Red China in UN', *Canberra Times*, 19 September 1961:1. In 1962, China was rebuffed for the 12<sup>th</sup> consecutive year by US-led opposition in the UN General Assembly, 'U.N. Again Rejects Red China', *Canberra Times*, 1 Nov 1962:17.

<sup>130</sup> 'World Disarmament Discussed by Prime Ministers', *Canberra Times*, 10 March 1961:1.

<sup>131</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 14 March 1961, viewed 22 October 2017, 146, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1961/19610314\\_reps\\_23\\_hor30/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1961/19610314_reps_23_hor30/).

<sup>132</sup> [copy] ANZ Congress Press Statement, 10 March 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1961-62.

Commonwealth Prime Ministers' statement.<sup>133</sup> In its first monthly newsletter, the CICD called it 'a very fine statement on Disarmament' and suggested to its readership that the statement could be of 'great help' for discussions, and especially in 'examining where our National and Foreign policies fall short of its substance and spirit'.<sup>134</sup> For the CICD, the 1961 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' disarmament statement was a potent source of leverage for its pre-poll campaigns in the forthcoming Victorian State election on 15 July and Federal election the following 9 December. Thus, the CICD referred to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' disarmament statement in its propaganda campaigns, rather than the policy statement adopted at the February 1961 national meeting of state peace groups.

The CICD forwarded a copy of the London disarmament statement to Victorian MPs, together with a copy of its press statement on the London conference, which criticised Menzies.<sup>135</sup> A cover letter accompanying the statement and signed by CICD Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, read:

It is... a sad commentary on the thinking of our community that such a document...was not published by large sections of our press. Nor, as far as we can ascertain, has it been circulated to Members of Parliament.<sup>136</sup>

The CICD challenged the government to take steps to 'contribute to the statement's implementation'.<sup>137</sup> The CICD also asked union leaders to circulate the London statement among its significant rank and file membership.<sup>138</sup> Cooperation with the trade unions was integral to CICD's operation and the slogan 'Peace is Trade Union Business' had become 'a firm basis' for its participation in CICD campaigns.<sup>139</sup> The CICD forwarded the same documents to trade union secretaries, underlining that the Commonwealth PM's statement on disarmament concurred with ACTU policy and was therefore also relevant for the labour movement.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> 'ANZ Congress on PM's Conference', *Guardian*, 16 March 1961:1.

<sup>134</sup> CICD Newsletter, c. April 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>135</sup> Copy of CICD Press Statement, 10 March 1961 and Statement on Disarmament issued by Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference, March 1961 [copy], both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>136</sup> CICD letter to Victorian MP's, 29 May 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> CICD letter to Trade Union Secretaries, 29 May 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>139</sup> CICD letter to members, 24 February 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z260 Box 43, 1961-62.

<sup>140</sup> CICD letter to Trade Union Secretaries, 29 May 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

In seeking to implement positive policies into the election campaign, the Commonwealth PM's statement was the central theme of a CICD questionnaire presented to all candidates in the upcoming July 1961 Victorian state elections.<sup>141</sup> On this basis, and in lieu of evidence in the records, it would be reasonable to assume that the CICD received positive responses to its circulation of the London Statement. The CICD urged its members to 'bombard their local candidates' with the questionnaire, which asked candidates whether, if elected, they would call on the Menzies Government to implement the Commonwealth PM's statement on disarmament'.<sup>142</sup> Despite the Bolte State government winning a third term in office, the CICD maintained the momentum for the upcoming general election.<sup>143</sup> It issued a petition, appealing to the incoming government to revise its foreign and defence policies, and a special election leaflet urging constituency members to 'find out where your candidates stand...before you cast your vote'.<sup>144</sup> The CICD election leaflet also asked voters to consider why Australian and Allied governments refused to support a UN resolution outlawing nuclear weapons on the stated basis that they represented a 'direct violation of the UN charter'.<sup>145</sup> The UN General Assembly resolution was voted by a two-thirds majority on 26 November 1961, 'despite strong Western objection'.<sup>146</sup> The Allied attitude to the UN proposal validated the CICD's suspicions of Western intentions at disarmament negotiations and more specifically that of the Menzies Government. In its strong criticism of the government's decision to reject the UN request to keep Australia nuclear-free, a VPC executive statement charged in part that it was now clearly 'against world opinion on the question of nuclear war and on de-nuclear zones'.<sup>147</sup> While the VPC did not draw any significant conclusions in its

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<sup>141</sup> VPC Circular, 6 June 1961; 'Questionnaire to all Candidates in the State Elections', VPC, June 1961, ASIO Report No. 61/873, 20 June 1961, all in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.113-114; 112; 117, respectively.

<sup>142</sup> VPC Circular, 6 June 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.113-114; Correspondence from RD, Vic. to ASIO HQ, 20 June 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, 115.

<sup>143</sup> 'Make Peace Main Election Issue Says City Meeting', [extract] *Guardian*, 2 November 1961:1, James Vol. 2, NAA: 6119, 2176, f.82.

<sup>144</sup> Text of VPC election petition in ASIO Report No. 61/2525, 16 November 1961; 'An Unusual Election Leaflet Because It Deals with Peace', VPC, c.1961, in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.72-73; 110, respectively.

<sup>145</sup> 'An Unusual Election Leaflet Because It Deals with Peace', APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, 110; 'Peace Council 'Overjoyed'', *Guardian*, 30 November 1961:1. The resolution originated from the Afro-Asian and Socialist nations, which also called, in a separate resolution, to denuclearise Africa. 'UN Outlaws Nuclear Weapons', *Age*, 27 November 1961:1.

<sup>146</sup> 'UN Outlaws Nuclear Weapons', *Age*, 27 November 1961:1.

<sup>147</sup> 'Australia as Nuclear Base: Peace Council on Menzies' Rebuff to UN', *Guardian*, 18 April 1962:5.



statement about the nuclear implications for Australia, the inference being made was that Australia and its Western allies were preparing for war. Thus, it stated that:

The Menzies Government has exposed once again its warlike character. The Government's decision will expose the Australian people to great danger for it means that Menzies has agreed to allow America to use Australia as a nuclear base.<sup>148</sup>

The Menzies Government and the ALP in Opposition represented widely divergent positions on disarmament. However, there were deep divisions in the ALP over the North West Cape issue, which Calwell was keen to bridge but only achieved a two-point majority of support.<sup>149</sup> Nevertheless, the ALP Federal executive declared its support for a proposal to extend the Antarctic Treaty to include the Southern Hemisphere on 4 July 1962.<sup>150</sup> As with the CPA, the CICD welcomed the ALP decision 'with great satisfaction'.<sup>151</sup> Subsequently, the CICD chose to emphasise this positive aspect of ALP's nuclear policy in future appeals to the Government. A national petition was formulated soon after, for instance, by an interstate meeting of state peace bodies that included the CICD. The petition challenged the Government to adopt ALP's NFZ proposal and accept the UN Secretary-General's proposition, included in a letter dated 2 January 1962, for Australia to join a non-nuclear club.<sup>152</sup> While the Commonwealth PM's 1961 disarmament statement was an important document for the CICD, the CICD also referred to the ALP and UN resolutions in its disarmament and anti-US bases campaigns and literature. Furthermore, the CICD criticised

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> On 18 March, an ALP conference voted 19 to 17 approving North West Cape's construction, however, contingent upon whether Australia maintained sovereignty over its operations and access to its facilities. *ALP Official Report of the Proceedings of the Special Commonwealth Conference on Foreign Affairs and Defence* (Canberra, 1963), 15; 17; 36-37 <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au>; Commenting on the narrow margin, Calwell stated that 'in fact' all thirty-six delegates voted for the ALP conditions upon which the base would be built, but needed further 'legislative details' from the Government before supporting the proposal. 'Labor Challenges Govt. to Poll on U.S. Pact', *Age*, 23 March 1963:1.

<sup>150</sup> 'Support by ALP for Conditional Nuclear Ban', *Canberra Times*, 5 July 1962:1. Calwell made a call for the proposal to extend the Antarctic Treaty in Parliament on 15 May 1962, House of Representatives, *Debates*, 15 May 1962, 2318 [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620515\\_reps\\_24\\_hor35/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620515_reps_24_hor35/).

<sup>151</sup> 'Dickie Welcomes ALP Call For N-Free Hemisphere', *Guardian*, 12 July 1962:8; 'ALP Heeds and Helps United Action for Peace', *Tribune*, 16 May 1962:3; 'ALP Call for Nuclear Free Zone', *Guardian*, 17 May 1962:1.

<sup>152</sup> 'Guarantee Refused by Australia on Nuclear Weapons', *Age* 6 April 1962:1. Regarding the national petition see: CICD Circular, 14 June 1962; Nuclear Free: People and the People's Needs, Cavalcade to Canberra', CICD Flyer, c.1962, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62; 'Peace Bodies Launch National Petition Against N-War', *Guardian*, 7 June 1962:8; 'ANZ Congress Secretary on New Petition', *Guardian*, 14 June 1962: 3.

Attorney-General Barwick for considering the proposals of ‘little practical value’ and ‘suicidal’ for the region while Communist China could acquire nuclear weapons.<sup>153</sup> Thus, the CICD referred to politically prominent groups or individuals, where their respective agendas overlapped, to provide backing and credibility for its own peace aims and views. This tactic made sense for the CICD given that, like the APC before it, the CICD was also considered a communist front organisation, either unwittingly, or duplicitously, sowing the seeds of discontent at home to help an international communist conspiracy in a Cold War global struggle for ideological supremacy. Within the ALP, particularly before an election, calls were made to the Federal ALP to ‘sever’ its connection with so-called ‘peace’ groups.<sup>154</sup> At the state level, the Victorian ALP was asked to renew investigations of all those accused of communist affiliations, such as CICD’s Goldbloom and Rothfield.<sup>155</sup> While the CICD associated itself with the positive aspects of the ALP policy to enhance its political credibility – which vexed some centrist and the anti-communist remnants of the ALP – CICD campaigns were also deliberately constructed in association with symbolically important political events, such as the anniversary of Hiroshima Day, to stimulate community interest and discussion around its peace concerns.

### **Hiroshima Day, National Petitions, Cavalcades to Canberra and Aldermaston.**

The June 1962 national anti-nuclear petition was intended to be presented to Parliament the following August. National petitions drives were adopted as part of the CICD’s annual Hiroshima Commemoration program, which concluded an interstate cavalcade to deliver the petition to Parliament House in Canberra. The petitions were given to Labor MPs on the peace movement’s behalf, although Calwell initially pledged to present the petitions to Parliament in both 1962 and 1963.<sup>156</sup> In August 1962, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition,

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<sup>153</sup> ‘Guarantee Refused by Australia on Nuclear Weapons’, *Age* 6 April 1962:1; ‘Attitude on Nuclear Weapons Use Explained to UN’, *Age*, 6 April 1962:9; ‘Base Treaty Has No Veto Clause’, *Canberra Times*, 17 May 1963; on Dickie’s riposte to Barwick’s attitude, see ‘Australia and Non-Nuclear Zones: VPC Reply to Sir Garfield Barwick’, c.1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62; see also ‘Nuclear Free Zones in the Pacific and the World’, VPC, c. 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>154</sup> ‘Drop Peace Bodies: ALP Urged’, [extract] *The Sun*, 28 August 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A 6122, 1408, f.167.

<sup>155</sup> [extract], *News and Views* (Melb.), Vol. 2(1), 1 September 1961, 2, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.170; 198.

<sup>156</sup> ‘Calwell to Present Petition’, *Guardian*, 2 August 1962:3; ‘Resolution Received by Hon. A.A. Calwell Who Promised to Present it to Parliament’, CICD, 15 August 1963 and ANZCICD ‘Cavalcade to Canberra 1963, Preliminary Report’, both in UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 5, file 3; CICD letter to members, 5 July 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963; ‘800

Whitlam, accepted and submitted the petition to the House.<sup>157</sup> In 1963, the national petition was presented to the House by Cairns following the CICD's first Frankston to Melbourne Hiroshima Commemoration march and rally on 3-5 August.<sup>158</sup> Announcing plans for the Hiroshima relay march in the *Guardian*, Goldbloom outlined Frankston's significance as the chosen starting point. He reminded readers that Frankston provided the setting for the post-apocalyptic film, *On the Beach*. The first Australian screening, during the founding of the CICD, was given privately under the 1959 Congress auspices.<sup>159</sup> In addition to its historical connection with these two coinciding events, Goldbloom added that Frankston 'is about 25 miles from Melbourne marking the approximate area of destruction that would occur if a 10-megaton bomb were dropped on the city'.<sup>160</sup> For added effect, the CICD planned to burn an effigy of a nuclear missile at the opening ceremony before the marchers set off from Frankston.<sup>161</sup> The two-day Frankston to Melbourne march became a signature event for the CICD, which continued the relay spectacle for the next two years and revived the tactic in 1975, after the Vietnam War, to coincide with the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing.<sup>162</sup> In the early 1960s, the highly visible 2-day Hiroshima relay march was a propaganda success for the CICD, in that it received mainstream press coverage and considerable political and community support. In 1963, while the ALP and the Melbourne Trades Hall Council (THC) supported the national petition, a small group of 150 relay

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March at Canberra in Ban-Bomb Display', *Age*, 16 August 1963:3. Calwell was recovering in hospital from minor surgery in August 1962 and could not, therefore, receive and present the petition, as promised. However, in 1963, despite new promises, he presented a petition from the Aboriginal people of Yirrkala to Parliament instead. H of R, *Debates*, 28 August 1963, 561, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1963/19630828\\_reps\\_24\\_hor39/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1963/19630828_reps_24_hor39/).

<sup>157</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 15 August 1962, 343, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620815\\_reps\\_24\\_hor36/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620815_reps_24_hor36/); 'Plans Made for Mass Peace Rally', *Canberra Times*, 13 August 1962:9; 'Petition for Peace', *Canberra Times*, 16 August 1962:23.

<sup>158</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 28 August 1963, 561, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1963/19630828\\_reps\\_24\\_hor39/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1963/19630828_reps_24_hor39/).

<sup>159</sup> During the 1959 Congress, the Congress Management Committee held a private screening of the film at the Russell str Police Headquarters Auditorium on Friday 13<sup>th</sup> November 1959 at 2pm, arranged by Stanley Kramer with the help of Linus Pauling. 'Frankston-Melbourne for Hiroshima Day', *Guardian*, 13 June 1963:6; 'Private screening of *On the Beach*, 13 November 1959', *Linus Pauling: Day by Day*, Special Collections & Archives Research Centre, OSU Libraries, Oregon State University, <http://scarc.library.oregonstate.edu/coll/pauling/calendar/1959/11/14.html>.

<sup>160</sup> 'Frankston-Melbourne for Hiroshima Day', *Guardian*, 13 June 1963:6; see also CICD letter to members, 5 July 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Frankston-Melbourne March CICD flyer 1975; and 'Let's have no more Hiroshima's, March for Disarmament, Frankston to Melbourne, August 9-10 1975', CICD handbill both in UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 50, file 62; see also Box 49, file 46.

marchers had swollen to 1,500 when the group arrived at the banks of Melbourne's Yarra.<sup>163</sup> In 1964, the Victorian ALP and Melbourne THC pledged its early support for the Hiroshima march, which involved some 1000 relay marchers and joined by a further 1,000 marchers for 'the last two miles'.<sup>164</sup> Again in 1965, left-wing unions and the Vic. ALP pledged their support.<sup>165</sup> For the most part, the international commemoration event drew support from the political left and their sympathisers, such as, Rev. Bruce Silverwood of the Peace Quest Forum (PQF) who addressed the rally in 1965, while the communist *Guardian* both publicised and reported on the event.<sup>166</sup>

As with Hiroshima Day, the Aldermaston march had universal import during the early 1960s anti-nuclear campaigns. Although the peace movement's focus was redirected from 1964 and during the following decade against the Vietnam War, the Easter march was revived by 1981, taking the form of mass Palm Sunday marches, while the late 1970s anti-nuclear campaign saw as its focus the anti-Omega bases campaign and the prolific anti-uranium debate of that era. Traditionally, the Aldermaston-style radial marches took the form of columns of marchers from the outer Melbourne suburbs to the central city, symbolising the radius of destruction from a nuclear explosion. However, in 1963 the CICD's weekend of activities for Aldermaston on 20-21 April, inspired by Sydney's experience in 1962, represented a departure in Melbourne and was a demonstration of the CICD's organisational network in action. Broadly, they involved activities held in Melbourne metropolitan suburbs:

from Broadmeadows to Frankston, from Sunshine to Croydon, parading ban-the bomb and anti-war slogans on cars and on foot, collecting signatures to the national peace

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<sup>163</sup> 'Peace March, Aug. 3-4', *Guardian*, 25 July 1963:1, CICD Circular 5 July 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1963, '1500 at Ban-Bomb Yarra Bank Rally', *Age*, 5 August 1963:3; '1500 in Hiroshima Day March', [extract]*Sun* (Melb), 5 August 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A 6119, 4475, f.66.

<sup>164</sup> CICD letter to of the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, 22 May 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965, '1000 March to City Rally', *Age*, 10 August 1964:5; quote in, 'Melbourne's 2 Day March', *Peace Action*, August-September 1964, in author's collection.

<sup>165</sup> 'End Vietnam War, Bomb Rally Told', *Age*, 9 August 1965:9; CICD Circular to Members, 24 June 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1965-1966; CICD Circular to Members, signed CICD Organiser Denny Martin, c.1965; '20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Hiroshima: Trade Unionists Will March', AEU Melb. Flyer, 1965 both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>166</sup> 'End Vietnam War, Bomb Rally Told', *Age*, 9 August 1965:9; 'Frankston-Melbourne March for Hiroshima Day', *Guardian*, 13 June 1963:6; 25 July 1963:1; 1 August 1963:1; 8 August 1963:3; 'TV Program Stirs Interest in Hiroshima Day March'; 'Route and Timetable' *Guardian*, 30 July 1964:1; 8; 'The Peace Marathon', *Guardian*, 13 August 1964:1;3; '20 Years since Hiroshima – Big Week-End March', *Guardian*, 5 August 1965:1; 'Frankston-to-Melbourne Peace Marathon Marks Hiroshima Anniversary', *Guardian*, 13 August 1965:3.

petition, and, in some cases, interviewing municipal and parliamentary representatives.<sup>167</sup>

The CICD's decision to reproduce an Aldermaston-style march in Melbourne from 1962 was a politically strategic one, given that it was a potentially significant drawcard for broad support and international publicity. However, it was organised, more often, in synchrony with the NSW fraternal state body as a national disarmament event in solidarity with marches overseas.<sup>168</sup> It received little public support outside of the established peace movement in spite of efforts to involve more innovative practices. Despite the CICD's and NSWPCICD's use of dramatic charter flights, in 1962, to deliver some sixty anti-nuclear protestors to Canberra, there was virtually no coverage of the stunt in Melbourne papers.<sup>169</sup> While this may, in part, be reflective of the limitations of the CICD's publicity and campaigning skills, it coincides with the widely held view, amongst writers and intellectuals of various political persuasions, that during the early Cold War years in Australia there was little public interest in protest politics.

Two issues are evident. First, the CICD's active and continuous engagement in nuclear disarmament campaigns, in conjunction with national and international activities, formed part of a tradition of non-violent activism during the early 1960s. Second, despite some support from the Victorian ALP, there was an apparent lack of official support from broader political Left groups, in particular, from the Victorian branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (V-CND). The Hiroshima Commemoration and the Aldermaston rally, represented a sound basis upon which the CICD could build a broad consensus around peace

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<sup>167</sup> 'Widespread Peace Activities at Weekend', *Guardian*, 24 April 1963:8.

<sup>168</sup> For 1962, see: 'March on Melbourne: be one of millions of world-wide 'Aldermaston-London marchers for peace & disarmament, Sunday 29 April', CICD Handbill, 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1963, 'Aldermaston March Against Bomb Will be Supported Here', *Guardian*, 12 April 1962:8; 'Keep Australia Nuclear Free, March for Peace on April 29', *Guardian*, 18 April 1962:1; '2000 Marched Sunday', *Guardian*, 3 May 1962:1. For 1963, see: CICD Circular, 4 & 6 March; 4 April 1963; CICD letter to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, 9 May 1963; all in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963; 'Aldermaston Solidarity March', *Guardian*, 4 April 1963:3; 'Peace Groups Mobilising for Ban-Base-and-N-Bomb Marches, Aldermaston Solidarity Apr. 20-21', *Guardian*, 10 April 1963:3; *Peace Action*, May 1963:7, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6. For 1964, see CICD Circular 28 February and 12 March 1964, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44, Peace 1964-1965; 'Peace Rallies', *Tribune*, 18 March 1964:9; *Peace News*, CICD Newsletter March 1964, Maurice Crow Collection [hereafter, Crow Collection].

<sup>169</sup> The flights from Melbourne and Sydney chartered by the CICD and the NSW Peace Council carried 26 and 36 marchers representing unionists, peace organisations and individual activists to deliver an appeal to politicians and diplomatic representatives of the four nuclear powers in Canberra on 8 May 1962. '50 Expected in Protest March', *Canberra Times*, 8 May 1962:3; 'Peace Flight to Canberra: A-Ban Appeal by 60 Delegates', *Guardian*, 10 May 1962:1.

issues and new alliances from within the broader left. It raises the question of why the CICD did not join forces with the V-CND in the early 1960s. In this connection, the CICD prior to and after the V-CND's formation in late 1961, offers relevant insights into its particular approach to activism and relationship with the peace movement constituency.

### **Hiroshima Commemoration Day 1961 - a united activity**

In April 1961, CICD plans were already afoot to ensure that Hiroshima Day, on Sunday 6 August, would 'hit the headlines like Aldermaston'.<sup>170</sup> By virtue of its symbolic and global significance, the campaign had the potential to attract generous public support. State leader of the Victorian CPA, Ralph Gibson, for instance, was certain Melbournians would 'respond to the call to march through the city'.<sup>171</sup> Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson proposed inviting diverse opinions to help shape the character of the event in a letter to members,

We are not seeking so much uniform observance as to discover ways and means by which various sections of people may make appropriate contribution within the framework of a united activity for world peace and disarmament.<sup>172</sup>

The notice issued to CICD membership emphasised simultaneously that it encouraged diverse views but Hiroshima Day would be a 'united activity', and in the interests of ensuring a uniform presence, actions would be limited to those it deemed 'appropriate'.<sup>173</sup> A Hiroshima Day Committee (HDC) was formed as a CICD sub-committee to organise the event under the chairmanship of CICD executive Rev. Anderson with the VPC's Betty Little as Secretary. The HDC claimed to represent a wide range of view points in the community.<sup>174</sup> To assist this claim, a HDC circular in June 1961 was headed 'HIROSHIMA DAY COMMITTEE in association with Society of Friends, ALP, Trade Unions, WILPF, FOR, Pacifist Society of Victoria'.<sup>175</sup> Whether these groups were actively involved in the decision-making committee or simply sponsors is not clear. Additional supporters included the Jewish Progressive Centre, whose secretary was CICD organiser, Mischa Frydman, *Guardian's*

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<sup>170</sup> ANZCICD Newsletter, c. April 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A 6122, 1408, f.110-111.

<sup>171</sup> 'March on Hiroshima Day!', *Guardian*, 27 July 1961:1.

<sup>172</sup> CICD letter to members, 11 April 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> ANZCICD Newsletter, c. April 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A 6122, 1408, f.110-111; *Peace Action*, April 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.125.

<sup>175</sup> Letter from Hiroshima Day Committee to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, 29 June 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

Malcolm Salmon, and the Union of Australian Women (UAW).<sup>176</sup> Such groups and individuals were at least sympathetic to CICD views or CICD members.

The CICD encouraged its affiliated regional groups to conduct a range of specified activities in the lead up to Hiroshima Day, namely, debates, forums and button sales, to engage and stimulate discussion in the local community and raise funds.<sup>177</sup> Labor MHRs Gordon Bryant, Frank Courtney and Jim Cairns and three suburban municipal councillors were among a number of ‘contacts’ listed in association with the regional groups for fundraising operations.<sup>178</sup> The prominent community leaders and political figures, provide the illusion of broader support but they were also sympathetic to CICD aims, at least concerning the commemoration. Thus, while the CICD appeared to be answering the WPC’s call, as per the 1960 Bucharest meeting, to cooperate with ‘all the peace forces’, the CICD collaborated with like-minded groups and individuals. Accordingly, news concerning the event was communicated through CICD circulars and leaflets issued to members, or through *Peace Action* and *Guardian*.<sup>179</sup> The HDC appeared to make no attempts, for instance, to print a public notice in the local papers or issue invitations outside the CICD’s orbit, to ensure broader community representation in its decision-making committee. In this regard, the CICD’s desire to ensure that Hiroshima Day was truly representative of the community views, seems hollow although, at a superficial level, it achieved the illusion of broader involvement.

*Guardian* called it ‘the city’s biggest-ever’ Hiroshima commemoration.<sup>180</sup> The 3000-strong marchers commemorating the 16<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hiroshima Day included a motorcade involving 150 or 400 cars, depending on the account, led by a union brass band from the

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<sup>176</sup> ‘City Marchers Remember 16<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Hiroshima A-Bomb’, [extract] *Age*, 7 August, 1961:6; ‘Hiroshima Day March’, [extract] *Jewish News*, 4 August 1961; ‘Hiroshima Day March, August 6, [extract] *Guardian*, 20 July 1961:8; ‘No More Hiroshimas’, [extract] *Guardian*, 3 August 1961; Hiroshima Day on August 6 – Committee Plans, 6 July 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, A6122 1408, f.158; 154; 152; 138; 129, respectively.

<sup>177</sup> CICD Newsletter, June 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62; *Peace Action*, April 1961.

<sup>178</sup> ‘Hiroshima Day Button Sales’, [extract] *Guardian*, 3 August 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.152; CICD Newsletter, c. 1961, As an incentive, sponsors were permitted to retain ten per cent of proceeds of its sales of commemoration badges. Letter from Hiroshima Day Committee to SUA Victorian Branch, 29 June 1961, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>179</sup> CICD Newsletter, June 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62; *Peace Action*, April 1961; *Peace Action*, June 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.124; ‘March on Hiroshima Day’, *Guardian*, 27 July 1961:1.

<sup>180</sup> ‘3,000 Marches, 400 Cars call for “No More Hiroshima’s”’, *Guardian*, 10 August 1961:3.

Trades Hall in Carlton to the Yarra Bank.<sup>181</sup> The CICD equated the event's success with its unified and disciplined character. Accordingly, in his opening address at the rally on the Yarra Bank, Dickie called it a 'day of solidarity'.<sup>182</sup> The emphasis placed on unified action is significant given that the CICD collaborated in the event with like-minded organisations and individuals. Similarly, the following year, the CICD neglected an opportunity to involve broader participation in its anti-US bases campaign.

In early 1962, Goldbloom pledged that in all activities, ways would be sought to give 'all sections of the community the opportunity to participate in such ways that are best suited to their own situation and organisation'.<sup>183</sup> However, seven months later when the CICD was planning its second major anti-US bases demonstration, this time at the RAAF site in Laverton, it appears that the CICD invited only affiliated members to participate in decision-making meetings for the proposed campaign.<sup>184</sup> The first meeting, held on 7 November, decided to hold a car cavalcade to Laverton on 16 December with final details to be notified later.<sup>185</sup> The outcome of a subsequent meeting, held on 19 November, is not mentioned in the records. However, a CICD letter to members, dated 7 December, included itinerary details for the event and it also announced that the Japan Peace Committee had resolved 'to take common action of protest' on the same day in solidarity with the CICD, after it learned about the CICD's plans during a conference in Osaka, attended by Goldbloom.<sup>186</sup> According to Goldbloom, the action represented 'the first occasion on which international solidarity activity [would be] taken in support of the Australian movement'.<sup>187</sup> Also included in the SUA records is a document, dated 28 November, which included the itinerary details and was prefaced in the following way: 'the Peace Congress has announced details of the Cavalcade

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid. These numbers were also reported in Melbourne's *Sun*, but *The Age* reported only 150 cars. 'Police Book MP, Clerics', [extract] *The Sun*, 7 August 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.157; 'City Marchers Remember 16<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Hiroshima A-Bomb', *Age*, 7 August 1961:6.

<sup>182</sup> '3,000 Marchers, 400 Cars Call for 'No More Hiroshimas'', *Guardian*, 10 August 1961:3.

<sup>183</sup> 'Aust. – N.Z. Disarmament Congress Plans Wide Activity This Year', *Guardian*, 29 March 1962:5.

<sup>184</sup> Invitation to first planning meeting was held on 7 November 1962, CICD letter to members, 22 October 1962. For invitation to further planning meeting on 19 November see, CICD letter to members, 12 November 1962, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>185</sup> CICD letter to members, 12 November 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>186</sup> CICD letter to members, 7 December 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. See also Goldbloom's report of the Osaka Conference, [extract] Report of interstate meeting held in Melbourne, 8 December 1962, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.1.

<sup>187</sup> CICD letter to members, 7 December 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.



to Laverton'.<sup>188</sup> It also included a list of seventeen 'approved slogans as issued by CICD'.<sup>189</sup> Contrary to indications that the CICD adopted a democratic decision-making process, planning meetings provided the CICD with a forum for propagandising support for its campaigns, at both the sponsor and membership level, and to ensure that the various organisations and individual members advocated a set of cohesive demands, more often pre-ordained by the CICD and by extension, the VPC. The overall effect was the public presentation of a cohesive and united front for peace. Either the peace movement was not as homogenous as it was designed to appear, or, from the outset, the CICD sought to stem any potential dissension within the movement, particularly following the Soviet decision to resume nuclear testing in September 1961.

### **Campaigning under a Soviet nuclear cloud**

Shockwaves of anger and dismay followed the Soviet decision to break the 1958 nuclear test moratorium.<sup>190</sup> The CICD was also caught unawares, particularly after a VPC bulletin warned earlier in the year, as previously noted, that the moratorium could be abandoned any time by the US, and the Soviet Union would be 'compelled to do the same'.<sup>191</sup> According to Robertson, the Soviet action created 'a crunch in peace organisations in Australia'.<sup>192</sup> For two days NSWPCICD leadership debated whether a statement should include criticism of the Soviet Union before two of its communist members convinced CPA leadership that such a statement 'must be accepted, or "unity for peace" would suffer a profound setback'.<sup>193</sup> In Melbourne, the CICD leadership went along with the official WPC line, which considered it 'deeply regret[table] that the Soviet Government has, however reluctantly, found it necessary

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<sup>188</sup> See document marked 'ANZ file', 28 November 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> 'Monster Atom Bomb Threat Russia To Break Pact On A-Tests' and 'Western Leaders Stunned' both in *Canberra Times*, 1 September 1961:1; 3; 'Strong Criticism of Soviet Move', *Age*, 2 September 1961:4; 'Red Bomb Test Long Prepared: Soviet Hypocritical, Mr Menzies Says', *Age*, 4 September 1961:4; 'Joint Appeal By Western Leaders: Russian "No"', *Canberra Times*, 5 September 1961:1; 'Nuclear Tests Seen as Red "Setback"', *Canberra Times*, 15 September 1961:3; 'Protest to Soviet', *Canberra Times*, 13 September 1961:1; 'Protest Sent to Embassy', *Canberra Times*, 13 September 1961:3; 'World Call Protests On Russia's A-Tests', *Canberra Times*, 2 September 1961:1.

<sup>191</sup> 'The Bomb, Its Threat and Its Challenge', VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>.

<sup>192</sup> Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 46.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

to resume nuclear testing'.<sup>194</sup> In accordance with the official Soviet line, WPC Chairman, J.D. Bernal, explained that in the context of the recently erected Berlin Wall, Russia was responding to the international situation created by NATO-led policies aimed at remilitarising West Germany.<sup>195</sup> The consistency between the WPC's position and that of the CICD Executive was evident in VPC bulletins and in statements to supporters and the public.

A VPC Executive statement was circularised to members, titled 'Mankind is in Danger'.<sup>196</sup> It called the Soviet testing 'a sharp reminder of the terrible consequences of the failure of nations to reach agreement for total and complete disarmament and for the ending of all tests'.<sup>197</sup> The failure of nations, however, rested with Western leaders paying lip service to disarmament negotiations:

Mr Khrushchev has said many times what he said on 22 June 1961 [that Russia is] "ready to sign, even tomorrow, an agreement on general and complete disarmament, with any, the most strict, international control".<sup>198</sup>

In a letter to the *Herald*, the CICD declared its opposition to the testing of atomic weapons 'by any nation'. Furthermore, it continued,

The past 12 months has seen a deplorable deepening of the cold war. We have seen a series of tests by France and now one by the Soviet Union'. ... [T]here exists a grave danger [the] new German Army will soon possess atomic weapons...[therefore] immediate steps [must] be taken by governments and the United Nations to ensure the whole question of disarmament, atomic tests and the demilitarisation of both German states be treated as a matter of urgency.<sup>199</sup>

There are three apparent consequences: first, the CICD sought to minimise the Soviet role on the nuclear world stage; second it adopted the WPC's apologetic stance that the Soviet Union

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<sup>194</sup> Statement by Professor J.D. Bernal, Chairman of the Presidential Committee, World Council of Peace, London, 31 August 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43 1961-1962. See also 'World Peace Council Call', *Tribune*, 13 September 1961:4.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., See CPA Central Committee statement with extract of official Soviet government explanation, 'Why Tests Were Resumed in Soviet Union', *Tribune*, 13 September 1961:9.

<sup>196</sup> 'Mankind is in Danger', VPC Executive statement, 5 September 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Letter to Editor signed by CICD Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 'No More A-Tests', [extract] *Herald*, 5 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.172.

was reacting to West German rearmament; and thirdly, it excused the Soviet decision to the point of contradiction when it simultaneously professed to be against testing *by any nation*.

The CICD leadership found it necessary to include in its statement its absolute opposition to nuclear weapons testing. However, there remained the inescapable dilemma of maintaining unity in the movement, which had long assumed that the US would be the first to break the test ban moratorium. The VPC produced a pair of bulletins it hoped would help to extinguish subsequent doubts about the Soviet Union's integrity. They were enclosed with a cover letter to affiliated member organisations, such as the SUA Victorian branch, explaining that the bulletins provided 'vital background information' of assistance to their respective members.<sup>200</sup> The first bulletin, titled 'No War Over Germany', described Western plans to 'put nuclear weapons in the hands of the West German army, whose generals committed war crimes under Hitler' and the second, titled 'Mankind is in Danger', explained the recent Geneva test ban negotiations failure.<sup>201</sup> While the bulletins suggest a sense of disquiet in the movement following the Soviet action, they illustrate one of the ways in which the CICD sought to maintain cohesion among its membership. Robertson suggested that the NSWPCICD statement, which criticised the Soviet action, 'foreshadowed for the [CPA] the end of automatic defence in public of Soviet or.... any other policy developed overseas'.<sup>202</sup> However, it will become apparent that criticism of Soviet policy in public met with considerable and consistent resistance from within the CICD leadership.

Within two weeks of the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing, the US announced its decision to resume nuclear testing albeit underground. While the Australian government gave its unflinching support, only a slight majority of public opinion approved the US action, as long as it was underground.<sup>203</sup> In contrast, on a question regarding testing by the US in the atmosphere, support dropped by almost thirty-six percent, and disapproval increased by more than forty per cent, indicating that a significant majority disapproved above-ground testing by the US.<sup>204</sup> It could be inferred, on the basis of the poll result, that atmospheric testing by any

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<sup>200</sup> VPC circular, 15 September 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>201</sup> The bulletins are mentioned in the circular. Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Robertson, 'CPA in the Anti-War Movement', 46.

<sup>203</sup> On US underground testing, 46.9 per cent approved; 42.7 per cent disapproved and 10.4 per cent were undecided. On the Government's support of the US decision to resume underground tests see, 'Aust. Support U.S. Tests Decision "Essential"', *Canberra Times*, 14 September 1961:3.

<sup>204</sup> On US atmospheric testing, 60.5 per cent disapproved; 30.1 per cent approved and less than 10 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 152, 29 September, 1961 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 1982.

nation was a flashpoint issue for a majority of public opinion in September 1961. Although this attitude shifted again by April 1962, when, in the context of a growing number of crises in SE Asia, a majority of Australians supported US plans for atmospheric testing, public sentiments in response to the Soviet decision to resume testing were duly noted at a CICD-sponsored public meeting.<sup>205</sup>

Following Goldbloom's return from Berlin and Anderson's from Tokyo, a public meeting was organised by the CICD to receive their respective 'first hand' reports.<sup>206</sup> Speakers included CICD treasurer Hartley and Vice-Chair Rev. Athol McGregor, and was well-attended by between 250-300 or 450 depending on the source.<sup>207</sup> Despite the public outrage over the Soviet decision, in his opening address McGregor made the only reference during the evening to Soviet testing when he stated 'we have the sorry spectacle of firstly France than the Soviet Union exploding atomic bombs and the probability of America resuming testing'.<sup>208</sup> Thus, the Soviet decision was framed in the context of French and possible US nuclear testing. For the most part, the evening proceeded without incident; however, interjections from the floor commenced shortly after Hartley started a collection and when Goldbloom, the final speaker, addressed the meeting.<sup>209</sup> Speaking on his visit to Berlin, Goldbloom claimed that the Wall protected East German economic interests and was therefore 'justified in closing its doors'.<sup>210</sup> According to an ASIO report, Goldbloom

decried the resurgence of Nazism in West Germany, the West Berlin sabotage of the East German economy...[and] rearming of West Germany. He spoke of the East European nations such as Poland and Russia who desired only peace ... [and

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<sup>205</sup> A majority public opinion, 57.5 per cent supported and 34.5 per cent disapproved US atmospheric nuclear tests over the North Pacific at Christmas Island, *aka* Kiritimati. *AGP*, Survey 156, April 6, 1962 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 1989.

<sup>206</sup> 'First Hand Report from Berlin Tokyo', CICD handbill, c.1961, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52.; 'Millions for Peace', [extract] *Guardian*, 7 September 1961, File No. 12/21/9, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122,1409, f.22; 'Important Peace Meeting', *Guardian*, 7 September 1961:1

<sup>207</sup> ASIO Report No. 61/216, 13 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.195; Senior Field Officer, Vic. Branch ASIO, 5 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122,1409, f.42; 'Peace Rally Fists Fly', [extract] *The Sun*, 13 September 1961; 'Punches at the Peace Rally', [extract] *Bulletin*, 23 September 1961, all in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122,1409, f.23; 42; 75, respectively.

<sup>208</sup> Senior Field Officer, Vic. Branch ASIO, 5 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122,1409, f.42.

<sup>209</sup> ASIO Report No. 61/1888, 15 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122,1409, f.24-25.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

suggested] that there could be no disarmament by the East European nations until West German militarism was crushed.<sup>211</sup>

As Goldbloom delivered his precis on the Berlin situation, which justified the Soviet decision to resume testing, he was continually interrupted with ‘ban the bomb’ cries and reminders of the role of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact in WWII.<sup>212</sup> Goldbloom referred to a particular heckler as ‘Jupp’, a Melbourne University political scientist and peace movement critic, ‘whom he claimed had followed him around at other [CICD] meetings’, but Goldbloom continued to ignore persistent questions from the floor on Soviet nuclear testing.<sup>213</sup> Another vociferous interjector, thought to be associated with James Jupp, was ‘punched in the left eye by one of the several bruiser lines up the back of the hall’.<sup>214</sup> A scuffle ensued in the concluding moments of Goldbloom’s address and a man was held in his seat by several others for the final ten minutes.<sup>215</sup> Thereafter, the meeting was cut short with neither questions from the floor nor the obligatory voting on a prepared resolution.<sup>216</sup> In his closing address McGregor simply ‘thanked the meeting for its good sense in the face of provocation’.<sup>217</sup> A month later, and ignoring an explicit UN appeal, Russia dropped a super 50 megaton nuclear bomb, as part of its current series of testing.<sup>218</sup> A CICD public meeting

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<sup>211</sup> Field officer report, October 1961, [date faded] APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.41. For a detailed exposition of the situation in Germany by Goldbloom, particularly regarding West German remilitarisation see: Samuel Goldbloom, *German Rearmament – The Great Betrayal* (South Melbourne: Australian New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament, c.1961).

<sup>212</sup> ‘Punches at the Peace Rally’, [extract] *Bulletin*, 23 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.75.

<sup>213</sup> ASIO Report No. 61/1888, 15 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.24-25; Field officer report, October 1961, [date faded] APC/ANZCICD, Vol.6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.41. James Jupp was a co-publisher with Leon Glezer and the future journalist for *Bulletin*, Peter Samuel, of the socialist quarterly publication, *Dissent*, funded through the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom’s international body, Congress for Cultural Freedom, which also funded the publication of Harold Crouch’s *Dissent* pamphlet, *The Melbourne Peace Movement: A Study of the Policies and Performance of the A.N.Z. Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament* (Melbourne: *Dissent Pamphlet*, 1964), see John McLaren, *Writing in Hope and Fear: Literature as Politics in Postwar Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 91.

<sup>214</sup> Field officer report, October 1961, [date faded] APC/ANZCICD, Vol.6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f. 41.

<sup>215</sup> ‘Blows During Meeting on Disarmament’, [extract] *Age*, 13 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.175; see also ‘Punches at the Peace Rally’, [extract] *Bulletin*, 23 September 1961, all in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f. 75; ‘Peace Rally Fists Fly’, [extract] *The Sun*, 13 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.23.

<sup>216</sup> ‘Punches at the Peace Rally’, [extract] *Bulletin*, 23 September 1961, all in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f. 75.

<sup>217</sup> ‘Blows During Meeting on Disarmament’, [extract] *Age*, 13 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.175.

<sup>218</sup> ‘Russia Explodes Super Bomb’, *Age*, 31 October 1961:1; ‘World Pleads with Soviet to Halt Bomb’, *Age*, 30 October 1961:1.

that evening appealed to the Government to make peace its priority, and was similarly shouted down by ‘noisy’ hecklers.<sup>219</sup> The veracity of the CICD’s claim that it was opposed to ‘all tests by all nations’, adopted in its statement of policy, continued to be questioned.<sup>220</sup>

In 1962, Liberal Senator George Conrad Hannan described an incident involving a small group of youths from the Melbourne University ALP Club that were among 5000 demonstrators at the CICD’s Hiroshima Day Rally at Melbourne’s Olympic Pool. According to Hannan, the four young men carried a placard against tests *by all nations* in the march to the rally when,

after a good deal of nonsense was talked by the reverend gentleman who led the demonstration, and by Mr. Goldbloom, about the iniquity of the American tests, these four boys kept asking the question, ‘What about the Soviet testing? Does not that do any harm?’...the peace movement had to threaten the four boys with physical violence in order to quieten them because there was no answer to the point they had raised, and they were given no opportunity to put their point of view.<sup>221</sup>

Hannan has been described as an ‘unrelenting anti-communist and social conservative’.<sup>222</sup> The Melbourne University ALP Club, influenced by the Czech-born anti-communist Frank Knopfelmacher, a lecturer in psychology, was hostile towards the CICD.<sup>223</sup> The students told reporters during the rally that they had been threatened with ‘eviction and a beating’ if they continued interjecting. Among them was fellow anti-communist Peter Samuel, of *Dissent*

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<sup>219</sup> Dickie reported on disarmament talks at WPC meeting in London and James had just returned from a trip to Japan, China and North Vietnam. ‘Noisy Meeting for Peace’ [extract] *Age*, 31 October 1961, File No. 3/2/176, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.220. On the London WPC meeting see ‘International Meeting of Disarmament, London, 13-16 September 1961’, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1. For James’ visit to Japan, China and North Vietnam, VPC Letter ‘to all States’, 13 October 1961, [extract] ‘Q’ Report No.61/940, 6 November 1961; For Victor James’ report on Japan see Rev. Victor James, [extract] *No More Hiroshimas*, Vol. 8(8), October 1961, both in James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.80; 101, respectively.

<sup>220</sup> ANZ Congress Statement of Policy, July 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 16, f.9. See also 15 August 1962 National Petition Statement which ‘express[ed] the strongest possible protest against all further tests by any nation’, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. For peace critics see for instance Senate, *Debates*, 8 August 1962, 48-49 [http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620808\\_senate\\_24\\_s22/](http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620808_senate_24_s22/); Peter Kelly, ‘Peace Movements in Australia: Jazzing Up the “Peace” Fronts’, *Bulletin*, 23 June 1962:12-13, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 26, file 13.

<sup>221</sup> Senate, *Debates*, 8 August 1962, 48-49 [http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620808\\_senate\\_24\\_s22/](http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620808_senate_24_s22/).

<sup>222</sup> D.B. Waterson, ‘George Conrad Hannan (1910-2009)’, *The Biographical Dictionary of the Australian Senate*, Vol. 3, 1962-1983 (University of New South Wales Press Ltd, Sydney, 2010), 54.

<sup>223</sup> Conversation with Ken Mansell, 17 June 2019.

repute, who was recorded in the *Age* as vice-president of the Melbourne University ALP Club. Samuel described a group of three or four men surrounding the youths threatening to 'kick the [boys] out and bash [them] up if [they] resisted'.<sup>224</sup> If such accounts can be taken at face value, it was indicative of the seriousness with which some CICD supporters treated dissension. Notwithstanding the peace critics' likely bias, the use of force or intimidation to suppress hecklers, condoned by the CICD, was not inconceivable recalling the skirmish that developed at the public meeting in September 1961 involving 'one of the several bruiser lines up the back of the hall'.<sup>225</sup> The Soviet resumption of nuclear testing drew intense cynicism and indignation from peace critics, while within the broader peace movement the Soviet's integrity over its decision was also questioned.

### **Pouring oil on troubled water**

At the September 1961 meeting Hartley flagged the CICD's plans for an interstate car cavalcade, calling for fifty cars from Melbourne to rendezvous with corresponding cavalcades from both NSW and Queensland outside Canberra, for a march to Parliament House and embassies.<sup>226</sup> The interstate cavalcade was the Australian peace movement's gesture of world-wide solidarity with the action of the newly formed Committee of 100 to force the removal of the Polaris submarine base in Scotland. For the CICD, the aim was always to mobilise the broadest base of support, if their programmes were to succeed, and to demonstrate the popularity and, therefore, correctness of its aims.

In a letter from the British Committee of 100, the Australian peace movement was asked if it would join a 'mass nonviolent...world-wide movement of resistance', planned for 16 and 17 September 1961, against the US Polaris base in Scotland and its possible relocation elsewhere in the world, and all nuclear weapons.<sup>227</sup> The Committee of 100's new campaign of 'mass civil disobedience' followed its large-scale, high-profile demonstrations against the base in early 1961, while Australians were learning of similar US proposals for the North West Cape

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<sup>224</sup> '3000 Ban-the-Bomb Marchers Assemble at Olympic Park Rally', *Age*, 6 August 1962:5.

Regarding Samuels and the Socialist publication *Dissent*, see f.n. 213, p.141.

<sup>225</sup> Field officer report, October 1961, [date faded] APC/ANZCICD, Vol.6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.41.

<sup>226</sup> 'Blows During Meeting on Disarmament', [extract] *Age*, 13 September 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.175.

<sup>227</sup> Letter from Committee of 100 Secretary, Michael Randle to NSW Peace Council Joint Secretary, William Morrow, c.1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

base.<sup>228</sup> The CICD responded positively to the request.<sup>229</sup> The proposal's aims and approach were congruent with those of the CICD and its importance for the CICD was heightened by an alleged report that US atomic submarines had docked in highly populated Australian, British and other European ports, despite US officials' safety concerns.<sup>230</sup> Included with demands against foreign bases the Australian contingent, which involved the East Coast states, were calls for a negotiated settlement of the German question and the implementation of the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Disarmament Statement.<sup>231</sup> The CICD began preparing for the Victorian delegation in late August shortly following its Hiroshima Day commemoration. However, owing to the Soviet Union's resumption of atmospheric testing, some demonstrators decided to take their concerns directly to the Soviet Embassy in Canberra.

In addition to an interstate motorcade, the campaign involved a six-day, 192-mile relay, beginning on 14 September from Sydney to Canberra, and co-ordinated by the NSWPCICD.<sup>232</sup> Each of the motorcades from Qld, NSW and Victoria were scheduled to meet at an agreed point just outside Canberra, allowing them to converge with the marchers to Parliament House and embassies.<sup>233</sup> An ASIO report described the event:

The march to Parliament [on 20 September] was an ugly sight. A straggling line of tired and dirty figures, most of whom carried peace slogans in their hands or strapped around their bodies. According to a couple of C.P. of A. members the rally had done a lot of harm to the peace movement. The Party goes half cocked (sic) on these things

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<sup>228</sup> Ibid. The Committee of 100 was formed under the leadership of Earl Bertrand Russell and Rev. Michael Scott in October 1960. The group were also opposed all weapons of mass destructions and mounted high-profile campaigns against police bans. 'Police Warning to Committee of 100', *Times* [London], 25 April 1961:6; 'Earl Leads Protest', *Canberra Times*, 24 February 1961:1; '9,000 Demonstrate Over Plan for New US Base in UK', *SMH*, 20 February 1961:3; 'US May Get Submarine Base in WA', *Age*, 24 February 1961:6; 'Plan for Naval Radio For U.S. Ships In Pacific', *Canberra Times*, 20 February 1961:9; see also 'Polaris Base Report', *Canberra Times*, 24 February 1961:3.

<sup>229</sup> Letter from Dickie, Chairman CICD to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, 28 August 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; see also CICD Circular from Norman St. Clair Anderson, Joint Secretary CICD and Chairman HDC to members, 22 August 1961 in ASIO Report No. 61/2861, 11 December 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.99.

<sup>230</sup> 'Foreign Bases Protest Confirmed by News of A-Sub Visit' – Hartley', *Guardian*, 22 June 1961:3

<sup>231</sup> 'Australian Peace Movement Joins the World-Wide Movement for Nuclear Disarmament', NSW Peace Committee, c.1961, includes a double-sided three-paged 'kit' prepared by the NSWPCICD (only the first page has a folio number) APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.182; 'Peace March to Canberra', *Tribune*, 6 September 1961:3.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.



and all the leaders present were C.P. of A. members or supporters. Bill Morrow, should have known better than to arrange a march when Parliament is in recess.<sup>234</sup>

Although *Tribune's* was a more positive account, the surveillance report stated that as Morrow attempted to co-ordinate a representative deputation to visit the Embassies, an altercation developed amongst the marchers as to who should comprise the delegation.<sup>235</sup> Additionally, Hartley was said to have taken issue with a trade union petition being presented to Menzies, arguing,

“far too many people with a definite political slant are hopping on the band waggon [sic] of the peace movement”. We are split in Victoria over this peace march and I know that there is a strong division here over the march.<sup>236</sup>

Despite CICD leadership stating a desire to involve as ‘many participants as possible’, Hartley felt that ‘too many’ individuals sought to use the campaign for their own ends, and threatened to ‘split’ the movement.<sup>237</sup> While Hartley was concerned about the consequences for unity in the movement, he drew his own distinctions by suggesting that ‘peace became the rightful property of the church and not of political bodies’.<sup>238</sup> This statement contradicted the CICD’s wholehearted support for the union mantra ‘Peace is Trade Union Business’ and its continuous appeals to sympathetic unions for its full cooperation in support of CICD campaigns. Here, Hartley’s attitude suggests that CICD leadership encouraged broad participation and a diverse range of activities as long as they coincided with its expectations and above all supported cohesion within the movement.

In his ‘impression’ of the delegations visit to the embassies, Hartley stated that one hundred marchers agreed by ‘popular vote’ that a message should be delivered to the PM, and that each of the ‘four nuclear Powers’ embassies should be visited’.<sup>239</sup> While writing that the US,

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<sup>234</sup> ASIO Report No. 49627, 4 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.135.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.; ‘Slogging It Out for Peace’, *Tribune*, 20 September 1961:1.

<sup>236</sup> ASIO Report No. 49627, 4 October 1961, 4 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.135.

<sup>237</sup> In a letter, Dickie asked Bert Nolan to send its representative to an organising meeting on the following evening, 29 August 1961. The meeting was held at the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) headquarters in Russell Str. Letter from Dickie, Chairman CICD to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, Vic. 28 August 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>238</sup> ASIO Report No. 49627, 4 October 1961, 4 October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.135.

<sup>239</sup> ‘Australians Act for Disarmament: The Visit to the Embassies in Canberra - An Impression by Frank Hartley’, VPC Bulletin No.12, c. 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.70.

France and UK embassies would only receive up to four delegates each and the Soviet Union, up to sixty, Hartley did not mention that Parliament was in recess, nor the ensuing argument between the marchers.<sup>240</sup> Despite such omissions, Hartley deemed he was suitably 'position[ed] to make comparisons' between each of the four embassies on the grounds that he represented Victoria in each of the deputations, together with a delegate from Queensland, NSW and a fourth representing the trade unions.<sup>241</sup> Thus he was the only representative of the Victorian delegation to visit all the embassies. The following is based on Hartley's 'impression' of the visit.<sup>242</sup>

Hartley regarded the US embassy representative as the least generous and even hostile towards the delegation. The embassy spokesperson 'refused to accept' neither a duplicate letter presented by the Victorian delegation to the PM, on the grounds that it was private correspondence, nor a trade union petition, because it was external to the deputation's objective. Whether the petition was the same document Hartley took exception to earlier, is uncertain, as he also chose to omit that issue in his account. Hartley described the interviews with both UK and French Embassy representatives as comparatively cordial, however, the Soviet Embassy, in the end, welcomed every member of the deputation.<sup>243</sup> Hartley wrote that when he arrived with his fellow delegates, they found Embassy staff accommodated the entire delegation of one hundred crowded into two rooms, and willing to engage with the delegates. After one delegate, who identified herself as a Christian pacifist, criticised the Soviet decision to resume nuclear testing she was applauded by many other delegates for doing so. She suggested that there was a 'certain inconsistency' between her impression of the Soviet Union when she last visited and its decision to conduct tests, 'which jeopardised [their children's] future'.<sup>244</sup> A discussion ensued between the delegation and Embassy staff, which Hartley said made an indelible mark on him personally, and he announced, 'It is quite obvious...that the members of the Soviet staff do not fear the people'.<sup>245</sup> It was equally evident that many delegates wanted to confront the Embassy about the Soviet testing. However, according to the *Guardian*, this was 'all in the spirit of friendship and the search

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<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> The petition was from the Chullora (NSW) Railway Workshop lunch-time meeting. Ibid., f.69.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., f.70; 'Peace Marchers 100 Feted at Red Embassy', *Canberra Times*, 21 September 1961:3.

<sup>244</sup> 'Australians Act for Disarmament: The Visit to the Embassies in Canberra - An Impression by Frank Hartley', VPC Bulletin No.12, c. 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.68.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., f.67.

for disarmament and peaceful co-existence'.<sup>246</sup> One delegate challenged the Soviet claim that 'there [were] no Soviet bases on anybody's territory' – a claim which was denied by Soviet officials. Embassy staff countered that only Soviet 'troops' were stationed in territories outside Russia which, nevertheless, could not compare with the US bases encircling the Soviet. Contrary to Hartley's claim that there were no attempts by the Embassy representatives to evade or 'shirk' issues, here is more than a hint of a rhetorical tactic aimed at deflecting attention from the central issue through an appeal to hypocrisy; a tactic which the CICD leadership also employed in its defence of the Soviet Union. Thus, while another delegate, speaking from a Christian Pacifist standpoint, argued that the Soviet Union should have 'set the example by refusing to test nuclear weapons', some, including Hartley, spoke in support of the Soviet Union.<sup>247</sup> Although Hartley was reiterating the official Soviet line, he declared that he was speaking 'as a Christian minister' when he stated,

We may not like the Russian resumption of tests but we should support their attempt to prevent a nuclear war...[and] we should all read Khrushchev's speech of the 31 August. If I know anything about morality, this speech breathes with deep moral power.<sup>248</sup>

In this way, Hartley distinguished himself from his audience, particularly the Christian pacifists among the delegates, by asserting his authority on issues of morality as a minister, while adopting inclusive language to evoke a sense of commonality with and cohesion amongst the group. He defended the Soviet decision by claiming that Soviet nuclear testing was morally defensible. As a spokesperson for the CICD, Hartley's attitude towards the Soviet action was problematic, given its persistent claim that the CICD 'had consistently demanded the ending of all tests by all nations'.<sup>249</sup> During the open forum with the Soviet representatives the delegates listened to explanations given for the Soviet decision as 'set down in the speech of Mr Khrushchev of 31 August'.<sup>250</sup> By virtue of the Embassy staff's generosity in receiving the delegation, Hartley suggested, 'the little people, the ordinary

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<sup>246</sup> 'Daily Press Blacked Out Canberra Peace March', *Guardian*, 23 September 1961:3.

<sup>247</sup> Hartley mentioned a UAW representative defending the Soviet action, 'Australians Act for Disarmament: The Visit to the Embassies in Canberra - An Impression by Frank Hartley', VPC Bulletin No.12, c. 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.67.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, f.66; 'Daily Press Blacked Out Canberra Peace March', *Guardian*, 23 September 1961:3; see also 'Full Text of Soviet Statement on Tests' and 'Decision Forced on Soviet Union - CPA', both in *Guardian*, 7 September 1961:1.

<sup>249</sup> 'Calwell to Present Petition', *Guardian*, 2 August 1962:3.

<sup>250</sup> 'Australians Act for Disarmament: The Visit to the Embassies in Canberra - An Impression by Frank Hartley', VPC Bulletin No.12, c. 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.67.

citizens of Australia were made to feel that they mattered'.<sup>251</sup> With a 'glow of wonder in their eyes', Hartley wrote, many of the delegates described the experience as 'true democracy at work'.<sup>252</sup> He stated, 'WE ALL CAME AWAY WITH RENEWED HOPE'.<sup>253</sup>

The CICD's willingness to automatically accept the official Soviet line was tested again in 1968. In 1968, the CICD like the CPA, immediately condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in their respective official statements as undemocratic.<sup>254</sup> But the CICD also conveyed its strong 'disappointment', rather than an outright condemnation, of the WPC for failing to take a clear stand on the issue.<sup>255</sup> The WPC and, by extension, the CICD, claimed to oppose unequivocally the intervention by any country in the internal affairs of another; however, according to the recollection of the CICD committee member, Norman Rothfield, it was not without significant debate and 'some strong opposition' from within the CICD that it finally issued a statement condemning the Soviet action and supporting Czechoslovakian independence.<sup>256</sup> Accordingly, a heavily redacted report in Hartley's ASIO file noted that Hartley passionately argued that 'the USSR was entirely correct in its attitude [and] stated that the Central Committee [of the CPA] was entirely wrong in siding with the Czechs'.<sup>257</sup> The CICD also sent a delegation to the Soviet Embassy in Canberra in September following the invasion; however, Rothfield sensed that some CICD delegates were 'affected' by embassy officials' well-prepared and impressive presentation of the Soviet Union's position.<sup>258</sup> It soon became clear to Rothfield that the CICD was 'prepared to go along passively' with the official WPC line.<sup>259</sup> He found that neither body was objective on

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> [emphasis in original], Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Minutes, CICD Executive and Committee meeting, 21 Aug 1968, UMA, CICD, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; 'Why Communists Condemn Czechoslovak Occupation', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:1.

<sup>255</sup> Minutes, CICD Executive meeting, 11 September 1968, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4.

<sup>256</sup> Rothfield, *Many Paths to Peace*, 60. A letter urging that the matter be settled peaceably was sent after much deliberation and different opinions, Minutes CICD Executive and Committee Meeting, 24 July 1968, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3. A sub-committee formed to draft the statement presented by Norman Rothfield and seconded by John Price, Minutes CICD Congress, 21 August 1968, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>257</sup> ASIO Report No: 1551/68, 23 August 1968, Hartley Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 2915, f.17-18.

<sup>258</sup> Rothfield, *Many Paths to Peace*, 61-62. Future CICD committee member, Harry Van Moorst, also commented on the 'good job' Embassy staff did to explain their case to the delegation. 'Frank Airing of Views at Soviet Embassy', *Tribune* 4 September 1968:4. The Embassy visit was reported in *Canberra Times*. It noted that a Czech protest group was not permitted to enter the embassy with the peace delegation. 'Protesters Invited in By Embassy', *Canberra Times*, 28 Aug 1968: 6

<sup>259</sup> Rothfield, *Many Paths to Peace*, 62.

international peace issues.<sup>260</sup> He came to regard the WPC a 'transparent arm of Soviet propaganda that had long lost any credibility as a neutral body concerned with world peace' and criticised the CICD for its 'continuing subservience to that body'.<sup>261</sup> Although Rothfield argued that the CICD should disaffiliate from the WPC, he concluded that any CICD decision to criticise or completely sever relations with the WPC was probably very optimistic. According to Rothfield, at most Goldbloom admitted the WPC had made 'some mistakes', but preferred to look positively to the future.<sup>262</sup>

Rothfield offers one of the few indications that beneath the surface of the CICD some divergence existed. However, according to Rothfield, while some CICD committee members agreed with him on certain points, which challenged the majority view, they more often remained silent. In early 1973, when the CICD decided that it should not affiliate with the WPC, at Rothfield's insistence, it did so with the proviso that it maintain regular contact with the WPC so that it might help to 'eliminate [its] negative aspects'.<sup>263</sup> Ultimately, for both the CICD and the CPA, the Soviet Union was their guiding light. The CPA's condemnation of the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia, delivered by CPA National Secretary, Laurie Aarons, was soon qualified by CPA National President, Richard Dixon, in the following way. He stated that although the Soviet action was 'a grievous mistake, ... the Soviet Union remains the main center of socialism in the world ... [and] of world peace'.<sup>264</sup> Thus, despite Rothfield's position as a significant member of the CICD, the hardline pro-Soviet core dominated the CICD, which demanded a faithful adherence to the Soviet foreign policy of peaceful coexistence and sought to maintain unity in the movement. Increasingly, this attitude put it at odds with aspects of the broader movement.

Despite Hartley's and the Embassy staff's attempt to pour oil over troubled waters following the Soviet resumption of tests in 1961, disaffection within the broader movement led to a call for impartial action against nuclear weaponry. A couple of months later, CICD supporters asked executive members why it did not participate in the recently formed V-CND's first Melbourne city protest march on the 19 November 1961. A reply issued in a December circular stated that

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 64-65.

<sup>263</sup> CICD Notice: 'CICD decided that it should not affiliate with the WPC', February 1973, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4.

<sup>264</sup> 'Public Protest Does Not Make CPA Anti-Soviet: Dixon', *Tribune*, 11 September 1968:4

the Committee (sic) for Nuclear Disarmament approached us regarding taking part in this march and we replied accepting. A second letter asked that we carry signs ONLY on the question of [nuclear] tests and NOT on General disarmament, as slogans on the latter would be considered a breach of faith. A special Executive meeting decided to participate, even on this limited basis... That evening a phone call informed our Secretary that the invitation had been withdrawn by the N.C.D (sic) because two groups, the Jewish Bund and the ALP Club, had refused to march if the VPC or [the CICD] did. We had therefore no option but to cancel our arrangements for participation as far as possible.<sup>265</sup>

The protest march called for 'dispassionate objective thought and action against nuclear armaments'.<sup>266</sup> In his address at the concluding rally, guest speaker Jim Cairns declared that he was speaking in opposition to nuclear armaments and 'particularly against the Soviet resumption of tests'.<sup>267</sup> He argued that a point had been reached where diametrically opposed movements of 'dogma and intolerance' threatened all humanity.<sup>268</sup> Consequently, he expressed the need for an organisation which represented 'the independent thought of those who were committed to neither the Capitalist nor Communist viewpoints'.<sup>269</sup> Here, Cairns' position was completely at odds with that of the CICD, which failed to categorically denounce the Soviet decision to break the test ban moratorium and argued that the Soviet action was morally justified. Another prominent personality and former peace council supporter, Rev. A. H. Wood, also criticised the Soviet Union and warned that 'America will make the greatest mistake in its history if it continues to follow Russia's bad example'.<sup>270</sup> While it was a significant blow for the CICD to be sidelined in this manner, it would have been an uneasy alliance, given the anti-Soviet views expressed in the V-CND's protest. While the V-CND was inspired by the British CND's 'unilateralist' disarmament position, the V-CND was also inspired by its organisation's opposition to the resumption of

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<sup>265</sup> 'City March', [extract] VPC Circular, 3 December 1961, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.90 [emphasis in original]; see also RD, Vic. to ASIO HQ, December 1961, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.91. The CND group was the Victorian Campaign (not Committee) for Nuclear Disarmament (V-CND) as indicated in a photo of a banner at the march. 'Bomb Protest', [extract] Sun, 20 November 1961, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.74.

<sup>266</sup> 'Bomb Protestors Call for Thought', *Age*, 20 November 1961:9.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*; see also 'Bomb Protest', [extract] *Sun*, 20 November 1961, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.74.

<sup>268</sup> 'Bomb Protestors Call for Thought', *Age*, 20 November 1961:9, APC, ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.74.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

atmospheric tests by the USSR and the CICD's pro-Soviet biases.<sup>271</sup> Robertson suggested that the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing ended the peace movement's automatic defence of the Soviet Union. However, it is clear that the CICD continued to justify the Soviet action and, therefore, aspects of the broader movement continued to question the integrity of the CICD's official position that it was against all testing. As previously noted, the CICD reacted similarly more than a year later when it immediately denied US reports about Soviet missile bases in Cuba and then attempted to discredit the US by charging them with hypocrisy without directly refuting or disproving their argument.<sup>272</sup> Thus, two years later in 1963, the V-CND Easter disarmament march under the slogan 'Say No to Exmouth Gulf' was held synchronously with the Aldermaston march in England, rather than with the 'Aldermaston Solidarity' activities conducted over an entire weekend and organised by the CICD.<sup>273</sup> In this connection, *Guardian's* announcement is a curious example of journalistic creativity in its aim to suggest that Melbourne peace groups were mobilizing in solidarity, given that V-CND rally was held on Easter Monday 15 April and the CICD rally was held after Easter on 20-21 April 1963.<sup>274</sup>

While it will become clear in Chapter 5 that V-CND members reviewed their attitude towards the CICD during the Vietnam campaign, the CICD's relationship with Cairns did not appear to have suffered in any significant way after the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing. At the time Cairns was, nevertheless, Secretary of the CICD Richmond local peace committee.<sup>275</sup> After the general election in December 1961, Cairns was a leading spokesperson at CICD's first Aldermaston solidarity march on 29 April 1962, less than six months later.<sup>276</sup> Although the *Bulletin* persisted with the suggestion that the CICD had lost favour with the ALP,

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<sup>271</sup> Summy, 'A Study of Dissent', 172; Conversation with Ken Mansell, 17 June 2019.

<sup>272</sup> [emphasis added] CICD letter to members from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 12 November 1962; CICD cited 'U.S. Bases Ring the World', *Herald* (Melb.), 23 October 1962 in its press statement. ANZCICD Press Statement, October 1962, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. For a summary of CICD's statement, 'ANZ Peace Congress Statement', *Tribune*, 31 October 1962:2.

<sup>273</sup> 'Peace Groups Mobilising for Ban-Base-and-N-Bomb-Marches: Aldermaston Solidarity, Apr. 20-21', *Guardian*, 10 April 1963:3.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>275</sup> Letter from Richmond Regional Peace Committee, signed under the name of J. F. Cairns (MHR), Secretary Richmond Regional Committee to the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, 29 September 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>276</sup> 'March on Melbourne', CICD Poster, c. 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963; 'Bomb Protests at Big Rally', *Age*, 30 April 1962:3; 'Front Men for the 'Peace Council'', [extract] *News Weekly*, 2 May 1962, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.153. '2,000 Marched Sunday', *Guardian*, 3 May 1962:1.

Cairns' decision to 'unofficially' withdraw as speaker at the anti-US bases rally at Laverton in December 1962, was in all likelihood influenced by the ALP Federal Executive's decision to give US plans for the North West Cape naval communications base, its conditional support.<sup>277</sup> Neither the ALP, nor Cairns for that matter went as far left as the CICD on either the North West Cape question, nor the related issue of Australia's alliance with the US, which the ALP and Cairns continued to support throughout the 1960s.<sup>278</sup> Nevertheless, the CICD accepted Cairns' qualified support.

As we have seen, the Soviet decision to resume atmospheric testing aroused public hostility towards the CICD and led to tensions within the established movement, which CICD sought to contain. Thus, the Soviet commitment to the 1963 Limited (or partial) Test Ban Treaty (LTBT), was duly welcomed by the CICD. It was not as problematic for the CICD to declare its opposition to tests 'by any nation' as it was days after the Soviet resumed its nuclear testing program.<sup>279</sup> However, the Treaty was not universally supported and, furthermore, there was some hostility towards it. On the one hand, there was French resistance to the agreement ahead of proposed testing in the Pacific, which threatened to undermine the Treaty; on the other, the negative attitude of the PRC was emblematic of broader political tensions that also affected the unity of the peace movement.

### **Limited Test Ban Treaty– the danger of disunity**

The LTBT, enacted on 10 October 1963, prohibited tests in the atmosphere, outer space and beneath the sea surface. The agreement had been under negotiation by the US, Soviet and UK representatives since the previous July. The CICD included with its 1962 national petition a copy of an eight-neutral nations memorandum, submitted to the 17-nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva, which sought to provide a basis for negotiating a test ban treaty

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<sup>277</sup> 'The Passing of the 'Peace Fronts', [extract] *Bulletin*, 22 December 1962, Goldbloom Vol. 3, NAA: A6119 4474, f.148; 'Beware!!! Oppose Foreign Military Bases in Australia', CICD flyer, c.1962, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, file 14.

<sup>278</sup> *ALP Official Report of the Proceedings of the 27th Commonwealth Conference and Special Conference held at the Hotel Australia* (Adelaide, 31 August 1967), 19, [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1497218/upload\\_binary/1497218.pdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1497218/upload_binary/1497218.pdf); Kuhn, 'The Australian Left', 168.

<sup>279</sup> *Peace News*, CICD Newsletter, December 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 54, file 98. The following statement was given to the *Age* and *Sun* on the 18 October 1964, CICD Press Statement, [18]19 October 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44, Peace 1964-1965; ASIO Report No. 2383/64, 12 November 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.51.



agreement.<sup>280</sup> As negotiations developed, the CICD released a press statement praising the progress:

The current negotiations for a Test Ban Treaty being conducted between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union appear to be following a path which encourages hope for successful conclusion...All people of Goodwill will recognise and applaud the significant developments involved in the Soviet Union agreeing in principal (sic) to on-site inspection and America's suspension of underground tests ... A Test Ban Treaty would open up new prospects for General and Complete Disarmament under Control.<sup>281</sup>

The CICD hailed the treaty, which was signed almost 18 years to the day of the atomic bombing on Hiroshima, as 'the first major break-through' in disarmament negotiations.<sup>282</sup> Two days after the signing on 5 August 1963, a CICD Assembly Hall meeting addressed by Cairns, Myra Roper, Professor Mohr and union officials celebrated the achievement, but the occasion was also marked by strong condemnation of the French nuclear policy and vigorous calls for the recognition of the PRC and its restoration in the UN. For the CICD and the peace movement, the LTBT was the first step of many.<sup>283</sup> The threat of nuclear war still existed, not all countries had ratified it (including the PRC and France) and underground tests, exempt from the Treaty, was still continued.<sup>284</sup> A regional committee secretary and union worker, Harry Mitchell, warned that currently, a foremost concern for the peace movement was the proposed French nuclear tests in the Pacific.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> The eight neutral nations at the 17-nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva associated with the memo, were Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic. 'Test Ban Treaty: [copy] 8 Neutral Nation Memorandum of 16 April 1962, Tabled at Geneva Disarmament Conference' and 'Resolution: National Campaign to Canberra, 15 August 1962' both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, 1961-1962.

<sup>281</sup> CICD Press Statement, c. 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>282</sup> 'Current Digest on French Nuclear Test in the Pacific', ANZCICD, c.1963, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 47, file 6.

<sup>283</sup> 'Public Meeting Hails Test Ban Treaty – Cairns in Call for China Recognition', *Guardian*, 15 August 1963:7; 'A Step in the Right Direction', *Guardian*, 22 August 1963:3.

<sup>284</sup> 'Current Digest on French Nuclear Test in the Pacific', ANZCICD, c.1963, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 47, file 6; 'An Interstate Consultation of Representatives of State and Disarmament Committees', ASIO Report No. 5549/63, 29 November 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.81-85.

<sup>285</sup> 'Peace News', CICD Newsletter, September 1963, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, file 13. Harry Mitchell was the CICD's Southern Regional Committee Secretary and former partner of CICD office worker and future general secretary, Pauline Mitchell.

In April 1963, the press reported that work to establish a French nuclear test base at Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific had begun, despite official denials.<sup>286</sup> In a digest dedicated to the subject, a CICD booklet expressed concerns that the French Government was ‘ignoring world opinion’ and the test site was only 4,400 miles east of Australia.<sup>287</sup> The CICD argued the projected French tests in the Pacific posed an environmental risk, and that any new series of atmospheric testing could imperil the continued ‘implementation’ of the Treaty by

causing any one of the signatories to invoke Article IV of the Treaty – which states that a country has the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that its interests or security is jeopardised.<sup>288</sup>

For the CICD, the LTBT was an important, albeit partial, measure without which its hopes for both a nuclear-free Pacific and a comprehensive ban would be dashed.<sup>289</sup> Thus, the irony was not lost on Dickie when Attorney-General Barwick expressed concerns that the French precedent could provide a pretext for other countries, such as the PRC, not to sign.<sup>290</sup> Dickie countered that China did not require such a ‘pretext’ when exclusionary policies have denied it a place in the UN and ‘contributed to fears for her own safety’.<sup>291</sup> For Dickie, it was a case in point. Thus, while encouraging the protest by Barwick against the French nuclear testing plans in the South Pacific, CICD strongly argued, as noted earlier, that the PRC’s admission to the UN was a prerequisite for the success of any disarmament or NFZ agreement.<sup>292</sup> While there was a growing sense of disquiet in the peace movement regarding China’s negative attitude towards the LTBT, it felt that the French, by virtue of its membership in the UN, could be brought to heel through the machinery of the UN, and public pressure.<sup>293</sup> However,

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<sup>286</sup> ‘Work Starts on Pacific Blast Site’, *Canberra Times*, 20 April 1963:3; ‘For French Atom Force’, *Canberra Times*, 11 April 1963:5; ‘French Are Silent on Pacific H-Test Plans’, *Age*, 6 April 1963:4.

<sup>287</sup> ‘Current Digest on French Nuclear Test in the Pacific’ ANZCICD, c.1963, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 47, file 6.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.; ‘French Nuclear Weapons Tests – a danger to health; a threat to the PTBT’, VPC, December 1963; ‘Special Election Newsletter No.8’, VPC, November 1963, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>289</sup> ‘Current Digest on French Nuclear Test in the Pacific’ ANZCICD, c.1963, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 47, file 6.

<sup>290</sup> ‘French Attacked on Pacific Bomb Tests’, *Age*, 16 August 1963:3; ‘Ban Treaty ‘Threat’ by French’, *Canberra Times*, 11 September 1963:3.

<sup>291</sup> CICD letter to *Age* Editor, 10 September 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>292</sup> ‘No French Tests, China in UN’ – ANZ Congress’, *Guardian*, 19 September 1963:3.

<sup>293</sup> The CICD urged members to support the Government’s efforts to stop the French tests by writing letters to G.E. Barwick, the Minister of External Affairs, Parliament House in Canberra and the French Embassy. *Peace News*, CICD Southern Regional Committee Newsletter, August 1963, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 59, file 14. Similarly concerned that the Chinese action would ‘undermine’ the LTBT, the V-CND urged the Australian Government to initiate discussions for a

the LTBT appeared to have pushed France towards seeking rapprochement with the PRC. By September 1963, President De Gaulle was pursuing the possibility of normalising relations with China – which shared with France a readiness to oppose US-Soviet hegemony, particularly on the issue of nuclear weapons – to principally strengthen France’s position against the Soviet Union and in Asia.<sup>294</sup> Nevertheless, the notion that France must be forced to ratify the LTBT through public and political pressure was reinforced by the Chairman of the WPC Presidential Committee, J.D. Bernal in his address at a WPC conference in Vienna, September 1963, which also discussed China’s attitude to the Treaty. Thereafter, Bernal’s address was also conveyed the following month to an interstate consultation of state peace and disarmament committee representatives in Sydney on 5 October 1963.<sup>295</sup>

At the interstate conference, Dickie delivered Bernal’s address.<sup>296</sup> It referred to France’s opposition to the LTBT and suggested that public opinion could compel France to agree, as it had forced the Soviet Union ‘into a position where they...had to accept the Treaty’.<sup>297</sup> Bernal added that the Soviets had ‘accepted the conditions of the Treaty... in the past... and then withdrawn’.<sup>298</sup> Bernal’s comments bring into question CICD’s support of the Soviets’ repeated claim that it was ‘ready to sign .... an agreement on general and complete disarmament, with any, the most strict, international control’, immediately.<sup>299</sup> Furthermore, his comments provide a nuanced interpretation of CICD’s public statement, specifically, when it ‘applaud[ed] the significant developments’ involved in the Soviet Union accepting

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nuclear-free Pacific and to support the PRC’s admission to the UN. ‘The Chinese Bomb’, V-CND leaflet c. 1964, Ken Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>294</sup> Diplomatic relations between France and China were established and announced on 27 January 1964, making France the first Western country to recognise the PRC. Garret Joseph Martin, *General De Gaulle’s Cold War: Challenging American Hegemony, 1963-68* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013), 56; see also ‘De-Gaulle-Kennedy Meeting: Cautious Feelers Are Out’, *Canberra Times*, 30 July 1963:2

<sup>295</sup> Barring WA, all states were represented at the meeting. Victoria was represented by Revs. Dickie and Hartley, Goldbloom and Betty Little. Trade Union and Party members such as Freda Brown also attended. ‘An Interstate Consultation of Representatives of State and Disarmament Committees’, ASIO Report No. 5549/63, 29 November 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.81-85 [copy in Hartley Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 1104, f.89-93].

<sup>296</sup> ‘An Interstate Consultation of Representatives of State and Disarmament Committees’, ASIO Report No. 5549/63, 29 November 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.85.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.* f.84.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>299</sup> ‘Mankind is in Danger’, VPC Executive statement, 5 September 1961, NBAC: SUA-Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-62. See also Soviet government willing to exclude small explosions from treaty, ‘The Bomb, Its Threat and its Challenge’, VPC Bulletin No.4, 1961, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000799.htm>; ‘Disarmament Challenge by Khrushchev’, *Canberra Times*, 9 July 1960:3; ‘Fresh Soviet Attack on America’, *Age*, 23 June 1960:4.

the terms of the LTBT, and suggests that CICD was aware of the Soviet Union's reluctance to signing.<sup>300</sup>

On China, Bernal wrote, it 'has been excluded from her rightful place' in the UN by the US, and by implication, it could not be expected to comply.<sup>301</sup> Although the Treaty was 'not uniformly supported', Bernal urged peace workers to 'press on' for its world-wide adoption.<sup>302</sup> Thus, while there were 'some differences of opinion...[and] opposition' to the Treaty, Bernal stressed that

there must be no disputes at the core of the Peace Groups, as this would be dangerous... We must not denounce any agreement which is not complete, but work towards a complete agreement.<sup>303</sup>

In light of the emphasis Bernal placed on unity in the peace movement, the conference decided that the policies adopted by the peace movement 'must be decided by the World Congress', that is, the WPC.<sup>304</sup> Thus, the emphasis CICD placed on unity was equally valued by the WPC, the organising body of the international peace movement.

In other comments on China made at the meeting, Bill Gollan called China 'the only stumbling block', while Dickie commented that he '[could] not understand the Chinese stand' against the Treaty and added that the WPC questioned 'the timing of activities in China'.<sup>305</sup> An editorial published in the *Bulletin of the WPC* strongly criticised China's 'all or nothing formula [and its] attempt to denigrate the treaty'.<sup>306</sup> In essence, the conference felt that China was not sufficiently progressive in its outlook. The meeting of state and disarmament committees decided that 'in China, Imperialism has not changed to any great extent'.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> CICD Press Statement, c. 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>301</sup> 'An Interstate Consultation of Representatives of State and Disarmament Committees', ASIO Report No. 5549/63, 29 November 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.84.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., f.83.

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., f.82-83. In 1963 William 'Bill' Gollan had been a member of the Central Committee of the CPA for two decades and a member of the Political Committee from the early 1960s. John Murphy, 'Loyalty and the Communists: An Interview with Bill Golan', *Labour History* 66 (1994), 114-115.

<sup>306</sup> 'World Peace Council Criticises Chinese Leaders', *Guardian*, 29 August 1963:5.

<sup>307</sup> 'An Interstate Consultation of Representatives of State and Disarmament Committees', ASIO Report No. 5549/63, 29 November 1963, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.83.

Nearing the end of 1963, the WPC held a meeting at Warsaw attended by Hartley.<sup>308</sup> It pointed to the 'danger of disunity' by stating that

a crisis within the peace has occurred by differing attitudes. Our Chinese friends make no secret of the fact that they regard the Treaty as a fraud ... if any peace worker is unaware of the dangers to peace emphasised by the Chinese, then of course their protest is more than justified...the Chinese say...[the Treaty] is a step in the wrong direction...the WPC however, say very strongly that the [Treaty] is a first step in the direction of disarmament and peace.<sup>309</sup>

For the WPC, constant vigilance would, in turn, negate the 'dangers' China referred to and, therefore, called for unity in support of the Treaty. Concerns in the peace movement regarding China's hostile attitude towards the LTBT were reflective of broader political tensions that led to the Sino-Soviet split. China was openly critical of, for instance, Khrushchev's 'secret speech', the Soviet notion of peaceful transition to socialism, its rapprochement with Tito and the US, its concessions during the Cuban crisis in 1962 and for signing the LTBT.<sup>310</sup> The growing discord between the dominant communist parties had a flow-on effect in the CPA, leading to schisms, defections and expulsions. Accordingly, these tensions were also evident in CICD.

### **CICD and the pro-Peking group**

In his September 1964 pamphlet *The Peace Racket* on the communist-led Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (ACICD), held in Sydney, October 25-30, Frederick Charles Wells wrote that James, founding member and VPC executive, led a 'breakaway' pro-Peking group with the formation of the Asian and Pacific Liaison Committee.<sup>311</sup> According to ASIO records, James was recorded as a foundation member and

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<sup>308</sup> 'Warsaw, November-December 1963' lift out in Christmas Bulletin, VPC, 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> 'Red China Admits Soviet Split', *Canberra Times*, 15 October 1963:5; 'Plan to Settle Sino-Soviet Rift', *Canberra Times*, 7 October 1963:7; 'Major Speech on World Affairs, Khrushchev Defends His Cuba Policy', *Canberra Times*, 14 December 1962:20; 'Red Delegates Split Openly', *Canberra Times*, 5 December 1962:1; 'Red Chinese Brand Khrushchev As Traitor to Cause', *Canberra Times*, 15 November 1962:6; 'China Accused of Widening Split with Russia', *Age*, 15 July 1963:4.

<sup>311</sup> Wells, *Peace Racket*, 21; 23. Wells was a former member of the CPA and his statements were considered an authoritative source on the CPA's activities. However, his security file suggests that his writing was assisted by sources within the CPA and ASIO. Wells had been writing against the CPA since February 1962, after leaving in 1960, and was investigated by the Party who suspected he might be 'a security agent'. Therefore, when CPA leader Ralph Gibson learned that the pamphlet was

a Vice-Chairman of the Asian and Pacific Peace Liaison Committee, with Betty Little as Secretary.<sup>312</sup> The Committee was formed in Melbourne on 19 May 1964, as a CPA Marxist-Leninist (M-L) peace organisation; it was a manifest result of the split in the world communist movement.<sup>313</sup>

The Sino-Soviet split by 1963 was the culmination of the gradual worsening of relations between the Soviet Union and the PRC. By July 1960, Soviet advisers were withdrawn from the PRC.<sup>314</sup> Essentially, the Soviet Union held that 'peaceful coexistence' between the socialist and Western blocs should be the fundamental strategy of foreign policy while PRC leadership held that the Soviet doctrine of rapprochement with the West was impeding the world revolution.<sup>315</sup> The theory of Marxism-Leninism was adapted by Chinese communism

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delivered 'to all Head teachers' he referred to Wells as a 'scoundrel'. RD NSW to ASIO HQ, 27 February 1962; Director General to RD NSW, February 1962; ASIO Report No. 12098, 1 May 1962; Ralph Gibson and Judah Waten, ASIO Intercept Report, 22-23 September 1964, all in Frederick Charles Wells Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 911, f.104; 103; 105; 133. However, when Spry was asked by the PM's Private Secretary about the veracity of the statements made in the pamphlet, he replied that it claimed to be informed by 'the author's own knowledge' and supported by various journal articles. Spry was not explicitly asked whether Wells was an ASIO informant and he suggested otherwise when he emphasised that a 'number of matters' included in the pamphlet, namely, the allegation of J. Rodgers' CPA membership, were 'not within the knowledge of ASIO'. Letter from Private Secretary to the PM to Spry, 21 September 1964; Letter from Spry to Private Secretary to the PM, September 1964 both in Frederick Charles Wells Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 911, f.125-126. Both before and after the pamphlet was published in September 1964 Party members commented that in their opinion Wells 'was not competent enough' to write about the CPA 'without assistance'. ASIO Report No. 1126/63, 29 April 1963; ASIO Report No. 2807/66, 24 August 1966, both in Wells Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 911, f.108; f.170. Although it was common knowledge amongst Party members that ASIO operatives had infiltrated the CPA, Wells' file also suggested that a rival faction in the CPA was leaking information to Wells in the late 1960s. In 1969, Party leader Laurie Aarons accepted that Wells, a former seaman with the SUA Sydney Branch, had some contact with the CPA on the waterfront while Wells admitted to CPA member, Mavis Robertson, that he had spoken to 'a member of the maritime'. ASIO Report No. 152/68, 156 April 1969; Intercept Report, 3 February 1969; ASIO Report No. 45/69, 31 January 1969, all in Wells Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 911, f.211; f.205-206; f.204. According to Irving, Wells was an ASIO informant, T. H. Irving, 'Wells, Charles Frederick (Fred) (1918-1975)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 2005), <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wells-charles-frederick-fred-13243/text4217>.

<sup>312</sup> 'Australian Peace Liaison Committee', ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Some 1500 Soviet advisers currently in China to aid in socialist, economic, cultural and military development were withdrawn from that country at the request of the PRC government. Nikita Khrushchev, 'Letter to the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party in Germany, Regarding Soviet Specialists in China', 18 July 1960, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116831>. For a brief mention of such Soviet departures from the PRC, see also 'RU China Polite Again', *Canberra Times*, 29 August 1960:2.

<sup>315</sup> The Soviet Union's peaceful coexistence policy was based on the premise that the prevention of nuclear war was a foremost world concern. While the Soviet Union recognised the power of the Western Allied forces arrayed against the socialist bloc, PRC tended to downplay the Allied threat.

to provide the political praxis for an armed struggle to drive out Western imperialism. However, both Soviet and PRC leaders appropriated Marxism-Leninism to buttress their respective communist parties and, accordingly, accused each other of being anti-party and revisionist. The tensions between the divergent approaches to socialism had repercussions for world communism and the CPA. The CPA officially committed itself to the Soviet line following the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPSU in October 1961, when Khrushchev explicitly criticised the PRC government; two months later at the World Federation of Trade Union, and again in 1964.<sup>316</sup> Nevertheless, a minority of support for Chinese Communism in the CPA resulted in a schism in its leadership. In February 1962, the speech of the Victorian State Party secretary, E.F. 'Ted' Hill, to the CPA Central Committee, concerning the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPSU and its future implications, outlined the premise for the future CPA(M-L). It read:

At this moment there are two lines in the world Communist movement...one is a Marxist-Leninist line and the other is not. The Marxist-Leninist line [is]...upheld above all by the Communist party of China, and the non-Marxist-Leninist line is upheld by the leaders of Communist Party of the Soviet Union...The Communist Party is fighting a stern battle to uphold the truths of Marxist-Leninism against a modern revisionist line. That battle affects the theory and practice of every Communist party and every Communist. It will be a long and protracted battle.<sup>317</sup>

For his views Hill was voted out of the State Committee and unseated from his position in the Central Committee.<sup>318</sup> The following year, Hill formed the rival CPA (M-L), which became the most prominent Maoist group in Australia, with its official organ, *Vanguard*, in

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Mao Tse-Tung, *US Imperialism is a Paper Tiger*, July 14 1956

[https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5\\_52.htm](https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-5/mswv5_52.htm).

<sup>316</sup> '22nd Congress Delegation Reports Statement by Communist Party', *Tribune*, 20 December 1961:1;3; 'World Congress on Trade Unions, Bitter Struggle for Freedom', *Tribune*, 20 December 1961:8. CPA reiterated its support for the Soviet strategy of a peaceful transition to socialism in 1964, 'Program of the Communist Party of Australia', *Tribune*, 11 March 1964: 1-16; esp. 5-6; *Australia's Way Forward, Program of the Communist Party of Australia* (Sydney, 1964), 65, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000471.pdf>; see also *The New Stage of the Sino-Soviet Dispute October 1961-January 1962* (Central Intelligence Agency, [hereafter, CIA] 26 February 1962, [released May 2007] i-iii; ix; 42-43, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/esau-16.pdf>.

<sup>317</sup> E.F. Hill, [extract] Speech to the Central Committee, Communist Party of Australia, February 1962. First published in 'Defense of Marxism-Leninism, 1963'; reprinted as 'Australia's Revolution: On the Struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party August 1973', <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/australia/hill-62.htm>.

<sup>318</sup> 'Communist Leader Condemns Interference', *Tribune*, 9 October 1963:2; 'Condemns Efforts to Split Revolutionary Forces', *Tribune*, 30 October 1963:11.

September 1963.<sup>319</sup> At the 20<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the CPA in mid-1964, Dixon referred to the formation of a rival peace group ‘by the ‘Hill’ group’, namely, the Australian ‘Pacific’ Liaison Committee in Victoria, and that its object was to ‘further the interests’ of the CPA (M-L), particularly in Asian countries.<sup>320</sup> The following is an extract from the Australian Peace Liaison Committee’s circular, dated 27 May 1964, explaining the motivation behind its formation:

This organisation has been constituted because of deep-seated desire of many peace workers to constitute a peace movement which, conscious of the real nature of the obstacle preventing world peace, believe that the people must be given the facts about the forces making for war, and be encouraged to take bold action.<sup>321</sup>

According to Spry the Committee was first established in 1959, nominally, as the ‘Peace Liaison Committee for Asian and Pacific Regions’ with the VPC executive, James, as its foundation member and Vice-chairman.<sup>322</sup> Like Dixon, Spry suggested that the Liaison Committee was being ‘rejuvenat[ed]’ in 1964 as a ‘potential alternative peace organisation’ by the Chinese Communist Party.<sup>323</sup> However, Chinese moves to challenge the Soviet Union’s influence and authority in the communist-led international peace movement were evident since late 1961.

For instance, at the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) executive committee meeting held in Gaza from 9 to 11 December 1961, a Chinese member challenged Soviet authority directly by defeating a number of Soviet proposals, regarding the admission to AAPSO of some of the pro-Soviet satellite states; the Soviet Union, it was argued, was not really a part of Asia. The Soviet member was said to have become so enraged with the

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<sup>319</sup> In addition to the *Vanguard* newspaper, the Hill group also initiated a pro-Peking journal, *Australian Communist*, Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 154-155.

<sup>320</sup> More commonly known as the Australian Peace Liaison Committee. Minutes CPA 20<sup>th</sup> National Congress, ASIO Report No. 64/184, 16 June 1964, CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.24.

<sup>321</sup> ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee’, ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82. A copy of the circular signed by James and Betty Little is also in James’ ASIO file, however, the complete date is not legible. Due to fading ‘May 1964’ is barely discernible. On the committee’s aims and objects see *Australian Peace Liaison Committee. Australian Peace Liaison Committee: aims and objects* (Richmond, Vic: May 1964); ASIO Report No. 2328/64, [the date on the ASIO copies are illegible due to fading, c.1964], all in James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82; 56; 85-87, respectively.

<sup>322</sup> Letter from Spry to Secretary Dept. of External Affairs, 5 August 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.52.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid.



Chinese delegate that he removed his coat and ‘offered to fight him’.<sup>324</sup> The conflict continued within the AAPSO delegation which attended the WPC meeting in Stockholm later in the month, on 16-23 December 1961. However, the WPC’s support for the Soviet Union’s position on general disarmament was unequivocal. In October before the meeting, WPC Chairman Bernal called for a ‘united action by all forces for peace’ in support of the joint US-USSR disarmament negotiations.<sup>325</sup> After a heated exchange erupted at Stockholm between the Soviet and Chinese-led APPSO delegates over which line the world peace movement should follow: the Soviet Union’s position on disarmament, or the Chinese anti-colonial movement, the Soviet proposal making disarmament the theme of the subsequent meeting to be held in Moscow, 9-14 July 1962, prevailed.<sup>326</sup>

The VPC March issue of *Pax* gave a corresponding account of the rival positions debated at the Stockholm meeting and of its support for the WPC decision to support the Soviet proposal.<sup>327</sup> The significance of the upcoming WPC Congress for the Australian peace movement was already evident in February when a meeting of interstate peace bodies, on 17 February 1962, ‘strongly urged’ the state committees to ‘actively encourage the sending of delegates’ to the WPC Congress in July, and acknowledged the ‘crucial issues facing the World and the importance of the unity of the World Peace Movement’.<sup>328</sup> Goldbloom applauded the WPC for opening the Congress to non-aligned groups of differing convictions, including the British CND and Committee of 100.<sup>329</sup> Bernal promised that the Congress, held on 9-14 July, would be open to ‘free and frank discussions’, including ideas critical of Soviet

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<sup>324</sup> *The New Stage of the Sino-Soviet Dispute October 1961-January 1962*, (CIA, 26 February 1962, [released May 2007], 46-47, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/esau-16.pdf>).

<sup>325</sup> *Bulletin of the WPC* No.10, October 1961, 1-2, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1960-1962.

<sup>326</sup> The Soviet resolution was carried overwhelmingly by a vote of 153 to 27, with the Chinese delegation representing 18 of the dissenting votes. *The New Stage of the Sino-Soviet Dispute October 1961-January 1962*, (CIA, 26 February 1962, [released May 2007], ix; 43; 48, <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/esau-16.pdf>; ‘Appeal for the World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, Moscow, 9-14 July 1962’, WPC leaflet, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43 1963.

<sup>327</sup> ‘Stockholm, Startling and Stimulating’, *Pax*, VPC, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>328</sup> Extract of Minutes of Interstate Meeting, Sydney, 17 February 1962, approved by Melbourne Meeting of Representatives and Groups at Assembly Hall, 6 March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. The 21-strong delegation included Broadbent, D. Gibson, Morrow, Rosa and Sandra Goldbloom, *The Race for Life!*, VPC Newsletter, 15 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; Appendix A: World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, Moscow 9-14 July 1962, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119 1299, f.114-116.

<sup>329</sup> ‘The Race for Life!’, VPC Newsletter, 15 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

communism and policy.<sup>330</sup> Although this promise was faithfully kept, no-one applauded critical comments directed against Soviet policy or communist ideology and dissenting opinions were recorded in a minority report, including that of a Chinese delegation, which ‘wanted all along’ a world congress against colonialism, not disarmament.<sup>331</sup>

Almost a year and a half later, the Chinese delegation tried again unsuccessfully to redirect the course of the communist-led international peace movement. According to Hartley, who attended the 1963 November/December WPC meeting held in Warsaw, the Chinese delegation attempted unsuccessfully to disrupt the meeting, and a Soviet-led proposal for a ‘Peace Call for United Action’ received overwhelming support.<sup>332</sup> As it will be shown in the following chapter, the WPC resolved, in part, the fraught issue regarding the international peace movement’s direction, which was reflective of the contrasting emphases in the international communist movement. Therefore, James’ decision to withdraw from the VPC in favour of Chinese Communism was illustrative of the close tie up between the Australian peace movement and developments in the international communist movement and a consequence of the Sino-Soviet split.

James had visited China on several occasions since 1945.<sup>333</sup> A VPC circular noted that following the Tokyo conference in 1961 James spent ‘considerable time’ in China on the invitation of the Asian and Pacific Liaison Committee, of which he was a Vice-President; he was also a Vice-President of the Australia-China Society.<sup>334</sup> James was in China just before

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<sup>330</sup> Jack A. Homer, ‘Moscow Peace Congress: Criticism Allowed’, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, October 1962, 42-43.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid.

<sup>332</sup> Both Hartley and Freda Brown attended the Warsaw meeting. Hartley was addressing a meeting convened by the Essendon Peace Committee at Dickie’s home on 24 March 1964, to hear a report of the Warsaw conference. ASIO Report No. 1035/65, 28 May 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.51-52.

<sup>333</sup> At an Australia-China Society function on 21 November 1961 and following his recent visit to Peking, James gave a short address on the growth and progress he had observed in China since 1945. ‘Australia-China Society, Victoria’, ASIO Report No. 61/1669, 11 December 1961; see also ‘Melbourne Unitarian 1962 Office Bearers’, [extract] *Beacon*, January 1962. James was an Australian delegate to the 1952 Peking Conference; following the WPC Stockholm Conference in 1956, James attended the Peking Conference on invitation of the China Peace Committee travelling in association with the Australia-China Society, Cultural Delegation; and in 1961 he attended the 7<sup>th</sup> World Conference Against A & H Bombs in Tokyo, Letter from Spry to Lord Casey, 17 December 1961; ‘Australia-China Society, Cultural Delegation to Peking 1956’, ASIO Report No. 3/2/125, 6 June 1956, all in James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.84; 88; 81; 1, respectively. ASIO Report No. 9432, 5 July 1956; [extract] *International Organisations*, No.64, June 1956, both in Hartley Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 1102, f.88; 77.

<sup>334</sup> VPC letter ‘to all states’, 13 October 1961. James and his wife stayed for a further two weeks to discuss among other concerns, the activities of the Asian Pacific Liaison Committee. ASIO Report

the CPSU 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress in October 1961, which disparaged Chinese Communism. An Australia-China Society meeting on 13 August 1961 reported that James ‘intended to enter China to learn the real truth of the big experiment taking place in that country’.<sup>335</sup> Thus, following the establishment of the Australian Peace Liaison Committee in May 1964 with James as a Vice-chairman and with the apparent help of the Hill group, the lines in the Australian peace movement were drawn. According to ASIO, less than two weeks before the 1964 ACICD Sydney Congress was scheduled to begin on 25 October, there was no indication that any members of the Australian Peace Liaison Committee would attend the Sydney Congress.<sup>336</sup> When plans for the national congress in Sydney were underway, James attended a seminar in Pyongyang. Upon his return from the North Korean capital, he stressed the importance of Australian relations with China and North Korea.<sup>337</sup> The October 1964 issue of *Vanguard* referred to the Sydney Congress:

Unfortunately, the leaders of the Australian Peace Congress Movement have failed badly regarding South East Asia and the struggle of the colonial people generally. Their bending over backwards to avoid any disagreement has bought(sic) the peace organisation into a state of passivity and the leadership has passed to Labour reformists.<sup>338</sup>

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443/64, 12 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.79. James was reported in Japan’s *Hsinhua News Agency*, 25 August 1961 as being as a Vice-Chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee for the Asian and Pacific Regions, ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee’, ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82. See also ‘Melbourne Unitarian 1962 Office Bearers’, [extract] *Beacon*, January 1962, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.88. In 1962 James was identified as one of five Vice-Presidents of the Australia-China Society, however, the group held a special function in 1961 in James and his wife’s honour, following their return from Peking, ‘Australia-China Society, Victoria’, ASIO document, 29 November 1962, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.106; ASIO Report No. 61/1669, 11 December 1961.

<sup>335</sup> As previously noted, James went to China following the Tokyo conference in August 1961. The meeting was organised jointly with a China cultural group and attended largely by Chinese students. A fellow Unitarian gave the address in James’ absence. ‘Australia-China Society, Victoria’, ASIO Report No. 61/1669, 24 August 1961, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.70.

<sup>336</sup> ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee’, ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82.

<sup>337</sup> In mid-1964 James travelled to Hong Kong with Betty Little to attend an Asian Economic Seminar held between 16-23 June in North Korea. Telephone message, Vic. branch ASIO, 4 June 1964; Letter from Spry to Secretary Dept. External Affairs, 5 August 1964. Commenting on the Seminar upon his return, James emphasised the importance of Asia for Australian trade and the need to cut ties with the US. ‘We Must Fight for Independence’, [extract] *Vanguard*, July 1964, all in James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.61; 52; 62, respectively.

<sup>338</sup> [extract] *Vanguard* Vol. 2(1), October 1964 in ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee’, ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82.

In contrast, Ralph Gibson ‘urged maximum support’ for the ACICD Sydney Congress in October while speaking at the Victorian State Conference of the CPA in May 1964.<sup>339</sup> Concerns within the CPA about the effect the split was having on both the communist and peace movement were raised at both Victorian state and national CPA meetings. Laurie Aarons reassured the Victorian State Conference that the ACICD Sydney Congress ‘would develop the consciousness of the people and that this combined with a concentration of effort on the United front would give a solid basis to the Peace Movement’.<sup>340</sup> But two months later in July, an ASIO informant reporting on the 20<sup>th</sup> CPA Congress wrote that the ‘two main impressions’ given at national conference were:

the havoc wrought in the Communist Party by Hill. Nearly every speaker at the Congress ranted and raved about Ted Hill and his gang, [and] the emphasis placed on Peace Congress. Nearly all speakers referred to the Congress to be held in October, 1964.<sup>341</sup>

An earlier indication of the corresponding split in the peace movement was given by CICD organiser Margaret Frazer the following month in August when she stated that ‘a very difficult situation had come up’ now that ‘James had formed a kind of break-away Peace movement’.<sup>342</sup> CICD records are silent on the circumstances surrounding James’ eventual estrangement from the peace council, but a letter to members dated 13 December 1963, and signed by Dickie, announced the VPC executive’s decision to close the office of the VPC Research and Information Centre, effective from mid-January 1964.<sup>343</sup> The decision was taken at a meeting of executives on the same day, called by Dickie almost three weeks earlier to ‘consider the basis and future’ of the Research and Information Centre because, to his mind, the issue ‘seem[ed] essential’.<sup>344</sup> Only eight months earlier, the Centre, described in *Guardian* as the peace council’s ‘new information service’, boasted a ‘valuable’ collection of

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<sup>339</sup> The meeting was held in the Eureka Youth League Hall, Queensberry Str. North Melbourne. Minutes Vic. State Conference of the CPA, 8-10 May 1964, ASIO Report No. 64/1258, 12 June 1964, CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.149; 167.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., f.149.

<sup>341</sup> CPA 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, ASIO Report No. 64/220, 2 July 1964, CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.37.

<sup>342</sup> ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee, Australian Congress for International Co-operation & Disarmament’ Intercept Report, 18 August 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.66.

<sup>343</sup> VPC letter to members signed by Dickie, 13 December 1963, attached to the VPC Christmas Bulletin, December 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>344</sup> VPC Circular ‘to all Members of the Executive’ signed by Dickie, 22 November 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

resource material, with the promise of further publications on current events, available to subscribers.<sup>345</sup> While the decision to close the Centre was officially a pragmatic one, based on financial reasons and in light of the Sydney-based *Peace Action*'s development as a nationwide publication for the peace movement, it quietly resolved the question of James' position on the VPC executive.<sup>346</sup> Similarly, the decision to remove 'New Zealand' from the CICD's full title was dealt with in due course to reflect its current position after the New Zealand Communist Party (NZCP) adopted the Chinese Communist line.<sup>347</sup> Evidently, James was not the only one to cross the floor. A concern of the established peace movement and the CPA was that the CPA (M-L) splinter groups were siphoning support from its rank and file members.

Marjorie Broadbent was a prominent CICD organiser and Party member whose pro-Peking sympathies were as obvious as they were a source of vexation for the CICD and CPA alike. At a CPA cadres meeting at the Eureka Youth League (EYL) headquarters on 27 February 1963, Broadbent openly criticised Russia for its role in 'cultivating Yugoslavia'.<sup>348</sup> The meeting was 'unanimous' in describing her 'outburst as disgraceful'.<sup>349</sup> In September of the same year, she claimed to have burned issues of the *Guardian* for distribution, as they

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<sup>345</sup> 'Peace Council's Valuable New Information Service', *Guardian*, 10 April 1963:7.

<sup>346</sup> VPC letter to members signed by Dickie, 13 December 1963, attached to the VPC Christmas Bulletin, December 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43 1963. The proposal to promote *Peace Action* as a national publication was put before the interstate meeting in Sydney, held on 27 February 1962 and endorsed in principal by a Melbourne Assembly Hall meeting on 6 March 1962. Extract of Minutes of Interstate Meeting, Sydney, 17 February 1962, approved by Melbourne Meeting of Representatives and Groups at Assembly Hall, 6 March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>347</sup> CICD's executive officially announced its intention to drop 'New Zealand' from its full title in a newsletter postmarked 29 March 1967, *Peace News*, CICD newsletter, c. March 1967, Crow Collection. For further discussion regarding the CICD's name change see Chapter 5, p. 251. The NZCP adopted the pro-Peking line in 1963, *Joint Statement of the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of New Zealand* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1963), 2. For the CPA's reaction to the NZCP decision see 'Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of Australia and New Zealand', *Tribune*, 22 April 1964:5, which reported that 'serious differences remain' between the parties; Minutes of CPA 20<sup>th</sup> Congress, ASIO Report No. 64/252, 30 July 1964 and Report No. 64/223, 3 July 1964, both in CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.200; 39; see also 'Our Reds in Confusion', [extract] *SMH*, 15 February 1966, Charles Frederick Charles Wells Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 911, f.155.

<sup>348</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/644, 25 March 1963, Broadbent, Marjorie (hereafter, Broadbent) Vol. 2, NAA: A6119 2844, f.1. A year earlier China was reported to have closed Soviet consulates in China, disapproving Soviet compromises with Yugoslavia. 'China Closes Soviet Offices', *Canberra Times*, 22 September 1962:1.

<sup>349</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/644, 25 March 1963, 25 March 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119 2844, f.1.

contained articles ‘attacking’ Ted Hill and the pro-Peking, breakaway group.<sup>350</sup> The CPA sent Broadbent an invoice for £14 for the outstanding issues, which she stated ‘they’ve no hope of receiving’.<sup>351</sup> The following month, on 25 October, at a CPA social event Broadbent was reportedly advising members on how to get nominated as a delegate for overseas peace conferences.<sup>352</sup> Broadbent represented the VPC at a Moscow conference in July 1962 and attended a conference in Peking funded by the peace council.<sup>353</sup> Her experience in China made a profound impression on her, and according to a surveillance report, she explained that she ‘retired’ from the CPA because

of her feelings towards Peking... After being with these people in Peking and observing them so closely to go against them now would make the purpose of her visit entirely lost...she felt it would be giving them away...After speaking to these people in China, she had been so impressed that she now considered them to be her friends and she could not be disloyal towards them.<sup>354</sup>

In 1962, her loyalty to her newfound Peking ‘friends’ outweighed her obligations as an elected ambassador of the VPC. Broadbent claimed to have handed in her CPA membership card during a recent women’s meeting in Melbourne, and although she felt the Party was ‘carefully watching’, she came to the CPA event ‘armed with envelopes and a pen’ soliciting subscribers for the CPA (M-L).<sup>355</sup> Broadbent had been distributing the pro-Peking *Vanguard* and was believed to be organising study groups.<sup>356</sup> In contrast to more modest accounts, Broadbent claimed that by December the pro-Peking Melbourne group comprised between six and seven hundred members, which she described as having ‘resigned over the differences existing between China and the Soviet Union’, and added they were keen to establish contacts in both SA and NSW.<sup>357</sup> The name under consideration at the time for the

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<sup>350</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/2687, 11 September 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.14.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid.

<sup>352</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/3221, 2 December 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.21.

<sup>353</sup> Ibid.; see also VPC decision to send Broadbent as VPC delegate. VPC circular, 7 May 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; ‘Delegate to Moscow Congress’, [extract], *Guardian*, 28 June 1962, Broadbent Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2831, f.71. On fundraising for expenses for Moscow trip, see letter from SUA Victorian Branch to VPC, 13 June 1962 NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>354</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/3221, 2 December 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.21.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., ASIO Report No. 63/2687, 11 September 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.14.

<sup>356</sup> ASIO Report No. 63/2687, 11 September 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.14; ‘Pro-Peking Group, Victoria’, ASIO Report No. 63/3392, 19 December 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119 2844, f.22.

<sup>357</sup> ‘Pro-Peking Group, Victoria’, ASIO Report No. 63/3392, 19 December 1963, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119 2844, f.22. According to Davidson the CPA (M-L) had 200 members by mid-1964,

faction was 'The Marxist Communist Party'.<sup>358</sup> While Broadbent sought to extend the influence of the pro-Peking group from within the CPA, she also attempted to poach members from the peace movement, while working for the VPC.

In addition to her clerical work in the VPC office, Broadbent was a long-term member who frequently disseminated VPC literature and addressed meetings of waterside workers and ships crews.<sup>359</sup> In November 1963, a letter from the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary and ALP member, Bert Nolan, to Rev Dickie accused Broadbent of

accepting wages by the peace council while propound[ing] views contrary to the policy of peaceful coexistence, [therefore] using her position, not to advance the aims of the Peace Council, but, in fact, [ was] canvassing views that [were] opposed to those aims...in an attempt to turn things on their head'.<sup>360</sup>

The SUA provided ongoing numerical and financial support for CICD and peace council activities. Broadbent's actions were a serious setback for the CICD, for after having underlined her duplicitousness, Nolan insisted that 'all contact with seamen must be made directly through the union and not by peace organisers'.<sup>361</sup> Whether Nolan's reaction was influenced by CPA members in the union is unclear. Nolan's assistant and CPA member, Roger Wilson, regarded Nolan as an exceptionally lazy man who 'never had an original idea in his life'.<sup>362</sup> The repercussions of Broadbent's actions were evident six months later when a comment by a SUA and CPA member, Bert Fagin, was recorded in the following way:

Bert Fagin claimed that seamen regard peace as their most important campaign but were conscious of the fact that the existing position on the waterfront was that this

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Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 155; at the 20<sup>th</sup> Congress of the CPA in June 1964 Aaronson told the meeting that while the pro-Peking group claimed to have 200 on the Party's functional payroll, there were 'in fact, only 54', CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.200.

<sup>358</sup> 'Pro-Peking Group, Victoria', ASIO Report No. 63/3392, 19 December 1963.

<sup>359</sup> 'General information re: Pledgers etc.', November 1961, UMA CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1; Letter of Introduction from SUA to Seamen's Union Delegates of Coastwise Ships, 16 February 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; 'Delegate to Moscow Congress', [extract], *Guardian*, 28 June 1962.

<sup>360</sup> Letter from the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, to Rev Dickie, 14 November 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963. Nolan was a member of the ALP Victorian executive, 'Seaman's Official Visits the GDR', *Tribune*, 18 July 1962; 'Couldn't Find Capitalism in the Soviet Union', *Tribune*, 25 August 1965:10; Conversation with former Assistant State Secretary of the Victorian SUA, Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

<sup>361</sup> Letter from the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, to Rev Dickie, 14 November 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>362</sup> Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

was being neglected by both the Peace council and the ANZ Congress [CICD]. Fagin added that there was some confusion on the role of the ANZ Congress and that there was a need for this to be clarified.<sup>363</sup>

A minor reference to Broadbent was made two years later when sighted by CICD committee and CPA members, Gwen Goedecke and Margaret Frazer, at a May Day March. 'They mentioned how sickening it was to see Marg Broadbent ... present at the march'.<sup>364</sup> Another former active CICD committee member, Betty Little, was also spotted at the march by the women and similarly criticised, given her position as Secretary of the rival pro-Peking Peace Liaison Committee.<sup>365</sup>

Communist China exploded its first nuclear device nine days before the last of the triennial peace congresses officially opened on 25 October 1964, in Sydney. Given the proximity of the two events, and in the context of Sino-Soviet split, the *Australian* was keen to know whether Congress organisers denounced the Chinese test. In his response Goldbloom told the *Australian*:

I wish to express my protest of the testing of a nuclear device by China. I am opposed to nuclear testing in the atmosphere by the Government of any nation at any time. I believe that China's exclusion from the councils of the world is a factor in her decision to test and possess nuclear weapons.<sup>366</sup>

In contrast to Goldbloom, all the other Congress organisers approached for their statement stopped short of blaming Western policies for China's action.<sup>367</sup> The following chapter will show that while Western leaders refused to recognise the PRC, the CICD blamed the West for China's attitude, rather than directly denouncing China for refusing to support the LTBT and for its nuclear test. With the Soviet now committed to the LTBT, the CICD emphasised

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<sup>363</sup> The comment reported by an AIO informant was allegedly made by Fagin during the CPA Victorian State Conference in May 1964. Minutes CPA Vic. State Conference, 8-10 May 1964, ASIO Report No. 64/1258, 12 June 1964, CPA - Interest in political parties - Communist Party of Australia, Marxist/Leninist Vol. 2, NAA: A6122, 1727, f.149.

<sup>364</sup> Betty Little was also criticised for attending the rally. 'CPA May Day Celebrations', Intercept Report, 3 May 1965, Broadbent Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2844, f.80.

<sup>365</sup> 'CPA May Day Celebrations', Intercept Report, 3 May 1965; 'Australian Peace Liaison Committee', ASIO Report No. J/2/58, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.89.

<sup>366</sup> 'They All Abhor China's A-Bomb'[extract] *Australian*, 24 October 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.89.

<sup>367</sup> Organisers approached for a statement were: Tom Uren MHR, Rev Alan Brand, J.E. Heffernan, E.L. Wheelwright, Geoff Anderson, P. Latona and Sam Goldbloom. Ibid.



its opposition to 'the test by China and the proposed tests by France' on the grounds that they endangered the health of the world's population and threatened to undermine the Treaty.<sup>368</sup>

## Conclusion

In the early 1960s, the CICD campaigned for complete and general disarmament, an end to all nuclear testing and for a nuclear-free Pacific. In this regard it challenged the Australian government to adopt and implement positive policies for disarmament, such as the 1961 Commonwealth PM's Disarmament Statement and the ALP's proposal for the extension of the Antarctic Treaty to the Southern Hemisphere. It argued that continued nuclear testing threatened to undermine the LTBT while the success of any disarmament agreement was contingent upon the PR China's admission to the UN. Moreover, it argued that the presence of foreign military bases on Australian soil would invalidate the proposal to extend the Antarctic NFZ Treaty, while undermining Australian sovereignty, its relations with neighbouring Asia and turn Australia into a nuclear target.

Through an examination of the CICD's disarmament campaigns in the early 1960s, this chapter has argued that the CICD's activism during this period belongs to a tradition of peaceful opposition to Western foreign and defence policies in 1960s Australia. Despite its contradictions and contentions, some inherent and some emergent, the CICD was a dynamic and strategic committee organisation supported by a network of regional, interstate and overseas connections, which emphasised unified collective action. CICD leadership demanded faithful adherence to its views and decisions which were passed down through its hierarchical organisational framework. Given the emphasis it placed on unity, it sought to contain the developing tensions within the movement, evident since the mid-1950s and exacerbated by the Soviet actions in 1961 and in the context of the developing Sino-Soviet split. The following chapter turns to political developments in SE Asia, also during the early 1960s and the CICD's support for what it considered were anti-colonial struggles for independence.

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<sup>368</sup> *Peace News*, CICD Newsletter, December 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 54, file 98.

## Chapter 4: The CICD and SE Asia, 1960-1963

This chapter examines the response of the CICD to political developments in SE Asia between 1960-1963. While the CICD campaigned for disarmament in the early 1960s, it also supported movements for national independence in Indonesia, Laos and Vietnam. For the CICD, these former colonised countries were struggling against Western imperialist powers' continued interference in their political aims. The dual concerns of disarmament and national liberation became increasingly inseparable for CICD, particularly as national independence movements in SE Asia coincided with the Cold War. As with its predecessor, the APC, CICD leadership was acutely aware that for the Australian government, and its anti-communist allies, de-colonisation signalled the waning of Western influence and a growing communist power in the region. Communist economic and political ideology appealed to those nations in Asia struggling to break free from the yoke of their colonial past – as intrinsically anti-imperialist and anti-colonial. For the CICD, and many in the CPA, a transition to communism by former colonised countries denoted a progressive and inevitable shift that was part of the post-war 'changing world'.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, the CICD considered Western policies aimed to contain the spread of communist influence, both repressive and regressive. It considered that such policies could lead to a third, and possibly nuclear, world war. In its analysis of Western military involvement in SE Asia, the CICD emphasised long-held arguments opposing foreign intervention in terms premised on theories of Western imperialism and encirclement, and the concept of national self-determination. Furthermore, the CICD argued that geographically, Australia was an Asian country and, therefore, its policies should reflect that fact, rather than privilege Western interests in the region. By doing so, the CICD ran counter to the Cold War anti-communist current and a persistent anti-Asian undercurrent in 1960s Australia.

The aims of this chapter are threefold. First, it argues that the CICD supported movements for national independence in SE Asia which were critical of Western policies in and towards Asia and looked poised to adopt communist or pro-communist governments. The CICD's involvement in the campaign for national independence movements preceded Australian military involvement in Vietnam and the broader movement that developed in opposition to

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<sup>1</sup> National Independence Exhibition, VPC handbill, 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, 1961-1962; 'The United Nations is a Changing World', *Guardian*, 14 January 1965:8.

it. Second, it argues that its early involvement in the campaign and its relations with peace committees in Indonesia, Laos and Vietnam, illustrates CICD's status as a leading peak body for the peace movement in the early 1960s and the longer tradition of peaceful opposition to Western policies in SE Asia. Third, it argues that although, the CICD's support for national independence during this period was generally unobtrusive, this was largely a consequence of the WPC's ongoing influence on the CICD's policy and programme, which the CICD accepted, and their respective emphasis on unity in the peace movement. As discussed in the previous chapter, no distinction existed in the outlook and policy of the APC, VPC and CICD and the VPC produced most of the movement's literature. Moreover, the Melbourne-based committees shared almost all the same leadership, who addressed the government and organisations associated with the peace movement as officials of either the APC, VPC or CICD, but more often as the VPC, because it was widely recognised.

### **‘A Pacific Ocean of Peace and a Highway of Friendship’**

In December 1959, the CICD leadership received an invitation from the Indonesian Peace Committee to attend an Indonesian Peace Assembly in Bandung, between 25-30 January 1960.<sup>2</sup> Although the Australian delegates to the assembly, Dickie, Hartley and Goldbloom, were ‘unofficial guests’, Dickie conveyed the hope that through their attendance they could ‘make a contribution, *if possible*, to a firm and lasting pact of friendship and peace’ between Australia and Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> Although the purpose of the Australian delegation at the Assembly was anticipated by both Australian and Indonesian parties, Dickie's qualification implied that relations between the two countries were fraught.

The Assembly in Bandung was important for the CICD leadership. Australia's foreign policy was not in accord with the Indonesian Republic's long-held aspirations for West Irian.<sup>4</sup> After helping it to gain its independence in 1949, Australia demonstrated a continued reluctance to

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<sup>2</sup> The circular was reportedly on issued from the APC. The APC circular, dated 15 December 1959, was cited in an ASIO ‘Q’ Report No 61/912, 31 October 1961, Hartley Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 1103, f.136.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Peace Delegation to Indonesia’, *Tribune*, 27 January 1960:10; [emphasis added] *Pax*, VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52 and APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122 1406, f.104.

<sup>4</sup> West Irian was also referred to as West New Guinea, and later West Papua, but it will be referred to as West Irian except where directly cited.

assist in Indonesia's acquisition of West Irian.<sup>5</sup> Instead, both sides of the Australian parliament supported the Dutch position, which sought self-determination for its people.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch were also considered a good neighbour to the north and an important link for Australia. During the Cold War Australia preferred a strong Western presence in the region to protect its national interests and security. Although Indonesia was non-communist, Australia felt there was no guarantee that it could not be drawn, over time, into the communist compass given how Indonesia strategically manoeuvred between competing Eastern and Western bloc interests in the region to gain economic and military support.<sup>7</sup> In 1956, Indonesia declared that it would welcome economic aid 'from any side, including Russia'.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously, Indonesia gave assurances to the Australian Government to alleviate Australian concerns in exchange for their pledged neutrality on the West Irian issue.

Almost a year before the Indonesian Peace Assembly in January 1960, its Foreign Minister, Dr Subandrio, reassured the Menzies Government that West Irian under Indonesia should not be a security issue for Australia. He urged the Australian Government to revise its attitude and publicly state in a joint communique that Australia would not oppose West Irian's 'peaceful' transfer to Indonesia.<sup>9</sup> The joint communique appeared to indicate a complete change in the Australian government's attitude and caused an uproar in Parliament.<sup>10</sup> Amongst a stream of objections from both sides of the House, Calwell's reaction encapsulated the perceived threat of both Asian communism and Asian menace. He warned,

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<sup>5</sup> 'Indonesia Thanks Aust. For Treaty', *Sun* (Syd.) 3 November 1949:21; 'Australia to Back Dutch Claim to West Irian', *Canberra Times*, 26 February 1957:7. See also Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 16; 201.

<sup>6</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 24 February 1959, 194-220, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224\\_reps\\_23\\_hor22/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224_reps_23_hor22/).

<sup>7</sup> Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 203-204.

<sup>8</sup> The statement was issued by the Indonesian Embassy in Moscow. 'Indonesia 'Welcomes' Aid from Soviet', *Argus*, 5 March 1956:2. See also 'Indonesia Seeks Aid from America', *Cairns Post*, 18 January 1950:2; 'Australia Offers Indonesia Aid', *Age*, 24 July 1951:8; 'Big Sums Given by U.S. for 'Good Will'', *Age*, 29 February 1952:16; '£500m Spent on Colombo Plan', *Age*, 10 April 1954:11; 'Russians to Aid Industry in Indonesia', *Age*, 26 October 1954:1; 'Russian Aid for Indonesia', *Canberra Times*, 7 January 1959:1; 'Red China Aids Indonesia', *Canberra Times*, 10 August 1959:3; 'Soviet Credit of £112m. For Indonesia', *Canberra Times* 29 February 1960:1. A 5-year pact was initially signed in 1960 between the US and Indonesia for a research reactor built in Bandung with a \$350,000 US grant, 'More Nuclear Aid Offered Indonesia' *Canberra Times*, 11 Sep 1965:1.

<sup>9</sup> 'Subandrio Warns Australian Critics', *Canberra Times*, 28 February 1959:1.

<sup>10</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 24 February 1959, 194-220, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224\\_reps\\_23\\_hor22/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224_reps_23_hor22/).

if Indonesia took over West New Guinea, there would be nothing to prevent ...the Japanese...Chinese Communists, or some other potential enemy of this country – to flood in and become a menace to [Australia's] future security.<sup>11</sup>

Cold War fears of Communist China's growing influence in Asia heightened anxieties centring on Australia's vulnerability and Asian menace that pre-dated Australian federation. They culminated in a restrictive and enduring immigration policy in 1901 for more than seven decades. While some prominent Australians, such as, Jim Cairns, church leaders and the student-led 'Immigration Reform Group' opposed the White Australia policy, a majority of Australian opinion in the early 1960s favoured it, and the proposal to rename it 'Restricted Immigration'.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the CICD's view that Australians should embrace its Asians neighbours was at variance with the opinion of most Australians.<sup>13</sup>

Menzies assured both sides of the House that the communique did not mean that his government would encourage an agreement to transfer West Irian to Indonesia, and that it would remain supportive of Dutch control of the territory.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, it was a modest concession for the Sukarno government and Australia continued to be rebuked by Indonesia. Ten months later, and only two months before the Indonesian Peace Assembly, several Indonesian daily papers criticised the Menzies government for 'siding with [their] enemy' and they continued calls for the Australian PM to take their government's claim more seriously.<sup>15</sup> Such comments were indicative of widespread Indonesian discontent with the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>12</sup> Cairns in H of R, *Debates*, 10 May 1960, 1564-1565, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1960/19600510\\_reps\\_23\\_hor27/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1960/19600510_reps_23_hor27/); The Immigration Reform Group began as a University of Melbourne study group in 1960, *Control or Colour Bar? A Proposal for Change in Australia's Immigration*, The Immigration Reform Group (Melbourne: 1960); 'White Australia Policy Questioned', *Canberra Times*, 1 June 1960:2. For Australian opinion on restricted migration of Asians, see: *AGP*, Survey 145, 29 July 1960; Survey 152, 29 September 1961 both in [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1982; *AGP*, Survey 157, 8 June 1962 [computer file], Canberra: ADA, ANU, 2004; *AGP*, Survey 164, 16 August 1963; Survey 170, 26 June 1964; Survey 179, 24 September 1965 all in [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1984. On changing the name of the White Australia policy, see *AGP*, Survey 146, 30 September 1960 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1989; *AGP* Survey 157, 8 June 1962 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 2004.

<sup>13</sup> 'Are We to Have Foreign Bases in Australia?', VPC pamphlet, c. 1961, cover page only in APC/ANZCICD Vol.4, NAA: A6122, 1407, f.124. For a full copy of the pamphlet, see <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000764.htm>; see also *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, f.13.

<sup>14</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 24 February 1959, 194-198, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224\\_reps\\_23\\_hor22/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1959/19590224_reps_23_hor22/).

<sup>15</sup> Menzies was departing on an official visit to Indonesia. 'Indonesian Claim to West N.G. Reaffirmed', *Canberra Times*, 2 Dec 1959:1

Australian government. At the Assembly, President Sukarno conveyed his growing impatience over the issue, which he attributed to persistent Western colonialism. In his opening address he declared that the Dutch 'are still squatting' in West Irian.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the CICD leadership's interest in attending the Peace Assembly was not surprising. The CICD suggested that aspects of Australian foreign policy towards Asia were considered a standing affront to our northern neighbours, and was partially attributed to Australian isolation from them.<sup>17</sup>

Despite Indonesia's dissatisfaction with Australia over the West Irian issue, for the CICD there were two positive outcomes of the Peace Assembly. First, was President Sukarno's explicit support for the world peace movement and the principle of peaceful co-existence in his opening address.<sup>18</sup> It was essentially a reaffirmation of his support for the pro-Soviet international peace movement. While Sukarno was not a communist, he had long-held connections with the communist-led international peace movement that can be traced to the 1927 Brussels Conference of the 'League Against Imperialism and Colonialism'.<sup>19</sup> While Sukarno officially opened proceedings, the Assembly was also attended by two other high-level Indonesian government officials: Dr Subandrio and Prime Minister Dr Djuanda. Their presence at the assembly indicated top-level support within the Indonesian government for the international peace movement. The second important outcome of the Assembly for the CICD was a joint peace statement between the Australian and Indonesian peace committees.

The 3-point Australian-Indonesian peace statement urged first and foremost that 'a Treaty of Friendship' should be signed between the two countries.<sup>20</sup> Towards this end it suggested that 'immediate steps' should be taken to promote diplomatic exchanges of delegations and 'barriers to friendship should be removed'.<sup>21</sup> The only impediment to relations between the

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<sup>16</sup> 'Dutch Warned by Sukarno on A-testing', *Canberra Times*, 27 January 1960:21

<sup>17</sup> *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, file 13.

<sup>18</sup> *Pax Supplement*, VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52; 'Soekarno For Peaceful Co-Existence', *Guardian*, 11 February 1960:5.

<sup>19</sup> See Speech of the Indonesian President Sukarno at the Opening of the Asian-African Conference, 18 April 1955, D.W.A [Don William Archdall] Baker, ed., *The Facts of the Bandung Conference*, (NSW: A.D. Lindsey, 1955), 8.

<sup>20</sup> Both *Pax Supplement* and *Guardian* printed the full text of the joint statement. *Pax Supplement*, VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52; 'Call to Extend Polar Atom-Free Zone to Pacific: Indonesia-Australia Pact Move', *Guardian*, 11 February 1960:7.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

two countries, it stated, was Australia's 'unwillingness' to recognise Indonesia's claim to West Irian.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the foremost task for peace workers of both countries was

to mobilise Australian public opinion so that the people of Australia and their Government may take a positive attitude to the fulfilment of Indonesia's rightful desire for complete national independence.<sup>23</sup>

The statement emphasised that although Indonesia gained independence in 1949, it was still struggling against Western imperialism and colonialism and, therefore, its independence was not 'complete'. The statement concluded with a pledge of support for the proposal to extend the Antarctic nuclear-free zone to the Pacific.<sup>24</sup> The CICD leadership considered the statement was a positive basis for continued relations between the two countries and it coincided with the WPC resolution, adopted at Stockholm in May 1959, which declared that the struggle for independence was synonymous with the struggle for peace.<sup>25</sup>

The joint peace statement was signed by Dickie, Hartley and Goldbloom and three representatives of the Indonesian Peace Committee in the presence of international peace delegates at the Assembly.<sup>26</sup> The joint statement clarified the terms of Indonesia's friendship with Australia – which was contingent upon Australian support for the complete transfer of West Irian administration to Indonesia. By signing the joint statement, as ambassadors of the Australian peace movement, CICD pledged to support Indonesia's claim in West Irian, and to call for a pact of peace between the two nations.

A similar agreement was signed three months earlier between the CPA and the Communist Party of Indonesia (or Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) reaffirming their existing bonds since the 1920s.<sup>27</sup> The CPA joint statement, with the largest communist party in a non-communist

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> The WPC resolution was adopted in Stockholm May 1959 and was reaffirmed at the Stockholm meeting in December 1961. Statement on National Independence, Stockholm, 13 May 1959, *World Peace Movement*, 411-412; 'Make the Pacific an Ocean of Peace and Highway of Friendship', VPC document, c.1961, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1299, f.96.

<sup>26</sup> The three Indonesian signatories were: H.S. Abbis, President of the Moslem Party and MP; Ir. S. Purbodiningrat, Professor of Engineering and former President Indonesian Peace Committee; and A. Astrawinata, Vice-Governor of West Java and a Master of Law, *Pax Supplement*, VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52.

<sup>27</sup> 'Communique of Communist Parties Urges: Peace Pact for Australia and Indonesia', *Guardian*, 15 October 1959:7.

country, was renewed in 1961 and 1963.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, individual cadre members, often working in the CICD's organisational apparatus, provided diligent support in the peace committee's efforts to advance Indonesia's cause. While the CPA provided instrumental support, the CICD was the leading body in the Victorian peace movement, driving the campaign to promote Indonesia's claim for West Irian and friendly relations and understanding between Australia and Indonesia. The campaign involved holding public meetings, receiving Indonesian delegations, organising cultural exhibitions and producing bulletins, while it also encouraged local initiatives to promote the campaign.

Less than two weeks following its return from the Peace Assembly, the CICD publicised plans to convey the message of the Australian-Indonesian joint peace statement to a public meeting in Melbourne's Assembly Hall.<sup>29</sup> The meeting, held on 15 February and attended by about 200 people, was addressed by the three-member delegation to the Indonesian assembly – Dickie, Hartley and Goldbloom. Its theme was 'Make the Pacific an Ocean of Peace and a Highway of Friendship' which called for Australian solidarity with Indonesia and a pact of peace.<sup>30</sup> In his address, Goldbloom declared that the 'people of Indonesia are for peace' and, as their neighbours, we should embrace their problems as if they were our own.<sup>31</sup> Hartley reminded the meeting of the 'wonderful job' Australian 'peace ships' had made during the 1940s Indonesian revolt by refusing to load arms bound for Indonesia.<sup>32</sup>

Goldbloom argued that West Irian was geographically and culturally a part of Indonesia and, therefore, Indonesia 'would never feel completely independent until she [Indonesia] had sovereignty over it'.<sup>33</sup> In his criticism of Dutch policy, Dickie claimed that Indonesia had made numerous rational approaches to the Dutch, which refused to negotiate on the transfer

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<sup>28</sup> In 1962, Aarons commented on the development of the PKI which he said had grown from 150,000 to 2 million in eight years. He had just returned from the 7<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PKI. 'Indonesians Will Liberate W. Irian', *Guardian*, 17 May 1962:7. 'Joint Statement by Australian, Indonesian Communist Parties', *Tribune*, 22 November 1961:2; 'Australia-Indonesia Statement', *Tribune*, 3 July 1963:1-2; 'Historic Joint Statement', *Tribune*, 24 July 1963:1.

<sup>29</sup> 'Bandung Peace Delegates Report – Back Here Monday', *Guardian*, 11 February 1960:1; 'Back from Indonesia!', VPC flyer, 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.62; 'Back from Indonesia!', *Age* [advertisement], 15 February 1960:4.

<sup>30</sup> 'Bandung Peace Delegates Report – Back Here Monday', *Guardian*, 11 February 1960:1; 'Delegates Report Back on Indonesian Peace Congress, Melbourne Rally Backs Move for Australia-Indonesia Pact', *Guardian*, 18 February 1960:3; 'Want Australia-Indonesia Pact', *Tribune*, 24 February 1960:4.

<sup>31</sup> ASIO Report [No. faded], 18 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.20.

<sup>32</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/448, 24 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.26.

<sup>33</sup> ASIO Minute to Senior Field Officer, 16 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.17.



of West Irian to Indonesia.<sup>34</sup> The speakers described the chronic poverty in Indonesia, which Hartley attributed to the 'grossness of military expenditure throughout the world'.<sup>35</sup>

Indonesian embassy official, Mr Sonn, who also addressed the meeting, concurred with what the CICD had said about his country. He added that Indonesia had not developed more rapidly because 'for years, up to forty per cent of the national income was spent on defence armaments'.<sup>36</sup> The speakers argued that Indonesia was forced to divert much of its economic resources into defence because Dutch presence in West Irian represented a continued threat to its national independence and security. Hartley stated that giving West Irian to Indonesia was a 'way out' of its economic problems.<sup>37</sup> Dickie told the meeting that attempts to give wider circulation to the joint peace statement had failed, because none of the Australian daily newspapers which were issued a copy of the statement had printed it.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, they emphasised that it was necessary to build public opinion in support of Indonesia's claim through their own initiatives.<sup>39</sup>

Three months later, Indonesia declared its bitter opposition to Dutch moves to reinforce the disputed territory with naval, army and air force units. In reaction to the Dutch move it held fleet manoeuvres and combined operations exercises in the same vicinity. Subandrio warned that with reinforcements from both sides in the area, 'you don't know what will happen'.<sup>40</sup> In a show of solidarity, the CICD immediately condemned the Dutch military build-up in West Irian, as well as Australia military exercises in North Borneo close to the borders of Indonesia. In statements to the communist press in May, and in their regular *Pax* issue, it suggested that the presence of Australian troops in Malaya, albeit in training exercises, and the Dutch military build-up in West Irian, 'look[ed] very much like an attempted containment of Indonesia'.<sup>41</sup> CICD leaders also urged the Australian government to register a protest

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<sup>34</sup> 'Delegates Back from Indonesian Peace Congress, Melbourne Rally Backs Move for Australia-Indonesia Pact', *Guardian*, 18 February 1960:3.

<sup>35</sup> ASIO Minute to Senior Field Officer, 16 February 1960, 16 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.17.

<sup>36</sup> ASIO Report [No. faded], 18 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.20.

<sup>37</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/448, 24 February 1960, 24 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122, 1406, f.26.

<sup>38</sup> 'Delegates Back on Indonesian Peace Congress, Melbourne Rally Backs Move for Australia-Indonesia Pact', *Guardian*, 18 February 1960:3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> 'Indies Navy to Manoeuvre Near Dutch', *Canberra Times*, 16 May 1960:1; 'Indies Reinforcements Sent to Islands Near W. New Guinea', *Canberra Times*, 21 May 1960:1.

<sup>41</sup> *Pax Supplement*, VPC, [c. February] 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 49, file 52; 'Dutch Build-Up in West Irian 'Threat to Peace'', *Guardian*, 12 May 1960:3; 'Keep Dutch Warship out Menzies Must Act for Peace', *Tribune*, 18 May 1960:4.

against the Dutch military build-up and to press for a negotiated settlement of the West Irian issue.<sup>42</sup> Two months later in July, the CICD's actions were followed by other sections of the movement. *Peace Action* quoted opposition from the Dutch peace movement; the Seamen's Union of Australia black banned Dutch warships *en route* to the region, despite reassurances that it was only a 'flag-showing trip'; and the Union of Australian Women (UAW) registered its opposition to the Dutch warship's goodwill visit.<sup>43</sup> Set against heightened international tensions sparked by the spy plane incident that precipitated the Summit collapse (discussed in Chapter 3), the CICD sounded warnings against 'dangerous trends' developing in the region, while it also inspired local initiatives to contribute to the campaign.<sup>44</sup>

CICD leadership encouraged regional committees to hold their own meetings addressed by individual delegates of the Indonesian Peace Assembly, who could give a more detailed report of the assembly.<sup>45</sup> One such meeting, convened in April by the Kew peace group, was addressed by Dickie. According to an ASIO informant, Dickie spoke almost entirely on Indonesia's just claim to West Irian during his address. The Kew group's 'Indonesian Evening' was held to provide a forum for sharing Australian and Indonesian perspectives and to promote cultural understanding between the two nations. The next speaker was a young Indonesian woman, whose talk on Indonesia was illustrated by slides of her country. During the course of the evening, five Indonesian students from Melbourne University prepared and served 'an excellent fried rice supper'. The students also supervised an exhibition of handcrafts, and played recordings of Indonesian music.<sup>46</sup>

A further opportunity to build friendship and understanding between Australia and Indonesia arose when the Indonesian *Dewarutji* docked in Melbourne during a goodwill visit around

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<sup>42</sup> 'Keep Dutch Warship out Menzies Must Act for Peace', *Tribune*, 18 May 1960:4.

<sup>43</sup> 'Dutch and New Guinea', *Peace Action*, July 1960, 7, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6; 'Union Ban on Dutch Warships', *Tribune*, 13 July 1960:12; 'Dutch Minister to Visit Australia', *Canberra Times*, 13 July 1960:15; 'Women Oppose Visit by Dutch Warships', *Tribune*, 6 July 1960:3.

<sup>44</sup> *Pax*, VPC, November 1960, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 59, f.13.

<sup>45</sup> ASIO Report No. 60/414, 22 February 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122 1406, f.25.

<sup>46</sup> The meeting was held on 30 April 1960 at the home of Kurt Merz, 'Kew Peace Group – Indonesian Evening', APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122 1406, ASIO Report No. 60/1037, 5 May 1960, f.90-91. Merz was an Austrian refugee who arrived in Australia shortly before the outbreak of WWII and held a Christian Socialist outlook similar with that of the three peace parsons. See: Renate Howe, 'Town and Gown: Father Maynard and the Student Christian Movement' in Colin Holden (ed.), *Anglo-Catholicism in Melbourne: Papers to Mark the 150th Anniversary of St Peter's Eastern Hill 1846-1996* (Parkville: University of Melbourne, Department of History, 1997):118; Farnham E. Maynard, Kurt Merz and Ralph Gibson, *A Fair Hearing for Socialism* (Prahran: Fraser & Morphet, 1944).

Australia. Public interest in the Indonesian barquentine, which arrived on 13 June 1961, was reportedly unprecedented. The *Age* claimed that between 35,000 and 40,000 Melbournians inspected the three-masted vessel during its week-long stay. Invitations from private families to the crew reached ‘unimaginable proportions’ and many had to be declined.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, a group of some thirty Indonesian navy cadets accepted an invitation to attend a social dance on the evening of 19 June, held in their honour, and hosted by the CICD. The cadets conveyed well-wishes from Indonesia to the CICD. At the time, Indonesia’s ‘strong man’, Defence and Security Minister, General Nasution, had failed to persuade the Australian government during a visit to Canberra to take a neutral position on West Irian, rather than support the Dutch.<sup>48</sup> In Dickie’s speech to the cadets he recalled the CICD leadership’s visit to Indonesia, and reaffirmed the terms of the joint-peace statement.<sup>49</sup>

As part of the ‘Make the Pacific an Ocean of Peace and Highway of Friendship’ campaign, the peace committee announced intentions to hold a ‘National Independence’ exhibition, depicting the life and aspirations of colonised peoples and countries, including, of course, Indonesia and West Irian.<sup>50</sup> The stated ‘inspiration’ for the exhibition was the 14 December 1960 UN resolution, granting independence to colonial countries and people.<sup>51</sup> When the exhibition was eventually held in August 1962, it was retitled, ‘A Changing World: An Exhibition of Arts, Industry, Agriculture, Independence Movements of the Peoples of Asia, Latin America, Africa, New Guinea, Oceania and Australian Aborigines’, to reflect the increased global impact of decolonisation in the post-war world.<sup>52</sup> The UN resolution on colonialism marked a significant shift in the UN’s composition with many new members

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<sup>47</sup> ‘Indonesian Navy Cadets Work Hard but Love Their Life’, *Age*, 16 June 1961:14; ‘Crowds Swarm Over Indonesian Barquentine’, *Age*, 19 June 1961:3.

<sup>48</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 27 April 1961, 1247-1249, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1961/19610427\\_reps\\_23\\_hor31/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1961/19610427_reps_23_hor31/). On Nasution’s appointment in 1959 see ‘No Foreign Policy Shift for Indies’, *Canberra Times*, 11 July 1959:3.

<sup>49</sup> ‘Peace Council Honoured “Dewarutji” Men’, *Guardian*, 29 June 1961:7.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Australian Peace Council Makes Peace Main Issue at Federal Elections: National Independence Exhibition’, *Bulletin of the World Council of Peace* No. 10, October 1961:7, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1960-62. See also a document ‘guiding lines for research’ for the exhibition, ‘Make the Pacific an Ocean of Peace and Highway of Friendship’, VPC document, c.1961, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1299, f.96.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Australian Peace Council Makes Peace Main Issue at Federal Elections: National Independence Exhibition’; VPC letter to members, 3 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>52</sup> ‘A Changing World: An Exhibition of Arts, Industry, Agriculture, Independence Movements of the Peoples of Asia, Latin America, Africa, New Guinea, Oceania and Australian Aborigines’, VPC Handbill, 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62; VPC letter to members, 3 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

having won liberation from colonial rule.<sup>53</sup> With almost double the original number of members since 1946, the UN became an important arena for the struggle against imperialist powers and colonialism. However, so far, the UN proved unable to reach a solution that favoured Indonesia despite the VPC leadership suggesting otherwise, and more recently Sukarno failed to convince the first official Non-Aligned Nations Conference, which condemned colonialism, that West Irian was a critical colonial problem.<sup>54</sup> By the end of the month, Dutch Foreign Minister, Dr Joseph Luns, offered to turn over West Irian's administration to a UN trusteeship, provided it guaranteed self-determination of its people.<sup>55</sup> The proposal, which was applauded by Menzies as a 'constructive' solution to the West Irian problem, was utterly rejected by Indonesia, which saw it as both a challenge and an affront to its claim of 'liberating' West Irian from colonialism.<sup>56</sup> At the non-aligned summit meeting in September, Sukarno stated that Indonesia had been preparing to 'confront' the Dutch.<sup>57</sup> Then, one month later, at a mass rally in Jakarta, he declared that Indonesia was 'ready to fight...for the elimination of colonialism and imperialism' in West Irian.<sup>58</sup> For its part, the CICD continued to support Indonesia to help complete its struggle for national independence – by liberating the people of West Irian. At the same time, the CICD faced the tangible possibility that tensions between Indonesia and the Dutch and Australian policies towards it, could develop into regional conflict in SE Asia.

Following Sukarno's successful attempt to block Dutch efforts at the UN to secure self-determination for West Irian, Sukarno made his first move, in December 1961, to take command in West Irian.<sup>59</sup> He appointed himself Chairman of the Indonesian Joint Chiefs of

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<sup>53</sup> *The United Nations and Decolonisation*, [https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514\(XV\)](https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/1514(XV)).

<sup>54</sup> The VPC leadership claimed that the 'majority' of the UN member nations supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian, 'Dutch Build-Up in West Irian 'Threat to Peace'', *Guardian*, 12 May 1960:3. More recently, the non-aligned summit meeting was held in Belgrade, 28 August-5 September 1961, 'Neutrals Fail to Support N.G. Claim', *Canberra Times*, 8 September 1961:4.

<sup>55</sup> 'Careful Study of Dutch N.G. Proposals', *Canberra Times*, 28 September 1961:6.

<sup>56</sup> "'Constructive' Says Menzies Praise for Dutch N.G. Plan", *Canberra Times*, 29 September 1961:3; 'Indonesia, 'No'', *Canberra Times*, 28 September 1961:6.

<sup>57</sup> See Sukarno's address at the 1961 non-aligned summit in Belgrade on 3 September in 'Non-Aligned Nations Summit Meeting, Belgrade, 1 September 1961', Ref: JFKPOF-104-004-p0056, nn11, digital p. 56, *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/asset-viewer/archives/JFKPOF/104/JFKPOF-104-004>.

<sup>58</sup> 'Indonesia Now 'Ready to Fight'', *Canberra Times*, 10 October 1961:4. 'Moments of History on N.G.', *Canberra Times*, 31 August 1961:22; 'Hopes for Peace in N.G. Dispute', *Canberra Times*, 13 September 1961:27.

<sup>59</sup> 'UN Rebuffs Move on New Guinea', *Canberra Times*, 29 November 1961:1; 'Indonesia Plans to Act on N. Guinea', *Age*, 13 December 1961:4.

Staff and ordered a general mobilisation of his armed forces to ‘liberate’ West Irian.<sup>60</sup> The move represented an escalation in the crisis which contrasted with Indonesian assurances that it wanted a peaceful settlement to the issue. As for the CICD leadership’s response, two VPC publications were produced explaining the crisis and the peace movement’s position. As previously noted, there was no distinction between the views of the VPC and CICD and therefore are relevant to this discussion.

The first was a special *Pax Information Bulletin*, ‘Indonesia, West Irian – ‘Unity Derived Through Centuries of Being Together’’.<sup>61</sup> The twelve-page January bulletin had two main intentions. First, it argued the legal basis for Indonesia’s claim, discounting West Irian’s right to self-determination. It stated that Indonesia had indisputable cultural and historical ties with the people of West Irian. It reasoned that the people of West Irian all shared the same colonial fate and experiences as the Indonesians and therefore the accusation that Indonesia was applying its own form of colonialism did not apply. To support its argument, it drew upon numerous sources, including an article in *Nation* by Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Dr A.Y. Helmi. Helmi argued that ancient ties between the territories pre-dated Dutch colonisation.<sup>62</sup> In addition to Helmi’s article, the VPC bulletin cited more than twenty articles, collected over a six-year period, mostly from the *Herald* and the *Age*. It quoted foreign correspondent for the *Herald*, Denis Warner, and the paper’s managing director, John Williams. In this way, it gave the appearance of a well-founded argument based on informed and respected opinion. The evidence provided in the bulletin criticised both Australian and Dutch policies, in or towards West Irian, as unrealistic, exploitative, regressive and repressive, and therefore ultimately indefensible.

Second, the bulletin justified Indonesia’s latest moves, while simultaneously stating that the ‘best recipe for peace’ was a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the issue, without foreign intervention. Indonesia was depicted as a nation struggling to emerge from its colonial past and surrounded by many ‘hostile military blocs’ of SEATO, ANZUS, and even NATO, through continued Western presence in the region. It also rejected outright theories of Indonesia’s expansionist ambitions. It cited Sukarno’s assurances that Indonesia had no

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<sup>60</sup> ‘Indonesian Call for Sacrifices’, *Canberra Times*, 18 December 1961:14; ‘Soekarno Heads Planning Group Urgent Talks on Capture of N.G’, *Canberra Times*, 29 Dec 1961:1.

<sup>61</sup> ‘Indonesia, West Irian - ‘Unity Derived Through Centuries of Being Together’’, *Pax Information Bulletin* No.1, January 1962, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.125 [12-paged bulletin, all other pages do not have a folio number but are in sequential order]

<sup>62</sup> The VPC Bulletin reprinted an extract of Helmi’s article published in *Nation*, 14 February 1959, *Ibid*.

interest in Australian East New Guinea, Portuguese East Timor, or the British colonies of North Borneo and Sarawak.

The bulletin referenced its sources diligently, except when it referred to articles from communist publications. For instance, evidence of ‘war-like’ statements from Australia – which included veiled threats from Menzies and quoted Calwell referring to Sukarno as Hitler – were cited from communist publications without declaring their source.<sup>63</sup> It was carefully constructed in its composition and arrangement by privileging accounts which supported its own perspective. The bulletin demonstrated minimal attempts to present a balanced view despite various views existing over the issue.

More often, the only consensus among world leaders on the problem was that it was a ‘potentially explosive issue’ for SE Asia, which should be resolved peacefully.<sup>64</sup> For instance, in the *Nation*’s editorial of the same issue in which Helmi’s article appeared, Helmi’s arguments were ‘gently contested’. Both positions on the issue were ‘about equally strong and equally irrelevant to the main issue which (was) the welfare of the natives’.<sup>65</sup> The *Nation* suggested a UN-monitored, three-way temporary trusteeship between Indonesia, the Dutch and Australia for the whole island, with a view to a united and sovereign New Guinea.<sup>66</sup> Although Australian opinion was not tested on whether it would support a solution as far-sighted as that proposed in the *Nation*, the overwhelming majority of Australians favoured the idea of the UN governing West Irian, rather than Indonesia or for that matter, even Australia.<sup>67</sup> However, such views were not considered in the VPC bulletin. In closing, the VPC bulletin encouraged readers to write to the Australian government ‘demanding lasting friendly relations with our Indonesian neighbours and no foreign troops on her soil’.<sup>68</sup> The January issue was distributed amongst workers with the help of factories and trade

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<sup>63</sup> ‘Tell Menzies Government Dutch Colonialists Must Quit N.G’, *Guardian*, 11 January 1962:1 ‘Recognise the Indonesian Just Claim’, *Tribune*, 10 Jan 1962:1.

<sup>64</sup> ‘Views Clash on Indonesian Claims’, *Age*, 27 Nov 1954:13. For a discussion on the divergent attitudes between the US and Australia regarding Indonesia, see Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 200-203.

<sup>65</sup> Sylvia Lawson, *How Simone de Beauvoir Died in Australia: Stories and Essays* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 102-103.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> Support for UN administration over West Irian ranged between 67-71 per cent while, at most, 12.5 per cent of Australians thought Indonesia should govern West Irian. Other less favourable suggested options were: Australia, the US, or West Irian themselves. *AGP*, Survey 153, 10 November 1961; Survey 156, 6 April 1962 [computer file], Canberra: ADA, ANU 1989; *AGP*, Survey 157, 8 June 1962 [computer file], Canberra: ADA, ANU, 2004.

<sup>68</sup> ‘Indonesia, West Irian - ‘Unity Derived Through Centuries of Being Together’’, *Pax Information Bulletin* No.1, January 1962, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6122, 1409, f.125.

unions sympathetic to the peace movements views. Within two months, 2,000 copies had been sold at sixpence each.<sup>69</sup> Not only did this help to recover production costs, the bulletin helped the CICD to consolidate support in the peace movement.

The second complementary publication, which also aimed to justify Indonesia's latest moves, was the regular *Pax* pamphlet. It featured a short article by Dickie titled, 'West New Guinea – Whose?'.<sup>70</sup> It argued that the Dutch drove Indonesia 'to launch a counter attack' to recover what 'ha[d] been lost'. It quotes the first article of the 1949 UN Commission on Indonesia resolution which transferred from the Netherlands, 'complete sovereignty over Indonesia', to the Indonesian Republic.<sup>71</sup> However, it omits the second article of the resolution which dealt with West Irian as a separate administrative issue and stated that the political status of the territory would be settled by negotiation between the Netherlands and Indonesia.<sup>72</sup> While the 1949 UN resolution on Indonesia suggested that the Commission could not settle the issue at the time, it also stated, as Casey confirmed, that there was no legal obligation under the UN to transfer West Irian to Indonesia and that both parties would reach a mutually satisfactory solution within the year.<sup>73</sup> Dickie blamed the Netherlands for Indonesia's actions, and criticised the Australian government for failing to adopt policies to help Indonesia 'complete her struggle' for independence. Australia was a part of Asia, he argued, and its policies should reflect a positive attitude towards it.<sup>74</sup>

Between the VPC publications, an Assembly Hall meeting was convened on 27 February 1962, which was chaired by Hartley, to hear Indonesia's perspectives on the West Irian situation.<sup>75</sup> The guest speaker, First Secretary of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, R.W. Sastronegara, spoke on 'Australia – Indonesia – We Must be Friends'.<sup>76</sup> A five-member delegation of Indonesian students also attended. The *Age* reported that they were all members

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<sup>69</sup> *Pax*, VPC, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>70</sup> 'West Irian – Whose? Indonesia Claims all Former Dutch Territory by Rev A. Dickie', *Pax*, VPC, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> 'N.E.I Sovereignty by December 30', *Canberra Times*, 3 November 1949:5.

<sup>73</sup> 'Casey Criticises Indonesia: UN Powerless on New Guinea', *Courier-Mail* (Qld.), 3 November 1954:1.

<sup>74</sup> 'West Irian – Whose? Indonesia Claims all Former Dutch Territory by Rev A. Dickie', *Pax*, VPC, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>75</sup> 'Meeting on Indonesia', [extract] *Guardian*, 22 February 1962, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 1409, f.141; ASIO Cablegram from RD ACT 27 February, 1962 and related notes in file in APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 1409, f.149-150.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

of military regiments ‘formed to liberate’ West Irian.<sup>77</sup> The group arrived recently for a ten-week visit to Victoria but were on notice to ‘return immediately [to Indonesia] should war break out’.<sup>78</sup> Thus, the sense of an impending conflict was the backdrop for the meeting, which gave implicit support to Indonesia’s policy of armed struggle. This was also suggested by showing Joris Ivens’ 1946 documentary film, *Indonesia Calling*, at the meeting. The film illustrated Australian WWF support during the 1940s revolt and the strong bonds that developed between Indonesia and Australia as a result.<sup>79</sup> The propaganda film was available for hire from the VPC office, apparently to help local groups gain a better understanding of Indonesia’s ongoing struggle for independence. Within a few weeks, *Indonesia Calling* was shown by at least ten regional peace committees.<sup>80</sup> Other local activities included an Indonesian exhibition and cultural evening held two weeks later on 16 March at the Unitarian Church Hall. It was organised by the Essendon peace group and assisted by one of CICD’s youth committees.<sup>81</sup> At an interstate level, plans to organise a visiting delegation from Indonesia were discussed at a meeting of state peace bodies in Sydney on 17 February 1962.<sup>82</sup> Almost a year later, Rev. Alan Brand and Dickie formally announced plans for the Indonesian ‘goodwill tour’ of Australia. The visit was planned in collaboration with the Indonesian peace movement, ‘with a view to the promotion of increasing friendship and understanding between our people.’<sup>83</sup>

The Indonesian delegation arrived first in Sydney on 11 March 1963, before visiting the other eastern state capitals and Adelaide. The delegation was led by Indonesian Peace Committee Secretary, Mr Suroto, and comprised Indonesian Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee member, Brigadier-General Latief Hendraningrat, and Yohana Siti Menara Saidah, a youth and women’s group advocate and the wife of Deputy First Minister, Jo Chaerul Saleh.<sup>84</sup> Although the visit was non-official, the Indonesian delegation was greeted in Sydney by

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<sup>77</sup> ‘Students Here from Indonesia’, [extract] *Age*, 27 February 1962:3, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 1409, f.142.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> ‘Meeting on Indonesia’[extract] *Guardian*, 22 February 1962, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 1409, f.141; ASIO Cablegram from RD ACT, 27 February 1962, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 1409, f.149-150.

<sup>80</sup> *Pax*, VPC, March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Extract of Minutes of Interstate Meeting, Sydney, 17 February 1962, approved by Melbourne Meeting of Representatives and Groups at Assembly Hall, 6 March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>83</sup> ‘Press Statement’, 15 February 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, 1963.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*; ‘Indonesians Peace Delegates Here Soon’, *Guardian*, 21 February 1963:3; ‘Indonesian Delegates Call for Friendship’, *Tribune*, 13 March 1960:12.



Indonesian embassy and consular officials, Labor MPs Bill Rigby and Tom Uren, and New South Wales Peace Committee for International Cooperation and Disarmament (NSWPCICD) officers, Geoff Anderson and Bill Morrow.<sup>85</sup> Speaking to *Tribune*, Hendraningrat declared that Indonesia wanted ‘real friendship with Australia – that is why we are here’.<sup>86</sup> On 21 March 1963, a buffet tea was provided for the delegation at the Melbourne Trades Hall. The Melbourne section of the goodwill tour was funded largely through the proceeds of a co-sponsorship program with Melbourne unions, at the instigation of the CICD.<sup>87</sup> The Melbourne Trades Hall Council (THC) secretary, Vic Stout, delivered the welcoming address and Dickie introduced the guests. In his address, Hendraningrat said Indonesia wanted a peaceful settlement to the West Irian question and stated emphatically, ‘Indonesia is not an aggressive country’.<sup>88</sup> This commitment to peace can be juxtaposed against Indonesia’s regional bellicosity, especially towards the idea of a federated Malaysia.

As part of what Sukarno called his policy of ‘guided democracy’, Sukarno had become increasingly authoritarian by late 1962 when he began looking more towards Peking.<sup>89</sup> Sukarno’s attitude reflected several complex causes, including his need to balance a variety of competing forces within his administration, such as the growing influence of the PKI.<sup>90</sup> Speaking at a mass meeting in East Java in December 1962, Sukarno declared his support for the Brunei rebellion, an abortive revolt in north west Borneo, which began on 8 December.<sup>91</sup> Indonesia was accused of playing an instrumental role, which Sukarno emphatically denied, in the revolt in order to destabilise the Malayan federation process and unite Borneo under Indonesian control.<sup>92</sup> Sukarno also declared that ‘if the Indonesian flag is not the sole flag

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<sup>85</sup> ‘Indonesian Friendship Delegation Arrives’, *Guardian*, 14 March 1963:6; ‘Indonesian Delegates Call for Friendship’, *Tribune*, 13 March 1960:12.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Indonesian Delegates Call for Friendship’, *Tribune*, 13 March 1960:12.

<sup>87</sup> CICD suggested unions co-sponsor the tour at £10 each union and 5 shillings per head would be charged at the door, to cover the cost of the reception. CICD letter to union members from Goldbloom and Anderson, 12 March 1963 and letter from SUA Victorian Branch Acting Secretary, Roger Wilson, to the CICD Secretary, 15 March 1963, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>88</sup> ‘Indonesian Peace Delegation Given A Warm Welcome by Unions’, *Guardian*, 28 March 1963:3.

<sup>89</sup> Singapore Associated Press reported that Sukarno governs without elections as part of what called ‘guided democracy’. ‘Asian Countries Turn from Ballot Box’, *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1961:2; Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 257.

<sup>90</sup> An editorial by Bruce Grant described open criticism from the PKI and long-standing taunts against Sukarno from conservative quarters in the Indonesian government. Bruce Grant, ‘New Year Attack – Dr Sukarno and the Communist Party’ *Age*, 5 January 1960: 2; see also ‘Army Said to be in Full Control Now of Indonesia’, *Age*, 5 January 1960:4; Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 257.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Soekarno: ‘Support Rebellion’’, *Canberra Times*, 20 Dec 1962:1.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Indonesia: No Rebel Ties’, *Canberra Times* 15 Dec 1962:1; ‘Aftermath of Revolt Brunei, Malaysia and The Future’, *Canberra Times*, 18 Dec 1962:2.

flying in West Irian on May 1 [1963], we shall use force to ensure that it is'.<sup>93</sup> On 1 January 1963 the process for the peaceful transfer of West Irian to Indonesia on 1 May, through the UN, had begun.<sup>94</sup> The transfer was aided by a series of diplomatic moves by the US, who regarded Sukarno a 'good nationalist' despite his anti-Western rhetoric, and considered that West Irian was 'an acceptable price for keeping Indonesia out of the communist camp'.<sup>95</sup> However, only days before Dickie and Brand announced the scheduled arrival of the Indonesian delegation, in mid- February 1963, Sukarno publicly and formally launched his campaign against the Malaysia proposal, and soon after pledged to 'wreck' it.<sup>96</sup> The Indonesian policy of Confrontation against Malaysia was hinted at a few weeks earlier by Subandrio, but at that time he had not yet 'thought it through'.<sup>97</sup>

The concept of a federation between British Malaya, Singapore, and the British colonies of North Brunei and Sarawak surfaced in mid-1961 with Malayan PM, Tunku Abdul Rahman.<sup>98</sup> Its geo-strategic aims were to contain Chinese communist influence in SE Asia and ensure continued British access to the semi-independent Singapore, from which to execute its SEATO obligations.<sup>99</sup> When the British-sponsored union was realised two years later, on 16 September 1963, both Menzies and Calwell welcomed it as a positive factor for stability in the region, as did the US.<sup>100</sup> Although Sukarno seemed initially undaunted by the idea of a merger, by 1963 he considered it a threat to Indonesian economic and political interests in the region and feared that a federated Malaysia would provide a base from which Western powers could harm Indonesia.<sup>101</sup> Immediately following the transfer of West Irian's administration to Indonesia, on 1 May 1963, and buoyed by his successful policy of confrontation against the Dutch, Sukarno demanded the end of all colonialism and also

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<sup>93</sup> 'Soekarno: 'Support Rebellion'', *Canberra Times*, 20 Dec 1962:1.

<sup>94</sup> 'Indonesian Flag Up in N.G.', *Canberra Times*, 1 January 1963:3; 'N.G. Change-Over Remains at May 1, U.N. Denies Transfer Alteration', *Canberra Times*, 8 Feb 1963:15.

<sup>95</sup> Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 201; 231.

<sup>96</sup> 'Sharp Warning by Indonesia Malaysia Plan 'Risks Conflict'' *Canberra Times*, 12 February 1963:1; 'Soekarno Threatens to Wreck Malaysia', *Canberra Times*, 15 Feb 1963:1.

<sup>97</sup> 'Indonesia Vague on 'Confrontation' Policy Directed at Malaya', *SMH*, 24 January 1963:3

<sup>98</sup> 'Malayan Talks on Confederation Plan', *Canberra Times*, 27 June 1961:16.

<sup>99</sup> 'Singapore Still a Base for SEATO, Commons Assured', *SMH*, 30 November 1961:3; Malaysia Group 'Within a Year', *Canberra Times*, 25 November 1961:3; 'Malaysia Talks', *Canberra Times*, 30 November 1961:21.

<sup>100</sup> 'Malaysia Welcomed', *Canberra Times*, 16 September 1963:3.

<sup>101</sup> Donald Hindley, 'Indonesia's Confrontation with Malaysia: A Search for Motives', *Asian Survey* Vol. 4(6) 1964, 913; Peter Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 257.

demanded independence for British Borneo.<sup>102</sup> By mid-June Nasution announced that Indonesia should continue to build up its armed forces because, he said, Indonesia was still ‘confronting neo-colonialism’ in its ‘border areas’.<sup>103</sup> The CICD also argued that the formation of Malaysia was regarded by Indonesia as a neo-colonialist tactic by the British to continue to exert influence and control over its former colonies, while it maintained a military presence in Borneo and Brunei.<sup>104</sup>

Indonesia’s attitude to Malaysia was outlined in an October 1963 VPC booklet titled, ‘Malaysia – Does it Contribute to Peace?’.<sup>105</sup> It defended the Indonesian policy of confrontation against Malaysia by supporting Indonesia’s theories of neo-colonialism and western encirclement. It provided a history of the new federation, establishing the connection with British interests and provided reasons for opposition from Singapore, Philippines, Brunei and Indonesia to the scheme. The booklet was similar in approach and tone to the earlier VPC publications, citing extracts from daily newspapers to argue that opposition to the scheme was suppressed by the British, and that the Philippines and Indonesia were ultimately excluded from the scheme’s process. Therefore, it suggested that ‘there [wa]s no doubt’ Indonesia would continue its policy of confrontation against Malaysia. It warned that ‘grave dangers’ threaten Australian-Indonesian relations, as well as the peace and security of the ‘whole area’ of our north.

Like many in the CPA, the CICD continued to support Indonesia, albeit through its criticism of British and Australian policies during the Malaysian Confrontation. However, by 1964 the PKI, together with the New Zealand Communist Party (NZCP), pledged their support for the pro-Peking line. The decision ‘created difficulties’ for the CPA and by extension the CICD. The CICD finally condemned Indonesia’s policy towards Malaysia by January 1965, while a pact of friendship between the CPA and PKI communist parties was not renewed in 1964.<sup>106</sup> Although the PKI was numerically strong, the culturally diverse Indonesia also had a

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<sup>102</sup> ‘Allegiance to Indonesia: New W. Irian Council Sworn’, *Canberra Times*, 3 May 1963:1; ‘Sukarno Demands End of All Colonialism: Indonesians Show Might in Take-Over’, *Canberra Times*, 2 May 1963:1; ‘Borneo Demand’, *Canberra Times*, 2 May 1963: 3.

<sup>103</sup> ‘More Arms Call to Indonesia’, *Canberra Times*, 13 June 1963:26; see also Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 257.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Malaysia – Does it Contribute to Peace?’, VPC booklet, October 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, January 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 44 1966; ‘Greeting from New Zealand Party to National Congress’, 24 Jun 1964, 10; ‘L. Aarons speaks on relations with Indonesia’, *Tribune*, 1 Jul 1964:9.

dominant anti-communist faction within its army.<sup>107</sup> It explains, in part, US support for the transfer of West Irian to Indonesia, and its support after the Indonesian Confrontation ended, by late 1965. Following an abortive coup on 1 October 1965, Indonesian right-wing Major General Hadikasumo, announced on Radio Jakarta that the PKI and its affiliates had been banned.<sup>108</sup> A week later, Nasution called on Sukarno to ‘purge’ Indonesia of the political groups which had supported the October coup.<sup>109</sup> The incident proved to be a turning point for the Malaysian Confrontation and, thereafter, it abated. At the time, an Australia-China Society delegation was *en route* to an ‘International Conference on the Liquidation of Foreign Bases’ to be held in Jakarta during 17-20 October. Among the delegation was former VPC executive Rev. James and Myra Roper. They cancelled their flight reservations on 5 October, one day before they were scheduled to leave.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, and under an agreement with Indonesia, China was planning to explode a nuclear bomb beneath the ocean off West Irian.<sup>111</sup> Collectively, these were also ‘dangerous trends’ the CICD was forced to contemplate.

CICD files are generally silent on Indonesia and West Irian during this period, particularly during the purge of the PKI in Indonesia. In 1969, the UN supervised the ‘Act of Free Choice’, which was intended to be a free vote for West Irian to choose between independence or integration with Indonesia. In rather dubious circumstances West Irian had voted unanimously for integration. Thereafter, it was officially renamed West Irian (Irian Jaya) and became the 26<sup>th</sup> province of Indonesia.<sup>112</sup> In an end-of-financial-year report for 1969 can be found the CICD’s note that the Australian government ‘sees no threat from Indonesia...Now we find Australia supporting a reactionary Indonesian government’.<sup>113</sup> This terse reference confirmed the end of Indonesian government support for the communist-led international peace movement and, in turn, the end of CICD support for Indonesia by early 1965.

Thus, CICD support for Indonesia in the early 1960s was both conditional and, to an extent, contradictory. It was contingent upon Indonesian-pledged support for the WPC-led

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<sup>107</sup> ‘Dr Sukarno Warm to Communists’, *Age*, 24 May 1965:1; ‘Indonesians Will Liberate W. Irian’, *Guardian*, 17 May 1962:7.

<sup>108</sup> ‘Indonesia Bans Communist Party’, *Age*, 19 October 1965:1.

<sup>109</sup> ‘SOBSI Banned as Nasution Calls for Purge’, *Canberra Times*, 26 October 1965:1.

<sup>110</sup> ASIO document B/29/31, 18 November 1965, James Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 2178, f.16.

<sup>111</sup> ‘West Irian Bomb Test Forecast’, *Canberra Times*, 11 September 1965:5.

<sup>112</sup> ‘West Irian Protest to UN Over Act of Free Choice’, *Canberra Times*, 30 June 1969:3; ‘West Irian ‘Part of Indonesia’’, *Papua New Guinea Post-Courier*, 22 Dec 1969:19.

<sup>113</sup> CICD Secretary Report 1968-1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 2.

international peace movement, which was also critical of Western policies affecting the region. Thereafter, the actions of the Indonesian government were supported and defended on the pretext of anti-colonialism, even though Indonesian confrontation conflicted with the principles of both self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of both Malaya and West Irian. However, with Indonesia looking increasingly towards China, support for Indonesia's position was problematic for the CICD and by early 1965 the CICD withdrew its support for Indonesian policy. At the time the CICD was also preoccupied with developments in first Laos and then Vietnam, and the possibility of Australian military involvement there. Already by 1961 the CICD had begun to predict with some certainty that the region would be a significant flashpoint for war.

### **'No Korea in Laos!'**

For the CICD, the wars in Korea and Indochina and the Malayan Emergency demonstrated the preparedness of Western powers and their Asian allies to join forces to deter communist expansion in SE Asia. Such cooperation was formalised by a number of collective security arrangements including ANZUS, SEATO, and an Anglo-Malayan Defence Agreement (ADMA). The ADMA ensured that British and Far East Strategic troops, which included Australian and New Zealand troops, could remain in Malaya following its independence in 1960. On paper, the collective arrangements crystallised the Australian government's long-held hopes to maintain a strong Western presence in Asia and, above all, US commitment to the region.<sup>114</sup> SEATO was created to provide a system of collective defence against communist aggression in SE Asia, immediately following the July 1954 Geneva Agreement on Indochina. SEATO members were not confident that the Geneva agreements provided adequate insurance against a communist takeover in the new states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Before Geneva, R.G. Casey stated that any armistice arrangement in Indochina would leave the people of those newly independent countries 'exposed under the guise of peaceful negotiation, to the subversion and political manoeuvring of aggressive communism'.<sup>115</sup> Eisenhower conveyed similar dissatisfaction with it when he explained why the US declined to sign the Geneva Agreement: the US undertook to 'not use force to disturb the settlement' with the proviso that it would view 'with grave concern... any renewal of

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<sup>114</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 9 March 1950, 621-623, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500309\\_reps\\_19\\_206/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1950/19500309_reps_19_206/).

<sup>115</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 7 April 1954, 124-125 [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19540407\\_reps\\_20\\_hor3/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19540407_reps_20_hor3/).

aggression'.<sup>116</sup> The CICD, which held a copy of the Geneva Conference's 13-point 'Final Declaration' on Indochina, also noted the attitude of the United States to argue that it planned from the outset to interfere militarily.<sup>117</sup> Casey envisaged in SEATO a treaty with 'teeth'; however, like ANZUS, the US would respond to danger only in accordance with its constitutional processes, therefore, any action taken by the US needed congressional approval.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, for several complex reasons, SEATO failed to act in unison, and in so doing, undermined its strength.<sup>119</sup> However, for the CICD, while such military pacts were in place, the possibility of Western military intervention in SE Asia remained, and nuclear weapons could be involved. Consequently, primary concerns for the CICD regarding SE Asia were the issues of continued Western intervention and direct action under ANZUS or the SEATO pact, whose objective was 'to stem the tide of national independence'.<sup>120</sup>

In response to the first major outbreak of hostilities in Laos in mid-1959, the VPC appealed to supporters to write letters and telegrams to the British Government asking to reconvene the International Commission for Supervision and Control for Laos (ICC).<sup>121</sup> A commission was established for each of the three states at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina, to ensure that the terms of the Geneva agreements were carried out. Britain and the Soviet Union co-chaired the ICC, with India, Poland and Canada making up the commission. With renewed hostilities in Laos, in late 1960, the CICD wrote articles critical of US interference,

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<sup>116</sup> 'US Won't Upset Indo-China Truce', *Age*, 23 July 1954:4.

<sup>117</sup> Copy of the 'Final Declaration of the Geneva Conference on the Problem of Restoring Peace in Indo-China, 12 July 1954' in which the representatives of Cambodia, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, France, Laos, the People's Republic of China, the State of Viet-Nam, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America took part, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>118</sup> 'Attack by Stealth Asia Risk', *Canberra Times*, 28 September 1954:5; H of R, *Debates*, 10 August 1954, 96 [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19540810\\_reps\\_21\\_hor4/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19540810_reps_21_hor4/); H of R, *Debates*, 27 October 1954, 2385-2386, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19541027\\_reps\\_21\\_hor5/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1954/19541027_reps_21_hor5/).

<sup>119</sup> See for instance: Ronald C. Nairn, 'SEATO: A Critique', *Pacific Affairs* Vol. 41(1) 1968, 5-18; Paul E. Eckel, 'SEATO: An Ailing Alliance', *World Affairs*, Vol. 134(2) 1971:97-114; and more currently, Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 241-243; Roy Nabarun, 'Assuaging Cold War Anxieties: India and the Failure of SEATO', *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 26(2) 2015, 322-340; Ji-Young, Lee, 'Contested American Hegemony and Regional Order in Postwar Asia: The Case of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization', *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 19(2) 2019, 237-267.

<sup>120</sup> 'No Korea in Laos!', *Pax Special Supplement*, VPC, April 1961, ASIO Report No. 61/489, 11 May 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.69-71. (henceforth, 'No Korea in Laos!')

<sup>121</sup> The VPC pamphlet 'What is happening in Laos?' ASIO Report No. 16566, 16 September 1959, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1299, f.63; *What is Happening in Laos*, Parts I & II (Melb: VPC, 1959); Report No. 60/498, 2 March 1960, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 3, NAA: A6122:1406, f.29.

and called for a 'hands-off' policy in Laos.<sup>122</sup> CICD appeals for a negotiated settlement and no foreign (Western) interference in the affairs of other nations, as prescribed by the WPC, were the cornerstone of the CICD's peace demands in SE Asia in the 1960s.

By early 1961, the situation in Laos was described by the *Canberra Times* as 'very serious'.<sup>123</sup> The internal problems of the country were complicated further by Cold War imperatives. East and West supported rival factions engaged in open conflict in the strategically important, landlocked country sharing borders with China, both zones of Vietnam, Cambodia, and the pro-Western countries of Thailand and Burma. In January, the US called to convene a SEATO Council meeting to discuss deterrent action, while US combined forces were placed on alert in the South China Seas.<sup>124</sup> Two weeks later, Khrushchev pledged to fully support 'wars of national independence', while Kennedy, in his inaugural address, called for a 'global alliance' and vowed that America would, 'pay any price' to deter a communist takeover.<sup>125</sup> The Soviet declaration was taken as an indication that it would try to draw countries, not yet aligned to either bloc, into its own sphere of influence, while undermining Western power. Kennedy's address, and the decision to put US combined forces on alert ahead of SEATO discussions, gave a strong indication that the US was prepared to take unilateral action in Laos to counter the communist strategy.

On 22 January 1961, two days after Kennedy's speech, Hartley led a deputation of CICD committee members and union officials, representing the Australian Railways Union (ARU), the SUA and the Metal Workers Union, to the US Consulate. Hartley conveyed the delegation's concern that Australia might be involved in Laos under a SEATO pact.<sup>126</sup> A CICD statement on Laos was also forwarded to Menzies and Calwell, and both the US Ambassador and the British High Commissioner in Canberra. It issued the following warning:

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<sup>122</sup> 'Avoiding War in Laos', *Age*, 22 December 1960:2, Broadbent Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 2831, f.19; See also editorial 'Hands-Off Policy in Laos', *Age*, 19 December 1960:2; Hartley, 'Laos Crisis: Australia Must Keep Out', *Guardian*, 21 December 1960:1.

<sup>123</sup> 'Laos Situation 'Very Serious', Australia Told USA Forces Alert as SEATO Meets', *Canberra Times*, 3 January 1961:1.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>125</sup> 'Communism Without War, Says Khrushchev', *Canberra Times*, 19 January 1961:23; 'New US President Takes Oath of Office, Global Alliance Call by Kennedy', *Canberra Times*, 21 January 1961:1.

<sup>126</sup> 'Peace Consulate to US Consulate Here', *Guardian*, 26 January 1961:3.

The situation in Laos is extremely serious and has all the possibilities of another Korea...It is the tragic consequence of an outside government seeking to impose a government friendly to its policies, rather than allowing the people themselves to form their own government.<sup>127</sup>

It reasoned that US interference undermined and contradicted the Western democratic principle of self-determination. Using the Korean example, it suggested that Western Cold War containment policies in Asia would only lead to war. The CICD leadership regarded the Korean war an 'unnecessary war', instigated by the US and its allies on the pretext of communist aggression.<sup>128</sup> A 1961 Pax Special Supplement, headed 'No Korea in Laos!', claimed that only after the fact was it revealed that the true aggressors in the Korean war were both pro-Western South Korea, and the US.<sup>129</sup> South Korea, it claimed, 'had twice carried out abortive invasions of North Korea' before the war, while US forces 'continued to remain' in South Korea, after Soviet occupation forces had 'completely withdrawn' in compliance with the UN agreement. Furthermore, it argued, the Chinese only entered the war when its 'frontiers were threatened' by US forces, and its 'towns and villages were bombed by American aircraft'.<sup>130</sup> The argument was grounded in theories of Western imperialism and encirclement, held by the CICD and the political left. James, for instance, wrote in 1961 that a 'chain' of US bases were being established to encircle the Soviet Union and China 'from Alaska to Japan, Korea, Formosa, the Philippines, Pakistan, Greece, Turkey, Spain, Britain, Germany and parts of Scandinavia'.<sup>131</sup> As part of the corollary of Western imperialism, Soviet military involvement, or that of any other communist country, were invariably depicted by the CICD as defensive and in reaction to US-led Western aggression.

For the CICD, the policies of the United States in Laos were consistent with its Cold War strategy to contain communism in Asia. It argued that before refusing to accept the Geneva Accords, the US had a long history of supplying war materials and military experts to 'people of her choice for many years'.<sup>132</sup> Earlier observations of US policy in Asia were made in an APC booklet produced while the Geneva Conference on Korea and Indochina was being convened. It warned that US policies in the first Indochina War could lead to Australian

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<sup>127</sup> 'Peace Council Warns on Laos', *Guardian*, 26 January 1961:8.

<sup>128</sup> 'No Korea in Laos!'.  
<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Victor James, 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese', *Beacon*, December 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>132</sup> 'Peace Council Warns on Laos', *Guardian*, 26 January 1961:8.



military involvement, and, possibly, a third world war.<sup>133</sup> Similarly with ‘No Korea in Laos!’, a 1961 VPC bulletin titled, ‘What has Laos got to do with us?’, highlighted the possibility that the renewed conflict in Laos could ignite a third world war.<sup>134</sup> In this way, we see the coherency and continuity between the antecedent and current peace movement. Commenting on the series of crises in Laos by early 1961, it stated that:

Today we are being warned of a crisis in Laos, a crisis that warms up every time the [communist] Pathet Lao forces seem to be succeeding and it is therefore concluded [that] the forces of international communism are threatening Australia and the Western world.<sup>135</sup>

The arguments made against US policy in SE Asia in the VPC publications were reflected in correspondence between Hartley and Menzies.<sup>136</sup> Hartley’s letter, dated 24 March 1961, was written before SEATO policy in Laos was determined by the meeting of Council members, called by the US in January, and convened in late March.

The letter ‘noted with concern’ alarming comments made recently in the press by the chairman of the Australian Chiefs of Staff Committee, Vice Admiral Dowling. Dowling suggested that Australian troops could be in Laos ‘within hours’, if the decision were taken by SEATO. He added that the situation was ‘serious’, but they were ‘crossing [their] fingers’ and hoping’ for a peaceful settlement.<sup>137</sup> Dowling’s remarks caused concern also for the government. It admitted that they were ‘technically correct, but extremely indiscreet’, and could be taken to mean that Australia was considering military action at a time when Western leaders were pursuing a peaceful solution in Laos.<sup>138</sup> Diplomatic efforts, led by the UK, and supported by Australia and the US, were being pursued to secure a ceasefire in Laos, well before the SEATO meeting in Bangkok.<sup>139</sup> However, in combination with Dowling’s

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<sup>133</sup> Stephen Murray-Smith, *Indo-China: Intervention and War – Or Independence and Peace?* Second Edition (Melbourne: Australian Peace Council, 1954), UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 55, file 113.

<sup>134</sup> ‘What has Laos got to do with us?’, VPC Information Bulletin, 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.46-56; ‘No Korea in Laos!’.

<sup>135</sup> ‘No Korea in Laos!’.

<sup>136</sup> Letter to Rt. Hon. R.G. Menzies, Aust. PM, from Hartley, APC Joint Secretary, 24 March 1961 (hereafter, Hartley letter) <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000784.htm>; <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0000797.htm>.

<sup>137</sup> ‘Australians Geared to Help Laos Say Adm. Dowling’, *Age*, 21 March 1961.

<sup>138</sup> ‘Remarks Concern Cabinet’, *Canberra Times*, 22 March 1961:1.

<sup>139</sup> ‘USA and UK Work on Basis for Laos Settlement’, *Canberra Times*, 4 January 1961:1; Menzies in H of R, *Debates*, 6 December 1960, 3570-3571, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1960/19601206\\_reps\\_23\\_hor29/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1960/19601206_reps_23_hor29/), ‘Menzies’ Statement on Southeast

comments, the Australian government planned a strong delegation for the SEATO meeting, led by Menzies, and included top-level ministers, ambassadors, and a military delegation.<sup>140</sup> In consideration of these grave indications, Hartley urged that the PM's deliberations in Bangkok be 'guided by the principle of a just and peaceful solution, and no intervention by SEATO in the internal affairs of South East Asia, which would certainly involve Australia'.<sup>141</sup>

In his appeal Hartley argued that US intervention in the internal affairs of Laos had no basis in legal considerations, nor in consideration of the Geneva Agreements. The US was supporting an illegal government in Laos, which disrupted a democratically elected government. The letter included an appraisal of the situation in Laos since the 1954 Geneva Accords, which, it stated, was according to the peace committee's own 'understanding'. While it is unclear whether there was any response to the letter from Menzies, this appraisal on developments in Laos provides important insights into the CICD leadership's position on Laos, and how it formed that position. Therefore, it will be examined in some detail.

Hartley's letter noted that the first Indochina war ended with the 1954 Geneva Agreement, which recognised the independence of Laos and bound it to adopt a policy of neutralisation. Under a 1957 agreement in consideration of Geneva, a coalition government, which included leader of the communist Pathet Lao, Prince Souphanouvong, was established in November with the neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma as its PM. In supplementary elections in 1958, and then in 1959, the Pathet Lao Neo Lao Hak Sat (NLHS) Party performed very well. So well, that the coalition government was disrupted and replaced by a right-wing government, the Committee for the Defence of National Interests (CDNI). The CDNI considered that the Geneva Agreements had been fully implemented and, thereafter, dismissed the international supervisory committee of the ICC. Thus, the new right-wing government ousted the democratically elected coalition government. The CDNI then took steps to suppress the popular NLHS which looked set to guarantee 'the painless Communist acquisition of Laos', according to a June 1959 editorial by Denis Warner in the *Herald*.<sup>142</sup> Hartley's appraisal

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Asian Crisis, Aust. Seeks Neutralist Laos Policy'', *Canberra Times*, 5 January 1961:1; 'West Makes Urgent Appeal on Laos: Reds' 'Final Test'', *SMH*, 24 March 1961:1; 'Tough' Statement to SEATO Meeting, Stern Warning by UK on Laos', *Canberra Times*, 28 March 1961:1; Negotiations continued during and after the SEATO meeting. 'West Waiting for Red Clarification Moscow Meeting on Plan for Laos', *Canberra Times*, 4 April 1961:1.

<sup>140</sup> 'Strong Aust. SEATO Delegation', *Canberra Times*, 16 March 1961:1.

<sup>141</sup> Hartley letter.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*.

included various articles from the *Age* referring to significant US economic aid, which funded the Royal Laotian Army, to ‘keep the strategic Buddhist Kingdom in the anti-communist camp’.<sup>143</sup> Thus, it argued, the new right-wing CDNI government – supported by the Royal Laotian army (which was fully funded and maintained by the US) – interrupted the progression in Laos towards communism.

Citing an editorial by Bruce Grant for the *Age*, dated 28 April 1960, it argued that such interference from the US, so dedicated to the anti-communist cause, had the effect of undermining democracy, while it became increasingly associated with aggression and force. US presence, Grant stated, can only ‘heighten tensions’ in a country trying to assert its independence and national identity.<sup>144</sup> For the CICD, US interference was both synonymous with imperialist aggression and in breach of the Geneva Agreements. Grant’s editorial stated that

nations like Laos, which have little control over - and probably little interest in - the issues on which Peking and Hanoi on one hand, and Washington on the other, assault each other daily, are asked to adopt strategic concepts of themselves which keeps them in a state of constant confusion.<sup>145</sup>

The comment differed from Hartley’s argument, which suggested that only the US was interfering in Laos’ internal affairs— therefore, it was simply overlooked.

Hartley then claimed that US interference ‘caused’ Captain Kong Lae to carry out a coup d’état in August 1960.<sup>146</sup> The coup re-established the neutralist Phouma government with the aim of ‘ending all, foreign [American] intervention, corruption ... and [to] pursue a policy of strict neutrality’.<sup>147</sup> This point appears in the letter in such a way that it appeared to be quoting directly from Grant’s editorial, which it was not. By misrepresenting Grant’s editorial in a letter addressed to Menzies, first through omission, and then by inference, it demonstrated the CICD leadership’s commitment to a worldview that was intrinsically anti-American.

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<sup>143</sup> *Age*, 19 November 1960, cited in *Ibid*.

<sup>144</sup> Hartley letter.

<sup>145</sup> Bruce Grant, ‘American Aid Boomerangs: UN Surveillance Aimed at Helping Troubled Laos’, *Age*, 28 April 1960:2, cited in *Ibid*.

<sup>146</sup> Hartley letter.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*.

In other attempts to mislead, Hartley conflated two separate ideas in order to suggest that Americans were either directly, or indirectly, responsible for killing Laotians and ‘ordering troops’ to commit violent acts of intimidation. The first phrase read: ‘US intervention against Laos has been increasingly intensified. Americans are stationed everywhere’, and then argued:

This is keeping our country in a state of decline... wantonly and brutally killing the people, arrest and imprisonment of Laotian patriots...and Laotian troops ordered to suppress and persecute peace-loving compatriots, burn their houses and granaries.<sup>148</sup>

An attempt was not made to corroborate the statement, attributed to the Laotian coup d'état committee. Quotes taken from a *Tribune* article, without revealing the author, claimed that the Phouma government's policies for a neutral Laos, following the coup, had the popular support of the people. However, the neutralist Phouma government was overthrown by a counter-coup in mid-December 1960, mounted by the US-supported General Phoumi Nosavan.<sup>149</sup> Nosavan's counter-coup was only possible, it argued, because of US backing. A new government, supported by the US, was formed by Prince Boun Oum, which was then recognised by other Western leaders.<sup>150</sup>

Hartley's letter failed to mention that the Soviet Union continued to support Phouma and had begun airdropping supplies to his neutralist forces, led by Kong Lae, as reported by both the communist and the daily press.<sup>151</sup> Nor did it mention that two of the princely factions in Laos, the neutralist Phouma and the Pathet Lao's Souphanouvong, were half-brothers and merged their forces.<sup>152</sup> Having combined their forces to ‘recall [Phouma] to office’, they were then in open conflict with the Laotian army.<sup>153</sup> However, this did not fit with Hartley's, and by extension, the CICD's argument that the Phouma government was ‘neutral’ and, therefore,

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> The quotes used in Hartley's letter were taken from the following article, although the source was not acknowledged in the letter, ‘US Threat to Stay in Laos’, *Tribune*, 24 August 1960:4, in Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Hartley letter.

<sup>151</sup> According to *Tribune* the Soviet Union was airlifting milk and sugar and other basic goods into Laos, however, Western military sources corroborated Prince Boun Oum's claim that arms and ammunition were being supplied. Cf. ‘Laos to Beat Blockade’, *Tribune*, 30 November 1960:4; ‘No Coalition, Says New Laos Premier Compromise with Reds Rejected’, *Canberra Times*, 22 December 1960:3; see also Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 216-217.

<sup>152</sup> ‘Who is Boun Oum?’ *Guardian*, 29 March 1961:1.

<sup>153</sup> ‘No Mourning for these Captive Nations’, *Tribune*, 17 August 1960:12; ‘No Coalition, Says New Laos Premier Compromise with Reds Rejected’, *Canberra Times*, 22 December 1960:3; ‘After Fifteen Years’, *Tribune*, 11 January 1961:6; Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 216-217.

non-aligned with either of the Super Powers. Hartley and the CICD were so dedicated to the anti-Western cause that neither was willing to openly admit that both Cold War powers were actively supporting opposing factions in Laos. Moreover, like the APC it justified outside support from communist countries as a reaction to, and in defence against, US-led imperialist aggression. Accordingly, the 1961 *Pax* bulletin, 'No Korea in Laos!', declared that 'if Australia goes with America into Laos, then we can depend upon the Soviet Union and China helping the rightful government of Laos to struggle against SEATO's interference'.<sup>154</sup>

An ICC Commission report presented to a 14-nation conference on Laos in May 1961 contrasted with the position of the CICD.<sup>155</sup> The report proposed the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces and advisers, introduced since the 1954 Geneva. As opposed to the CICD's view of the situation in Laos, diplomatic observers at the conference stated that the ICC Commission's recommendation 'presumably applied' to both the US and the Soviet Union. Namely, US military advisers and supplies to the right-wing Boun Oum government in Laos, *and* the Soviet airlift to the neutralist and pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces.<sup>156</sup> Furthermore, it stated that the Western Powers claimed that the left-wing forces had also received military support from the Communist Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) government in North Vietnam, which the DRV government denied.

The CICD, which held that Western policies were impeding the process of national independence, ignored reports which gave a balanced appraisal of the situation in Laos. However, as we have seen in the Indonesian example, the CICD supported nations adopting either 'neutralist', but nevertheless pro-communist or communist governments. The CICD's interest in Laos was largely motivated by the fact that the country seemed poised to adopt communist economic and political ideology. As we shall see, the CICD continued to demonstrate these ideas and tendencies in its opposition to US interference in Vietnam.

Similar to the CICD's relationship with the Indonesian Peace committee in the early 1960s, there is evidence that the CICD shared lines of communication with the Laotian Peace Committee. In addition to the report from the *coup d'état* committee referred to earlier, further confirmation of the CICD's links with Laos came in the form of a letter signed by Hartley and James. It included three reprinted statements from Xiengkhouang, the north-east province of Laos, dated 3 April 1963. The statements concerned the recent assassination of a

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<sup>154</sup> 'No Korea in Laos!'.  
<sup>155</sup> 'New Control Measures in Laos Sought', *Canberra Times*, 26 May 1961:3.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

Senior Minister, Quinim Pholsena's, on 1 April 1963. The statements accused 'US aggressors and their lackeys' for directly causing the minister's death in order to 'sabotage National Union Government and prevent [their] country taking the road [to] peace and neutrality'; in other words, a road towards adopting a pro-communist and anti-Western government. It stated that Pholsena was also Vice-Chairman, Laotian Committee for Peace, Neutrality, National Concord and Unity. The letter from Hartley and James included the following suggestion: 'You may be able to make use of both messages in your work for peace'.<sup>157</sup> Within days, on 9 and 10 April, articles were published respectively in *Tribune* and *Guardian* implicating the US and SEATO in the murder, which aimed to destabilise the region and provide a pretext for intervention by SEATO.<sup>158</sup> It is indicative of the CICD's status in the peace movement and its link to the communist movement. Pholsena's death followed reports of fighting on the Plain of Jars between former allied Pathet Lao and Kong Lae forces after the latter neutralist group became divided between rightist and leftist neutralists, with elements of the latter joining forces with the Pathet Lao. By this time, continued political instability in Laos was considered within the context of developments in neighbouring Vietnam.

The broader significance of the 1961 crisis for the CICD was that it signalled US readiness to act unilaterally, and it revealed that Australia was ready to commit its forces in SE Asia. At the March 1961 SEATO council meeting, Menzies told the council that SEATO 'must not shrink from force of arms, if necessary, to meet the Communist challenge in Laos'.<sup>159</sup> For the CICD, Australia was set on a path to war in SE Asia.

Although CICD support for Laos was largely inconspicuous, it generated interest on the issue through the communist press and its information bulletins, and it inspired some local and combined protest activity with elements within the unions.<sup>160</sup> The 1961 crisis in Laos also established the core of CICD demands in SE Asia during the 1960s, which represented a continuity with the APC, and called for a negotiated settlement and no Western interference. But such terms were derived from the decisions of the WPC based on its long-standing opposition to Western policies in the early Cold War. It explains the CICD leadership's

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<sup>157</sup> VPC letter, c. 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>158</sup> 'US Hand on Dagger in New Laos Danger', *Tribune*, 9 April 1963:12; 'SEATO Behind Murder in Laos', *Guardian*, 10 April 1963:10.

<sup>159</sup> 'Aust. Ready to Send Army to Laos', *Canberra Times*, 29 March 1961:1.

<sup>160</sup> 'Coburg Council Takes Stand on Peace Issues'; 'Demonstration a Success', both in *Guardian*, 27 April 1961: 8.

interest in Laos at a time when little public attention was paid to the conflict. Australian opinion at the time was not particularly moved by developments in Laos.<sup>161</sup> However, the perceived remoteness of Laos and its bordering countries altered when faced with the question of Australian commitment in Vietnam. By July 1961, the US accelerated its military and financial aid to the Diem government struggling to contain insurgency in South Vietnam, and it considered the prospect of direct and open military involvement.<sup>162</sup> What follows is an examination of the CICD's formulated response to such developments until 1964.

### **'Vietnam for the Vietnamese'**

For the CICD, the US policy of containment in South Vietnam was proving to be unsuccessful, despite the significant economic and military aid. The CICD foresaw an escalation into war that would invariably involve Australia.<sup>163</sup> By October 1961, it surmised:

if the US openly enters the war in South Vietnam, to keep in power a medieval dictator, against a people in revolt, Australia also becomes involved through SEATO and ANZUS pacts.<sup>164</sup>

Thus, from the CICD's perspective the US was supporting an autocratic regime under President Ngo Dinh Diem, who, together with his inner circle of family elites, had little support beyond the cities and towns in South Vietnam.<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, the CICD argued that the insurgency had significant support, particularly among the rural population.<sup>166</sup> The insurgency, led by the communist 'People's Liberation Armed Forces' (PLAF), comprised South Vietnamese guerrillas and former Viet-Minh fighters – the latter also forming the core of what became the People's Army of the Vietnam (PAVN) in the north.<sup>167</sup> The political organisation for the PLAF in the south was the National Liberation Front (NLF), which adopted the policy of an armed struggle when it was formed in December

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<sup>161</sup> When Australians were asked in April 1961 whether our soldiers should join American forces in Laos to 'fight the Communists' they voted equally 42.2 per cent for the affirmative and no positions, while 15.3 per cent expressed no opinion on the matter. *AGP*, Survey 149, April 7, 1961, [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, The Australian National University, 1982.

<sup>162</sup> 'Fulbright Hints US Weighs Use of Troops in Asia', *New York Times*, 5 May 1961:1; 'US Stepping Up its Aid to Saigon', *New York Times*, 19 July 1961:3; Robert Trumbull, 'Ngo Says Struggle with Vietnam Reds is Now a 'Real War'', *New York Times*, 2 October 1961:1.

<sup>163</sup> 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?', *VPC Bulletin* No.11, c. October 1961, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 6, 1409, n.f.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* [emphasis in original].

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 76.

1960.<sup>168</sup> Two years later, the People's Revolutionary Party (PRG) in South Vietnam was established on 1 January 1962.<sup>169</sup> It would provide the leadership and the driving force for the NLF, while also representing a shadow government in the south.

A 1961 VPC bulletin, headed 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?', reported that the insurgent forces in South Vietnam effectively controlled most of the rural areas, inhabited by half of the population in the south.<sup>170</sup> The bulletin argued that this was being achieved without external support. It quoted from a mid-1961 *Herald* article which reported that there was 'little to suggest' that the PLAF received military support from Hanoi.<sup>171</sup> The bulletin stated that the insurgency was a popular and legitimate grassroots movement that aimed to overthrow an undemocratic, and corrupt regime. It noted the terms of the 1954 Geneva Agreement, regarding Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and referred to particular provisions in the agreement, which stipulated no foreign interference, military support or bases; that the parties to the agreement should respect the demilitarised zone in Vietnam at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel; and that such parties should also undertake to hold free elections in 1956, with a view to reunify the Vietnam.<sup>172</sup> The bulletin then detailed the violations against the agreements by the Diem and US governments, recalling Eisenhower's comment that the US was 'not bound' by the Geneva decisions.<sup>173</sup> Some sources were not disclosed, and included statements from the North Vietnamese Peace Committee. What follows is a summary of the ten-page bulletin, which examines the CICD's position and attitude on developments in Vietnam since 1954.

According to the North Vietnam Peace Committee, 'five times' between 1955-1958, the DRV government sent notes to Diem, on the question of general elections by secret ballot, and to reunify Vietnam, *vis a vis* the 1954 Geneva Accords.<sup>174</sup> The notes to the Diem government included proposals regarding the freedom of movement, trade, cultural exchanges and communication between the zones. All proposals were refused by the Diem

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<sup>168</sup> Wilfred Burchett, 'The Future...Front of Liberation', *Tribune*, 25 July 1962:6; James, 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese', *Beacon*, December 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62; CICD sent a message to Vietnam Committee for the Dense of Peace on the occasion of the NLF's anniversary, the 20 December, CICD letter to members from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson 17 December 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44 1964-1965.

<sup>169</sup> 'Revolutionary Party Born in Sth. Vietnam', *Guardian*, 1 February 1962: 7.

<sup>170</sup> *Time*, 14 April 1961; also, *Herald*, 28 June 1961 and 1 July 1961; *Age*, 6 May 1961:1 all quoted in 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?'.

<sup>171</sup> *Herald*, 1 July 1961; *Age*, 6 May 1961:1, all quoted in 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?'.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Age*, 17 March 1954, quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>174</sup> 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?'.



government, which took steps to turn South Vietnam into a separate state ‘by holding separate elections and trying to gain admission to the UN’.<sup>175</sup>

Also in clear breach of the Geneva Accords the US trained and supplied the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) government under Diem, which had begun to carry the war across the demilitarised zone and into the northern zone of Vietnam.<sup>176</sup> The bulletin claimed that ‘hundreds’ of ARVN officers had been to the US and the Philippines for training in the use of ‘A-weapons, rockets... and guided weapons’.<sup>177</sup> It also quoted an *Age* article describing Australian plans for military intervention in Vietnam, in ‘co-operat[ion] with American forces’.<sup>178</sup> Such plans involved tactical exercises ‘to test the capacity of limited war in the tropics’, and included US observers to study the signals system of the Australian ‘pantropic’ forces.<sup>179</sup> The bulletin quoted another statement without acknowledging the source, which described an elaborate network communications system between the southern zone of Vietnam, and the pro-Western Philippines and Thailand, which included 21 US bases in the South, and strategic roads under construction through Southern Laos, to Thailand.<sup>180</sup> Then, quoting from the *Herald*, it stated that US military were permanently stationed on the Thailand border, and in the Gulf of Siam.<sup>181</sup> The following claims also came from undisclosed sources; however, their origin will become clearer in the discussion below.

Until June 1959 there were

144 violations by the [ARVN], 2,205 by civilian groups, 300 cases of provocation, 178 cases of terrorism and reprisals against former resistance members in the south part of the de-militarised zone, plus 51 air space and territorial waters’ violations.<sup>182</sup>

Additionally, and among other significant alleged violations of the Geneva Accords, it claimed that South Vietnamese observers had attended a number of SEATO conferences and military manoeuvres. Furthermore, it stated that the ICC for Vietnam, the body established for the purpose of ensuring the provisions of the Geneva agreements were met, was ‘unable to operate’ in the South Vietnam. In other words, the Diem government, in breach of the

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> *Herald*, 5 August 1961, *Herald*, 5 and 9 May 1961, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> ‘Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?’.

<sup>178</sup> *Age*, 14 August 1961, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> ‘Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?’.

<sup>181</sup> *Herald*, 22 May 1961, quoted in Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> ‘Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?’.

Geneva Agreements was refusing to cooperate with the ICC. 'On the other hand,' the North Vietnam Peace Committee reported in September 1959 that the nine reports of the ICC to the co-chairmen of the Geneva agreement 'have reflected North Vietnam's respect for all clauses, i.e. military and democratic'. In this way the bulletin attempted to establish that the DRV government was compliant, whereas the RVN government and the US actively undermined the Agreement. Moreover, by undermining the agreements, the governments of the RVN and US created conditions that led to the insurgency, and heightened tensions between the two zones – to provide a pretext for military involvement, under SEATO. In closing, it stressed that it is 'high time' Australia withdrew from all military pacts.<sup>183</sup>

For the CICD, the foremost concern was US interference in the internal affairs of Vietnam. Such interference impeded what would otherwise be a relatively smooth transition to communism for a reunified Vietnam. In accordance with the 4-point WPC Resolution on Vietnam, adopted at New Delhi March 1961, the CICD called for an immediate end to all foreign interference and the acts of terrorism perpetrated by Diem government. The people of Vietnam, it stated, must be given the 'right and freedom to work out their own way of life'; and the implementation of the Geneva Agreement must be kept, with a view to the reunification of Vietnam.<sup>184</sup> In this regard, the CICD supported the political objectives of the DRV government in Hanoi, and the NLF in the south, in seeking to overthrow the imperialist feudal yoke, represented by the Diem regime and the US, to reunify Vietnam under its own national democratic government.<sup>185</sup>

The CICD continued to support the DRV government, although it was soon revealed that it violated numerous provisions of the Geneva Agreement. In November 1961, the UK asked fellow chair of the ICC, the Soviet Union, to join in sending a strong message to the DRV authorities in the North asking them to 'desist from their subversive activities' in the south.<sup>186</sup> The note contained 'many grave allegations' including the charge that the DRV government was seeking to overthrow the Diem government and bring about the reunification of Vietnam 'by forcible means'.<sup>187</sup> Nevertheless, similarly with CICD's attitude, both the *Guardian* and *Tribune* declared soon afterwards that the DRV government faithfully observed all the terms

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<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid. See also, The Programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, VPC News Sheet no.2, 7 February 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>186</sup> 'U.K. Sends Stern Note on Vietnam', *Canberra Times*, 7 Nov 1961:6.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

of the Geneva Accords.<sup>188</sup> An ICC report published in London on 25 June 1962, was signed by each member of the commission, except for Poland. The report confirmed that neither party was cooperating with the ICC and were in serious breach of the Geneva agreements.<sup>189</sup> It concluded that violations by both parties have resulted in

ever-increasing tension and threat of resumption of open hostilities [and that] in this situation, the role of the ICC Commission for the maintenance of peace in Viet-Nam is being greatly hampered because of denial of co-operation by both the Parties.<sup>190</sup>

From the CICD's perspective, it reasoned that the US was also in violation and, therefore, the DRV government was entitled to respond similarly.

Further insights into the peace committee's attitude at the time were provided in December 1961 in the Unitarian *Beacon*, in an article by James, the VPC Joint Secretary. James described the NLF as a unifying force for the independence of the South Vietnamese people.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, *Peace Action* stated that the NLF represented a diversity of opposition forces, 'ranging from the Radical Socialist party to religious communities, including Buddhists and Catholics'.<sup>192</sup> James argued that the NLF's armed struggle was 'just' and called to the 'peace forces' to work for the 'policy of Vietnam for the Vietnamese!'<sup>193</sup> He celebrated the revolution's progress by providing an outline of a number of recent PLAF battles to 'liberate' the South, including the numbers of casualties the Diem forces suffered. He wrote, 'the Southern people have done great damage to the Diem regime...by killing, capturing or wounding' hundreds of Diem troops 'operating under US military advisers'. Such comments signalled a departure from the usual character of the peace movement's propaganda. Typically, references to violence were used to demonstrate Western aggression. Here, James showed little restraint by equating the PLAF 'killing' government troops with victory.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> 'US Aggressor in Vietnam – Geneva Report', *Guardian*, 20 December 1961:1; 'Admits US is Invading North Vietnam', *Tribune*, 17 January 1962:4; 'Will Australia Be Involved in Vietnam?'.  
<sup>189</sup> 'International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam: Special Report to the Co-Chairman', *Canberra Times*, 9 July 1962:7.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*  
<sup>191</sup> James, 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese', *Beacon*, December 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>192</sup> *Peace Action*, October 1962, 9, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>193</sup> James, 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese', *Beacon*, December 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*

James wrote the article following a visit to Japan, where he attended the 7<sup>th</sup> World Conference on Atomic and Hydrogen bombs in Tokyo before visiting China and North Vietnam.<sup>195</sup> After staying in China for ‘a considerable time’, he visited North Vietnam, from 13 October for almost two weeks, at the invitation of the Vietnam Peace Committee in Hanoi.<sup>196</sup> He was likely briefed on both China and North Vietnam’s perspective on developments in Vietnam and his article suggests that he was moved by the experience. James’ presence in Vietnam also provides a clue as to the origin of some of the information in the bulletin, alluded to earlier. The impression the visit made on James was also suggested in a radio broadcast titled, ‘The Voice of Vietnam’. While speaking on North Vietnam’s perspective, he described South Vietnam as being under a US-supported, ‘fascist government ...that even surpasses the cruelties and suppression practised by Hitler’.<sup>197</sup> He also gave an account of the marked escalation in preparations for war currently being undertaken in South Vietnam. He stated:

Today we are noticing a swift stepping up of armed strength of [the Diem] regime, the presence of increasing numbers of ‘advisers’, military experts, US troops and arms in South Vietnam. Military roads are being laid. The people are being herded into concentration camps and new airfields are being constructed. The preparations for war are being speeded up .... Here is an extremely dangerous situation in which a world war with nuclear weapons could easily break out...may all of us who love peace act now to remove this danger spot of south Vietnam, to remove Ngo Dinh Diem and his US supporters.<sup>198</sup>

In addition to the juxtaposition between Hitler and concentration camps, James describes imminent signs of war, involving the US, which carried with it the threat of nuclear warfare. In his article, James emphasised the need to build public opposition against such escalation in Vietnam. Within a few days of his return from North Vietnam, he spoke at an Assembly Hall

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<sup>195</sup> VPC letter ‘to all States’, 13 October 1961, [extract] ‘Q’ Report No.61/940, 6 November 1961; James was invited by the North Vietnam, ASIO Internal Report, 11 December 1961; ‘Text of Broadcast in ‘The Voice of Vietnam’, Hanoi, By Rev Victor James, During his Visit to North Vietnam October 1961’, [extract] *The Beacon*, 1961, 15, all in James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.80; 85; 86, respectively.

<sup>196</sup> James returned to Melbourne on the 27 October. VPC letter ‘to all States’, 13 October 1961; ASIO Internal Report, 11 December 1961.

<sup>197</sup> ‘Text of Broadcast in ‘The Voice of Vietnam’, Hanoi, By Rev Victor James, During his Visit to North Vietnam During October 1961’, [extract] *The Beacon*, 1961, James Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 2176, f.86.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

meeting in October under the title 'We Can Stop the War!'<sup>199</sup> James told the meeting that North Vietnam was right to suspect that the US and the Diem regime were planning the 'conquest and subjection of the whole land' on the pretext of a 'holy crusade' against communism.<sup>200</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 3, this meeting, which was also addressed by Dickie, was held shortly after the Soviet resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing; at one point, the speakers were drowned out by 'noisy interjectors' condemning the Soviet action.<sup>201</sup> After Dickie and James regained control of the meeting, the meeting resolved to appeal to the federal government to make peace its first priority. The appeal was inspired, in part, by the CICD's pre-election campaign for the upcoming December 1961 federal election. If the ALP succeeded in winning government at the polls, there could be some hope of preventing Australian involvement in SE Asia. On foreign policy, Calwell proposed 'replanning' SEATO by replacing its military basis with a social and economic one, along similar lines to the Colombo plan.<sup>202</sup> Calwell also announced in his pre-election policy speech that Labor was opposed to conscripting youths to serve in Asia 'under Asian commanders'; he also emphasised withdrawing troops from Malaya to keep them stationed at home in order to protect Australia's territory.<sup>203</sup> ALP policy, established at the ALP federal conference in April that year, held that Australian forces would be 'reorganised for defence' and as a peacekeeping unit in the UN – 'and not as an aggressive force'.<sup>204</sup> Calwell's address hinted at theories of Asian menace. Nevertheless, the policy assured the political left that under an ALP government Australian troops would not be drawn into SE Asia under the pretext of SEATO.<sup>205</sup> Conversely, Menzies' policy speech pledged to keep Australia's obligations under ANZUS and SEATO, and referred to Diem as 'a gallant fighter against

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<sup>199</sup> 'Make Peace Main Election Issue Says City Meeting', *Guardian*, 2 November 1961:1; 'Noisy Meeting for Peace', [extract]*Age*, 31 October 1961, File No. 3/2/176, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.220.

<sup>200</sup> 'Make Peace Main Election Issue Says City Meeting', *Guardian*, 2 November 1961:1.

<sup>201</sup> 'Noisy Meeting for Peace', [extract]*Age*, 31 October 1961, File No. 3/2/176, APC/ANZCICD Vol. 5, NAA: A6122, 1408, f.220.

<sup>202</sup> The Hon. Arthur Calwell MHR, *Labor's Policy: Blueprint for Government* (16 November 1961), 20,

[https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1013758/upload\\_binary/1013758.pdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1013758/upload_binary/1013758.pdf).

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*; *ALP Official Report of the Proceedings of the 24<sup>th</sup> Commonwealth Conference* (Canberra, 10-14 April 1961), <https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/>.

<sup>205</sup> 'ALP Election Policy Can Help; But...', *Tribune*, 30 August 1961:10.

Communism'.<sup>206</sup> After a narrow electoral victory, the Menzies government was returned and the CICD's hopes were dashed.

An interstate meeting of peace committees in Sydney on 17 February decided to convey its protest against the US violations of the Geneva Agreements to the US Government; the Joint Chairs and commission of the ICC; and the re-elected Menzies government.<sup>207</sup> In a pre-emptive move, Hartley and James sent an appeal two days earlier to the three governments of the ICC commission – India, Poland and Canada – asking them to use their influence to ensure the US kept its promise 'not to violate the principles of neutrality enshrined' in the Geneva Agreement.<sup>208</sup> Thus, the consensus in the peace movement held that the US was disturbing the Geneva decisions. Accordingly, the decisions of the interstate meeting and the VPC leadership's action were premised on the peace movement's twin demands – an immediate end to Western interference in SE Asia and a negotiated peace in the spirit of the Geneva Agreements. Ten days after the interstate meeting, the Minister of External Affairs, Garfield Barwick, announced that Australia would host, for the first time, an ANZUS meeting in Canberra between 7-8 May.<sup>209</sup> Following Barwick's announcement, speculation regarding the anticipated aims of the ANZUS meeting began to circulate; in particular, why an ANZUS meeting had been called, rather than SEATO.

The *Canberra Times* suggested that the ANZUS meeting would confirm 'closer ties' with the US without expecting Australia to commit itself 'specifically' to a military commitment in SE Asia.<sup>210</sup> Labor MP, Eddie Ward (NSW), stated that the Australian government wanted a firm assurance from ANZUS members that they would intervene militarily in SE Asia, but it saw 'some difficulty' in discussing SE Asian issues at a meeting, comprised as it was by Asian nations.<sup>211</sup> The *Guardian* offered a similar explanation.<sup>212</sup> A VPC cover letter signed

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<sup>206</sup> Foreign Affairs Broadcast No. 3 - By the Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. R G Menzies, On National Stations At 7.15pm - 24th November 1961, 2-3, <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/>.

<sup>207</sup> Extract of Minutes of Interstate Meeting, Sydney, 17 February 1962, approved by Melbourne Meeting of Representatives and Groups at Assembly Hall, 6 March 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>208</sup> 'Peace Council Demands Vietnam Freedom – Appeal Sent to Geneva Chiefs', *Guardian*, 15 February 1962: n.p.

<sup>209</sup> Sir Garfield Barwick, 'For the Press, ANZUS Council to Meet in Australia', Statement by the Minister of External Affairs', 27 February 1962, <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00000478.pdf>.

<sup>210</sup> 'Closer Ties with US Expected on SE Asia', *Canberra Times*, 6 April 1962:6.

<sup>211</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 5 April 1962, 1459-1460, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620405\\_reps\\_24\\_hor35/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19620405_reps_24_hor35/).

<sup>212</sup> 'Scheme for War on Vietnam', *Guardian*, 12 April 1962:1.

by Hartley and James drew the terse conclusion that the meeting had been convened ‘to discuss proposals for increased Australian participation in the ‘campaign against communist guerrillas in South Vietnam’.<sup>213</sup>

However brusque the CICD’s reaction may have been, in early March the US and Thailand signed a joint communique which asserted that obligations under SEATO were ‘individual as well as collective’.<sup>214</sup> Therefore, Barwick confirmed, action could be taken unilaterally to resist Communist aggression against pro-Western Thailand and, presumably, any other country in SE Asia, without SEATO approval.<sup>215</sup> By the end of March 1961 Senator John Gorton (Lib.), announced that Australia was providing communications equipment and barbed wire to enable villagers in the southern zone to protect themselves from ‘guerrilla attack’.<sup>216</sup>

Attached to the VPC cover letter was an open letter addressed to US President Kennedy. Hartley and James encouraged CICD supporters to use the open letter to urge the US and Australian Government to refrain from intervention and to reconvene the ICC. The open letter had been published a week earlier by 16 prominent American citizens, including Nobel prize winner, Linus Pauling, questioning the integrity of US policy in Vietnam. Hartley and James had begun circularising the open letter to its membership in the week prior to the ANZUS meeting.<sup>217</sup>

Contrary to the peace committee and the political left’s expectations regarding the aims of the ANZUS meeting, it appears that the Menzies government, while supporting US actions in Vietnam, was not yet expecting to commit militarily in Vietnam and Thailand. The government was cognisant of the current limits of its defence forces to counteract an increased number of crises in SE Asia in the early 1960s.<sup>218</sup> Instead, it committed an additional gift of an unprecedented £3m for SEATO on the opening day of ANZUS

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<sup>213</sup> VPC letter to members, 4 May 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>214</sup> ‘U.S. Pledges Support to Thailand’, *Canberra Times*, 8 Mar 1962:7.

<sup>215</sup> No Advance Decision on Thailand, 15 March 1962:3; ‘U.S. Pledges Support to Thailand’, *Canberra Times*, 8 Mar 1962:7; See also Barwick in H of R, *Debates*, 17 May 1962; *Current notes on international affairs*, Vol. 33(5) 1962:35. The Thailand and RVN governments were concerned with Britain and France’s reluctant attitude to SEATO, which precipitated Thailand’s demand for a revision of the unanimous vote for SEATO, see Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 233-234; 236-237.

<sup>216</sup> Senate, *Debates*, 29 March 1962, 690,

[http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620329\\_senate\\_24\\_s21/](http://historichansard.net/senate/1962/19620329_senate_24_s21/).

<sup>217</sup> VPC letter to members, 4 May 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>218</sup> Edwards, *Crisis and Commitments*, 238.

meeting.<sup>219</sup> At the ANZUS meeting, US Secretary Dean Rusk conveyed his government's 'gratification' at the contributions being made in SE Asia by its ANZUS allies, but remarked, 'there is more for all of us to do in that situation'.<sup>220</sup> There was no doubt how the US saw the international situation and Australia's place in it. The following day, on 10 May, Barwick announced that Australia offered to send a token group of army advisers to South Vietnam. However, the question of troops, he stated, was a remote possibility, if requested by the US or the RVN government.<sup>221</sup> By the end of the month Barwick announced that an Australian contribution of forces would be sent to be stationed in Thailand, 'at the invitation of the Government of Thailand'.<sup>222</sup> The following day, the Minister of Defence, Athol Townley, confirmed that at the invitation of the RVN government, Australia was sending up to some 30 military advisors to Vietnam.<sup>223</sup> Then, four days later, Townley announced that a squadron of RAAF sabre jets fighters was being sent to Thailand.<sup>224</sup>

The ANZUS meeting coincided with a renewed crisis in Laos where rival parties accused each other of breaking the ceasefire.<sup>225</sup> Following the ANZUS meeting, the *Age* reported almost daily on the crisis in Laos; concerns for neighbouring Thailand; and honouring SEATO obligations until the Australian decision to commit militarily.<sup>226</sup> These reports were interspersed with reports of an increasingly hostile and confrontational Indonesia.<sup>227</sup> James had previously criticised daily press reports, which he believed were gradually persuading the public to accept that war in Vietnam was necessary.<sup>228</sup> In his call to 'the peace forces' following his return from North Vietnam, he stressed that a concerted effort should be made

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<sup>219</sup> Statement by Barwick 7 May 1962, *Current Notes on International Affairs*, Vol. 33(5), 1962, 37; 'Australia to Aid Vietnam with Equipment: Part of £3m SEATO Plan', *Age*, 8 May 1962:1.

<sup>220</sup> 'ANZUS Council Communique' [9 May 1962]; Address given by US Sec. Dean Rusk at State Dinner in Canberra 9 May 1962, both in *Current Notes on International Affairs*, Vol. 33(5), 1962, 7; 16, respectively.

<sup>221</sup> 'Barwick Says Vietnam Small Offer', *Canberra Times*, 10 May 1962:3.

<sup>222</sup> Statement by Barwick 23 May 1962, *Current Notes on International Affairs*, Vol. 33(5), 1962, 35-36.

<sup>223</sup> The army training team established for Vietnam was known as the Australian Army Training Team Vietnam (AATTV). Statement by Townley 24 May 1962, *Current Notes on International Affairs*, 36.

<sup>224</sup> Statement by Townley 28 May 1962, *Current Notes on International Affairs*, Vol. 33(5), 1962, 37.

<sup>225</sup> 'Red Troops Capture Provincial Laos City', *Canberra Times*, 8 May 1962:3; 'First Cease-Fire Officials on Way to Laos', *Age*, 8 May 1961:1.

<sup>226</sup> For the sake of brevity, see the following *Age* issues: 10 May 1962:4; 11 May 1962:4; 12 May 1962:1; 14 May 1962:1; 15 May 1962:1; 17 May 1962:1; 18 May: 1962:1; 21 May 1962:1; 22 May 1962:1; 23 May 1962:1; 24 May 1962:1; 25 May 1962:1; 29 May 1962:1; 30 May 1962:1.

<sup>227</sup> See for instance: 'Indonesia Broke Its Promise - Menzies', *Age*, 24 May 1962:1; 'Indonesia Will Continue Landings', *Age*, 28 May 1962:1.

<sup>228</sup> James, 'Vietnam for the Vietnamese', *Beacon*, December 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-62.



to build public opinion against accepting US-led intervention in Vietnam.<sup>229</sup> By June 1962, his concerns had some basis. In April 1962, before the ANZAC meeting, a majority of Australians did not support a proposal for the Australian military to ‘help’ the US ‘fight communism’ in SE Asia.<sup>230</sup> Within two months, public opinion shifted in support of a proposal to send a ‘token Australian armed force’ to help the US forces in Thailand and Vietnam.<sup>231</sup> Similarly, the US press by mid-1962 was reporting casualties and preparing its public to expect more losses.<sup>232</sup>

The Australian government’s decision to commit militarily in Vietnam and Thailand was considered by the CICD within the scope of its scheduled disarmament programme. An Assembly Hall meeting on 23 May was originally convened by the CICD to provide a platform for delegates to ‘speak of their experiences’ during a disarmament demonstration in Canberra on 8 May.<sup>233</sup> Three days after the Canberra demonstration, as noted in Chapter 3, a letter to members announcing the Assembly Hall meeting stated that the danger of war – referring to British and French nuclear testing, – was now increased further by the Government decision on Vietnam; however, the details of the meetings’ platform ‘were not yet complete’.<sup>234</sup> Thus, the CICD at this stage was still considering its response to the decision. The 23 May meeting merged the issues of SE Asia and disarmament, and adopted a resolution which ‘opposed troops’ for Vietnam.<sup>235</sup> The meeting also confirmed that Western intervention in SE Asia could only end ‘in disaster and raised the danger of world war’.<sup>236</sup> In this way the meeting framed the problem in SE Asia as a disarmament issue. However, the CICD could see that struggles for national independence in SE Asia had increasingly become an important peace issue, which posed a dilemma for the CICD, given its loyalty to the WPC and the WPC’s foremost emphasis on the disarmament issue. This explains, in part, the CICD’s tardiness in taking decisive public protest action against the government decision. In

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> In an April 1962 poll, 37.3 per cent were in favour, 48.6 per cent thought Australia should ‘keep out’ and 14.1 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 156, April 6, 1962 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 1989.

<sup>231</sup> In a June 1962 poll, 61.7 per cent approved, 26.9 per cent disapproved, 11.4 per cent expressed no opinion on the proposal for a ‘token’ armed force to help the US in Vietnam and Thailand, *AGP*, Survey 157, June 8, 1962 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 2004.

<sup>232</sup> Robert Trumbull, ‘US Expects More Losses in South Vietnam War’, *New York Times*, 18 July 1962:3.

<sup>233</sup> CICD letter to members, 11 and 18 May 1962, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; ‘Flight for Peace Report to Meeting Here on 23 May’, *Guardian*, 17 May 1962: 6.

<sup>234</sup> CICD letter to members, 11 May 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>235</sup> ‘No Troops for Thailand, Vietnam’ – Assembly Hall Meeting’, *Guardian*, 31 May 1962:6.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

accordance with the decisions of the WPC, the CICD emphasised that the Government's adopted policy in SE Asia highlighted the importance of disarmament and a nuclear free Pacific. Simultaneous with preparations for its annual disarmament program, the CICD was also preoccupied with arranging an Australian delegation to attend the World Congress on Disarmament and Peace in Moscow in 9-14 July 1962.<sup>237</sup>

The 21-strong Australian delegation at the Moscow Congress included four CICD members; it was also attended by delegates from Vietnam.<sup>238</sup> According to a VPC newsletter reporting on the Moscow meeting, the Vietnamese delegation expressed how thrilled they were to hear of the Melbourne watersiders' action in refusing to load barbed wire for Saigon.<sup>239</sup> The workers loaded half of the barbed wire, consigned by the Department of External Affairs, before a worker's meeting stopped loading.<sup>240</sup> According to *Tribune*, the workers refused to load 'war materials' for Saigon.<sup>241</sup> The Vietnamese delegation also made a direct appeal to the Australian delegation to urge the withdrawal of Australian servicemen from Thailand and Vietnam. To emphasise their appeal, the delegates spoke of the 'indescribable suffering of their people as napalm bombs rain down on their villages, poisonous chemicals are sprayed on their crops and fruit trees, [while] they are herded into concentration camps'.<sup>242</sup> Reports regarding the use to chemical defoliants, also used by the French during the Indochina war, were in circulation at least six months prior to the Congress, via Australian correspondents in Asia and from within Vietnam.<sup>243</sup> For instance, the South Vietnam Peace Committee made an urgent appeal to the WPC by telegram concerning the use of 'poisonous chemicals from high-flying aircraft' by the US and Diem authorities, for nine continuous days in January.<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> 'The Race for Life!', VPC Newsletter, 15 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; Appendix A: World Congress for General Disarmament and Peace, Moscow 9-14 July 1962, D. Gibson Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 1299, f.114-116.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> 'The Race for Life!', VPC Newsletter, 15 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>240</sup> 'Wharfmen Stop Work on Wire for Vietnam', *Age*, 6 June 1962:1.

<sup>241</sup> 'Wharf Ban on Wire to Vietnam', *Tribune*, 6 June 1962:3.

<sup>242</sup> 'The Race for Life!', VPC Newsletter, 15 August 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>243</sup> 'Indo-China Attack French Use Napalm', *Courier Mail* (Bris.) 2 January 1954:1; 'Napalm Poured on Rebels, March 25', *Advertiser* (Adel.) 26 March 1954:3; *Tribune* cited a 15 January 1962 article by Richard Hughes correspondent for the *Sun* (Syd.), 'Admits US Invading North Vietnam', *Tribune*, 17 January 1962:4; Wilfred Burchett, 'In South Vietnam US is Waging War Against Trees', *Guardian*, 12 July 1962:4.

<sup>244</sup> The chemicals were allegedly dropped between 13-24 January 1962, Telegram from Dr Phung Van Cung, President South Vietnam Committee for the Defence of Peace to the WPC, 20 February 1963, VPC News Sheet No. 5, 10 April 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

According to what was stated in the telegram they believed that the strategy aimed ‘to drive back ... compatriots into the concentration camps known as ‘strategic hamlets’’.<sup>245</sup> A copy of the telegram was posted in an April VPC newsletter for circulation to its membership.<sup>246</sup> By now the Australian and Vietnamese peace movement had begun referring to the situation in Vietnam as a dirty, undeclared war, a concept which was encapsulated in Wilfred Burchett’s *The Furtive War* (1963).<sup>247</sup> These accounts from Vietnam, at the Congress and through the WPC, demonstrate the existing relations between the peace committees in both countries and the role CICD adopted to support Vietnam’s struggle for independence. In this connection, a letter addressed to Dickie, chairman of the APC, was sent from Xuan-Thuy, Vice Chairman North Vietnam Peace Committee, following the Moscow Congress.<sup>248</sup> Xuan-Thuy became Foreign Minister for the DRV government the following year, and from 1968, the government’s chief negotiator at the Paris Peace Talks; he was also a member of the WPC.<sup>249</sup> In the letter he applauded the peace council’s ongoing campaign for peace and disarmament and asked Dickie if he could

transmit the Vietnamese people’s thanks to all Australian Peace fighters for their support of our struggle for national reunification and for their demand of the Australian Government to withdraw from the military SEATO bloc, particularly to all the dockers of Melbourne for not having loaded on board the Dutch ship on the way to Saigon the barbed wire for the construction of concentration camps in South Vietnam during the past six months.<sup>250</sup>

The letter formalised relations between the peace committees with an appeal which was also made during the Moscow Congress by the Vietnamese delegation. Upon receiving the letter

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<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> ‘South Vietnam the Flashpoint for War?’, *Peace Action*, October 1962, 7-10; Declaration of Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace and of the Vietnam Committee for AAPSO on the problem of Vietnam, VPC News Sheet no.2, 7 February 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>248</sup> Letter to Dickie, Chairman APC, from Xuan-Thuy, North Vietnam Peace Committee, Hanoi, 20 July 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>249</sup> World Peace Movement, 237-238.

<sup>250</sup> Letter to Dickie, Chairman APC, from Xuan-Thuy, North Vietnam Peace Committee, Hanoi, 20 July 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

from the North Vietnam Peace Committee's leadership, a copy was forwarded to the SUA Victorian branch by Hartley and James.<sup>251</sup>

Three months later in October 1962, the CICD received an appeal from Prince Sihanouk, the Cambodian Head of State.<sup>252</sup> It expressed concerns regarding the recent deployment of military personnel in neighbouring Thailand and Vietnam. He requested the CICD to make representations to the Australian government on its behalf, and to forward copies of such appeals to the leader of the Opposition and the Cambodian Embassy. The Cambodian appeal to call an international conference 'to guarantee neutrality for Cambodia' followed numerous unsuccessful attempts to gain such assurances from Western leaders, including Barwick during his ministerial visit to Cambodia the previous 17-19 June 1962.<sup>253</sup>

The various items of correspondence and communication between the CICD and SE Asia clearly indicate the CICD's important status in the movement as a leading state peace body, at least for external international entities, during the early 1960s. The CICD continued to post news it received from SE Asia in its monthly newsletter to members, in particular from the North Vietnam Peace Committee on the developing situation in Vietnam.<sup>254</sup> Nevertheless, the activities of the CICD in response to developments in Vietnam from 1961-1963 were generally limited and unobtrusive. In the main, the CICD aimed to build public opinion in opposition to both Western involvement and the Diem government by sharing information from Vietnam through public speaking, producing propaganda literature, issuing press statements, and writing letters of protest to the Australian, US and Diem governments. It requested the US and Australian governments to 'stop support for Diem'.<sup>255</sup> The CICD also supported the protest activities of other groups, such as the 'We too protest', by 12 US

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<sup>251</sup> Letter to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary from VPC Joint Secretaries, Hartley and James, 7 August 1962 NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>252</sup> Appeal from Cambodia was attached to a CICD Letter from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson to members, October 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>253</sup> CICD letter from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson to members, October 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; 'Cambodia – Call for International Conference to Guarantee Peace and Neutrality', *Peace Action*, October 1962, 7-8. On Barwick's visit to Cambodia, see Press Statement by Minister of External Affairs, Visit to South-East Asia, 25 May 1962, <https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00000521.pdf>.

<sup>254</sup> VPC News Sheet no.2, 7 February 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, 1963.

<sup>255</sup> 'ANZ Congress Protest to South Vietnam Dictator', *Guardian*, 1 August 1963:8; a copy of the following letter to Menzies, with a covering note and making a similar demand on US government was forwarded by Dickie to Kennedy. 'ANZ Congress to Menzies: 'Stop Support for Diem'', *Guardian*, 12 September 1963:8.

clergymen against religious persecution in South Vietnam.<sup>256</sup> The US clergymen formed the Ministers' Vietnam Committee following the protest by self-immolation of a Buddhist monk, Quang Duc, against religious persecution. Soon, the Ministers' Vietnam Committee received over 15,000 letters of support, which were forwarded to Kennedy.<sup>257</sup> The CICD forwarded details of the campaign and pamphlets, supplied by Committee's secretary in New York, Rev. Donald S. Harrington, to CICD members and suggested, 'perhaps you would like to take similar action to that of the 15,000 clergy?'<sup>258</sup> The CICD also collected signatures for a petition appeal for human rights in South Vietnam, launched by staff at Queensland University and directed at both the RVN and the Menzies government.<sup>259</sup> In September 1963, a CICD letter to affiliated unions and organisations invited the groups to forward copies of resolutions and details of any deputations or other actions on South Vietnam to the CICD, and to forward copies of resolutions to the leader of the Opposition.<sup>260</sup> While the latter suggestion signalled the CICD's hope for a parliamentary solution to Australian military involvement in Vietnam, the following chapter will show that by late 1964 the CICD began to take a concerted interest in the activities of other groups opposed to Australian involvement in Vietnam. The September 1963 letter, signed by Goldbloom and Anderson, also requested the 'urgent consideration' of a three-point appeal regarding the Australian Governments' support for Diem. It called for the 'immediate' withdrawal of military personnel, the 'immediate' cessation of war materials and the 'immediate' demolition of the model Vietnam village, used by the Australian military to train Australian military forces in guerrilla warfare, against Vietnamese people.<sup>261</sup> The emphasis on 'immediate' contrasted with a general resolution adopted less than a month earlier on the 15 August – which declared it was in favour of 'gradual withdrawal' of foreign troops of all nations.<sup>262</sup> It marked a growing urgency in the CICD, by late 1963, in response to Australian commitment to Vietnam. The sense of urgency was heightened by a number of developments concerning SE Asia by the end of 1963. By October 1962, the Menzies administration announced its

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<sup>256</sup> 'We Too Protest...15,000 Clergy Send protests to President Kennedy', *Peace Action*, September 1963:7, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid.

<sup>258</sup> VPC letter to members signed by Hartley, 27 August 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>259</sup> 'Qld. Labor Leader Joins Protest', *Guardian*, 12 September 1963:8.

<sup>260</sup> CICD letter to members from Joint Secretaries, Goldbloom and Anderson, 9 September 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> 'ANZ Congress to Menzies: 'Stop Support for Diem'', *Guardian*, 12 September 1963:8.

decision to increase defence spending over the following three years to strengthen its armed forces.<sup>263</sup> Significantly, a WPC meeting in Warsaw, held between 28 November and 2 December and shortly after the Diem and Kennedy assassinations, made a ‘call for action’, with specific reference in separate resolutions to the struggles for national independence in SE Asia.<sup>264</sup> The WPC meeting declared: ‘Disarmament and national liberation, with the safeguarding of equal and sovereign rights, are complementary in the struggle for peace. Each strengthens the other.’<sup>265</sup> The WPC statement denoted a first attempt towards compromise between the two emphases in the movement. Only six months earlier, during his address at his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration, Dickie had reaffirmed the WPC’s original position that disarmament should remain, above all other considerations, its first priority.<sup>266</sup>

In contrast to this view, the NSWPCICD Secretary, Geoff Anderson, stated in his report on the WPC Warsaw meeting six months later, that the Warsaw meeting ‘frankly faced up to the problem of international differences’.<sup>267</sup> He continued, ‘the overwhelming weight of argument was on the side of resolving these differences by concentrating on appropriate action to be taken to achieve both goals’, disarmament *and* national independence.<sup>268</sup> Therefore, by December 1963 the WPC finally conceded that struggles for national independence were almost as important as disarmament. The WPC’s revised attitude was embodied in a world-wide appeal, titled ‘Call to Action’, endorsed by the majority of delegates at the Warsaw meeting which declared

Disarmament and national liberation, with the safeguarding of equal and sovereign rights, are complementary in the struggle for peace. Each strengthens the other, and together they can help to achieve the independence and security in which alone peace can flourish and all nations can progress to the full.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 24 October 1962, 1877-1885, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19621024\\_reps\\_24\\_hor37/1877](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1962/19621024_reps_24_hor37/1877); CICD Statement, ‘Call for Action Over South Vietnam’, 17 December 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44, 1964-1965.

<sup>264</sup> ‘Warsaw meeting of WPC by Geoff Anderson’, *Peace Action*, February 1964, 14; for full text of WPC ‘Call to Action’ see *Peace Action*, February 1964, 16, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> Rev. Alfred M. Dickie, *Statement of Common Beliefs* (Melbourne, 1963), 2-7; ‘Peace Movement Leader Outlines Common Beliefs’, *Guardian*, 27 June 1963:3.

<sup>267</sup> The meeting was held on 2 December, [Report on] ‘Warsaw Meeting of WPC by G. [Geoff] Anderson’, *Peace Action*, February 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>269</sup> ‘Call to Action’, World Council of Peace, Warsaw, 2 December 1963, in *Peace Action*, February 1964, 16.

In this way, it established that there could be no world peace without national independence and with nuclear weapons and proliferation. Thus, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the NLF's formation on 20 December 1963, the CICD sent a message to the Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace, affiliated organisations and trade unions, and the Leader of the Opposition. Echoing the sentiments of the WPC appeal, the message was titled 'Call for Action over South Vietnam'.<sup>270</sup> By this, the CICD pledged to use its resources to put pressure on the Australian Government to take the initiative to secure the following: an immediate ceasefire in South Vietnam, the withdrawal of all foreign military forces and equipment, the cessation of shipments of war materials to South Vietnam and the implementation of the Geneva Agreements; these would help ensure Vietnam's complete independence and reunification.<sup>271</sup> The significance of the statement was that it demonstrated that by the end of late 1963, the CICD prioritised the campaign to support South Vietnam's struggle for national independence and that it signalled this to the Vietnamese peace committee, the Australian peace movement and its supporters.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the response of the CICD to political developments in SE Asia between 1960-1963. Concurrent with its disarmament campaign, the CICD diverted some of its resources towards issues concerning movements for national independence in the region. For the CICD, former colonised countries were still struggling to assert their national independence against Western interference. It considered that such interference, by aiming to halt the growing influence of communism in SE Asia, was both aggressive and regressive. In opposing Western policies in and towards Asia, it drew upon theories of Western imperialism and encirclement, and cited liberal democratic concepts of national self-determination. However, CICD support for movements for national independence was contingent upon those movements' support for pro-Soviet perspectives of the Cold War, and, moreover, the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence. In short, the CICD supported movements that were both essentially anti-Western in character and poised to adopt communist political ideology and economic policies. Thereafter, the CICD was prepared to defend its actions even when they were contradictory, aggressive or in breach of international agreements.

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<sup>270</sup> CICD letter, signed by Goldbloom and Anderson attached with CICD Statement, 'Call for Action Over South Vietnam', 17 December 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 1964-1965.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

The Indonesian example demonstrated the limits of CICD support. While it was under a communist-sympathetic Sukarno government, with a growing and numerically significant communist party, the CICD supported Indonesia's political aims and defended its actions in pursuit of those aims. It supported its claim to West Irian, which simultaneously denied that territory its right to self-determination; and it defended Indonesia's policy of confrontation, first against the Dutch and then in Malaysia. This was despite contradictory Indonesian assurances that it pursued a peaceful solution to West Irian, and that its interests were limited to annexing that territory. However, with Sukarno looking increasingly towards Communist China to achieve its political aims, the CICD, like the CPA, withdrew its support.

In Laos, the CICD supported the neutralist Phouma government which joined forces with the communist Pathet Lao and received support from the Soviet Union. Similarly, in Vietnam, the CICD supported the communist DRV government and the NLF's political goals to oust the US-supported Diem government, and to reunite Vietnam under its own form of national democracy. In its support for their struggles for national independence, the CICD presented a partisan view of the situation in SE Asia in both its propaganda and letters of protest to heads of government. In this regard it manipulated information to construct its argument and consolidate support for its views. In doing so, the CICD demonstrated the depth of its commitment to both an anti-Western perspective and to maintaining unity.

The CICD's activism during this period illustrates the CICD's longer history in the antecedent APC, and was representative of a continuous and coherent opposition in Australia against Western policies in Asia. The CICD's support for national independence struggles underscored its international connections with peace committees in SE Asia, and its status as a leading state peace committee in the Australian peace movement. By extension, it illustrated the CICD's ongoing connection to the WPC. Although the CICD was not formally affiliated with the WPC, CICD leadership attended WPC-sponsored conferences and plenary sessions, and the CICD was comprised of individual WPC members who attended WPC policy and programme meetings. The CICD adhered to such policy, even when it became apparent, by 1962, that struggles for national independence in SE Asia had become an urgent peace issue. CICD loyalty to WPC policy demonstrated the limitation of the CICD to respond affectively to the political crises in SE Asia, while it was also reflective of the emphasis placed on maintaining unity and unanimity in the peace movement. Thus, until the WPC broadened its policy to accommodate both emphases in the peace movement in late 1963, the CICD continued to argue for the primacy of the disarmament campaign. Thereafter, the



CICD pledged to prioritise Vietnam's struggle for independence alongside its ongoing campaign for disarmament. Thus, the WPC's influence on CICD policy and the importance placed on unity in the movement, explains, in part, the lack of conspicuous action against Australia's military commitment to Thailand and Vietnam. It is difficult to imagine in 1963 that the CICD and its network of regional support would be able to bring to fruition the mass mobilisation of opposition against the Vietnam War, evinced by the first Moratorium in May 1970. As we shall see in the following two chapters, Vietnam's struggle for national independence increasingly dominated the CICD's peace programme. The following chapter examines the CICD's response to the Vietnam War and its relationship with the broader peace movement, which initially developed in response to the introduction of overseas conscription to support Australian military commitment in Vietnam. It examines the tensions within the CICD as it sought to apply WPC policy and maintain its status, as a leading state peace body, in increasingly complex conditions at home.

## **Chapter 5: The CICD and the Vietnam War, 1964-1969**

This chapter examines the CICD's response to Australian involvement in the Vietnam War and the conscription scheme which supported it between 1964-1969. In line with its policy of international cooperation, the CICD emphasised diplomatic solutions to the crisis in Vietnam. While it supported Vietnam's struggle for national independence it held grave fears that the US policy in Asia could develop into a broader conflict involving China and nuclear weapons. The CICD maintained this political position despite criticism from dissonant elements within the peace movement which considered the CICD's approach ineffective and its outlook unrealistic. The CICD adopted and implemented World Peace Council (WPC) policy calls to intensify the Vietnam campaign and to encourage the growth of a diverse, grassroots movement against the war, which was inspired by ideology, or borne out of more spontaneous, humanitarian causes, such as anti-conscription. In this regard, the CICD supported independent groups with different emphases but shared in common a commitment to non-violent action and a willingness to work together on the Vietnam campaign. In this, and more generally, the CICD received the support of communist leadership, which continued to have an impact on the CICD's internal affairs. This chapter argues that CICD support for the broader, anti-Vietnam War movement was at the behest of the WPC and, therefore, further underlined the limitations of the CICD's agency. The CICD struggled to adopt a flexible and less dogmatic approach to the broader movement that increasingly sought to give expression to all views and forms of activism. The confluence of the differences in the political left, and the trend towards pluralism and decentralisation in the broader movement, had a hardening effect on the CICD, which instead emphasised the primacy of unity and consistency through centralised control.

### **'The spark that sets South East Asia ablaze'**

In early 1964 the CICD revised its statement of policy for the first time since it was formulated in 1959, in accordance with that of the WPC. As discussed in Chapter 4, the WPC resolved in late 1963 that, in addition to disarmament, struggles for national independence were also a critical peace issue and, together, the two campaigns were mutually beneficial.<sup>1</sup> The new WPC policy was critical for the CICD because the crises in SE Asia were relevant to both peace issues. The CICD feared that struggles for national independence in SE Asia

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<sup>1</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 4, file 9.

could spark off a world war involving China and the latest weapons of mass destruction. Accordingly, the 1964 CICD action programme was framed in terms of both disarmament and national independence issues.<sup>2</sup>

For the CICD's annual Easter march and rally, the 'timely' theme, 'Peace in the Pacific' was adopted. This was in light of the proposed French nuclear testing in the Pacific, the growing crisis in South Vietnam, and Indonesian-Malaysian relations.<sup>3</sup> The CICD was also involved in planning two major disarmament events, which also incorporated themes concerning SE Asia.<sup>4</sup> It hosted its second Frankston to Melbourne 2-day marathon march to commemorate Hiroshima in early August, and it sat on the organising committee for the Australian Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament Congress (ACICD), held in Sydney.<sup>5</sup> In early 1964, the CICD anticipated that the Malaysia-Indonesia dispute would 'undoubtedly occupy a great deal of attention'; however, CICD leadership soon realised that the conflict in Vietnam was more critical.<sup>6</sup>

A CICD press statement dated 12 May 1964 underlined the 'serious threat' to peace in SE Asia signalled by the announcement of Paul Hasluck, the new Minister for External Affairs. Hasluck stated that Australia would 'sympathetically consider' rendering further assistance to the US in South Vietnam.<sup>7</sup> In response, the CICD argued that Australia's involvement in Vietnam and Malaysia was caused by Western policies 'designed to achieve military solutions [that could] only lead to disaster' and threatened to undermine existing treaties on nuclear testing.<sup>8</sup> In this way the CICD framed the issue in consideration of both disarmament

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<sup>2</sup> CICD Program and Perspectives for 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, 1964-1965.

<sup>3</sup> CICD letter to members, 12 March 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 1964-1965; 'Peace in Asia! Stop the War in Vietnam!', CICD Handbill April 1965, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; 'Melbourne Meeting 'War Must Cease'', *Peace Action*, May 1965, 15, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; 'On Vietnam', *Guardian*, 14 April 1965:1.

<sup>4</sup> CICD Program and Perspectives for 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 44, 1964-1965. On the Hiroshima Commemoration see: 'Two Crises: How People Reacted', *Guardian*, 13 August 1964:1; 8; 'Negotiate!' Says Cairns, 'Treason!' Says Cole', *Guardian*, 20 August 1964: 5. 'Australia's Relations with Asia' was one of the eight topics discussed at the ACICD Congress. ACICD Official pamphlet, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44 1964-1965; see also ACICD conference findings in *Peace Action*, November 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 58, file 6.

<sup>5</sup> Goldbloom was Joint Treasurer on the ACICD Provisional Committee. The CICD largely comprised the Victorian Sponsoring Committee for the ACICD: Dickie was Chairman; Goldbloom and CICD committee member, Edmund Felix DuVergier were Joint Secretaries; and Hartley and Rev. David Pope (Vic. CND) were joint treasurers. ACICD Official pamphlet; 'The How's and Why's of Being a Delegate to the ACICD', Vic. Sponsoring Committee 1964, ACICD NAA: A432, 1964/2165, f.279.

<sup>6</sup> CICD Program and Perspectives for 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic. Z263 Box 44, 1964-1965.

<sup>7</sup> 'US Asking for More Aid in Vietnam, Australia's Attitude is Sympathetic', *Age*, 11 May 1964:1.

<sup>8</sup> CICD Press Statement, 12 May 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 Peace 1964-1965.

and national self-determination concerns. The statement was also predicated on the CICD's long-standing criticism of US policies of containment and encirclement of China, and of Australia's commitment to the ANZUS and SEATO military alliances. It criticised the Menzies Government for prioritising Western interests in the region, rather than developing policies which reflected its position as an Asiatic country. The CICD considered that Australia's geographical location in Asia, gave it a 'special responsibility' to withdraw its troops from the region and to initiate diplomatic negotiations.<sup>9</sup> As we shall see, the CICD appealed to both the US and Australian governments to initiate multilateral negotiations between all concerned parties, to resolve the crisis in Vietnam and to withdraw their military forces from the region.

On 14 May, Hasluck confirmed that there would be 'no holding back' on Australia's part 'to do what we can'.<sup>10</sup> Less than a month later, the new Australian Minister for Defence, Senator Paltridge, announced that Australia would send an additional six planes and 50 men to aid the US in Vietnam.<sup>11</sup> By this time the CICD had already sent a cable to US Secretary-General, Dean Rusk, urging that his government withdraw US troops and pursue a 'non-military solution' as per the 1954 Geneva Agreements.<sup>12</sup> Additionally, a letter from the CICD to US President, Lyndon Johnson, questioned his aim to 'Stop the Vietcong', rather than stop the war in Vietnam.<sup>13</sup> Both the letter to Johnson and the cable to Rusk were circularised to CICD members to emphasise that US policies were responsible for the conflict in Vietnam and could threaten the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) agreement. The CICD also forwarded to its membership a carefully edited extract from an article published in the American magazine, *Aviation Week*, which claimed that the US was covertly sponsoring raids in Vietnam 'as far north as China'.<sup>14</sup> However, it omitted a section in the same article which referred to the war in Saigon as the 'second phase of the Chinese communist attempt to control the strategic Indo-China peninsula'.<sup>15</sup> Despite China's increasingly hostile attitude towards the Soviet

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> 'Australian Help for US in Vietnam', *Age*, 14 May 1964:1.

<sup>11</sup> 'Australia to Increase Aid 6 Planes, 50 More Men for Vietnam', *Canberra Times*, 9 June 1964:1.

<sup>12</sup> CICD letter to members, 3 June 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 Peace 1964-1965. See also ASIO Report No. 1657/64, 11 August 1964, and copy of CICD letter with text of cable, both in Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.15-16.

<sup>13</sup> Copy of CICD letter to President Johnson, 23 June 1964 with cover letter signed by CICD Chairman, Dickie, 26 June 1964, both in Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Extracts from article by Larry Booda published in US magazine, *Aviation Week*, 6 April 1964 and CICD letter to members, 29 June 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>15</sup> Larry Booda, 'South Vietnamese Raiders Extending War', *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 6 April 1964, 16-19 <https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/docs/193706.pdf>.

policy of peaceful co-existence and the LTBT treaty – which was deeply problematic for the peace movement – the foremost concern for the CICD was to emphasise the view that US policies were to blame for China's hostile behaviour. As shown in Chapter 3, the CICD attributed China's attitude to Western policies of exclusion, containment and encirclement. The CICD argued that while the People's Republic of China (PRC) government continued to be excluded from the UN, was not recognised by Western leaders, and was encircled by US bases and allies, it could be expected to build its own nuclear capability, and a buffer zone of support in the SE Asian region. Following the appeals to top US administration officials, the CICD also appealed to its own Government.

In July, the CICD sent an open letter to Menzies asking him to reconsider its policy in Vietnam 'before it is too late'.<sup>16</sup> Thus by mid-1964, the CICD was acutely aware that the situation in Vietnam had become critical. Later in the month, to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the CICD and the Melbourne Trades Hall Council (THC) issued a joint call to reconvene the Geneva conference in Vietnam.<sup>17</sup> As Chairman of the CICD, Dickie also wrote an article that underlined the long-held intention of the US to intervene militarily in Indo-China with Australian support. It stated that

to see these things is to realise that here is the beginning of a policy which has continued until it has involved Australia in what could prove to be a 'circumvention' of the Geneva Agreements and the spark that sets South East Asia ablaze.<sup>18</sup>

The article, 'specially' written for the *Guardian* and also published by *Tribune*, illustrated the close links between the communist press and the CICD.<sup>19</sup> Equally evident was the CICD's emphasis on diplomatic measures to solve the crisis. CICD calls for negotiations accorded with its policy of international cooperation and a recent statement from the WPC to:

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<sup>16</sup> 'ANZ Congress', *Guardian*, 9 July 1964:1.

<sup>17</sup> 'Recall Geneva Conference' – THC, ANZ Congress Head', *Guardian*, 16 July 1964:1.

<sup>18</sup> 'Must Take Road Back to Geneva', *Guardian*, 23 July 1964:7; 'Geneva Agreements: American Historian on Indo-China War', *Tribune*, 22 July 1964:8.

<sup>19</sup> 'Must Take Road Back to Geneva', *Guardian*, 23 July 1964:7. Dickie may have also conferred with *Guardian* journalist, Malcolm Salmon, regarding the article after Goldbloom suggested that Salmon should have a talk with Dickie about what plans the CICD had for the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Geneva conference. Intercept Report, 13 July 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.7.

Demand the convening of a second Geneva conference! Cease fire! End military intervention! Negotiate a guarantee of neutrality and complete independence for South Vietnam.<sup>20</sup>

Calls to negotiate contrasted with more visible forms of direct action demonstrated by the Union of Australian Women (UAW), which conducted a 'City Walk for Peace' in Melbourne's CBD on 20 July, and that of the militant WWF workers in Sydney, who refused to load arms they suspected were headed for South Vietnam.<sup>21</sup> However, in the lead up to the CICD's two main campaigns in August and October 1964, the CICD used more conspicuous tactics to stimulate public interest in its aims.

Earlier in July, CICD General Secretary, Sam Goldbloom, advised *Guardian* journalist, Malcolm Salmon, that he was issuing a press statement detailing CICD's plans for an 'Information Meeting' on 22 July at Assembly Hall, and that he would 'like it go into *Guardian* this week'.<sup>22</sup> Goldbloom informed Salmon that the public forum on 'Australia and Asia' would be addressed by the Labor for Yarra, Dr. Jim Cairns, on the subject of Vietnam, while an Indonesian Embassy official would discuss the Indonesia-Malaysia issue.<sup>23</sup> This initiative would represent the first of a series of such forums to provoke informed discussion and 'increase public understanding of vital questions'.<sup>24</sup> It was an early attempt to hold a public forum inviting open discussion on the SE Asia question. The concept would be popularised by university teach-ins in Australia a year later following the example set by the University of Michigan, on 24 March 1965.<sup>25</sup> The CICD forum in mid-1964 illustrates the advantage of an established, well-resourced and permanent body that could initiate and administer relevant programmes to address current concerns. While the call for the *Guardian* to write an article about the forum also demonstrated the CICD's close relationship with the

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<sup>20</sup> Statement on the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Geneva agreements by the meeting of WPC Presidential Committee held in Budapest, in April, 'Call to End the Brutal War', *Tribune*, 10 June 1964:10

<sup>21</sup> 'City Walk for Peace', *Guardian*, 16 July 1964:8; 'Wharfies Stop, Urge Ban on S. Vietnam Arms', *Guardian*, 30 July 1964:1.

<sup>22</sup> Intercept Report, 7 July 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.108; Advertisement, *Guardian*, 9 July 1964:8.

<sup>23</sup> Intercept Report, 7 July 1964.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> 'Professors hold Vietnam Protest – 3 Bomb Threats Disrupt 'Teach-in' at Michigan U', *New York Times*, 25 March 1965:9. The first Australian 'teach-in' on Vietnam was held by the ANU in Canberra on the 23 July 1965, then Monash University on the 29 July 1965. 'Teach-In for Peace Reaches Australia: Monash University Marathon Today', *Guardian*, 29 July 1965:8; Notices, *Lot's Wife*, 27 July 1965, 24. See also 'The Teach-in on Vietnam', *Lot's Wife*, 10 August 1965, 1-7; 'Vietnam Teach-In', *Guardian*, 5 August 1965: 4-5.

communist paper, the CICD saw in Cairns a charismatic, political front man committed to the campaign, who could help to underline the political legitimacy of the CICD's peace demands. Cairns was already a long-time supporter of the nuclear disarmament movement, and Australian relations with Asia and Vietnam became a special concern for him.<sup>26</sup> As noted in Chapter 3, Cairns was Secretary of the CICD Richmond local peace committee in 1961 and would become chairman of the first Victorian Moratorium Committee.<sup>27</sup> As well as organising experienced speakers for these public events, the CICD at this time recognised the power of the new media of television.

In the lead up to the Frankston to Melbourne Hiroshima march on the weekend of 8-9 August 1964, Goldbloom made two prime time appearances eleven days apart. He appeared on the HSV7 program *Fighting Words* on Saturday 25 July, and on the ATV 0's *Ray Taylor Show* on 5 August.<sup>28</sup> Three days after *Fighting Words* aired, Goldbloom commented to the *Guardian* editor and member of the CPA Central Committee, Rex Mortimer, that since the broadcast he had received 'numerous' calls.<sup>29</sup> Mortimer agreed that Goldbloom's appearance on the show 'was a big help'.<sup>30</sup> An ASIO officer reported that both Goldbloom and Mortimer

considered that Goldbloom won every point during his appearance and that from a propaganda point of view, for himself personally, and the [CICD], it could only be a big success.<sup>31</sup>

Propaganda was always an important aspect of CICD peace work and television was a powerful and efficient weapon. It allowed the CICD to enter into people's homes which, in turn, positioned the audience to view the CICD with a sense of familiarity and legitimacy. In ASIO's appraisal of Goldbloom's second television performance, Goldbloom was described as having managed difficult questions in an 'adroit and logical' manner and concluded that

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<sup>26</sup> See for instance, Dr Jim Cairns, *Vietnam: Is it Truth We Want?* (Victorian Branch of the Australian Labor Party, 1965); *The Eagle and the Lotus: Western Intervention in Vietnam 1847- 1971* (Melbourne: Lansdowne [1969], 1971); *Silence Kills: Events Leading Up to the Vietnam Moratorium on 8 May* (Melbourne: Vietnam Moratorium Committee, 1970). For a complete list of works by Cairns see Paul Strangio, *Keeper of the Faith, A Biography of Jim Cairns* (Melbourne University Press, 2002), 440-442.

<sup>27</sup> Letter from Richmond Regional Peace Committee, signed under the name of J. F. Cairns (MHR), Secretary Richmond Regional Committee to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, 29 September 1961, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962.

<sup>28</sup> 'Note for file', Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.10; ASIO Minute Paper signed D.R. Marshall, 17 August 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.113-114.

<sup>29</sup> Intercept Report, 28 July 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.9.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

the 'propaganda value of this short interview would outstrip that contained in the annual output of [the] Victorian *Guardian*'.<sup>32</sup>

Notwithstanding Goldbloom's successful public appearances, the CICD's two main disarmament actions in 1964 were each preceded by decisive political events that heightened Cold War tensions and public support for US military involvement in Asia. The first was the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August which provided justification for the US prosecution of the Vietnam War.<sup>33</sup> While 200 Victorian SUA workers protested outside the US consulate condemning US retaliatory air strikes, the CICD sent a cable to President Johnson demanding an end to the conflict and for peace talks between 'China and all parties concerned'.<sup>34</sup> The cable, which emphasised a peaceful negotiated settlement to the conflict, epitomised CICD's response to developments in Vietnam during the early period, but its content revealed the CICD's implicit awareness of the centrality of China to the region.

Then, nine days before the ACICD Congress officially opened on 25 October, Communist China exploded its first nuclear bomb.<sup>35</sup> As previously noted, the CICD immediately responded by publicly denouncing China's action, but in its statement to the press it also remarked, 'it is obvious that China's exclusion from the Councils of the World [the UN] has contributed to her desire to test and to possess nuclear weapons'.<sup>36</sup> For blaming Western policies of exclusion, Goldbloom allegedly received a 'hostile' reception during a television appearance the following morning on the 19 October.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding the CICD's reluctance to definitively denounce China, ACICD delegate Prof. Linus Pauling observed that Australian suspicion of the peace movement had changed very little over the past fifteen years since the 1959 Congress.<sup>38</sup> While Pauling criticised the Australian Government and its public, his comment was also suggestive of the Australian peace movement's failure to effectively challenge the Government and mass media campaign that dramatized both the

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<sup>32</sup> ASIO Minute Paper signed D.R. Marshall, 17 August 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 4, NAA: A6119, 4475, f.113-114.

<sup>33</sup> Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 307-11; see also 'World Looks at Vietnam, Reaction on Bombing Vary'; and 'Russia Blames US', both in *Canberra Times*, 7 August 1964:4.

<sup>34</sup> The US Consulate demonstration was addressed by the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, and a member of the Victorian ALP Central executive, 'Two Crises: How People Reacted', *Guardian*, 13 August 1964:1; 8.

<sup>35</sup> 'China Explodes its First Nuclear Device', *Canberra Times*, 17 October 1964:1.

<sup>36</sup> See p.168. The statement was issued to the *Age* and the *Sun* in Melbourne on 18 October 1964. CICD Press Statement, 19 October 1964, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>37</sup> Intercept Report, 28 October 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.43.

<sup>38</sup> 'Shades of McCarthy Era in Peace Congress Criticism', *Age*, 2 November 1964:10.



supposed Communist threat from the north and the logic of the domino theory.<sup>39</sup> Nonetheless, Pauling's comment appeared to overlook the possibility that Tonkin and China's nuclear test may have had a hardening effect on the Australian public mood. Cognisant of the tensions heightened by the recent political developments and the general cynicism reserved for the peace movement, Goldbloom's next television appearance on 28 October was far from triumphant. It suggests a deliberate attempt by the CICD to avoid any further public condemnation. Although it promised to be a fiery contest between Goldbloom and NSW ALP branch member John P. Forrester, who had recently published his polemical account of the peace movement, *Fifteen Years of Peace Fronts*, the debate was described in a Canberra media report as a 'little more than plain dull'.<sup>40</sup> Forrester's booklet and Fred Wells' previously noted pamphlet, *The Peace Racket*, received media attention in light of the general antipathy towards the ACICD Congress and heightened concerns regarding Asia.<sup>41</sup> In this climate of political anxiety about the crises in Asia in terms of Australia's alleged national security, the Menzies Government proposed to introduce legislation compulsorily requiring youths to register for overseas military service.

### **Conscription – 'part of a pattern of Western policies' for war**

When Menzies announced the conscription scheme on 10 November 1964, he reasoned that with the increased number of likely military situations in the region, there was 'no

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<sup>39</sup> For instance, on the role media played on public attitudes to the Vietnam War in both the US and Australia, Rodney Tiffen concluded that the Australian press was less willing to challenge the official line, or to provide more varied opinion on, and an analysis of, the Vietnam War. Rodney Tiffen, 'News Coverage of Vietnam' and see also Murray Goot and Rodney Tiffen, 'Public Opinion and the Politics of the Poll', both in Peter King (ed.), *Australia's Vietnam: Australia in the Second Indo-China War* (Sydney: Unwin & Allen, 1983), 165-187; 129-165, respectively.

<sup>40</sup> Goldbloom debated Forrester on the HSV 7, *Seven Days* program which aired on 28 October. Intercept Report, 16 November 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.52; John Howard (resident T.V. critic) in 'Congress Report Well Handled', *Canberra Times*, 30 October 1964:15.

<sup>41</sup> Regarding Wells and his pamphlet, *The Peace Racket*, see f.n. 311, pp.157-158. Like Forrester, Wells also appeared on the Seven Days program when he published his pamphlet in September 1964 to debate ACICD Chairman, Dr A.G. H. Lawes. At the time, Wells was *Canberra Times*' special correspondent reporting on the ACICD Congress, 'Congress for Peace roar was just a squeak', *Canberra Times*, 30 October 1964:3. Wells was also given a few columns the following November to comment on CPA members failure to win over the Federated Ironworkers Association (FIA) while members held key positions of influence in the SUA, 'Radicals Make a Strong Bid to Control F.I.A.', *Canberra Times*, 18 November 1964:11 'Hollow Victory for Left Wing in Seamen's Union Poll', *Canberra Times*, 26 November 1964:23.

alternative' to conscription.<sup>42</sup> A recent volunteer recruitment program had failed while the question of the army's effectiveness to deal with the crises in SE Asia had been a point of contention for Calwell against the Government and satirised by political cartoonist, Les Tanner.<sup>43</sup> Although Australians were historically averse to conscription for overseas service and were generally opposed to sending conscripts to Vietnam, in the early 1960s a majority favoured the idea of a numerically stronger, trained defence force involving two years compulsory military training of 'all fit young men' between 17-21 years of age.<sup>44</sup> The *Bulletin* encapsulated the public mood in an early 1964 article titled, 'The Defence Bureaucracy, What Has Gone Wrong in Canberra'.<sup>45</sup> In the context of this concern about national security, the Australian public and youths most affected by the proposed legislation were generally slow to react to the proposed conscription scheme and much of the earliest opposition came from the established political left.

In Victoria, the Eureka Youth League (EYL), with its strong attachments to the Communist Party and highly critical of Western policy in Vietnam, was among the early opponents of

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<sup>42</sup> 'Speech by PM Menzies on Defence Review Ministerial Statement, 10 November 1964', 2; 4 [https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00001020\\_0.pdf](https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/original/00001020_0.pdf).

<sup>43</sup> 'Cabinet may Give More Military Aid to Malaysia', *Canberra Times*, 5 November 1964:3. For Calwell's comments see: 'Defence Comments "Harmful"', *Canberra Times*, 29 January 1963:5; Leader of the Opposition, Arthur Calwell, 'Labor and Australia's Defence', Press Release No.20, 18 September 1964,

[https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/694974/upload\\_binary/694974.pdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/694974/upload_binary/694974.pdf); Tanner summed up the situation that Australia was in no position to meet our military commitment to our SEATO and Commonwealth allies with a numerically weak defence force when he depicted four army personnel to deal with Australia's military commitment to Malaysia, Borneo, Vietnam and mainland defence, Les Tanner Cartoon, *Bulletin* Vol. 86 (4421), 14 November 1964, 12.

<sup>44</sup> On the question of sending conscripts to Vietnam from December 1965 until November 1966, an average of 54.2 per cent of Australian respondents were opposed. See Table 4-11 in Roy Forward and Bob Reece, *Conscription in Australia* (University of Queensland Press, 1968), 129. On Australian historical attitudes to conscription see also Hamel-Green, 'The Resisters', 100-102. On the question of building the national defence force, in June 1961, 72.3 per cent of Australian respondents agreed; 21.9 per cent disagreed; less than 6 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 150, June 16, 1961 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archive, ANU, 1982. From 1962-1964, a period of 2 years compulsory training was also suggested. On average, 68 per cent agreed, 26 per cent disagreed and 5.7 per cent were undecided, *AGP*, Survey 157, June 8, 1962 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 2004; *AGP*, Survey 164 [computer file], Aug 16, 1963 and *AGP*, Survey 170, June 26, 1964 [computer file], both in Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1984.

<sup>45</sup> Brian Beddie, 'The Defence Bureaucracy, What Has Gone Wrong in Canberra', *Bulletin* Vol. 86 (4381), 8 February 1964, 16-20. Commenting on the conscription scheme the *Bulletin* editorialised that Australians needed to rethink its attitude towards national service as an economically viable 'solution' to problems concerning teenage unemployment and education. Plain English, 'Beyond the Wit of Australians?', *Bulletin* Vol. 86 (4421), 14 November 1964, 13.

conscription.<sup>46</sup> The EYL railed against the unfairness of a scheme which targeted youths of non-voting age; a position which was later taken up by the broader anti-conscription movement.<sup>47</sup> Other responses included a joint Women Strike for Peace and UAW-organised women's lunch-hour march in Melbourne's CBD; the Melbourne THC pledged to 'fight conscription all-out'; while the *Guardian* ran a series of articles tracing Australia's turbulent history with conscription.<sup>48</sup> The ALP was unequivocally opposed to conscription for overseas service.<sup>49</sup> Calwell likened the ballot system to a form of 'Russian roulette' and later referred to it as the 'lottery of death'.<sup>50</sup> The CICD must have felt encouraged by the ALP's position after the Party's 1963 Federal conference resolved to 'honour and support' Australia's military treaties and arrangements.<sup>51</sup> *Peacemaker*, which both participated and reported on the ACICD Congress, conveyed its opposition.<sup>52</sup> It reprinted an extract from the *National Service Act 1951-1964*, pertaining to conscientious objection and offered further advice to young men liable for military service.<sup>53</sup> Thus, the peace movement could rely on the political left and pacifists to oppose the legislation.

Following the ACICD Congress in Sydney, the CICD hosted a large meeting at Melbourne's Festival Hall on 1 November, attended by either 2,500 or 800 people depending on the account.<sup>54</sup> The meeting was addressed by several international ACICD delegates, including the Mayor of Japan, Shinzo Hamai, and Linus Pauling, who all 'spoke on the danger of the

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<sup>46</sup> See for instance, 'Vic. EYL Conference Supports CPA Policy', *Tribune*, 31 July 1963:8. EYL passed resolutions on broader peace issues of colonialism and neo-colonialism, 'Eureka Youth Rally Against Colonialism', *Tribune*, 24 April 1963:3 and branch members in Melbourne adopted a 3-point resolution on Vietnam criticising the US and Australia for supporting Diem, "'Second Line' Action Invasion', *Guardian*, 12 September 1963:8.

<sup>47</sup> 'Take Vote on Conscription', *Guardian*, 12 November 1964:1.

<sup>48</sup> 'Women's Lunch-Hour City Walk for Peace', *Guardian*, 3 December 1964:8; 'Fight Conscription All-Out' – Call by THC, *Guardian*, 19 November 1964:1; *Guardian*, 19 November 1964: 5; 7.

<sup>49</sup> 'Conscripts Must Not Serve Abroad – Calwell', *Canberra Times*, 13 November 1964:1.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.; 'Call-Up 'Lottery of Death' – Mr Calwell', *Age*, 16 November 1965:6.

<sup>51</sup> The policy included a recommendation that Australian forces should not be committed overseas without a 'clear and public Treaty', *ALP Official Report of the Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Commonwealth Conference* (Perth, 29 July -2 August 1963), 18; 23, <https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/>.

<sup>52</sup> 'Congress: 25-30 October', *Peacemaker* Vol. 26(9), October 1964, 1, Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>53</sup> *Peacemaker* Vol. 26(10), November-December 1964, 1 and throughout the issue. *Peacemaker* also distributed a resource pamphlet for conscientious objectors, which included a list of 7 advisory committees, one in each state of Australia including the ACT, 'Conscientious Objection and *National Service Act 1951-1965*', Publication No.2 June 1965, both from Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>54</sup> *Guardian* estimated 2,500 attended, whereas, both the *Age* and a security agent gave the more moderate figure of 800. 'Voices of Peace at Melbourne Rally', *Guardian*, 5 November 1964:1; 'Shades of McCarthy Era in Peace Congress Criticism', *Age*, 2 November 1964:10; ASIO Report No. 2430/64, 2 December 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.59.

Atom Bomb'.<sup>55</sup> The overseas delegates also addressed four further meetings convened in the regional centres of Moe, Bendigo, Dandenong and Geelong on 2 and 4 November.<sup>56</sup> On 20 November *Guardian* journalist, Salmon, asked Goldbloom for the CICD's comment on conscription. According to a security agent's intercept report, Goldbloom answered that the CICD was in the midst of preparing a statement.<sup>57</sup> Salmon advised Goldbloom that the *Guardian* wanted to emphasise the question of whether Australia was 'already in a state of undeclared war' and asked Goldbloom whether he would 'make a statement on this'.<sup>58</sup> Goldbloom replied that through the conscription scheme 'the Government wanted to change from a state of undeclared war, by building up the forces, to be in a position of declared war'.<sup>59</sup> Goldbloom added, that 'he would think about this and make a statement'.<sup>60</sup> Subsequently, the CICD's official response was reflective of these concerns shared by both the *Guardian* and the CICD.<sup>61</sup>

The CICD's statement, issued on 23 November, declared that conscription could only 'increase tensions' in the region, tensions that 'could easily become a world nuclear war'.<sup>62</sup> It criticised the absence of 'any attempts' by the government 'to vigorously explore' all diplomatic avenues.<sup>63</sup> For the CICD, the conscription scheme was part of a pattern of Western policies designed to seek 'military solutions' to the problems of Asia. It stated,

the continued policy of confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, the military and naval encirclement of Indonesia, the nuclear tests by the People's Republic of China, the continued U-2 flights over China's territory and American nuclear armed naval forces continually patrolling off China's coast, together with war in Vietnam

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<sup>55</sup> ASIO Report No. 2430/64, 2 December 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.59; 'Voices of Peace at Melbourne Rally', *Guardian*, 5 November 1964:1.

<sup>56</sup> 'Melbourne's Biggest Peace Meeting Planned, Nov. 1', *Guardian*, 15 October 1964:8; 'This Sunday Big Melbourne Meeting', *Guardian*, 29 October 1964:1.

<sup>57</sup> Intercept Report, 20 November 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.57.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> 'Melbourne's Biggest Peace Meeting Planned, Nov. 1', *Guardian*, 15 October 1964:8; 'This Sunday Big Melbourne Meeting', *Guardian*, 29 October 1964:1.

<sup>62</sup> ANZCICD Press Statement, 23 November 1964, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; 'Gov't. Should Take Peace Initiative – ANZ Congress', [extract] *Guardian*, 26 August 1964 [c. 26 November 1964], Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.58. A copy of the statement in *Guardian* was probably published in its 26 November 1964 issue shortly after the statement was released.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

and the introduction of nuclear bases and nuclear submarines into the Pacific....[were] all signposts on the road to a collision course in the area.<sup>64</sup>

The CICD called on the Government to call a conference of Asian nations to resolve the crises diplomatically.<sup>65</sup> The CICD's response to the conscription scheme typified the peace group's broader concerns regarding post-war political developments in Asia. It went further than opposing conscription on humanitarian grounds or as a civil rights issue, and underlined a distinction between it and the independent, Melbourne-based anti-conscription groups, which would emerge the following year during the first call-up. While such groups primarily sought to repeal the legislation, the CICD's response brought into sharp relief its opposition to Western policies of containment and concern that an enlarged military response in SE Asia could draw China into open conflict with Western powers and Australia, which could lead to a third, and possibly nuclear, war. Goldbloom was commenting on the idea that Australia was in a 'state of undeclared war' when he stated, 'that we live in revolutionary times and there were constant processes of change especially to the North'.<sup>66</sup> Thus, the CICD was reacting to broader changes in geo-strategic conditions, rather than just the conscription issue.

By now relations between the Chinese and Soviet communist parties had become openly fraught and the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI) was becoming less predictable. While the PRC had demonstrated its contempt for the LTBT, in January 1965, Indonesia left the UN. The CICD considered the Indonesian decision regrettable given that the UN still offered 'the best international forum yet devised'.<sup>67</sup> Therefore the CICD advocated for the PRC's place in the UN both on principle and because it felt that in this way, the PRC could be brought to heel under the weight of international pressure. This much was conveyed in the CICD's 1965 Statement of Policy issued in January, which by now explicitly conveyed both the CICD's awareness of the importance of the PRC for the region and its frustration with Western policies towards the PRC. It stated in part:

The peace movement fully appreciates the great international significance and influence of China and firmly believes that there can be no effective international

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Malcolm Salmon (*Guardian*) to Goldbloom, Intercept Report, 20 November 1964, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.57.

<sup>67</sup> *Peace Action* Vol. 7(2) May 1965, 12-13; CICD Statement of Policy, 1965 (hereafter, CICD Statement of Policy, 1965) both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, 1964-1965 and UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 50, file 67.

agreement on disarmament which excludes her... Central to the problem of disarmament and international détente, is the recognition of the People's Republic of China and its admission to her rightful place in the United Nations.<sup>68</sup>

The subtext of the policy statement indicated the CICD's unease with Communist China's influence in the region, and with Indonesian moves towards China to support its policy to 'crush Malaysia'.<sup>69</sup> It added:

it must be said that there are growing concerns, and even hostility towards Indonesia's policy of confrontation with Malaysia, China's testing of nuclear weapons [and] her refusal to sign the partial test ban treaty.... in view of the danger of the escalation of war in this area, the peace movement deplores the Indonesian policy of attempting to settle its objections to the establishment of Malaysia by military actions.<sup>70</sup>

Although the CICD openly condemned the Indonesian policy of confrontation, the CICD approached the China question with deliberate caution.

The CICD was troubled by the intersection of the PRC's attitude with US policies predicated on demonstrating its strength in Asia. US retaliatory air strikes for the Tonkin incident had been closely followed by reports of China's troop activity into territory bordering North Vietnam and its willingness to fight against the US 'for Vietnam'.<sup>71</sup> Given fears that the crises in SE Asia might reignite the arms race, it considered the war in Vietnam and China's involvement 'the most pressing problem' and Asia its 'special sphere of interest and responsibility'.<sup>72</sup> For the CICD, SE Asia appeared to be on a collision course to world war involving nuclear weapons. However, the CICD demand for US withdrawal was incongruent with prevailing attitudes in Australia. A majority of Australians indicated that Australia and SE Asia, including Malaysia and Thailand, would be in danger from China if the US withdrew from Asia.<sup>73</sup> Australians supported US presence in Asia and its uncompromising

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> 'Chinese Pledge Aid if Indonesia Attacked', *Canberra Times*, 10 September 1964:4; 'SE Asia China Reaffirms Support for Sukarno Policies', *Canberra Times*, 4 December 1964:5.

<sup>70</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1965; *Peace Action* Vol. 7(2) May 1965, 12-13.

<sup>71</sup> 'Swift Action Follows President's Warning US Air Force in 64 Sorties Against Vietnam', *Canberra Times*, 6 August 1964:1; 'China Ready with Troops' and 'Red Army on Vietnam Border', both in *Canberra Times*, 7 August 1964:4; 'Chinese Troops, Planes in North Vietnam', *Canberra Times*, 11 August 1964:5; 'China 'Would Fight' for North Vietnam', *Canberra Times*, 2 December 1964:1.

<sup>72</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1965; *Peace Action* Vol. 7(2) May 1965, 12-13; CICD letter to members, 26 February 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>73</sup> In May 1965 71.7 per cent of Australian respondents thought Australia would be in danger from China if the US pulled out of Asia, 16.5 per cent disagreed and 11.9 per cent were undecided. On a

stance towards Vietnam until, at least, political stability could be established.<sup>74</sup> In the climate of Australian support for the US in Asia, the CICD felt heartened by calls to negotiate a settlement to stop the war in Vietnam.

### **‘Stop the war! Negotiate!’**

By early 2 March 1965, the US initiated Operation Rolling Thunder, a campaign which saw the sustained bombing of North Vietnam. The escalated US military response met with an outpouring of calls for a ceasefire and a negotiated settlement to the conflict from around the world and in Australia.

In Australia, a group of 13 Anglican bishops challenged Menzies to ‘take every possible step’ to stop the war in Vietnam.<sup>75</sup> The CICD welcomed the public controversy surrounding the prelates’ appeal, and commented on the peace movement’s role in it. Goldbloom stated that the bishops’ letter ‘had been planned’ at the ACICD 1964 Congress and that it involved one of the signatories, former Anglican bishop of Armidale J.S. Moyes, who had participated in the Congress.<sup>76</sup> Goldbloom’s statement was consistent with that of Moyes’.

Moyes disclosed in his unpublished memoirs that he contributed to its composition but that ‘the impetus came from a difference source’.<sup>77</sup> According to Moyes, ACICD Chairman, Dr A.G.H. Lawes asked him in early 1965 to be part of an appeal to Menzies to call for negotiations in the Vietnam war. Moyes had recently criticised the government for its attitude towards the ACICD Congress.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, he was also among a group of clergymen who

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question regarding concerns for SE Asia, 64.4 per cent said both Malaysia and Thailand would be ‘taken over by other countries’ if the US left Vietnam, 16.5 per cent disagreed and 19 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 177, 7 May 1965 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 2004.

<sup>74</sup> On a question regarding the US attitude not to settle for no less than assured independence for South Vietnam, 64.4 per cent thought the US should not withdraw, 20.1 per cent thought the US should withdraw and 15.1 per cent were undecided. *AGP*, Survey 177, 7 May 1965 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 2004.

<sup>75</sup> Bishop McCall of Wangaratta included Archbishop of Melbourne Frank Woods among the signatories, making 13 in total. ‘Bishops’ Letter ‘Misinterpreted’’, *Canberra Times*, 27 March 1965:3. According to Terracini, Archbishop Woods signed and sent his letter to Menzies separately. Paul Terracini, ‘Moyes, Menzies, and the Vietnam War: New Insights into the Public Correspondence Between the Prime Minister and the Bishops’, *Journal of Religious History* Vol. 36(1), 2012, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Goldbloom was guest speaker at a Prahran Peace Fellowship meeting on 12 April 1965, attended by Hartley, ASIO Report No 945/65, 19 May 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.97.

<sup>77</sup> Terracini, ‘Moyes, Menzies, and the Vietnam War’, 71-72.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Anglican Bishop Sponsor of Peace Congress’, *SMH*, 11 July 1964:4, ‘Churches Must Unite for Peace’, *SMH*, 27 October 1964:5; ‘Bishop’s Protest on Visa Refusal’, *SMH*, 14 October 1964: 17; ‘Snedden Comments’, *SMH*, 29 October 1964:4.

publicly denounced the Communist Party referendum in 1951.<sup>79</sup> Instead Moyes offered to approach his colleagues 'who [unlike he] were mostly, in the eye of the Government, above suspicion', to see if something could be done.<sup>80</sup> Irrespective, Menzies responded tartly to each of the two bishops' letters.<sup>81</sup> So acerbic was Menzies' response that another of the signatories, Bishop McCall of Wangaratta, wondered whether the PM 'misinterpreted' the bishops' intention.<sup>82</sup> While Menzies defended US policy in preparation for a possible escalation of Australia's commitment in Vietnam, the CICD was confident that the letters had cast doubts on US and Australian government policy in Vietnam.<sup>83</sup>

Fellow executive member, Rev. Hartley, who was with Goldbloom at the time, was overjoyed with the bishops' letters and declared, 'we are sitting on top of the world'.<sup>84</sup> The first bishop's letter stated that its plea for peace in Vietnam joined that of the UN Secretary General, U-Thant, the Governments of Canada, India and France and Pope John XXII.<sup>85</sup> Hartley considered that the churches' support, in particular, would help to expose the hypocrisy of Western policies for peace through preparations for war. He stated,

America will be pushed out of Vietnam just like the French; the Bishops are all with us and now that we have the churches behind us the peace movement is stronger now than it has ever been.<sup>86</sup>

CICD Chairman, Rev. Dickie expressed similar elation in his closing comments at the CICD's 'Peace in Asia' Easter rally on 9 April.<sup>87</sup> Addressing a crowd of between 350-400 or

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<sup>79</sup> 'Bishop Moyes States his Views on Referendum', *The Armidale Express and New England General Advertiser*, 31 August 1951:6; 'Churchman's Attitude, Reply by Minister', *SMH*, 14 September 1951:2.

<sup>80</sup> Terracini, 'Moyes, Menzies, and the Vietnam War', 71-72.

<sup>81</sup> The bishops' letters were sent to Menzies between March and April 1965. For the full text of correspondence between Menzies and the Bishops see 'Anglican Bishops and Sir Robert Exchange Letters over Vietnam', *Peace Action*, May 1965, 4-6; see also *Age*, *Australian*, *Canberra Times* 15 March 1965, for the full text of the first letter. For Menzies' response to the first letter see: 'Bishops' Letter 'Distresses' Prime Minister', *SMH*, 26 March 1965:1; for Menzies' response to second letter, see: 'Menzies Replies to Bishops', *SMH*, 22 April 1965:10.

<sup>82</sup> 'Bishops' Letter 'Misinterpreted'', *Canberra Times*, 27 March 1965:3.

<sup>83</sup> Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*, 356.

<sup>84</sup> ASIO Report No 945/65, 19 May 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.97.

<sup>85</sup> Copy of Anglican bishops' letter to Menzies, published 15 March 1965, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152 Box 22, file 10. An article in *Tribune* reporting on the bishop's letter also took advantage of the world leader's plea for peace in Vietnam. 'Top Churchmen Add Call for Vietnam Peace', *Tribune*, 17 March 1965:1

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> ASIO Report No 1041/65, 28 May 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.97; 102; RD Vic to ASIO HQ, May 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.27. See also: CICD letter to members, 26 February 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.



more, Dickie announced that ‘the people of the peace movement [were] thrilled’ about the controversy caused by bishops’ letters.<sup>88</sup> For the CICD, the timing was propitious, since the bishops’ letters coincided with international pleas to stop the war.

In February, the CICD had already publicised international pleas in a large advertisement in the *Age* titled, ‘Vietnam, Stop the War! Support World Leaders Call for Negotiations’.<sup>89</sup> The CICD urged Melburnians to add their voices to the appeal by cutting the advertisement and forwarding it to Menzies and local MPs. The CICD also reprinted 5,000 copies for distribution among its membership.<sup>90</sup> Thus the first letter in mid-March was circulated amidst the international calls for the US to stop bombing North Vietnam and for diplomatic negotiations.<sup>91</sup>

While Australians remained divided about the US bombing North Vietnam, international pressure continued.<sup>92</sup> Menzies was formulating a response to the first of the bishops’ letters in late March when the US State Secretary Rusk received a plea from 17 non-aligned nations to settle the conflict peacefully.<sup>93</sup> In the interim, UN Secretary-General U Thant proposed a seven-nation ‘preliminary’ discussion between concerned parties to resolve the conflict.<sup>94</sup> Inspired by the UN call, Hartley and six trade union officials led the Victorian delegation to Canberra to urge Menzies, Calwell and representatives of the Geneva powers to support U-Thant’s proposal for a negotiated settlement.<sup>95</sup> Then, on 4 April, the *New York Times*

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<sup>88</sup> Reports vary regarding attendance. ASIO reported that between 400-500 attended the rally. ASIO Report No 1041/65, 28 May 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.97; 102. CICD estimated that about 350 people attended the meeting, CICD Annual Report 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966; *Guardian* estimated 400, ‘On Vietnam’, *Guardian*, 14 April 1965:1.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Vietnam, Stop the War! Support World Leaders Call for Negotiations’, *Age*, 12 February 1965:4; copy also in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>90</sup> CICD Annual Report 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Leading Churchmen Ask PM to Act on Vietnam’, *Age*, 15 March 1965:7.

<sup>92</sup> Only a slight majority of Australian respondents supported the US bombing campaign in North Vietnam: 53 per cent of Australians approved, 28.9 per cent disapproved, 18.1 per cent undecided. *AGP*, Survey 177, 7 May 1965 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU 2004.

<sup>93</sup> ‘Vietnam, US Awaits Speech’, *Canberra Times*, 7 April 1965:5

<sup>94</sup> U Thant proposed discussions between the US, Soviet Union, France, Britain, PRC, North and South Vietnam ‘Vietnam Mediation United States Rejects UN Moves’, *Canberra Times*, 11 March 1965:5.

<sup>95</sup> The interstate delegations went to Canberra on 17 March 1965, ‘Deputations to Canberra’, *Guardian*, 25 March 1965:1.

published an open letter to Johnson, addressed ‘Mr President, in the Name of God Stop it’ bearing the signature of 2,700 US clergymen.<sup>96</sup>

The CICD included copies of the international appeals, including a similar recent plea from the Australian Council of Churches (ACC), in a booklet titled *Vietnam Information*.<sup>97</sup> The CICD printed 2,000 copies of the booklet for circulation to its membership.<sup>98</sup> For the CICD, the booklet symbolised the weight of international opinion against US policy in Vietnam. It also validated the CICD’s emphasis on a peaceful settlement to Vietnam.

As noted in Chapter 3, by 1964 Australian communists led by E.F Hill formed the Maoist CPA (M-L) and former VPC executive, Rev. Victor James, decided to lead a break-away pro-Peking peace group. The October 1964 issue of the CPA (M-L) *Vanguard* accused peace movement leaders, like those in the CICD, of having ‘failed badly’ the struggle against colonialism in SE Asia by ‘bending over backwards to avoid any disagreement’.<sup>99</sup> It suggested that by doing so, the peace movement had lapsed into a state of obsolescence.

The Peking viewpoint supported by the CPA (M-L) was encapsulated in an article titled ‘Long Live Leninism’, published in the April 1960 issue of *Peking Review*, the principal English-language publication from China. The article suggested that if a nuclear war should occur,

then on the debris of a dead imperialism, the victorious people would create very swiftly a civilization thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and a truly beautiful future for themselves.<sup>100</sup>

While the article suggested that nuclear devastation was a reasonable price to pay for a socialist utopia, it also rejected the Soviet assumption that world socialism was inevitable. China adopted a hard-line approach to the international situation, which held that Western

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<sup>96</sup> The Clergymen’s advertisement to US President Johnson was sponsored by the Clergymen’s Emergency Committee, established by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the US. ‘Clergymen Ask Cease-Fire’, *New York Times*, 4 April 1965:3.

<sup>97</sup> The ACC appeal in the booklet, dated 24 April, represented churches of 11 denominations. *Vietnam Information Bulletin*, CICD, 1965, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>98</sup> The booklets were sold at a shilling apiece. CICD Annual Report 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966; *Vietnam Information Bulletin*, CICD, 1965, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>99</sup> [extract] *Vanguard* Vol. 2(1), October 1964 in ‘Australian Peace Liaison Committee’, ASIO document, 15 October 1964, James Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2177, f.82.

<sup>100</sup> ‘Long Live Leninism!’, *Peking Review* 17, 26 April 1960, 12  
<https://massline.org/PekingReview/PR1960/PR1960-17.pdf>.

imperialism would not willingly ‘crumble’ and had to be ‘overthrown’ by revolution.<sup>101</sup> One report observed that the ideological differences between the CPA and CPA (M-L) were more than academic, for they informed their perspectives of the role of the peace movement:

The CPA sees in the ‘Peace Movement’ means for a genuine reduction in international tension and a contribution to ‘peaceful coexistence’, whereas the CPA (M-L) regards it as a weapon with which to hit the ‘imperialist warmongers’.<sup>102</sup>

The split in the peace movement was problematic for the CICD, which apotheosised the concept of a united front. For example, it would take another two years before the CICD dropped ‘New Zealand’ from its full title in March 1967 to properly reflect its political position, as noted earlier in Chapter 3. Summy suggests the name change was ‘largely as a result’ of the NSW ALP’s unsuccessful attempt to proscribe the Sydney-based Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) because of its association with the communist movement, but this account raises the question of why then did the CICD preserve the pro-Soviet WPC phrase, ‘international cooperation and disarmament’ in its title?<sup>103</sup> The CICD did not explain why New Zealand had ‘become redundant’ but we can assume it was due to the adoption of the pro-Peking line by the New Zealand Communist Party.<sup>104</sup>

The CICD defended its traditional orientation and, by inference, it rejected the line promoted by the PRC in its 1965 policy statement:

The peace movement recognises that we live in a world of change. It does not seek to prevent change and maintain the status quo in international affairs, but rather to ensure that the necessary change should take place, peaceably and without the threat of war, in particular nuclear war... The complex problems of preserving and consolidating peace have no simple and easy solution. The goal can only be achieved step by step. The last 20 years have seen the world rush headlong through the arms race ... towards the very edge of universal catastrophe. The movement in reverse will

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *Current Affairs Bulletin*, Sydney, Vol. 34(3) 22 June 1964, in Brian McKinlay, *A Documentary History of the Australian Labour Movement 1850-1975* (Melbourne: Drummond Press, 1979), 724.

<sup>103</sup> Summy, ‘A Study of Dissent’, f.n.1., p. 175; *Report of the Twenty-First Congress of the CPA Central Committee, delivered by L. Aarons*, 9 July 1967, 3, [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1290860/upload\\_binary/1290860.pdf](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/partypol/1290860/upload_binary/1290860.pdf).

<sup>104</sup> CICD newsletter postmarked 29 March 1967, *Peace News*, CICD newsletter, c. March 1967.

only be achieved gradually. Any attempt for ‘total victory’ by any nation or group of nations will threaten total destruction of all nations.<sup>105</sup>

The CICD emphasised gradual, diplomatic measures to resolve international conflict in keeping with its founding principles and it rejected the CCP hard-line approach. For the CICD and fellow supporters in the CPA of the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence, the ascendancy of socialism as a rational world order was inevitable, and war must be avoided at all costs. Dickie reaffirmed this view on the occasion of his appointment as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in October 1965 by stating:

In the matter of war there were only two alternatives...nuclear death ...[or] an end to the cold war through coming to grips with the future of mankind through a revolution in man’s outlook and relation to his fellow men and the world.<sup>106</sup>

Dickie’s belief in the inevitability of socialism was all the more significant given his awareness that many in the church did not share his view. Like Dickie, the CICD leadership considered that they were pursuing a rational and enlightened approach to the world’s problems. Goldbloom also reasoned that ‘all wars end in negotiations, even if it is only negotiations between the victors and the vanquished’.<sup>107</sup> Goldbloom was addressing the CICD’s Easter rally in 1965 and commenting on President Johnson’s recent offer to undertake ‘unconditional’ negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) Government.

Although the CICD supported calls for a negotiated settlement, at the CICD Easter rally on 9 April Goldbloom underlined the insincerity of the US offer. He estimated that Johnson’s initial step was ‘hardly likely’ to achieve a settlement unless the US ceased bombing North Vietnam and all concerned parties, including the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF), were involved in negotiations.<sup>108</sup> In Goldbloom’s estimation, Operation Rolling Thunder aimed to force the DRV Government to the negotiating table on US terms. Goldbloom elaborated on this view in a pamphlet published by the CICD titled *Who Stops the Peace in Vietnam*.<sup>109</sup> In it Goldbloom maintained that the terms the DRV Government had

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<sup>105</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1965.

<sup>106</sup> ‘Implement Geneva Accords’ – Moderator, *Guardian*, 14 October 1965: 3.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Speech Made on 9 April 1965 by Mr Sam Goldbloom, Secretary ANZ Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament’, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Samuel Goldbloom, *Who Stops the Peace in Vietnam*, CICD c.1966, Mansell Private Collection.

persistently demanded were consistent with the Geneva Agreements the US maligned. They involved US withdrawal and national self-determination with a view to the reunification of Vietnam. Therefore, Goldbloom suspected that the phrase ‘unconditional [was] a trick’ which would achieve the American objective to ‘throw the hated Geneva Agreements out of the window’.<sup>110</sup> Although Goldbloom questioned the sincerity of the US, he maintained that the peace movement must ‘ensure that negotiations end war’, which, in the ‘atomic era....is an elementary concept of self-preservation’.<sup>111</sup> However, others in the peace movement did not share the view that a negotiated settlement was possible.

The question of a negotiated peace came to a head at a demonstration outside the US consulate on 11 March 1965 organised by the Trade Union Committee on Vietnam.<sup>112</sup> Hartley was among the 200 or so protesters addressed by CICD member and Australian Railways Union (ARU) Assistant State Secretary, Bill O’Brien, and Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) State Secretary and CPA leader, Laurie Carmichael.<sup>113</sup> They each called for ‘negotiations to stop the war’.<sup>114</sup> However, the State Secretary of the CPA (M-L) led Builders Labourers Federation (BLF), Paddy Malone, spoke out against the demand for negotiation. Like many communists whose commitment to Soviet communism waned from the late 1950s, Malone had moved towards the CPA (M-L) Peking line.<sup>115</sup> Accordingly, he argued that it was ‘impossible’ to negotiate with ‘a naked aggressor until he withdrew completely’.<sup>116</sup> Reporting on the divergent positions at the demonstration *Guardian* stated that

it was noticeable that while most of those taking part carried posters reading ‘Vietnam, End This War Now, Negotiate!’ Mr Malone and others tore the word Negotiate from the posters before exhibiting them.<sup>117</sup>

Although the *Guardian* maintained that Malone represented a minority view, the issue of a negotiated settlement continued to be contentious for the Vietnam campaign. Menzies utterly

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Speech Made on 9 April 1965 by Mr Sam Goldbloom Secretary ANZ Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament’, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>112</sup> ‘“Stop the War” Demonstration at US Consulate,’ *Guardian*, 18 March 1965:1; 8.

<sup>113</sup> Extract from RD Vic Memo 1696, 5 May 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896 f.30.

<sup>114</sup> ‘“Stop the War” Demonstration at US Consulate,’ *Guardian*, 18 March 1965:1; 8.

<sup>115</sup> Aidan Moore, ‘“It was all about the working class”: Norm Gallagher, the BLF and the Australian Labor Movement’, PhD Thesis, Victoria University, 2013, 77.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> ‘“Stop the War” Demonstration at US Consulate,’ *Guardian*, 18 March 1965:1; 8.

rejected the idea of a negotiated peace ‘with the enemy’, despite Johnson’s offer.<sup>118</sup> Five days after Johnson’s announcement, Menzies assured the 19<sup>th</sup> annual Liberal Party meeting that the US President only meant that his Government would not accept North Vietnam’s condition that the ‘Americans get out of Vietnam’.<sup>119</sup> Before the end of the month, Menzies advised parliament on 29 April 1965 that Australia would send an infantry battalion to serve in South Vietnam.<sup>120</sup>

### **‘A movement of the people – all the people’**

There appeared to be some scope for common action against the Menzies government’s decision. The ALP was unequivocally opposed to sending a battalion to Vietnam and an opinion poll indicated that only 53 per cent of the general public supported the proposal.<sup>121</sup> However, the ACTU’s position was less promising.<sup>122</sup> Although the ACTU executive declared its strong opposition to the troop decision and urged all state Trades and Labor Councils to join the ALP’s anti-Vietnam war rallies in each state on 23 May, the ACTU would not support industrial action as a protest.<sup>123</sup> The ACTU policy on Vietnam was evidently of some concern to the CICD which made a point of documenting a copy of the ACTU’s initial position.<sup>124</sup> On the one hand, the ACTU was supporting the ALP’s promise that it would not deprive ‘aid and support’ to our troops in Vietnam.<sup>125</sup> On the other hand,

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<sup>118</sup> Hof R, *Debates*, 6 April 1965, 621

[http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650406\\_reps\\_25\\_hor45/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650406_reps_25_hor45/).

<sup>119</sup> ‘Sir Robert stands firm: ‘No blunder’’, *Canberra Times*, 13 Apr 1965:1.

<sup>120</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 29 April 1965, 1060,

[http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650429\\_reps\\_25\\_hor45/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650429_reps_25_hor45/). The announcement was printed in the Australian and US press the following day.

<sup>121</sup> ‘Wave of ALP Protests’, *Canberra Times*, 5 May 1965:1; ‘Labor Attacks Decision on Vietnam: ‘Not Wise, Right’’, *Age*, 5 May 1965:1; H of R, *Debates*, 4 May 1965, 1101, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650504\\_reps\\_25\\_hor46/.1101](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650504_reps_25_hor46/.1101); ‘Gallup Poll is Troops Pointer’, *Guardian*, 20 May 1965:1.

<sup>122</sup> Edwards, *A Nation at War*, 39-42.

<sup>123</sup> The interstate executive supported ACTU President, Albert Monk’s, telegram to Menzies strongly opposing the troop decision and urged the Federal ALP to help revoke the decision. ‘Wave of ALP Protests’, *Canberra Times*, 5 May 1965:1. For the interstate executive’s decision not to support industrial stoppages see, ‘Battalion Officer to Have Access to Cabinet’, *Canberra Times*, 6 May 1965:4; see also Malcolm J. Saunders, ‘The Trade Unions in Australia and Opposition to Vietnam and Conscription, 1965-1973’, *Labour History* 43 (1982), 65; Brian Fitzpatrick and Rowan Cahill, *The Seamen’s Union of Australia 1875-1975: A History* (Sydney: Seamen’s Union of Australia, 1981), 206.

<sup>124</sup> Decisions of the ACTU Executive, May 1965, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>125</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 4 May 1965, 1107,

[http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650504\\_reps\\_25\\_hor46/.1101](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650504_reps_25_hor46/.1101); H of R, *Debates*, 6 May 1965, 1205-1206, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650506\\_reps\\_25\\_hor46/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1965/19650506_reps_25_hor46/). ‘In Parliament ‘No Confirmation’ of Rolling Strike Report’, *Canberra Times*, 7 May 1965:15.

industrial stoppages on the Vietnam issue carried the risk of bitter conflict for the union peak body in light of the range of political opinions and beliefs held by the affiliated unions. The anti-communist Federated Ironworkers' Association, the Federated Clerks and at least another three unions expressed strong support for the Government decision, while the WWF was prepared to go further than the ACTU.<sup>126</sup> The WWF black-banned US warships visiting Melbourne during Coral Sea Week and called on the ACTU, without success, to support a 24-hour nation-wide strike.<sup>127</sup> Divisions also existed within the unions, including those generally supportive of the peace movement, such as the ARU.<sup>128</sup> When ARU Assistant State Secretary and CICD committee member, Bill O'Brien, wanted to address the Vietnam question there was 'howling and screaming and people jumping around' at a lunchtime workers meeting, during which punches and chairs were thrown, windows were broken, but no resolutions were reached.<sup>129</sup> In light of the wide differences of opinion that existed in the unions on the Vietnam War, it was no wonder that the ACTU maintained a cautious policy. It should be noted that when the ACTU executive eventually declared itself in support of the protest in February 1970, by the slimmest of margins, its revised stance was consistent with the growing popularity of the antiwar position.<sup>130</sup> Thus the antiwar movement could depend more often upon individual unions, rather than the wholesale support of the ACTU.<sup>131</sup> With the limited support of the unions and notwithstanding the support of the ALP, the CICD would have to wait at least another four years for a mass movement to develop against

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<sup>126</sup> 'Unions Divided Over Troops', *Canberra Times*, 20 May 1965:25; 'Waterfront Move', *Age*, 4 May 1965:3; 'A Page on Trade Union Action and Policy', *Tribune*, 23 June 1965:10. The other unions which supported the Government policy on Vietnam were the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the Motor Transport and Chauffeurs' Association and the Rope and Cordage Workers' Union, Saunders, 'The Trade Unions in Australia', 66.

<sup>127</sup> 'US Ships 'Black'', *Canberra Times*, 13 May 1965:1; 'Watersider to go to Hanoi', *Canberra Times*, 18 May 1965:1.

<sup>128</sup> The ARU supported and participated in the 1964 ACICD Congress. The ARU formed part of a trade union committee for the Congress with 17 other unions, which was chaired by ARU Federal Secretary, Mick O'Brien. 'Australian Congress, 'Give to Live...say Trade Unions'', *Tribune*, 2 September 1964:3.

<sup>129</sup> A recollection by CPA member, Jim Frazer, and later National Vice-President of the ARU. He was married to long-time CICD committee member, Margaret Frazer, in Greg Langely, *A Decade of Dissent: Vietnam and the Conflict on the Australian Homefront* (Sydney: Unwin & Allen, 1992), 27-28.

<sup>130</sup> The new ACTU President, Bob Hawke's vote tipped the balance in favour of support for the upcoming and first Moratorium protest in May 1970, 'Anti-War Move: 9-8 Vote on ACTU', *Tribune*, 4 March 1970:12; 'Hawke's First ACTU Exec Meeting Got Down to Taws', *Tribune*, 11 March 1970:10.

<sup>131</sup> For both a comprehensive insight into trade union positions on the Vietnam issue and a list of Australian unions by state that supported the Moratoria campaigns of 1970-1971, see Saunders, 'Trade Unions in Australia', 64-82.

Australian involvement in Vietnam. In January 1965, though, the CICD was already calling for a broader movement ‘of the people, all the people’: ‘it must be a movement which moves and does not become frozen in ideas and actions which may have served well in the past, but do not measure up to the present’.<sup>132</sup>

While this 1965 Statement of Policy did not provide any concrete details about what this movement would look like or entail, it was attempting to address criticism from elements within the movement who questioned the CICD’s relevance and approach. Significantly, the CICD anticipated that as the leading State peace committee it would be at the vanguard of such a movement, developing strategies and guiding its direction and character. However, the spike in independent protest activity which followed the troop announcement did not appear to involve the CICD. The CICD leadership’s reaction was one of disquiet. It conveyed concerns about unity and its status in the movement. A CICD letter, dated 18 May 1965, to the Secretary of the Victorian Branch of the SUA reminded the union of the long-established relationship between the two organisations. Then it added,

we have noted your own independent activities with [the] same objective... We claim no monopoly in the struggle for peace and believe that individuals, groups and organisations must, as you have, add their voices to the growing world protest against the violation of the 1954 Geneva agreements, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam.<sup>133</sup>

A superficial reading of the letter, signed by Goldbloom, suggests that the CICD supported the SUA’s independent initiatives. However, a more accurate reading is that the CICD leadership felt it had been excluded from actions it considered were clearly within its purview. One such ‘independent’ anti-Vietnam war action on 15 May involved a motorcade organised by the SUA, ARU, WWF and other maritime unions.<sup>134</sup> Only three months earlier Goldbloom addressed a conference of the CPA (M-L)-led WWF in February where he applauded the long-held alliance between the union and the peace movement.<sup>135</sup> Despite the

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<sup>132</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1965.

<sup>133</sup> CICD letter to the SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, 18 May 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>134</sup> ‘More Protests on the Way’, *Guardian*, 13 May 1965:1; ‘Stop Vietnam War - Motorcade’, *Guardian*, 26 May 1965:8.

<sup>135</sup> The WWF conference was held between 21-22 February 1965. ASIO Report no. 704/65, 21 April 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.91. The WWF was led by Federal Secretary Ted Bull, CPA(M-L). Daniel Robins, ‘Melbourne Maoists: The Rise of the Monash University Labor Club, 1965-1967’, B.A. Hons. Thesis, Victoria University, 2005, 26.



WWF leadership's political orientation, Goldbloom stated in his address it was 'not strange for him to find himself among watersiders who had for many years' supported the peace movement under the banner 'Peace is Trade Union Business'.<sup>136</sup>

Goldbloom's letter also coincided with joint plans by the Melbourne THC and the Victorian branch of the ALP to hold a public protest rally at Richmond Town Hall.<sup>137</sup> Although the rally promised to be a high profile event for the Vietnam campaign, it excluded the CICD.<sup>138</sup> Recalling the recent CICD-THC joint action on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Geneva Agreements, and the State ALP's general support for the movement, the CICD understandably felt aggrieved. The perceived threat to the CICD's status was heightened by divisions within the peace movement. The CICD emphasised unity and it saw itself at the movement's forefront. Thereafter, the CICD made a deliberate attempt to reassert its prominence in the movement.

When the troop decision was announced in late April, CICD had already made plans to hold a demonstration outside the US consulate on 8 May calling to 'Stop the War in Vietnam!'.<sup>139</sup> In light of Menzies' troop decision, the CICD announced plans during the rally which followed to stage a sit-down protest outside the Victoria Barracks on 22 May, the day before joint Melbourne THC and ALP rally.<sup>140</sup> The sit-down was a strategic move by the CICD to stage a novel event that promised to attract the similar media attention with the first sit-down held in Sydney on 3 May 1965.<sup>141</sup> Both *Guardian* and *Tribune*'s coverage of the CICD's sit-down was generous. The communist papers referred to it as the 'most spectacular form of protest'

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<sup>136</sup> ASIO Report no. 704/65, 21 April 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.91.

<sup>137</sup> The joint rally was held on Sunday, 23 May 1965. President of the THC, Ray Shafer, was chairing the rally which was also broadcast on Radio 3KZ. The guest speakers were Calwell, Cairns and secretaries of the ACTU and THC, Harold Souter and Mick Jordan, respectively. Public Protest Rally, Joint Action, Melbourne THC, ALP Vic., Handbill 1965, authorised by M.C.C. ('Mick') Jordan, Secretary Melbourne THC and William (Bill) Hartley, ALP State Secretary, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>138</sup> 'Mass Protests on Troops to Vietnam Call to UN', *Age*, 24 May 1965:1;3, see also 'Big Labour Movement Rally' and 'Calwell at Big Richmond Rally', *Guardian*, 27 May 1965: 1;3, 'Vietnam Protest: Thousands Rally', *Tribune*, 26 May 1965:1.

<sup>139</sup> Goldbloom and *Guardian*'s Rex Mortimer, Intercept Report, 27 April 1965, Goldbloom Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4476, f.92; 'Big Demonstrations', *Guardian*, 13 May 1965:1; 'Stop the War in Vietnam', CICD Handbill, c. May 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>140</sup> 'Viet Protest Sit-Down at Barracks', *Age*, 10 May 1965:11; 'Sit Down Demonstration – No Troops to Vietnam', CICD Handbill, 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44, Peace 1964-1965.

<sup>141</sup> The Sydney sit-down in Martin Plaza organised by an early coordinating committee, Demonstration for Vietnam Peace, received some front-page press attention. 'Martin Pl. Vietnam Sit-Down', *Guardian*, 6 May 1965:1; 'Hundreds in City Vietnam Protest', *Tribune*, 5 May 1965:1; 'Labor Will Force Troops Debate Today', *Canberra Times*, 4 May 1965:1; 'Protest Against Sending Troops', *Age*, 4 May 1965:3.

in Melbourne's anti-Vietnam campaign.<sup>142</sup> They estimated that 500 people participated, whereas the *Age* and *Canberra Times* reported the more conservative estimates of 250 and 300 respectively.<sup>143</sup> The communist papers' glowing report was prompted by CPA leader, Ralph Gibson. Ten days earlier Gibson told the *Guardian's* editor, Rex Mortimer, that the sit down was 'most important' and that 'a lot would depend upon what was printed in the *Guardian* this week'.<sup>144</sup> Indicative of CPA support for the CICD's actions, Mortimer reassured Gibson that *Guardian* 'would be featuring all this'.<sup>145</sup> The sit-down was an effective publicity stunt for the CICD.<sup>146</sup> The *Age* regarded it a wholly successful event – it was orderly and 'many women' and both 'young and old took part'.<sup>147</sup>

Both women and youth actively participated with the CICD. In addition to affiliated trade union and other member organisations, the CICD was supported by a network of no fewer than 20 local committee groups mainly led by women who were officially referred to as either CICD 'local group' or 'regional committee' secretaries or 'organisers'.<sup>148</sup> Female CICD members also accounted for the lion share of the administrative work. More often, women volunteered to work at the CICD office, or from home.<sup>149</sup> With one exception, women were not represented on the CICD executive during the 1960s. CICD committee member, Councillor Nola Barber, briefly occupied the position of CICD treasurer from about

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<sup>142</sup> 'Victoria Barracks Sit-Down', *Guardian*, 27 May 1965:1;2; 'Vietnam Protest: Thousands Rally', *Tribune*, 26 May 1965:1.

<sup>143</sup> '250 in Sit-Down Protest on Vietnam Force', *Age*, 24 May 1965:5; 'Public Rallies Dispute Australia's Vietnam Role', *Canberra Times*, 24 May 1965:1; 3.

<sup>144</sup> Intercept Report, 11 May 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.33.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*; See for instance: 'More Protests on the Way', *Guardian*, 13 May 1965:1; 'Sit-Down Saturday', *Guardian*, 20 May 1965:1.

<sup>146</sup> In his 2002 study, Sean Scalmer discusses the 'theatre of protest'. He depicts protest tactics, such as, the sit-down demonstration and later, the draft card burning during the Vietnam War as examples of political gimmickry that seek to gain public attention through sensation and shock. Sean Scalmer, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media and the Political Gimmick in Australia* (Sydney: The University of NSW Press Ltd., 2003), esp. 6-8; 27-28; 46-47. Similarly, Branagan discusses the value in innovative and creative tactics to engage a wide audience. Branagan, *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence*, 178

<sup>147</sup> 'Viet Protest Sit-Down at Barracks', *Age*, 10 May 1965:11; '250 in Sit-Down Protest on Vietnam Force', *Age*, 24 May 1965:5.

<sup>148</sup> *Action for Peace, Melbourne Newsletter*, CICD August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966. In 1963, CICD recorded a list of thirty-eight such secretaries representing thirty-nine suburban and regional groups, including Geelong, 'Group Secretaries', CICD letter to members, March 1963, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 43, Peace 1963.

<sup>149</sup> See for instance: General information Re: Pledgers as at 18 November 1961, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

1962-1965.<sup>150</sup> It was not until 1979 that fellow founding member and long-time CICD office worker, Pauline Mitchell, was elected to the treasury position.<sup>151</sup> During her association with the CICD, Mitchell contended with an organisational culture that was inherently hierarchical and men occupied executive positions. In 1987, Mitchell noted that, thus far, the general secretary position was held entirely by men and wrote that despite her extensive experience in the CICD office: ‘at no time have I ever been offered or considered for the [CICD secretary] post’, a post she felt she ‘could have carried...out successfully’ if given the ‘same cooperation and assistance’ the CICD secretaries had received.<sup>152</sup> But Mitchell would have to wait a further eight years to become the first female CICD secretary, a position she held for almost 18 years until 2012.<sup>153</sup> While women were highly visible in the CICD office and in association with the local groups, three youth groups represented the southern, central and eastern suburbs of Melbourne.<sup>154</sup> One youth group was formed in 1961 to work on an early fundraising initiative, the ‘Princess of Peace Ball’, and remained active within the organisational framework of the CICD.<sup>155</sup> As with the EYL, some of the youths had familial

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<sup>150</sup> CICD circular, March 1962; 3 June 1964 both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; Box 44, 1964-1965. Barber was also a member of the Victorian UAW, President of the Victorian ALP Women’s Central organising Committee, the first female Councillor in 1948, and Mayor of Chelsea between 1962-1963; Ian Cathie, ‘Barber, Nola Isabel (1901–1985)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/barber-nola-isabel-12171/text21811>.

<sup>151</sup> Mitchell was listed as CICD Treasurer in 1979. ‘CICD office bearers and committee election’, ASIO Report No 2269/79, 29 November 1979, Goldbloom Vol. 17, NAA: A6119, 4981, f.94. In 1963, Mitchell first began donating a few hours per week in the CICD office. Interview with Pauline Mitchell by Nick Irving, 28 August 2007, in author’s collection. According to Mitchell, she began working ‘officially’ in the CICD office from January 1974 and, therefore, she was a salaried employee. Letter to CICD Committee by Pauline Mitchell, June 1987, Kisten McCandless Private Collection. In 1974, Mitchell also began programming and announcing the CICD’s *Alternative News* program firstly on the short-lived ABC community radio station 3ZZ, before moving to 3CR. ‘Victoria Celebrates the 1500<sup>th</sup> Edition of the Guardian’, *Guardian: The Workers Weekly*, 10 August 2011:4, [https://www.cpa.org.au/guardian-pdf/2011/Guardian1513\\_2011-08-10\\_screen.pdf](https://www.cpa.org.au/guardian-pdf/2011/Guardian1513_2011-08-10_screen.pdf).

<sup>152</sup> Mitchell was writing at the time to the CICD committee after Goldbloom suggested that she should accept a reduction in hours and salary to help cover the wages for a new assistant secretary position. In her letter she listed all the CICD secretaries in chronological order following Goldbloom’s secretaryship: John Lloyd, Andrew Hewett, Philip Hind, Vernon Hughes and the current secretary, Nicholas ‘Nic’ Abbey. Letter to CICD Committee by Pauline Mitchell, June 1987, Kisten McCandless Private Collection.

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Kisten McCandless, 20 June 2016.

<sup>154</sup> *Action for Peace, Melbourne Newsletter*, CICD August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966. For an indication of the scope and depth of activities undertaken by women for the CICD, see General information Re: Pledgers as at 18 November 1961.

<sup>155</sup> Youth Group Bulletin, c. October 1962; and ‘Special Message to all the Young People’, CICD n.d. both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962. The first Princess of Peace Ball was held on 14 December 1960 and was an annual fundraising ‘competition’ in 1961 and 1962, ASIO Report No. 60/1859, 13 October 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.59; CICD Newsletter No.2

ties with CICD membership or through the labour movement. The local groups were established ostensibly to act in ways both independent of central co-ordination and relevant to their immediate concerns. However, CICD local committee secretaries were either CICD committee or general members and, more often, veteran supporters of the peace movement. The actions and outlook of the local groups were, therefore, consistent with CICD protocols. Despite an established network of local committees, independent groups emerged in Melbourne which reflected concerns about particular aspects of the Vietnam War – rather than issues concerning international cooperation and disarmament – and became part of the broader Vietnam campaign. What follows is a brief outline of such groups.

Coinciding with the first consignment of conscripts on 30 June 1965, the Victorian branch of Save Our Sons (SOS) was convened by Jean McLean and it elected former CICD Treasurer and member of the UAW, Cr. Nola Barber, as its President.<sup>156</sup> The SOS was unequivocally opposed to conscription of ‘voteless young men’.<sup>157</sup> Accordingly, the CICD’s new monthly bulletin, *Action for Peace*, described SOS as

a spontaneous movement that has come into existence because of the concern mothers felt that their sons were not being given the same chance Prime Minister Menzies was given in his youth, that of being able to refuse military training.<sup>158</sup>

Three months later, the Melbourne branch of the Youth Campaign Against Conscription (YCAC) formed in August with organising secretary, Trevor Ashton.<sup>159</sup> The YCAC was not opposed to conscription *per se*. Along with the ALP, it argued that ‘overseas conscription cannot be justified at a time when Australia’s security is threatened’ and it also objected to

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May 1961; CICD Circular, May 1962, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, Peace 1961-1962; ASIO Report 62/3662, 17 December 1962, Goldbloom Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 4474, f.147.

<sup>156</sup> ‘Trainees Go Quietly – Into Army Life’, *Age*, 1 July 1965:3; ‘Tearful scenes as First Conscripts Leave’, *Guardian*, 1 July 1965:1. The Victorian SOS’ first official meeting was held at Assembly Hall in Collins Street, 18 August 1965. Carmen Whelan, ‘The Save Our Sons Movement of Victoria, 1965-1973’ in Sally Rowe (ed.), *A Shaft of Light Across the Land: Studies of Australian Peace Movements Since 1930* (Melbourne: History Dept., University of Melbourne 2006), 146.

<sup>157</sup> Save Our Sons Movement of Victoria Supports Draft Resistance, Pamphlet, c.1966, Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>158</sup> *Action for Peace*, Melbourne Newsletter, CICD August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>159</sup> ‘Anti-Conscription Move Launched Here’, *Guardian*, 26 August 1965:6. An earlier unsuccessful attempt to form a Melbourne branch was initiated by the Unitarian Youth Group on 10 March 1965: ‘Joint Campaign Against Call-up is Launched’, *Guardian*, 18 February 1965:1; ‘Youth Against Conscription Meeting, March 10’, *Guardian*, 4 March 1965:8; ‘Youngsters Meet Against Conscription’, *Guardian*, 18 March 1965:3.

the 'aggressive involvement' of conscripted youths in Asia.<sup>160</sup> And like the CICD, it called for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam.<sup>161</sup> More often, the YCAC and SOS cooperated closely and aimed to re-elect an ALP Federal Government, which would repeal the *National Service Act 1964*.

The YCAC and SOS held a joint anti-conscription rally on 29 September 1965, in which student delegations from Monash and Melbourne Universities were also prominent.<sup>162</sup> While campus-based anti-conscription groups formed later by mid-1966, student-led activity against the troop decision, particularly involving the Labor Clubs, was already evident from May 1965.<sup>163</sup> The Melbourne and Monash University Labor Clubs were already established groups, and need not concern us here. However, the significance of the Monash Labor Club (MLC) in the broader movement will become more apparent towards the end of the chapter. A further group which developed in response to the troop decision was the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC).

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Victoria was instrumental in the formation of VDC on 17 September 1965 which elected CND leader, Rev. David Pope, as its President and former Melbourne University Labor Club's Roger Holdsworth, as its organising secretary.<sup>164</sup> The VDC was established in response to an appeal by a Berkeley peace movement for observance of 'Days of International Protest' on 15-16 October.<sup>165</sup> The

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<sup>160</sup> Youth Campaign Against Conscription Committee c.1966, Ken Mansell private collection.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> 'Big Anti-Conscription Rallies, September 29', *Guardian*, 23 September 1965: 6.

<sup>163</sup> Student radicals from Labor groups representing almost all Australian states joined an Australian Student Labour Federation (ASLF) protest in Canberra on 26 May 1965. 'Students Fined After Street Sit-Down Protest', *Canberra Times*, 27 May 1965:3; 'Student Sit-Down in Canberra', *Tribune*, 2 June 1965:2. Monash University student publication, *Lot's Wife*, devoted most of a July 1965 issue to underline the 'blatant hypocrisy' of conscription, 'The Peril to Australia', *Lot's Wife* 13 July 1965:2; 4-9. Established in 1964, the MLC held a series of lectures on Vietnam in July 1965, *Lot's Wife*, 13 July 1965:15. The Melbourne University Labor Club outlined its opposition to Vietnam in the September 1965 issue of *Farrago*; the National Union of Australian University Students (NUAUS), denounced all forms of conscription in June 1965, whereas anti-conscription groups at Monash and Melbourne formed by March and May 1966 respectively. Ken Mansell, 'The Origins of Student Radicalism: A Study of the Sixties', 1991, 25; 28. <https://labourhistorymelbourne.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/the-origins-of-student-radicalism.pdf>.

<sup>164</sup> 'Vigils, Marches, for Vietnam Peace as US Goes in Deeper', *Guardian*, 14 October 1965:1; 'Meet Roger Holdsworth, Secretary of the Vietnam Day Committee: Peace Movement Personalities 1966', *Guardian*, 20 June 1966:7. For the origin and aims of the new committee, see Vietnam Day Committee, 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>165</sup> Vietnam Day Committee, 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

VDC held a 24-hour silent vigil beginning at midnight on Friday 15 October.<sup>166</sup> The SOS and Peace Quest Forum (PQF) also held silent vigils in October 1965,<sup>167</sup> while the CICD made a broad appeal to all peace workers to give the vigils their 'full support'.<sup>168</sup> The CICD also included details of the independent groups' activities in its *Action for Peace* newsletter.<sup>169</sup> CICD endorsement accorded with its 1965 policy to support a movement of 'all the people'.<sup>170</sup> But more specifically, the CICD's attitude was influenced by the recent decisions of the WPC Congress held in Helsinki from 10-15 July 1965.

The question of the Vietnam War was a primary consideration of the WPC Congress, which resolved to 'put an end to American aggression and organise effective resistance of the people to this aggression conducted by American imperialism...which can grow into a world nuclear war.'<sup>171</sup> The WPC statement, which accorded with policy statements recently adopted by a Communist and Workers' Parties meeting held in Moscow, signalled a continued emphasis on the need to develop a grassroots movement to oppose the Vietnam War.<sup>172</sup> Although the WPC adopted a definitive position of the Vietnam issue, in the lead up to the Congress a WPC Preparatory Presidential Committee meeting considered the WPC's future role in the movement.<sup>173</sup>

According to member of the CPA Political Committee, Bill Gollan, the WPC was 'in a serious condition, almost a state of crisis'.<sup>174</sup> Various communist parties and delegates felt that the WPC 'no longer performed a useful function'; 'its decisions were quite irrelevant and academic, as far as their national movements were concerned'; and the WPC 'should be

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<sup>166</sup> For plans and report on the VDC vigil see, Vietnam Day Committee Bulletin Number 2 and 3, c.1965, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>167</sup> 'Clergymen in City Peace Vigil, Sunday', *Guardian*, 28 October 1965:1; 'Vigil for Peace' and '200 in Melbourne's Silent Vigil for Peace', both in *Guardian*, 4 November 1965:1; 3.

<sup>168</sup> 'Vigils, Marches for Vietnam Peace, ANZ Congress Call', *Guardian*, 14 October 1965:1.

<sup>169</sup> See for instance: *Action for Peace Melbourne Newsletter* May, June, July and September 1965, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; *Action for Peace Melbourne Newsletter* August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>170</sup> CICD Statement of Policy, 1965.

<sup>171</sup> 'Peace Congress Denounces Vietnam War', *Tribune*, 14 July 1965:11; 'Angry Clash at Congress', *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1965:7; 'Albanian Attack Russians Walk Out of Peace Council', *Canberra Times*, 14 July 1965:6.

<sup>172</sup> On 30 March 1965, the CPA also endorsed the statements on Vietnam adopted by Moscow meeting, 'Working for World Communist Unity', *Tribune*, 7 April 1965:2.

<sup>173</sup> Gollan attended WPC Preparatory Presidential Committee meeting and presented his report of the meeting to the Political Committee of the CPA on 18 August 1965, ASIO Report No 250/65, 25 October 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.87-91.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, f.87.

dissolved'.<sup>175</sup> A set of proposals was submitted by British and Canadian delegations 'designed to liquidate' the WPC, but the matter was held in abeyance until early the following year, 1966.<sup>176</sup> Gollan's report included a 16-point summary of a memorandum submitted by the soon-to-be retired WPC President, J.D. Bernal. It outlined his current views on the world peace movement. Most notably, it stated:

It was unrealistic for the WPC not to change in a changing world...The real problem was not concerned with principles, [which] were still valid, ... but with putting them into practice. It is no longer possible for the WPC to lay down a detailed specific line for the whole movement. The monolithic principle of the possibility of obtaining unanimous decisions, policies and actions was no longer valid. The growth of the peace work and of new peace movements...with views and policies different to those held by the WPC had to be accepted. Such are just as valid parts of the peace movements as is the WPC.<sup>177</sup>

Looking ahead, a more flexible attitude would be required. Bernal envisaged a movement of diverse groups with different emphases but were, nevertheless, willing to work together towards the same aims. Furthermore, he raised the contentious matter of decentralised control by proposing that the WPC should only operate in principle, while the real work would be done by 'national committees'.<sup>178</sup> Bernal signalled a shift that was moving in a parallel direction with communist parties seeking greater independence from the Soviet-led model of socialism to formulate a path to socialism appropriate to their national conditions. CPA National Committee leader, Bernie Taft, commented that this shift towards national communism later became known as 'Euro-communism': a trend which had taken firm root in Western Europe, especially in Italy, long before the events in Czechoslovakia made it a world-wide phenomenon'.<sup>179</sup> As we shall see, the shift in the communist-led international peace movement towards pluralism and decentralisation would also occur at the level of the CICD.

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<sup>175</sup> For the Italian, British and Austrian Communist parties' views of the WPC, see *Ibid.*, f.87-88.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, f.87.

<sup>177</sup> Bill Gollan Report on WPC Helsinki Congress 10-15 July for CPA meeting, 18 August 1965, *Ibid.*, f.88.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 146.

Besides Gollan, Goldbloom attended a preparatory session of the WPC Congress, although Hartley was unable to do so for health reasons.<sup>180</sup> Following Goldbloom's return, he composed a letter to affiliated trade union groups which gives an insight into his interpretation of the WPC's current thinking. His letter expressed concern that the campaign was 'losing some of its momentum' despite the numerous and 'diverse' activities conducted on the question of Vietnam.<sup>181</sup> He wrote about the need to 'revitalize' the campaign and 'create a broader base of unity'.<sup>182</sup> Goldbloom was impressing on CICD's membership the need to support the activities of independent groups. The CICD, he stated, had proclaimed the following October as a month for intensive activities to be based around the general themes of 'Stop the War in Vietnam' and 'Peace in Asia'.<sup>183</sup> Towards this end,

it will be our intention to organize centrally and locally a variety of functions and activities and at the same time encourage other groups and organisations to conduct activities on their behalf in such ways as are consistent with the nature and character of their movement.<sup>184</sup>

While the statement referred to the CICD's support for the vigils held during October, it also emphasised a central role for the CICD within the broader movement. Despite the criticism levelled at the WPC for its emphasis on centralised control, the CICD continued to exert its influence over the direction and character of the established peace movement:

we would suggest to the Trade Union movement that it may be appropriate for them to consider holding a one or two-day forum or Trade Union teach-in on the question of Vietnam. This might best be conducted on the basis of during the month of September conducting a campaign around the election of delegates in the shops and factories to attend this one- or two-day program at a suitable city hall in the month of October and then of course the delegates would have the opportunity of reporting back [sic]. Whether the forum should be conducted in the nature of a teach-in or in the

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<sup>180</sup> Goldbloom attended the WPC preparatory meeting in Helsinki during a ten-week visit to Europe, Canada and the Middle East. CICD letter to members, signed CICD Organiser, Denny Martin 25 August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966; CICD letter to members, 26 February 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1964-1965; Intercept Report, 9 September 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.77.

<sup>181</sup> CICD letter to members, 'Proposed Activities for October', 31 August 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, 1966.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.



nature of a conference with resolutions etc. will naturally be decided by the organisations themselves. Whatever the decision it seems to us the primary objective now of these sorts of activities should be the maximum involvement and the taking of the campaign down more to the grass roots of the community.<sup>185</sup>

Goldbloom left very little for the union movement to consider regarding the formulation of its own approach. The only instrumental decision left for the union members to deliberate was a choice between either a one or two-day forum, or a teach-in. The attitude conveyed in the letter was consistent with the CICD's traditional emphasis on strategic decision-making, unity and consistency in the movement. However, it must be said that the statement was also indicative of Goldbloom's particular leadership style.

As noted in Chapter 2, Goldbloom was assessed by a security agent as a 'dominating... ambitious man with few political scruples ... [and] a power-hungry type...who would do anything to advance his cause'.<sup>186</sup> This was extreme, but similar impressions of Goldbloom were conveyed by fellow activists who agreed that Goldbloom was dictatorial and uncompromising.<sup>187</sup> CICD committee member and Assistant Secretary of the Victorian branch of the SUA, Roger Wilson, commented that while Goldbloom was an 'effective speaker' he was 'conceited and arrogant' and had 'tickets on himself'.<sup>188</sup> Such comments call to mind Goldbloom's TV performances in 1964 when he handled views which challenged his own with unflinching authority.

Goldbloom featured prominently, although not exclusively, in CICD literature during this period. By now, fellow CICD leaders, Dickie and Hartley, were both reaching retirement age. While Dickie continued as Chairman, Hartley was forced to wind-back his involvement in the

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Extracts from report of interview conducted 18 July and 4 August 1960 in a memo from RD Victoria to ASIO HQ, dated 29 September 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.43-44.

<sup>187</sup> For example, Kate Creed, Australian-Soviet Friendship Society, and cadre member Keith McEwen commented on Goldbloom's controlling attitude during plans to host a private function in honour of Paul Robeson on 20 November 1960. Intercept Report, 31 October 1960, Goldbloom Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 4461, f.62.

<sup>188</sup> Roger Wilson became Assistant Secretary of the SUA Victorian Branch in 1959, thirteen years after he began 'learning the ropes' as a sixteen-year-old in seafaring work and a decade after he joined the CPA. Wilson is a long-time supporter of the peace movement and was elected to the CICD Committee member in 1963. He resigned from the CPA in April 1984, 'critical of the Soviet and Chinese communist parties and the whole Socialist experience' and, five months later, he resigned from his seafaring position. However, Wilson has maintained his commitment to activism and is currently Secretary of the Maritime Union Veterans Association, a retiree group which campaigns on a number of social welfare and industry-related issues. Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

CICD both due to health concerns and while he sought election to the Prahran Council.<sup>189</sup> In late 1969, Hartley was placed on the CICD Executive by virtue of his life membership.<sup>190</sup> Further insight into CICD's approach to leadership was provided the following month by its September issue of *Action for Peace*. The CICD newsletter questioned the commitment of trade unions to peace, when it stated:

It is an unfortunate state of affairs when one has to speak of attending meetings of the Amalgamated Engineering Union Peace Sub-Committee as a unique experience. This Union Peace Committee is the only one that meets every month and discusses questions relating to PEACE as Trade Union business...10 such Union committees would ensure tremendous successes for our movement.<sup>191</sup>

The CICD newsletter used such shaming tactics to motivate its membership. While this statement was directed at the unions, it effectively signalled all CICD members to do their utmost for the movement. Three months later, the CICD applauded the trade unions for having published and distributed over 100,000 peace related pamphlets throughout 1965.<sup>192</sup> While the CICD continued to exercise centralised control over the established movement, it claimed to embrace the pluralist trends in the broader movement:

Healthy signs are becoming more and more evident now that the leaders of various peace movements are becoming conscious of the fact that no one movement can or indeed has the right to claim a monopoly or to be the source of absolute truth. Both at a national and international level there's an ever-widening appreciation of the need for cooperation based on complete respect of the integrity and independence of various movements; in fact, dialogue without dogma is becoming much more the pattern than in the past.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Hartley stood unsuccessfully for election to the Prahran City Council three times from 1966-1968, before he was elected in 1969. He served on the Council until he died from cardiac failure on 5 August 1971. 'That Council Race is Here Again', [extract] *Herald*, 19 August 1967, Hartley Vol. 6, NAA: A6199, 2914, f.86; 'The Third Time Lucky', [extract] *Sun*, 15 August 1968, Hartley Vol. 7, NAA: A6199, 2915, f.13;14; Former Mayors and Councillors – City of Stonnington, <https://www.stonnington.vic.gov.au/files/assets/public/history/prahran-councillors.pdf>.

<sup>190</sup> Minutes CICD Annual Meeting, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>191</sup> *Action for Peace*, September 1965, [emphasis in original], UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>192</sup> CICD Annual Report 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*

The CICD annual report provided a summative account of the CICD's contribution during 1965 which included 'many examples' of 'combined action for peace based on common objectives and mutual respect'. For the CICD, each instance of combined action in which it was involved in proved that it was adapting and responding to the needs of the current movement. Thus, looking back on 1965, the CICD characterised it as a year of greater 'diversity' and 'cooperation'. It regarded the VDC as 'an excellent example of this', and it considered the women's SOS 'an important new movement for peace', which 'deserves all assistance and encouragement'.<sup>194</sup> As noted in Chapter 1, a degree of crossover existed between the membership and outlook of individual SOS members and the CICD, which helps to explain the CICD's embrace of the group.<sup>195</sup> The CICD participated in, or jointly sponsored, activities with the SOS, VDC, Victorian CND, YCAC, PQF and the ALP. Most notably, the CICD sponsored a free folk concert at the Myer Music Bowl on 28 November organised by the VDC, CND and ALP.<sup>196</sup> There, some 8,000 Melburnians enjoyed a 3-hour programme of folk songs for peace, featuring renowned folk artist, Glen Tomasetti (SOS) and addressed by Jim Cairns and VDC President, David Pope.<sup>197</sup> During 1965, the CICD also made its 'office and its facilities available to any and all sections of the movement' and it was 'happy to say' that it was 'able to do this in much greater measure than ever before'.<sup>198</sup> The CICD's office facility would prove invaluable for the Vietnam campaign. It was a practical example of the broad support that the CICD gave to these organisations and underlined the advantage of having a permanent organisation with a well-resourced office premises. The CICD felt 'heartened' by the developments in the campaign, which it felt it had assisted and

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Besides Cr. Nola Barber, SOS founding members Dorothy Gibson and one of the Fairlea Five group, Irene Miller, were long-time anti-war activists and CICD members. Whelan, 'The Save Our Sons Movement of Victoria, 1965-1973', 148; 150; Sharyn Black interview with Irene Miller, 6 May 1999, CICD Private Collection. Others of Fairlea Five repute, namely, Jean McLean, Joanna MacLaine-Cross, Christina Cathie and Joan Coxsedgeworked closely with the CICD and some later became CICD members. Cathie was not listed as a CICD committee member but she was married to CICD committee member and Labor member of the Legislative Council, Hon. Ian Robert Cathie and may have been a general member, while Coxsedgeworked and then McLean became CICD committee members in 1969 and 1971 respectively. Report of Consultation Between Executive and Committee of the CICD, 10 November 1968, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 5; Minutes CICD Annual Meeting, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1; Minutes CICD Annual Meeting 8 September 1971, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>196</sup> Vietnam Day Committee, Bulletin Number 3, c.1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966; see also 'Some of Melbourne's Activities, *Peace Action*, November/ December 1965, 11.

<sup>197</sup> For one of the few media reports, see '8,000 at Peace Folk Concert', *Guardian*, 2 December 1965:3.

<sup>198</sup> CICD Annual Report 1965, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

encouraged.<sup>199</sup> For the CICD, the equally peaceful character of the independent groups and cooperation in the anti-war movement also confirmed the correctness of its approach to activism. This was most critical at a time when there appeared to be little to no hope of reconciling the disparate approaches in the communist movement to the Vietnam question. The November 1965 issue of *Peking Review* made it clear that ‘united action’ between the two major communist parties on the Vietnam question, and the idea of a negotiated settlement in Vietnam were equally ‘impossible’.<sup>200</sup> However, it will become evident that the CICD struggled to share control of the movement with the other activist groups.

### **‘Vote No Conscription’**

The level of coordinated activity in the anti-war movement was accelerated the following year in the lead up to 1966 Federal election. In April 1966, Calwell declared the ALP would ‘fight’ the 26 November election on the conscription issue, ‘sink or swim’.<sup>201</sup> Taking its cue from Calwell, the YCAC and SOS anti-conscription groups adopted the idea that the election was effectively a referendum on conscription. In a grand gesture of support, the CICD pledged \$1000 towards the estimated \$12,500 for a ‘Vote No Conscription’ advertising campaign largely coordinated by Glen Tomasetti (SOS) and the YCAC.<sup>202</sup>

To demonstrate further its willingness to work with the broader movement, the CICD set aside its Frankston to Melbourne 2-day Hiroshima Day march for a coordinated campaign with a broader focus. The CICD announced that the occasion would be used to provide ‘effective public expression of opposition’ to the Vietnam War, conscription and nuclear testing.<sup>203</sup> A diverse panel of members representing the Victorian ALP, trade unions, YCAC,

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> ‘Refutation of the New Line of the CPSU on ‘United Action’’, *Peking Review* No. 46, 12 November 1965, 10-21 (esp. 16; 18), <http://www.massline.org/PekingReview/PR1965/PR1965-46.pdf>.

<sup>201</sup> ‘Calwell Says: Sink or Swim on Conscription’, *Canberra Times*, 14 April 1966:1.

<sup>202</sup> *Viet Protest News* Vol. 1(9), Bulletin of the Vietnam Day Committee, c. October 1966; CICD Letter to members October 1966; see also ‘The Vote No Conscription Campaign’, Final Report prepared by Glen Tomasetti (SOS), 5 December 1966, all in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966

<sup>203</sup> Letter to members, c/o CICD, 19 May 1966 and Letter to members, Hiroshima Day Committee, 14 July 1966. For planning details see: VDC Newsletter, *Viet Protest News*, Vol. 1(7), June 1966 and ‘Hiroshima Day 1966 Melbourne Peace Parade’, Handbill, Hiroshima Day Committee in association with the CICD 1966. Hiroshima Day draft cards were used to collect pledged donations ‘Hiroshima Day 1966 Draft Card’, Hiroshima Day Committee and CICD, all in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

VDC, and the CICD formed the Hiroshima Day Committee to organise the event.<sup>204</sup> With the additional support of the WILPF, UAW, PQF, CND, YCAC and SOS, the commemoration event was illustrative of the broad cooperation in the anti-Vietnam movement, which the CICD aimed to achieve.<sup>205</sup> However, the CICD tended to control important aspects of Vietnam activities, even when they were coordinated with the other groups. The following is based on an intercept report of a conversation between Goldbloom and a journalist from the *Australian* regarding plans for demonstration outside the US consulate on Friday 21 October 1966.<sup>206</sup>

Goldbloom advised the *Australian* the CICD was involved in the ‘technical organisation’ with the VDC, SOS, YCAC and the Trade Union Vietnam Committee of a coordinated demonstration to coincide with Johnson’s visit to Melbourne on 21 October. Speaking on behalf of the organisers, Goldbloom told the journalist that the demonstrators would be wearing ‘black armbands and sashes to denote their sorrow, and to contrast the gala atmosphere being promoted by civic authorities’ in anticipation of Johnson’s arrival. Indeed, Melbourne City Council had extended itself to ensure a ‘colourful Melbourne welcome’ for the President.<sup>207</sup> Goldbloom advised that the police had been assured that it would be a peaceful demonstration and that the actions were directed at Johnson’s ‘policies’ not his ‘personality’.<sup>208</sup> He also told the reporter that the following slogans would be used at the demonstration: ‘Stop Bombing North Vietnam’; ‘Negotiate Directly with the National Liberation Front’; and ‘Realistic Steps to Bring Urgent Peace to Vietnam’.<sup>209</sup> Each of these reflected positions the CICD supported. Goldbloom also mentioned that he had received a leaflet titled ‘We want to negotiate – but they don’t’, which might be distributed at the

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<sup>204</sup> The Hiroshima Day committee included CICD’s Dickie and Goldbloom, together with W.H. Hartley, Victorian State Secretary ALP; Dr Alan Roberts, Lecturer, Monash University; Trevor Ashton, Secretary YCAC, Doug MacSween, Secretary Clothing Trades Union; and Roger Holdsworth, Secretary VDC, letter to members c/o CICD, 19 May 1966, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>205</sup> ‘4000 march in City Vietnam War Protest’ and ‘None of the Way With LBJ’, *Guardian*, 11 August 1966:1; 3; 8. Estimates on participation varies between 4000-6000 depended on the source, ‘4,000 Join March to Recall Bomb’, *Age*, 8 August 1966:7; ‘4,000 march in City Vietnam War Protest’, *Guardian*, 11 August 1966:1; *Canberra Times* estimated 6,000 marchers, ‘Hiroshima Agony Remembered’, *Canberra Times*, 8 Aug 1966:3.

<sup>206</sup> Conversation between Goldbloom and John Hurst of the *Australian*, Intercept Report 19 October 1966, Goldbloom Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 4491, f.72.

<sup>207</sup> ‘More Color in the City’, *Age*, 20 October 1966:1.

<sup>208</sup> Conversation between Goldbloom and John Hurst of the *Australian*, Intercept Report 19 October 1966, Goldbloom Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 4491, f.72.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*

demonstration ‘dependent on the circumstances’.<sup>210</sup> He did not identify which organisation had produced the leaflet, but he assured the journalist that the demonstration was well organised and that it would be orderly and respectable. Understandably, police authorities were on high alert during the US Presidential visit and the CICD felt some pressure to ensure that it had things well in hand. This level of careful planning was further demonstrated by the CICD a month later. When the CICD held a peace walk for the ‘Vote No Conscription’ campaign with the VDC, the CICD issued a list of 17 slogans which could be used at the street march.<sup>211</sup>

Given the considerable pre-poll campaign by the movement, the 1966 ALP Federal electoral defeat proved to be a considerable anti-climax. Despite its best efforts, the anti-conscription campaign failed to shift public support against PM Holt’s suggestion that Australia should ‘go all the way’ in Vietnam.<sup>212</sup> In its wake, some anti-conscription groups re-examined their approach to the campaign. Conversely, the electoral defeat appeared to have had minimal impact on the CICD’s own outlook. It reasoned that

no less than 42 per cent of the Australian people consciously voted for non-involvement by Australia in Vietnam and against conscription. .... Is our policy right? Without hesitation yes! The election is over but the war continues and our involvement becomes deeper.<sup>213</sup>

The CICD’s attitude underlines the distinction between it and groups like the YCAC, which was specifically concerned with electoral change. By late 1967, the YCAC lapsed. While the YCAC felt that it had been ineffective, it was unwilling to engage in more direct forms of action that were being suggested by aspects of the movement, which could incur risks associated with civil disobedience.<sup>214</sup> Notwithstanding the burning of ‘draft cards’ during a demonstration sponsored by the Sydney branch of the YCAC, the YCAC pursued available

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> ‘Suggested Slogans’, CICD 1966, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966. For VDC involvement, see *Viet Protest News*, Vol. 1(9), NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966.

<sup>212</sup> In July 64.2 per cent agreed with PM Holt’s statement that Australia should go all the way with America to defend South Vietnam and SE Asia, 23.2 per cent disapproved and 12.5 per cent were unsure. In September 61.5 per cent agreed Australia should continue to fight in Vietnam, whereas 25.9 per cent thought our forces should be withdrawn from Vietnam and 12.5 per cent were unsure. *AGP*, Survey 184, July 16, 1966 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 1984.

<sup>213</sup> CICD letter to members, 5 December 1966, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44 1966.

<sup>214</sup> Conversation with Ken Mansell, 17 June 2019. See also Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 144; Hamel-Green, ‘The Resisters’, 111.

channels for conscientious objection to avoid conscription rather than non-compliance.<sup>215</sup> Thus, by late 1966 the YCAC put out a call to youth anti-war and anti-conscription demonstrators to join the Young Labor Association of Victoria. (YLA).<sup>216</sup> The YLA adopted a ‘strong stand in opposition to American aggression in Vietnam’ and a broader focus that sought to alert people to the inherent injustices of both the war and the conscription system.<sup>217</sup> A distinguishing feature of the youth group was the extensive crossover between members of the MLC, Melbourne University Labor Club, CICD and the Victorian CND.<sup>218</sup> This was due to the YLA belief that the movement’s ‘success or failure [was] entirely dependent on the maintenance and development of a mass base’, which included the vitally important support of the ALP and trade unions.<sup>219</sup> On 5 February 1968, the Draft Resistance Movement (DRM) was formed. The DRM set out not just to oppose conscription, but to ‘wreck it’.<sup>220</sup> It also stood for ‘non-violent passive resistance’ and, therefore, the CICD supported it.<sup>221</sup>

### **Non-violent civil disobedience**

Unlike the YCAC, DRM was prepared to use tactics of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action. Such tactics underlined the right to peacefully disrupt anti-democratic processes, nominally, the National Service scheme, and the right to protest. CICD preparedness to support action against repressive legislation can be traced to the APC peace parsons’ involvement in the Democratic Rights Council from 1949 and the campaign to

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<sup>215</sup> ‘Draft Card Burns at Court as Youths Charged’, *Guardian*, 14 April 1966:1.

<sup>216</sup> ‘To All Anti-War Demonstrators’, YLA Membership form c.1966, Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Trevor Ashton Secretary YCAC, Roger Holdsworth, Secretary VDC, John Conway, CICD; Albert Langer, Ian Morgan and MLC President, Dave Nadel, were some of the original members, most of whom were also members of the Anti-Ky Action Committee (AKAC) which cooperated closely with the YLA and was convened by Ian Morgan. ‘To All Anti-War Demonstrators’, YLA Membership form c.1966, Mansell Private Collection. On the AKAC see also Phillip Deery, “‘Lock Up Holt, Throw Away Ky’: The Visit of Prime Minister Ky to Australia, 1967’, *Labour History* 109 (2015), 72. By the late 1960’s, the SDS joined forces with the YLA to hand out leaflets against the *National Service Act, 1968*, see letter to SUA Victorian branch thanking the union for its support. The letter was signed under the names Michael Hamel-Green (SDS) and Mark Taft (YLA) c.1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 45 1969-1970.

<sup>219</sup> ‘To All Anti-War Demonstrators’, YLA Membership form c.1966, Mansell Private Collection.

<sup>220</sup> ‘Group sets out to wreck call-up’, *Canberra Times*, 8 February 1968:3. Inspired by the activities of the US group with the same name, a meeting of 25 people, representing members of the former YCAC, YLA, Labor Clubs, and Young Socialist formed the DRM. *DRM News*, Newsletter of the Draft Resistance Movement- Australia 1968, Item do716, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/d0716.pdf>.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

oppose Menzies' anti-communist Bill in 1950. The day after DRM's second sit-down demonstration on 13 February 1968, the CICD issued a statement signalling its support, which read in part:

Australian citizens who are not themselves eligible to be conscripted are equally risking legal penalties by publicly affirming their support for draft resistance. All of us can at least voice our admiration for these young Australians and assure them of our moral support.<sup>222</sup>

In addition to providing support, the CICD also participated in acts of non-violent civil disobedience. Most notably, the CICD became involved in a coordinated campaign against by-law 418(24)1, used to arrest protesters issuing 'Don't Register' leaflets without a permit.<sup>223</sup>

The refuse-to-register leaflets were considered an incitement to break the law and therefore activists issuing the leaflets were also prosecuted for contravening the Commonwealth Crimes Act.<sup>224</sup> By-Law 418 was seen by the CICD and its supporters as a denial of democratic freedom and a form of political intimidation. A number of students who answered the CICD call to distribute the 'Don't Register' in the CBD were arrested and ordered to pay fines.<sup>225</sup> The contentious by-law provoked the outrage of many progressive elements in the community including State Opposition Leader, Clyde Holding, and Jim Cairns.<sup>226</sup> Cairns had written to each of the Melbourne Councillors urging them to repeal the by-law, helped distribute the leaflets at a SOS demonstration on 3 April 1969 and was among those arrested for doing so.<sup>227</sup> The controversy attracted extensive media attention, particularly in the *Age*, which pressed the Council to repeal the clause.<sup>228</sup> After the Council succumbed to public pressure by repealing the by-law clause, CICD remarked that it was

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<sup>222</sup> ASIO Report No. 276/68, 26 February 1968, Goldbloom Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 4492, f.94.

<sup>223</sup> CICD Newsletter, March 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>224</sup> CICD Secretary Report, 1968-69, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 2.

<sup>225</sup> CICD Newsletter, March 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; 'City by-law 418', *The Age*, 5 February 1969:7.

<sup>226</sup> 'By-law 418 'crushes freedom of speech'', *The Age*, February 21, 1969:3.

<sup>227</sup> Cairns was among the 13 people representing the SOS, academics, clergy and others arrested for breaching the by-law. Strangio, *Keeper of the Faith*, 193; see also Hamel-Green, 'The Resisters', 114.

<sup>228</sup> 'City by-law 418', *Age*, February 5 1969:7; 'By-law 418 'crushes freedom of speech'', *Age*, 21 February 1969:3; John Hamilton, 'A 'mini police state' lurks in city square's marigolds', *Age* 26 March 1969: 3; Ken Hooper, 'All-in-all it was quite a mix-up', *Age*, 26 March 1969:3; 'Pamphlets and Law', *Age*, 1 April 1969:7; 'Civic Democracy', *Age*, 8 April, 1969:7; 'Decision for Freedom', *Age*, April 10 1969:7.



glad to be involved in it. When the forces of the press, students, trade unionists, members of parliament and other citizens combine, the results can be very satisfying. Since the by-law was repealed, we have distributed the leaflets in the city on a couple of occasions.<sup>229</sup>

During the By-law controversy in 1968, the CICD sponsored British-American journalist, Felix Greene's 'one-night' public appearance at Assembly Hall, on 5 April.<sup>230</sup> The previous year, the *San Francisco Chronicle* journalist, and cousin of author Graeme Greene, spent more than three months in North Vietnam under contract with CBS News. Felix Greene was one of the first foreign correspondents sent to chronicle the situation in North Vietnam and the first to conduct a filmed interview with Ho Chi Minh; subsequently, he wrote and directed, *Inside Vietnam* (1967).<sup>231</sup> Greene's North Vietnam is depicted as a small agrarian country with the grave misfortune of having strategic political importance for the United States. The controversial film on alleged American atrocities in Vietnam suggests that the US bombing campaign was mainly directed at the civilian population. Consequently, Government members 'boycotted the film' from being shown in Parliament because of its alleged 'association with Communism' and it was banned in NSW by the Chief Secretary of NSW, Eric Willis (MLA), after its Australian debut on 15 June.<sup>232</sup> The CICD organised special screenings of *Inside Vietnam* at Nicholas Hall in Lonsdale Street on 16 and 17 July, before arranging to obtain a copy to hire out to CICD membership, during March 1969.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> CICD Secretary Report, 1968-69, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 2.

<sup>230</sup> Special One Night Appearance: Felix Greene, World famous Journalist and Authority on Vietnam, at Assembly Hall on 5 April, CICD Handout, 1968, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>231</sup> 'Felix Greene's New Film: *Inside Vietnam*', brochure c.1968, included with letter to Secretary SUA, Victoria signed under Margaret Frazer (CICD), 4 March 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1968-1969.

<sup>232</sup> Albert William James (Lab. NSW) attempted to show the film in Parliament in August 1968. James also discussed the censorship of the film in NSW, see: H of R, *Debates*, 29 August 1968, 782; 787 [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1968/19680829\\_reps\\_26\\_hor60/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1968/19680829_reps_26_hor60/); see also, 'Trying to Hide Facts on US Bombing, Lib. Clamp on Viet. Film', *Tribune*, 4 September 1968:1. The premiere screening in mid-June was at the Teacher's Federation Auditorium in Sydney, 'Vietnam Film', *Tribune*, 5 June 1968:12. Nation-wide independent screenings of the film in August 1968 was coordinated through the AICD, 'Inside North Vietnam', *Tribune*, 31 July 1968.

<sup>233</sup> AICD Programme [Melbourne CICD activities], *Tribune*, 10 July 1968:4. The CICD accessed a copy of the film from the AICD, while Goldbloom attempted to negotiate with the US to purchase a copy for the CICD. Minutes CICD Executive and Committee, 24 July 1968, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3. By December, the CICD expected to obtain a copy of the film between 8-30 March 1969. CICD Newsletter December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1967-1968; CICD Circular 19 December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1968-1969.

An examination of the considerable depth of the CICD's involvement in the anti-conscription campaign during this period is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a summative assessment would include that the CICD either organised, jointly organised or supported issues concerning civil rights issues, such as the Campaign for Conscience on Conscription's (CCC) 'Free Zarb' Campaign.<sup>234</sup> John Zarb was the first person sentenced to two years imprisonment in a civilian prison for non-compliance under the amended *National Service Act* 1968, which increased Government powers specifically to deal with draft defaulters. The CICD also provided administrative functions for the CCC and gave financial support to the extensive campaign.<sup>235</sup> The CICD protested against the 2-year gaoling of another conscientious objector, Coringle dairy farmer, Brian Ross. Ross was sentenced at Orbest Court on Wednesday 29 October 1969 and, the following day, the CICD joined protesters at the Melbourne City Square that were addressed by Lloyd and McLean, as well as two Labor parliamentarians, Frank Crean and Gordon Bryant.<sup>236</sup> The CICD also co-sponsored a 'Freedom Ride' to Sale prison on 13 December 1969, to support the imprisoned non-complier.<sup>237</sup>

The CICD's activities and involvement in the various campaigns was, however, not always so conspicuous. It provided various forms of unheralded support, particularly to those like Zarb, Ross and, earlier, Bill White, who were dealing with the consequences of the *National Service Act*.<sup>238</sup> The CICD outlined a scheme for establishing a draft resisters' counselling service in October 1969, which it 'hoped' would involve the Australian Council of Churches.<sup>239</sup> The proposal for a draft counselling program was first proposed a month earlier,

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<sup>234</sup> CICD Minutes, Congress Meeting, 8 February 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1; CICD Minutes Executive Meeting, 30 April, 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>235</sup> 'Hiroshima Day, Free John Zarb: Mass Walkathon, Melbourne to Pentridge, 10 August', Programme Hiroshima Week, CICD 1969 UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10; 'March Will Finance Zarb Protest', *Age*, 6 August 1969:8; CICD Secretary Report, 1968-69, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 2.

<sup>236</sup> CICD Newsletter, November 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>237</sup> 'Freedom Ride to Jail to Aid Draft Defier', *Tribune*, 10 December 1969:12. The Freedom Ride was authorized by numerous representatives of the broader anti-war movement, which included ALP's Dr. Jim Cairns and Bill Hartley; SOS; Carmichael (AEU); Trade Union Vietnam Committee; CDNS; church leaders; SDS and other student-led groups and non-compliers, 'Freedom Ride to Help Wreck the Draft', Flyer 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 45 1969-1970.

<sup>238</sup> CICD sent a statement to the PM, signed by Goldbloom, calling for NSW teacher and conscientious objector Bill White's release from jail and from all military service. Intercept Report 23 November 1966, Goldbloom Vol. 6, NAA: A6119, 4491, f.100; 'Release White, Holt told', *Guardian*, 24 November 1966:1.

<sup>239</sup> Committee Meeting Minutes, 1 October 1969 and CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 22 October, 1969, both in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; letters to Rev. Bruce Silverwood from CICD Secretary, Rev. John Lloyd, 3 October 1969 and 22 January 1970; letter to Secretary, Inter-

in September 1969, by Goldbloom.<sup>240</sup> Eventually the program was coordinated by the CICD's local peace committees, which provided advice from more than 20 counselling centres throughout Melbourne.<sup>241</sup> The CICD also amassed support for a national 'Statement of Defiance' petition organised by the Committee in Defiance of the National Service Act (CDNSA) in Sydney, under the leadership of the Association for International Cooperation and Disarmament (AICD) Secretary, Ken McLeod. The CDNSA published a full-page advertisement for the petition in the 3 July 1969 issue of the *Australian*.<sup>242</sup> Later, CICD secretary John Lloyd 'picked up on' the AICD idea and by 1970 a Melbourne CDNSA branch was established which continued to distribute 'Don't Register' leaflets.<sup>243</sup> During this time the CICD also supported the Draft Resister's Union (DRU) tactic to disrupt the draft process by filling in a 'falsie'.<sup>244</sup>

These varied and numerous anti-conscription activities shared in common a policy of non-violent resistance. However, growing within the broader movement was a tendency towards accommodating all views and forms of opposition, including those of militants. This tendency would be supported by the CPA leadership hoping to form a broad coalition of left forces during the Moratorium campaign. However, to be part of a coalition meant that individual groups, such as the CICD, might be required to submerge their aims and identity under those of the coalition. Despite the growing pluralism of the movement at both a national and international level and moves towards greater decentralisation, the CICD took

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Church Committee on Peace from A.D. Dargaville, and copy to John Lloyd, 19 January 1970, all in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 5.

<sup>240</sup> Goldbloom suggested that Rev. Stan Moore could convene the subcommittee responsible for coordinating the draft counselling program. Letter from Goldbloom to Lloyd, 24 September 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 5.

<sup>241</sup> 'Draft Counselling Proposal', c.1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 5; CICD Secretary's Annual Report, September 1971, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 6; List of Suburban Counselling Centres c. 1970 UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>242</sup> Circular from Ken McLeod, 25 June 1969 <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001726.htm>; CICD Minutes, Committee Meeting, 3 September, 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; 'Statement of Defiance', July 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 2; 6; (also includes list of Victorian signatories). The petition was also printed in *Fact*, the Victorian ALP's official state organ, *FACT*, 22 August 1969, 5, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 2.

<sup>243</sup> The 'Don't Register' leaflet was circulated in 1970 by the Melbourne branch of the CDNSA with John Lloyd listed as its secretary, John Lloyd Interview with author, December 2018; 'Don't Register', CDNSA-Vic leaflet, 1970. The following notice was a call to participate in plans to distribute the 'Don't Register' leaflet outside Melbourne GPO 20 June 1970 'Say No to Conscription', CDNSA-Vic. 1970, both in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 3.

<sup>244</sup> CICD was asked to convene a meeting of ministers of religion and the DRU at Assembly Hall on 30 July 1970, CICD letter to members, 21 July 1970, 'Fill in a Falsie', DRU flyer 1970; 'Urgent Appeal' DRU meeting 3 September 1970 all in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 20, file 4.

steps to reassert its centralised control over the organisation and to explicitly define its protocols.

Although it was a voluntary organisation, the CICD adopted a formal constitution in May 1967, two months after it deleted 'New Zealand' from its title. The CICD's 4-page constitution stipulated fixed rules of intra-organisational procedure and structure that left minimal discretion for interpretation.<sup>245</sup> This denoted a shift towards an explicitly bureaucratic and formal model of organisation. In the context of an increasingly decentralised and diverse movement, the CICD leadership reaffirmed its explicit control over the character of the organisation, its actions and membership. Accordingly, a provision for ad-hoc activities was deleted from the draft copy and instead clearly specified that all activities must meet the committee's approval. Unanimity was also ensured by declaring that the CICD was open 'to all who accept the objects and aims of the Congress'.<sup>246</sup> Control of the CICD and its funds were vested in an elected Committee of twenty-four, including the President, three Vice-Presidents and a Treasurer, who with nineteen members, were elected by the Annual General Meeting of members.<sup>247</sup> The provisions in the constitution embodied the CICD's traditional top-down and strategic approach to decision-making, which aimed to guarantee consistency in practice and attitude.<sup>248</sup> The constitution exemplified the CICD's continued emphasis on a traditional approach. The tone of the document was incongruent with the growing democratic tendencies in the broader movement, in particular, the anti-war movement's willingness to consider the merits of all views, including those of the militants who felt that the CICD's moderate brand of activism, was ineffective. Such tendencies would reveal the limits of the CICD's benevolence towards the broader movement.

#### **4 July, 1967-1969**

The occasion of 4 July was used by the movement to highlight US hypocrisy in its policy on Vietnam. Demonstrators asserted that by intervening in Vietnam, the US had betrayed its own democratic principles. Accordingly, the CICD's theme for the 4 July demonstration in

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<sup>245</sup> The CICD constitution was adopted on 3 May 1967. CICD Constitution 1967, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 73, file 16, also in Box 6, file 1; *Peace Action*, CICD, June/July 1967, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968, also in Crow Collection.

<sup>246</sup> CICD Constitution 1967, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 73, file 16.

<sup>247</sup> For a copy of the CICD constitution, see Appendix I.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. CICD Constitution 1967, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 73, file 16; Box 6, file 1; CICD Constitution 1967 [Draft], NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1967-1968.

1967 was 'Independence for All, Independence for Vietnam'.<sup>249</sup> Whether it was organised jointly or parallel with the VDC is not clear.<sup>250</sup> By 1966, the VDC through its bulletin, *Viet Protest News*, acted as a co-ordinator for the various protest activities of different groups and by 1968 had changed its name to the Vietnam Coordinating Committee (VCC) to reflect this role.<sup>251</sup> Consequently, both the CICD newsletter, *Victorian Peace News*, and VCC's *Viet Protest News* were both notifying the movement of the same events.<sup>252</sup> One could argue that by late 1966, the CICD was technically no longer the only coordinating body of what had become a broader, pluralistic and increasingly decentralised peace movement. Contributing to the sense that the CICD had lost some of its status as the state's leading peace body, the *Guardian*, which highlighted the CICD's activities, lapsed at the end of 1966.<sup>253</sup> Thereafter, the Sydney-based *Tribune* became the sole national weekly in which the CICD featured, but far less prominently.

About 800 participated in the July 4 demonstration in 1967. The protest was well disciplined, orderly and evidently organised with the cooperation of the police. Police controlled traffic during peak time and diverted all traffic on the left-hand lane to give the marching demonstrators a clear path into the city. The *Canberra Times* called it a 'July 4 without fireworks'.<sup>254</sup> The peaceful character of the demonstration proved to be a point of contention for militant elements in the anti-war movement frustrated by a sense of inertia in the campaign which they attributed to the stultifying influence of the CICD.

Militant protest developed out of a dialectical tension in the political left and a critique of the CICD's *modus operandi*. In particular, militants took exception to the CICD's brand of activism which contained tendencies that were less than democratic. An anonymous letter

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<sup>249</sup> *Peace Action*, CICD June/July 1967, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968, also in Crow Collection.

<sup>250</sup> The VDC presented a press statement to the Consul and the VDC's *Viet Protest News* also provided detailed plans for the demonstration, '800 in July 4 Anti-War Rally', *Age*, 5 July 1967:3; USA's Day is Peace D-Day, *Tribune*, 5 July 1967:1; *Viet Protest News*, Vol. 1(2), VDC, 1967, 7, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1967-1968.

<sup>251</sup> Vietnam Day Committee, Bulletin No.3, c. 1966 and *Viet Protest News* Vol. 1(9), VDC, c. October 1966 both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, 1966; *Viet Protest News*, Vietnam Co-ordinating Committee (VCC) Newsletter, August 1968 NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, 1967-1968.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. *Victorian Peace News* June 1966, CICD, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 44, Peace 1966; *Viet Protest News*, Vol. 1(9), VDC, 1966.

<sup>253</sup> 'Developing the National Tribune', *Guardian*, 24 November 1966:1; 8.

<sup>254</sup> 'July 4 Without Fireworks', *Canberra Times* 5 Jul 1967:1.

titled, 'Who owns the peace movement', which was distributed at the start of the 4 July demonstration, articulated some of these tendencies:

We feel that the movement is neither broad nor democratic but in fact narrow and authoritarian. Under the pretext of maintaining 'broadness', a small clique of bureaucrats are ruthlessly repressing any independent activities...preventing activists from following a more militant policy.... In Sydney the movement freely allows the expression of all anti-war positions from pacifists to supporters of the NLF and all kinds of activities from petition collecting to civil disobedience. This is not the case in Melbourne.... We felt that many people...have been forced to carry out activities that cannot make this opposition effective. Despite all the petitions, poster parades, protest advertisements and peaceful demos the US has continued to escalate the war.... We believe it is time the movement stopped kidding itself that it can influence the government and started looking for effective means to make its opposition felt. ...We don't have the physical resources – the power, mailing lists and the funds of the existing leadership.... This situation can only be changed by our support. SUPPORT MILITANCY BY BEING MILITANT.<sup>255</sup>

Notwithstanding a degree of hyperbole, the letter brought into sharp relief both the fissures and dilemma within the peace movement. Militancy represented a break with the established peace movement, but needed the resources and organisational support of the established groups to radicalise a broader constituency. Conversely, the established groups understood the political power unleashed by popular support. Rather than rejecting militancy *per se*, the CICD would argue that militancy was tactically imprudent – it could deter potential supporters and increase the potential for violence. A year later, the tensions in the movement remained unresolved and were brought to a head at the 4 July demonstration organised by the VCC in 1968.

What began peaceably escalated into a 'wild melee' when it was joined by a busload of Monash University students associated with the Maoist MLC. Although the CPA (M-L) was the most prominent Maoist group in Australia, Maoism also spread amongst radical elements of the student movement, such as the MLC. By now the MLC, under the leadership of Dave Nadel, had gained notoriety for largely supporting the political aims of the NLF and

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<sup>255</sup> Anon, 'Who owns the peace movement' c. 1967, [original emphasis], <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/d0639.pdf>.

developing a program to raise funds for it.<sup>256</sup> However, its radical traits were already evident in May 1965, a year before China's Cultural Revolution and one month after the Government's decisive troop announcement. At the aforementioned ASLF protest in Canberra, Nadel and two other MLC members were among 16 radical students arrested for obstructing traffic at the sit-down.<sup>257</sup>

At the 4 July 1968 demonstration, some Monash students and a union worker tried to burn down the US flag and a policeman was assaulted in the process. Students attempted to ignite cans of kerosene, hurled smoke bombs and pelted rocks smashing windows. Police troopers were ordered to 'move through' the crowd at full canter knocking people and policemen. Some forty-five people were arrested.<sup>258</sup> A police report noted that the demonstration was quite orderly until the Monash students arrived. It stated:

It was quite apparent that there were two independent factions present, one intent on pacifism and the other on trouble, no matter how they made it.... Members of the original band were endeavouring to pacify the howling mob who were intent in causing as much trouble as possible. The pacifists were endeavouring to organise the march to assembly hall whilst agitators directed their followers not to march.<sup>259</sup>

The police report described a divided protest between the 'pacifists' and the 'agitators'. Broadly speaking, either militant or moderate forms of protest were employed by the anti-Vietnam War. As we have seen, conventional moderate approaches supported by the CICD involved polite persuasion tactics, such as, parades, marches, petitions and vigils. Later, as the campaign progressed, more innovative, but nevertheless 'nonviolent' tactics were adopted, such as, civil disobedience, noncooperation and direct action. Nonviolent tactics counters concerns about personal safety and property damage and is generally premised on the belief that violence is morally indefensible and/or counterproductive and, therefore, is 'principled' and/or 'pragmatic'.<sup>260</sup> Conversely, militants have argued that nonviolence and

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<sup>256</sup> RD Victoria to ASIO HQ, 3 August 1967, Albert Langer Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 3931, f.37.

<sup>257</sup> See f.n. 163, p.245 esp. 'Students Fined After Street Sit-Down Protest', *Canberra Times*, 27 May 1965:3; 'Student Sit-Down in Canberra', *Tribune*, 2 June 1965:2.

<sup>258</sup> Some 2000 people participated. 'Troopers Ride Down Anti-War Rioters', *Age*, 5 July 1968:1; '45 Arrests in anti-US Riots', *Canberra Times*, 5 July 1968:1; 'Violence and Protest,' *Canberra Times*, 6 July 1968:2; 'Troopers and Truncheons', *Tribune*, 10 July 1968:1.

<sup>259</sup> Inspector H. O'Sullivan Victoria Police, American Embassy – anti-Vietnam Demonstration on 4 July 1968, Demonstration Outside United States Consulate, Melbourne 4 July 1968, NAA: A1209, 1968/10135, f.4.

<sup>260</sup> Gene Sharp has identified more than 200 specific methods of nonviolent action that he has classified under three broad categories: 'protest and persuasion', such as, marches and vigils;

other lawful approaches are ineffectual and devised by governing institutions to circumvent real change. In his study of dissent, Summy tells us that militants characteristically hold a set of demands which they relate to their principles or ideological beliefs; that they are reluctant to compromise on their demands, for it is treason to one's cause; they tend to refer to their opponents as enemies; and advocate either violent or non-violent confrontational tactics to destabilise the power structure.<sup>261</sup>

The police report also noted that the militants disregarded Goldbloom's authority.

The CPA was also concerned about the violence at the consulate, *and* with Goldbloom's failure to contain it. While the CPA leadership blamed the students and two pro-Peking union men for inciting the violence, they noted that Goldbloom was unable to pacify and contain the unruly mob.<sup>262</sup> CPA State leader, John Sendy, mentioned that a special State committee meeting was convened at the CPA State headquarters on the morning of 8 July to discuss what action should be taken by the Party.<sup>263</sup> Sendy stated that the committee unanimously resolved to make a statement disassociating itself from the 'anarchists who used violence' at the demonstration.<sup>264</sup> Sendy also praised the police for their tolerance and restraint, and felt that they had been compelled to take action to contain the demonstration. The CPA Committee members were reportedly

all very upset.... They all agreed that...the students took over, irrespective of Sam Goldbloom's desperate efforts to restrain them and maintain law and order. The

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'noncooperation', which is divided into the three subcategories of social, political and economic noncooperation, such as, strikes and boycotts; and 'intervention' by psychological, physical, social, economic or political means. Gene Sharp, *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation* (NY: The New Press, 2012), 67. In his *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence*, Branagan writes that Robert J. Burrowes' approach to nonviolence can be divided along two axes: 'principled' versus 'pragmatic' and 'revolutionary' versus 'reformist'. Principled nonviolence is premised on strong religious, spiritual or ethical opposition to violence, whereas pragmatic nonviolence is usually adopted as a strategic tactic, if it appears to be working. Reformist nonviolence aims for minor change, whilst revolutionary nonviolence seeks profound and long-term change. Branagan uses the phrase 'counterpower' to refer to nonviolent protest tactics. His 'counterpower' concept involves raising awareness; coordinating action; confrontation, when necessary; and consolidation, to ensure that the achieved goals are maintained, Branagan, *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence*, 52.

<sup>261</sup> Summy, 'Study of Dissent', 27-28; see also Branagan, *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence*, 54.

<sup>262</sup> ASIO Report No. 1228/68, 9 July 1968, Goldbloom Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 4492, f.128. David Rubin, a WWF worker wounded a policeman while attempting to cut down the US flag down. Rubin was charged with occasioning bodily harm, but found guilty of the lesser charge of common assault, 'Jury Kills 'Slasher' Charge', *Tribune*, 27 August 1969:4.

<sup>263</sup> ASIO Report No.1232/68, 9 July 1968, Goldbloom Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 4492, f.129.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.



student's take-over of the demonstration caused so much confusion among those gathered there that they did not realise what they were being led into until they were involved.<sup>265</sup>

Two critical points were being made. The first was that the unity and reputation of the movement had been compromised by dissonant elements, and second, that Goldbloom failed to maintain control of the demonstration. Later that day, Sendy contacted Goldbloom and arranged to meet him at his home on 11 July 1968 together with a couple of fellow party members. Sendy was keen to hear Goldbloom's account of the event, and Goldbloom was equally keen to have his say. Goldbloom told Sendy that that 'he certainly had some views he would like to discuss'.<sup>266</sup> However, a day before meeting with Sendy, Goldbloom 'relinquished' the CICD secretary position he had held for the past decade, and suggested that a 'younger person should take over'.<sup>267</sup> At a meeting of the CICD Executive and Committee a fortnight later, which Goldbloom also attended, 28 year old Church of Christ minister and PQF member, John Arthur Lloyd, was formally introduced as the new CICD secretary.<sup>268</sup> According to Lloyd, Hartley approached him about the position and he was interviewed by Goldbloom.<sup>269</sup> Contrary to the suggestion that Goldbloom resigned of his own volition, the impetus appeared to have come from another source. CPA Central Committee member, Bill Gollan, stated that Goldbloom retired to make way for a younger person 'under a little pressure from him [Gollan]'.<sup>270</sup>

Gollan's statement underlines the ongoing and deep involvement of the CPA in important matters of the CICD and the limitations of CICD's agency over its internal affairs. As discussed in Chapter 2, the position of secretary in the APC was also managed by the CPA and its secretaries were all CPA members. Gollan and fellow CPA Central Committee members were also instrumental in the decision to award a the joint peace prize to Dickie and Hartley, despite some apprehension about awarding the Lenin Peace prize to 'clergymen'.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid.; 'Melbourne Clergyman Full-time for Peace', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:4.

<sup>266</sup> Intercept Report, 8 July 1968, Goldbloom Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 4492, f.126.

<sup>267</sup> ASIO Report No. 1333/68, 25 July 1968, Hartley Vol. 7, NAA: A6119, 2915, f.10.

<sup>268</sup> Minutes CICD Executive and Committee Meeting, 24 July 1968.

<sup>269</sup> John Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>270</sup> ASIO Report No. 153/69, 16 April 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.26.

<sup>271</sup> As a member of the WPC Presidential Committee, Bill Gollan initiated and discussed the proposal with both CPA and WPC leadership. ASIO Report No. 224/65, 4 October 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A 6119, 2896, f.84; ASIO Report No. 250/65, 25 October 1965, Hartley Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 2896, f.91.

On 25 February 1966, the two peace parsons also jointly received the Joliot-Curie gold peace medal for working more than ‘16 years in the service of peace’.<sup>272</sup>

Whether the CPA used the 4 July fiasco to scapegoat Goldbloom is unclear, but his particular leadership style was evidently part of the problem. The CPA sought to build a broad alliance in the Vietnam campaign and yet Goldbloom did not have a good rapport with the militant students. Journalist Jon ‘Darce’ Cassidy of the Maoist MLC and the Worker Student Alliance (WSA) recalled:

Our great fight in the anti-war movement was with Sam Goldbloom. Sam was CICD Chairman of the old school peace line. We had to be respectable, you should wear suits to demonstrations, write petitions and assemble peacefully. We tended to turn July 4 into our own thing as a focus of anti-American sentiment under the slogan of broadening the base and narrowing the target, whereas Sam’s slogan was to stop the war and negotiate. At one July 4<sup>th</sup> demonstration, Sam called out from the megaphone: ‘2,3,3,4: Stop the war, 5,6,7,8: Stop the Bombs, negotiate’ and Albert Langer yelled out: 10,11,12 14, 16: Smash the US Consul’s windscreen’, which indicated the difference in approach.<sup>273</sup>

While the two versions of the anti-Vietnam War chant encapsulated the divergent approaches that characterised the movement by the late 1960s, it was clear that some in the broader movement rejected Goldbloom’s doctrinaire and authoritarian attitude. CICD Committee member, Roger Wilson, also felt that Goldbloom’s ‘rigid’ approach ‘alienated most of the young people’ in the movement; he stated that Goldbloom had a tendency to ‘turn things into a dogma, a religion’.<sup>274</sup> In light of the move away from the traditional monolithic approach, Goldbloom, at almost 48 years of age, no longer embodied the image the movement aimed to project. Additionally, CICD and CPA leadership most likely saw in the younger Lloyd someone more amenable to the changing needs and expectations of a broader and more

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<sup>272</sup> ‘Historic Peace Movement Meeting, Feb. 25’, *Guardian*, 17 February 1966:8.

<sup>273</sup> Philip Mendes, *The New Left, The Jews and the Vietnam War, 1965-1972* (Victoria: Lazare Press 1993), 33. Cassidy also worked as a journalist with the ABC in Melbourne and Canberra before returning to Melbourne in early 1968. He was a key figure in the establishment of ‘The Bakery’, 120 Greville Str. Prahran by 1969 which provided a base for the WSA, MLC, Prahran Peoples’ Movement, Students in Dissent (Socialist secondary students), Socialist Teachers Association, Socialist Industrial Workers and the Women’s Liberation Group. Darce Cassidy, ‘The Worker-Student Alliance and the Anti-War Movement’, c.1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; Ken Mansell, ‘Vale Darce Cassidy (1941-2019)– Journalist, Agitator, Organiser’ (ASSLH, May 2019), <https://labourhistorymelbourne.org/>.

<sup>274</sup> Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

diverse movement. This was the thrust of *Tribune's* profile feature article on Lloyd shortly following his election as secretary. Quoting from Lloyd it read in part,

We are trying to create a peaceful and just world; therefore, we should use peaceful and just means.... I'm quite happy to recognise that others, with equal integrity, regard this matter differently.... Diversification is a good thing. It takes care of specific questions which need attention.<sup>275</sup>

The statement embodied the tone of Bernal's proposals at the WPC Helsinki meeting in July 1965. While Lloyd supported 'orthodox' non-violent protest, he acknowledged that views outside of his own were equally valid. Lloyd maintained that he was 'happy to work with whoever had a genuine desire for peace'.<sup>276</sup> Similarly with Dickie and Hartley, Lloyd was attracted to the ethical basis of cooperation and disarmament. He had demonstrated his commitment to activism when he took part in the controversial selling of a banned Liberty publication, Eric Norden's *American Atrocities in Vietnam* (1966) on Melbourne streets.<sup>277</sup> Lloyd differed from Goldbloom in other significant ways. Goldbloom was politically shrewd and self-possessed, whereas Lloyd, in his own estimation, stated:

I had so little background in politics. I possessed a moral and ethical attitude rather than ideological one like so many in peace movement...so, there were all sorts of issues that I didn't get .... I had to learn fast and I had to shut up because I didn't want to expose my ignorance.<sup>278</sup>

Reflecting on his selection as CICD secretary, Lloyd felt that he 'may not have been the best choice for the job'.<sup>279</sup> He recalled that his political naivete landed him in a serious predicament at the WPC-sponsored World Assembly for Peace in East Berlin in June 1969. For having publicly criticised a final statement, Lloyd was threatened by fellow Australian delegates and required 'bodyguards for the rest of the trip'.<sup>280</sup> Lloyd was part of a

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<sup>275</sup> 'Melbourne Clergyman Full-time for Peace', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:4

<sup>276</sup> Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018. Drawing upon Burrowes' conception of nonviolence tactics, orthodox or 'Gandhian' nonviolence' emphasises that the means used for a cause must be consistent with the ends. Branagan, *Global Warming, Militarism and Nonviolence*, 52.

<sup>277</sup> Copies of the booklet were published by Bob Gould, Convenor of the Sydney activist group, Vietnam Action Committee; Interview with John Lloyd, *Ibid.*; Melbourne Clergyman Full-time for Peace', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:4.

<sup>278</sup> Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.* Regarding the CICD decision to elect Lloyd go to the WPC World Assembly for Peace in Berlin from 21-24 June 1969, see Minutes of CICD Meeting, 7 May 1969, UMA, CICD, 1979.0152,

commission which tried unsuccessfully to pass a resolution to remove all foreign bases throughout the world, including those of Soviet Union. He spoke out when the resolution had been discarded and replaced with a platitudinous statement by Assembly officials.<sup>281</sup> Lloyd experienced first-hand Soviet control of the WPC and how it handled dissenting views. Back in Melbourne, his inexperience was counterbalanced by veteran activists in the CICD executive comprised of Dickie, who continued as President/Chairman, and Goldbloom, who by 1969 was forced to share the Vice-President position with Rev. Stan Moore and Norman Rothfield. Despite the shift in the office bearer position, Goldbloom would maintain a commanding voice within the CICD. Thus, while the CICD leadership team was given a fresh face and a reshuffle – the CICD remained under the dominant influence of a more experienced executive.

When the organisers of the 4 July 1968 demonstration regrouped at a VCC meeting on 20 July, it became evident to the CICD that the VCC had abandoned its original orientation and in its place adopted a more militant stance. In his report, SUA and CICD member Roger Wilson, feared that a ‘too one-sided appreciation of the events’ had been presented to the meeting.<sup>282</sup> The VCC’s position on the 4 July demonstration and its estimation of the Vietnam campaign more generally, was outlined in the following way:

The Vietnam protest has reached a new level of dynamism and militancy. The VCC feels that the [4 July] demonstration was a positive blow against Australia and the US intervention in Vietnam.... The VCC too is seriously concerned about the use of violence in demonstrations – cavalry charges...kicking and clubbing of protesters must also qualify as the introduction of violence. The history of the Vietnam peace movement has been a history of police violence against protesters. A few broken windows and a few breached traffic laws are but a paltry price for the massive outrage being perpetrated upon the people of Vietnam.<sup>283</sup>

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Box 1, file 5. CPA leader and member of the WPC, Bill Gollan and Sydney Theatre Director, Edmund Allison, were part of the Australian delegation. ‘Three for Peace Meet’, *Tribune*, 18 June 1969: 9.

<sup>281</sup> Interview with author, December 2018. Lloyd was not alone in his criticism of the Soviet-dominated proceedings. See British Secretary General of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and delegate to the Assembly, *Tribune* (UK), 4 July 1969 cited in The World Peace Council’s Peace Assemblies, Foreign Affairs Note, US State Dept. Washington D.C., 3 May 1983, 3, <http://insidethecoldwar.org>.

<sup>282</sup> Minutes of CICD Executive and Committee Meeting, 24 Jul 1968, UMA, CICD, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>283</sup> *Viet Protest News* No.17, VCC [emphasis in original], August 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1967-1968.

According to the VCC, therefore, militancy had injected the campaign with much-needed vitality and it considered that violence was an inevitable feature of Vietnam protest. Lloyd empathised with this bellicose view but also commented that,

on the other hand, you didn't want to appear to be giving support to an escalating idea that we should become more violent in the demonstrations...we could see that a broader population was beginning to question the Vietnam War and we made the calculation that violent demonstrations wouldn't help that process, and give people a reason to support the war and oppose the demonstrators. We thought it wasn't tactically smart.<sup>284</sup>

Arguing against militancy, Lloyd feared the campaign would lose the moral initiative and alienate potential supporters. He insisted that the method must be 'consistent with the object – if we are advocating peace in Vietnam, we serve the cause best by demonstrating peacefully'.<sup>285</sup> Conversely, Albert Langer argued that 'mass demonstrations should be as militant as possible and cause as much chaos as possible'.<sup>286</sup> Lloyd surmised that Langer wanted to be a 'revolutionary activist', whereas many of the broader movement just wanted to bring the troops home and end the war.<sup>287</sup>

A subsequent VCC protest on 25 October, which the CICD sponsored, also ended in multiple arrests.<sup>288</sup> The following month, Roger Wilson and Goldbloom attended a VCC General meeting on 21 November with 33 other persons to discuss the future campaign and tactics. The meeting was held at Palmerston St. Carlton, a share house referred to as the Centre for Democratic Action (CDA) and used by various activist groups.<sup>289</sup> The meeting presaged the

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<sup>284</sup> Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>285</sup> *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>287</sup> Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>288</sup> The demonstration was conducted at the Dow Chemical office on St. Kilda Rd., which was part of the VCC October mobilisation campaign sponsored by CICD. *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968; Minutes of Executive, 11 September 1968, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4; CICD Newsletter, c. October 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

<sup>289</sup> *Viet Protest News*, VCC, May 1969, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001727.htm>. The CDA was used as a base by the VCC, the Melbourne University Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and others, Richard Campbell, 'The Political Faith Healers', *Bulletin*, 25 January 1969:34-35; Ken Mansell, 'The Yeast is Red', MA Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1994:33.

challenges encountered by the Moratorium campaign and the tension between the CICD and the broader movement. Goldbloom declared that:

the VCC should [not] be in control of demonstrations...he represented 1000 members of the CICD and intimated that they should have more to say. In regard to militancy...he did not see where they had the power to be militant as many pacifists wish to attend these demonstrations and were opposed to violence.<sup>290</sup>

While Goldbloom reasoned that militancy would isolate supporters, he believed that the CICD should have the strongest voice in the campaign. Goldbloom was frustrated by the far from efficient decision-making approach given the variety of views in the movement. The meeting sought to reach a consensus from the many views, including those of the militants. Wilson expressed similar frustration. He wondered about the usefulness of the meeting, given that 'they just kept talking round in circles'.<sup>291</sup> Goldbloom, he commented, 'wanted consensus, but only on his terms'.<sup>292</sup>

Finally, the VCC resolved, in summary, that:

no precise form of demonstration be excluded, but that each proposed demonstration should be considered on its merits; ... the plans and objects of the event should be set out for the consideration of component bodies of the VCC and the resulting consensus should then become the programme; ...the appointed leaders and marshals are then answerable to the accepted plans... [and] the precise plans of the demonstration should be notified by leaflet or announcement to all participants and publicised at the event.<sup>293</sup>

This VCC statement had been submitted to the constituent groups for their consideration earlier in the month, in preparation for the meeting. Both the CICD Executive, and then the Committee reviewed and accepted the proposal more than a week before the VCC meeting, with one amendment. The Committee amended the statement with the addition of the final

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<sup>290</sup> The meeting on 21 November 1968 was held at Palmerston Street, Carlton. ASIO Report No. 63/69, 14 January 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.13-14.

<sup>291</sup> Roger Wilson to Ralph Gibson, Intercept Report, 29 November 1968, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.7.

<sup>292</sup> Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

<sup>293</sup> *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

clause which emphasised announcing in advance the ‘precise’ details of plans.<sup>294</sup> Although the CICD accepted in advance that decisions would be reached by consensus and that all forms of protest would be considered, it presented a far less conciliatory attitude to the proposal at the meeting.

The CICD, and more specifically Goldbloom, was responding to the increasing militant attitudes demonstrated at the meeting. These attitudes were also represented in a statement by the VCC executive. The VCC declared that it did ‘not want violent demonstrations’ *per se*, but considered that what was being referred to as violence was ‘only minor incidents accompanied by a lot of noise’.<sup>295</sup> It argued that cooperation with police was futile when police violence was being intentionally perpetrated to intimidate the Vietnam protests.<sup>296</sup> Regarding the use of marshals, it declared that to ‘prevent violence and disorder’ in future demonstrations, it would provide its ‘own police force’, in the form of marshals, and police should ‘keep clear of the demonstrators’.<sup>297</sup>

The formula offered little comfort to CICD leadership, which emphasised non-violence and preferred to work *with* police, despite the marshals. Nine days later, a CICD Executive meeting at Goldbloom’s home on 29 November agreed that the basis of discussion at a CICD consultative meeting the next day ‘should be centred on the issues of the [CICD’s] specific role in a diversified peace movement’.<sup>298</sup> The consultative meeting between the CICD Executive and Committee considered the need ‘to develop independent initiatives’; however, it also upheld that ‘diversity’ and the ‘need for cooperation’ were important issues of the peace movement.<sup>299</sup> The CICD accepted that it had to cooperate with diverse elements within the movement. However, less than two weeks later, a more realistic indication of the CICD’s attitude was revealed when the CICD executive agreed that Lloyd ‘should approach individual members of the VCC committee for support for [the]CICD programme when suitable’.<sup>300</sup> Evidently there were differing views in the VCC, some more aligned with those

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<sup>294</sup> Minutes CICD Executive Meeting, 13 November 1968; Minutes of CICD Congress, 13 November 1968, both in UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4; 3.

<sup>295</sup> *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> Report of Executive Consultation at 207 Alma Rd, St Kilda, 29 November 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

<sup>299</sup> Report of Consultation between CICD Executive and Committee, 30 November 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1967-1968.

<sup>300</sup> CICD Executive Meeting, 11 December 1968, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4.

of the CICD, such as that of joint member Keith Stodden. It foreshadowed future CICD tactics in the Moratorium campaign when the CICD attempted to build a strong alliance of support for its views inside the anti-war coalition.

The following year, CICD approached the 4 July demonstration in 1969 with a great deal of circumspection. A CICD members' meeting on 7 May 1969 noted that the Executive had forwarded a letter to the VCC, asking that all participants in the demonstration be notified of 'any expected alternative arrangements'.<sup>301</sup> While the letter was supposed to reassure CICD members, an ensuing discussion at the meeting indicated the extent of their reservations. The meeting was 'reminded' that the CICD was 'only one of a number of organisations' represented on the VCC committee, and that it was 'unable to make decisions binding on other members of the VCC'.<sup>302</sup>

However, others shared the CICD's misgivings about the demonstration and the VCC's marshal plan to prevent violence. Some were 'very reluctant' to attempt another 4 July in the evening, particularly if it involved the MLC: 'it was too dangerous and would encourage Police brutality'.<sup>303</sup> At the 24 April VCC meeting, draft resister and founding member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Michael Hamel-Green, and CICD's Edmund DuVergier both agreed that the MLC 'could not be marshalled', because it demonstrated 'just to be anarchist'. An unidentified MLC member disagreed with this summation and suggested that only a few MLC members were a 'problem'. More specifically, he identified Albert Langer and Michael Hyde as 'the most irresponsible members of the MLC'. DuVergier tried unsuccessfully to repeal the VCC's decision to exclude the police. He suggested that they 'could be very cooperative' and that 'most times police were provoked'.<sup>304</sup> Clearly, the matter was of serious concern for the CICD, which emphasised the importance of cooperating with police during President Johnson's visit in 1966 and at the 4 July demonstration in 1967. Its concerns were heightened about a month before the demonstration when it had come to the CICD's attention that

a prominent member of the Monash Labor Club has announced a plan at recent Sydney conference that the MLC would in its pre-publicity announce its intention to support

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<sup>301</sup> The letter from the CICD Executive was noted at the Membership meeting. Minutes of CICD Membership Meeting, 7 May 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Minutes VCC Meeting, 24 April 1969, at 57 Palmerston Str, Keith Mallalieu Stodden (hereafter, Stodden) Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 5692, f.17-18.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid.



the concept of the pacifist demonstration on 4 July but at a later stage to transform it into a militant (violent) demonstration. It was proposed that our Newsletter indicate this information, and that we ask the VCC to announce its knowledge of this plan and to inform the participants not to be involved in it.<sup>305</sup>

Having learned of the MLC plan to subvert the demonstration, Goldbloom argued with AEU State Secretary and CPA leader, Laurie Carmichael, about the VCC marshal plan and according to fellow CPA leader Ralph Gibson, Goldbloom was 'trying to get a hold of the VCC people to have it out with them'.<sup>306</sup> By all indications, it would seem that Goldbloom's attempt to get CPA leadership on side had failed. Two weeks later, the CICD Executive agreed that Goldbloom prepare a statement, signed by trade union leaders, student leaders and others, encouraging demonstrators 'not to react to external or internal provocation' before presenting it to the VCC for its endorsement.<sup>307</sup> The CICD wanted assurances and accountability, whereas at a following VCC meeting on 27 June, the VCC declined to take responsibility for action taken 'by any independent group'.<sup>308</sup> Instead a group of six marshals would have full control but 'under no circumstances could there be a repetition of the 1968 demonstration'.<sup>309</sup> Despite a minor skirmish at the barricades in Commercial Road the demonstration was, overall, peaceful and, therefore, considered a success by the organisers, particularly given that the MLC was prepared to 'shed blood to break the barricades in St. Kilda Rd'.<sup>310</sup>

Although Goldbloom was unable to impress the VCC and the CPA leaders with his views on the marshal plan, at the 27 June VCC meeting he attempted to dominate other organisational aspects of the demonstration. While the meeting agreed that Langer 'would not be permitted to speak' at the demonstration, Goldbloom stated that he would not address the demonstration

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<sup>305</sup> CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 4 & 6 June, 1969, UMA, CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>306</sup> Intercept Report, Ralph Gibson to Laurie Carmichael, 12 June 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.37.

<sup>307</sup> ASIO Report No. 1039/69 and Minutes, CICD Executive meeting, 12 June 1969, both in Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.44-45.

<sup>308</sup> 'VCC General Meeting at Unity Hall, 27 June 1969', ASIO Report No. 1045/69, 2 July 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.47-49.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Nineteen people were arrested, but some charges were dropped. 'Fines for 11 in July 4 March', *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1969:8; 'Stones Shatter 20 Consulate Windows', *Age*, 7 July 1969:3. An unidentified member of the MLC was speaking on the group's behalf. Minutes VCC Meeting, 24 April 1969, Stodden Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 5692, f.17.

either.<sup>311</sup> Nevertheless, Goldbloom proposed which speakers should represent each of the groups participating in the event.<sup>312</sup> Roger Holdsworth (VCC) approached the matter democratically by stating that those present might prefer alternative speakers to those suggested by Goldbloom and these proposals should be submitted to writing to VCC Secretary, John Layfield, after the meeting.<sup>313</sup> CICD's prescriptive approach to decision-making would continue to be challenged by elements in the movement, radical or otherwise. CICD leadership knew that the CICD did not have popular appeal. Goldbloom conveyed this concern to Lloyd:

I believe that a study should be made as to why we are failing, and therefore, how we should succeed, in attracting to our Committee people of a much wider political and social diversity than we have so far achieved. Sydney's experience in this regard is much better than ours, and their comments would be valuable. Perhaps one of the reasons is that we have been insufficiently imaginative in the diversity of our projects to the degree that it is necessary to appeal to wider sections of the community, according to their special interests and approaches, Sam.<sup>314</sup>

In Goldbloom's own estimation the CICD failed to draw a wider demographic with interests and approaches outside its own. The CICD understood the political power inherent in popular support and yet its aforementioned constitution did little to attract broader involvement in the CICD by stressing that membership was 'open to all who accept the objects and aims of the Congress'.<sup>315</sup> Moreover, at the Annual General CICD meeting on 20 August 1969 'no students were successful in gaining election to the [CICD] Committee'.<sup>316</sup> Notwithstanding that it was intrinsically an organisational problem, the matter could also have benefitted from some introspection on Goldbloom's own part, as a key leader of the CICD. However, as

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<sup>311</sup> 'VCC General Meeting at Unity Hall, 27 June 1969', ASIO Report No. 1045/69, 2 July 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.47-49.

<sup>312</sup> Goldbloom suggested the following to represent the unions, the VCC, the clergy, the students and other activist groups: Roger Wilson (SUA); Roger Holdsworth (VCC), Terry Lane (PQF), a student and Jean McLean (SOS), ASIO Report No. 1045/69, 2 July 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.47-49.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Letter to Lloyd from Goldbloom, 24 September 1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 20, file 5.

<sup>315</sup> CICD Constitution 1967, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 73, file 16.

<sup>316</sup> See letters from John Lloyd dated 11 September addressed to J. Feverall and C. Atkins respectively, who were invited to attend CICD Committee meetings as co-opted guests, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 5; Minutes CICD Annual Meeting, 20 August 1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

Roger Wilson suggested, Goldbloom was ‘not going to look in the mirror’.<sup>317</sup> The CICD was at a critical juncture. Calls to end the war were now being frequently heard. As the *Canberra Times* editorialised:

The leaders of all the parties contesting the [1969] elections must be aware that the people are heartily sick of Vietnam. The emotional wave on which our initial commitment to the war was made...has now broken and the tide has turned. If the Government is not aware of the disquiet among parents whose sons face conscription for Vietnam, and of the sagging morale among men who are fighting in what they fear could be a lost cause they cannot ignore the Gallup Poll’s 59 per cent of Australians who favour withdrawal.<sup>318</sup>

The editorial, ‘When to quit in Vietnam’, correctly suggested that public attitudes had by now turned against the war. The August 1969 poll recorded for the first time since Australian involvement in Vietnam that a majority wanted to ‘bring our forces back’.<sup>319</sup> The attitude had probably more to do with Nixon’s announcement regarding the first US unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam than the Tet Offensive in January 1968, when most Australians still supported the war.<sup>320</sup> At the following Federal election in November 1969, the ALP led by Gough Whitlam was only four seats short of toppling the Coalition with a promise to bring Australian troops home by mid-1970.<sup>321</sup> The CICD was aware that by the late 1960s public opinion had begun to view the Vietnam war as ‘futile and immoral’.<sup>322</sup> However, under its conventional management the CICD struggled to adapt to the political realities of the time and the needs of the movement, particularly if it meant submerging its identity and compromising its principles for those of the broader movement.

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<sup>317</sup> Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

<sup>318</sup> ‘When to Quit in Vietnam’, *Canberra Times*, 8 October 1969:2.

<sup>319</sup> In an August 1969 poll, 55 per cent supported Australian troop withdrawal, 40 per cent thought the war should continue and 6 per cent were undecided. Although the figures varied thereafter until October 1970, the polls taken during the period consistently indicated a slight majority of support for withdrawal. Morgan Gallup Poll, APOP Subscriber’s Reports, Table 7.1, Goot and Tiffen, ‘Public Opinion and the Politics of the Polls’, 135.

<sup>320</sup> In the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, 68.4 per cent of respondents favoured a proposal to continue fighting in Vietnam compared to 25.9 per cent wanting to withdraw our forces, *AGP*, Survey 197, April 20, 1968 [computer file], Canberra: Australian Data Archives, ANU, 2004; ‘25 000 May Just be the Start’, *Age*, 10 June 1969:1.

<sup>321</sup> ‘Election Result’, *Canberra Times*, 6 November 1969:1; ‘Whitlam’s 1969 Election Speech’, 1 Oct 1969, <http://whitlamdismissal.com/1969/10/01/whitlam-1969-election-policy-speech.html>; ‘Whitlam Policy Speech’, *Canberra Times*, 2 October 1969:13.

<sup>322</sup> CICD Secretary Report 1968-1969, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 2.

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined the CICD's response to Australian involvement in the Vietnam War, and conscription from 1964 until late 1969. Consistent with its peace principles, the CICD supported Vietnam's struggle for national independence by calling for a negotiated settlement to the crisis and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The CICD also emphasised international calls for peace in Vietnam. It did this for two key reasons. First, the CICD used the pleas to attempt to destabilise public support for US-led policies that were designed to contain the spread of communism. The CICD assumed that without Western intervention, Vietnam would reunite under a communist or communist-sympathetic coalition government. The CICD also determined that US-led policies in Asia could lead to a broader conflict involving Communist China and nuclear weapons. The CICD had long recognised the centrality of the PRC for the Pacific region and argued that US-led policies could lead to a hot war with China and threaten the existing test ban treaty. Here we see the CICD's anti-Western stance on the crises in Asia, its awareness of China's growing significance for the region and the peace committee's pragmatic approach to activism.

Second, the CICD took advantage of the broader calls for peace in Vietnam to confirm the correctness of its approach. Worldwide support for a diplomatic solution to the problems in Vietnam had more in common with its pro-Soviet WPC principle of international cooperation than Communist China's revolutionary approach. Thus, the CICD's response to the Vietnam War must also be examined in consideration of the Sino-Soviet split. Given the CICD's general alignment with the CPSU, it eschewed the political hard-line associated with the CCP and instead, the CICD maintained that international cooperation was the only rational and enlightened approach to the crises in Asia. This stance placed the CICD at odds with the pro-Peking, CPA (M-L) faction that emerged by 1964, which was precipitated by the Sino-Soviet split, and with a general trend towards greater democracy in the political left by late 1960s.

The CICD leadership continued to look to the WPC for guidance and direction. In the current political climate, the WPC conceded that it was impossible to claim a monopoly over the peace movement and encouraged its membership to consider with equal importance the independent activities of other peace interests. The WPC leadership determined that a mass mobilisation of opposition against the Vietnam War was the most effective way for the peace movement to undermine the legitimacy of US-led policies and US hegemony in the region. Accordingly, the CICD adopted and effected WPC policy calls to accelerate the Vietnam

campaign and to build a diverse, grassroots movement against the Vietnam War. In turn, the CICD was supported by a CPA leadership that continued to exert influence over essential aspects of the CICD's operation.

We have seen that the impetus for CICD support of the broader movement was the WPC. The nascent independent movement that emerged in opposition to conscription and Australian commitment shared the CICD's emphasis on nonviolent protest and demands for a negotiated peace in Vietnam. However, by the late 1960s, the CICD struggled to adapt to the changing political conditions in the movement. Such changes were emblematic of shifts in the political left and required more inclusive and democratic approaches to decision-making than had been practised in the past. Nevertheless, the CICD felt obliged to continue to support the broader movement, raising further important questions about the limitations of the CICD's agency. While calls for strident militant action questioned the validity of the CICD's approach to activism and threatened to divide the movement, calls for greater democratic decision-making challenged the CICD's status as the peak state body. Illustrative of the CICD's struggle to balance the needs of the movement with those of its own, was its adoption of a prescriptive set of protocols embodied in its constitution, which reasserted the importance of centralised control, unity and consistency. Simultaneously, its leadership wondered why it failed to attract a more socially diverse membership, which is suggestive of deeper, systemic problems confronting the CICD. Meanwhile, the anti-war movement was growing stronger and it had crossed the midway point in public support. The first US Moratorium march was held in Washington on 15 October 1969. It constituted a mass grassroots critique of the Vietnam War, which would have a considerable impact on the CICD and the anti-war movement. The following chapter examines the ways in which the CICD sought to maintain its relevance and status as the peak state peace body in a broad coalition movement that demanded democratic organisation.

## Chapter 6: The CICD and the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign, May 1970

Inspired by the success of the first US Moratorium in Washington in October 1969, the CICD convened the interstate meeting from which the national Vietnam Moratorium Campaign was established. The CICD anticipated that the Victorian branch of the national campaign would be conducted under its direction and administered through CICD machinery. However, the CICD's status in the movement as the state's principal peace committee was already tenuous by the late 1960s. Notwithstanding the divergences in the Vietnam campaign between the moderate and militant approaches, the coalition movement uniformly resisted CICD attempts to control the campaign. In this, the CPA was particularly instrumental. This chapter argues that the Victorian Moratorium campaign denoted the end of the CICD as the State's leading peace body.

### 'Couldn't we...?'<sup>1</sup>

The numerical success and peaceful nature of the first US Moratorium on 15 October 1969 made a definite impression on leadership of the CICD and encouraged it to believe that a campaign of similar character was possible in Australia.<sup>2</sup> Beyond providing inspiration, however, there were no formal links between the US and Australian campaigns.<sup>3</sup> As Mavis Robertson aptly suggested in her address at a National Anti-War Conference in 1971, the impetus may have derived from the US, but the Australian Moratorium had been successful because it was shaped according to local conditions, rather than mimicry of the US method.<sup>4</sup>

The proposal to emulate the US Moratorium campaign in Australia arose from an informal discussion between CICD Secretary, John Lloyd, Vice-President, Norman Rothfield, and associate, Bevan Ramsden.<sup>5</sup> Lloyd suggested Australia should adopt the US concept of a

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<sup>1</sup> The caption 'Couldn't we...?', in Jeff Hook's editorial cartoon, juxtaposed the Moratorium's tentative hopes with the successful turnout at the first Melbourne march. *Sun* (Melb.), 9 May 1970:8, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 34, file 13.

<sup>2</sup> 'VMC: A Background to this meeting', CICD report on Canberra Consultation 25 November 1969, n.d., UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 56, file 15.

<sup>3</sup> Jon Piccini, 'A Whole New World: Global Revolution and Australian Social Movements in the Long Sixties', PhD diss., University of Queensland, 2013: 97-98; Malcolm Saunders, 'The Vietnam Moratorium Movement in Australia: 1969-73', PhD thesis, Flinders University, 1977:25.

<sup>4</sup> Piccini, 'A Whole New World', 97-98. Robertson presented a paper titled, 'The Australian Anti-War Movement and the International War Movement' at the National Anti-War Conference, 17-21 February 1971, held in Sydney. National Anti-War Conference program and pamphlet both in UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 57, file 20; ASIO Report No. 2378/71, 11 March 1971, Goldbloom Vol. 10, NAA: A6119, 4495 f.127.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018. There was an earlier, abortive attempt in NSW to adopt the idea of a 'moratorium on 'business as usual'' by Stephen C. Bock (AICD), Brian Davies

holding a moratorium on the Vietnam war because it was a 'peaceful demonstration' and, therefore, it had 'a good name'.<sup>6</sup> A meeting of the CICD Executive on 22 October resolved that an interstate consultation to consider a national Moratorium Day was 'very desirable' and that leaders of the Trade Union Vietnam Committee, CDNS, SOS, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), religious bodies, and other Victorian peace groups 'should begin planning immediately'.<sup>7</sup> Lloyd was appointed by the CICD Executive to 'take action in the next few days to initiate a broad interstate consultation on future tactics, either in Sydney or in Melbourne'.<sup>8</sup> It should be emphasised, therefore, that the CICD mooted the idea for a national Moratorium Day, and initiated the interstate consultation in Canberra from which the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (VMC) was formed. In the following week, the CICD Executive considered arrangements for prominent members of the community – including the co-founder of the Liberal Reform Group, Gorton Barton, and Rev. Arthur Preston (Methodist), who were sympathetic to the anti-Vietnam War movement – to sponsor the campaign.<sup>9</sup> Six days later, a meeting of the CICD Executive on 5 November also considered approaching Labor parliamentarians for their support and, therefore, agreed that the interstate consultation for a Moratorium Day should be arranged to coincide with the first two days of Parliament, in Canberra.<sup>10</sup>

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(UNSW Campaign for Conscience) and Chris Humphries (NUAUS), who called on university staff and students to hold a general strike on 14 October 1969, the day before, and in light of the first US Moratorium march. 'Vietnam Moratorium', *Tharunka*, 14 October 1969:17. Instead, a UNSW rally was organised and postponed until after the November exam period, on 15 December 1969 and a special UNSW committee was formed to help organise the first national Moratorium. 'December Mobilisation', *Tharunka*, 4 November 1969:8; 'Vietnam Moratorium', *Tharunka*, 24 February 1970:4.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>7</sup> CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 22 October 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 29 October 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3. For an early list of Victorian sponsors which included all Victorian Labor MP's, the Victorian Council of Churches, the Melbourne Unitarian Church, Catholic Val Noone and over 70 other individuals, see: CICD Newsletter, December 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>10</sup> CICD Minutes, Committee Meeting, 5 November 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; ASIO Report No. 42/70, 20 January 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.119; CICD membership was notified that initial plans were underway before the Canberra meeting in early November, CICD Newsletter, November 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

## Canberra Consultation, 25-26 November 1969

The two-day Canberra consultation beginning on the 25 November was held at the National Memorial Methodist Church in Forrest, Canberra.<sup>11</sup> For convening the Canberra meeting, Dickie was appointed chairman and Lloyd, the minute secretary.<sup>12</sup> The Canberra consultation was attended by some 50 individuals from SA, NSW, ACT, Queensland and Victoria, representing fraternal State peace bodies, anti-war supporters, anti-conscription groups, trade unionists, student bodies and ten members of the Federal Parliament.<sup>13</sup> CICD Executive members Dickie, Lloyd, Goldbloom and Rothfield and Committee member Bill O'Brien (ARU), led the Victorian delegation. They were joined by SOS members, Jean McLean and Jo [Joanna] MacLaine-Cross who purportedly only 'found out by accident' about the meeting.<sup>14</sup> Laurie Carmichael Jr, an Amalgamated Engineering Union(AEU) member, whose father was now State Secretary of the AEU and a member of the National Committee of the CPA, also attended the interstate meeting.<sup>15</sup> Whether the 21-year-old Carmichael was an official delegate is unclear; he flew to Canberra to present a conscientious objector's petition to the new Minister for Labour and National Service, Billy Sneddon.<sup>16</sup>

Overall, attempts were made by the fraternal State peace committees to invite a diversity of interested bodies to the initial planning meeting for a Moratorium Day. However, the Victorian delegation attended without a student representative. Whether the CICD consciously excluded the student groups' involvement is unclear. When asked, Lloyd suggested that it was probably 'an oversight', he said the meeting was organised 'in a hurry' and the initial plans evolved quickly. Lloyd conveyed the feeling that the CICD was eager to

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<sup>11</sup> CICD Agenda, Committee Meeting, 3 Dec 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1; ASIO Report No. 59/70, 21 January 1970; see also Minutes of National Consultation, Canberra, 25 November 1969, both in Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.121; 112-113, respectively.

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of National Consultation, Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.112-113.

<sup>13</sup> 'VMC, List of Persons Present at the Canberra Consultation, 25 November 1969', UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 57, file 19. For references to numbers in attendance including the Federal members see: CICD Circular, 28 November 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; CICD Newsletter, December 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>14</sup> 'The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation', [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.59.

<sup>15</sup> CICD member A. Brooks also attended. 'VMC, List of Persons Present at the Canberra Consultation, 25 November 1969', UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 57, file 19.

<sup>16</sup> 'NS Objector's Note Ignored', *Canberra Times*, 26 November 1969:14. Carmichael Jr was expected to report to the Watsonia barracks on 25 November. His call-up notice was among those burned ten days earlier by Labor MP's at a Melbourne protest march sponsored by the CICD. 'Politicians Set Fire to Draft Cards', *Canberra Times*, 17 November 1969:3.



catch the wave of rising opposition against the Vietnam War.<sup>17</sup> Ten days before the Canberra meeting, the second successful Moratorium demonstration was conducted in the US on 15 November, while in Melbourne a single column of 325 persons, each carrying a placard with the name of the Australian soldier killed in Vietnam, led a protest march of some 600.<sup>18</sup> Within days, harrowing reports of US war crimes connected with the My Lai massacre had begun to circulate.<sup>19</sup>

Practical considerations may have also affected attendance. With one exception, students at the Canberra consultation were mainly locals from the ACT, while Tasmania and WA were not represented at all.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, it would prove to be a point of contention for the collective student group in the Victorian campaign which would challenge the legitimacy of the Canberra meeting. *Farrago* editorialised that ‘no students [sic] motions [were] passed’ at the consultation controlled by the CICD and its fraternal organisations.<sup>21</sup> Their suspicions were compounded by the Canberra consultation’s adoption of a conditional clause that specified that ‘all actions taken’ in the name of the Moratorium campaign ‘would be of a peaceful, non-violent nature’.<sup>22</sup> Most notably, Darce Cassidy (MLC) later explicitly accused the CICD of ‘deliberately’ excluding the MLC, Worker Student Alliance (WSA) and the VCC from the initial meeting.<sup>23</sup> The decisions taken during the consultation were, for the most part, accepted and implemented in the first Moratorium and, therefore, should be noted. The following is based on the official minutes of the Canberra meeting.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>18</sup> The second US Moratorium and the joint CICD/AICD-sponsored march titled, ‘Vietnam: An Act of Conscience to End the War,’ were both conducted as part of ‘The Day of International Mobilisation to End the War, November 15’, see CICD Newsletter, November 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 22, file 10.

<sup>19</sup> ‘US Officers Accused, Witness Tells of Massacre’, *Canberra Times*, 18 November 1969:5; ‘Combined Probe into Massacre’, *Age*, 20 November 1969.

<sup>20</sup> Lynne Arnold of the Adelaide University Quaker and Pacifist Society was the only interstate student to participate. Four students attended from ACT and one from NSW: three represented the Australian National University’s (ANU) Labor Club, one represented the ANU’s SDS and there was one student from the University of NSW. ‘VMC, List of Persons Present at the Canberra Consultation, 25 November 1969’, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 57, file 19.

<sup>21</sup> ‘The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation’, [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.59.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of National Consultation, Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.112-113.

<sup>23</sup> Cassidy, ‘The Worker-Student Alliance and the Anti-War Movement’, c.1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>24</sup> Minutes of National Consultation, Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.112-113.

The first decision made by the national consultation concerned the form and organisational structure of the campaign. It was in part, 'to hold a national Moratorium activity early in 1970 [and] that its shape and content be determined by each participating State'.<sup>25</sup> While each State would determine the character and form and manage the finances of its own campaign, the consultation also agreed 'that the emphasis of the action be on unity'.<sup>26</sup>

Consequently, the consultation established a national coordinating committee, based in NSW.<sup>27</sup> It was recommended that each State, including Tasmania and WA, establish a committee and appoint a convenor to keep in close contact with the national body. The meeting agreed that 'close consultation between States through the national coordinating committee [wa]s essential to ensure the (sic) maximum cohesion in the Moratorium activity'.<sup>28</sup> The concept of a central unifying body and unity in action was consistent with the CICD's *modus operandi*. Lloyd was appointed State convenor for Victoria and, similarly, State-appointed convenors were representatives of the fraternal State committees or established peace bodies.<sup>29</sup> From the perspective of the consultation, it was apparent that the national Moratorium campaign would be managed by the CICD and fraternal peace committees in each State operating under the aegis of a national coordinating body.

In keeping with the concept of a national campaign, the consultation initially agreed that the focus of action for the Moratorium campaign should be on 18 April and the surrounding weekend. The date was later amended to 8-10 May, and the Victorian Moratorium accepted the amendment to maintain the national character of the campaign. To further emphasise unity of action the consultation stipulated the aims of the campaign: 'the withdrawal of Australian and all other foreign troops from Vietnam and the repeal of the National Service Act'.<sup>30</sup> The meeting also stipulated that 'appropriate slogans' must be consistent with these aims and should be submitted for consideration to the national coordinating Committee.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> National Coordinating Committee was comprised by Ken McLeod (CDNSA/ AICD), Dr Alex Carey, Senior Lecturer Psychology (UNSW) and Pat Sayers (CDNSA/ AICD). Minutes of National Consultation, Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.112-113.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The appointed convenors for the other States who were present at the consultation were Norma Chalmers, (QPCICD); Geoff Anderson, (AICD); and Prof. Medlin, Flinders University of the Camp for Peace in Vietnam. The meeting agreed to approach Labor Senators, Justin O'Byrne (Tas) and John Murray Wheeldon (WA) and CPA member, Robin Gollan, from the ANU. Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Goldbloom helped draft a ‘sponsors’ statement’ supporting the dual aim and the ‘non-violence’ stipulation to be presented before a press conference the following morning, outside Parliament House.<sup>32</sup>

Prior to Goldbloom addressing the press conference, Dickie and Lloyd invited ALP parliamentarians to endorse the sponsors’ statement. All members except the Opposition Leader, Gough Whitlam, and his Deputy, Lance Barnard, signed.<sup>33</sup> Thereafter, radio and press statements indicated that a ‘Moratorium involving 500,000 participants would be held between 17-19 April’ and that it ‘would use all means of opposition short of violence’.<sup>34</sup> The media also reported that almost 70 Labor parliamentarians signed the statement, which included some 25 Senators and 43 Members of the House of Representatives.<sup>35</sup> Evidently, the organisers underestimated the campaign’s breadth. What is also apparent is that the non-violent position and aims intended for the Moratorium, already signed by the Labor politicians, were set prior to the establishment of Moratorium Committees in each state. Upon returning to Melbourne, the CICD leadership made arrangements in anticipation that the decisions of the Canberra consultation would be accepted and that the CICD would direct the Victorian Moratorium campaign.

### **First Victorian Moratorium Meeting**

In the run-up to the first Victorian Moratorium meeting on 9 December 1969, the CICD leadership prepared motions addressing the central aspects of the campaign, which it sought to control.<sup>36</sup> The leadership ‘offered to financially underwrite the VMC’ and administer all funds raised for the campaign ‘through the CICD machinery... at the direction of the Victorian organising Committee’.<sup>37</sup> The CICD was a well-resourced and established organisation with a centrally located office premise in the CBD and, therefore, it was well-

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<sup>32</sup> The consultation appointed Goldbloom; Prof. Brian Medlin, Flinders University SA; Simon Townsend; and Qld Peace Committee Secretary, Norma Chalmers to prepare the statement of aims, *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> According to Lloyd, Whitlam and Barnard ‘were happy’ for the Caucus members to sign, but thought it was probably ‘not appropriate’ for the leader and Deputy leader to do so. Interview with John Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Group Plans Moratorium’, *Canberra Times*, 26 November 1969:3; Telex to ASIO HQ from Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.107.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Moratorium Sponsored by Labor Members’, *Canberra Times*, 27 November 1969:9; see also Telex to ASIO HQ from Canberra, 25 November 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.107.

<sup>36</sup> CICD Agenda, Committee meeting, 3 December 1969 and Minutes CICD Committee meeting, 3 December 1969, both in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>37</sup> CICD Agenda, Committee Meeting, 3 Dec 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

placed to manage the administrative aspects of the campaign. However, the CICD also expected to be strongly represented in the proposed organising committee. Accordingly, the leadership also recommended that it constitute 50 per cent of a fourteen-member Executive body to give it veto power over decisions.<sup>38</sup>

To ensure that its proposals would be accepted, the CICD circularised its membership to attend the 9 December meeting and urged it to also endorse the sponsors' statement signed by the Labor parliamentarians.<sup>39</sup> Some sections of the anti-war movement anticipated that the CICD would contrive to dominate the campaign and claimed that the meeting had been 'selectively advertised'.<sup>40</sup> Given their mounting disquiet, the first Victorian meeting promised to be a fiery collision between the CICD and particular elements of the broader coalition movement.

The primary meeting of the Victorian Moratorium on 9 December was held at *La Caprice* restaurant in Collins Street.<sup>41</sup> An estimated 120 people participated in the meeting which was convened by Lloyd. Lloyd recalled his surprise when he stated that 'the place just overflowed with people out on the footpath'.<sup>42</sup> Lloyd's surprise and the CICD's choice of venue – a boutique-style café restaurant with two street umbrellas, rather than a municipal or church hall – suggest that the proposal to hold a moratorium on Vietnam attracted significant interest beyond the CICD's expectations.<sup>43</sup>

At the meeting, chaired by Jim Cairns, the sponsors' statement supporting the twin aims of the campaign and the non-violent clause were accepted without challenge.<sup>44</sup> However, a series of motions put by a Melbourne University student and representative on the VCC executive, Harry Van Moorst (SDS), strongly objected to the CICD's offer to assume the

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> CICD Circular 28 November 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 45 1969-1970.

<sup>40</sup> 'The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation', [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.59.

<sup>41</sup> 'Plan for Involvement', *Canberra Times*, 10 December 1969:8; CICD Newsletter, December 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>43</sup> For the exterior view of La Caprice Restaurant in Collins Street see, Wolfgang Sievers, '[Passers-by at] Collins Street, Melbourne, 1964' [picture], <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-160948004>; Wolfgang Sievers, 'Collins Street from No. 9 towards Spring Street, Melbourne, 1964', [picture], <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-160948724>.

<sup>44</sup> Minutes of Meeting Called by John Lloyd, Caprice Restaurant, Tuesday 9 December 1969, CICD 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

central role in the campaign.<sup>45</sup> Despite such moves, the CICD had the numbers and the SDS-led motions lapsed. The centre of operation would be in the CICD's office and it would manage the financial aspects of the campaign.

However, contrary to the CICD's expectations, its proposal to comprise 50 per cent of the executive failed when the meeting elected a Provisional Committee diminishing the CICD's control. Only four CICD members were elected to the 17-member temporary decision-making body for the Victorian VMC.<sup>46</sup> Given that the CICD was strongly represented at the meeting, it raises the question of how this eventuated. According to Jean McLean (SOS) and John Layfield (VCC), who both attended the meeting, CPA leaders, John Sendy and Laurie Carmichael Snr, as well as Cairns were instrumental. The following is based on an intercept report of McLean and Layfield's conversation regarding the meeting.<sup>47</sup>

McLean and Layfield both felt that they did 'very well for their own groups considering the [CICD] numbers that were against them'. Both agreed that CPA leaders Sendy and Carmichael 'stuck up for them' and Layfield thought that 'this was indicative of how the message got through'. They commented that the 'CICD had tried to organise the meeting in such a way so as to bulldoze the whole thing - but this did not happen, and Jim [Cairns] handled it b[loody] well.' Goldbloom 'got such a shock at how the meeting ended up - it was not at all like he had expected - and he got really bitchy at the end of it - to everyone'. Goldbloom's reaction suggests that the CICD assumed that CPA leadership and Cairns would support its proposals, rather than use their influence to counter them.

McLean and Layfield anticipated the CICD's attitude at the meeting and the CPA officials, as well as Cairns, evidently shared their concerns. The CICD's less-than-democratic tendencies were by then well-known. As noted in Chapter 5, the CPA leadership was involved in replacing Goldbloom as CICD secretary because of his fraught relationship with sections of

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<sup>45</sup> Dave Nadel (MLC) was also a student representative on the VCC Executive Committee, *Viet Protest News*, No.19 December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 1967-1968.

<sup>46</sup> The 17-member provisional Committee was comprised by Jim Cairns MHR, Jean McLean (SOS), Laurie Carmichael Snr (AEU), James Newell (Society of Friends), John Phillip Ryan (*Catholic Worker*), L. Hedley, Peter David Butcher (MLC), Harry Van Moorst, Ted Poulton and Michael Maher (SDS), David Hudson (VCC), draft resister Tony Dalton, the CICD's Dickie, Lloyd, Roger Wilson, and Rev. Stan Moore (Unitarian Church), Minutes of Meeting called by John Lloyd, Caprice Restaurant, Tuesday 9 December 1969, CICD 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>47</sup> Intercept Report, 10 December 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.109; copy in Jean McLean [hereafter, McLean] Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.115.

the anti-war movement. McLean and Layfield's comments add further insight into the complex and tangled nature of the peace movement in the late 1960s.

They complicate a view which tends to focus on the dialectical tension in the political left between the moderate and the radical militants in the movement. While differences in the movement can be generally delineated between these divergent positions, the reality is more nuanced. Within the diverse groups a range of views along the political left spectrum existed, but there was also some crossover in membership.<sup>48</sup> While Albert Langer was arguably the most conspicuous radical in the Maoist MLC, the increasingly radical VCC comprised a variety of attitudes towards militancy.<sup>49</sup> Most notably, VCC Vice President, Keith Stodden, supported non-violent direct action and he was at the time (and still is) a member of the CICD.<sup>50</sup>

The critical point is that neither those associated with the radical militants, nor those broadly associated with the moderate camp, accepted CICD domination of the VMC. The consensus in the movement was that the CICD intended to control it. This consensus was confirmed by an ASIO informant present at the December meeting:

At the inaugural meeting of the VMC (Victoria), on 9 December, leading CPA National Committee members, J. Sendy and L. Carmichael attacked the legitimate peace body, the CICD, for attempting to monopolise 'peace activities' in Victoria. This statement evinced considerable student support, particularly in view of the fact that many radical youth organisations had not been invited to the 'National Consultation'.<sup>51</sup>

Thus, CPA leaders openly criticised the CICD for attempting to dominate the Victorian campaign, and the radical students applauded them for it. Although the CPA leaders were 'sticking up' for the broader movement by leading the attack, they were not motivated solely by the anti-war groups' concerns. CPA leaders also felt that the CICD intentionally sidelined

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<sup>48</sup> Conversation with Ken Mansell, 17 June 2019.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. On Langer see: 'Accused of Misconduct on NLF Aid', *Canberra Times*, 9 September 1967:3; 'Two for Trial After 'Riot' Hearing', *Canberra Times*, 3 August 1968:9; 'NLAUS Refuses to Pay Langer's Fine', *Canberra Times*, 25 August 1969:3; 'Monash Meeting Over Barred Student', *Canberra Times*, 2 March 1970:3.

<sup>50</sup> Regarding Keith Stodden's ongoing involvement in the CICD, APC and similar activist organisations from 1952-1984, see Stodden Vols. 1-3, NAA: A6119, 5691-5693.

<sup>51</sup> VMC April/May 1970, ASIO Report No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, Vietnam Moratorium Campaign 1970 Part 1(hereafter, VMC 1970 Part 1), NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.24.

the CPA by neglecting to consult with it prior to the Canberra consultation.<sup>52</sup> Carmichael commented privately to CPA National Committee member, Bernie Taft, 'we had been ignored...in November when they [the CICD] went to Canberra to see the politicians'.<sup>53</sup> For Carmichael, the decisions made by the Canberra consultation were in anticipation of the ALP's support and the CICD's control of the Victorian campaign. That Carmichael made the comment almost five months later, after the first Moratorium in May 1970, underscores the depth of his conviction that the CICD had deliberately excluded the CPA from the preliminary arrangements.

For the CPA leadership, the CICD's attitude was contrary to the growing trends in the anti-war movement in Australia and, as noted in Chapter 5, Bernal's assessment that the WPC's notion of a monolithic peace movement had become untenable. Officially, the WPC encouraged diversity and breadth through an increasingly decentralised peace movement, with particular reference to the Moratorium campaigns in both US and Australia.<sup>54</sup> The CPA was moving in a parallel direction by adopting a less doctrinaire and more inclusive attitude towards the peace movement. Thus, Sendy and Carmichael's attitude was consistent with the CPA's commitment to broadening the scope of the national Moratorium campaign.

On 28 January 1970, a CPA National Executive meeting agreed that the VMC must be 'non-exclusive in character [so that] every group and organisation can be represented in decision-making and make its own contribution'.<sup>55</sup> Several weeks later, Sendy, Carmichael and Taft conveyed similar sentiments in the following statement. It declared, in part, that the Moratorium campaign should involve

the most varied activities, centralised and decentralised, advanced and less advanced.... [and it] should give the opportunity for all sections to express their support of the aims of the campaign in ways suited to their own outlook and

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Conversation between Bernie Taft and Laurie Carmichael Snr on 22 May 1970. Intercept Report NSW/W.750/115, 27 May 1970, Leslie Norman Gallagher Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2653, f.136.

<sup>54</sup> On the WPC's general attitude to the anti-Vietnam War movement see Bill Gollan's report on the WPC's World Assembly for Peace held in Berlin between 21-24 June 1969, 'World Peace and National Liberation', *Tribune*, 16 July 1969:8. Regarding the WPC's support for the Australian Moratorium campaign, see the following article on WPC's Fifth Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, 28-30 March 1970, 'World Conference Backs Vietnam Moratorium Here', *Tribune*, 15 April 1970:3.

<sup>55</sup> See statement by the CPA National Executive, 28 January 1970 in 'Can Vietnam Wait?' – CPA Views on Moratorium Plans', *Tribune*, 4 February 1970:12.

aims... We seek to develop action... without in any way trying to impose our views and policy on other sections of the peace movement.<sup>56</sup>

The statement reflected the idea of encouraging breadth of participation above coherence of ideology. The CPA leadership's attitude towards the Moratorium was also premised on its concept of uniting all forces on the political left, including radical Maoists and the New Left. CPA leaders recognised in the VMC a working example of the 'coalition of the Left' policy adopted by the CPA in 1967 and enshrined in a 'Charter of Democratic Rights' – as part of its 'long-range' goal towards an independent, national form of socialist democracy.<sup>57</sup> Under Laurie Aarons' leadership since mid-1965, an influential section of the CPA, which included Taft and Sendy, were inspired by the Italian example of 'national communism' and began moving towards an independent 'Australian path to socialism', which was committed to democratic liberties.<sup>58</sup> Taking advantage of the mood in the international communist movement precipitated by Khrushchev's revelations at the CPSU 20<sup>th</sup> Congress in 1956, the Yugoslav model and then the Sino-Soviet split in 1963, the CPA in 1967 rejected the subordination of the Party to the Soviet principle of one monolithic world communist movement. According to Taft, the new CPA Charter was an inclusive concept which 'challenged communist dogmas and abandoned the idea of single-party rule'.<sup>59</sup> Published during the 'Prague Spring' in early 1968, the CPA National Executive urged its members to 'consider' the Charter as an equally 'inspiring contribution to the development of socialist democracy' with that of Dubcek's 'socialist humanism'.<sup>60</sup> The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 demonstrated the limits of social democratic reform, and in keeping with the CPA Charter, the CPA National Secretary denounced the Soviet action for

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<sup>56</sup> 'Make Moratorium Broad, Militant, Say Leading Communists', *Tribune*, 18 March 1970:4.

<sup>57</sup> See Statement of CPA 21st National Congress, 'Congress Charts Way Forward Communists For 'Left Coalition'', *Tribune*, 14 June 1967: 1;12 and *Tribune*, 21 June 1967:11-12. See also Sendy's report to the Victorian State Conference ahead of the National Conference, 'Coalition Signalled by Change, Says Sendy', *Tribune*, 24 May 1967:12. See also: Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 150-152, Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 230-231.

<sup>58</sup> Davidson, *The Communist Party of Australia*, 165-166; Jon Piccini, 'Marxism and New Histories of Human Rights: The Australian Experience', *Legal Form, A Forum for Marxist Analysis of Law*, 2018, 4, <https://legalform.blog/2018/12/21/marxism-and-new-histories-of-human-rights-the-australian-experience-jon-piccini/>; see also Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 150-152.

<sup>59</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 152. See also Jon Piccini, 'More Than an Abstract Principle': Reimagining Rights in the Communist Party of Australia 1956-1971, *Journal of Australian Studies* Vol. 39(2) 2015, 208-210.

<sup>60</sup> 'Democratic Charter', *Tribune*, 3 April 1968:12; Statement by the National Executive of the CPA, 'Czech Changes an 'Inspiring Contribution'', *Tribune*, 17 April 1968:9. See also Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 153; 'The Face of Socialism', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:6.



contravening the socialist democratic principle of national self-determination.<sup>61</sup> This put the CPA leadership at odds with the CPSU and stalwart supporters of the Soviet Union within the CPA and the CICD.<sup>62</sup> As previously indicated by Rothfield in Chapter 3, pro-Soviet supporters within the CPA took a strong stance in defence of the Soviet actions. CICD committee member and future secretary, Pauline Mitchell, for instance, later helped form the breakaway Socialist Party of Australia (SPA).<sup>63</sup> More recently, the CICD's continued connection to the pro-Soviet WPC despite the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia was indicated by an Executive meeting on 18 March 1970. It agreed that Hartley should

present a letter to the [WPC] indicating our [the CICD's] willingness to act as hosts if [a WPC] delegation should come to Victoria...[and] get in touch with the Soviet Peace Committee to inquire if [the Russian poet, Yevgeni] Yevtuchenko, would be available to visit Australia during the Moratorium Campaign.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> 'Why Communists Condemn Czechoslovak Occupation', *Tribune*, 28 August 1968:1.

<sup>62</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 191; 250-252. As noted in Chapter 3, Hartley defended the Soviet intervention while Goldbloom was generally reluctant to criticise the Soviet Union, see f.n. 257; 262, pp.148; 149.

<sup>63</sup> The SPA was formed under the leadership of acting federal secretary of the Building Workers Industrial Union and member of the ACTU, Patrick Martin Clancy in December 1971. 'A Tale of Two Cities', *Tribune*, 24 November 1971:10; Patrick M. Clancy, 'The Formation of the Socialist Party of Australia' in *Communists and the Labour Movement National Conference, Melbourne, 22-24 August 1980*, 1-7. <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/objects/pdf/a000607.pdf>; see also Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 243. Pauline Mitchell was a founding member of the SPA Victorian branch and elected to the Executive Committee. ASIO Report No. 441/75, 26 May 1975, Pauline Dorothy Mitchell Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 7009, f.117. Mitchell remained faithful to the SPA, which was renamed 'CPA' at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress in October 1996 after the CPA dissolved in 1991. Pauline Mitchell, Obituary, *Guardian Worker's Weekly*, 27 March 2013, <https://www.cpa.org.au/guardian/2013/1587/03-obituary-pauline-mitchell.html>; *Constitution of the CPA*, [1992] 2017, [https://cpa.org.au/resources/cpa-doc-current/cpa-constitution-adopted-1992-amended\\_2017.pdf](https://cpa.org.au/resources/cpa-doc-current/cpa-constitution-adopted-1992-amended_2017.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> Hartley was leaving for overseas over the Easter period and was asked to inform the CICD immediately if Yevtuchenko could come to Australia. Minutes CICD Executive Meeting, 18 March 1970, Rothfield Vol. 5, NAA: A6199, 4887, f. 25. Yevtuchenko was a staunch anti-Stalinist who criticised both Nazi and Russian anti-Semitism in his 1961 poem, 'Babi Yar'. However, he revised a few of the lines of the poem to 'de-emphasise the Jewish martyrdom at Babi Yar', after it was criticised by Khrushchev. For some, Yevtuchenko embodied the hope of a freer Russia, but for others he was a "pseudo-liberal" and a hack apologist, who evaded the same fate as his fellow Russian writers in exile by toeing the Kremlin line. 'Golden Boy of Poetry', *NY Times*, 8 July 1971:2. See also Robert Conquest, 'The Sad Case of Yevgeny Yevtushenko', *NY Times*, 30 September 1973:248, Daniel McLaughlin, 'West Awakes to Yevtushenko', *The Irish Times*, 17 July 2004:56; Michael Kort, *A Brief History of Russia* (NY: *Facts on File*, 2008), 206-207. *United States of America Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 89<sup>th</sup> Congress Second Session*, Vol. 112, Part 1, 26 January 1966:1147.

The WPC was evidently important to CICD leadership and hoped to take advantage of the upcoming Moratorium to strengthen its connection with the WPC and its affiliated Soviet members. Thus, as the Moratorium campaign had begun to take shape in early 1970, the CPA was contending with further internal division while it pursued a seemingly democratic and inclusive approach to the Moratorium campaign, in line with current CPA policy. It would be reasonable to conclude that the CPA's attitude, its antipathy to the CICD generally, and to Goldbloom in particular, had much to do with the Party's break with the CPSU. The CPA now advocated the free expression of ideas, and eschewed blind acceptance of ideological dogma. It considered the CICD's commitment to the CPSU, its strong aversion to the pro-Maoist left and determination to retain a controlling leadership role within the broader peace movement as weakening its status in the peace movement. Therefore, not only did the leadership of the CPA want to be seen to be putting some distance between itself and the CICD, it also sought to take advantage of this weakness in order to subvert, or at least restrain the CICD's influence over the Moratorium campaign.

Sendy, Carmichael and Taft's statement on the Moratorium continued:

We oppose any watering down of the movement to the level of the least advanced section, we are unequivocally opposed to ... restrictions on militant action on the plea of the breadth of the movement ... Today the movement needs to be made more militant, yet it needs to involve many more people. Of course, militant action must be of a kind which enlarges the ranks of the militants...it must not lead to isolating the militants.<sup>65</sup>

The statement gave qualified support to militancy. It suggested that industrial stoppages, draft defiance and the call to soldiers in Vietnam to 'refuse to obey' orders, would unify the forces.<sup>66</sup> By implication, it did not support more radical and violent forms of protest which carried the risk of alienating the wider public support. Therefore, the CPA could be broadly regarded as being aligned with the moderate left of the campaign. The statement represented an attempt to strike a mutually satisfactory balance between the divergent approaches to militancy and encouraging breadth in the movement. Consequently, at meetings of the VMC in the lead up to 8 May, in which leading communists were prominent, the diverse positions

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<sup>65</sup> 'Make Moratorium Broad, Militant, Say Leading Communists', *Tribune*, 18 March 1970:4.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

on tactics and politics were allowed expression and proposals were debated and decided by majority vote.

### **The VMC Provisional Committee**

At the first VMC Provisional Committee meeting on 16 December, the SDS-led motions that had been defeated a week earlier, were now adopted by the diversely represented Committee. Prior to the meeting, CICD's opponents had invested 'many hours' talking to others in the Committee and at meetings of other anti-war groups, to consolidate support for their demands.<sup>67</sup> They called for a mass meeting of all interested groups to elect a permanent organising Committee, a new treasurer and a new Post Office box, independent of the CICD.<sup>68</sup> The decisions extinguished any hopes the CICD may have had for Executive control and its previously accepted offer to administer the financial aspects of the campaign. On finances, the motion overturned the 9 December decision, which accepted the CICD's proposal to 'financially underwrite' the campaign and administer funds.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, management of the VMC account was transferred from the CICD to independent treasurers.<sup>70</sup>

Rather than seeing the development as a win for the militant left, it signalled a general move towards a more inclusive campaign that was reflective of the political mood of the broader movement, which included elements of the Old Left. The Provisional Committee conveyed 'the hope ... that a very representative and broadly-based organising Committee' would be elected at the meeting on 1 February.<sup>71</sup> In keeping with this desire, the Provisional Committee appointed a five-member, temporary drafting committee comprising Lloyd, Carmichael Snr, Cairns, the chairman of the editorial board of the *Catholic Worker*, John Phillip Ryan, and a Swinburne Technology student, Ted Poulton (SDS).<sup>72</sup> The small committee was tasked with

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<sup>67</sup> 'The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation', [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.59.

<sup>68</sup> The meeting was held at the Presbyterian Assembly Hall. Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 16 December 1969. The appointed treasurers were Labor Members of the Legislative Assembly, Arthur Clarey and Jim Simmonds, VMC letter to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, 2 April 1970, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>69</sup> CICD Agenda, Committee Meeting, 3 Dec 1969, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 1.

<sup>70</sup> Minutes, CICD Executive meeting, 25 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>71</sup> The Committee had not yet confirmed whether the 1 February meeting would be held at the Richmond Town Hall or Melbourne University. Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 16 December 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>72</sup> Neither Ryan, who was also an academic (Senior Lecturer of Mathematics at the University of Melbourne), nor Carmichael were present when they were appointed to the drafting Committee. Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 16 December 1969; VMC Circular 18 December

composing a notification letter and an extensive mailing list to convene the 1 February meeting.<sup>73</sup> A month later, over 2000 invitations had been circularised to individuals and organisations.<sup>74</sup> Four days before the meeting, invitations were re-circulated to ensure maximum participation at the first mass public VMC meeting at Richmond Town Hall.<sup>75</sup>

### **Sponsors Meeting, February 1970**

The 1 February meeting at the Richmond Town Hall was attended by either 300 or 400 people, depending on the account.<sup>76</sup> It was primarily convened to invite financial endorsement for the twin aims of the campaign. Therefore, it was initially referred to as the ‘sponsors’ meeting’ before it retrospectively became known as the first VMC Richmond Town Hall meeting.<sup>77</sup> The mass public Richmond Town Hall meetings, which became a subsidiary decision-making body synonymous with the VMC, were symbolic of the movement’s collective desire to encourage broad-based participatory democracy. Thus, the February Richmond Town Hall meeting aimed to achieve collective agreement on the structure of the executive body and the scope of activities for the campaign.

However, the militants associated with the Labor Clubs and the WSA consolidated support for their position at a meeting of the CPA(M-L)-led Builders Labourer Federation (BLF) five days earlier, on 27 January.<sup>78</sup> Forewarned of the manoeuvre, the CPA urged its membership

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1970, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970. For Ryan’s outlook on the Vietnam War and the Moratorium, see ‘Why I’ll Be Marching’, [extract] *Herald* (Melb.), 5 May 1970:4, UMA: CICD Papers 1959.0152, Box 34, file 13.

<sup>73</sup> They attended a meeting at Cairns’ home the following evening, on the 17 December, to draft a mailing list. Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 16 December 1969; VMC Circular 18 December 1970, both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>74</sup> Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 21 January 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.124.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.; VMC Circular, 27 January 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>76</sup> Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; ASIO Report No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.18. The following report estimated about 280 in attendance. Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.35.

<sup>77</sup> Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 16 December 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>78</sup> VMC April/May 1970, ASIO Report No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.18. The BLF under the leadership of Norman Leslie Gallagher CPA (M-L), supported the radical MLC and WSA groups. See for instance: ASIO Report, 29 January 1970, f.120-121; ASIO Report No 53/69, 13 January 1969, f.88, both in Leslie Norman Gallagher Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 2653.

to attend the meeting in order to ensure that it would have the numbers.<sup>79</sup> Broadly, these two groups were prominent at the meeting, which also illustrated the CICD's diminished influence over the campaign. Based largely on both the official Minutes of the February Richmond Town Hall meeting and a report by the Victoria District Police, some, but not all, of the decisions of the meeting were enacted by the first Moratorium and, therefore, should be noted.<sup>80</sup>

The initial speaker was Carmichael Snr, recently promoted to Assistant Federal Secretary of the AEU.<sup>81</sup> He moved that the campaign be led by a secretariat of five persons who convened the meeting, namely, Lloyd, Cairns, Ryan, Poulton and himself. By now Poulton was facing charges for inflicting 'malicious damage' to Commonwealth property to the value of \$11,000.<sup>82</sup> With Poulton representing the sole radical student delegate on the Secretariat, those broadly associated with the moderate wing of the campaign held the majority in the peak executive body. Moreover, through Cairns and Carmichael, the campaign maintained important links with both the ALP and CPA.

In addition to the Secretariat, Carmichael proposed that payment of a \$10 affiliation fee entitled each organisation, which accepted the aims of the campaign, to appoint one delegate to the Executive Committee.<sup>83</sup> The rationale was that all financially committed organisations could nominate one delegate to represent their views on the secondary decision-making body of the VMC's executive structure. The ensuing discussion on the proposal 'occupied nearly 1½ hours' during which Cassidy and fellow MLC members, Albert Langer and Peter

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<sup>79</sup> VMC April/May 1970, ASIO Report No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.18.

<sup>80</sup> Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.31-35. For a summary of the decisions, see also VMC Circular, signed by VMC Chairman J.F. Cairns, 5 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>81</sup> 'AEU Man Unopposed for New Job', *Tribune*, 4 February 1970:12.

<sup>82</sup> Poulton was arrested three weeks earlier on 8 January 1970 for his alleged involvement in smashing Commonwealth building windows on the evening following the 4 July 1969 demonstration and was due to face court to answer those charges on 4 February 1970, 'Young Anti-War Group Arrested at Gun-Point', *Tribune*, 14 January 1970:1. The Melbourne 'People's Liberation Army', a self-styled terrorist-type group claimed responsibility for causing the damage, which was intended to demonstrate their 'opposition to US imperialism and the futility of simple protest and legitimate dissent'. 'Stones Shatter 20 Consulate Windows', *Age*, 7 July 1969:3. Poulton was identified as an active member of the group, Intelligence Summary, 29 April 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.137.

<sup>83</sup> According to the following circular, it was anticipated that in turn, the general Committee would elect a representative Executive 'of about 21 persons', however, at the time, this was not clarified by Carmichael. VMC Circular, 27 January 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

Butcher, fought unsuccessfully to get a 31-strong Executive Committee elected from the floor.<sup>84</sup> Union worker, Dave Rubin, warned that the MLC students and the BLF ‘stacked’ the meeting with the intention of having ‘a large representation’ elected on the Executive.<sup>85</sup> Rubin was a member of the CPA (M-L)-led WWF and in 1968 he was charged with the ‘malicious wounding’ of a policeman while attempting to burn the US flag during the riotous 4 July demonstration.<sup>86</sup> By speaking out against the fellow militants, Rubin further underlines the political complexity of the movement. After the matter was hotly debated, Carmichael’s motion was finally accepted.<sup>87</sup>

Carmichael also proposed that the dates of the campaign be changed to the 8-10 May, ‘for the sake of maintaining national unity’.<sup>88</sup> Although Langer had ‘no strong objection’ to the proposed date, he asked that the meeting consider the May Day weekend as an alternative and urged that the decision be adopted tentatively, until all the states had decided.<sup>89</sup> Through his proposal, Langer vied to give the campaign a distinctly militant character. The amendment was taken as a procedural motion and carried.

Thus far, the VMC was provisionally poised to maintain unity with the national campaign and the Executive Committee would be a representative body of delegates from the affiliated organisations. Equally evident was the absence of a counter-proposal submitted by the CICD, regarding the Executive Committees’ composition. As a consequence of the meeting’s decisions, the CICD was officially represented by only one member of the Secretariat, and Goldbloom was nominated to represent the CICD’s views on the Executive Committee.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.35.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid, f.34-35.

<sup>86</sup> ‘Student Gaoled After Riots’, *Canberra Times*, 12 July 1968:3.

<sup>87</sup> According to the police report, 165 in voted in favour and 106 against. Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.34. However, the official minutes recorded that the maximum number voting at the meeting was 188 of the 400 in attendance. Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>88</sup> The VMC provisional Committee preferred not to change the original date but it was prepared to accept the revision for the sake of unity. Minutes of Temporary VMC Committee Meeting, 21 January 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.124.

<sup>89</sup> Contrary to what Carmichael suggested, Langer stated that Sydney had not yet decided on the date. Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>90</sup> CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 3 February 1970, UMA, CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

With the issue of the VMC's Executive structure settled, the collective student-led militant group gained significant ground during the remainder of the Richmond Town Hall meeting.

Although Goldbloom's motion to adopt Cairns as Chairman was unanimously accepted, he failed to have the meeting accept 'what he considered to be the appropriate action' to take during the Moratorium.<sup>91</sup> Instead, Cassidy successfully proposed that the main activity on Friday 8 May should involve a 'token occupation of some city streets for a reasonable period of time, being a minimum of three hours'.<sup>92</sup> The CICD felt discomfited by the proposed three-hour sit-down which could increase the potential for violence. Its reservations were heightened after the meeting accepted a series of proposals to amend the sponsors' statement of aims and, therefore, changing the tone of the VMC's intentions.

The motion to alter the sponsors' statement was put by Rod Quinn (VCC), an early Cold War activist and also a member of the CPA (M-L)-led BLF.<sup>93</sup> Quinn's motion was taken in two parts. First, each of the twin aims would be prefaced by the word 'immediate'.<sup>94</sup> Thereafter, the campaign would demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and the immediate repeal of the National Service Act. Secondly, the 'non-violence' clause would be removed.<sup>95</sup> According to an ASIO informant's report, the CPA and its allies were allegedly 'caught unawares' by the removal of the non-violent clause, which is to say that the CPA failed to anticipate the move to alter the sponsor's statement and its numbers had dwindled over the course of the four-hour long meeting.<sup>96</sup>

For the moderates in the campaign, the proposal to delete the non-violence clause was fraught with inevitable danger and failure. Secretariat member, John Phillip Ryan, encapsulated this

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<sup>91</sup> Victoria Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.33.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. The proposal stipulated that for the token occupation, it should include Bourke, Collins, Elizabeth and Swanston streets, Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>93</sup> During the early 1950s, Quinn spent six years working as an apprentice at the Midland Railway Workshops in West Australia, which he regarded the 'birth of [his] activism'. Bobbie Oliver, 'Shades of the Cold War: The Role of the Communist Workers at the Midland Railway Workshops', in Greg Patmore, John Shields, Nikola Balnave (eds.), *The Past is Before Us: The Ninth Labour History Conference 30 June-2 July 2005*, Sydney, Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, 2005:183. In 1968, Quinn represented the Vietnam Withdrawal Campaign. *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 1967-1968. See also Quinn's former partner, Jill Joliffe's, memoir, *Run for Your Life* (South Melbourne: Affirm Press, 2014).

<sup>94</sup> Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> VMC Background Brief No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f. 67.

concern when he argued that the non-violence clause should be kept ‘as a warning to the lunatic fringe to keep out, and not to create trouble’.<sup>97</sup> However, Quinn and his allies now had the numbers and remained resolute. Lloyd recalled his dismay at the contemptuous treatment Ryan received for having spoken out against the proposal.<sup>98</sup> Correspondingly, the police report noted that Ryan was vociferously ‘booed and hissed’ by Cassidy and his allies.<sup>99</sup> From Lloyd’s perspective, Ryan was a highly regarded member of the community with strong credentials in the peace movement, and like the CICD, should have been a respected figure of authority. However, Quinn argued that the inclusion of the non-violence clause would imply that protesters had previously been violent.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, and in keeping with a position he had articulated in 1968, Quinn also stated that demonstrators could not be expected to remain peaceful if ‘the tools of the Government, the Police Force, come and ride over us. We will meet violence with violence’.<sup>101</sup>

For the CICD, both the amended statement and the sit-down proposal were problematic. Each represented a position that the CICD believed would increase the probability of unintended, negative outcomes. Notwithstanding its misgivings about the three-hour sit-down, it thought that most people would consider the demand for an ‘immediate’, rather than a phased withdrawal, both irresponsible and unreasonable.<sup>102</sup> Most disconcertingly, it feared that by altering the non-violent position of the campaign, it could automatically invalidate the pledged sponsorship of 74 Labor MP’s and 600 others who already signed the statement, and deter potential supporters.<sup>103</sup> The CICD also correctly predicted that there would be significant public backlash. After learning about the sit-down decision and the removal of the non-violent clause, prominent government and community leaders accused organisers of

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<sup>97</sup> Victoria Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.32.

<sup>98</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018. Ryan was an active supporter of the anti-conscription and the ‘Free Zarb’ campaign. ‘Labor MP’s to Speak at Anti-Draft Rally’, *Tribune*, 19 February 1969:12; ‘Cairns Says would Refuse to Register for Service’, *Age*, 3 March 1969:3; ‘Tributes to Zarb’, *Tribune*, 24 September 1969:3.

<sup>99</sup> Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.32.

<sup>100</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>101</sup> Victoria District Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.32. For Quinn’s article on police intimidation and the Vietnam campaign, see: *Viet Protest News* No.19, VCC, December 1968, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 44 1967-1968.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*



planning for violence.<sup>104</sup> Notwithstanding the sensationalism of the press, a security report mirrored the CICD's concerns when it concluded:

There is considerable doubt, particularly in Melbourne...that the Campaign will be conducted without violence. The VMC (Victoria) specifically deleted the 'non-violence' phrase from its Sponsors' Statement and plans in Melbourne call for an 'occupation' of city streets which could readily lead to violence.<sup>105</sup>

The February Richmond Town Hall meeting illustrates the limits of the CICD's control over the campaign. By having failed to ensure that the sponsors' statement was officially adopted by the Victorian campaign, it brought into question the CICD's status as the state's leading peace group, despite its continued and deep commitment to the campaign.

### **No 'definite role' to play in the VMC**

Two days following the meeting, a CICD Executive meeting decided to issue press statements 'outlining that it is not the intention of the VMC Committee to create violence'.<sup>106</sup>

While it made clear that if violence occurred it was not at the behest of the organisers, the statement was indicative of the CICD's discomfiture with the amended sponsor's statement and the responsibility it continued to assume over the campaign, despite its weakened role.

In addition to the sit-down decision and the altered sponsor's statement, the Richmond Town Hall meeting accepted a further motion regarding the campaign's position. Albert Langer recommended that the Moratorium campaign should publicly 'encourage and welcome...any measures of support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people led by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF), against imperialist aggression'.<sup>107</sup> Langer's motion foreshadowed an attempt by the militant students to have the VMC officially adopt an

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<sup>104</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018. Violence 'in' for Protest on Viet', *Sun* (Melb.), 2 February 1970 in VMC Circular, 5 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; 'Dr Cairns on Perilous Path', *Herald* (Melb.), 26 March 1970 and 'Our Streets Aren't for Occupation', *Herald* (Melb.), 31 March 1970; 'Dangerous Protest', *Age*, 4 May 1970 all in J.F Cairns, *Silence Kills: Events Leading Up to the Vietnam Moratorium on 8 May* (Melbourne: VMC, 1970), 101-102; 104; 'Gorton Hits Labor Over Viet. March', *Age*, 28 March 1970:3; 'Dr Knox Lashes Protest March', *Age*, 20 April 1970:1.

<sup>105</sup> VMC Background Brief No. 5/70, 10 April 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.89.

<sup>106</sup> Minutes, CICD Executive Meeting, 3 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>107</sup> Minutes, VMC Richmond Town Hall Meeting, 1 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

explicitly anti-(US) imperialist stance and, more specifically, a position of support for South Vietnam's NLF.<sup>108</sup> Although the CICD supported the NLF and, moreover, Vietnam's struggle for national independence, the Canberra consultation, and by extension the CICD, strategically downplayed any blatant anti-US message in its sponsors' statement in order to attract a broad base of support and, moreover, to guarantee ALP endorsement for the campaign.

With the campaign proceeding along a very different path from that which the CICD had intended, the CICD reassessed its part in the Moratorium. In consideration of the decisions taken at the Richmond Town Hall meeting, CICD leadership was unsure whether it had a 'definite role' to play in the VMC.<sup>109</sup> However, what *was* clear was that the CICD was not the peak body of what was effectively a broader, diverse and less hierarchical movement. Despite the CICD's involvement in initiating over 20 local affiliated Moratorium Committee groups that appointed delegates to the Executive Committee, by March 1970 about 100 Melbourne-based groups were affiliated to the campaign.<sup>110</sup> By April it was alleged that 130 affiliated organisations were involved in planning the campaign, including more than a dozen trade unions and numerous church, student and political organisations.<sup>111</sup> In ASIO's estimation, 'the CICD continued to serve as a co-ordinating centre for a fairly decentralised activity being planned by suburban and country groups'.<sup>112</sup> The CICD fought hard to maintain what it considered its birthright as the State peak body, but ultimately was forced to adapt to the political realities of the time. As Lloyd later commented, 'we had to accept that that was how it was going to be'.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> VMC Background Brief No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA:1209, 1970, 6340, f.67; John Layfield, 'Report of 12 February VCC General Meeting and 19 February Executive Meeting' in VCC Circular February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>109</sup> CICD Minutes, Executive Meeting, 3 February 1970, UMA, CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>110</sup> For a list of 14 local peace Committees affiliated to the VMC see, ASIO Report No. 478/70, 24 March 1970, Norman Barron Rothfield Vol. 5, NAA: A6119, 4887, f.23; Letter from Lloyd, VMC Secretariat to Chairman, J. F. Cairns, 10 March 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; Minutes, CICD Committee Meeting, 1 April 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>111</sup> VMC Background Notes, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 6340, f.9; VMC Newsletter April 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>112</sup> VMC Background Brief No. 9/70 22 April 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.124.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

## The CICD's 'attitude' towards the VMC

However, a more accurate picture of the CICD's mindset would include the fact that Goldbloom outlined 'an attitude' to the VMC in a letter he presented to a CICD Executive meeting following the Richmond Town Hall meeting. According to the Minutes of the meeting, the Executive endorsed the letter and agreed that Lloyd 'should present a report of the VMC, outlining the tensions and points of view expressed in the letter', at a subsequent CICD local groups meeting at Willard Hall on 27 February.<sup>114</sup> Although Goldbloom's letter is not included in the records, one could reasonably assume that in it, Goldbloom articulated the CICD's sense of loss of control and alarm with the direction the VMC had taken. Moreover, it had misgivings about its executive structure.

The CICD recognised that the representativeness of the VMC Executive Committee was contingent upon whether the appointed delegates attended all scheduled decision-making meetings. This became evident at the first VMC Executive Committee meeting on 16 February. Four days earlier, a VCC meeting planned to have the VMC meeting adopt a motion to give equal prominence to the VCC policy 'to expose the US aggressor'.<sup>115</sup> Three delegates to the VMC meeting, Cassidy and two militant union workers would put and support the motion.<sup>116</sup> Although the CPA was forewarned of the manoeuvre and able to defeat the VCC-led motion, the CICD took measures to prevent future occurrences of this nature.<sup>117</sup> More specifically, Lloyd circularised all delegates before the next scheduled meeting to remind them to attend. It read:

The Congress [CICD] is very anxious that all affiliated groups attend all meetings of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign to assure continuous broad representation.<sup>118</sup>

The CICD outlined its attitude on the VMC's executive structure more explicitly in a report prepared by Lloyd. Although it was written in mid-1971, after the third Moratorium was held, it provides insight into the CICD's general thinking. It indicates that the CICD chafed against

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<sup>114</sup> CICD Minutes Executive Meeting, 25 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4.

<sup>115</sup> VCC Circular February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>116</sup> Unionists, Len Cooper (VCC) and John 'Bluey' Rutherford were the other two VMC delegates. Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> VMC Background Brief No. 3/70, 18 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA:1209, 1970, 6340, f.67.

<sup>118</sup> The circular concerned a VMC meeting on 2 March 1970. CICD Circular signed by Lloyd, 26 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 8, file 3/9.

the growing trends in the anti-war movement beyond the first Moratorium. Writing retrospectively on the limitations of the VMC's executive structure, Lloyd argued that the VMC Executive Committee 'cannot claim to be perfectly represented [if] a trade union with 50,000 members has one representative, whilst a local group with seven members has equal representation'.<sup>119</sup> Lloyd's objection should be viewed in consideration of a similar attitude expressed by CICD leadership, noted in Chapter 5, when Goldbloom emphasised in late 1968 that the CICD represented 1000 members and 'should have more to say' about the Vietnam campaign than the VCC or any other component group.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, Lloyd's report highlights the extent of the CICD's concerns about democratic processes and its desire to dominate the campaign.

Lloyd questioned the legitimacy of the claim that the large public Richmond Town Hall meetings were democratic. He regarded number stacking as one of the main 'setbacks' of the Richmond Town Hall meetings, given that

certain groups are at an advantage because they have the capacity to mobilize more easily than others, e.g., it is easy to mobilize people to attend a meeting from a university campus, but not so easy to organise people within a trade union to attend such a meeting.<sup>121</sup>

Lloyd, therefore, considered the mass public meetings undemocratic because students mobilised support more effectively and exploited the numbers strategy more successfully than other sections of the movement. As we have seen, the CICD was no stranger to this tactic, which it used at the first VMC meeting on 9 December.

### **Strength in numbers**

The CICD was not only ambivalent about aspects of the VMC's executive structure; it was also anxious about the lack of control it had over the campaign. Without executive control, an alliance with like-minded affiliates in the VMC was critical for the CICD. As we shall see,

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<sup>119</sup> A summary written by Lloyd was composed as a discussion starter to 'introduce the problems of the Moratorium structure' for a Richmond Town Hall Meeting on Friday, July 30 1971, John Lloyd, 'Structure of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign', c. mid-1971, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 46, Part 2, Peace 1970-1971.

<sup>120</sup> See f.n. 290, p. 270, Goldbloom was at a VCC general meeting on 21 November 1968, ASIO Report No. 63/69, 14 January 1969, Goldbloom Vol. 8, NAA: A6119, 4493, f.13-14.

<sup>121</sup> Lloyd, 'Structure of the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign', c. mid-1971, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 46, Part 2, Peace 1970-1971.

the CICD's approach to adapting to the current political realities meant working in cooperation with its allies to overturn or at least neutralize the controversial decisions adopted by the Richmond Town Hall meeting. Lloyd recalled that the VMC Executive 'took pretty seriously' the decisions of the Richmond Town Hall meetings.<sup>122</sup> However, the decisions taken at the 1 February 1970 meeting contained the proviso that it was 'subject to any change the Executive might make'.<sup>123</sup>

Thus, the CICD noted 'with pleasure' that discussions between the trade unions and the militant students were underway 'with a view to finding some positive role for the VMC'.<sup>124</sup> Although the CICD did not explicitly state which unions were involved, it is reasonable to assume that the Victorian Branch of the SUA was one of its strongest supporters.<sup>125</sup> With trade union officials acting as mediators, it illustrated the CICD's reliance on its allies in light of its diminished influence in the movement.

Others, like Bernie Taft, also shared CICD concerns that the militant left wanted to use the high moral ground of the campaign to demonstrate anti-imperialist sentiments and overt support for the NLF, rather than give support to more widely acceptable positions.<sup>126</sup> Taft considered that

whilst it was perfectly proper for every group to put forward its own views, it was obviously wrong and damaging to insist that the most extreme views be imposed on the whole movement. [He] argued strongly ... that to impose anti-imperialist aims and slogans on the moratorium movement would restrict its ability to grow and attract new forces.<sup>127</sup>

According to Taft, CPA leaders consciously prevented such 'extremist positions' from 'dominating the campaign'.<sup>128</sup> Thus, the CICD had allies in the campaign amongst influential members of the CPA, and the ALP.

The first VMC Circular dated 5 February and signed by Cairns signalled that the campaign would advance a broadly acceptable political position akin to its original intention, despite

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<sup>122</sup> Interview with Lloyd, 4 December 2018.

<sup>123</sup> Victoria Police Report VSD/68, 3 February 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: 1209, 1970, 6340, f.33.

<sup>124</sup> CICD Minutes Congress Meeting, 4 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>125</sup> The SUA Vic. Branch archival collection is replete with CICD correspondence newsletters and campaign material.

<sup>126</sup> Bernie Taft in Greg Langely, *A Decade of Dissent*, 128.

<sup>127</sup> Taft, *Crossing the Party Line*, 246.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

the amended sponsors' statement. Although the circular acknowledged changes to the sponsors' statement and advised that the non-violence clause had been removed, the document made no reference to the adoption of pro-NLF, anti-imperialist slogans. Instead it suggested that it would advance a moderate stance when it stated, 'we ask all citizens to work for these slogans [the twin aims of the campaign] and other slogans which support a broad Vietnam Moratorium Campaign'.<sup>129</sup> For the CICD there was some scope within the movement to repeal the decisions of the Richmond Town Hall meeting, despite opposition from the collective militant group.

Some militants were dissatisfied by the campaign's unwillingness to adopt what were essentially minority views in the VMC. The most notable illustrations were provided by the more militant of the WSA and VCC who maintained that the campaign should 'name the aggressor'.<sup>130</sup> Speaking on behalf of the WSA, Cassidy accused the campaign of having 'gagged' the anti-Western imperialist motion 'with the argument: 'Yes, we agree with you but you shouldn't say that here. You might scare away the [CICD] peace parsons'.<sup>131</sup> Cassidy implies here that the CICD peace parsons were symbolic of a bygone era that had lost its relevance and that minority views were being discarded for the sake of retaining breadth in the campaign.

Others also regarded the VMC's attitude undemocratic and decided to sever ties with the campaign. After failing to convince the VMC to give 'equal prominence' to the policy of 'exposing the US Government as the aggressor', the VCC withdrew its support from the campaign.<sup>132</sup> This decision was not reached unanimously.<sup>133</sup> Five of the nine VCC Committee members, including the militant, Rod Quinn, deeply regretted the decision and their sense of frustration was conveyed in the following way:

By deliberately refusing to support the Moratorium, the VCC has cut itself off from a movement which has the potential to organise the largest anti-war demonstrations in

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<sup>129</sup> VMC Circular, 5 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>130</sup> Darce Cassidy, writing on behalf of the WSA, outlined the groups' frustration with the Moratorium in 'The Worker-Student Alliance and the Anti-War Movement', n.d. c.1970. both in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; VCC Circular February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>131</sup> Cassidy 'The Worker-Student Alliance and the Anti-War Movement', c.1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>132</sup> VCC Circular February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>133</sup> The VCC motion to withdraw was carried with 4 in favour, 2 against and 3 abstentions, VCC Circular February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

Australia's history. The policy eventually adopted by the Moratorium (the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam) is a clear-cut demand for an end to interference in the Vietnamese people's affairs; there will be no restrictions on groups which wish to advance other slogans. To abstain from the Moratorium campaign on the grounds that its policy is not sufficiently 'militant' is a very serious mistake which unfortunately reflects on the increasingly sectarian attitudes of the few remaining supporters of the VCC.<sup>134</sup>

About a week after the VCC issued this statement the group officially lapsed.<sup>135</sup>

The CICD may have considered the VCC decision to withdraw from the VMC regrettable. Despite its uneasy alliance with the VCC, particularly after the violent 4 July 1968 demonstration, the CICD had long supported at least the *idea* of a broad-based anti-war coalition movement. The CICD would claim later and incorrectly that the Moratorium 'provided a new mass base for the anti-war struggle', and that despite 'the wide range of viewpoints and ideologies represented, not one organisation has withdrawn or disaffiliated'.<sup>136</sup> The split in the VCC was illustrative of the politically heterogeneous and volatile nature of the coalition movement. It was in this context that the CICD worked to build an alliance to help moderate the decisions of the Richmond Town Hall meeting. The decision to amend the proposed sit-down for the main demonstration on 8 May, and to explicitly reassert the non-violent intention of the campaign, were achieved through a series of strategic moves involving the CICD.

### **Towards a peaceful protest, March 1970**

The 2 March 1970 VMC Executive Committee meeting accepted three decisive proposals put either by Cairns or Carmichael. First, Cairns opened the meeting with a motion that 'one or

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<sup>134</sup> The following 'pamphlet' was signed under the following VCC Committee members names: Roger Holdsworth, David Hudson, John Layfield, Rod Quinn and Keith Stodden, VCC Circular, 11 March 1970; ASIO Report No. 726/70, 21 April 1970, Stodden Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 5692, f.72-73; 74.

<sup>135</sup> Although the VCC first considered folding in November 1969 because it felt that it was no longer an effective coordinating body, the decision to disband was made and effected by the 19 March VCC meeting. VCC 'Inter-Organisational Bulletin', 16 November 1969, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263, Box 45, Peace 1969-1970; VCC Circular, 22 March 1970; Minutes VCC Meeting, [19]22 March 1970, ASIO Report No. 705/70, 20 April 1970, both in Stodden Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 5692, f.70; 71. A copy of the VCC Circular is also available in NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45 1969-1970.

<sup>136</sup> CICD Secretary's Report 1969-1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 3, file 8.

two' deputy chairpersons be nominated and elected.<sup>137</sup> Goldbloom and McLean were respectively appointed 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> deputy chairperson by the meeting.<sup>138</sup> The move guaranteed that in the event of Cairns' absence, VMC meetings would be presided over by the moderate of the campaign, and that decisions were implemented according to the VMC's direction.

Second, the meeting carried a further motion drafted by Cairns, which was 'put forward' by Lloyd, declaring the VMC's stated intention:

The VMC wishes it to be known that its purpose is to provide a forum or means of action as an opportunity for any member of the community to express his opposition against Australia's participation in the attack on the Vietnamese people and his support for the termination of the war.<sup>139</sup>

With this, the Moratorium would be broadly representative and inclusive. The campaign would support widely acceptable decisions and actions to encourage breadth in the campaign, over and above minority views on the Vietnam issue.<sup>140</sup> Thus, this move provided the necessary framework to amend the proposed three-hour sit-down and for the VMC to return to its original, non-violent position.

Third, a motion was put and lost by Michael Hyde (MLC) to elect a sub-Committee 'to coordinate and organise' the main demonstration on 8 May.<sup>141</sup> Instead, an amendment put by Carmichael and carried by the meeting provided 'that the Secretariat act for the purpose of formulating recommendations for the Friday [8 May] afternoon action'.<sup>142</sup> Perhaps by way of compromise the Secretariat included a provision that additional delegates would be elected to help it formulate recommendations for the conduct of the main march.<sup>143</sup> However, the Secretariat devised a detailed guideline regarding its composition to make certain that it would be largely represented by friendly allies.

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<sup>137</sup> Minutes, VMC Meeting 2 March 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.159.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., f.158-159.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., f.159. For a copy of the statement, see VMC Newsletter, March 1970, attached to letter to SUA Victorian Branch Secretary, Bert Nolan, 2 April 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>140</sup> VMC Circular, 5 February 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>141</sup> Minutes, VMC Meeting 2 March 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.159-160

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> It is unclear exactly when the Secretariat made the recommendation that was presented at the following meeting. Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 10 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 72, file 25.



The election procedure for the proposed extended Secretariat was outlined in a report for a VMC Executive meeting a week later on 10 March 1970.<sup>144</sup> The Secretariat report specified which student and trade union anti-war bodies could convene a meeting in order to elect delegates, and the number of delegates per group; it was less concerned with ‘all other’ delegates.<sup>145</sup> It stated that Monash, La Trobe and Melbourne Universities would each convene a mass meeting to choose one delegate each. Monash University’s Peace Action Campaign and the Student Representative Councils representing the other two universities were assigned this task, rather than the militant Labour Clubs. Roger Wilson later commented that ‘part of the thinking’ was that the MLC should not be tasked to convene a meeting because it ‘didn’t represent all the Monash students’.<sup>146</sup> When it was suggested that the election procedure was intentionally devised to determine the character of its composition, he replied matter-of-factly, ‘well, yes’.<sup>147</sup> Wilson’s remarks illuminate how the selection method for the extended Secretariat was rationalised. The Trade Union Vietnam Committee in Victoria, under Secretary Fred Lack (Plumbers’ Union), would convene a meeting to elect three union delegates; one secondary student was to be chosen from each of the Students in Defiance and the Secondary Students Union.<sup>148</sup>

Additionally, the Secretariat resolved to extend the 5-member Secretariat with ‘an extra three persons’.<sup>149</sup> The Secretariat originally suggested drawing the additional members from the VMC regional groups, many of which were managed by known CICD members or their associates.<sup>150</sup> Instead, and according to Poulton, his new fellow Secretariat members were Goldbloom, McLean and Michael Hyde.<sup>151</sup> The three VMC regional group delegates were part of the extended Secretariat.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Conversation with Roger Wilson, 25 November 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 10 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 72, file 25.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> CICD members included Margaret Fraser, Dorothy Steel, Edmund DuVergier, Leslie Ebbels, and CICD associate, Bevan Ramsden. See list of contact names for the 12 VMC local groups covering at least 20 Melbourne suburbs attached with the Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 10 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 72, file 25.

<sup>151</sup> Edward Poulton, ‘Moratorium’, [extract] *Scrag* [journal of the Swinburne Technology New Left Society], 1 April 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.151.

<sup>152</sup> CICD’s records hold two lists concerning the extended secretariat which included three delegates representing the northern and eastern, southern and western regional VMC groups. One list is titled ‘Jean [McLean’s] copy’ and dated November 1972, the other is undated but they are almost identical

The election for the extended Secretariat was originally scheduled to take place during the 10 March VMC meeting, but it was postponed by the Secretariat until 29 March, in light of 'the urgent necessity to plan demonstrations in the event of an invasion of North Vietnam or the use of nuclear weapons, and because of the need to plan our April-May-June programme'.<sup>153</sup>

While these may have been legitimate concerns, the Secretariat appeared to have deferred the election deliberately to delay formulating more detailed recommendations before the subsequent VMC meeting. Eventually 15 people were chosen to assist the Secretariat, as amended.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, the following recommendations were presented to the 16 March VMC meeting for its consideration:

That the Friday [8 May] action in the city should commence in the Treasury Gardens at 2pm....From the Treasury Gardens the rally would proceed with a march to the city, where the token occupation of city streets will occur; ... that it [the Secretariat] proceeds to administer details of the Friday event in accordance with policy set by the Executive until or unless other arrangements become necessary; [and] that a press conference be given by the Chairman and Secretariat on Friday, 20 March (at approximately 4.30 p.m.) to outline the aims, objectives and procedural steps of the [VMC].<sup>155</sup>

The terms of the recommendations were broad and underlined the Secretariat's central role regarding the main demonstration. Most notably, they included no specific details regarding the duration of the token occupation. Only two amendments were put and lost, which were then carried as motions. They involved the only specific details included in the recommendations – the commencement times of both the demonstration and the press

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in terms of personnel and reflective of the composition recommended by the Secretariat report presented to the VMC Executive meeting on 10 March 1970. The dated and undated VMC Executive lists are held in CICD records in two different boxes, see UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 57, file 19; Box 22, file 6, respectively. From 10 March 1970 the Secretariat was supposed to be known as the VMC Executive, and the VMC Executive Committee would become the VMC General Committee. However, at times the titles were used interchangeably. Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 10 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 72, file 25.

<sup>153</sup> Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 10 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 72, file 25.

<sup>154</sup> 'The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation', [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.59.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Agenda, Minutes VMC Executive Meeting 16 March 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.156; Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 16 March 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970. See also Minutes VMC Executive meeting 16 March 1970, ASIO Report No, 638/70, 8 April 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.154.

conference.<sup>156</sup> Thus, the meeting decided that the marchers would assemble at 3:30 pm on 8 May instead of 2pm and the press conference on 20 March would be held at 2:30 pm instead of 4:30 pm.<sup>157</sup> It appears that the move to amend the sit-down was deliberately delayed in anticipation that the amendment would have been challenged. It would also allow more time for those opposing the amendment to build support for its position within the VMC Executive Committee. Accordingly, the proposal to amend the sit-down and explicitly reassert the non-violent position of the VMC would not be attempted for another four weeks. In the interim, the CICD with Cairns and CPA leaders sought to ensure these matters would be successfully resolved at the upcoming 13 April VMC meeting.

### **Towards a peaceful protest, April 1970**

Taft, who also worked on a VMC activities sub-committee, contacted Lloyd on 1 April, wanting to know ‘the latest’ on the Moratorium.<sup>158</sup> Lloyd informed Taft that at the next scheduled VMC Executive Committee meeting on 13 April, Cairns would call for ‘non-violent peaceful protest’.<sup>159</sup> By now Cairns had already gone through fire and water over the sit-down issue. PM Gorton accused Cairns of endorsing ‘a policy of anarchy’ and using ‘storm-trooper tactics’ by supporting an occupation of the streets.<sup>160</sup> Even after the sit-down was amended, the Government fiercely attacked the Moratorium, which it suspected was communist inspired and directed.<sup>161</sup> While the Government pledged to launch an aggressive anti-Moratorium publicity campaign, the Minister for Labour and National Service, Billy Snedden, called the organisers ‘political bikies who pack rape democracy’.<sup>162</sup> VMC

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<sup>156</sup> Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 16 March 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.154.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Intercept Report 1 April 1970, Bevan Ramsden Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 5362 f.26. On the VMC sub-committee for Sunday 10 May 1970 activities, see: Minutes of VMC Meeting, 2 March 1970, ASIO Report No. 731/70, 21 April 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.158-159.

<sup>159</sup> Intercept Report 1 April 1970, Bevan Ramsden Vol. 1, NAA: A6119, 5362 f.26.

<sup>160</sup> ‘Storm Troop: PM on Cairns’, [extract]Sun (Melb.), 28 March 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340, f.13.

<sup>161</sup> ‘Moratorium Debate Dominates House’, *Age*, 8 May 1970: 9; See esp. Grievance Debate: ‘Vietnam Moratorium’, H of R, *Debates*, 7 May 1970, 1790-1792, 1798-1800, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1970/19700507\\_reps\\_27\\_hor67/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1970/19700507_reps_27_hor67/). ASIO regarded the campaign ‘part of an international propaganda offensive’ against the Vietnam War initiated by ‘Communists Governments’. ‘International Aspects’, VMC Background Brief No. 5/70, 10 April 1970, VMC 1970 Part 1, NAA: A1209, 1970, 6340 f.80-81; 119.

<sup>162</sup> H of R, *Debates*, 7 May 1970, 1782, [http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1970/19700507\\_reps\\_27\\_hor67/](http://historichansard.net/hofreps/1970/19700507_reps_27_hor67/); ‘Govt. MPs Act on Viet March’, [extract] *Age*, 23 April 1970; ‘MHR Says They are ‘Pack-Rape Bikies’’, [extract] *Herald* (Melb.), 7 May 1970, both in UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 34, file 12.

Executives were concerned about the hostile treatment the campaign was receiving in the press and Wilson threatened to black-ban the *Age*.<sup>163</sup> Notwithstanding the effect such criticism may have had on VMC Executive delegates, Goldbloom told Taft on 8 April that ‘he got agreement completely on the basis of [a] 15 to 20 minutes sit down’.<sup>164</sup> Taft thought they could ‘hold it on that’.<sup>165</sup> The CICD and CPA leadership wanted to make the demonstration more manageable to minimise the likelihood of violence to ensure its success. A mass mobilisation of opposition against the Australian government’s foreign and defence policy was a long-held objective for both the CICD and the CPA. Goldbloom’s comment also suggested that he approached individual VMC Executive delegates ahead of the 13 April meeting, with CPA leadership’s approval. This pre-emptive, rear-guard action mirrors a CICD tactical move noted in Chapter 5 when Lloyd was directed to ‘approach members of the VCC committee for support for the CICD programme, when suitable’.<sup>166</sup> Thus, it appears that VMC Executive delegates were encouraged to respond favourably to the amendment before the 13 April meeting.

Cairns opened the proceedings at the 13 April VMC Executive meeting with a ‘long preparatory talk’ before he called from the chair for someone to move a motion to amend the sit-down to fifteen minutes.<sup>167</sup> As planned, Cairns was setting the tone for the amended sit down by calling for a peaceful protest. The motion, put by Denny Martin (CICD) spurred the predictable point of order from Poulton that it was contravening the decision of the sponsors and a motion of dissent was launched against the chair.<sup>168</sup> The chair was vacated by Cairns and taken by Goldbloom, the Deputy Chairman, and the motion of dissent was put and lost,

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<sup>163</sup> A VMC meeting on 27 April resolved that Secretary of the 26 rebel unions, Ken Carr, Roger Wilson, and Lloyd lead a deputation to the *Age* night editor, directly after the VMC meeting, ‘in order to correct the impression’ given by Carr in a recent statement to the *Age* regarding the sit-down. Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 27 April 1970, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001734.htm>. Regarding Carr’s statement see, ‘Dr Knox Lashes Protest March’, *Age*, 20 April 1970:1. Wilson threatened the editor that the SUA would refuse to carry the print paper, which came mostly from Tasmania, if the *Age* continued to misrepresent the Moratorium. Conversation with Wilson, 25 November 2019; see also Jim and Margaret Frazer recorded in Langely, *Decade of Dissent*, 129.

<sup>164</sup> Intercept Report 8 April 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.15.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> CICD Executive Meeting, 11 December 1968, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 4.

<sup>167</sup> ‘The Vietnam Moratorium, A Critical Evaluation’, [extract] *Farrago*, 15 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.58; Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 13 April 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494 f.80.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. Martin was a long-time CICD organiser and resigned shortly after from his position on the CICD Committee for ‘health and other reasons’. Letter from Denny Martin to Lloyd, 5 June 1970, UMA: CICD Papers, 1979.0152, Box 1, file 5.

as was an amendment to a new motion to reassert the sit-down for three hours.<sup>169</sup> The demonstration, Cairns declared, would be a 'symbolic' gesture calling to stop the nation in order to stop war in Vietnam.<sup>170</sup> Included in the motion was a provision that the marchers would assemble at the Treasury Gardens at 2pm, as originally recommended by the Secretariat, thereby overturning a previous VMC decision.<sup>171</sup> Thus, the CICD relied on its allies who sought to amend the decisions of the February sponsors' meeting and, furthermore, it employed less-than-democratic measures to influence the decisions of the meeting.

Consequently, Hyde told the *Age* that the sit-down had been intentionally 'watered down' to fifteen minutes by the CPA, Cairns and their allies. Similarly, Cassidy wrote that 'those with the numbers in the Executive revised the meaning of the word 'occupy'. It simply means to be in the city, it was claimed'.<sup>172</sup> Both Hyde and Cassidy called into question the sincerity of the CPA leadership's pledge in March not to sacrifice the significance of the campaign for the sake of breadth. They confirmed the view that the amendment was contrived by CPA leaders and Cairns with the support of their allies in the Executive, such as the CICD. For the CICD, however, the VMC had more or less resumed its original position, *vis a vis* the Canberra Consultation. Signalling a return to the non-violent position of the VMC, Cairns told a large student meeting at Melbourne University that the Moratorium must be 'reasonable, peaceful, inoffensive and dignified'.<sup>173</sup> The amended sit-down decision and plans to conduct the Moratorium peacefully were publicly announced and in the press the following day.<sup>174</sup> In this way the matter was officially resolved.

One week following the decision to amend the sit-down, four chief marshals were elected by a VMC meeting to organise a team of some 500 marshals to help control the

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<sup>169</sup> Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 13 April 1970 Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494 f.80. The amendment to reassert the three-hour sit down was moved by Michael Hyde, 'Bourke St. 'Sit-down' Planned by Protesters', [extract], *Age*, 14 April 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 34, file 12.

<sup>170</sup> 'Bourke St. 'Sit-down' Planned by Protesters'[extract], *Age*, 14 April 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 34, file 12; CICD Newsletter April 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>171</sup> Minutes VMC Executive Meeting, 13 April 1970 Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494 f.80; see also Moratorium Programme, [extract] *Age*, 6 May 1970:11, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 34, file 13.

<sup>172</sup> Cassidy 'The Worker-Student Alliance and the Anti-War Movement', c.1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>173</sup> 'Unions Invited Me', Says Cairns', *Age*, 14 April 1970:8.

<sup>174</sup> 'Bourke St. 'Sit-down' Planned by Protesters'[extract], *Age*, 14 April 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 34, file 12; see also 'Unions Invited Me', Says Cairns', *Age*, 14 April 1970:8.

demonstration.<sup>175</sup> Despite such measures, Lloyd and Goldbloom continued to express concerns and remained vigilant until the eve of the first Moratorium.<sup>176</sup> While rumours circulated of Langer's plans to subvert the Moratorium, Goldbloom was convinced that the militants had 'something cooked' for 8 May.<sup>177</sup> Furthermore, the militant students made moves to recover lost ground.

In consideration of the marshal plan, Peter Butcher proposed that 'as far as possible no negotiations or official communication of plans be made to the police'.<sup>178</sup> Although an amendment that the matter 'be left with the Secretariat' was moved and carried, Lloyd stated that it was a 'fairly close vote'.<sup>179</sup> In his comments to Goldbloom, Lloyd remarked that

the votes are getting closer...the reason for this [is] that many of the Committees are moving towards the young fellows – they [are] standing back and letting the young ones go and allowing them to become representatives and delegates at the meetings.<sup>180</sup>

With less than three weeks until the Moratorium, Lloyd and Goldbloom tried to make certain that plans concerning the conduct of the demonstration were maintained. Accordingly, Lloyd advised Goldbloom that he and Sandra Zurbo (CICD), who liaised with the VMC regional groups, would 'express this concern to the groups' and emphasise that the 'proper machinery be maintained over the next few weeks'.<sup>181</sup> While their comments underline their concerns about the volatility of the diverse movement while it could not exert direct executive control over the campaign, it also indicates why the Secretariat intentionally chose to delay amending the sit-down, as far as was practicable.

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<sup>175</sup> Vic VMC Executive Meeting, 20 April 1970, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001733.htm>; 'M-Day 500 to Keep Peace', [extract] *Herald* (Melb.) 7 May 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 34, file 13.

<sup>176</sup> Goldbloom and Lloyd Intercept Report, 27 April 1970, Jean McLean Vol. 3, NAA: A6119, 3979, f.6; Lloyd and Goldbloom's daughter, Sandra Zurbo, Intercept Report, 7 May 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.44; Jean McLean tries to warn Langer that the police would be watching out for him, Intercept Report, 7-8 May 1970, McLean Vol. 2, NAA: A6119, 3978, f.168.

<sup>177</sup> Intercept Report, 24 April 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.38.

<sup>178</sup> Intercept Report, 21 April 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.27; Vic VMC Executive Meeting, 20 April 1970, <http://www.reasoninrevolt.net.au/bib/PR0001733.htm>

<sup>179</sup> Intercept Report, 21 April 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494, f.27.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

## In the afterglow

Aside from a couple of minor frays, which were promptly dealt with by the marshals, the Moratorium in Melbourne was applauded for its restraint and orderly conduct.<sup>182</sup> Even the Minister for Defence, Malcolm Fraser, congratulated the protesters:

The non-violent nature of the parades was widely welcomed and rightly so. Everyone wants to see dissent carried out in a responsible manner.... It is very much to the credit of the demonstrators that violence did not occur in the recent marches here.<sup>183</sup>

That the VMC maintained the integrity of the campaign and the inclusiveness of most anti-war activist groups and interests, was significant. 'Will the Vietnamese Forgive Us?', was posed by one poster, while others demanded, 'Don't Register', 'To hell with the US alliance', 'Abort the Gort', 'I'm in love with Charlie' and the less contentious 'Moratorium – Think'.<sup>184</sup> By April, the CICD was correctly predicting that the 8 May demonstration would be 'the most massive expression of opposition' to Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.<sup>185</sup> However, the CICD represented only one of the many banners carried by some 70,000 and, by some accounts, 100,000 Melburnians on 8 May.

The Victorian Moratorium's success must also be attributed to the highly efficient structure of the campaign, in which the CICD played a crucial part. The campaign drew extensively on CICD's administrative resources and organisational experience. The CICD's annual Secretary report provides a summative assessment, which included that

the CICD provided the bulk of the administrative work for the moratorium in Victoria. [It] catered for all the official mailings, organised the official public meetings, Executive meetings and Secretariat meetings.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Bruce Wilson, 'One Small Step on the Road to Peace', *Sun* (Melb.), 9 May 1970:8; 'Democracy Wins the Day', *Sun* (Melb.), 9 May 1970:9; 'Crush Hour in Bourke Str', *Sun* (Melb.), 9 May 1970:30-31; all in UMA: CICD Papers 1959.0152, Box 34, file 13.

<sup>183</sup> Fraser also stressed that large public demonstrations had the potential to become violent without too much provocation. Malcolm Fraser, Radio Transcripts, Press Statement: Moratorium Marches, Vietnam c.1970, UMA 2007.0023.0014, available online, [https://digitised-collections.unimelb.edu.au/bitstream/handle/11343/39979/312465\\_2007-0023-0014.pdf?sequence=1](https://digitised-collections.unimelb.edu.au/bitstream/handle/11343/39979/312465_2007-0023-0014.pdf?sequence=1).

<sup>184</sup> 'Democracy Wins the Day', *Sun* (Melb.), 9 May 1970:9.

<sup>185</sup> CICD Newsletter April 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970.

<sup>186</sup> CICD Secretary's Report 1969-1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 3, file 8.

After VMC meetings debated decisions about campaign slogans and objectives, CICD staff often tended to do the grunt work of the campaign. A CICD office worker gives a sense of the scope of the administrative work involved:

It was quite an organisational job keeping all those people informed, and my daily work consisted of writing and sending letters, and putting together mailing lists. Technically it was pretty primitive. There were no photocopiers and the most advanced piece of equipment we had was a huge Gestetner. We had to write copious numbers of addresses out by hand.... I worked hard for \$25 a week!<sup>187</sup>

The distribution of Moratorium literature was also as a 'massive' task, which involved the distribution of some 600,000 leaflets in Victoria alone.<sup>188</sup> Included in the administrative demands of the campaign, the CICD office 'was used as a centre for the sale of Moratorium goods'.<sup>189</sup> Moratorium merchandise included badges, posters, car stickers, diaries and ribbons.

While Sandra Zurbo helped the CICD office by coordinating the activities of the local peace and Moratorium groups, the CICD also initiated and coordinated a number of fundraising ventures.<sup>190</sup> Having pledged \$500 to the campaign, the CICD raised almost four times as much through a 'Vietnam Appeal', directed by Goldbloom.<sup>191</sup> The CICD hosted a 'Moratorium Supper' on 3 April for 300 people in Richmond Town Hall, addressed by Cairns.<sup>192</sup> It also hired the entire Rivoli Twin Cinema 1 to hold a theatre night on Sunday, 3 May for a special screening of Costa Gravas' film, *Z*.<sup>193</sup> This 1969 political thriller dealt with the murder of left-wing leader, Grigoris Lambrakis, before the 1967 military coup in Greece

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<sup>187</sup> Sue McCulloch in Langely, *Decade of Dissent*, 128-9.

<sup>188</sup> Over three million broadsheets were distributed throughout the nation. CICD Secretary's Report 1969-1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 3, file 8. For figures from merchandise sales, see UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 5.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid. While collecting signatures for the worldwide 'Vietnam Appeal' the CICD encouraged signatories to make a donation to the campaign. Minutes, CICD Congress meeting, 4 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; VMC Circular 10 March 1970, Goldbloom Vol. 9, NAA: A6119, 4494 f.28; see also, Figures from Account No.2 to 3 June 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 22, file 5.

<sup>192</sup> ACTU President, Bob Hawke had accepted an invitation but was unable to attend due to illness, CICD Secretary's Report 1969-1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 3, file 8. See also Minutes, CICD Congress meeting, 4 February 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3; Minutes, CICD Executive Meeting 18 March 1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 1, file 3.

<sup>193</sup> CICD Newsletter April 1970, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 45, Peace 1969-1970. The film was showing nightly in Cinema 1, but not on Sunday, Amusements, *Age* 1 May 1970:19.



and tapped into the moral outrage spurred by the My Lai massacre. The CICD also provided speakers for debates, school teach-ins, factory meetings, and public meetings.<sup>194</sup> For the CICD, the demands of the Moratorium campaign emphasised the important role established groups play in direct action campaigns. According to the secretary's report:

It underlines the necessity of a permanent body such as the [CICD] Congress with the facilities it provides which can initiate specific programmes, administer such programmes and when they have concluded turn to new issues within the anti-war struggle.<sup>195</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the CICD's involvement in the first national Moratorium in May 1970. While the CICD could legitimately claim to have initiated the campaign and provided critical administrative and organisational support, it relied on an alliance with the moderates in the campaign and employed strategic means to ensure that it was conducted peaceably and successfully.

When the CICD considered a proposal to replicate the US Moratorium, it envisaged that it would administer the Victorian branch of the national campaign. However, by 1969 the CICD's status in the broader movement in Melbourne was already fraught. Experience had shown the anti-war movement that the CICD would attempt to control the campaign without regard for the diverse interests and needs of the campaign. The CICD's approach and attitude were at variance with current developments and trends in the movement that had shifted towards greater pluralism, decentralisation and participatory democracy. Consequently, the CICD's authority was decisively challenged and rejected. In the context of the burgeoning Victorian anti-war campaign the traditional conception that a singular group could claim to represent such a movement had lost its value. While the VMC demonstrated the CICD's inability to hold on to its status as Victoria's peak body, equally telling was the CPA leadership's attitude towards the CICD.

By the late 1960s the leadership of the CPA had become openly critical of the Soviet Union and in particular of the CPSU, a position which put it at odds with stalwart supporters of the

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<sup>194</sup> CICD Secretary's Report 1969-1970, UMA: CICD Papers 1979.0152, Box 3, file 8.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

CPSU within its own membership and within the CICD. The CICD's overall support for the CPSU, its strong antipathy to the pro-Maoist left and its determination to retain a control of the broader peace movement were inconsistent with the CPA's conception of a broad coalition of left political forces. CPA leaders openly derailed CICD plans to manage the VMC after it suspected the CICD of having intentionally excluded it from preliminary arrangements. By doing so, and in light of the CICD's continued reliance on CPA leadership during the campaign, it demonstrated the CICD's inability to act independently of the Party's influence. Furthermore, the Moratorium campaign tested the limitations of the CICD's ability to work alongside peace interest groups, in particular those with views and approaches contrary to its own, and the veracity of its long-held aim to include people of all political opinions to form a genuinely broad-based grass-roots movement for peace.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis has examined the CICD's involvement in the Australian peace movement during the 1960s and concluding with Melbourne's Vietnam Moratorium Campaign in May 1970. It has also traced developments in the post-WWII peace movement, which led to the establishment of the CICD in 1959 as a part of a national association of Australian state peace. Its focus has been the CICD's response to disarmament and related peace issues in light of significant shifts in the political left and an increasingly diverse peace movement. Drawing largely on the CICD's record collection, this thesis represents the first scholarly analysis of the CICD's early activism and contributes to the redressing of a significant historiographical gap in the history of political activism in Australia, during the Cold War. It has argued that the CICD's adherence to WPC decisions and its acceptance of pro-Soviet analyses of the Cold War influenced the CICD's assumptions, policy, trajectory and praxis. Notwithstanding the CICD's particular views, this thesis has also argued that the CICD's struggle to resolve tensions between its own expectations with those of an increasingly pluralist and independent movement was indicative of systemic issues in the CICD's organisational culture, a culture which emphasised centralised decision-making, unanimity and conformity. The CICD was established as the state peak peace body to continue the work of the antecedent movement, led by the APC. This thesis has shown that from its outset, the CICD was a highly structured and strategic body with vital organisational links at an international, state and local level. It assumed that it would be at the vanguard of the peace movement in Victoria. Furthermore, the thesis has demonstrated that while tensions existed

by the late 1960s between the CICD and the broader movement and the CPA, their relationship was more complex than the traditional view allows. Rather than characterising 1960s activism as a shift from the Old Left to the New Left, this thesis has analysed the continual development of the peace movement using the CICD's activism as a frame of reference. The CICD's early activism and the subsequent tensions between it and competing approaches to protest has shaped the history of Australian peace activism during the 1960s and early 1970.

The Melbourne-based CICD formed part of a network of fraternal state peace committees that were established by the antecedent APC as continuing committees of the 1959 Australia and New Zealand Congress for International Cooperation and Disarmament (ANZCICD). The antecedent movement led by APC grew out of the 1949 Paris Peace Congress that was of particular significance in developing the post-war peace movement, which was embraced by the communist movement. Attended by members of the CPA, the 1949 Peace Congress recommended the establishment of national peace committees. Thus, the APC organised itself provisionally as a national peak body with a network of state and local divisions. APC policy was articulated in a manifesto whose themes were analogous with those of the pro-Soviet international peace movement that operated under the aegis of the WPC. The APC manifesto was adopted as a foundation document by the state peace committees and represented a continuity in the movement.

After providing the groundwork, the CPA ensured its continued involvement in the organisational aspects of the APC through each of the APC's organising secretaries. Non-communist members, such as the three peace parsons, were happy to work alongside communists in the peace movement. They shared with communists both an anti-Western disposition, cultivated long before communists considered peace a virtue, and faith in the Soviet Union as the bulwark of peace. The APC's main activities were inspired and prescribed by the WPC during bureau meetings and international conferences, which were attended by members of the APC.

For many of its supporters, the APC-led movement with its broad network of alliances and resources represented the only practical means to counter the Cold War consensus and the pervasive threat of atomic war. However, prior to the APC's formation in 1949 there was little uniform interest in the immediate post-war period to build a broad-base peace movement. Some peace advocates, such as pacifists, were initially wary of the nascent APC

given its communist connections but gradually reviewed their attitude after noting the increased presence of clergy in the movement, the formation of the PQF in 1951 and the APC's criticism of Soviet actions in Hungary in 1956. Following the ALP split in 1955, ALP members were free to support the peace movement, whose aims coincided, in part, with those of the Opposition Labor Party. By the mid-1950s support from these diverse interests in peace and disarmament concerns coincided with both increased global concerns regarding the public and environmental health risks associated with atmospheric nuclear testing and Khrushchev's policy of peaceful coexistence.

In its embrace of peaceful coexistence, the 1958 WPC Stockholm Congress adopted the policy of 'international cooperation and disarmament', which was also included in its full title name. The WPC believed that the current political situation was ripe for a popular movement of opposition against nuclear proliferation and testing. In this context and in line with WPC recommendations, the 1959 ANZCICD was held by the APC-led peace movement. Congress organisers aimed to lay the groundwork for building a mass popular movement against disarmament, more heterogeneous in character than the antecedent movement. This is consistent with Carter, Murphy and Summy and Saunders' view that the 1959 Congress represented an attempt to involve diverse community and overseas support, representing a wide range of perspectives and interests.<sup>196</sup> The CICD was established ostensibly as new state body to carry forward the work of the 1959 Congress alongside the existing state committees, which variously adopted 'international cooperation and disarmament' in their titles. An analysis of developments in the movement by state, or a comparative analysis of the state peace committees is beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather it has examined developments in the movement in the context of the CICD and provided evidence of collaboration between the CICD and, in particular, the NSWPCICD.

With its formation, the CICD inherited the Melbourne-based APC's organisational resources, most of its leadership and attendant worldview. No distinction existed in the outlook, policy and praxis of the APC, CICD or the VPC, which continued to operate alongside the CICD until the VPC folded in January 1964. The CICD leadership's ongoing identification with the APC and the VPC was a matter of practical necessity for the fledgling CICD while it established its prominence as the state peace body. However, it also illustrates the organic connections and continuities between the CICD and the antecedent groups. As with the APC,

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<sup>196</sup> Carter, 'The Peace Movement in the 1950s', 69; Murphy, *Harvest of Fear*, 123; Summy and Saunders, 'The 1959 Melbourne Peace Congress', 76.

the CPA continued to be a political influence in the CICD by ensuring its representation on the executive committee and, therefore, the CPA's involvement in its organisational aspects.

Consistent with the antecedent movement, CICD leadership demonstrated an anti-Western attitude and an unquestioned admiration for the Soviet Union, while simultaneously claiming to hold a position of political neutrality. This duality shaped its activism. Thus, the CICD claimed to be against nuclear testing 'by any nation' while justifying the Soviet decision to break the 1958 moratorium on nuclear testing in 1961. It argued that the Soviet Union was compelled to maintain a strategic nuclear balance with the US in order to preserve world peace. The CICD also declared its opposition to foreign military bases *writ large* while having first denied, and then minimised, the presence of Soviet missile bases in Cuba. Furthermore, the CICD supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian, which simultaneously denied that territory's right to self-determination. As with the Indonesian example, CICD support for movements for national independence was only given to post-colonial states in SE Asia that seemed likely to adopt either an anti-capitalist, or neutral government sympathetic to Soviet communism. Consequently, the CICD withdrew its support for Indonesia when it drifted more definitively towards the PRC. For the CICD, a transition to communism by former colonised countries denoted a progressive and inevitable shift that was part of the post-war 'changing world'.<sup>197</sup> Consequently, the CICD considered that Western policies aimed to contain the spread of Soviet communist influence, both repressive and regressive. The CICD's partisan views, its blinkered support for the Soviet Union and inconsistencies in its policies undermined its aim to build a more diverse movement or form alliances with New Left elements, which questioned official Soviet interpretations of the national interest since 1956. Consequently, the Victorian branch of the British CND (V-CND) dissociated from the CICD in 1961 on the eve of its inaugural protest in Melbourne against the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing. Similarly, other anti-nuclear activist groups threatened to withdraw their support from the V-CND's first protest if the Soviet-sympathetic CICD with links to the WPC was involved in it.

The CICD did not formally affiliate to the pro-Soviet WPC. However, CICD leadership continued to participate in WPC-sponsored activities and policy-making meetings as they had under the APC. The CICD maintained direct contact through individual WPC membership and sought to implement WPC policy decisions. In accordance with WPC policy the CICD's

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<sup>197</sup> National Independence Exhibition, WPC handbill, 1962, NBAC: SUA Vic., Z263 Box 43, 1961-1962; 'The United Nations is a Changing World', *Guardian*, 14 January 1965:8.

foremost peace concern in the early 1960s was total and general disarmament. Therefore, the CICD primarily focused on Hiroshima Day commemorations, Aldermaston-styled activities and campaigns against US military bases in Australia. Conversely, CICD support for so-called 'struggles for national independence' was relatively inconspicuous in the early 1960s. That is, until after December 1963 when the WPC resolved that both peace issues, disarmament and anti-colonialism, would be given equal prominence. In accordance with WPC policy, anti-colonialism was considered secondary to disarmament, and CICD support for struggles for national independence was limited in both scope and nature. Nevertheless, through the CICD's involvement in such struggles it demonstrated the Australian peace movement's well-established connections with peace committees in SE Asia and illustrates the longer history of peaceful Australian opposition to Western policies in the region.

This thesis has shown that the CICD and, by extension, the fraternal network of state peace committees was established to carry forward the work of the earlier peace movement. The movement which emerged from the 1959 Congress represents a continuity with the APC-led movement, which was dominated by the CPA and inspired by the pro-Soviet international peace movement. In the 1950s the APC was the manifest expression in Australia of Cold War nuclear disarmament concerns and general disaffection with western government foreign and defence policies. With its formation, the CICD inherited the organisational resources and outlook of the APC. It maintained the APC leadership's connection with the WPC and sought to faithfully implement WPC decisions, which supported Soviet foreign policy. We have seen that the CICD's partisan views, which were analogous with those of the WPC, often contradicted its own founding principles and policies. Such contradictions compromised a CICD objective to broaden its base of support beyond that of pro-Soviet communists and their sympathisers. Furthermore, CICD adherence to WPC policy explains the CICD's limited early support for national independence movements. This adherence also explains why the historiography of the early 1960s Australian peace movement has completely overlooked this dimension of the movement's activism. However, the early support for national independence movements offers a broader understanding of the opposition movement's attitude to Australian involvement in the Vietnam War. Contemporary historical accounts of the protest movement have tended to characterise early 1960s peace activism as an isolated movement operating on the periphery of politics and serviced by communist front

organisations, or as Summy suggests, as a ‘failure’ given its lack of public support.<sup>198</sup> This thesis offers a more comprehensive picture of the movement’s attitude to the crises in SE Asia during the early 1960s, arguing that the CICD’s early activism forms part of a longer and broader tradition of peaceful opposition to Western policies in the region that is largely ignored in the historiography of the 1960s peace movement.

Despite the limitations in its policy and outlook, the CICD was a highly structured, hierarchical and strategic committee organisation, which developed a network of community support and sought broad public acceptance for its views. CICD campaigns were carefully constructed to achieve maximum public exposure and aimed at mobilising a passive or rigidly orthodox constituency. In the main, they were held in association with high-profile international events of universal symbolic import and conducted at a national level. Consequently, the CICD’s Hiroshima Day commemoration generally involved a national petition and an interstate cavalcade in collaboration with fraternal state peace bodies to present to Parliament in Canberra. From 1963 and for the next two years, until the Vietnam War became the CICD’s main focus, Hiroshima Day took the form of a 2-day relay spectacle each involving over one thousand marchers from Frankston to Melbourne. Similarly, Aldermaston-style radial marches from the outer Melbourne suburbs to the central city symbolised the radius of destruction from a nuclear explosion. These highly visible, symbolic and disciplined campaigns were conducted in solidarity with marches overseas and in tandem with the similar activities of the fraternal state groups, to help bring wider public prominence to the CICD’s peace concerns.

Further indications of the CICD’s strategic approach included its emphasis, wherever possible, on proposals endorsed by prominent and influential political groups or individuals in its disarmament and pre-poll campaigns. The CICD carefully highlighted aspects of ALP policy and other official statements and resolutions which were concomitant with the CICD’s own views to enhance the political credibility of its peace demands. For instance, the CICD emphasised ALP support for a proposal to make the South Hemisphere a nuclear-free zone; it cited proposals from the UN Secretary-General U-Thant for a nuclear-free Australia and for a negotiated settlement in Vietnam; endorsed statements from the press and church leaders; and

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<sup>198</sup> Bolton (ed.), *The Oxford History of Australia*; Horne, *Time of Hope, Australia 1966-72* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1980); Edwards, *Australia and the Vietnam War: The Essential History* (Sydney: University of New South Wales & Australian War Memorial, 2014); Edwards, *A Nation at War*, 7-8; Edwards, *Crises and Commitments*; Kenneally, *Australians: A Short History*; Summy, ‘A Study of Dissent’, 104; 166.

invoked the 1961 Commonwealth PM's statement on disarmament. Also indicative of the CICD's adroit approach was the manner in which it constructed appeals for public support in very broad and generalised terms. During the Vietnam Moratorium Campaign (VMC) the CICD strategically downplayed its political position to adopt and promote a set of countervalues around which a broad-based opposition movement could cohere. Here the CICD's methods contrasted with activists who brazenly promoted propaganda that served the interests of Hanoi and sent funds to the NLF. A further integral aspect of the CICD's strategic approach to activism was its resolute commitment to peaceful protest.

The CICD's non-violent activism was both a pragmatic decision and based on the leadership's philosophical and ideological principles. Concerned with gaining popular support and political credibility the CICD adopted non-violent tactics rather than the more radical approaches associated with the late 1960s anti-Vietnam War and anti-conscription movement. The CICD often worked with authorities and required participants to behave and dress respectfully. Peaceful protest was also consistent with the CICD leadership's principles based on Christian tenets or non-Christian social humanitarianism and its belief in the policy of peaceful coexistence. A consensus among contemporary explanations of the peace parsons' involvement in the peace movement was that their activism was primarily driven by their personal theological and ethical convictions, but that faith intersected with other socio-political and ideological forces which shaped their worldview. In a Cold War world divided and teetering on the brink of nuclear annihilation, CICD leadership, like the APC before it, found resonance in Khrushchev's peaceful coexistence. Peaceful coexistence assumed that it was not necessary to take a revolutionary stance to overthrow Western imperialism, which in the Cold War climate could provoke a third world war involving nuclear weapons. Instead it held that in the global struggle for ideological supremacy, socialism would inevitably prevail as the new and rational world order. Hence, the importance of non-violent activism for the CICD. However, to ensure consistency the CICD demanded conformity of practice and perception.

The emphasis on unified action, policy and ideas was achieved by the CICD in three main ways. First it adopted a top-down approach to decision-making. The CICD's principle decision-making body was a small executive which formulated decisions that were then passed down to committee members, affiliated organisations and general members. More often sub-committees and planning meetings were variously prefaced with CICD policy, aims, tactics or slogans to be used at proposed campaigns, as determined by the executive.



Resolutions were prepared ahead of public meetings and conferences, who were asked to give their unanimous support. Secondly, it produced propaganda material in the form of information bulletins, pamphlets, booklets newsletters and circulars, which articulated the peace movement's attitude and policy on emergent political developments. The object of maintaining cohesion and support in the movement was further assisted by the communist *Guardian* in Melbourne. While the weekly *Guardian* was in print until the end of 1966 it announced upcoming CICD events, printed CICD statements and reported on its activities. Thus, the *Guardian* played a vital role in establishing the CICD's prominence and status in Melbourne as the leading state body, while it also underlined the close tie up between the peace and communist movement. Finally, the CICD encouraged the development of regional peace committees. While regional groups were established in the lead up to the 1959 ANZCICD, the CICD further developed this community-focused initiative by broadening the network of local groups. These were ostensibly semi-autonomous groups; however, they were managed by long-time activists associated with the antecedent APC and VPC who were also referred to as CICD organisers. CICD organisers distributed VPC literature to regional members who were encouraged to participate in CICD protest and fundraising activities. Regional group organisers also held suburban house meetings addressed by CICD executives who conveyed overseas messages from the WPC outlining the peace movement's position and future trajectory. Such measures were adopted by the CICD to ensure stability and cohesion in the movement.

This thesis has shown that the CICD was a highly structured and strategic committee organisation which emphasised unanimity and unified practices. It has argued that the CICD provided the appearance of democratic organisation but, in fact, committee, sub-committee, planning and public meetings were effectively a political 'echo chamber' called to endorse CICD executive decisions and to muster additional support from affiliated organisations and regional groups. CICD meetings and conferences provided for the amplification and reinforcement of the CICD's partisan views and the screening out of dissenting opinions. The primacy of unity for the CICD was evinced by the emphasis it placed on decisions that were reached unanimously or, at a minimum, by an overwhelming majority. Dissonance was discouraged and at times even forcibly suppressed by more strident supporters of the CICD.

According to Michels, all organisations in their 'desire to be effective' inevitably adopt oligarchic tendencies. As the organisation grows it is forced further into hierarchical structures which give their executive officers a 'near monopoly of power'. Even in a

volunteer organisation, such as the CICD, a small and 'elite' decision-making body maintains stability within the organisation, argues Michels, by forcing members to conform to the executives' interpretations of the organisations' goals and eventually become totally independent of its body of members.<sup>199</sup> Michels rejected the assumption of a representative leadership. He explains that leadership concerned with maintaining power developed interests 'peculiar to itself', rather than the interests of the membership.<sup>200</sup> Although Michels' analysis led him to the rather pessimistic conclusion that oligarchy is unavoidable and even refers to his 'iron law of oligarchy' as a 'universally applicable law', he illustrates that the risk of oligarchy is present in any organisation.<sup>201</sup> This thesis has argued that the CICD demonstrated oligarchic tendencies that were motivated, in part, by its desire to maintain conformity in practice and ideas.

This thesis has not made any attempt to measure the success of the CICD's campaigns, its financial profile, nor the extent to which it influenced government policy. Rather it has shown that the CICD carefully constructed its campaigns to create the perception of broad public acceptability, mass world-wide appeal and political relevance. It has also shown that non-violent practice was an integral aspect of the CICD's activism. The strategic value of 'non-violent praxis' has been measured more recently by Branagan who argues that such approaches have been a critical element in the successes of Australian contemporary environmental activism 'contributing to the concept of a popular disaffection rather than lawlessness'.<sup>202</sup> While the CICD was concerned with popular perceptions of respectability this thesis has also shown that the CICD's particular approach to peace activism found resonance in the Soviet policy of peaceful coexistence. For the CICD, peaceful coexistence assured that world war was not inevitable between the communist and capitalist social systems and it predicted with certainty, the peaceful ascendancy of socialism. The critical importance of peaceful coexistence for the CICD was heightened by the dissonance in the movement occasioned by the Sino-Soviet split and the growing crises in SE Asia.

The Sino-Soviet split by 1964 affected the CICD in decisive ways. It brought into question the cogency of the Soviet policy which made the notion of unanimity untenable and divided the movement. The rupture precipitated the formation of a breakaway CPA (Marxist-

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<sup>199</sup> Lipset, 'Introduction' in Michels, *Political Parties*, 16-19.

<sup>200</sup> Michels, *Political Parties*, 389.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Marty Branagan, 'We shall never be moved', 201.

Leninist) faction and a rival pro-Peking peace group led by former peace parson, Victor James. These and similar factions, such as student-led Maoist groups, rejected the Soviet notion of a peaceful transition to socialism and instead argued that Western imperialism had to be overthrown by revolutionary means. There were now two ostensibly viable but incongruent approaches in the peace movement – the moderate pro-Soviet approach and the radical pro-Peking approach. The split undermined the unity of the movement, and the rival peace faction threatened the CICD's status as the state's pre-eminent peace body. The shift in the Australian political left flowing from the Sino-Soviet split also coincided with CICD concerns for SE Asia, the Vietnam War and the emergence of independent activist groups. In the current political mood, the WPC conceded that it was unrealistic to claim a monopoly over the peace movement and encouraged its membership to regard with equal importance the independent activities of the emergent groups. In accordance with WPC recommendations, the CICD initially embraced the new groups as a positive development in the movement.

By mid-1965, the Vietnam War was a foremost concern for the WPC and it directed established peace movements to organise effective grassroots opposition against US intervention in Vietnam. Vietnam was part of ongoing CICD and WPC concerns for the region. The CICD shared the WPC's prior concerns regarding the PRC's generally hostile attitude and its refusal to support the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. The CICD had long recognised the centrality of the PRC for the Pacific region. Its founding charter urged that the PRC be admitted to the UN and it blamed Western policies of exclusion for the PRC's hostile attitude. The CICD also feared that Western policies to contain the spread of communism in the region could draw the PRC into regional conflict and potentially lead to a nuclear war. In line with the policy of peaceful coexistence CICD called for a negotiated settlement to the crises in SE Asia while rival elements pursued more militant positions. From the mid-1960s, the CICD cooperated with the independent activist groups to build a new coalition of peace forces. Despite their different emphases, there was some fluidity between the CICD and the new groups, in terms of membership, and the groups shared in common with the CICD a belief in non-violent activism. For the CICD, the equally peaceful character of the independent groups and cooperation in the anti-war movement confirmed the correctness of the CICD's approach to activism. This was particularly important for the CICD at a time when there appeared to be little or no hope of reconciling the disparate approaches in the communist movement to the Vietnam question. Hence, the CICD gave these groups

considerable attention and support. The CICD announced upcoming actions in its newsletters, bulletins and in the *Guardian*. The CICD urged its membership and *Guardian's* readership to give the new groups' activities their full support.

The CICD's embrace of these groups presented it with a predicament. To be part of a coalition meant the CICD might be required to submerge its aims and identity under those of the coalition. Coupled with a growing trend towards democratic forms of organisation and participation in the coalition movement, the CICD became preoccupied with maintaining both its status and individual identity. The CICD's sense of its own diminished importance was possibly also compounded by the *Guardian's* closure at the end of 1966, which meant that the CICD lost a vital platform of support and dissemination. It was in this context that the CICD adopted increasingly conservative stances. When the CICD implemented its first constitution in 1967, it stipulated fixed rules of intra-organisational procedure and structure that left minimal discretion for interpretation. It included provisions limiting membership and prescriptive controls over the character of future campaign actions. This denoted a shift towards an explicitly bureaucratic and formal model of organisation. At the same time, CICD leadership pondered why it had failed to draw wider support, particularly from a younger demographic. The CICD recognised the political power inherent in popular support and yet its new constitution did little to attract broader involvement in its organisation. This was intrinsically an organisational problem, which the CICD struggled to resolve.

CICD attempts to control the character of protest activities were increasingly challenged by the broader coalition movement. By the late 1960s the idea of a prestige, central body had lost its validity in an era marked by pluralist trends and the demand for greater democratic organisation. Despite the multifarious nature of the broader movement, it uniformly opposed the traditional monolithic principle of following a prescribed line. In early 1970, the CPA envisioned in the proposed Vietnam Moratorium campaign a working example of its 1967 'coalition of the Left' policy; contrary to the CICD it encouraged plurality and opposed any attempts to narrow the focus of the campaign. As for Cairns, he saw in the VMC a model for true participatory democracy. With the instrumental support of CPA leaders, as well as Cairns, the diverse strains that comprised the movement joined forces to ensure that the CICD did not assume executive and administrative control over the VMC. Although the campaign relied heavily upon and benefitted greatly from the CICD's vast network of organisational resources, the CICD was forced to negotiate the legitimacy of its perspectives and interests with those of the broader movement. This thesis has demonstrated that the

coalition movement was far more nuanced in character than the conventional view allows. Using the CICD as a frame of reference it offers a new way of looking at the longer and broader history of 1960s peace activism beyond the simplistic rhetorical typology of the Old Left and New Left. Although the late 1960s was the beginning of the end of the CICD as the pre-eminent peace body in Victoria, the CICD's activism formed part of a continuum of non-violent Australian peace activism, which was of vital importance in the evolution of the protest movement in this period and for future protest campaigns. Accordingly, a significant contribution to the research might include an examination of the CICD's involvement in the second wave anti-nuclear movement from the late 1970s-1980s. The CICD collection also includes the relevant documents for this period. By then the CICD took its place alongside other highly organised activist groups and non-communist peace organisations. Such a project would offer considerable insights into Australia's long and rich history of political and ecological activism.

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## Appendix

### Appendix I: CICD Constitution

The Congress for International Co-operation & Disarmament has been constituted to continue and extend the work initiated by the Australian & New Zealand Congress for International Co-operation and Disarmament founded to conduct the congress of that name and held in Melbourne in November 1959.

The following constitution was adopted at its inaugural meeting held in Melbourne on 3 May 1967.

#### Name

1. The name of the Congress shall be Congress for International Co-operation & Disarmament (Vic.)

#### Object

2. The object of the Congress shall be to seek world peace through international co-operation and universal disarmament, subject to effective inspection and control

#### Aims

3. In pursuance of this object, the aims of the Congress shall include:
  - a. The use of appropriate means to build a better informed and more active public opinion in the interests of peace and international co-operation, disarmament and world peace.
  - b. Support of approved activities designed to promote international co-operation, disarmament and world peace.
  - c. Support for the establishment of a peace research institute.
  - d. Support for the establishment of a permanent national peace secretariat.
  - e. The establishment of its own peace promotion department designed to actively press approved policies on governments.
  - f. The utilisation of press, radio, television and cultural media to disseminate the peace message.
  - g. The establishment of a peace library.
  - h. Publication of journals, news-letters, etc.
  - i. Close liaison with intrastate, interstate and overseas peace organisations.
  - j. The search for and implementation of new and better techniques to promote world peace.
  - k. Maintenance of a well-equipped office and efficient staff.
  - l. Approved funding and/or business projects to assist in financing the Congress.

#### Membership

4. The Congress shall be non-party political and non-secretarian.
5. Membership of the Congress shall be open to all who accept the objects and aims of the Congress.

6. The annual membership subscription shall be \$2 excepting pensioners, full time students and others at the discretion of the Executive, for whom subscription rate of \$1 shall apply. Membership application forms should provide for subscription of \$1 per annum for six copies of the national magazine *Pacific*<sup>1</sup>.
7. The Committee may reject any application for membership or terminate the membership of any person. Any such decision shall be reported to the next general meeting of members and shall cease to be effective unless it is then ratified by two-thirds majority of members present and voting at the meeting.

#### Affiliation

8. Organisations, other than political parties, may affiliate with the Congress on payment of an annual subscription of not less than \$10. This subscription shall entitle the organisation to nominate one member to the Congress (see 11 h.) (Nothing in this provision shall preclude any number of individual members of the affiliating organisation from joining as individuals at the ordinary subscription of \$2).

#### Annual Meeting

9. The financial year shall end at 30 June. An Annual Meeting of members shall be held not later than 30 August in each year. Such annual meeting shall be the supreme governing body of the Congress.

#### Special Meetings

10.
  - a. A special general meeting of members shall be called by the Secretary on receipt of a requisition signed by 10 per cent of members requesting that a special meeting be called to consider the special business listed in the requisition. At least twenty-one days of notice of the meeting shall be given.
  - b. The Committee shall have the power to convene a general meeting at short notice at any time.

#### Committee/Election Procedure

11.
  - a. The control of Congress and its funds, subject to the direction of the membership in general meeting, shall be vested in a Committee of twenty-four, including the President, three Vice presidents and a Treasurer, who with nineteen members, shall be elected by the Annual General Meeting of members.

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<sup>1</sup> The national magazine was published by the AICD in Sydney in 1967.

- b. The Committee may co-opt up to three additional members.
  - c. The Committee may make appointments to fill casual vacancies.
  - d. Voting at all meetings of the Congress shall be by financial members only.
  - e. Election of officers and committee members of the Congress shall be determined by simple majority in secret ballot. Nominations for all positions must be moved and seconded by financial members with the consent of the nominee. Nominations will open seven days prior to the Annual General Meeting and close immediately prior to the election.
  - f. The Secretary or his (sic) nominee shall act as returning officer
  - g. Three scrutineers shall be appointed by the meeting.
  - h. Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing, a meeting of the Executive Committee and one representative of each affiliated organisation or group shall be held not less than twice a year. This shall be known as a meeting of the Congress.
12. The Committee shall meet at least monthly. The President and/or Secretary may call a special meeting of the Committee to consider a matter of urgency.

#### Executive

13. The President, three Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer and the Secretary shall constitute an Executive which, subject to review by the Committee, shall attend to urgent matters arising between committee meetings.

#### Secretary/Staff

14. The Secretary shall be a paid or honorary officer of the Congress and shall be elected by the Committee for a period of three years. His or her salary, where applicable, shall be determined by the Committee and he or she shall carry out his/her secretarial duties in accordance with the instructions of the Committee and/or Executive. The Committee may appoint such other administrative staff as considered necessary from time to time. The Secretary, in consultation with the President, shall control office staff.
15. The Committee may terminate the employment of any member of the administrative staff by a majority vote on a resolution of which two weeks' notice has been given and which has been forwarded to all Committee members with the notice calling the meeting at which the resolution will be considered.

#### Banking/Accounting

16. An account shall be opened with the Commercial Bank of Australia Ltd. and cheques shall be signed by the Secretary or Treasurer and the president or one of the three Vice-Presidents.
17. The Treasurer will responsible for:
- a. Keeping proper books of account and other financial records;



- b. Rendering a progress report to each monthly meeting of the Committee and a financial statement and balance sheet for the year at the Annual General meeting.
18. An independent auditor shall be appointed at the Annual general Meeting each year.

#### Quorum

19. The attendance of thirty members shall constitute a quorum at the Annual General Meeting; the attendance of six members shall provide a quorum at a meeting of the Committee.

#### Constitution

20. Amendments or additions to this Constitution may be made by a general meeting provided that the proposed variation is forwarded to members with the notice calling the meeting. Any such proposed amendments may be initiated by any member of the Congress in writing to the Secretary. A resolution to change the constitution must be given in writing and distributed to members twenty-one days prior to the meeting. Further, a resolution to change the constitution must be passed by two-thirds of those present at the meeting.