

DECLASSIFIED

- 4 MAY 2011

(NZSIS)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Wednesday 24/1/81  
D

POLARISATION AND FRAGMENTATION OF THE  
ANTI-SPRINGBOK RUGBY TOUR MOVEMENT

The polarisation which has occurred in the anti-Springbok rugby tour groups over the past month has permitted ready identification of the extremists.

They fall into two quite distinct categories:

- (i) Members of subversive organisations who are exploiting the protest movement for their own political ends. Workers' Communist League (WCL) control of COST in Wellington is the best example of this.
- (ii) Radicals who are not members of organisations of security interest but who still pose a considerable law and order problem. The radical Maoris are the best example: the means by which they seek social or political change are not necessarily subversive but they advocate violent protest.

Both categories fall well outside mainstream protest activity on this issue. A feature common to both, however, is a propensity to harrass and provoke the police. While the subversive extremists attempt to politicise the issue, making claims of police brutality and singling out the National Party and the Prime Minister as protest targets, the "non political" extremists tend towards anarchy looking for physical confrontation for its own sake.

There is no evidence of large scale funding of the protest movement by subversive organisations.

The situation varies from city to city, but extremism is basically limited to individuals resident in three of the four main centres.

**NOTICE: INCOMPLETE DOCUMENT**

Part of this document has been  
withheld under the terms of the  
( ) Privacy Act 1993  
(✓) Official Information Act 1982.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

4 MAY 2011

NZSIS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2.

Auckland

Although the "umbrella" group MOST contains representatives of mainstream protest groups, since the tour began it has fragmented and now exercises little control over the radicals. The radicals have begun to operate independently within protests organised by MOST and this has caused visible unease with respectable elements refusing to participate on marches of the "mystery tour" variety.

A "Small Action Group" (SAG) was formed at the beginning of the month to engage in activities independently of MOST. Three of SAG's leaders are also active in MOST: Donna AWATERE, [redacted] and John MINTO. |

- At the demonstration in Newmarket two days later a police-woman was hit in the face by an iron bar;
- At this demonstration Donna AWATERE was arrested and charged with inciting lawlessness;
- At this demonstration numbers of would-be marchers refused to participate in a protest which had no publicly announced objective.

AWATERE [redacted] have had some success in attracting a violent element from Auckland urban Maori gangs to the protests. This was first evident at Palmerston North on 1 August where a dozen-odd gang members wearing steel-capped boots and some carrying weighted rubber hoses hidden in their sleeves travelled south to protest. |

[redacted] AWATERE called for "direct action" and an end to peaceful protest.

On 20 August the radical Maori group (drawn from the Maori and Polynesian People's Revolutionary Front, Waitangi Action Committee, "Black Unity" and the gangs) was given \$600 by MOST for unspecified future activities. MOST promised this group a further \$800 this week.

DECLASSIFIED  
- 4 MAY 2011  
C NZSIS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3.

The moderate element in MOST has also to contend with an extremist situation in its "Ancillary Operations Groups" (AOG). These are small teams operating independently but under the MOST aegis (unlike the expanded SAG), planning a series of incidents designed to cause disruption and attract police manpower away from the larger demonstrations.

John MINTO stated this week that bomb hoaxes should be matched by a suitably suspicious object which would draw law and order manpower and members of the AOGs have spoken of an "outbreak of shoeboxes" this week.

The AOGs advise Thomas Oliver NEWNHAM of their activities so that they may be coordinated. MOST also felt the need for an individual to give ten minutes' warning to the media of "newsworthy" events.

MOST is not subverted. It has some individual representatives from subversive groups but they do not all support violent protest. The threat lies in those individuals who are using MOST as cover for their extremism. MOST has no effective control over them, but because of its fluid and fragmented structure it is able to publicly deny complicity in protest violence. It will, however be awkward for MOST to deny any link with incidents perpetrated by extremists who have been given MOST financial help.

#### Wellington

COST is the Wellington "umbrella" group around which the great majority of protest activity centres. It was formed on 18 May and its nine-member committee includes two probable members of the WCL, David CUTHBERT and Eileen CASSIDY, and a further possible member.

The effective control of protest activities lies, however, in the COST demonstration marshal's committee which is heavily influenced by the WCL. Indeed WCL members have boasted about this, saying that there is no difference between WCL and COST policy "because we control COST".

The WCL is a revolutionary communist party, dedicated to the violent overthrow of the state. It is a relatively new group with considerable influence in student politics at Victoria University. It is using COST

/4...

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

to test its organising capabilities, its leadership and its discipline. It is not opposed to violence but when it resorts to protest violence it will be well planned with a specific purpose in mind.

The WCL, operating through COST, had hoped to provoke a confrontation with the police at Palmerston North on 1 August. It was bitterly disappointed that police tactics precluded this but, equally, it was concerned at the militancy of Maori radicals, particularly Tom POATA and Donna AWATERE, because it represented a challenge to WCL control.

Alexander SHAW, the main organiser of protest activity in Wellington, is a ranking WCL member. A recent protest march split into five columns to divide police resources and "stretch the thin blue line". Four of the five columns were led by WCL members. The WCL places members and sympathisers in rows at places where it wishes to divide marches. It can then wheel off and stage an incident, such as invasion of the National Party's Wellington office. WCL members and others prepared to be arrested entered the premises while another WCL member exercised crowd control with a ready-made audience.

The WCL has considerable influence in the Victoria University anti-apartheid "club" and its President, David MURRAY, is a WCL member./

The elderly woman protester injured in the Molesworth Street incident late last month was Rona BAILEY, a WCL member and active communist for over four decades.

There is a radical element within COST which is dissatisfied with WCL discipline. Tom POATA, Ted NIA and Barney PIKARI have urged greater militancy and will now plan their activities independently of the COST marshal's committee. Both POATA and NIA were marshals on 29 July when batons were used in Molesworth Street.

Just as in Auckland, the breakaway radicals hope to take advantage of large demonstrations to confront the police.

DECLASSIFIED

1 MAY 2011

NZSIS

5.

### Christchurch

Protest activity in Christchurch has been fragmented from the outset. While responsible protest has been centred on the umbrella group, Coalition Against the Tour, radical activity has been the preserve of a few individuals, members of or associated with the Communist Party of New Zealand. One such individual, Stephen BAYLISS, has publicly denied CPNZ membership but is, in fact a Party member.

An effort was apparently made in Christchurch to have gang members attend the first rugby test and provoke trouble. Police vigilance precluded this.

In spite of events such as grandstand arson and the use of batons it is not possible to conclude that the protest movement in Christchurch is subverted. However, the potential violence at protests cannot be ignored.

### A Perspective

Individuals engaged in the subversion of the anti-tour movement, for personal or political reasons, are not numerous. They exercise considerable influence over organisations formed to represent mainstream protest and their radicalism does this broad movement a disservice. Their efforts succeed because they are active, disciplined and are able to exploit the emotion engendered by this issue. They need a crowd in which to hide.

.....

24 August 1981

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RADICALS INVOLVED IN THE PROTEST MOVEMENT

The following short list is divided into the categories referred to above. The details shown are public knowledge or could safely be made public knowledge.

(i) Members of subversive groups

Rona BAILEY	A long history of involvement with the anti-apartheid movement. Publicly known as a WCL member.
Stephen Robert BAYLISS	HART South Island Coordinator. Detained in a plane en route to Gisborne for the first match of the rugby tour. A CPNZ member but has publicly denied this.
Penelope Mary BRIGHT	Active in MOST. Publicly known as a WCL member.
David Stewart MURRAY	President of Victoria University Anti-Apartheid "club". Publicly known as a WCL member.
Bryony Margaret Loye RICHARDS (known as Bryony HALES)	Wife of Trevor Lawson RICHARDS. A member of the WCL.
Alexander SHAW	COST demonstration marshal. A member of the WCL.
Simon Brent WILSON	Named by the Minister of Education as a WCL member. Has acted as a COST demonstration marshal.

**NOTICE: INCOMPLETE DOCUMENT**

Part of this document has been withheld under the terms of the

- ( ) Privacy Act 1993  
 ( / ) Official Information Act 1982

/cont'd...

14 MAY 2011

NZSIS

Radicals involved in the protest movement (cont'd):(ii) Radicals who are not positively known to be members of subversive organisations :

Donna Lynn Catherine  
BREITENEDER

Known as Donna AWATERE. Active in MOST. Advocates confrontation tactics. Associated with urban Maori gang members drawn into the protest movement. Was charged with inciting lawlessness on 5 August.

William Donald CARSON

HART's Wellington Area Officer in October 1980. Represented HART at a United Nations Conference in May 1981. Believed to have obtained the irritant chloropicrin for use in protest activities.

John Bernard MINTO

HART National Organiser and author of a number of provocative statements in the media. A fanatic who is prepared to use bomb hoaxes and other means of inconveniencing the public in pursuit of his opposition to apartheid.

Tama Te Kapua POATA

Known as Tom POATA. Associated with the CPNZ in the late 1960s. Advocates violent confrontation with police. A COST demonstration marshal who considers WCL tactics ineffectual.

Roger Henry TOBIN

A probable WCL member. Has led some of the COST protest incidents in Wellington and acted as a COST demonstration marshal.

**NOTICE: INCOMPLETE DOCUMENT**

Part of this document has been withheld under the terms of the  
 Privacy Act 1993  
 Official Information Act 1982

24 August 1981