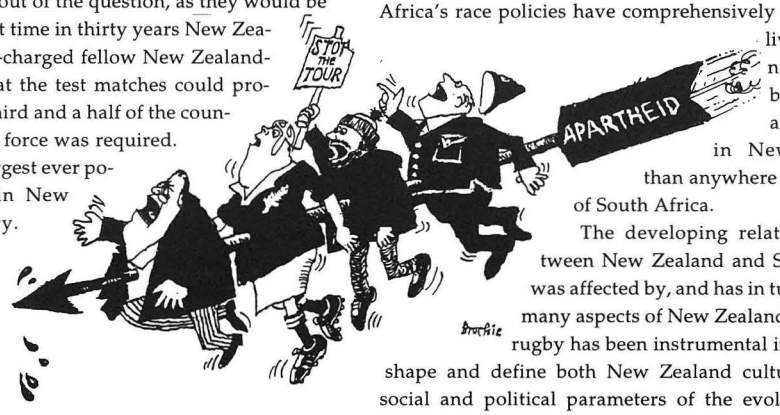
Thou shalt play!

What 60 years of controversy over New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa tells us about ourselves.

TREVOR RICHARDS

During the 56 days that the 1981 Springbok rugby team was in New Zealand, there were 205 demonstrations in 28 centres involving a total of more than 150,000 people. Two Springbok matches were cancelled, and close to 2,000 arrests were made. The passions that this tour brought to the surface drove many of those on both sides of the divide to take actions that five years previously would have been totally out of the question, as they would be today. For the first time in thirty years New Zealand police baton-charged fellow New Zealanders. To ensure that the test matches could proceed, between a third and a half of the country's entire police force was required. These were the largest ever police operations in New Zealand's history. Families, communities and organisations were split. The whole country was deeply and bitterly divided.



In New Zealand 1981 is writ large in the country's popular culture. So much so, that there is a view developing which suggests that the anti-apartheid movement was essentially about the events of that year. 1981 should however be seen as the climax to a complex and powerful set of conflicting pressures and attitudes which had been building for more than sixty years. What lay behind 1981 was not something which materialised, developed, exploded and disappeared within the scope of one or two years.

New Zealand was divided over rugby with South Africa as early as 1921 when the first Springboks team in New Zealand had provoked acrimonious protest. In 1948 one of the country's soldier heroes, Major General Sir Howard Kippenberger, had surprised the country by speaking out strongly against the 1949 All Black tour of South Africa. In 1959, the biggest petition Parliament had seen urged the cancellation of the 1960 All Black tour of South Africa if 'absolute equality of treatment for members of a team selected on merit alone cannot be assured'. By 1976 the divisions within the country that this issue provoked had significantly increased. And by the end of 1981, New Zealand's winter of discontent, the earlier divisions seemed positively polite and genteel.

For much of this century the nature and scope of New Zealand's relations with South Africa have been significantly affected, and ultimately determined by opposition within New Zealand and internationally to South Africa's race policies. That opposition has also impacted from time to time, and especially in the period from the early seventies to the mid eighties, on New Zealand's standing in the international community. The extent to which South Africa's race policies have comprehensively affected the lives of other nations has been arguably greater in New Zealand than anywhere else outside of South Africa.

The developing relationship between New Zealand and South Africa was affected by, and has in turn affected, many aspects of New Zealand life. Just as rugby has been instrumental in helping to shape and define both New Zealand culture and the social and political parameters of the evolving nation state, so too has the relationship with South Africa.

The confluence of South Africa, rugby and racism over most of twentieth century New Zealand has been a defining issue for us, both as individuals and as the nation state.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND'S SPORTING CONTACTS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

Sporting contact between New Zealand and the old South Africa began in 1902 and spans a period of more than 80 years. For more than 60 of those years there was protest. The form the opposition took, the goals of that opposition, and the support it enjoyed, changed as New Zealand and the world changed.

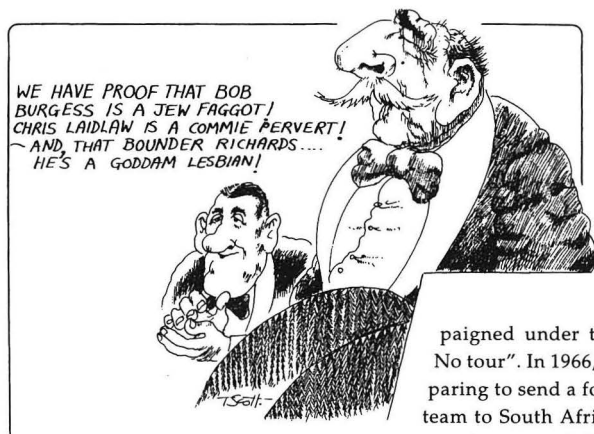
It is important to establish from the outset that these campaigns have been indigenous; they have developed out of New Zealand experiences, New Zealand's view of the world, our role within it, and the type of society we were. International demands since the mid 1960s may have mirrored internal attitudes, but they did not create them.

From 1921 to 1981 there were ten official rugby tours between New Zealand and South Africa. The Springboks toured New Zealand in 1921, 1937, 1956, 1965 and

1981. The All Blacks toured South Africa in 1928, 1949, 1960, 1970 and 1976. The scheduled 1973 Springboks tour of New Zealand did not take place, and nor did the All Black's scheduled 1967 and 1985 tours of the Republic.

In the 1960s there were New Zealand athletics and cricket teams in South Africa. In the late '60s, '70s and early '80s, with the advent of cheaper, faster international air travel, a gaggle of New Zealand sports bodies engaged in contact with South Africa: these included cricket, softball, squash, tennis, surf lifesaving and bowls. But it was the rugby contact which was the focus of the protests, principally because of the enduring significance of rugby to both New Zealanders and white South Africans.

The first period of sporting relations, 1902 to 1948, was characterised by the total acquiescence of both the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFU) and the Government to the social and political dictates of South Africa. New Zealand All Black teams in South Africa had to be all white. There were some rumblings within the press, and significant Māori opposition.



The first indication of an other than normal sporting relationship came in 1919. At the end of World War I a New Zealand services team toured South Africa. No Māori were included because of the racial situation in South Africa. In 1921 the first Springboks toured New Zealand. There was bitterness and dissent following their game against the Māori, when Blackett, a South African journalist travelling with the team wrote: 'this was the most unfortunate match ever played ... It was bad enough having to play a team officially designated "New Zealand natives", but the spectacle of thousands of Europeans frantically cheering on a band of coloured men to defeat members of their own race was too much for the Springboks, who were frankly disgusted.' This statement caused a flurry of protest, especially amongst Māori. The brilliant Māori fullback, George Nepia, was later to write that Blackett's article 'provoked a reaction and bitterness which within the heart of the Māori race have neither been forgotten nor forgiven'. In 1928 Nepia himself and Jimmy Mills, both Māori, were omitted from the 1928 All Black team which toured South Africa. In 1939 Māori who had played in the inter-island match were sent home before the trials to select the 1940 team to tour South Africa, but because of the war, the 1940 tour did not proceed.

The second period, from 1948 to 1966, saw the birth, rise and success of a concept that was popularly abbreviated to "no Māoris, no tour". In 1948, instead of Pākehā silence and acquiescence, there was protest. It was argued by RSA President and former Māori Battalion leader Major General Sir Howard Kippenberger that if Māori were good enough to fight for their country, they were good enough to play for it. The protest failed – it lasted six weeks – and in 1949 the All Blacks toured South Africa.

The 1958/60 protests against the 1960 All Black tour also failed, but instead of six weeks, the protest raged for 24 months. The Citizens All Black Tour Association, (CABTA) campaigned under the slogan "No Māoris, No tour". In 1966, as the NZRFU was preparing to send a fourth all white All Black team to South Africa in 1967, the Government intervened. 'Where important moral principles are involved fundamental to our national integrity, the Government has a duty to state clearly the principles which, in its view, New Zealanders should observe at home and abroad', the Prime Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake said. The Government went on to state those principles, and the NZRFU decided not to proceed with the tour.

That this was not an anti-apartheid movement could be seen by the total absence of protest which greeted the 1956 Springboks in New Zealand – even the NZ Communist Party was in favour of the tour – and by the smallness of the opposition which greeted the 1965 Springboks. What became evident in the campaigns of this period was the hold which rugby football had on a significant section of the nation, and the degree to which racism – rampant or unselfconscious depending upon your viewpoint – was a feature of New Zealand society. It was not until the NZRFU accepted the 1970 invitation to tour South Africa that the focus of New Zealand protest became the way in which the Republic treated its own black population.

The 1966-75 period saw the New Zealand anti-apartheid movement develop principally, but not solely, around issues of sport. It was a period of considerable

Opposite: Bob Brockie, National Business Review, *3 August 1981.*

Above: Tom Scott, HART News, *November 1972.*

polarisation. A confident and growing anti-apartheid movement locked horns with the politicians, the NZRFU, and a growing number of other New Zealand sporting bodies, who, when offered financial inducements by the Republic's whites-only sporting associations, found themselves keen to compete against South Africa. A number of the early rounds went to HART and CARE, but by the end of 1975 those favouring sporting contacts with the Republic had found a new champion in Robert Muldoon. The National Party under his leadership became the standard-bearer for the restoration and then maintenance of New Zealand's sports relations with South Africa. Nowhere else in the Commonwealth – or in the world – had a Government so defended, welcomed and facilitated sporting contacts with South Africa.

The period 1975 to 1984 was the most bitterly contested of the six periods. A determined anti-apartheid movement, strong at home, and enjoying extensive international support, squared off against the policies and personalities of the third National Government: It was in this period that the battle was won, though we were not to recognise it at the time.

The fifth and shortest period, from 1984-90, was something of an anti climax, although for those involved it did not seem so. The NZRFU, defiant to the end, pushed ahead with its intention to tour South Africa in 1985. A Labour Government, in power for the first time in nine years, wanted the tour called off but could find no levers with which to successfully confront the Union. In the end it was a court injunction, brought privately, which sank the tour. The following year a group of senior rugby players toured South Africa as the 'Cavaliers'. Eight decades of rugby played according to South Africa's political and social dictates had ended, not with a bang but a whimper.

The sixth period began in sunshine at Ellis Park on 15 August 1992. Nelson Mandela was free, the ANC and all other political parties had been unbanned, and the international boycott had been lifted. The All Blacks were in South Africa to begin a new and honourable relationship with sports people from the Republic.

What does an issue which sparked over 60 years of controversy tell us about ourselves?

RUGBY, RACISM AND OPPORTUNIST POLITICS: A LETHAL 20TH CENTURY NEW ZEALAND COCKTAIL

At the core of the debate over South African sporting contacts have been two constants: New Zealanders' attitudes towards sport (in particular towards rugby), and our attitudes towards race (in particular the dominant culture's attitude towards Māori, but also more latterly towards black Africans). In these developing and changing attitudes are to be found the reasons, the values, the passions, which drove and shaped the controversy over New Zealand's long association with South Africa. Among other factors, the most significant were the policies of the International Rugby Board (IRB) and the policies and personal style of Prime Minister Muldoon in the 1975-84 period.

It is four factors – sport, race, National Party politics 1972-84, and the IRB – that I would like to concentrate on.

Sport has been described as war without the bullets. For a country which has been very interested in war with the bullets, it is not surprising that war without the bullets should be a dominant part of New Zealand's majority culture. Thus, for all of this century sport has assumed major significance, whether it be from the perspective of the participant, the spectator, or both. For many, outside of work and family, it has been the most important aspect of their life.

Sport is accessible. Few pretend knowledge of the brushwork of a Manet versus a Monet, the traditional form of a concerto, a symphony, a sonata. On the other hand, for the spectator, sport can be enjoyed with a minimal understanding of the rules. Built up by school, club, provincial and national rivalries, the country's major sporting codes have developed loyal, life-long adherents with strong passions. Half the country regard themselves as experts, more get involved, most have an opinion.

Even some of those sports which have not become part of the genetic make-up of dominant kiwi culture are able, with assistance from PR hype, to bring tens of thousands out onto the streets – the America's Cup is an

Demonstration against the all white South African Surf Lifesaving team, Waihi Beach, 1971. Race Against Race, *Joan Brickhill (1976).*

example of this. But in other sports more closely identified with mainstream majority culture, the arguments and the discussions go on sometimes long after the participants involved have retired from the sport – take 'the infamous' underarm delivery of Trevor Chappell. Or in extreme cases, after the participants are dead – did or did not Deans score 'that' try against Wales in 1905?

The second appeal of sport is its close association with nationalism. Nationalism, or in the case of non-international sporting events, provincialism, is the glue which holds much of the passion together. There are favoured and unfavoured nations. New Zealand obviously is favoured. Most of our major opponents are not. At home we have a Tom Scott cartoon pinned to the wall. It depicts a couple of people in a hotel bar watching a game on television. One is saying to the other "It's tricky watching the Aussies play the Springboks – I desperately want both sides to loose."

The third appeal of sport is that it is seen as something which is clean, unsullied by politics and, until recently, by commerce. Not surprisingly "Keep Politics Out of Sport" became the winning slogan in the battles of the late '60s and the '70s against New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa. It was a totally meaningless phrase, but that did nothing to detract from its appeal. As a slogan, it struck powerful chords.

Neither Tim Shadbolt's attempt to make it sound as silly as it was by turning the slogan into a bastardised acronym – keepoos – nor NZ Race Relations Council President Jim Gale's attempt at a serious alternative, "Keep out of Political Sport", had any impact. "Keep Politics Out of Sport" won the day, not so much because the sportsmen wanted it that way, but because the politicians believed that was the way it was. In 1970 a Government member of the Parliamentary Petitions Committee, Mr R.L.G. Talbot, stated that New Zealand sporting bodies were completely autonomous, and that Government was powerless to intervene in the decisions of sporting bodies. As Richard Thompson notes, the irony of then intervening and investing touring sports teams with informal diplomatic status, and awarding sporting heroes with national honours, really was not apparent to the Hon. members.

And what of rugby itself? For all of this century, and for more than a decade of the previous one, rugby has been close to the centre of the New Zealand nation state. Canterbury sociologist Geoff Fougere observed in *Shattered Mirror – New Zealand Culture, Rugby and the 1981 Springboks Tour* that: '... rugby grew easily and quickly in New Zealand ... In most senses, the New Zealand rugby nation pre-dates, and no doubt helped facilitate the emergence of the New Zealand nation itself.'

Rugby is important as a vigorous, hard game, appealing to a popular image many New Zealanders have/ had of themselves. John Nauright in *Much More Than Just A Game: The Role of Rugby in the History and International Relations of South Africa and New Zealand 1921-1992* notes that: 'in both countries rugby is seen by many as a combat sport which combines all of the warrior virtues. School magazines in South Africa are full of quotes stressing the virility, strength and courage of rugby players.' In New Zealand, similar attitudes prevailed. In *Rugby, War and the New Zealand Male* J.O.C. Phillips quotes from Premier Seddon's cable to the New Zealand rugby team following their 1905 defeat of England: rugby, said Seddon, 'represents the manhood and the virility of the colony.'

It is also a game at which we excel, something which many New Zealanders believe brings New Zealand prominence on the international stage. (This is good war without the bullets stuff, because we win.) Some marvelled at the ticker-tape parade which turned out to greet the victorious America's Cup crew. Such marvelling should cease, for it is commercially pumped up and shallow when compared, for example, with the greeting the 1905 All Blacks received on their return home: in Auckland, there were 10,000 at the wharf to greet them.

South Africa's importance to New Zealand rugby goes back to around this time. Rugby had first been played in South Africa in the late 1860s, just a few years prior to its introduction to New Zealand. Nauright notes: 'By the 1890s, rugby was played by most white males ... in both countries. The central position of rugby within both societies was ensured by successes in their first official international tours of the British Isles, New Zealand in 1905 and South Africa in 1906. The 1905 New Zealand All Blacks won 32 matches, lost one, and outscored their opponents by 839-32. The South African Springboks lost only two and drew with England, but defeated Wales, the only team which had defeated New Zealand ... From these early tours of the British Isles, immediate comparisons between the rugby teams of both countries were made in the British press'.

What was to happen over the next 50 years, and was to reach its apex in 1956 when New Zealand hosted its third Springboks rugby visit, is described well by Fougere: 'What gets done through rugby, is the uniting of men (and through them the nation) over and against all of the differences of background and belief that threaten to divide them. Male comradeship, not imposed from above, but built painstakingly from the level of the local club through national to provincial levels, is what rugby is about. At the peak of this structure, defining its meaning and purpose are the games between the All Blacks and other national teams – of which the Springboks are the most important. Attacks on the South African connection are experienced by tour supporters as attacks on the whole structure of games through which male comradeship and national unity are produced and symbolised'.

McGee writes in *Foreskin's Lament:* 'for a whole generation, God was only twice as high as the posts'. To suggest therefore that New Zealand should end the rugby

relationship with South Africa because of a bunch of blacks who did not even play the game – so it was said – was to many totally incomprehensible.

American satirist Tom Lehrer, on a visit to New Zealand in 1960, wrote a short piece as the controversy over that year's All Black tour of South Africa swirled around him. The following extract lightly encapsulates something fundamental about New Zealand which was to develop an increasingly darker side:

Oh Mr Nash,
When the early missionaries
first brought rugby to New Zealand
It became the state religion right away,
And to the Ten Commandments
has been added an eleventh,
And it says:
No matter what, thou shalt play.

Let us now look at New Zealanders' attitudes towards race and apartheid.

The New Zealand which entered the 1960s was one which hung several national myths around its neck. Like a wonderful set of pearls, some had graced the New Zealand nation state for decades. One such string proclaimed that New Zealand had the best race relations in the world. I grew up in the 1950s and early '60s being told by the press, by the politicians, by anyone and everyone who ever made a speech on the subject, that our race relations were second to none.

Another, more recent addition to the set, promoted the view that New Zealand was strongly opposed to apartheid. But, as T.S. Eliot says in *The Hollow Men*, 'Between the idea and the reality, between the motion and the act, falls the shadow.' The shadow was where we were, as opposed to where we said we were. As early as the late 1940s, the beginnings of a split in the 'we' had developed. By 1965 the split had taken a much firmer shape. By then, a number of New Zealanders were no longer prepared to believe in the national myth.

In 1976 the Government's attempts to have its cake and eat it too became transparent. On 26 June 1976 there were two stories on the front page of the *Dominion*. One reported Foreign Minister Brian Talboys, the other reported the Under-secretary to the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Ken Comber. Talboys told Commonwealth governments that New Zealand did not 'welcome, encourage or assist sports contact with teams selected on a racially discriminatory basis'. Ken Comber was reported as having told the All Blacks at their farewell that they went to South Africa with the Government's 'blessing and goodwill'.

Stripped of the nice language, and stated bluntly, racism has lived and flourished in New Zealand for all of this century and beyond. As Eric Gowing, the Anglican Bishop of Auckland said in 1970, 'what we think about sporting contacts with South Africa depends on what we think about racism'.

Richard Thompson, in *Retreat from Apartheid* writes: 'the controversy over apartheid in sport is perhaps the most revealing issue in New Zealand's race relations. It is both tragic and ridiculous: a tragicomedy that not only documents a small part of the story of apartheid but also sheds light on facets of New Zealand's domestic race relations not normally exposed to public view.'

Racism in New Zealand, if not overt then often just below the surface, found itself able to take on a more public form when the subject was not our own race relations, but our attitudes towards apartheid and the position of South African blacks. Over the course of the 1960s, '70s and '80s, many New Zealanders, the prominent amongst them, asserted support for apartheid.

Arguably, taking a very broad sweep, nothing so far said is absent from most Western nations. The role of and attitudes towards sport in many European societies is not dissimilar to that in New Zealand. The propensity of western societies towards racism is not considerably greater or less than it is in New Zealand.

There are two further factors, when added to those already noted, which help explain why it was that the issue of New Zealand's rugby relationship with South Africa had the capacity to impact in the way it did.

The first of these is the position and role of rugby football in the wider international context. Until the latter half of the 1980s, rugby was a serious sport in only a handful of countries, most of whom, with the exception of South Africa, were predominantly white. Whereas most international sporting associations had no choice but to be responsive to a membership which increasingly came from Africa and Asia, and which demanded South Africa's expulsion, rugby was under no such pressures. In the '60s and '70s a large number of whites-only South African sports bodies were expelled or suspended from their international governing bodies, thereby relieving their New Zealand counterparts of the decision as to whether to engage in contact with South Africa or not. But South Africa remained a member of the International Rugby Board.

If rugby, and not soccer had been the major sport of Western Europe, the mounting protests and polarisation experienced in New Zealand would have been repeated elsewhere. Alternatively, had South Africa been a force in world soccer, and had FIFA (the international body controlling soccer) not expelled South Africa from membership, soccer would have been the focus for much acrimonious protest. It was a legacy of our partly shared colonial past that New Zealand and South Africa were the two countries in the world where rugby football was what it was all about.

The second 'special factor' which separated New Zealand from the rest of the world was the New Zealand National Party, and the role it played in the 1972-84 period. The Party campaigned in 1972 on a platform favour-

ing the 1973 Springboks rugby tour, and in 1975 on a platform of restoring New Zealand's sporting contacts with South Africa and welcoming the Springboks to New Zealand. In 1978 and 1981 (in spite of Gleneagles, an agreement towards which the Government gave, in the words of the Commonwealth Secretary General, only 'a ritual bow') National campaigned on the slogan of not interfering in sport. The National Party became the standard bearer for the restoration and maintenance of sporting contacts with South Africa. No Government elsewhere had ever campaigned on this issue with such emotion, vigour, openness and commitment. The National Government over this period made much of the argument that it was being 'picked on' by the international community; in fact, it had singled itself out.

In 1981, four years after Gleneagles, and weeks out from the first Springboks rugby team to visit New Zealand in 16 years, Prime Minister Muldoon made his 'last approach' to the NZRFU. The conservative *New Zealand Herald* was able to comment editorially: 'the union will scarcely see much reason to change its mind. Indeed, Mr Muldoon left an impression with at least some of his audience that his talk was pitched in favour of the tour ... The Prime Minister said it was his last approach to the Rugby Union, but it was scarcely an approach. It was more a play on the emotions of New Zealanders'.

Nauright comments that in this 'last approach' Muldoon's language – "the vision of fallen New Zealanders and South Africans lying side by side" – 'was aimed at a central core of New Zealand national (as defined by the white male elite) identity. Thus white South Africans were tied directly into the two main defining aspects of the 'true' kiwi man – war and rugby.'

With assistance from the IRB, rugby, racism, and opportunist politics were three gold medal winners in 20th century New Zealand society.

'OLD' NEW ZEALAND VERSUS THE 1960s

But there is something missing. There is more to it than that. In 1965 the enthusiasm with which New Zealanders greeted the Springboks rugby team was not – on the surface at least – light years away from the welcome which the Springboks had received in 1956. Yet only sixteen years later came 1981. In 1965 the Police indulged the small number of anti-tour demonstrators, directing them to safe areas so as not to provoke the rugby crowds. In 1981 opposition was so great that ensuring the tour would proceed involved the largest police operation in New Zealand history. What can account for that change?

A mere fifteen years out from 1981 it is both difficult and silly to be definitive, but I believe the answer is to be found somewhere in the results of the clash between the traditional values of 'old' New Zealand and those of the generation of the 1960s. The issue most capable of acting as the lightening rod for conflict in such a clash was the sporting contacts issue. No issue better encapsulated the differences between old New Zealand and the rebellious, internationalist, confident, and optimistic generation of the sixties.

I mentioned earlier that the anti-apartheid movement's policies of disruption were incomprehensible to many people. It was not just these policies which were unfathomable – the whole reason for HART and CARE's existence was equally so to many. Up until 1965 the protests over incidents involving the Springboks, and the campaigns against rugby contact with South Africa, were internally based, involving at their core South African and/or New Zealand attitudes towards Māori. Those who were untroubled by controversial incidents, and by Māori exclusion from the All Blacks, could understand where their opponents were coming from.

This was no longer the case after 1960. The values of the anti-apartheid movement were the values of a post World War II, post colonial, internationalist world. We viewed the world as a small and shrinking planet; it was the battleground for great struggles, all of which had the capacity to be reduced to good versus evil; it was a world where the needs of humanity transcended national boundaries. Most of all, it was a world of which we felt very much a part. We did not need to send to ask for whom the bell was tolling. A generation reared

Eric Heath, Dominion, *3 July 1981.*

on school milk and the Beatles, liberated by economic prosperity, and inspired by internationalist concepts such as Marshall McLuhan's global village, marched off to the strains of 'We Shall Overcome', confident in its ability to change the world.

It was enthusiastic, untutored, sixties idealism versus values shaped by two world wars and a depression. In the post 1968 period, what stood between us and our goal were the values of a dominant and insular culture, with conservative, traditional and strongly held views and beliefs about race, the role and place of Māori, about policies of assimilation, about the role and place of sport and rugby, and of women. To them, we were an often young and always irresponsible group of people who were trying to turn their world upside down.

The clash between pro- and anti-tour was not only a battle to determine whether or not New Zealanders and South Africans would enjoy hating each other on the rugby field; it was also a battle for something much more fundamental. By the mid 1970s New Zealand was divided into two camps. It was old New Zealand versus what had been thrown up by the sixties. The battle for important aspects of the New Zealand soul was well under way.

Between the two sides there was a lack of common ground, an abundance of passion, and a belief that this was the great battle in the war for a decent country, only barely self conscious as this belief was. And then, finally, came 1981 and the physical presence in New Zealand of the Springboks – a team which was, depending upon your point of view, the latest in the greatest line of sporting rivals, or the embodiment of what U Thant had once described as a society whose architects were 'amongst the most emotionally backward and spiritually bankrupt members of the human race.' For both sides there could be no compromise. There were no higher stakes. By 1981 the leadership of the two contending positions was uncompromising, and capable of engendering great passions.

Hate can often be a more powerful motivator than love. Certainly there was a lot of hate around in 1981. Prime Minister Muldoon had been in power for six years, and had managed to offend every liberal group in the country as well as much of his own traditional support. There was therefore an extent to which the Prime Minister inspired participation in the protests.

The magnitude of the clash of values was such that our position, our arguments, our values were so far removed from those of 'old' New Zealand, that they were often incapable of being understood in their own terms. Other reasons had to be found to explain our actions. These included most of the ingredients of a good airport book with a few more thrown in for good measure – money, sex, dark and sinister political purposes, and of course, the 'fact' that we were all anti-sport. Amongst those who disagreed with us, this was the one explanation which was offered more often than any other. (I suspect that a belief in such an allegation was the only way in which our actions could be understood.)

Allegations as to where our money came from was another. If our cause was so far abstracted from reality, we couldn't be getting it from ordinary New Zealanders, so it obviously had to come from Moscow, or Beijing, or, as one person suggested, from the Russian Circus, which had been instructed by the Soviet Government to leave the profits from their New Zealand tour in New Zealand for HART.

By 1981 there were still those who could not believe that so many people could have involved themselves in the protests for their own sake. Jim Shailes, the editor of *New Zealand News* UK, printed a story in 1982 in which he claimed that he had been told by an Otago student that protesters were paid $3.50 per hour against the 1981 rugby tour. That would have given us a wages bill well in excess of $2,500,000. The Russian Circus had obviously made big profits! Very common were allegations that we were all communists. In one debate Auckland rugby administrator Ron Don addressed me constantly as 'Comrade Richards'.

Sex reared its head as an explanation for motivation (though less frequently than allegations of being anti-sport, or being financed by the communists). Rural New Zealand was the keenest advocate of the suggestion that the anti-apartheid movement was one more or less continuous travelling road-show sex orgy. How we ever found the time to protest I do not know.

At the time I used to think that such attacks on us were unoriginal, cheap, dreary and silly; that they were explanations adopted by people who did not want to feel threatened, and who did not want to confront the real issues.

I consider now that for a significant number, allegations of this sort were a consequence of the gap between the two sets of competing values. What we were promoting was simply not understood. It was the 'new ungrasped reality'.

When HART's campaign started in 1969, we knew a lot about the arguments as to why New Zealand should not engage in sporting and other contacts with South Africa. At the same time we knew little about the forces which were shaping New Zealand's responses to the debate. Over the period since 1981, and certainly in the period I have been here at the Stout, there has been a feeling of understanding some things for the first time. To quote T.S. Eliot again: 'We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started, and know the place for the first time'.