

## Contents

Contributors . . . . .	5
Acknowledgements . . . . .	9
Abbreviations . . . . .	10
Introduction . . . . .	13
<hr/>	
<b>Part 1: Origins</b>	
1. Peter Fraser and the Onset of the Cold War <i>Ian McGibbon</i>	25
2. 'Cold War Warriors': The RSA and the Campaign for Compulsory Military Training 1946-9 <i>Stephen Clarke</i>	41
<hr/>	
<b>Part 2: Aspects</b>	
3. We May Not be Able to Build an Atomic Bomb, But We May be Able to Help: New Zealand Defence Science in the Early Cold War 1946-55 <i>John Crawford</i>	61
4. Part-Time Cold Warriors: The Territorial Force and '3NZEF' <i>Peter Cooke</i>	83
5. The Price of Collective Security: State-sponsored Anti-communism in New Zealand during the Cold War <i>Aaron Fox</i>	95
<hr/>	
<b>Part 3: Commonwealth Perspectives</b>	
6. Coming of Age: Australian Defence and Strategic Policy in the Cold War <i>Jeffrey Grey</i>	127
7. Gouzenko to Gorbachev: Canada's Cold War <i>J.L. Granatstein</i>	135
<hr/>	
<b>Part 4: South-east Asia</b>	
8. All Along the Mekong: New Zealand's Military Commitment under SEATO 1955-65 <i>Damien Fenton</i>	153
9. Australia, New Zealand and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War: an Unanticipated Consequence of the Colombo Plan for Aid to South and South-east Asia <i>David Lowe</i>	167
10. New Zealand Propaganda and the Vietnam War <i>Caroline Page</i>	183
11. The Killing Fields, the Cold War and New Zealand <i>Paul Bellamy</i>	203
<hr/>	
<b>Part 5: Demise</b>	
12. Dare to Say No! New Zealand and the Ending of the Cold War <i>Roger Dingman</i>	225
<hr/>	
Notes . . . . .	273
Index . . . . .	309

## ORDER NOW

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

email \_\_\_\_\_

phone (0\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

I wish to order \_\_\_\_\_ copy(s) of *Seeing Red* at \$NZ30 each (or \$US25/e20 equivalent, including freight to me at the address above). The total comes to \$NZ\_\_\_\_\_ and I either:-

enclose a cheque for this amount made out to the 'NZ Military History Committee', or

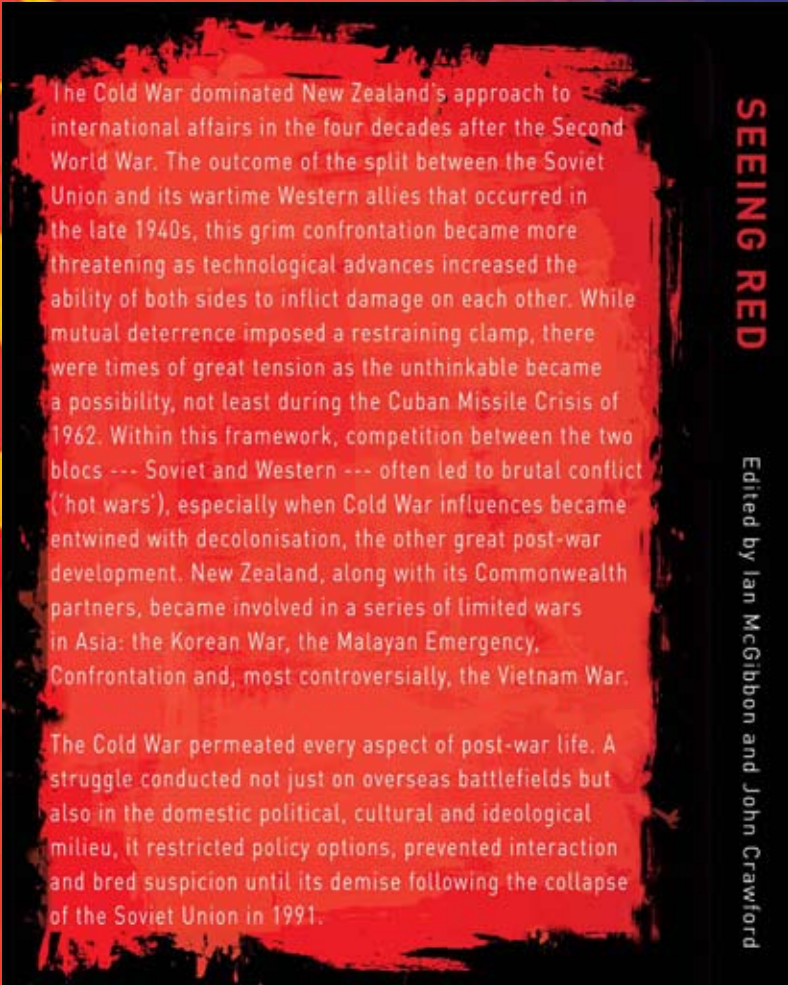
have direct-deposited this amount to the North Lambton Quay branch ANZ Bank (Swift Code ANZ-BNZ 22), 060501-0647689-00, in the name of the 'NZ Military History Committee'.

Please post this form to:

NZ Military History Committee, PO Box 9724, Wellington postcode 6141 New Zealand

or email enquiries or details of your direct deposit and address to [petercooke@paradise.net.nz](mailto:petercooke@paradise.net.nz)

Credit cards/PMOs are not acceptable.



The Cold War dominated New Zealand's approach to international affairs in the four decades after the Second World War. The outcome of the split between the Soviet Union and its wartime Western allies that occurred in the late 1940s, this grim confrontation became more threatening as technological advances increased the ability of both sides to inflict damage on each other. While mutual deterrence imposed a restraining clamp, there were times of great tension as the unthinkable became a possibility, not least during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962. Within this framework, competition between the two blocs --- Soviet and Western --- often led to brutal conflict ('hot wars'), especially when Cold War influences became entwined with decolonisation, the other great post-war development. New Zealand, along with its Commonwealth partners, became involved in a series of limited wars in Asia: the Korean War, the Malayan Emergency, Confrontation and, most controversially, the Vietnam War.

The Cold War permeated every aspect of post-war life. A struggle conducted not just on overseas battlefields but also in the domestic political, cultural and ideological milieu, it restricted policy options, prevented interaction and bred suspicion until its demise following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

## SEEING RED

Edited by Ian McGibbon and John Crawford

The Cold War brooded over the world for half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but its effects on New Zealand's outlook and life have had little serious examination. *Seeing Red* steps into this gap with twelve accounts of the varying effects of this period on our country, from Ian McGibbon's description of its origins to the fresh look by a Californian professor at the ANZUS dispute of the 1980s.

Ian McGibbon and John Crawford, both military historians of long experience, have edited the papers delivered at a Cold War conference in 2007. The contributions offer unexpected perspectives, from describing the 1949 referendum as the only occasion the public have had a direct say in the nation's defence policy, to seeing the ANZUS quarrel as the conclusion by New Zealanders that the Cold War was over. The range of contributors, including three from the United States, Canada and Australia, ensures that the perspectives are varied and the analysis is authoritative.

**Gerald Hensley, CNZM**  
Historian and former Secretary of Defence