

**Collaboration between *Truth* and the Police Special Branch/Security Intelligence Service during the Cold War**

British historian Philip M. Taylor once described the Cold War as ‘the apogee of the twentieth-century struggle for hearts and minds ... by its very nature a global propaganda conflict, the alternative to real war.’<sup>1</sup> Here in New Zealand, far from both the geographical frontlines and the major players, the fisticuffs of the Cold War tended to play out in the columns of major daily metropolitan newspapers like the *New Zealand Herald* and the unruly weekly tabloid *Truth*. In 1948, after public servant, film-maker and union official Cecil Holmes was (literally) exposed as a card-carrying communist, the weekly hissed: ‘The creeping insidious blight of Communism can be as great a menace in New Zealand as in other parts of the world. It *can* happen here.’<sup>2</sup>

This paper explores how, between 1953 and 1959, *Truth* forged a working collaboration with the security intelligence apparatus that would allow the tabloid to actively combat the ‘insidious blight’ by running anti-communist copy. It was an informal, provisional and always deniable connection that was to provide *Truth* with a rich supply of exclusive information for stories, a critical competitive advantage. It laid down the foundation for a role for *Truth* as a conduit for material sourced from the intelligence community, one that persisted well into the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> At its heart was a remarkable, at times bizarre, partnership between *Truth*’s board chairman James Hamilton Dunn and former security policeman J.S. (Stan) Wrigley. What follows draws, to some extent, on material gathered during the fieldwork for my 2010 institutional history, *Truth: The Rise and Fall of the People’s Paper*, some of it unpublished. As I explain in *The Men Who Knew Too Much*, the chapter relating to the Cold War, Wrigley quit the police to work directly for Dunn as a private investigator, opening the door for a network of informal yet enduring bonds between *Truth* and security agencies.

Dunn was a small, dapper man, a lawyer by trade who according to his family had always had a hankering to be a professional soldier. He was intensely private, quietly spoken and conservative, eschewing a public profile of any kind. From 1950, when he bought *Truth* from its Australian owners, he worked tirelessly to build the weekly into the massively influential, virtually unassailable media institution it became: a paper read by half the population.<sup>4</sup> Whether in the field of government, business, finance, religion, the media or sport, any individual doing wrong in *Truth*’s eyes stood to be savaged. Former Prime Minister Sir Geoffrey Palmer, who worked in Dunn’s legal offices as a student, remembers him as a formidable intellect that was ‘a significant influence’ on his professional career, instrumental in his decision to become a lawyer.<sup>5</sup>

Detective Wrigley, on the other hand had a humble background: a former factory foreman who had joined the police as a constable during the Second World War after a stint in military signals intelligence. He was a technical whizz, responsible for setting up a police radio service, including installing the first radios in vehicles. In 1948, he joined Special Branch, the country’s single internal security agency, as a radio and telephone expert. This tiny, shadowy wing of the New Zealand police, modelled on the domestic British counter-espionage agency MI5, had responsibility for covert surveillance and intelligence activity, and vetting of public servants. It preceded the 1956 founding of the New Zealand Security Service (NZSS), later renamed as the

New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (NZSIS), which subsequently assumed many of these responsibilities. By 1950, Wrigley was Special Branch's in house technical boffin, the expert who knew how to set up a complicated radio mast or dismantle a telephone, as part of the shadowy surveillance climate of the Cold War.

So how was it that Wrigley left his Special Branch role and ended up working for Dunn? In 1953 the security policeman was instructed to put in place an elaborate eavesdropping operation in the hills above Wellington: a pair of 13 metre masts and VHF aerials. It would prove to be a fateful assignment: it happened to be the private residence of the newly appointed commissioner of police, Eric Compton. Wrigley's police career was at risk: the use of police labour to construct equipment for the private use of a senior public servant had a dangerous whiff of corruption about it.

*Truth* police reporter Robert (Bob) McCormick had heard gossip about the activity in Compton's house and decided to approach Wrigley, whose customised Bedford van was a familiar sight around the capital. In *More than Law and Order*, her history of post-war policing, Susan Butterworth says McCormick knew of allegations that Compton was corrupt and was formerly in the pay of bookmakers.<sup>6</sup> McCormick learned of rogue eavesdropping activity by Wrigley including illegal tapping of telephones, and persuaded him to attend a meeting in *Truth's* head office. Confronted by Dunn, Wrigley agreed to swear an affidavit, blowing the whistle on Compton. Knowing his police career would be in serious jeopardy once the story became public, Dunn guaranteed Wrigley a job. He appears to have seen this as an opportunity: he was dissatisfied with his career progression within police, believing his talents weren't adequately recognised.

Drawing on Wrigley's affidavit, *Truth* then prepared a dossier of accusations of corruption against Compton. Days before publication, Wrigley, with Dunn's blessing, called on National Prime Minister S.G. (Sid) Holland, to alert him of what *Truth* planned to publish. Susan Butterworth records the dramatic late night meeting: '... [he] sought and was granted a late night personal interview ... the fact that the PM would entertain a direct approach from a mere detective is evidence that the matter must have been considered extremely serious.'<sup>7</sup> Holland's private diary held at Archives New Zealand confirms the 10.30 pm meeting with a 'Mr Wrigley', the summary nature of the appointment suggested by the fact that the hour is entered in pencil rather than the usual fountain pen.<sup>8</sup> At 12.45 am, after the two hour Prime Ministerial briefing, Wrigley walked to Balance Street in central Wellington for a pre-arranged debrief in McCormick's car.<sup>9</sup>

On 30 September 1953, *Truth* duly published the first of what would be a series of lengthy articles, accusing Compton of corruption. *Truth* demanded a full public inquiry. As a storm of publicity gathered, the Holland government issued blanket denials. *Truth* responded a week later with a front-page photograph of telephone 'bugging' equipment it later emerged was smuggled by Wrigley out of Special Branch's Majoribanks Street headquarters on the weekend.

It was typical of *Truth's* aggressive, at times erratic, campaigning, confirming its credentials as the most formidable investigative newspaper ever published in New Zealand. Nor was it the first time the weekly had made claims over national security matters that rattled a government. In 1942, *Truth* crossed swords with the wartime Labour administration of Peter Fraser over the behaviour of a new government agency set up to monitor subversives. It followed a hoax perpetrated on a newly formed Security Intelligence Bureau (SIB), headed by Major Kenneth Folkes, a British

intelligence officer, replacing, in controversial circumstances, the Police Special Branch historically responsible for this activity. In March 1942, works minister Robert Semple fielded a call from an individual outlining a plot involving Nazi agents working with local conspirators. Semple and Fraser then summoned Folkes, who gave the man the rank of 'Captain Calder' of the SIB, an expense account, and a car and hotel accommodation. The individual however, was a 32-year-old burglar, fresh out of prison. Police authorities were not consulted. For three months, 'the Captain' continued to fool the SIB. Senior police then leaked the story to *Truth*. In July 1942 the weekly defied wartime censorship rules, exposing the hoax and calling for a shake-up of the security apparatus. The edition sold out, as Fraser and his ministers fumed. Fraser then sacked Folkes and returned security matters to Special Branch.<sup>10</sup>

Through October 1953, *Truth* kept up the pressure over Commissioner Compton. Holland finally acceded to a limited inquiry, starting in November. It was in this forum that details of a remarkable deal between Wrigley and Dunn came to light. According to Butterworth, the core of Wrigley's bargain with Dunn was that 'he would confirm the evidence about private labour and telephone tapping in return for their not pursuing details of suspect Special Branch surveillance by Wrigley.'<sup>11</sup> When called to give evidence, McCormick said: 'I told Wrigley that I believed that security police were doing - this was my opinion to him - what I considered at the time distasteful work, and that his van was seen in several places that did not seem to connect with police work.'<sup>12</sup>

By the end of 1953, as the inquiry continued to gather evidence, Dunn made good his promise to Wrigley. The ex-detective arrived at *Truth* to take up a job as credit controller on a generous salary. One staffer recalled how much Wrigley stuck out from the shabbier reporting brigade: 'He didn't look like anyone else there. He was neat and tidy and wore a jacket. *Truth* reporters had shirts hanging out; looking desperate, rushing about, always late. Wrigley mooned about, out of place.'<sup>13</sup>

The commission's report in December 1954 concluded that Compton *had* improperly had work done on his house and was guilty of tapping bookmakers' telephones during the war years. In April 1955 he took voluntary retirement'. That month *Truth* announced that its weekly circulation exceeded 200,000 copies, boasting a weekly readership of a million readers.<sup>14</sup> George Bryant, head of government information services at the former Tourist and Publicity Department recalled the paper's dominance throughout the post-war era: '[reading] it was the first thing you did on a Tuesday ... we used to get several copies - go through it with a tooth comb, see what it was saying and report to the Ministers.'<sup>15</sup>

With Wrigley on the *Truth* payroll, Dunn gained fresh impetus for his continuing campaign against communist subversion. In addition to his credit controlling activities, Wrigley was given responsibility for covert security 'investigations' of Dunn's left-wing enemies. Dunn also hired a second ex-policeman, a retired Scotland Yard detective superintendent Arthur Sercombe, with suspected MI5 links, to assist Wrigley. The pair reported directly to Dunn in his central city offices, separate and apart from the editorial staff of the paper. Enlisted to investigate stories on behalf of Dunn, they were never accountable to *Truth* editor Webber, who first joined the paper in 1952. Bringing in former detectives to work as newspaper 'investigators' was unconventional to say the least, almost certainly unprecedented in the history of local journalism.

In 2008 Butterworth noted her belief that Wrigley retained his security links after joining *Truth*.<sup>16</sup> She compares his career as a police eavesdropper with that of the rogue English MI5 officer and assistant director Peter Wright, author of *Spycatcher: The Candid Autobiography of a Senior Intelligence Officer*.<sup>17</sup> Wrigley's continuing presence and growing influence within *Truth* appears to have spawned a culture of close but always 'deniable' relationships with the security apparatus. There was even a suggestion that Wrigley continued some form of surveillance activity from inside the paper. Reporter Neill Birss, who worked at Wellington head office in the mid-1950s, is convinced that electronic equipment he stumbled across by chance in the basement of the *Truth* building on Wakefield Street was purpose-built for eavesdropping: 'It looked like phone tapping gear: ear phones, no mouthpiece, with clips at the end.'<sup>18</sup>

Birss also recalled social visits to *Truth*'s offices by NZSS staff during this era:

'I can remember one more than one Friday night a guy (and I think occasionally a couple) coming into the office to have a beer with some of the reporters and being told that these guys were from the SIS, then being introduced to them. The word 'SIS' wasn't used in the introduction of course, but no one had any doubt that's where they were from ... We cultivated them rather than the other way around ... I don't recall tips coming from the SIS, but we would be seeking assurance we were on the right track or some sort of lead for something we were working on. And I recall we got the nod in an indirect way.'<sup>19</sup>

While working as the paper's Dunedin representative in later years, Birss turned down an NZSIS approach to work as an informant.<sup>20</sup>

From the mid-1950s onwards, Dunn's two ex-detective investigators, Wrigley and Sercombe, became an increasingly powerful presence within *Truth*'s head office, investigating stories of direct interest to Dunn and his anti-communist agenda, serving as his intermediary to editorial staff. Reporter Rex Heathcote recalled Sercombe in particular as a person to be treated with care. 'You had to listen. He had Dunn's weight behind him.'<sup>21</sup> In 1959, the pair's highly questionable modus operandi came to light during a high profile Supreme Court trial in Wellington. Their unethical use of deception to obtain a story and to casually defame a Cabinet Minister showed how dangerous they could be.

The trial followed a *Truth* story headlined 'This Ex-Russian's Import Licences Should Be Investigated'.<sup>22</sup> The 24 March 1959 article made accusations of corruption against left-leaning Labour Member of Parliament and businessman Warren Freer, seen as a communist 'fellow traveller'. Outlining what it saw as a questionable relationship between Freer and an Auckland importer named Harry Judd, *Truth* urged the Labour administration headed by Walter Nash to investigate. Most damaging, the article alleged corrupt practices by Industries and Commerce Cabinet Minister Philip Holloway, a rising 41-year-old member of the government.

At the heart of the case were seven libellous words. Interviewed at his Auckland home by Wrigley and Sercombe on how to get around stringent import procedures, Judd had allegedly remarked: 'See Phil, and Phil will fix it.' The politician in question, Phil Holloway, accordingly claimed £15,000 in damages for libel (close to \$650,000 in 2016 terms), alleging that as a minister of the crown, he had been brought into public hatred, ridicule and contempt. As Holloway's lawyer Wilf Leicester would note, the article was written in an extraordinary way: 'In the first part of the article

in *Truth*, there was no reference to Holloway ... then suddenly out of the blue he had been “dragged in by the heels”<sup>23</sup>.

The Holloway trial was, in many ways, a reprise of the Compton scandal. An article, placed well back in the paper, triggered a political firestorm, allegations of corruption at the highest levels of officialdom were alleged and Stan Wrigley occupied the centre stage. The five-day hearing began on 2 June 1959, before the Hon Sir Douglas Hutchison, acting chief justice. The involvement of a cabinet minister ensured the case garnered maximum attention, even attracting representatives of foreign governments. In a cable to Washington, US Embassy first secretary, Leon Crutcher, noted that the trial had been ‘the prime subject of interest in the country’.<sup>24</sup> *Auckland Star* reporter Ian Templeton, among the journalists covering the case, recalls that it was ‘national news for weeks’.<sup>25</sup>

As was usual practice, *Truth* brought in outside legal counsel, using a young barrister Robin Cooke (later Lord Cooke of Thorndon). Appearing as a witness for Holloway, Ian Gordon, professor of English at Victoria University of Wellington, was questioned about the meaning of the word ‘fix’. His reply was widely reported: ‘I could see no meaning in the word “fix” other than meaning or implying secret and possibly dishonest and underhand action.’<sup>26</sup> On the second day, during cross-examination, Holloway agreed the term ‘fix’ had a negative connotation: ‘I understood it to mean that I would be prepared to act in a dishonourable way, in connection with the issue of licences ... many people, a great number of people, have spoken to me about it.’<sup>27</sup>

The early stages of the trial went smoothly for *Truth*. Then, as it emerged that Dunn’s investigators - the only witnesses produced by the paper - had engaged in unethical tactics to gather evidence, the atmosphere soured. Dunn’s men became the butt of ridicule, even amusement, thanks to the highly skilled Leicester. First to take the stand was Sercombe, who explained that Dunn used him as a law clerk. The jury heard how the pair persuaded Judd to let them enter his Auckland home through a subterfuge they were jewellery importers: ‘[Judd] suggested we go to the Czech consul ... then to see Phil.’<sup>28</sup> Asking in what capacity Sercombe was at Judd’s house, Leicester turned the appearance into a farce:

‘Was it the second time you went to Judd’s house that he came down in dressing gown?’  
‘Yes.’ ‘Was it as a law clerk or an ex-detective Scotland Yard that you deduced he’d been in bed?’ ‘I think anyone would have thought he’d been in bed; not necessarily a law clerk or detective.’ ‘Were you there as an ex-detective of Scotland Yard?’ ‘No.’ ‘Were you there as a law clerk?’ ‘No.’ ‘What capacity were you?’ ‘As a person interested in importing Czech jewellery, glass jewellery’ ... ‘Did you wish to obtain some information under the false pretence you made to him?’ ‘I met cunning with cunning.’ ‘Was it cunning as a law clerk?’ ‘No, cunning as a detective.’ ‘You didn’t go up to Auckland as a law clerk, as a detective?’ ‘I went as an investigator.’<sup>29</sup>

Leicester then savaged Wrigley, probing his Special Branch background, his connection to the Compton affair and his role on *Truth*. Had he undertaken the Auckland assignment as an investigator or credit controller? ‘Was that the type of investigation or method of investigation that you learned in the NZ Police Force?’ ‘Similar.’ ‘You mean that such methods are normally

tolerated by the Police Force?’ ‘In certain circumstances.’ ‘You see nothing wrong in obtaining information in that way?’ ‘That is correct.’<sup>30</sup> By 9 June, as the end of the trial approached, Cooke grew increasingly sensitive about the treatment of his witnesses. He complained that as soon as Dunn’s investigators ‘got on to anything interesting, counsel for the plaintiff bobbed up like a jack-in-a-box learned in the law of evidence’.<sup>31</sup>

The jury took an hour and a half to find *Truth* guilty of libel, awarding Holloway a sum of £11,000 in damages (near \$475,000 in 2016 terms), a record sum in 1959, and for decades thereafter. The *Dominion* wrote of ‘a slight gasp from the people crowding the public parts of the courtroom’.<sup>32</sup> Dunn immediately (and unsuccessfully) applied for a new trial, and later, equally unsuccessfully, took the case to both the court of appeal and the Privy Council in London. The disastrous and costly outcome was a major blow to both Dunn’s and *Truth*’s reputation. US diplomat Crutcher told his Washington masters that *Truth* ‘probably will lose some standing and credibility as a result of losing the suit. This is of some political importance ... *Truth* carries more directly anti-communist material than in any other publication in the country’.<sup>33</sup> Worse, having sat through proceedings, *Truth* editor Ted Webber resigned. He had been astonished and humiliated to discover that the paper’s defence would be based on the pair’s evidence. He left with a year’s salary, later becoming editor of the *Hawke’s Bay Herald-Tribune*.

As he had shown with the Compton case in 1953, Dunn insisted he alone knew the legal risks and didn’t trust highly experienced journalists to understand them. McCormick later confirmed that Webber was barely involved in preparing the Compton copy in 1953.<sup>34</sup> It was all Dunn’s handiwork. The Holloway story was handled in the same fashion, as Dunn made himself the editorial executive asking the searching questions of reporters or investigators, parsing the final copy, even, in his case, writing the headlines.

According to former New Zealand Press Association executive Leslie Verry, Webber had no choice but to resign: ‘[he] was critical of the fact that no evidence was called from *Truth* reporters who had, he claimed, made useful inquiries ... the case had aroused resentment among other members of the editorial staff.’<sup>35</sup> Verry also considers that by 1959, Dunn’s rabid political views had become a professional liability: ‘For such obviously defamatory material to have been first published and then defended on the basis of such slender evidence ... raises inevitable questions as to whether any illogical or irrational factor was allowed ... to outweigh Dunn’s unquestioned professional skills and usually shrewd judgment.’<sup>36</sup>

Following the trial, Wrigley was promoted to the job of accounts supervisor and given a pay rise. He continued to rise through the ranks, becoming the paper’s general manager in 1964. He would go on to head the editorial department in *Truth*’s Auckland offices. It was in this capacity that, amazingly given what had previously occurred, Wrigley tried in the mid-1960s to convince *Truth*’s board that the weekly should again hire ex-police officers ‘to improve factual reporting’.<sup>37</sup> At least one Auckland detective was interviewed. Wrigley remained a senior *Truth* executive until 1970, reportedly leaving to open a motor garage.

Dunn turned his attention to setting up a lavishly resourced library worthy of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, crammed with filing cabinets of news clippings, photographs and other material. He would tell senior staff that he had a file on ‘everyone in New Zealand’.<sup>38</sup> Sercombe remained on

staff until at least the mid-1960s. Located outside of the newsroom, the policeman would 'investigate' cases of interest to Dunn, then brief the reporting staff on the angle to pursue. Heathcote came to resent what he called 'Dunn's boy' and his appointed role in laying out a tendentious, invariably anti-communist slant.<sup>39</sup> Geoffrey Palmer, however has kinder memories of the former Scotland Yard bobby: 'I liked him, I used to chat with him a lot when he was waiting to go in and see Dunn. He was a sort of bluff, direct, hearty sort of Englishman.'<sup>40</sup>

In the wake of the expensive and embarrassing Holloway trial, Dunn would handle all defamation cases himself. This time-consuming and increasingly regular activity no longer allowed Dunn to interfere with the editorial side of the paper to the same extent. His own lifetime ties to the military establishment, first as a territorial, then a wartime artillery officer, allowed him, usually over brandy and cigars, to maintain his own connections to the security apparatus, reconfigured after 1956 as the NZSS, and headed by former military intelligence head Brigadier Herbert E. (Bill) Gilbert. In 1975, as *Truth's* links with the intelligence community came under scrutiny during its campaign against public servant William Sutch, Keith Locke, writing in the newspaper *Socialist Action*, described Dunn as 'an old friend and messmate' of Gilbert's.<sup>41</sup> Dunn's son Roger, a former *Truth* executive, told me that while tidying up his father's business affairs after his death in 1978, he was amazed to find evidence that Dunn had multiple ex-NZSIS agents on retainer.<sup>42</sup>

We end with Leslie Verry's assessment of the redoubtable Dunn:

'[Dunn] could be stern and gentle as he thought met the occasion. Inevitably. As with any man of strong personality, he did not lack critics. If many respected him almost to the point of adoration, some cordially detested him. Several *Truth* editors fell out with him. There was a period, under his chairmanship, when *Truth* editors changed with a frequency rare in New Zealand and reminiscent of parts of Fleet Street. There is no doubt that as board chairman, he was something of a martinet. His dour Presbyterian background did not disarm him from using the power at his command. One close associate of many years said he never let his right hand know what his left hand did.'<sup>43</sup>

Redmer Yska  
Independent historian

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- <sup>1</sup> Philip M. Taylor, 'The Projection of Britain Abroad, 1945-51', in John W. Young and Michael L. Dockrill (eds), *British Foreign Policy, 1945-56* (London: Macmillan, 1989), p.10.
- <sup>2</sup> *Truth*, 22 December 1948, p.14. For further details on the Holmes affair See Redmer Yska, *All Shook Up: The Flash Bodgie and The Rise of the New Zealand Teenager in the Fifties* (Auckland: Penguin Books), pp.16-20.
- <sup>3</sup> Yska, *Truth: The Rise and Fall of the People's Paper* (Nelson: Craig Potten Publishing, 2010), pp.161-181.
- <sup>4</sup> Yska, *Truth*, p.11.
- <sup>5</sup> Sir Geoffrey Palmer, interview with Redmer Yska, 8 April 2009.
- <sup>6</sup> Susan Butterworth, *More than Law and Order: Policing a Changing Society, 1945-92* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005), p.57.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> Archives New Zealand (ANZ), R20834040-AECO-18654-PM10-10/28, 'Prime Minister S G Holland'.
- <sup>9</sup> Susan Butterworth, interview with R.J. McCormick, 18 September 2005.
- <sup>10</sup> Yska, *Truth*, pp.99-102. See also Hugh Price, *The Plot To Subvert Wartime New Zealand* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006), pp.93-96.
- <sup>11</sup> Butterworth, p.60.
- <sup>12</sup> Susan Butterworth, interview with Robert McCormick.
- <sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Rimmer, interview with Redmer Yska, 17 June 2009.
- <sup>14</sup> *Truth*, 27 April 1955, p.1.
- <sup>15</sup> George Bryant, interview with Redmer Yska, 21 May 1992.
- <sup>16</sup> Susan Butterworth, interview with Redmer Yska, 2 December 2008.
- <sup>17</sup> Butterworth, p.57.
- <sup>18</sup> Neil Birss, interview with Redmer Yska, 11 February 2008.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>21</sup> Rex Heathcote, interview with Redmer Yska, 18 June 2008.
- <sup>22</sup> *Truth*, 24 March 1959, p.17.
- <sup>23</sup> *Evening Post* (EP), 22 September 1959, p.14.
- <sup>24</sup> United States National Archives and Record Administration (USNARA), Foreign Service Dispatch to Secretary of State from First Secretary of Embassy, Wellington, 10 June 1959.
- <sup>25</sup> Ian Templeton, interview with Redmer Yska, 2 July 2008.
- <sup>26</sup> ANZ, R12481503-AAOM-17886-W3265-185, Notes of evidence, *Holloway v. Truth (NZ) Ltd*, p.3.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p.16.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.91-93.
- <sup>29</sup> EP, 6 June 1959, p.16.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> EP, 8 June 1959, p.12.
- <sup>32</sup> *Dominion*, 9 June 1959, p.10.
- <sup>33</sup> USNARA, Foreign Service Dispatch to Secretary of State from First Secretary of Embassy, Wellington, 10 June 1959.
- <sup>34</sup> Susan Butterworth, interview with Robert McCormick.
- <sup>35</sup> Lesley Verry, *Seven Days a Week: The Story of Independent Newspapers Ltd* (Wellington: INL Print, 1985), pp.151-152.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>37</sup> Alexander Turnbull Library, MSY-5623, 'Truth (New Zealand) Ltd - Minute book', vol.4, p.121.
- <sup>38</sup> Yska, *Truth*, p.117.
- <sup>39</sup> Rex Heathcote, interview with Redmer Yska, 18 June 2008.
- <sup>40</sup> Sir Geoffrey Palmer, interview with Redmer Yska, 8 April 2009.
- <sup>41</sup> *Socialist Action*, 5 September 1975, p.1.
- <sup>42</sup> Yska, *Truth*, p.179.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* Dunn, who died in 1978, might have questioned the impartiality of Verry's 1985 assessment. Graeme Hunt recorded that Verry himself was named as a communist in 1942, part of a list of 533 party members handed to Prime Minister Peter Fraser. See Graeme Hunt, *Spies and Revolutionaries: A History of New Zealand Subversion* (Auckland: Reed, 2007), p.146.