

MIKE FROST
New Zealand Speaking Tour: 14-30 October 2001

- **Bob Leonard**
from Peace Researcher 24, December 2001

The Anti-Bases Campaign central committee members believe the speaking tour by former Canadian signals intelligence officer Mike Frost Tour was value for money. We brought him here to tell of spying abuses and the failures, if not impossibilities, of controls on spying. And he did just that, both in the media and to public meetings from Christchurch to Whangarei. He also very effectively conveyed the incredible weaknesses of vast Intelligence systems as revealed in the September 11 disasters. In ABC's view Mike's words strongly supported our long-standing contention that most spying is worse than useless, not to mention expensive.

ABC has waged a long and frustrating struggle against the spying activities of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) and its spy base at Waihopai, near Blenheim. Our objections to this spying have been based on information provided from a variety of sources, many authoritative and reliable, but always secondhand. For example, the internationally acclaimed book "Secret Power", by our own Nicky Hager, is the Bible on Echelon^[1], the GCSB and its intimate links to Western signals intelligence (SIGINT); it is based on meticulous research. But Nicky has never worked within the spy agencies. He is an expert because he has been able to compile detailed information by using the Official Information Act and, most importantly, by talking to the spies themselves, over 20 of them from the GCSB. But not one of those spies would speak or be identified publicly.

Mike Frost Unique Whistle Blower

To our knowledge only one SIGINT spy has ever gone public and blown the whistle on the abuses of the UKUSA^[2] Intelligence system of which Waihopai is an integral part. That man is Mike Frost who worked in Canadian Intelligence for 34 years. Nineteen of those years were with the Communications Security Establishment (CSE), Canada's sibling agency to the GCSB. ABC invited Mike to speak in New Zealand because we wanted to hear from someone from inside the system. We were aware of the risks of inviting a man we had never met, someone we knew only from video clips and from his book "Spyworld" (reviewed in *PR 23*), published in 1994. And indeed he had been a bloomin' spy - some in our circles were aghast that we would even consider bringing him here. But we decided to take a punt. After all, Mike Frost went public for some of the key reasons that we oppose global SIGINT spying – abuse of almost unlimited powers to intrude into people's most private affairs, and the ability to spy globally with virtually no accountability.

We embarked on some very successful fundraising and hey presto, the Mike Frost Tour became a reality. In addition to many private donations, large and small, a major contribution came from the Peace and Disarmament Education Trust (PADET: "Rainbow Warrior"^[3] blood money) in the form of a grant. ABC members wish to express our deep appreciation to all of the donors of money and time and effort who made the Tour a success, and to the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control (PACDAC) for recommending the award of the PADET grant.

Impact Of The Tour

Was the tour in fact a success? We think so. Media planning prior to Mike's arrival had to be somewhat limited due to restrictions imposed by Mike himself. But once he got here he was quite willing to honour local interview requests, including a radio taping at the unpleasant hour of 6 a.m. Fortunately, Radio New Zealand's top rating *Kim Hill* was his first stop and this was undoubtedly the media peak of the entire tour. Kim was friendly, well informed (we had loaned her Nicky Hager's copy of Mike's book^[4]) and asked excellent questions. Mike was able to cover a broad range of topics in his 20 minutes or so of prime national radio time: his personal background, juicy anecdotes from his years of spying, his experiences with abuses of the system (like economic espionage and spying on politicians and diplomats), the lack of Parliamentary oversight, and his personal motivation in speaking out against abuses.

Other newspaper and radio coverage of the tour was reasonably good, and was particularly strong in some of the smaller centres where the news is not under the thumb of the international media conglomerates. Blenheim (host city to Waihopai) and Palmerston North (neighbour to Tangimoana) gave Mike front page coverage. Nothing appeared in the Christchurch *Press* or any of the major daily papers in Wellington and Auckland. Perhaps they felt scooped by Kim Hill. The only national paper to write about Mike Frost was the *Sunday Star-Times*. TVNZ's *60 Minutes* had negotiated, directly with Mike himself in Canada, exclusive TV coverage. But they cancelled that at the

very last moment, and there was no other TV coverage of his visit.

Of course, Mike is a Canadian and he made it abundantly clear in both his media statements and his speeches that he was not speaking about New Zealand spying or politics or anything else about which he had no direct knowledge. It was up to ABC to provide speakers to give the New Zealand perspective – ABCer Bob Leonard in Christchurch and Blenheim, Green MP Keith Locke in Nelson, Takaka, Hamilton, Whangarei and Auckland, and researcher Nicky Hager in Wellington and Palmerston North.

Mike gave speeches in nine cities and towns during his visit. He arrived in Christchurch late on the evening of October 14 and departed from Auckland on October 30. He was accompanied by his wife Carole, a delightful, softly spoken woman who has stood by Mike through thick and thin, including the many years when neither she nor their three sons had a clue what he was up to during his long absences from home. Carole attended every New Zealand speech and was undoubtedly instrumental in keeping Mike humming along on what was a fairly gruelling speaking schedule. Fortunately, they had a few days for rest and sightseeing along the way. And their accommodation, mainly in private homes, was comfortable and enabled them to get to know a few Kiwis fairly well. It was all an important part of Mike's slow return from the cold to the real world of the civilians he spied upon for so long.

The Frost Message

What was Mike's message? The whole point of his public speaking and his book is that signals intelligence is subject to abuses and that the spy agencies lack effective oversight to control their excesses, their breaches of the law. He acknowledged that the multi-billion dollar US and allied Intelligence system had failed on September 11, and probably for several years leading up to that fateful day. But despite his intimate knowledge of the spy business, including considerable direct experience and training within the fortress of the US National Security Agency (NSA), he could not explain the failure except in vague terms: "The bad guys got lucky".

He had intended to give pretty much the same prepared speech all along the way. He is after all an experienced public speaker in Canada where he has concentrated his efforts to date. But his carefully prepared speech got tossed aside in the wake of the events of September 11 in New York City and Washington. The numbingly successful terrorist attacks represented a colossal failure of every element of the Intelligence community in every Western country, and especially those of the UKUSA brotherhood. In contemplating his speaking tour in New Zealand, Mike knew he would be confronted with repeated questions about that failure. He found it so vexing that he came close to cancelling his trip altogether. Instead, he chose to incorporate September 11 in his speeches.

His first speeches, in Christchurch and Blenheim, revealed a man without clear answers as to why Intelligence failed or what might be done to prevent it from happening again. He was obviously sincere and troubled, and in the words of a few, "muddled". But his message crystallised after the first few meetings and came down to this:

- The Intelligence system will catch Osama bin Laden and his henchmen. It's just a matter of time.
- He still believes strongly that Western society needs the protection of vast Intelligence systems and networks. He does not agree with ABC that Waihopai and the GCSB or any other part of the system should be dismantled.
- He is willing to give up substantial personal freedoms if that will help catch the terrorists. If we don't make this sacrifice, we'll have no freedoms left to protect.
- The spies abuse the system, break the law, and are effectively accountable to no one. On this one he is in complete agreement with ABC. He is not so clear on just what to do about it.
- No system is infallible – e.g. September 11, 2001. Perhaps what is needed is more human intelligence – spies in the field. That of course is the business of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), not the high tech, eye-in-the-sky NSA.

Reaction To The Public Meetings

How did his audiences respond to these messages? There were many positive reactions, and many negative ones, perhaps more than Mike would have liked. Although many folks did not agree with Mike's views on Intelligence, they appreciated his willingness to speak out for what he believes and to share his expertise with New Zealanders. From reports received by ABC from all the centres where Mike spoke, we offer the following sampler.

" People respected Mike's honesty, and his different conclusions about the usefulness of signals intelligence".

"He did give some useful overviews of the operations of Echelon...useful to have a person here who can give the 'dinkum oil'..."

“One great thing – the audience, though polite, didn’t take his stuff re justifications re limiting civil liberties lying down...”

“His arguments for keeping Echelon were not convincing and several people said so in Blenheim”.

“Some said they would have liked some emphasis on ‘State terrorism’ (for example, by the US) and how it could be countered”.

“I don’t think it actually mattered in the meetings that Mike had mixed feelings after September 11 – it didn’t appear that anyone agreed with that view and so it just encouraged a better discussion than if everyone had agreed with each other”.

“Frost has a rather uncompromising support of spy agencies, and some weird ideas about how to stop terrorism”.

“I agree with him in that while Echelon and the principles and practices associated with it are an invasion of privacy, the ‘bad’ people in the world cause us to lose our freedom...so we are not going to have things as we would like”.

The Anti-Bases Campaign offers our sincere thanks to Mike and Carole Frost for visiting Aotearoa/New Zealand and giving us their insights: Mike into the otherwise impenetrable and murky world of global Intelligence, and Carole for sharing with some of us the trials and tribulations of life with a Canadian government employee, who turned out to be a spy – or to use the term Mike prefers, an Intelligence officer.

[1] Echelon is the code name for the global SIGINT program run by American Intelligence.

[2] Refers to the Intelligence agreement involving the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and NZ.

[3] Some of the money paid by France (several million dollars in all) to pay off New Zealand and secure the release from NZ prisons of their two captured Intelligence agents who had been convicted and imprisoned for their role in the 1985 fatal bombing of the Greenpeace vessel "Rainbow Warrior", in Auckland. Ed.

[4] The book is out of print and Nicky’s copy is probably the only one in NZ. Mike Frost tried to send us several copies of the book directly via the publisher. But they have never arrived. Go figure.

REVIEW

“BODY OF SECRETS:

Anatomy Of The Ultra-Secret National Security Agency From The Cold War Through The Dawn Of The New Century” by James Bamford. Doubleday, 2001.

- Nicky Hager

It is a very rare event for reliable and detailed information about spying activities to reach the public. More often what we hear from news organisations and commentators are recycled versions of decades-old ‘facts’, trustingly updated using official statements from Intelligence sources. It serves these secretive agencies well to be so free from scrutiny and informed criticism.

James Bamford's 721 page new book on the US National Security Agency (NSA) is one of those rare events. The NSA is the most powerful Intelligence agency in the world, monitoring communications of virtually every nation on earth; its spying has a large and invisible effect on world politics. Yet this is only the second good exposé of the NSA, with the first – also by Bamford – now almost 20 years old.

The first nine chapters of the book, covering the 1940s to 1970s, are the most important and compelling. Focusing on some of the key conflicts in that period, Bamford reveals highly secret details of the sometimes dubious Intelligence achievements, the mess-ups and generally the crucial but little acknowledged role secret intelligence plays in international power politics

I did not find the last five chapters, covering the 1980s to the present, as gripping a read. They provide an encyclopedic account of the NSA's structures, capabilities and staff, including many revelations, but they have less inside detail about specific Intelligence operations. Simply: the more recent the secrets, the harder they are to get.

Some memorable sections include US and British Intelligence officers racing Russian troops to German codebreaking secrets as the war ended in 1945 (gaining a major – but shortlived – Cold War advantage); provocative and at times rash spy plane flights over the Soviet Union in the 1950s (not unlike more recent ones over China's Hainan Island); and extreme anti-communist US military chiefs planning to create a “terror campaign” against American warships, aircraft and citizens, blamed on Cuba, to justify invading that country in the 1960s (‘the casualty lists in U.S. newspapers would cause a helpful wave of national indignation,’ a secret report argued).

The historic chapters are ‘history’ in the best sense of the term: they are so authentic and well documented that they also help us understand how the world works today. The Intelligence operations kept secret from the public under (ex-CIA Director) George Bush or his son's administrations will not be so different than those when Nixon or Kissinger were there.

Israeli State Terrorism Against US Spy Ship

The chapter that affected me most was the story of the Israeli attack on the US spy ship “Liberty” during the 1967 Six Day War. Israeli forces conducted close surveillance of the ship for six hours, then launched repeated air and torpedo attacks on the ship until most of the crew was dead or wounded and much of the ship destroyed. Life boats were shot at and sunk as soon as they were launched. Israel claimed the attack was a mistake and – although the NSA had evidence otherwise – the US government accepted this and never launched an inquiry.

Bamford makes a convincing case that the Israelis were well aware that they were attacking a US spy ship. He concludes that the reason for the attack was to avoid evidence being gathered about military atrocities occurring only about 20km from the ship, in the Egyptian town of El Arish, where Israeli soldiers were in the process of shooting hundreds of civilians and bound prisoners.

The Pentagon ordered a total news ban on the attack, the crew was threatened with jail if they talked about it and President Johnson was reported as saying that “he didn't care if the ship sank, he would not embarrass his allies”. Bamford doesn't hide his feelings about the event, criticising the cynical disregard for life and truth shown by the Israeli and US governments. This incident illustrates how important it is to have independent investigative journalists like Bamford probing official stories.

“Body of Secrets” is an outstanding piece of investigation. The book deserves to be used as a case study of how much a determined investigator can uncover (and how much *needs* to be uncovered) even on a dauntingly secret subject like this. In 24 months of research and writing he located and interviewed many insiders, acquired highly classified documents, located numerous useful but scattered sources and made extensive use of the US Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). For instance, he had the ingenious idea of requesting secret oral histories recorded by past

NSA staff, just as his 1982 book, "The Puzzle Palace", had uncovered many clues and details by targeting FOIA requests on seemingly innocuous NSA staff newsletters. "Body of Secrets" is certain to be the main source on the NSA for many years to come, and deservedly so.

NEW LAWS: A VERY NASTY PACKAGE DEAL

- Murray Horton

In recent years there has been a steady drip drip drip of new laws expanding and refining the powers of NZ's Intelligence agencies. Taken individually they are bad enough but when you look at them as part of an ongoing process, the whole picture becomes much more alarming. In the 1990s we had two amendments to the Security Intelligence Service Act (one forced on legislators by the bungled SIS break-in at the home of Christchurch political activist, Aziz Choudry). [PR 23 \(June 2001\)](#) highlighted the new Bill to legitimise the existence (since 1977!) of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which runs the Waihopai and Tangimoana spybases. The same issue ran a lengthy analysis of the Supplementary Order Paper Number 85 to the Crimes Amendment (No. 6) Bill, more popularly known as the [Swain Bill](#) (named after Paul Swain, the Minister of Information Technology and Associate Minister of Justice). There have been further developments with both those Bills. And then, from nowhere, and in direct response to the global security hysteria following the September 11 terrorist atrocities in the US, came the new Terrorism Suppression Bill.

GCSB Bill

We'll start with ABC's June 2001 submission on the GCSB Bill, written by Bob Leonard. This Bill was rushed through the Intelligence and Security Committee, which is a committee of Government and most definitely not of Parliament (i.e. it is not a Select Committee). Its members are those senior politicians nominally in charge of, and in the know about, NZ's Intelligence agencies. Currently they are: Helen Clark, Prime Minister and Minister in Charge of the SIS (and of the GCSB under the new Bill); Jim Anderton, Deputy PM and Alliance Leader; Michael Cullen, Labour Deputy Leader; Bill English, Leader of the Opposition and National Leader; and Richard Prebble, ACT Leader. ABC asked to be heard on this Bill. Unfortunately that came up whilst Bob Leonard was on a family holiday in the US; the Committee refused to come to Christchurch, or to accept phone submissions. The Bill has been duly passed and comes into effect in early 2002.

ABC Submission On GCSB Bill

The Government Communications Security Bureau has had only the flimsiest legal status since its mysterious inception in 1977. Few knew of that inception and few knew the Bureau even existed for many years thereafter. So the Anti-Bases Campaign felt somewhat positive for a brief time after learning that the GCSB might have its own Law in the near future. We even "celebrated" at our annual demonstration in January 2001 at the Waihopai station. But the reality of the Bill is nothing to celebrate: it provides no clear understanding of the real purposes and methods of operation of the GCSB, and it provides no protection for the people of New Zealand and our Pacific neighbours from the intelligence abuses of the GCSB.

As your committee may be aware, the Anti-Bases Campaign has campaigned for many years against the existence of the GCSB and its electronic signals interception stations at Waihopai and Tangimoana.

Our position is simple:

- that the GCSB and its facilities do not operate in the interests of Aotearoa/New Zealand and should not be given legal status by the proposed Bill.
- the GCSB and all its ties to overseas Intelligence agencies should be terminated and the Waihopai and Tangimoana stations should be closed immediately by our Parliament.

We support our position with the following brief summary of key points:

(1) The GCSB is a party to the UKUSA Agreement making it an intimate intelligence partner with sibling agencies in the United States, the UK, Canada and Australia. The intelligence links among these agencies are automated, giving New Zealand no control over the use of intercepts produced in this country at Waihopai and Tangimoana. There has never been a denial by any government or agency official of the truth of this allegation. This total lack of New Zealand control over communications interception makes a mockery of assurances to the contrary.

(2) Oversight of our Intelligence agencies is a facade. With the best of intentions, no Government committee and no Inspector-General of Security and Intelligence could possibly oversee the inner workings of New Zealand's Intelligence activities. Those activities are carried out in complete secret under the rules set by the National Security Agency (NSA) of the United States. Nobody outside the Intelligence community, including so-called oversight personnel, have total access to the operational details of the GCSB. This fact is admitted in the Government's own recent publication "Securing our Nation's Safety" (*see PR 23 for details of this booklet. Ed.*).

(3) Ineffective oversight leads to abuses. The worst abuse is likely to be domestic spying on our own citizens. Mike Frost of the Canadian Communications Security Establishment (CSE), the only NSA-trained spy ever to reveal his firsthand experiences in signals intelligence, demolishes the concept of effective oversight. (See Frost's book, "Spyworld", Doubleday, 1994). The GCSB has long denied that it engages in domestic spying. But Frost says it's endemic to the profession. The so-called Swain Bill will only increase domestic spying by the GCSB, again without saying a word about how that spying might be done. But we know how it's done at Waihopai, by the interception of stray satellite communications over a vast area of the Pacific.

(4) Allegations are rife around the globe that the UKUSA intelligence agencies engage in industrial espionage via electronic interceptions. Mike Frost has written from a position of personal experience (19 years with the CSE and extensive training with the NSA) that the NSA and its sibling agencies spy on everybody. The Americans even spy on the Canadians. Embassy interception, long established in the NSA and CSE, and satellite spying on neighbouring nations focuses on government and diplomatic communications. The potential damage to New Zealand's relations with its neighbours because of Waihopai's activities is enormous. Now that the Echelon cat is out of the bag, keeping our spying secrets is going to be increasingly difficult (see the interim report of the Echelon investigation by an official committee of the European Parliament).

(5) The GCSB Bill would confer an aura of legitimacy on the Bureau that it simply does not deserve. How can an agency be deemed to operate under the laws of the land when it is exempted from certain provisions of the Privacy Act, when it is exempted from some provisions of the Crimes Act, when its methods of operation are closed secrets except to the exclusive brethren within the international Intelligence community? Our Parliament, our Intelligence and Security Committee, and our Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security know next to nothing about the GCSB, about Waihopai, about Tangimoana. What they can know is only what the GCSB, under the watchful eye of the NSA, chooses to reveal. Nothing can be revealed under the laws of New Zealand. The GCSB Bill must not be passed. It is worse than useless in that it pretends to be something it is not – legislation to bring the GCSB under the rule of law.

Swain Bill

This was analysed at length in [PR 23](#) and we refer you to that, rather than rehash it all here. We also suggest that you read ABC's [submission on the Bill](#).

The Law and Order Select Committee duly reported back and, just as predictably, took not one bit of notice of the numerous submissions received against the Bill. It was passed unchanged. Some quotes from the Committee's report will suffice: "...We consider that (it) preserves, but does not expand, the current powers of the SIS...Without an exemption (*from laws prohibiting interception of communications. Ed.*), the ability of the SIS to perform its functions will be compromised...Under clause 16B(5), the GCSB is exempt from the offence in section 216B of the Act that prohibits the use of listening devices to intercept private communications. This in effect preserves the existing exemption held by the GCSB for its Waihopai site, and extends the exemption to cover all interception devices operated by the GCSB. This means that the exemption is no longer site specific...We consider the exemption in clause 16B(5) is necessary in order to preserve the existing foreign Intelligence collection capabilities, for which no warrant is required. Placing the exemption in the statute will increase public transparency in relation to the Waihopai facility and, by extending the exemption to the other sites operated by the GCSB will avoid the risk that they may have to cease operations in order to avoid committing an offence...We consider that overall the Bill and the Supplementary Order Paper will strengthen privacy protection and does not significantly increase the powers of the State to intrude on individual privacy...While certain State agencies will be exempt from criminal liability in some circumstances, these exemptions relate either to existing powers or to activities that these agencies could presently undertake without specific authorisation. The exemptions are also placed on a clear statutory footing and are supported with appropriate safeguards". So there you have it, we have nothing to worry about. If only. The Act is due to come into force in February 2002.

Green MP Keith Locke, who had campaigned hard against the Bill, said: "Basically there is no concession to the genuine widespread public feeling that interception of electronic communications is very dangerous. The potential for fishing expeditions is quite dramatic. Key word searches can be used and there is the potential for huge invasions of privacy involved in remote access of people's computers" (*NZ Herald*, 21/7/01; "Clearance for e-mail snoops"). Alan Marston, the owner of Auckland-based Internet Service Provider, PlaNNet, called it "draconian and undemocratic" (*ibid*).

Thus far there is no sign of its necessary companion piece, the amendment to the Telecommunications Act, which will spell out just how these electronic interceptions will be done. But doubtless it won't be far away.

Terrorism Suppression Bill

Terrorism has never been a big issue in New Zealand, despite the attempts by diehards over the decades to depict all manner of political activists as “terrorists”, from Maori land right occupiers and anti-1981 Springbok Tour protesters, to, more recently, anti-genetic engineering and anti-globalisation protesters. The only bona fide acts of terrorism in recent history – the murderous 1980s bombings of the Wellington Trades Hall and the *Rainbow Warrior* – were both committed by people from quite the other side of the argument (French Intelligence agents in the latter case). By comparison with political struggles in much of the rest of the world, little old New Zealand has been very tame indeed (and a good thing too).

So, when the Government introduced the Terrorism (Bombings and Financing) Bill into Parliament, in early 2001, there was zero public awareness of it. Nobody (including us) had heard of it, there were no submissions. But suddenly, after the September 11 atrocities in the US, terrorism became the global buzzword. Talkback rednecks, who seethed with resentment at the favourable TV documentary coverage given to the anti-1981 Tour protesters in its 20th anniversary year, pointed out that protesters then had used (light) aircraft as real or threatened weapons against rugby crowds and were therefore on a par with the suicide hijackers and mass murderers of September 11. Anti-globalisation protesters worldwide were branded terrorists. And in country after country, starting with the dreadful Patriot Act in the US, extremely repressive laws were rushed through, in a wave of war hysteria and gibbering fear mixed with a bloodcurdling demand for revenge.

Lo and behold, New Zealand’s Labour/Alliance government (which fell over itself to offer military assistance to the US in the global “war on terrorism” and put the Army in charge of NZ airport security), suddenly whipped out this utterly obscure Bill and declared that it was obliged, by a globally binding United Nations resolution to fight terrorism by all available means, to rush it through with no debate, no public submissions, and all within a week. It was prepared to receive submissions from a handful of Government-selected organisations. This was the nadir of the terrorism hysteria that started in New York and Washington and swept around the world like a tsunami of irrationality, washing up on the far flung beaches of New Zealand.

Once again, to their great credit, only the Greens opposed it. Keith Locke MP who has consistently campaigned against all these laws said, in a Parliamentary speech (7/11/01):

“...The Minister (of Justice, Phil Goff) outlined a broadening of the definition of terrorism, going beyond planting bombs and killing people to damage to property and disruption of infrastructure. This broadening of the definition can be very dangerous. According to Phil Goff, causing ‘major economic loss’ is covered in the definition of terrorism. And as we all know the whole point of a union strike is to cause enough economic loss to the employer, private or public, to convince them to give ground to workers.

“Many strikes could be defined as causing major economic loss and disrupting infrastructure, particularly if they are technically illegal, like political strikes or wildcat strikes. Do we want a society where unionists are considered terrorists?

“The process of designating terrorists, as described by Mr Goff, without them necessarily ever being brought to trial, is also a can of worms, and scary to the public. I remember one Robert Muldoon (Prime Minister 1975-84), who was quite happy to label anti-Springbok tour protesters traitors, and Nelson Mandela’s (South) African National Congress (ANC) a terrorist organisation. If he’d been a Minister allowed to designate which groups were terrorist, many New Zealanders would have gone to jail.

“The new provisions are on financing terrorism and recruiting to terrorist groups. Robert Muldoon could have had people thrown in jail for joining up people to Halt All Racist Tours (*HART, the major anti-apartheid, anti-sporting links, non-violent direct action group of the 1970s and 80s. Ed.*) if he designated it terrorist, or for sending money to the ANC in South Africa, if he designated that terrorist. I mention Robert Muldoon because law has to be written with the most authoritarian leaders in mind, not the more democratic ones. When you have broad definitions of terrorism, it depends very much on the politics of the Government implementing them who are defined as terrorists and who are defined as freedom fighters.

“Would our present Government define those who use bombs against Saddam Hussein or the Taliban as terrorists? I doubt. They would call them freedom fighters. Yet they might label the Tamil Tigers or the Free Papua Movement guerrillas terrorists because New Zealand is friendly to the Sri Lankan and Indonesian governments.

“Another problem with anti-terrorism legislation being passed in countries around the world is that so much of the

designation of terrorists is being done with secret information, which the accused cannot bring out into the open and challenge fully in a court. This is a serious fear I have about the anti-terrorism bill before this Parliament.

“Because of its potentially huge impact on civil liberties and the right to dissent, it is crucial that the new sections in this bill come under the greatest possible public scrutiny...”

Well, thanks to both public outcry and the media starting to take an interest in the subject (for example, see Gordon Campbell's excellent article “Eternal Vigilance”, in the *Listener*, 17/11/01), the Government backed off slightly and dropped the one week deadline and the handpicked groups. The Bill – since renamed the Terrorism Suppression Bill – was opened up to public submissions but the deadline was only a few weeks. The Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Select Committee heard them in December 2001, in Wellington only. Bob Leonard sent one in on behalf of ABC. We asked to be heard, in Christchurch, but our request was ignored in the stampede to get it passed.

The best critique of the Bill was written by David Small, somebody who knows what he's talking about, from personal experience. He and Aziz Choudry were the central figures in the mysterious 1996 chain of events in Christchurch centring on David catching Security Intelligence Service agents breaking into Aziz's home, and being raided by the Police for his troubles. In 2000, David Small, representing himself, successfully sued the Attorney-General (i.e. the Government) in relation to that raid. These events have been extensively featured in *Peace Researcher* from 1996-2001 inclusive.

It can be found on the Website of ARENA (Action, Research and Education Network of Aotearoa), where there is a whole Webpage devoted to articles and statements about the Terrorism Suppression Bill. The address is: www.arena.org.nz

At the time of writing this is very much a live issue. We will keep you posted on it. Even its title is ominous, having shades of the evil old apartheid South Africa, which surrounded itself with catch-all laws emphasising the suppression of “terrorism” and “Communism” (which, in practice, were used to imprison, torture, exile and harass all and any opponents of the regime). But it's worth reiterating that this is only the latest in a very nasty package deal of repressive and intrusive laws stretching back to the mid 90s. The pattern, under both National and Labour governments, is the same – more powers for secret spy agencies and the State; less rights for the people. What's that old saying about the price of liberty being eternal vigilance?

ABC Submission On The Terrorism Suppression Bill

The Anti-Bases Campaign and its predecessor (Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood) have a nearly 20-year history of active opposition to American military and Intelligence bases in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This domestic opposition has not escaped the notice of the American Embassy in Wellington and thus the American government in Washington DC. The names and details of our members (active and former) will have been entered into the files of the Police, the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (SIS), the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the American National Security Agency (NSA). It is likely that our home and business telephones are bugged and it is a certainty that our international communications via telephone, email, and fax are routinely intercepted by the satellite spy base at Waihopai.

This Bill Will Suppress Dissent, Not Terrorism

Because of our opposition to significant aspects of the domestic and foreign policies of the New Zealand and American governments we are very likely to have been designated as threats to the established order. Thus we, and thousands of dissenters like us, have every reason to oppose the Terrorism Suppression Bill in its present form. We oppose the suspension of democratic and legal due process if this bill is passed into law. We fear that those who question or dissent from Government policies, especially as they relate to the tragic events of September 11 in the United States, could lead to suspension of civil rights and perhaps even imprisonment based merely on suspicion and innuendo. That is precisely what is happening now in the United States on the basis of racial profiling. Our other dominant partners in military/intelligence cooperation (Australia, Canada and the UK) are proposing even more draconian legislation.

1. Defining Terrorism – Licence To Suspend Due Process

The terms “terrorist” and “terrorist act” cannot be precisely defined because they depend heavily on context. The framers of the Terrorist Bill have tried to circumvent this problem by interpreting and defining terrorist acts very broadly and with unworkable, and even bizarre, implications.

· “Terrorist act in armed conflict” (Section 4) is interpreted as “...an act...the purpose of which is to intimidate a

population, or compel a government or international organisation to do or abstain from doing any act". This interpretation applies to the war on Afghanistan conducted by the American government and military. Is this the intent of the New Zealand government? We think not since the wording is almost identical to that in the American Patriot Act. Although the ABC, and similar activist organisations, would not expect to fall prey to this designation, it illustrates the utter uselessness of the interpretation.

Subsections (3 c, d, and e) in Section 5 refer to unjustifiably broad outcomes of a terrorist act. Damage to property, interference with infrastructure, damage to the national economy are defined only by certain vague adjectives, like serious. These terms would give *carte blanche* to the Prime Minister (with the Minister of Foreign Affairs) to declare an act to be terrorist in intent. These paragraphs are among the worst features of the Bill.

We are particularly concerned with the lumping of economic disruption along with the generally accepted terrorist actions like bombing and assassination because of the licence it gives to Government agencies to increase covert and overt surveillance of "suspects". The means to conduct surveillance of New Zealanders by the SIS and the GCSB have recently been increased by several pieces of legislation (see above. Ed.). The Terrorism Bill would greatly increase the motivation of these agencies to invade the privacy of ordinary people. Why? Because "good cause to suspect" a person or group is all the motivation needed. "Good cause" is totally undefined in the Bill.

2. Assumption Of Innocence Discarded

Subsection 4 of Section 5 is somewhat positive in that the scope of the Bill excludes certain types of protest and dissent. ABC is a totally non-violent activist organisation whose members and activities may fall under the provisions of Subsection (4)(a). But protest and civil disobedience are subject to interpretation as to their intent and participants could find themselves labeled as engaging in terrorist acts at the whim of the Police or other enforcement agency in the heat of confrontation. The burden would then appear to fall on the accused to prove their innocence. Our society should not tolerate the abrogation of the basic legal assumption that one is innocent until proven guilty. Political suspicion is all that is necessary to sweep a victim into the terrorist net with only the right of legalistic, not evidential, appeal to the Inspector-General of Security and Intelligence, not to a court of law.

The Anti-Bases Campaign strongly objects to the setting aside of due legal process in the name of fighting terrorism. All kangaroo court provisions must be removed from the Bill. We challenge the Government to provide any compelling evidence from anywhere in the world that such draconian "anti-terrorist" measures are effective. A recent commentary from former American Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) officials is highly relevant:

"The aggressive FBI dragnet -- championed by Attorney General John D Ashcroft -- has provoked much commentary and criticism for its impact on civil liberties. Now, in a series of on the record interviews, eight former high ranking FBI officials have offered the first substantive critique of the Ashcroft program, questioning whether the new approach will have the desired effect. The executives, including a former FBI director, said the Ashcroft plan will inevitably force the Bureau to close terrorism investigations prematurely, before agents can identify all members of a terrorist cell. They said the Justice Department is resurrecting tactics the Government rejected in the late 1970s because they did not prevent terrorism and led to abuses of civil liberties".

3. Greater Licence To Spy On New Zealand Citizens

Subsection 4 begs the question - How are determinations of terrorist intent to be made by the powers that be, and the Prime Minister in particular, in view of her central role (inevitably politically biased) in designating terrorist acts? We suggest that invasions of personal privacy are likely to increase substantially if this bill become law.

In an atmosphere of panicked reaction to the threat of terrorism, governments are rushing through disastrous regulations, followed by ill-considered legislation. With a nod from an all-powerful (but not all-knowing) authority, Intelligence and enforcement agencies will increasingly ride roughshod over basic human rights and ignore civil liberties, with little or no effect on terrorism.

What would it be like to swept into the grip of mindless terrorist law, of unbridled police power? A Texas lawyer, Paul Coggins, published his nightmare on the Internet on 21 November 2001. We urge the committee members to put themselves in his nightmare. Is this the road down which New Zealand is trodding?

(abridged)

"I toss in an unfamiliar bed. Strange bed. Strange room. Strange town. Strange country. A stranger in a strange land, I sleep fitfully in a country not my own. The hotel door bangs open. Heavy boots shake

the room as armed soldiers surround me. Angry voices. Blinding lights. Paralyzing panic. Groggy, I am slow to react. Too slow. Rough hands jerk me off the bed and onto the hard floor. A boot presses on my spine and another on my neck. Face down, I am pinned to the floor. My hands are cuffed behind my back, so tightly that my arm sockets burn with pain. Under the cover of night, I am whisked to a solitary cell in a maximum security prison. My pleas for a phone call are ignored. I have not been allowed to contact family or friends. I'm terrified that my wife and daughter are worried about me. My requests to see a lawyer also fall on deaf ears. The only people I see are my captors. Every day they haul me into an interrogation room to grill me with questions. No one on the outside knows where I am or if I'm alive. Down to a flicker of hope, I am spirited in the night to a new prison, hundreds of miles, maybe thousands of miles from my old cell. Disoriented by frequent moves and forced isolation, I forget where I am, what country is holding me. Am I a political prisoner in South America? Eastern Europe? Southeast Asia? Have I joined the swelling ranks of 'los desaparecidos', the disappeared ones? I'm not in South America, Eastern Europe or Southeast Asia. I am a prisoner in the United States. I have been branded a terrorist suspect, though the basis for the suspicion may be vague, flimsy or not spelled out at all. Forget the books and movies. There is no phone call from prison, no lawyer in the visiting room and no judge watching over my case. There are only captors, questions and solitary cells”.

4. Bin The Bill

The Terrorism Suppression Bill is unnecessary. It should be binned. Terrorism is obvious to all when it occurs, whether it is the destruction of skyscrapers in New York or the destruction of homes and hospitals in Afghanistan. In a free and democratic society terrorism must be dealt with under the rule of law. Existing criminal law in New Zealand is adequate to cover acts of terrorism, should they take place here.

New Zealand is not America. We may not yet be the subject of intense hatred by the victims of western exploitation of the developing world (although sending our Special Air Service - SAS - troops to help fight America's war is immoral and invites that very hatred).

WAR WITHOUT BORDERS OR END

- Murray Horton

This is our first opportunity to comment on the dreadful atrocities of September 11, so let's make it clear from the outset that the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) abhors acts of mass murder such as occurred in New York and Washington DC. Terrorism against civilians using weapons of mass destruction is abominable, whether it be the American nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki or the use of commercial airliners (and their illfated passengers) as flying bombs on American cities (to put things into perspective, the World Trade Center explosions were estimated to have had 2% of the force of the 1945 Hiroshima atomic bomb. But, on the other hand, this one incident killed more people than have died in the whole 30+ years of the current Northern Irish "Troubles"). Not only is terrorism abhorrent, but from the political point of view of the global progressive movement, it is counter-productive – as has been amply borne out by everything that has happened since.

Having made that clear, we need to equally state that we oppose utterly the response to those atrocities. Undeniably, these attacks delivered a profound psychological, as well as physical, blow to the US (not to mention global capitalism, whose physical headquarters is downtown Manhattan). The Bush Administration has milked it for all it's worth (and it's noticeable that all the post-attack propaganda has been focused on the New York attack. It's rather harder to sell the line of "innocent civilians" when the target is the Pentagon, the very nerve centre of the American military empire). Bush, only a few months after effectively stealing the 2000 Presidential election and deeply dividing the American people, has seen this as a godsend. Ever since taking office he had been disengaging from the world and aggressively practising a policy of unilateralism, exploiting the United States' position as the world's only superpower.

For instance, he has scrapped the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty with the former Soviet Union and continues to push for the construction of the bizarre Star Wars missile defence system. In December 2001, Bush gave the necessary six months formal notice for the US to withdraw from the Treaty (he reckons Star Wars is necessary to protect the US from "rogue States". It would have been completely useless against hijackers using US commercial flights as missiles. And although he proclaimed as a success the 2001 test of the ability to use a US missile to intercept and destroy an incoming enemy missile, it later emerged that the incoming missile was fitted with a location device, so that it could be found. "Rogue" missiles are unlikely to be so helpful).

September 11 presented the opportunity to reinvent a desperately needed global enemy (which had been missing since the collapse of the Soviet Union, a decade earlier). Thus an obscure group of Islamic terrorists and the States that allegedly back them were hastily elevated to the status that world Communism had occupied in the earlier Reagan and Bush 1 Administrations. The present Administration is full of retreads from Reagan and Bush 1 – men such as Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Armitage, Perle, Powell. These guys need an enemy figure – Osama bin Laden became the Saddam Hussein of 2001 (although good old goddam Saddam is still there, a useful irritant to remind them of the "unfinished business of 1991").

The more excitable among them talk of a "clash of civilisations" with Islam, of reviving the religious wars of several hundred years ago. Nobody is impolite enough to point out that the Crusaders were roundly defeated by Saladin – now that really is unfinished business. These guys have won over at least one prominent supporter here: Bill English, Leader of the Opposition, has made the extraordinary claim that New Zealand's semi-mythical World War 1 defeat at Gallipoli (Turkey), our veritable "coming of age as a nation", marks our first clash with Islam, a clash with which we have still to come to terms, in his opinion.

Taliban And Bin Laden: No Longer "Our Sons Of Bitches"

Post-September 11, attention swung rapidly to Afghanistan and its grotesquely obscurantist Taliban regime. Fundamentalists and fanatics are the logical end product of war and superpower meddling. Exactly the same thing had happened in Cambodia in the 1970s, spawning the genocidal Khmer Rouge as a response to the years of American bombing, invasion and meddling, all as a by-product of the wars next door, in Vietnam and Laos. The Taliban are the same holy warriors hailed as heroes by the Reaganauts when they successfully fought the invading Russians in the 1980s. They were trained, armed and financed by the US Central Intelligence Agency and its Pakistani proxies. Men such as bin Laden are the children of the Cold War, which became a hot one in Afghanistan. The Taliban are the very same men (and they are all men, very deliberately) hailed as heroes for restoring order in 1996, when they chucked out the same warlords and opium dealers now restored to their fiefdoms by the current American war. So one bunch of cutthroat murderous misogynists and fanatical theocrats has been replaced by another collection of exactly the same hue.

One could be forgiven for thinking, after being bombarded by the uncritical propaganda being dropped on us like daisy cutter bombs from B52s, that the US had gone into Afghanistan to liberate its long suffering (and literally invisible) women from oppression, to give one example. Nonsense – for the several years the Taliban was in power, the US had no problems with it. It was seen as instrumental in eradicating opium growing (the source of the global heroin scourge) and was cultivated as being a likely protector of a proposed Central Asian oil pipeline, which is being promoted as a safer and more profitable alternative to pipelines running through Iran or the unstable former Soviet republics. It was a regime with which the US could do business, and more importantly it promoted stability on one of the wilder edges of empire, always an important consideration when you've got an empire to run.

If the US had objections to murderous, misogynistic feudal dictatorships run by corrupt princes and reactionary mullahs then it would have long ago done something about its staunchest ally in the Middle East – Saudi Arabia. Instead, it has devoted countless billions and its entire military might to protecting that most revolting of regimes, the biggest supplier of America's oil. Never forget that bin Laden comes from a fabulously rich Saudi family; the majority of the September 11 suicide hijackers were Saudis – not one was an Afghan. In the words of the old saying, the Taliban et al. may have been “sons of bitches but they're our sons of bitches”. But the Taliban outlived its usefulness to the US when it became “out of control” and offered an operational base to bin Laden, who had taken to gnawing on the hand that had fed him. He, in turn, overplayed his hand by punching the Emperor right on the nose (and in broad daylight too). It was inevitable that the US, given its entire 20th Century history as a lumbering military behemoth (it reminds me of the mountain troll in the “Harry Potter” movie) would go to war, motivated by hysteria bred of a mixture of fear, panic and the desire for revenge. Plus the Bush Administration, full of the most reptilian specimens of the most reactionary tendencies in American society, seized on this as a perfect excuse to mount a war with neither end nor borders, under the pretext of rooting out bin Laden's Al Qaeda network. If that isn't enough, there is talk of “unfinished business”, involving States from North Korea to Iraq. All the American humiliations of the past decades – such as the ignominious exit from Somalia in the early 1990s, after a warlord's ragtag militia humbled the much vaunted US Special Forces – might now be avenged.

Bush, who has definitely watched too many cowboy movies, has used apocalyptic language such as “you are either with us or against us”: the language of the homicidal bully, drunk with power. There is the personal factor too, the need to look tough. Bush would like it forgotten that on the day of the attacks, he ran and hid in a nuclear war bunker on the other side of the US. And war hysteria provides the perfect pretext to radically reshape your own society in your own reactionary likeness, because “there's a war on, don't you know”. Hence the stampede to ram through repressive laws such as the Patriot Act, which radically undercuts civil liberties enshrined since the writing of the US Constitution in the 18th Century.

There Are Other Ways Of Dealing With Terrorism

Never mind that there are other, non-violent ways of rooting out terrorists and criminals. Several years of global pressure on Libya led to Colonel Gaddafi (who once occupied the top spot in American demonology, now supplanted by Saddam and bin Laden) surrendering the two men wanted for the 1988 terrorist bombing of the US passenger airliner over Lockerbie (Scotland). They were tried in a special Scottish court convened in Holland; one was convicted and is serving a life sentence (whether these men or Libya per se had anything to do with the Lockerbie bombing is a whole other issue). To give another example, Slobodan Milosevic, erstwhile leader of what's left of Yugoslavia, was arrested by his own people and turned over to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague to face trial for genocide and other grave charges. Ironically, it is the US which has fought tooth and nail against the creation of a permanent international war crimes court, because it won't countenance any of its own standing in the dock. When you're the Emperor and only your side of the story is being told, everybody else are the war criminals. Never you.

It's worth noting, in passing, that New Zealand has recent experience of international State terrorism – namely the fatal bombing of the Greenpeace ship “Rainbow Warrior” in Auckland Harbour, in 1985, by French Intelligence agents. That case was solved and dealt with by routine NZ Police work (no Cruise missiles or B52s were needed) and international negotiation. There was a conspicuous silence from the “anti-terrorist” Reagan and Thatcher governments when nuclear free New Zealand was the victim of State terrorism from a major “friendly” Power.

Other vassal states have their own motives for following the Emperor. Russia, which as the Soviet Union, was driven out of Afghanistan as a defeated superpower, is back in there again and has the agreement of the West to never again criticise its brutal war of repression against the Muslim separatists of Chechnya (it's ironic to consider that just a few years ago the West, led by the US, was going to war to help Muslims, in Bosnia and Kosovo. Now it is reported in passing that Al Qaeda has operatives in Bosnia and that the Kosovo guerillas are violently destabilising the neighbouring State of Macedonia. Oh well, that was then, this is now). Tony Blair looks and sounds uncannily

like a ventriloquist's dummy and it's quite clear that he's got Uncle Sam's hand shoved up him. Britain has been America's closest collaborator in all its recent wars, and has been involved in the daily bombing of Iraq and the slow starving to death of Iraqi children and civilians via the inhumane blockade of the past decade. Australia's singularly unprepossessing leader, John Howard, owes his very continuation as Prime Minister to Afghanistan – firstly to the Afghan refugees on the “Tampa”, whom he refused, at gunpoint, to admit to Australia and whom he then had dumped at various impoverished Pacific holding pens whose governments he bribed to accept them (New Zealand played a more honourable part in this whole squalid affair, taking some of these wretched boat people and treating them like human beings). Howard thus cleaned up big on the racist vote in the 2001 Federal election, sinking both Labor and One Nation with one king hit. Secondly, he was actually in Washington on September 11, for the 50th anniversary of the ANZUS Treaty – from which NZ has been “suspended” since 1986 – and was literally Johnny on the spot to proclaim Australia's undying military subservience to the US (as it has done for the past 50 years). So he gave his Special Air Service (SAS), fresh from its glorious defeat of the “Tampa” boat people, orders to go to war in Afghanistan. All up, Australia made its biggest combat commitment since the Vietnam War. It's a wonder that Howard hasn't renamed his capital Kaulberra in gratitude to the long suffering Afghans.

The War And New Zealand: Waihopai And Harewood

And what about little old New Zealand, the smallest but traditionally most eager of all the minor satraps of whatever Empire was in the ascendancy? Well we might have a “Centre Left” Labour/Alliance government, but our Cabinet, full of anti-war protestors from the 1960s and 70s, fell over themselves to follow the US to war. Before the smoke had even begun to clear from the twin towers and the Pentagon, our Prime Minister, Helen Clark, was one of the first world leaders to make a military commitment. The same Government that has scrapped the hapless Air Force combat wing (mothballing the Skyhawks) and committed a large chunk of the Army to commendable United Nations peacekeeping duties in East Timor, committed NZ to sending over our SAS and increased Intelligence cooperation with the US. Plus there has been the unseemly haste to bring in the war hysteria-induced Terrorism Suppression Bill (*see the article about it elsewhere in this issue. Ed.*). Everything the SAS does is shrouded in mystery, which seems to be a wise move on its part – revelations about it from ex-members show it to be a bunch of blokes with a propensity for alcohol abuse and a penchant for killing, whose post-military job prospects are basically confined to working as mercenaries or glorified bouncers. So we're never likely to know what, if anything, the NZ SAS contributed to the war in Afghanistan (or any of the other targets of the US “war on terror”). For all we know they might have gone on an extended pub crawl. Matt Robson, Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs, publicly complained that he learned nothing from the Government of the SAS' activities, but only from his nephew, who is in the regiment.

The Intelligence angle is far more significant. In the early days after September 11 Clark stressed repeatedly how vindicated she felt that she champions NZ Intelligence ties with the US and how this proves wrong the critics (such as the ABC) of such ties. Quite the contrary – this war proves, yet again, how right we are to denounce those ties, principally in the shape of the Waihopai spybase, as just making us minor accomplices in whatever policies and wars the US might require us for. The whole Echelon “keywords” communications interception programme, of which Waihopai is but one part, completely failed to detect or prevent September 11. Yet we are being asked to pour yet more money and resources into this spectacularly unsuccessful system. Waihopai and its sister spybases around the world are part of the problem, not the solution.

Nor are the “New Zealand” spybases (which are actually American bases in everything but name, run by New Zealand sub-contractors) our only “Homeland” contribution to America's latest war. To quote from the ABC leaflet distributed at the December 2001 anti-war protest at the US military base at Christchurch Airport:

“The American war in Afghanistan is no further away than Christchurch Airport (Harewood). How come? Because the US maintains a military base there and has done so for nearly 50 years. It's not a nuclear base or a combat base, but it is a military base nonetheless. It's one of a chain of US military bases right around the Asia/Pacific region. Harewood is a medium level multi-purpose military transport base. All year round it is a vital cog in the machine that services the massive US spybases in Australia, specifically the key one of **Pine Gap** (near Alice Springs), which has been described as the ‘Intelligence vacuum cleaner of the skies’.

“Pine Gap has played a major role in every recent US war you can name. When Ronald Reagan tried to kill Libya's leader, Colonel Gaddafi, in 1986, Pine Gap provided the targeting information to the US warplanes. Pine Gap was heavily involved in the Gulf War and the various 1990s wars in the former Yugoslavia. It will be playing its usual role in the current war in Afghanistan...”

ABC believes that the need is greater than ever now that New Zealand, led by the same politicians who so bravely made us nuclear free in the 1980s, finish the job and break all remaining military and Intelligence ties with the US. Of course they plan nothing of the kind, having done exactly the same sort of flip flop performed by the anti-war,

anti-conscription Labour activists of World War 1 who, as the Government during WW2, imposed conscription and slavishly followed Britain (our then Imperial master) into war, ruthlessly persecuting and imprisoning anybody opposed to it. But as Bush and his cronies look to expand the “war without end” beyond benighted Afghanistan, one can detect squeamishness among the various allies about just where all this is going to end. And how. Clark and Co. keep trying to soothe mounting disquiet by promising that New Zealand will get its reward, the holy grail of a free trade agreement with the US. This is the modern equivalent of the “guns for butter” policy of the Holyoake government of the 1960s and 70s when NZ helped to fight America’s war in Vietnam.

Opposition To The War Is Growing

Not that this war and New Zealand’s collaboration in it has gone unopposed amongst New Zealanders. There has been a small but growing anti-war movement since the outset, but you wouldn’t know that from the mainstream media. And within the ruling parties, all is not well. The Alliance national conference nearly tore the party apart over the issue, with the Ministers and MPs, led by Deputy Prime Minister, Jim Anderton, defending the war and the rank and file, led by Party President, Matt McCarten, attacking the Parliamentary caucus and demanding that the SAS be withdrawn. The caucus eventually agreed to conduct a fairly meaningless review of NZ’s role in the war, fully intending to change nothing. This did not mollify the grassroots (some of whom resigned from the Party), and this issue is far from over within the Alliance as we go to print. Labour’s national conference was a much more sanitised and stage managed affair. There was one very public dissenter – Nick Kelly, who had already been sacked as Chair of the Rimutaka Electorate Committee for publicly excoriating Labour’s pro-free trade policies. As Kelly stated in his own press release (3/12/01):

“Helen Clark and any other Labour MP that supports this so-called war on terrorism should resign from Parliament, as they do not represent the people who elected Labour to government. At this weekend’s National conference of the New Zealand Labour Party, our Government’s support for the American bombing of Afghanistan wasn’t even on the agenda for debate. Believing this to be totally unacceptable I decided to stand up and say a few home truths during Helen Clark’s main conference speech. I stood up and said ‘What about the bloody war? Stop the War! In 1999 you (Helen Clark) opposed the bombing of Kosovo. Why aren’t you doing the same now? It is unacceptable to support murder in Afghanistan to get a free trade deal with America’. I was then grabbed by Party President Mike Williams, Engineers union official Paul Tolich and a few other party hacks and was handed to a security guard. This guard who nearly broke my arm dragged me out the hall and handed me over to a dozen police officers, who served me with a trespass notice, supported by a Labour Party official who took away my delegate card...”. So much for democracy in the Labour Party.

We’re at the start of a long and daunting journey, as the world’s sole remaining superpower goes into full blown war mode (which is always the logical outcome of empire). New Zealand is only a bit player in all of this but we’re fond of punching above our weight. The best thing we could do in this so-called war is to take off our gloves and get out of the ring.

Just in case we get called “anti-American” or told “it would have been different if it had been your family in the buildings or on the planes”, I should point out that my co-editor, Bob Leonard, is American, with kids and grandkids in the States. In the course of coming home from his latest trip back there, just days before September 11, he made one of those east-west flights that was to prove fatal for hundreds of passengers days later. What’s more, one of his sons was scheduled to be in the World Trade Center on the day of the attack (a double booking in Detroit very probably saved his life). It was as close as that to both Bob and his family. It hasn’t altered one bit his opposition to the American response to the attacks. And he certainly doesn’t consider himself “anti- American”. MH.

ANTI-WAR PROTEST AT HAREWOOD

- Bob Leonard

The American military at Christchurch International Airport (Harewood) was long overdue for a protest. The last time we made a fuss out there was on Airport Open Day in October 1995 (see *Peace Researcher* 7, December 1995). However, we did give the US Navy a quiet send off in February 1998. We left a small memento, stating "US Navy – good riddance; US Air Force – better riddance". See *PR* 15, June 1998, for details).

The organisers of the latest Harewood Airport protest called themselves the Christchurch/Otautahi Coalition Against the War (COCAW). The protest was part of the National Day of Action Against the War on 1 December 2001. The Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) played a small role in organising it but welcomed the initiative and energy of new folks from groups which included the Anarchist Round Table, Women in Black, Socialist Workers Organisation, Action Research and Education Network of Aotearoa (ARENA), and Food Not Bombs, who took the lead in planning and promotion. They can also take part of the blame for choosing the hottest day of the summer (thus far), a day when the asphalt literally melted under our feet.

Police And Airport Company Block Road To Protestors

The following report was contributed by **Daniel Rae**, one of the participants in the demo.

"On Saturday December the 1st, as part of the national day of action against the war in Afghanistan, over 100 protestors gathered at the US military base at Harewood, Otautahi/Christchurch. The protestors were there to demand the immediate withdrawal of the US and New Zealand military presence in Afghanistan as well as the demilitarisation of Harewood. Christchurch Airport at Harewood is a medium level multi-purpose military transport base that serves the massive US military/Intelligence bases in Australia, specifically the key one at Pine Gap. Pine Gap has played a major role in every recent US military action and will most likely be providing targeting information for the current war in Afghanistan. To start off proceedings there were short speeches by an Anti-Bases Campaign representative and a woman from the local Afghani community. The protestors then marched around the perimeter of the base, but were prevented from getting to their planned demonstration location in front of the base because of a Police blockage of a public road. The Police rather dubiously claimed that the public road was airport land and that if any of the protestors crossed the barricades they would be arrested for trespass. The decision was made to halt the march at the Police line and people took the opportunity to decorate the base fence with brightly coloured pieces of wool and fabric as well as banners and paper cranes. The road was also covered in anti-racism, anti-war and social justice slogans by happy chalkers. While these protestors brightened up the rather drab surroundings, others enjoyed afternoon tea of coffee, tea and biscuits kindly provided by Food Not Bombs. After about 20 minutes a small number of people decided to breach the Police barricade. However, they were pushed back and in the process an airport security officer forcefully removed one person (technically it was assault). Another of the barrier breakers asked repeatedly to be arrested for trespass but the Police politely refused to oblige. In the end the protestors marched back to their starting point and then went home, but not before a number of water bombs filled with red dye were thrown at the base buildings. The protest was generally regarded as the most enjoyable and effective action taken by the anti-war 'movement' in Otautahi/Christchurch".

Christchurch Mayor Supports Roadblock

A few days after the action, Bob Leonard of ABC wrote a letter to the Mayor of Christchurch, Garry Moore, asking a few questions about the City Council's role in the closure of Wairakei Road by the Police. We were particularly suspicious that the Council and Police had responded directly at the request of the paranoid Americans. Garry replied and we quote the relevant parts of this letter here.

"The City had no role in giving any authority for the blocking of this road. The part of Wairakei Road that the Anti-Bases Campaign wished to walk along may generally be regarded as a public road but it is in fact a private road owned by the airport. The airport is partly owned by Christchurch City Holdings Ltd (*which is the holding company for Christchurch City Council assets. Ed.*) and partly by the Crown. For your information I did ask George Bellew, the Chief Executive of the Airport Company, to report on the chain of events that led to the closing of certain areas of the airport, and he comments:

'The closure of Wairakei Road was not at the request of the US Government. The Airport Company made the decision after consultation with the New Zealand Police and the Aviation Security Service. This is not a new procedure. In the past we have closed certain areas of the airport to protestors in order to avoid

them interrupting and inconveniencing other airport users. We issue a statement to the Police who then enforce the restrictions. In this event (*December 1. Ed*), we considered this protest could try to breach the airside security fence. Given the heightened tensions and security levels resulting from the September terrorist events in the USA, we were not of a mind to take any chances...The protestors had the opportunity to protest, they were not inconvenienced by the stoppage of Wairakei Road'.

In the light of international events, and in view of the onus placed on all airport authorities to take all necessary security measures to ensure the safety of the travelling public and staff, I consider that the Christchurch Airport Company Ltd acted in a reasonable and responsible manner”.

ABC Will Be Taking This Further

ABC will be writing back to the Mayor to make a few points in response to his letter:

- In 20 years of protest at the airport no road has ever been blocked before (we acknowledge that blockades and other very heavy-handed (brutal) Police tactics were used at Harewood and other anti-bases demos in the 70s);
- Neither the police nor airport security could have had any valid reason to suspect breaches of the fence along Wairakei Road. If that had been our intention, there were plenty of stretches of fence along the permitted march route that would have served our purposes admirably. That excuse is totally hollow.
- Blocking the march prevented the protestors from viewing the most relevant parts of the American operation – the aircraft on the tarmac. So we were indeed inconvenienced.
- Garry Moore did not comment on the fact that a City employee (airport security) technically assaulted one of the protestors. He simply said take it up with the Police. We believe the City Council and its Airport Company has some responsibility in assuring that its airport security forces act within the law.

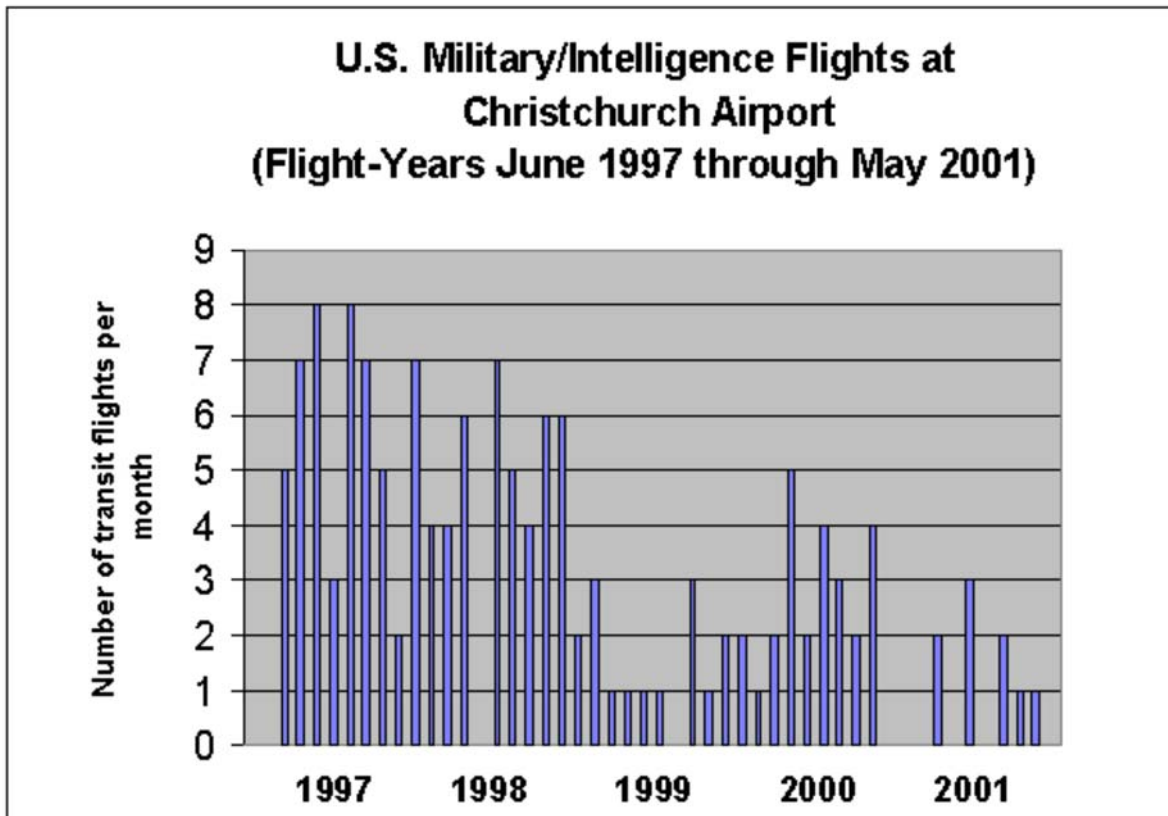
Two Green MPs – Co-Leader, Rod Donald, and Sue Bradford – took part in the protest. Rod spoke at it and urged everyone to take up the issue of the blocked road. He was instrumental in getting the matter reported in the Press. Green MP Keith Locke, also asked Parliamentary Questions of the Minister of Police, George Hawkins. The latter confirmed that the US military did not request the roadblock; it was done by the Police in consultation with the Airport Company. “This was considered prudent risk management” (19/12/01). Ed.

US MILITARY FLIGHTS DECLINE AT CHRISTCHURCH AIRPORT

- Bob Leonard

This is *Peace Researcher's* annual report on American military flights at our airport in Christchurch. Unlike the last flight year (June through May) which included the September 1999 visit of President Bill Clinton to Christchurch, there were no noteworthy events to be reflected in the activities out at our airport, which hosts an American military air base.

But there is a very interesting and possibly significant trend in the flight data that is obvious in the bar graph. The graph shows the frequency of purely military/intelligence flights of Starlifters and Galaxy's (so-called Channel Flights) and excludes the seasonal Antarctic flights which support the US Antarctic Program (USAP) during the southern summer. There has been a decline in the number of monthly flights since December 1998 and continuing through May 2001. Months with no flights at all are now common (see conspicuous gaps in the graph), including four months in a row in mid-2000 with nary a Channel flight.



About the graph: The bars show frequency of monthly flights by US Air Force aircraft using Christchurch International Airport in the period 1 June 1997 through 31 May 2001. The aircraft were non-combat cargo carriers: C-141B/C Starlifters, C-5B Galaxy's and C-17 Globemasters. A *transit flight* consists of an arrival and a departure for a given plane. All of the flights are termed "Channel flights" serving US bases in Australia (Pine Gap and Nurrungar). None of the flights directly served the US Antarctic Research Program. Raw monthly data are provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade under the Official Information Act 1982.

We have yet to make an official inquiry into the reasons for this decline. But we have speculated in past articles that it may have something to do with the imminent closure of the large US Air Force Defense Support Program (DSP)-base at Nurrungar in South Australia (see *PR 19/20*, November/December 1999, for details of the DSP).

In the table below the far right column shows the percentages of strictly military (or military/Intelligence) use of Christchurch Airport by American aircraft over the decade of the 90s and through flight year 2000-01. The peak percentage was 72.9 in 1990-91 and has declined to an all-time low of only 10.4% in 2000-01. And it has been well below 50% after 1997-98.

Flight Year	Antarctic	Military	Total	% Military
1990-91	32	86	118	72.9
1991-92	71	97	168	57.7
1992-93	38	85	123	69.1
1993-94	47	63	110	57.3
1994-95	33	58	91	63.7
1995-96	28	79	107	73.8
1996-97	31	78	109	71.6
1997-98	37	66	103	64.1
1998-99	63	37	100	37.0
1999-2000	48	27	75	36.0
2000-01	112	13	125	10.4
Totals	<i>540</i>	<i>689</i>	<i>1229</i>	<i>56.1</i>

The table summarises flight year totals of transit flights by two categories of American military cargo planes at Christchurch Airport.

ABC has long complained about the military/Intelligence Channel flights. They have been a fixture of the American presence in Christchurch for decades. They remain an unwelcome violation of the spirit of our Nuclear-Free Law since all of the cargo aircraft are covered by the “neither confirm nor deny” nuclear policy. But it is good news that their numbers have been vastly reduced, whatever the reason.

OUR VERY OWN TERRORIST TARGET IN CHRISTCHURCH

- Bob Leonard

The Americans out at the US Antarctic Program (USAP) at Harewood (Christchurch Airport) are nervous, post September 11. "Security has been beefed up at Antarctic Base", said a page-width headline in the *Christchurch Press* (16/10/01). You can't even park next to the base in Orchard Road any more, thanks to a by-law passed in secret by the City Council in late September. Our Council cares deeply for the well being of its American guests although it's a little hard to figure just what threat a parked car might be to a hangar. Protestors who marched along the footpath around the base in early December were barred from walking along Wairakei Road (see the accompanying article on the protest). They were clearly deemed to be some sort of threat since they didn't agree with the US bombing of Afghanistan. Evidence of a terrorist threat is very compelling: "People with placards that have been uncomplimentary to the United States, for example" and have aroused police suspicions (*Press* 28/9/01).

Actually the District Police Commander, Superintendent John Reilly, has admitted "...that there was no intelligence to suggest threats to internal security in New Zealand" (*ibid.*). But the next best thing to hard evidence is mere suspicion of nothing more than legitimate dissent.

US Military Gets NZ Cops To Heavy Christchurch Bookshop

A perfect example of this is the unprecedented situation that arose, in November 2001, when a Police officer visited the Communist League's Pathfinder Bookshop, in central Christchurch, to relay "concern" from USAP about the shop's "anti-American window display". In the 20 or so years that the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) and our predecessor (Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood) have been campaigning on this base, this is the first time we've ever heard of such a thing. It was such a blatant interference in New Zealand affairs, such an obvious example of the US military using the New Zealand cops to run its errands, that the media picked it up and reported it. It then transpired that cops had visited anti-war organisers in Auckland to question them about their "anti-American" activities. A national pattern was emerging here. TV3 contacted ABC to pursue the story and was all set to run something when they killed it. Why? Because neither the US military nor the Police would comment, so there was no "balance". That's a very easy way to kill something you don't want aired. But, no, it doesn't work the other way around – favourable stories about Harewood or the Police aren't killed by the media because ABC refuses to comment on them. Funny, that.

The 51st State Of America: Paranoia

But I guess we shouldn't complain. Things could be much worse, much worse, as in the extremely paranoid state that is America today. For example -

A 15 year-old school girl recently found herself before the West Virginia Supreme Court defending her right to found an anarchy club at her school and to wear a T-shirt emblazoned with "Against Bush, Against Bin Laden" and "When I saw the dead and dying Afghani children on TV, I felt a newly recovered sense of national security. God bless America" (*Guardian* 18/12/01).

In the same article is this description: "A 19 year-old woman studying at Durham Tech, North Carolina, answered the door to three security agents. They had been informed, they told her, that she was in possession of 'anti-American material'. Someone had seen poster on her wall, campaigning against George Bush's use of the death penalty. *They also asked her whether she also possessed pro-Taliban propaganda*" (emphasis added).

These are mind boggling examples of the irrational mindset now gripping America, land of the brave, home of the free. We venture to suggest that our own national terrorist paranoia would be barely perceptible if Christchurch did not host an American military/intelligence installation within its city limits, if Marlborough didn't host the Waihopai satellite spy station, and if Manawatu didn't host the Tangimoana signals intelligence (SIGINT) station. Perhaps you have not had occasion to notice, but the most heavily fortified and guarded bits of New Zealand real estate are the three bases mentioned above, together with Fort Thorndon, aka the American Embassy, in Wellington. Even the former office of the United States Information Service in Christchurch had a blast-proof steel front door.

Tense security situations at our airport are not unusual thanks to the American military. In times of emergency with US cargo planes, the entire airport including the terminal building has been taken over by American military authorities. At other times, global tension such as hot war in the Middle East or in Afghanistan, brings the Harewood base under heightened "defense readiness conditions" (DEFCONS). Official American military documents contain interesting statements that such readiness is relevant to "...safeguarding ships, facilities, equipment and material

vital to readiness and national defense...a task of growing concern. This responsibility is aggravated by activities of political extremists and terrorist groups". As we saw in the recent demonstration at the airport, the "defense" of the base usually falls to the NZ Police. The City Council, major shareholder in the Airport Company, denies being influenced directly by the Americans in its security discussions with the Police (see accompanying article on the demonstration). But if Harewood were demilitarised (i.e., no US Air Force) there would be no military tensions, no DEFCONS, no aeroplanes violating our nuclear free zone, and probably no need for police. There might not even be any protestors.

TWO OLD ABCERS VISIT THE LAND OF THE GREAT WHITE DOME Warren And Melanie Thomson Visit Menwith Hill

- Warren Thomson

Warren and Melanie are both veteran ABC activists. Warren has worked as a teacher in Bangkok for several years; his daughter Melanie is spending a couple of years teaching in London. Ed.

The CAAB – Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases – organised a protest at Menwith Hill, near Harrogate in Yorkshire, on October 13, 2001. The aim was to publicise the developing British involvement in Star Wars Part Two. The Rambo zealots* who control policy under Bush need Menwith Hill as a vital spybase for targeting missiles which they believe will one day be dispatched to Washington from evil Third World empires. And some of the hardware is already in place. The events of September 11 changed the emphasis of the protest but CAAB proceeded with the central message that Vice President Blair was secretly and dangerously involving the UK in schemes that had no proper relationship to its security. Melanie and I drove from the wonders of ancient Cambridge and York to be confronted across the hills and valleys of rural Yorkshire with lines of the ultra-modern alien white radomes that Menwith Hill parades so arrogantly across the horizon.

At the entrance to the Royal Air Force base a huge American flag was flying. Friendly local cops in luminescent jackets were lounging about; inside a few considerably less friendly-looking Ministry of Defence police ostentatiously paraded with automatic weapons loaded and in hand. Near the gate 200-300 people were listening to speeches about Star Wars, and the Afghanistan War. The audience was the same as in New Zealand; the middle aged grey haired and bespectacled members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a few young teenagers eating lunch, some stalwarts from the old Left, and a few young anarchists saving the parade from geriatricity. When a speaker finished by mentioning international links, I went to the microphone and announced our New Zealand presence, explained briefly about our two balls in NZ (*Waihopai. Ed.*), the spy work that these bases would be doing with the current situation, and the hope that Menwith would not be here if I managed to get back to this country in another ten years. In the course of the afternoon several people approached us and talked about their connections with New Zealand.

We ate a small lunch and survived a short, cold, wet shower before the small but committed drum group temporarily ceased their rhythmic call to action, and we marched off around the base. Six miles. The first part cut through wet grass where little was to be seen, but it was close to the (historic?) site of the old Women's Camp, and a place where large numbers of orchids had been planted. The sun came out, and the accompanying policemen had to discard their flak jackets as they began to drip with sweat. The walk, after a few unexplained halts, became a pleasant stroll up the country road, with occasional stops to glimpse the rotten 29 balls that have been strewn across the land. Most were large size – 80-100 feet high, and nearly all the radomes were not smooth like Waihopai but in geodesic patterns. Two exceptions, on smaller size domes, were the radomes covering the new dishes allocated to the developing Star Wars programme, using infra-red systems for the programme to provide anti-missile defence, a hugely expensive and probably impossible objective. Why the British government has gone along with this is difficult to say (although their virtual Tory postures on a range of matters reflects some pretty daft ideas across the board). Britain cannot expect to get much in the way of defence from this exercise in science fiction. Indeed, the British Chief of Defence Staff has expressed doubts that the project is feasible! From the road along the back of the property one can see the large and rather sinister underground bunker that is the centre of the base. We were told how veteran anti-bases activist, Lindis Percy, on one of her many forays into these super-secret bastions, had confronted (peacefully) a half dozen Americans working in the guts of the system. Incidentally, the planning for the day was a bit in disarray due to the fact that Lindis, a key organiser, had been arrested yet again on the day previous to the protest. (Big thanks to the women who carried the organisation on regardless).

US Spybase In Germany To Relocate To Menwith Hill

We learned that the Bad Aibling base in Germany is to close down much of its operation, and the credit has been given to German people who demanded the removal of the foreign-run spy base from their land. This seemed a major victory for local democracy and peace, and the story needs to be more widely known. An unfortunate downside is that much of the German operation will be transferred to Menwith Hill and the local people fighting the base expect it to hugely grow in size over the next few years.

When Melanie and I drove off at the end of the day, we could see the massive base straddling the countryside from several miles away. It seemed a little astounding that the British public could drive past here in such clear view of the base yet leave it to carry on its nasty furtive operations unquestioned. Currently in England and Scotland, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is having one of its periodic revivals as people muster against bombings in Afghanistan.

There is also continuing effective action against nuclear submarines as Faslane, in Scotland. But Menwith Hill, like Waihopai, seems to be a firm part of the Establishment, accepted by locals and largely ignored by the public. It will be need a long campaign to bring effective opposition to the insidious nature of the Echelon system, the Star Wars developments, and the arcane activities of the secret agencies so deeply insinuated into the central organs of the body politic in the countries that comprise the top secret UKUSA Agreement (US, UK, Canada, Australia, NZ).

* It is alarming to see that key decisionmakers are Paul Wolfowitz (Deputy Secretary of Defense) and Richard Armitage (Deputy Secretary of State) – young anti-Red fanatics in the 1980s' Reagan years - and that a senior advisor is Richard Perle, a former Harvard professor who urged President Reagan to nuke the former Soviet Union.

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NZ: Computer Hacking

Hacking into somebody else's computer is a gross invasion of electronic privacy and a serious problem for business and Government, not to mention the private citizen. A recent article in the *Weekend Herald* (22-23/9/01) described sustained cyber-attacks "...on one of the country's critical companies" (probably Telecom). In order to combat the "cyber-terrorists" (there's that word again) the Government is adding more than \$1 million to the budget of the Government Communications Security Bureau. The GCSB will set up the Centre for Critical Infrastructure Protection to warn important infrastructural and Government agencies about various types of cyber-attack. What the article doesn't tell us of course is that the GCSB itself and the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) engage in hacking for Intelligence purposes. In other words, if it can be done, the spooks will do it in the name of protecting the national interest and security (refer to *Peace Researcher* 23, June 2001, p6 for a detailed discussion of the so-called Swain Bill which makes Government hacking "legal").

As usual NZ is dutifully following Big Brother America in all this. An article in the *Montreal Gazette* (6/10/01) by Alex Roslin discusses "Hackers on the payroll of the US security agencies". "No government agency in Canada or the US has acknowledged that it employs hackers to break into computers. That information is secret because the targets of 'computer exploitation' are not just terrorists like bin Laden and hostile states. The targets can just as easily be *citizens at home, trade negotiators and diplomats from friendly countries, or foreign businessmen (sic) bidding against a domestic company*". (Emphasis added). Sound familiar? This of course has been the business of the GCSB for years using satellite spying.

Our recent visitor from Canada, ex signals intelligence (SIGINT) officer Mike Frost (see report elsewhere in this issue), is credited in the Montreal article as giving (in his book "Spyworld") the only inside account of the US National Security Agency (NSA)'s Special Collection Service at College Park, Maryland. The Special Collection Service may well served, in part, as a model for the GCSB's new computer hacking role, but is far broader in its scope: "The Service was set up in the late 1970s to combine the physical penetration skills of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the technical expertise of the NSA, and is jointly run by both agencies, said Washington DC Intelligence analyst, John Pike. 'It's the black bag, breaking and entering, Mission Impossible-type agency'. There is no doubt both the NZ Centre and the GCSB are involved in HACKINT, or "endpoint collection" directly from computers via hacking. "Intelligence historian James Bamford calls it 'the most profound change in the history of signals intelligence'".

In sum, the GCSB's Centre for Infrastructure Protection purports to protect NZ agencies against computer hacking, while the Swain Bill confers on the GCSB the "legal" right to engage in hacking itself. It's a neat package that will further defy any chance of control of abuses or effective oversight by Parliament.

NZ: Dial A Spy

Mere days after the September 11 terrorist atrocities in the US (the greatest Intelligence failure in modern history) the NZ SIS announced to the world that it had established an 0800 number for people to ring and give the spooks information "which could help defeat international terrorism" (press release, 14/9/01, Helen Clark, Minister in Charge of the SIS, and Richard Woods, SIS Director). We can just imagine the sort of calls they would have got in December: "There's this strangely dressed bearded fellow trying to get down our chimney". Then again, what a pity that the number didn't exist in 1996. Upon discovering suspicious strangers thrashing about in the bushes outside Aziz Choudry's house, David Small could have rung the SIS to report them. "Oh, I'm sorry, they're yours, are they? That must be all right then".

Australia: Spies As Police

Australia's counterpart to the American CIA and Britain's MI6 is the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). In the wake of September 11, ASIO will be getting new powers that are truly alarming: powers of arrest and detention for up to 48 hours; the removal of the right to silence when being questioned; the creation of terrorist offences and related legislation violating the rights of freedom of expression, assembly and association.

New Zealand's pending Terrorist Suppression Bill (see article elsewhere in this issue) is mild indeed compared to the draconian Aussie bill. Canada and Britain, and of course the US, are following similar paths. The suspensions of civil liberties and human rights, mostly using racial and non-citizen profiles, are broad and mindless. The US Patriot

Act is already in effect and has resulted in the detention of hundreds of people who have yet to be charged with any offence and with no apparent limits on the duration of detention. But ASIO's new powers may be unique in that spies usually do not have police power. Spies are supposed to spy and gather Intelligence. Our GCSB and SIS are bad enough. But at least, thus far, we lack an agency like the CIA or MI6 capable of meddling directly in the affairs of other countries. But the direction of recent legislation appears to be moving in that direction (see the comprehensive overview of NZ's recent legislation elsewhere in this issue.)

Britain: MI5 Must Yield To "Right To Know"

We have the SIS; Britain has MI5, not to be confused with MI6 (see above). MI5 is a domestic Intelligence agency charged with the collection of information on people in Britain, ostensibly to aid in the defence of national security (that's what all good spies are for, of course). So MI5 would be expected to hold screeds of information on many British citizens. In a recent blow for freedom of information, a rarity in the UK, MI5 must now own up to holding files on individuals. This remarkable ruling was reported by Richard Norton-Taylor in an article in the *Guardian* (2/10/ 01):

"In a landmark decision, a special panel of the new Information Tribunal quashed a claim by Jack Straw, when he was Home Secretary, that MI5 should never admit to holding files on an individual, even when the disclosure would not damage national security.

"The test case was brought by Norman Baker, Liberal Democrat MP for Lewes, who was involved in environmental groups in East Sussex in the 1980s. Last year he asked the security service if it held a file on him, and received a letter purporting to be from a serving MI5 officer signing himself The Mechanic. The letter told Mr Baker that his request had caused a crisis in MI5.... The anonymous letter also claimed that Mr Baker's file listed him as a Greenpeace supporter."

In short, a file did indeed exist on Baker and the longstanding blanket ban on revealing the existence of such files has been lifted. But that's as far as it goes. "...anyone wishing to find out what MI5 has on them will still face procedural hurdles..." most likely including court challenges on a case by case basis.

PHILIPPINES Back In Bed With Uncle Sam

- Murray Horton

A decade ago, in 1991, the world's most persistent anti-bases campaign succeeded, after a struggle that had spanned many years, in getting the Philippines Senate to vote not to renew the treaty allowing the US to continue to have its huge military bases in that country. Those bases, of which the biggest and most important were Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base, were amongst the Pentagon's most prized assets in Asia and had been in business for nearly a century. So their closure (greatly aided by the catastrophic 1991 eruption of Mount Pinatubo, in the case of Clark) was very definitely a Big Deal. The last US military personnel duly departed in 1992 and the bases closed, awaiting a new lease of life as civilian facilities.

The closure of the bases did not sit well with the rulers of either country. The then President, Cory Aquino, vainly campaigned to keep them open. Her successors, Fidel Ramos and the benighted Joseph Estrada, did all they could to get the military relationship with the US back to the status quo. They didn't try to re-establish the bases themselves, nor did the US push for that. But there's more than one way to skin a cat. The 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty was dredged up and dusted off, allowing for US military exercises in the Philippines. This sat dormant until both Presidents Ramos and Estrada had spent years getting the controversial Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) past the Senate. When this was finally operational, in the late 90s, it gave the US military unrestricted access to designated Philippine ports and airfields, and exempted all US military personnel from Philippine legal jurisdiction for any offences committed whilst in the country on exercises, etc. Effectively it extended diplomatic immunity to the entire US military. Then there was the unsuccessful attempt, since 1992, to get the Acquisition on Cross-Servicing Agreement (ACSA) through the Senate. This would have committed the Philippines to a much greater level of logistic support and temporary basing services for the US military in Asia.

Exercises were held (and actively opposed) in the Philippines, under the highly controversial VFA. More and more were scheduled in an obvious attempt to soften up public opinion (in exactly the same way that the late Piggy Muldoon, NZ's Prime Minister from 1975-84, used to connive with the US to maximise the number of US nuclear warship visits to NZ, in the 1970s and 80s, to bludgeon public opinion here and force a showdown with the anti-nuclear movement. He lost). Essentially though, it was nothing like the good old days when the US military used the Philippines as the American colony that it, indeed, had been for the first half of the 20th Century.

Even Filipino conservatives acutely recognised that the US military was only in the Philippines to serve its own strategic aims, not to help the Filipinos. During the civil wars that have raged in the Philippines since the 1960s and 70s – with the New People's Army of the Communist Party of the Philippines; and the two rival Muslim separatist armies, the Moro* National Liberation Front and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front – the US stayed away from direct involvement, beyond providing the Philippine military with obsolete equipment that it wanted to dump on some Third World mugs, and a general training role. During the external disputes that have embroiled the Philippines – such as with China and other countries over the Spratley Islands, or with neighbouring Malaysia over the contested sea border and fishing encroachments – the US has stayed right out. * *Moro – generic name for Filipino Muslims. Ed.*

Abu Sayyaf

One of the world's nastiest and most effective terrorist organisations, the Abu Sayyaf Group, has spent years running amok on the islands between the Philippines and Malaysia – kidnapping, beheading, murdering, extorting, looting and pillaging. The US wasn't interested – a "war on terrorism" wasn't on the agenda then. Abu Sayyaf was founded by Filipino Muslims who had gone to fight the Soviet invaders in the jihad in Afghanistan, in the 1980s (one in which the US Central Intelligence Agency played a major part). There was evidence of a link between the group and Osama bin Laden, the Saudi holy warrior and multi-millionaire who had built up a legendary reputation during the Afghan war. The Yanks didn't want to know. In 2000, Abu Sayyaf was sufficiently emboldened to spectacularly kidnap a number of foreigners from a Malaysian resort island and hold them hostage in their strongholds in the southernmost Philippines. They made fools of the Philippine military and reaped tens of millions of US dollars, in hard cold cash, for their efforts.

In May 2001, Abu Sayyaf struck again, this time kidnapping numerous Filipino and foreign hostages from a resort on Palawan and transporting them hundreds of kilometres across open sea, outrunning the Philippine Navy, back to their stronghold on the Philippines' southernmost pirate islands. President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo vowed to crush them and sent in the Army and Air Force, just as Estrada had done in 2000. First time round, all that the military had succeeded in doing was bombing, terrorising and killing innocent Muslim civilians. In 2001, the Army actually cornered the Abu Sayyaf band holding the hostages, on the island of Basilan; there was a battle, with more civilian

deaths and then the kidnapers simply vanished. Compelling evidence emerged later in the year that senior military commanders were in cahoots with Abu Sayyaf, were easily bribed and had made a profitable arrangement to split the huge ransom payments from the previous year's takings.

So Abu Sayyaf and its hostages simply melted back into the Basilan jungle. They were holding three American hostages – in June, they beheaded one. But they have held onto the other two, a missionary couple from Kansas. The US showed no interest beyond sending out Federal Bureau of Investigation agents to look into a crime involving US citizens.

(In November 2001 there was a further twist in Mindanao's tortured story. Nur Misuari had been for decades the charismatic leader of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), the largest of the Muslim separatist armies. In 1996 he came home from Libyan exile, under a peace deal with President Ramos, and was duly elected Governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, spanning several provinces. But he blew his opportunity, proving corrupt and incompetent, and earlier in 2001 was dumped as Governor and MNLF leader by the MNLF's own ruling council. A week before the November election for his replacement he launched an armed rebellion, on the southernmost islands, allegedly linking up with some elements of Abu Sayyaf. The Philippine military made its standard heavyhanded response and the civilian death toll was high; Misuari fled across the sea border to Malaysia, where he was promptly arrested. The military claimed that Misuari and Abu Sayyaf had been working together from the start; Malaysia replied that there was no evidence of any such link).

Extremely detailed information on the Abu Sayyaf Group can be found at the Philippine Daily Inquirer Website. Go to www.inquirer.net, click on to Special Sites and go to the one on the ASG. Ed.

“The War On Terrorism”: A Golden Opportunity

The September 11 2001 terrorist attacks on New York and Washington DC changed all that (Filipinos were amongst the thousands who died in the World Trade Center atrocity). In the subsequent hysteria of the “war against terrorism”, the Philippines suddenly loomed large on the US agenda. The link between Osama bin Laden (the man blamed for the attacks) and Abu Sayyaf was dusted off and invested with new significance. Abu Sayyaf was placed on the global list of proscribed terrorist organisations announced by President Bush, with the effect of freezing any bank accounts and assets (although it tends to raise tax free cash by kidnapping and extortion, not term deposits). And the leadership of both countries saw a golden opportunity to restore their military relationship to (almost) what it had been before 1991.

President Macapagal-Arroyo immediately announced unconditional support for Bush's global war without end against terrorism. No Filipino military forces were to be deployed outside the country but American warships and fighter planes en route to and from Afghanistan were allowed to refuel and replenish themselves at Philippine ports and airports, including the former US bases (when the US military withdrew, a decade ago, it left in place the 40 mile long underground pipeline that allows fuel to be pumped between Clark and Subic). US warplanes were allowed to overfly the Philippines; warships were allowed to transit Philippine waters. And a small number of US Special Forces “advisers” were sent to the southernmost Philippines to liaise with, and train, the Philippine military for their war with Abu Sayyaf (it's worth remembering that America's illfated war in Vietnam, which cost it so dearly, started with a handful of military advisers).

“Already, Pentagon officials tell *Time*, 100 US special-ops commandos will deploy to train Philippine soldiers in counter-terror and close-quarter battle tactics against the Abu Sayyaf insurgents... The US military advisers won't engage in combat but will set up an ‘intelligence fusion center’ to help clamp down on terrorist activities. ‘It's one of the areas that have to get cleaned up’, says a US Intelligence official...” (*Time*, 24/12/01; “Can al-Qaeda find a new nest?”. Al-Qaeda is the organisation headed by bin Laden). So, with breathtaking suddenness, the US military was back in the Philippines – on the ground, in the air and waters – and showing every sign of getting involved in internal security matters.

And there's more – the ACSA, which has languished in the Senate since 1992, has been reinvented as the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement (MLSA). This will allow the US to have access to its former bases as well as facilitating US military personnel in transit and short term stays. In return, the Philippines will get US military hardware and supplies. The 50 year old Mutual Defense Treaty has been looked at again, with a view to expanding its scope to include “counter-terrorism”. In November 2001, Macapagal-Arroyo went to the US and met with Bush. This was her first trip to the US since becoming President – she and Bush have a strange symmetry. They are both the children of presidents and both were inaugurated, in controversial circumstances, on the same day, in January 2001. She came home crowing about the military equipment and investment deals secured from the US (in reality, the US has never provided the Philippine military with anything other than old and unsophisticated hardware).

This reintroduction of the US military into the Philippines has not gone unopposed. There have been protests in Metro Manila and at the former bases themselves (for instance, such as when US planes and military personnel have been in transit at Clark). And this is happening while the legacy of the previous century of US military presence still manifests itself in all sorts of problems, from the abandoned Amerasian “GI babies” and their prostitute mothers at Olongapo and Angeles (the “rest and recreation” cities which serviced Subic and Clark, respectively) to the pollution, deaths and sickness caused by the toxic wastes left by the US military at those bases. The Filipino people fought long and hard to free themselves of Uncle Sam and his bases – they will not take the reappearance of the US military in their country lying down.

Is New Zealand Military Getting Involved In Philippines?

It is not only the US military getting back into the Philippines after an enforced absence. New Zealand military personnel used to be regularly there in the good old Marcos days, using the former US bases for joint exercises, until the mid-80s when NZ was unilaterally “suspended” from the 1951 ANZUS Treaty with the US and Australia, as punishment for our anti-nuclear policy (coincidentally the US announcement of our suspension, which continues to this day, was made in Manila).

But the global “war without end on terrorism” may be changing that as well. In October 2001, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* reported that 15 military attaches of various countries, including **New Zealand**, visited Zamboanga, at the southern tip of Mindanao, to “assess the (Philippine) Army’s efforts in fighting terrorism in the wake of the September 11 attacks in the United States” (*PDI*, 24/10/01; “Foreign military attaches visit Zamboanga for anti-terror effort”). Lieutenant General Roy Cimatu, the southern military chief, said: “They are here to assess and find ways of helping the Philippine military fight terrorism. If this did not happen in Afghanistan, they would not have come here” (*ibid*). Their visit coincided with the arrival of US military advisers in Zamboanga.

This visit (completely unreported in New Zealand) should be ringing large alarm bells in this country. Are we now going to be sucked into a messy little war in the southern Philippines? And, if you didn’t know that NZ has a military attache in the Philippines, you’re not alone – neither did we. We wrote to the Government trying to find out more about this particular visit and, more generally, what role the Government sees New Zealand playing in any “war against terrorism” in the Philippines. The Secretary of Defence replied (21/12/01):

“...A briefing was provided on 24 October (2001) to the New Zealand Defence Attache by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) as part of a regular official Defence Attaches tour of the country. The briefing and tour were not associated with a separate visit by a team from the United States Military Assistance Program to assess the operational capabilities and training requirements of the AFP. In this respect, the newspaper article you cite is mistaken, as its report refers to the United States visit rather than the Defence Attaches tour. There was only one other briefing of Defence Attaches during the period of your enquiry, which was on 11 December (2001).

“The two briefings given to the Defence Attaches were confidential in nature and their content must therefore be withheld.... I can tell you, however, that the 24 October briefing covered details of the Abu Sayyaf Group, the Philippines government strategy in dealing with the group, and its progress in negotiations with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF)*, and that the 11 December briefing summarised recent developments in the Southern Philippines....In regard to your final question, no consideration has been given to New Zealand playing a part in the war against terrorism in the Philippines”. * *The MILF split off from the MNLF many years ago and is the biggest Muslim separatist army fighting the AFP. Currently there is a ceasefire in place.*

New Zealanders need to be very, very careful indeed about being quietly sucked into the quicksand swamp that is the internal security situation in the southern Philippines.

OKINAWA Another Rape Case

For several years now *Peace Researcher* has chronicled abuses and outrages committed by US military personnel against local civilians, principally women and children, on the Japanese island of Okinawa, the very reluctant home to a number of huge US bases and 26,000 US GIs (more than 50% of the total stationed in all of Japan). One such outrage – the gang rape of a school girl – led to huge demonstrations in the 1990s, demanding an end to the US military presence on Okinawa. But the hapless Okinawans are fighting not only the US government but also their own Japanese one, which wants both to retain the massive US military presence and to keep a lot of it on a remote

island, away from Japan itself.

In July 2001 another outrage occurred. A local woman complained that she had been raped by a US Air Force man. This provided a test for the Status of Forces Agreement between Japan and the US, which had been revised in the 1990s following the earlier pack rape. It gives Japanese authorities the right to charge and detain US servicemen for crimes committed outside the bases, involving civilians. That seems straightforward enough. But the US military prevaricated for four days before handing over the rape suspect, whilst publicly casting doubt over the Japanese legal system. This response rapidly escalated a simple criminal matter to a major diplomatic incident, with the Japanese expressing great disappointment at the US attitude, and the highest level of the US government (President Bush) having to mollify the Japanese.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Japanese Parliament unanimously passed a resolution calling for a review of the Status of Forces Agreement, saying that the case “gave great concern and shock to the people of Okinawa and the people of Japan are feeling indignation” (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 10/7/01). The Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi, said: “Such an incident should never happen again. I would like to request tighter discipline and guidance to soldiers as well as the thorough implementation of rules” (*ibid*, 9/7/01). But that is likely to remain wishful thinking, as long as tens of thousands of US servicemen continue to be stationed on the island. As one Marine told *Time* (9/7/01): “Hey, we’re 19 year old guys, we’re away from home, we’re pumped up and we’re horny. Of course it’s all about sex”. Exactly. And in light of the post-September 11 geopolitical reality it is unlikely that either the US or Japanese governments will be withdrawing the US military presence from Okinawa any time soon. The long suffering Okinawans have a long campaign ahead of them.

COVERT WARRIOR COMES OUT OF THE COLD

- Dennis Small

An old spymaster from the Reagan era surfaced in Aotearoa/New Zealand towards the end of 2001, as part of the US "war on terrorism". Richard Allen, a former National Security Adviser to President Reagan, was on a visit here to drum up support for the policies of the Bush Administration. Eagerly promoting lots of hot wars against "terrorism", Allen was representing the ultra Rightwing Heritage Foundation, the outfit which used to be Reagan's favourite think tank, and also a key support group for the first President Bush. Heritage now has the ear of President Bush junior.

Interviewed by Kim Hill (Radio New Zealand, 4/12/01), the former Cold Warrior was obviously enthused with the blood and oil approach of the current American national security strategy. Allen considered that the war on Afghanistan was going "splendidly". He acknowledged that the ultimate results could be anybody's guess, but he was clearly pleased that the Bush Administration was killing plenty of its enemies. In his terms, the people of Afghanistan were being liberated and the United Nations would sort things out. Iraq, he said, ought to be the next US target on the list. The West had to uproot terrorism although it would certainly be a long and bloody struggle. Making war on Afghanistan was only the first phase of this. He defended the institution of secret military tribunals with the comment that we should trust the American Administration. After all, he said, we are in a state of war and we need to defend ourselves effectively.

Dick Allen's Dirty Dealing

So just who exactly is Richard Allen? To quote the *New Zealand Times* (20/7/86): "Allen was a founding member of the Committee on the Present Danger (CPD), a Rightwing group created to lobby Jimmy Carter as soon as he became president (1976-80), whose members infiltrated many levels of the Reagan Administration after the 1980 election". Allen became Reagan's Assistant to the President for National Security, heading the National Security Council "till allegations of financial kickbacks drove him from the Administration in December 1981" (*ibid.*). In 1986, when the NZ National Party invited him to speak at its 50th annual conference, Allen was acting as senior counsel to Reagan. Significantly enough, he was then billed as "a good friend" of senior National Party members who met him regularly via meetings of the International Democrat Union, a grouping of conservative political parties. National Party sources dismissed any concern about Allen's "financial kickbacks". However, obvious embarrassment over this, along with Allen's far Right position, and his record of covert action as documented in material distributed to the media by the anti-nuclear group, Educate for Nuclear Disarmament, resulted in his non-appearance at the National Party conference at virtually the last moment.

The actual incident involving Allen and "financial kickbacks" was over his failure "to report \$US1,000 that Japanese journalists had tried to give Nancy Reagan [Reagan's wife] after a brief interview. Allen had helped arrange the interview through one of his former Japanese business associates" ("*Reagan's Ruling Class: Portraits of the President's Top 100 Officials*" by R Brownstein & N Easton, Presidential Accountability Group/Ralph Nader, 1982, p725). A Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry arranged by a White House mate supposedly found no evidence that Allen had kept the money "for a corrupt purpose", with Allen claiming he had forgotten about it (*ibid.*). But Allen also pocketed a couple of wristwatches from the same Japanese friends, and was implicated in several other shady business transactions. Indeed, by the early 1980s he had collected quite a raft of accusations made against him over the years going back to the time when he was a White House aide for President Nixon (1968-74) and on the Republican Administration's national security staff. One of the accusations was connected with bribes "in the form of illicit foreign campaign contributions - possibly in 1968, and more clearly in 1972 . . . [and] in each case a principal suspect was Richard Allen . . ." ("*The Iran Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert Operations in the Reagan Era*" by J Marshall et al., South End Press, 1987, p81).

During the 1960s, Allen was a staff member of two conservative think tanks, the Central Intelligence Agency-linked Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies and Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. He was a founder member of the Georgetown Center. In the 1970s he had his own consulting firm. In 1972, Allen left the Nixon Administration to join the Overseas Companies of Portugal " . . . to become a Washington advocate of white colonial rule in Africa", according to the *Wall Street Journal* ("*Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment*" by J Sanders, Pluto Press, 1983, p302). In the early 1980s he was appealing for the US to develop a new and positive relationship with South Africa, what he called a "politically courageous act" on America's part (*ibid.*).

Later still, he became involved in a rather bizarre effort with Robert Vesco * to wrest control of the Azores islands from Portugal and turn them into a tax-free haven for financial pirates. The murky Azores affair comprised "a mixture

of national security and greed and Richard Allen was a common denominator to both" (*Covert Action Information Bulletin* 10, 1980, p42). Allen had extensive personal investments in the Azores and also acted as a highly paid consultant for other investors, such as Vesco. In the Portugal/Azores covert action, Allen was associated with future President George Bush senior, who was also CIA Director from 1976-81. Various other leading national security figures were participants too, including William Colby, Vernon Walters and Frank Carlucci. Basically, the Azores affair was an attempt at "a Eurofascist secessionist coup", sponsored by the Aginter-Press intelligence service with which the Italian terrorist and CIA asset, Roberto delle Chiaie, was affiliated ("The Iran Connection", p76). * *Robert Vesco was a shonky financier and leading Nixon crony who was indicted for making illegal contributions to Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign (amongst other serious charges). He went on the run and has remained the "fugitive financier" ever since, last being heard of in Cuba.*

Shortly after, Allen was on both the executive and board of CPD, which was the main driving force behind the Reagan Administration's assumption and exercise of power. Again, Allen was a founding member of this pressure group. The CPD took the US from nuclear deterrence to the explicit adoption of a nuclear war-fighting strategy, as well as eliminating any concern for human rights in American foreign policy, other than for propaganda purposes. Allen excused the flagrant violation of even the primitive Reaganist human rights code in such countries as Pakistan, South Korea and El Salvador ("Peddlers of Crisis", p296). At one point, he attacked Western Europe for what he called "a better Red than dead" philosophy, and attacked the "advocacy of arms control negotiations as a substitute for military strength" (ibid, p8 & pp324/5). During the Polish crisis in early 1982, Allen, who had continued to serve on Reagan's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, called for the end of loans, food and technology to Poland, as well as to the Soviet Union, to expose the illusions of detente and cripple the Soviet system (ibid, pp321/22).

In pushing US repression in Latin America, Allen liaised with Central American death squad leaders like the psychopathic Roberto D'Aubuisson of El Salvador, and supported US-sponsored terrorism in Guatemala through contact with groups like the so-called Guatemala Freedom Foundation and the Amigos del Pais. Allen's backing for Guatemalan terrorism included giving the green light for more death squad killings and torture, thus eliciting monetary contributions by Guatemalan businessmen for Reagan's political campaigning in the US (*Covert Action* 12, 1981).

Suppressing Freedom And Promoting Terror

In his recent visit to Aotearoa/NZ, Allen was acting in his role as the chairperson of the Heritage Foundation's grand sounding Asian Studies Center Advisory Council. Allen has long been active in Heritage and was head of the Advisory Council back in the 1980s (*New Statesman*, 29/5/87, p21). He was strongly supported by the Foundation at the time of the "financial kickbacks" scandal. As Heritage's President Ed Feulner aptly affirmed, Allen was "one of our own" ("Reagan's Ruling Class", p725). Heritage was the flagship of the New Right in the 1980s and has carried on in the same vein ever since. It gets its funding from major corporates like Gulf, Mobil Oil, Chase Manhattan, Readers Digest, Amway, Coors, etc., plus plenty of other wealthy donors. For almost 30 years now it has been a bastion of reactionary views with a notorious reputation for "shoddy sensationalism, telling lies, and deliberate omissions" - to quote Elliot Richardson, former US Attorney General (*World Citizen* 12, no.1, Summer 1986). The Foundation attacks the United Nations and all forms of international cooperation that do not directly reflect American interests as it sees them. It peddles the free market; privatisation; war on "welfarism"; protection for big business; "Star Wars"; militarisation; interventionism in the Third World; international war on the US's opponents - in a word Heritage is the voice of US imperialism at its crudest.

A Heritage Asian Studies Center backgrounder paper published in April 1989, looked at the problem of "Dealing with wayward New Zealand" and the ANZUS* question. The paper's author, Richard Fisher, castigated NZ for acting "like a Third World country" and called on Washington to step up the activities of the US Information Service (USIS) and other methods of persuasion. Then in a report published in 1991, Heritage proposed that: "The US should offer NZ a free trade agreement as a step toward mending the rift over the ANZUS alliance" (*Dominion*, 22/7/91; also see the *Press*, 22/7/91). This particular Heritage report, titled "How to Reinvigorate America's Alliance with Australia and NZ", and again by Fisher, advocated that the first Bush Administration should "increase its efforts to convince Wellington to build a public consensus that would allow NZ once again to become an active member of the alliance" (ibid). Once more, there was a call for a substantial boost for USIS action. The National Party was enjoined to do more. Similarly, in September 1991, Heritage appealed to National to "re-educate their citizens about the value of ANZUS" (*Dominion*, 11/9/91). Seeking "Australian and NZ support for greater free trade in Asia" was a key element of Heritage's approach. *ANZUS – the 1951 military treaty between Australia, NZ and the US. The US unilaterally suspended NZ from it, in 1986, as punishment for NZ's nuclear free policy. It still exists between Australia and the US. But as far as New Zealand is concerned, it is dead. Ed

In 1982, Allen was involved, when still Reagan's first National Security Adviser, in setting up the Pacific Democratic

Union with which the National Party is closely associated. It was disclosed that Allen worked with a number of National Party people, among others, in getting this organisation under way. The Pacific Democratic Union incorporates National along with other conservative parties. In turn, the Union was partly funded by the US's so-called Project Democracy or the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which has operated a worldwide American covert action programme to influence political outcomes in line with the objectives of US foreign policy. During the 1980s, Project Democracy funded overseas trips for some National Party members (TV1 News, 19/2/87). Obviously, Allen and co. were working hard to establish leverage in NZ politics.

Trade Wars

Allen's visit in 2001 to NZ reminds us of the parade of USIS and other agency-funded visits by American foreign policy personnel (and certain other related people) during the stand-off over the issue of nuclear ships in the decade of the 1980s. There is a definite continuity evident with the Heritage linkage of ANZUS and free trade also again being promoted in 2001 according to reports we have received. We need to view Allen's visit as yet another indication of a newly charged phase in an ongoing US programme to inveigh and/or coerce NZ fully back under the umbrella of its military machine reinforced by strong economic and cultural ties. Given the present servile Labour leadership, its enthusiasm for a free trade deal, and the hype of the "war on terrorism", we can expect rapidly growing pressure to conform to US imperatives in the near future.

CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER'S REPORT

- Murray Horton

(These are the relevant extracts from Murray's report to the September 2001 Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa – CAFCA).

I am co-employed by the Anti-Bases Campaign, which usually takes up less of my time than CAFCA. But not in the past year. ABC work has kept me very busy. My main contribution is as co-editor of *Peace Researcher*, which was not part of my job description when I started as the CAFCA/ABC Organiser, back in 1991. Indeed I did little or no writing for *PR* back then. I only ended up as co-editor when Warren Thomson headed off to Bangkok, in 1997, and now that he plans to stay there indefinitely, it looks like I'll be doing it for a while longer. It's a job that involves me doing much more actual writing than for *Watchdog*, but I enjoy keeping my hand in on subjects that CAFCA used to, but no longer, specialise in. But something has to give, and Bob Leonard and I can only commit to get out two issues a year (a far cry from *PR*'s original frequency). *PR* is a much smaller undertaking than *Watchdog*, with a smaller mailing list, and a different emphasis (although in some areas we overlap).

ABC has followed CAFCA online, and now has its own Website (complete with *PR* online). Melanie Thomson did all the hard work setting it up, then had to head off to London, on her Big OE, before getting it uploaded. It sat in suspended animation for months until Joe Davies kindly (foolishly?) agreed to be ABC's Webmaster. There followed an intensive period of feverish work getting it updated and operational. It has come with more daunting technical challenges than the CAFCA/*Watchdog* sites, because it includes high quality photos, which caused their own problems. But it's all up and running now, and is leading to ABC making all sorts of cyberspace contacts – for example, an article of mine (on the US military in the Philippines) has been reproduced on a US Website (of self-proclaimed "libertarian Republicans") and they, in turn, flicked on to the online English edition of *Pravda*. That's a first – in all my years as a tool of the Kremlin, I've never been published in *Pravda*.

In January 2001 we held another protest at the Waihopai spybase (which involved me in a lot of work over the summer "holiday" period, when CAFCA wasn't meeting). It was planned to be peaceful, non-arrestable, and something that families could come to. It worked brilliantly on all counts. People came from around the country and it was attended by two MPs - the Greens' Rod Donald and Keith Locke. We ran a Spies' Picnic (featuring a vegetarian sausage sizzle) in central Blenheim, and got a respectable number of Blenheim locals along. In a stroke of genius, local activists made us a "Waihopai cake" (featuring a pair of truly mammarian domes, which we took great delight in eating). We issued everybody with our specially printed "Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA" passports, which were inspected by Uncle Sam (Bob Leonard, in his annual Oscar-worthy performance – he went to the trouble of getting a costume especially made this year) before they were allowed to enter the foreign territory of the base. We were legally allowed up to the spybase's inner gate to speak and present our demand that the base be closed (and that Uncle Sam go back to Texas – our presence at Waihopai coincided with Bush's Inauguration). It got excellent national media coverage – TV crews flew in, it featured prominently on that night's TVNZ *One News*; plus there was extensive coverage on radio and in the print media (the *Marlborough Express* really covers this issue). After years of camping out by the Wairau River (which emphasised our status as outsiders), a Waihopai Valley farmer has happily let us camp on his land – a very short walk from the base – for the past two years.

Organising The Mike Frost Tour

But my real ABC work has been elsewhere. I reported to last year's AGM that we were hoping to bring out a former spy on a national speaking tour, subject to finance. Well that's on, it's been one of my major projects for the past year (18 months since it was first proposed), and is due to take place in October. Mike Frost, who spent 34 years as a Canadian spy, and is now a writer and speaker, will be ABC's guest for two weeks, speaking at nine venues from Christchurch to Whangarei. We set ourselves a \$5,000 budget, raised it easily, then got another \$2,000 from one of the Government-appointed committees which distribute the *Rainbow Warrior* blood money. We've strung together a network of local organisers and activists, publicised it widely, and attracted great interest from the media (both Radio New Zealand's *Kim Hill* and TVNZ's *60 Minutes* had booked interviews before I'd even approached the media. Neither ABC nor CAFCA have attracted their attention before). This is the first time ABC has done this - a previous overseas expert was coming here already on a private holiday, in the late 1990s and we piggybacked on that - but I've organised national speaking tours before (and accompanied the speakers, which I'm not doing with Frost), so I knew what I was letting myself in for. It is an extremely labour intensive job, dealing with anything from trying to arrange meetings with the Deputy Prime Minister to advising Frost on whether he can get an adaptor here for his wife's North American hairdryer. It hasn't all been plain sailing – we have encountered perfectly understandable opposition from some of our closest colleagues on the political morality of paying for former spies to come here. And we've had differences with Frost himself, primarily caused by him not being "one of us".

Organising a speaking tour by a North American ex-spy brings back many mixed memories for me. Back in the mid 1980s, before ABC existed, when CAFCA was still CAFGINZ and it specialised in Intelligence matters, I spent three years negotiating with Philip Agee, the famous former US Central Intelligence Agency spy turned author and political activist, to tour NZ and Australia. I've got a pile of letters as a souvenir (the way things were organised before e-mail, faxes and cheap international calls; it amazes me when I look back on it now). Agee finally rang me (on my birthday!) to cancel and that left a bitter taste all round. So far we're doing a lot better with Mike Frost.

See Bob Leonard's report on the Mike Frost tour elsewhere in this issue. Neither the *60 Minutes* interview nor the meeting with Deputy PM Jim Anderton happened in the end. MH.

The Waihopai protest and the Frost tour organisation have accounted for nearly all of my ABC work in the past year. But we've also made submissions on a couple of spy agency Bills; we've held a public meeting on one, and picketed the local office of the Security Intelligence Service (which got good media coverage). Plus there's been ongoing ABC media work, and international networking, from Australia to Britain and Japan.

But ABC is struggling to maintain a committee – we lost Warren Thomson (permanently, it now seems), in 1997; in the past year, we have lost his daughter, Melanie, who is teaching in London for two years, and Greg Jones, who felt a strong and immediate need to get a life. On the other hand we have picked up Robyn Dann (and her five year old whirling Dervish, Aleks) as a direct result of our active campaigning. Robyn has done the unthinkable and volunteered to be treasurer. After the Frost tour, we will hold our first strategy meeting for 18 months and consider our future. I am confident that both ABC and *Peace Researcher* will continue. At least there's no Waihopai demo planned for this summer, which means that I can actually have a break over Christmas.....

The CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income, is independent of both CAFCA and the Anti-Bases Campaign. It too has fallen somewhat but not so much as to be a major problem. Ironically, one factor has been this Government's reinstating the annual increase in the minimum wage. The number of pledgers is holding relatively steady – some leave, others join – but it is the donations that are vital. For a decade now I have relied on the generosity of members and supporters – it has not failed me yet. Individuals and organisations continue to send donations of hundreds of dollars at a time – it is very humbling to receive such constant and concrete manifestations of support...

This has been a year of personal milestones. I turned 50, and had a bloody good party to celebrate it. Becky and I have just celebrated our tenth wedding anniversary. On the other hand, I've just been prescribed (reading) glasses for the first time in my life, so old age and infirmity is catching up with me. I'm acutely aware of the fact that we haven't had any sort of break away for 18 months, and that 1998 was the last time we had a holiday of more than a week. Being self-employed and working from home is an attractive lifestyle but getting away from work and the workplace (your own home) is a problem.

I have been the Organiser for nearly ten years now, which is an extremely long time for a job funded entirely by the regular pledges and donations of CAFCA and ABC members and supporters. It is remarkable and I didn't envisage it holding out this long when I embarked on it as a 40 year old redundant Railways labourer, back in 1991. Once again, I take the opportunity to thank you for your generosity. The Organiser Account has dropped to a regular \$3,500 - \$5,000 but is still healthy and viable. My pay is \$308 per week gross, which is the minimum wage. Some pledgers have left; others have joined, we can always do with more. This continuing financial support is a most gratifying vote of confidence in the work that we, and I, do. I particularly thank all the donors (some who have given thousands of dollars over the years), because it is the donations which make a vital difference. And I must give hearty thanks to my wife Becky, because if it wasn't for the fact that she's had a real job for eight years none of this would be possible.

CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT 2000/01

Balance on 31/3/00	\$5,978.01
Balance on 31/3/01	\$4,440.21
	-\$1,537.80

EXPENSES		INCOME	
Murray's pay	\$15,714.90	One off donations	\$ 5,156 (36%)
Other cheques	\$ 172.90	Pledges*	\$ 9,147 (64%)
	\$15,887.80	Interest	\$ 47

			\$14,350
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Deficit: Expenses over income = \$1,537.80

There were 26 pledgers, as of March 2001.

PEACE RESEARCHER NOW ON LINE

- Murray Horton

We're delighted to report that *Peace Researcher* can now be read on line, as part of the ABC's new and greatly improved Website. The address is:

www.converge.org.nz/abc

To read *Peace Researcher*, simply click on the relevant link on the Homepage (it's text only, without any of the illustrations that grace the hard copy edition).

Apart from the *PR* page, there's lots more now on the ABC Website: the Waihopai spybase is explained, plus there are some splendid photos of Big Balls, the base's two radomes thrusting into the Marlborough sky; the Harewood and Tangimoana bases are explained on the Other Bases page; there is a brief history of the Anti-Bases Campaign; a page devoted to our submissions on various Bills; a page reserved for ABC activities (most recently, it detailed Mike Frost's national speaking tour); and a number of very useful Links to the Websites of other organisations and publications throughout New Zealand, and around the world. All in all it's a bloody good little Website.

We explained in *PR 23* that Melanie Thomson (currently in London on her Big OE) did all the hard work getting the Website set up but ran out of time to actually get it uploaded, before flying out, at the end of 2000. So it sat in limbo for six months, with none of us having the technical nous to get it going. That is until the splendid **Joe Davies** was good enough (mad enough?) to accept our invitation to be ABC Webmaster. We've never looked back since then and Joe has never had a night's sleep either. Filling in the pages and updating them involved us all in a lot of work, and it was definitely a case of learning on the job for both Joe and us. But all the hard work is done now, the site is alive and well, and will only get better. Many thanks to Joe and to the patient techno whizzes at Plain Communications, our Internet Service Provider, who have solved the numerous cyber-hassles we've encountered along the way. Check it out.

THANKS, GREG

- Murray Horton

Sadly, ABC lost one of our key committee members in mid 2001. Greg Jones, a member of ours since the mid 90s and most recently the Treasurer, decided that he needed to reduce his commitments to a whole range of groups, primarily to regain some control over his life, and hopefully prolong it.

Greg came to us from Kate Dewes' legendary Peace Studies course of the early 90s, at the University of Canterbury. Prior to that he'd had a lengthy career as a psychopaedic nurse at Templeton (an excellent qualification for working in the peace movement). Greg was an indispensable part of all ABC activities in the latter half of the 90s, taking part in several Waihopai demos, and getting arrested at one (he was part of the Waihopai 20 in 1997, our biggest mass arrest there). Greg is a founder member of the Catholic Worker (CW) group, in Christchurch, and for several years has played a leading role in both groups. In January 2001 he drove a CW group to Wellington to vigil at the US Embassy (for the tenth anniversary of the Gulf War), then back across Cook Strait to Waihopai, where he was in charge of food at the weekend-long protest camp.

Fortunately, Greg is not lost to the movement. He remains a central figure in Catholic Worker, living at their Addington house and organising peace activities such as the September 2001 national speaking tour by Ciaran O'Reilly (see *below*). He and CW have been fixtures at the weekly anti-war marches in Christchurch since the US started bombing Afghanistan. Members of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa will be interested to learn that it is Greg who performs the vital job of transporting *Foreign Control Watchdog* to and from the printer and Postal Centre.

Nor has he been lost to ABC, just to our fortnightly committee meetings. He has declared himself more than happy to be an active ABC member. In October 2001 he was the Christchurch driver and tour guide for visiting Canadian ex-spy, Mike Frost (see *elsewhere in this issue for ABC's report on the Frost tour. Ed.*). Indeed he spent more time with Frost than the tour organiser, Murray Horton. In December, he was actively involved in the first protest at the American base at Christchurch Airport for several years (see *report elsewhere in this issue. Ed.*). And he has told us that he's happy to be actively involved next time we go to Waihopai.

As for the thankless job of ABC Treasurer, our newest committee member, Robyn Dann (who joined us as a result of coming on the January 2001 Waihopai protest) astonished us by volunteering to do it. Robyn comes with a package deal, her five year old whirling dervish, Aleks. So who says we don't have any young people on the ABC committee?

So many thanks for your years of invaluable work, Greg and hopefully you'll get more time now to listen to your beloved Bob Dylan collection. Not to mention indulging your other totally thankless (and losing) passion – being an Otago rugby fan in Canterbury.

CIARON O'REILLY
A Flying Visit From The Peace Warrior

- Murray Horton

In September 2001 ABC was pleased to catch up with one of our more high profile former committee members. Ciaron O'Reilly, Australian by birth, peace warrior to the world, was an active member of ours for about six months or so back in 1994 (as was his former partner in crime, Moana Cole. Both had been imprisoned in the US and deported for their symbolic Ploughshares disarming of a US Air Force bomber, inside an air base, during the 1991 Gulf War). In 1994, Ciaron and Moana were arrested for trespass, on Hiroshima Day, at the US military base at Christchurch Airport. They defended themselves, were convicted and fined several hundred dollars each. Ciaron left New Zealand shortly afterwards, without paying the fine. 2001 was his first return visit.

He was here on a national speaking tour, primarily about the anti-globalisation movement, and he attracted some high profile media coverage. Ciaron has been busy in the seven years since he was last in NZ. He's been arrested in Brisbane (his home town) for protesting against the involvement of Australia and oil transnationals in the Indonesian genocide in East Timor; he was jailed in Darwin for protesting against uranium mining on Northern Territory Aborigine land; he was involved with the Catholic Worker group in Liverpool and arrested for protesting at British arms sales to Indonesia for use in East Timor; he was bashed by cops when he was one of the tens of thousands who protested against the World Economic Forum meeting in the Melbourne Casino (how apt) in 2000. It was great to see Ciaron again, and to catch up on what he's been doing – remarkably he has retained both his sanity and his sense of humour (not to mention his trademark dreadlocks). He was flying to Brisbane for the scheduled protests at the Commonwealth heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) but that meeting was postponed due to the security hysteria post-September 11. We're sure he would have found something else to do.

As for Moana, she's well advanced on the task of finishing her law degree at the University of Canterbury. That and being a solo mother to young Naomi takes up most of her time (her daughter has inherited a most impressive set of lungs, as anyone who tried to sleep at the January 2001 Waihopai protest camp can avouch). Moana is still a peace activist, having organised activities to mark the tenth anniversary of the 1991 Gulf War, and has plunged into the current movement against the war in Afghanistan. Nor has she ever lost her trademark equine laugh, which rivals that of Mayor Shadbolt.

ECHELON
European Parliament Committee Report

- Murray Horton

PR 22 (December 2000) highlighted the fact that, in July 2000, the European Parliament established a 36 member Temporary Committee to inquire into Echelon (the code name for the global programme run by the electronic spying agencies of the UKUSA Agreement – the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. It involves a global network of satellite interception spybases automatically searching billions of civilian telecommunications messages simultaneously and continuously for key words. In the case of the small fry, such as the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), this raw material is collected in a fully automated process at Marlborough's Waihopai spybase and sent undigested to Big Brother, namely the US National Security Agency (NSA), the world's biggest Intelligence agency. *PR* has been running articles about Echelon for years).

The Temporary Committee was given one year to conduct its investigation. It received no assistance whatsoever from the US, which has never admitted the existence of Echelon. When Committee members went there, in May 2001, they were declined meetings with either the NSA or its better known counterpart, the Central Intelligence Agency. They also encountered similar refusals from the State Department and the Commerce Department's Advocacy Center (an office that helps US companies win foreign contracts).

The Committee duly reported back, in September 2001. It was a rather disappointing report – which can be directly accessed at <http://www2.europarl.eu.int/omk/OM-Europarl?PROG=REPORT&L=EN&PUBREF=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A5-2001-0264+0+NOT+SGML+V0//EN&LEVEL=2>

It concluded that Echelon actually exists (no kidding) and expressed disappointment that European Parliamentarians, to the highest level, seemed unaware of that. It reassured that the sheer volume of telecommunications makes “exhaustive, detailed monitoring of all communications impossible in practice”. The principal focus was on whether Echelon is used by the “Anglo-Saxon” countries (primarily the US and Britain) for commercial espionage on European corporations. The Committee concluded that this probably happens but that not one single European company had complained of it happening. German Member of the European Parliament (MEP), Gerhard Schmid, explained: “One explanation for this is that companies, when they find they are being spied upon by the competition, don’t want to talk about it. It’s a question of prestige, of embarrassment” (Campaign for Accountability of American Bases newsletter, September 2001). Another German MEP, Christian von Boetticher, put it thus: “The victims gave us evidence but were not willing to testify. And that’s not enough for a court sentence” (ibid). The Committee urged European Parliament institutions and public bodies of member States to “systematically encrypt “sensitive communications “so that encryption becomes the norm”. It called for European Union (EU) members to negotiate a data security code of conduct with the US. And reflecting the tension with its member, Britain (the only European country in the UKUSA Agreement), von Boetticher said: “Our British friends, because of their EU membership, are asked to put an end to American espionage activities and control the ones carried out on their land. Otherwise they are contravening European legislation” (ibid).

It was, at best, a halfhearted finding from a Committee that was in itself not what Echelon critics had called for (namely a fullblown inquiry). Since it reported, of course, September 11 has been and gone and all of Europe has joined the US in war hysteria. Any criticism of the US or its spy agencies now pits you on the side of “the terrorists”. So, despite the singular failure of Echelon to detect, let alone prevent, these massive terrorist attacks, it will continue to have money and resources lavished upon it. As Mike Frost, the former Canadian spy turned writer and speaker (*see article elsewhere in this issue on his October 2001 NZ tour. Ed.*), told his New Zealand audiences – terrorism is supposed to be the eavesdroppers’ top priority, but terrorists of the bin Laden ilk don’t make much use of means of communications that can be spied upon. Result – the spooks tend to concentrate on the much easier economic spying, particularly on their “allies”. That looks set to continue for some time yet.