

Richard Woods, described by former colleagues from his days as a diplomat as “honourable, prudent, bland, a bit of a snob and altogether too British” (*Press*, 28/1/06; “Spymaster ensnared by Zaoui”, Dan Eaton), became Director-General of the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) in 1999. Another former colleague from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Woods served as Ambassador to several countries) said: “If you asked central casting to send you a spymaster, you would get Richard” (*ibid.*). Courtesy of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the US and the ensuing open-ended US-led “War On Terror”, the bumbling, incompetent SIS found itself thrust into the front lines. Woods’ term in office saw a huge boost in both staff numbers (to around 150) and budget. For the 2005/06 year it was \$23.2 million, but surges up to \$43.4 million in the 2006/07 year (some of which is for fitting out its brand new headquarters in Wellington’s new Defence Building), levelling off at \$32 million by the end of this decade. Par for the course is that the Government provides no word of justification as to what this massive extra expenditure and staff increase is for.

Muslims Have Replaced The Reds Under The Beds

As a good and faithful servant of its ideological masters (the much bigger Intelligence agencies of the US, Britain and Australia), the SIS parroted the line that New Zealand is threatened by Islamic terrorists. Its 2005 *Annual Report*, which was not tabled in Parliament until April 2006, made the alarming, but totally unsubstantiated, claim that sympathisers of al Qaeda, with links to overseas extremists, are already living amongst us. What’s more, it said that there are people living in NZ who already have experience of waging jihad, specifically in the 1990s’ war in Bosnia (in the former Yugoslavia). The trouble with this latter claim is that these people are “our” jihadis, because New Zealand faithfully supported the US and its European allies in waging war on the Serbs in Bosnia. It’s an inconvenient fact to have to remember but it was only in the last decade that the West militarily backed, and fought on behalf of, Muslims in several of the vicious 1990s’ Balkan wars. So, indeed we do have Bosnian Muslim war veterans here, and they are here as our guests, at our invitation, as refugees brought here to start a new life.

“...To draw an analogy. Speaking of the potential of homegrown Islamic terrorists is akin to saying there are potential Catholic terrorists in New Zealand. The syllogism is simple. There are Opus Dei members in the country (Opus Dei being a Roman Catholic sect). Since Opus Dei has been linked to acts of violence in Latin America, Spain, Italy and elsewhere, and because it has proven links with fascists fleeing Europe after World War Two, by the SIS’s reasoning they would have to constitute a potential, even probable threat to New Zealand. After all, they violently oppose abortion, abhor secular humanism, and believe reverently in the afterlife, all in marked opposition to the ideological and material foundations of New Zealand’s modern social order. Yet there is no mention of the terrorist threat posed by potential Catholic warriors in the SIS report.

“Instead, the SIS worries about local jihadis. In fact, the report states that counter-terrorism is the biggest single component of the SIS’s activities. That is and is not surprising. Comparatively speaking, it is surprising that a small democracy with no history of conflict with Islam would see counter-terrorism against Islamic extremists as its foremost intelligence preoccupation. Countries in similar situations like Chile, Portugal and Uruguay certainly do not. Yet it is not surprising if New Zealand law is factored into account.

“Under the terms of current anti-terrorist legislation, anyone who rhetorically expresses understanding of what might motivate someone to join al-Qaeda’s cause or oppose Western imperialism in Muslim lands is a potential terrorist. It includes anyone who believes that the citizenry have the right to take up arms against oppressive government (which basically means that by New Zealand’s interpretation anyone in the US who believes in the Second Amendment [*to the Constitution, guaranteeing the right to bear arms. Ed.*] is a potential terrorist). It could even cover Opus Dei members. But it is the threat of domestic Islamic terrorism that the Director-General chose to underscore.

“To buttress its concerns, the SIS *Annual Report* draws parallels between local al-Qaeda sympathisers and revenue generators, the London and Madrid bombers and Australian Muslim radicals. It speaks of a shift, after 2002, in al-Qaeda’s strategy towards more decentralised, local cells inspired by the 2001 attacks and notions of martyrdom. The trouble with the parallels is that the strategic situation of the countries mentioned is fundamentally different than that of New Zealand. New Zealand not a member of the coalition that invaded Iraq under pretext (unlike the other three). In its treatment of the resident Muslim population it does not exhibit the alienating, ostracising, ghettoising features of the other three. As a post-colonial society it has no history of independent grievance or dispute with any Muslim nation (its only post-imperial conflicts being with secularising regimes like the modern Indonesian dictatorships or extremist theocracies like the terrorist-sponsoring Taliban). It is, in effect, a country that is more

strategically akin to Chile, Portugal and Uruguay than it is to Australia, Great Britain and the United States. Its terrorist threat assessments should reflect that fact.

"With regard to Bosnian jihadis, it may well be true that they have combat experience and maintain links with former comrades in arms. But if that is the criteria upon which terrorist potential is assessed, than anyone coming from a conflict zone or party to foreign armed conflicts, including more than a few Americans, British citizens and South Africans, are also potential terrorists. Yet they are not listed, and if reports are correct, Bosnian refugees in New Zealand are more likely to be heavy metal listeners rather than nostalgic jihadis looking to return to the fight. Thus, in terms of internal and external security, the threat potential posed by Muslims in or towards New Zealand is leagues apart, for the better, than the countries that Director-General Woods so pointedly used as case examples in his report...

"...If we take stock of recent terrorist events in New Zealand such as the anti-American cyanide letter writer, the Waiheke hoof and mouth hoaxter, the animal rights militants who destroy laboratories and threaten company executives (and their families), environmental militants of various stripes, ethnic gangs with economic clout, or indigenous separatists, the common denominator is clear: they are neither Muslim nor are they foreign. On a scale of possibility these indigenous threats are probable, actual and imminent yet do not figure in the SIS Director-General's report. Instead, the spectre of Islamic fundamentalism is raised as a red herring designed to focus public apprehension on a minority, potential enemy within rather than those most likely to do terrorist harm to Kiwis...

"...For the rest of us the question remains: are we getting good value for dollar from our Intelligence services? The SIS budget has gone up since 2001, as has the scope and depth of the anti-terrorist legislation that it uses as a justification for its activities. Yet the quality of SIS reporting remains suspect. Put another way: If present trends continue, does this mean that within a few years non-micro chipped (urban) dogs will be added to the list of targeted terrorist suspects? Especially if their owners are Muslim? After all, the potential is there (Scoop, www.scoop.co.nz 12/5/06; "Of Myth And Reality In Terrorist Threat Assessment", Paul G. Buchanan).

Spies On Campus

The SIS also reported that it was holding discussions with the heads of New Zealand's universities to advise them on protecting the nation's campuses against infiltration by foreign terrorists, raising the alarming scenario of these said foreigners being intent on stealing materials and technology for use in weapons of mass destruction (presumably not the non-existent ones in Saddam Hussein's Iraq). The union representing academics, the Association of University Staff, doubtless mindful of the SIS' dreadful historical track record on various NZ campuses, expressed disquiet about this revelation, pointing out that, similar activities in other countries had led directly to harassment of Islamic scholars and students.

Paul Buchanan's Scoop article exposed a glaring contradiction in this policy also: "... As for the belated scrutiny of university labs for potential terrorist activity, there is an interesting twist to the issue. When (Pakistani) President Musharraf visited New Zealand in 2005, the Labour government signed an agreement whereby up to 1,000 Pakistani students would be offered visas to pursue university education in a range of hard sciences, including chemistry, physics, agronomy and other forms of engineering. Yet that agreement had no provisions for security vetting of Pakistani applicants either in Pakistan or in New Zealand... In fact, SIS interest in laboratory security appears to be an after-the-fact exercise given that the Immigration Department has no means of ascertaining the terrorist threat posed by applicants approved by the Pakistani government. It is left for Mr. Musharraf's regime to prevent would-be jihadis from utilising a student visa to advance their technical skills in New Zealand. His regime, to state it diplomatically, is fragile and thus suspect on its terrorist threat assessments offered to friendly Western nations..." (ibid.).

Oversight? What Oversight?

And if you have any fond illusions that there is any sort of effective oversight of the spies, dream on. *Peace Researcher* has written about the Intelligence and Security Committee and the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security since both institutions were created, in the 1990s. The Committee is, most deliberately, not a Select Committee, it is a committee of Government, not Parliament. It has five members, with the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition automatically so. Helen Clark gets to appoint two more (currently, her Deputy, Michael Cullen, and Winston Peters, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Leader of New Zealand First). Don Brash appointed Rodney Hide, Act Leader.

Green MP Keith Locke has been exposing the scandalous shortcomings of this Committee for years. "...Through a Parliamentary Question I have discovered that the Intelligence and Security committee met only once in 2005, on

June 14, for 43 minutes. It met two times the previous year for a total of 84 minutes. That's hardly enough time to pour their coffee and listen to a couple of briefings... The Committee's abysmal record demonstrates the need for a proper Select Committee to supervise the Intelligence services, rather than the current statutory committee made up of National and Labour appointees... Overseas, Intelligence service failings over Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction, and the misuse of intelligence by governments, has prompted inquiries and moves towards greater accountability. Here, Labour and National leaders seem to be asleep on the job. Who is watching the watchers? Certainly not Labour or National" (press release, 15/3/06; "Who is watching the watchers? Labour and Nats aren't"). And, crucially, neither the Committee nor the Inspector-General are allowed to investigate "operational matters".

"...A case in point is the expulsion of Rayed Mohamed Abdullah Ali, a Saudi Arabian man travelling on a Yemeni passport, who was granted a visa to study English but was ejected after he enrolled in a flying school. Mr Ali, who had lived in the US for several years and spoke good English, had flatted with Hani Hanjour, believed to be the man who flew the passenger jet into the Pentagon on September 11 (2001). The Intelligence and Security Committee has been briefed on the case, but members have been sworn to secrecy. That means Kiwis are unlikely to ever know whether Ali posed a threat – he had been questioned at length by US authorities about September 11 and released – and, if so, how he was able to slip through the net. The case has been clouded by the Government's insistence that it is not really an SIS issue as Immigration is the lead agency on border control and Police are in charge of counter-terrorism. Mr Locke says that raises questions about the need for a separate SIS at all. 'Given that the Police are tasked to do everything the SIS does, basically, why not fold it into the Police, because at least the Police are a bit more accountable'..." (*Dominion Post*, 23/6/06; "Who will watch the spies?", Martin Kay).

Paul Buchanan, in his Scoop article, wrote: "... in effect, there is no independent oversight of Intelligence assessments like the SIS annual reports. What passes for Intelligence oversight in New Zealand is a Parliamentary committee constituted along partisan lines whose members have little Intelligence experience prior to appointment to the committee (for example, Don Brash), and an Inspector-General who depends on the SIS Director-General for logistical support and information. The Inspector-General handled nine cases in 2005 and half of these were related to personnel matters, not policy issues or operational concerns. Both of these oversight bodies can be denied access to classified information if the intelligence is foreign derived... The bad news is that political manipulation of intelligence reporting and terrorist threat assessments in contemporary New Zealand may not reflect personal bias on the part of the Director-General, but may reflect a cultural mindset in the civilian intelligence bureaucracy. Without independent oversight to counter bureaucratic self-interest and organisational myopia that spells trouble more imminent than any homegrown jihadi wanna-be's..." (ibid.).

Out Of the Woods, Now It's Tucker Time

It is the obsession with "Islamic terrorists" that proved the downfall of Richard Woods as SIS Director-General. The victim of this obsession, of course, is the hapless Ahmed Zaoui who came to New Zealand as an illegal refugee fleeing the Algerian military dictatorship which was intent on imprisoning and/or killing him and his fellow Islamists. For his pains, Zaoui spent two years in prison, with no charge or trial, and his case is still very far from over. The incredible bungling incompetence and outright malicious lying of New Zealand's security apparatus in the Zaoui case continues to cut a swathe through that apparatus. It put an end to the career of Laurie Greig, the first Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security; Woods' contract was extended once by the Government but not a second time, and the Prime Minister publicly announced that he would step down when his term expired, in late 2006. What's more, the SIS Director-General's job was publicly advertised for the first time.

But any members of the public fancying a new career as a spyboss were out of luck, as the job went to the ultimate insider, namely Warren Tucker, who was already Director of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), the country's biggest (329 staff, as against 150 for the SIS) and most secretive Intelligence agency. Both Tucker and the GCSB are well known to the Anti-Bases Campaign, because the GCSB is the agency which runs the Waihopai spy base. And Warren Tucker takes great pride in his spies, as evidenced by his unprecedented January 2006 press statement vigorously defending the GCSB from criticism by the likes of us (see my article "Waihopai 2006: Longrunning Campaign Gets Second Wind", *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-129.html>, for details of Tucker's press statement and the context in which it occurred).

There is an interesting parallel here. Tucker has spent his long Intelligence career working in the GCSB on SIGINT (signals intelligence) and ELINT (electronic intelligence). He is now the head of NZ's HUMINT (human intelligence) agency, the SIS. The equivalent (and much bigger) US agencies are the National Security Agency (NSA), which is the biggest of the GCSB's Big Brothers, and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). President Bush's 2006 choice as the latest Director of the CIA is Air Force General Michael Hayden, who had very recently served as NSA Director. Hence, in both countries, the ELINT men are being put in charge of the HUMINT agency. The parallel goes even

further with the announcement that Tucker's replacement as GCSB Director is Air Marshal Bruce Ferguson, the former Chief of Defence Force. So, out with the old and in with the old.

Zaoui Waits In Limbo

Let's see if Tucker can unstick the SIS from the Zaoui tar baby. It ranks as one of the first great scandals of 21st Century New Zealand history. For several years now, *Peace Researcher* has covered the Zaoui case in exhaustive detail. For our most recent article, see *PR* 30, March 2005, "Ahmed Zaoui: New Zealand's Very Own Political Prisoner", by David Small, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-107.html>. After two years in prison (nearly half of that in solitary confinement in maximum security), Zaoui has been on bail since late 2004, living under court-imposed conditions (such as a nightly curfew) with a Catholic religious order in Auckland. He is separated from his wife and sons (who are illegally living in hiding in South East Asia), not allowed to work, receive any sort of benefit or earn any income at all, so he is entirely dependent on the support of the huge number of New Zealanders who have taken him to their hearts.

And the numerous legal processes involving him go grinding on. In June 2005, the Supreme Court upheld the Crown's appeal against a 2004 Court of Appeal decision that the Government must take Zaoui's human rights into account when deciding whether to deport him. But the Court also ruled that the Government can not deport him to any country where he faces the likelihood of persecution (he was sentenced to death in his absence in his native Algeria, and would face the very real likelihood of imprisonment and torture by the State if returned there, or murder by the military-backed death squads that terrorise the population). So both sides claimed victory in that case.

But the central feature of Zaoui's case is that he is the first person in New Zealand to ever be the subject of a Security Risk Certificate, issued against him by the SIS Director-General in 2003. Amazingly, more than three years later, that Certificate has still not been confirmed by the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, as is required by law. If he upholds it, the Minister of Immigration has three days to accept or deny that decision. If the Certificate is upheld, then Zaoui can be ordered to be deported. The SIS has always said that it holds classified information from unidentified foreign Intelligence services (the likes of the French, who are in cahoots with their Algerian counterparts) that Zaoui is a security risk. In May 2005 it was reported that SIS agents had visited, unannounced, the homes of a number of Auckland Algerians and interrogated them about Zaoui, asking patently absurd questions such as whether he had ever killed anyone in Algeria (no such allegation has ever been made against him. It's worth reminding ourselves that he was an academic and an elected member of the Algerian Parliament).

Finally, in 2006, the Inspector-General, Paul Neazor, announced that he would conduct NZ's first ever hearing on a Security Risk Certificate, starting on August 7th. He decreed that it would be in private and not open to observers from the likes of Amnesty International or the International Commission of Jurists. Zaoui's lawyers started assembling a large number of overseas character witnesses to testify or present affidavits in his defence. The Inspector-General appointed a leading Queen's Counsel, Stuart Grieve, to be Zaoui's special advocate. As neither Zaoui nor his lawyers will be allowed to see classified material cited against him, the special advocate will be allowed to do so - but cannot disclose it to Zaoui. Grieve will then represent Zaoui at the closed hearing.

Historic Hearing Indefinitely Postponed

But these untested waters are going to remain untested for the indefinite future. In July 2006, just weeks before the scheduled commencement of the Security Risk Certificate hearing, the Inspector-General announced that it was postponed until a date to be announced, because the SIS wasn't ready and needed more time. Green MP Keith Locke, who has been the lone voice in Parliament in support of Zaoui, demanded that the Minister of Immigration should now withdraw the Certificate.

"...It would be just too cruel to keep Mr Zaoui in limbo for yet another year, separated from his family. The August 7 hearings had been a deadline sought by the SIS and the Inspector-General. The Zaoui defence team were ready to go, and had booked flights for expert witnesses from around the world. The SIS had ample time to prepare. The High Court told them in December 2003 to prepare a summary of allegations. The Court of Appeal reminded them in October 2004. Yet now, on the eve of the review, they have failed to provide a coherent and complete summary of their allegations. It now transpires that some 30 of the 55 files of SIS evidence so far, do not even mention Mr Zaoui by name.

"The failures have occurred on three levels. For the SIS, this has been the latest in a series of bumbles. The Inspector-General must take some responsibility for the SIS being left to slow the process down. The Prime Minister must also share some blame for inadequately resourcing the Inspector-General, so that he can get through the work

comprehensively, and on time. In this year's Budget, the Government cut the funding for the Inspector-General's office.

"In correspondence earlier this year with Mr Neazor, I was left with grave doubts as to whether key decisions had yet been made on procedures for the review. In a letter on 18 May for instance, Mr Neazor seemed to envisage using the SIS Director-General as a source of expertise in evaluating the evidence, and credibility of witnesses: 'The Director-General', Neazor wrote 'may well be a source of information for me in respect of what people may have said in the hearing.' This hardly seems the 'arm's length relationship' from the Director-General urged by the High Court. The question of whether Mr Neazor has any independent source of advice and analysis of the security evidence remains an unknown. Essentially, the SIS has failed to front up to the deadline. The Minister should end this tragic farce and allow Mr Zaoui - who has been living quietly in the community for 18 months - to be reunited with his family" (press release, 11/7/06; "Minister should withdraw Certificate against Zaoui").

One interpretation is that the SIS and the Government is spinning out the whole disgraceful saga in the hope that Zaoui will crack and decide to leave the country, reunite with his fugitive family and try his luck somewhere more accommodating, without any of the shabby secrets of the Intelligence world ever having to be revealed. If so, they look to be disappointed. But, in the meantime, he is left in a stateless limbo, Immigration laws are being tightened up to "prevent another Zaoui", and the legal bill has cost the taxpayer \$2.4 million and counting.

For the whole time that he's been in the country, Zaoui has been portrayed as being somehow associated with terrorists, if not actually one himself. So, it's useful to see how allied countries treat Algerians of his ilk. "Across the Tasman, for instance, Zaoui's political party, the FIS (Front Islamique du Salut), is seen as so benign that his Aussie equivalent – Samir Bennegadi – has been given a security clearance and works at a nuclear facility in Sydney. Anwar Haddam, the FIS leader in the US, lives freely in the community and has met (former President) Bill Clinton. Only in New Zealand has such harsh treatment been meted out – and that treatment has been entirely reliant on the judgement of the SIS whose track record hardly leaves one exactly brimming with confidence..." (*Listener, Editorial*, 14/5/05; "Take two", Gordon Campbell).

Time To Pull The Plug

So the Zaoui case is the "jewel in the crown" of the SIS' public relations campaign to convince New Zealanders that we need it and its vastly increased budget to protect us from... what exactly? Stateless Arab refugees fleeing here in fear of their lives? Deposed Islamist elected MPs who have run out of other places to go? If the much more sinned against than sinning Ahmed Zaoui is the best evidence it can produce that this country really is under threat from "Islamic terrorists", then the SIS, under its new/old Director-General, really is dog tucker.

The US National Security Agency (NSA) is the world's biggest Intelligence agency, much bigger than the better known Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). It is the Big Daddy of all the Big Brothers. Its role is signals intelligence (SIGINT) and electronic intelligence (ELINT). It is the spider at the centre of the web that is the super-secret UKUSA Agreement, by which it and the junior agencies in the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau – GCSB) divide up the world for collecting SIGINT and ELINT. The most notorious of the various projects for doing this kind of spying is the one codenamed Echelon, by which billions of key words are data mined and analysed by banks of computers, using the Dictionary programme, at the NSA's HQ at Fort Meade, Maryland (which boasts the world's biggest and fastest super-computer). To collect this mindboggling amount of data requires a global network of spybases – that is where little old New Zealand comes into the picture, with the secret Waihopai spybase which intercepts regional civilian communications transmitted by satellite. Basically Waihopai and its sister bases around the world simply download the stolen communications and forward them on to the NSA unprocessed (Echelon is far from the only such spying programme. For example, there is another one codenamed Tempest).

NSA's Domestic Spying Had Gone On For Years

Unlike the CIA, which specialises in human intelligence (HUMINT) the NSA likes to stay in the shadows. But, in December 2005, it found itself thrust into the spotlight by the revelation that, since 2002, it had been clandestinely and illegally spying on Americans in the US. Because of the massive and systematic abuses of power by the NSA, CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which came to light during the 1968-74 Presidency of Richard Nixon, such no-warrant domestic spying has been expressly prohibited by law since 1978. The *New York Times* expose (16/12/05) revealed that President Bush issued a secret Executive Order in 2002 to allow the NSA to "eavesdrop without a warrant on phone conversations, e-mail and other electronic communications, even when at least one party to the exchange was in the US – the circumstance that would ordinarily trigger the warrant requirement" (*Time*, 9/1/06; "The Spying Controversy: Has Bush Gone Too Far?"; Richard Lacayo). It turns out that the *New York Times* had sat on the story for a year and only published it on the day of a key Congressional vote on Bush's controversial PATRIOT Act, a cornerstone of the legislative dictatorship that the US has been rapidly turning into in the paranoid hysteria following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC. The vote was lost and Bush and his cronies in government and the media bitterly assailed those who had exposed the secret NSA spying – Bush had unsuccessfully summonsed both the editor and publisher of the *Times* to the White House to urge them not to print the story. He and his mates came out swinging, saying that the US is at war and that the ends (national security) justifies the means.

The 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) created the secret, 11 member FISA court whose job it is to hear NSA requests for warrants. It is basically a rubber stamp for the spies. "According to the Justice Department, from 1979 to 2004 the court approved 18,724 wiretaps and denied only three, all in 2003" (*Time*, *ibid*). And, in cases which the NSA deems urgent, it is allowed to spy without a warrant as long as it applies for one within 72 hours (these warrants are only needed for spying on Americans; none are required for spying on foreigners). FBI domestic phone tapping is expedited under the PATRIOT Act, allowing the Bureau to issue National Security Letters to secure customer information from banks and phone, Internet and credit card companies. In 2005, 9,254 such Letters were issued, seeking information on 3,501 people.

But Bush and the NSA decided that even the figleaf of the totally compliant FISA court is an unnecessary hindrance to the smooth functioning of the police State. It is, of course, all part of the same post-September 11 pattern that has seen "enemy combatants" held indefinitely and incommunicado, without legal redress, at the US military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba; the systematic use of torture there and in US prisons in Iraq; kidnapping of alleged "terrorists" (many of whom turn out to be innocent) and their "rendition" by the CIA to third party countries for torture or even murder, quite often in a newly created network of secret CIA prisons in countries ranging from Afghanistan to Eastern Europe (the latter having gone from Soviet puppets in the old Cold War days to American arselickers in the Brave New World of One Superpower). And it is part of the pattern that is glorified in US propaganda such as Fox TV's series "24" (screened on primetime on TV3) which glorifies US secret agents who use any methods, routinely including torture, to save the US from demonic, foreign terrorists.

Phonetapping To Create The World's Biggest Database

The revelation that the NSA was spying on Americans was taken to a whole other plane in May 2006, when it was

revealed that the Agency was quietly compiling the world's largest database by securing the phone records of the 200 million Americans who are customers of AT&T, Verizon and BellSouth, which combined carry roughly 80% of the nation's landline calls and half of the wireless ones. Qwest, a Colorado-based company with about 14 million customers, refused to turn over its records to the Government because there was no court order requiring it to do so. It resisted heavy pressure from the NSA, including the threat that Qwest might not get future classified work with the Government.

Commentators described this as an attempt "to create a database of every call ever made" within the nation's borders (*USA Today*, 11/5/06). Indeed there are suggestions that the spying may have gone beyond just phone calls. Also in May, a lawsuit filed against AT&T by privacy advocates contained allegations by a former AT&T technician that the giant telecommunications company allowed the NSA to install equipment capable of examining every individual message on the Internet.

Bush himself was unrepentant, merely declaring that: "We're not mining or trolling through the personal lives of millions of innocent Americans. Our efforts are focused on links to al Qaeda terrorists and its affiliates. The intelligence activities I authorised were lawful', without specifying which laws in particular had authorised them" (*Time*, 22/5/06; "Inside Bush's Secret Spy Net", Karen Tumulty). In the past, he'd felt the need to reassure the American people by the time honoured method of lying. "...On April 20, 2004, he told a crowd in Buffalo, New York, that warrants were still required for all wiretaps. 'By the way, any time you hear the United States government talking about wiretaps – a wiretap requires a court order,' Bush said. 'Nothing has changed, by the way. When we're talking about chasing down terrorists, we're talking about getting a court order before we do so...'" (consortiumnews.com, 12/5/06; "This Time, It Really Is Orwellian", Robert Parry).

Not only was Bush defiant about this vast spying programme directed against his own people, the Government actively obstructed official investigations into it (shades of President Nixon and the 1970s' Watergate scandal which brought about his downfall). In May, the Justice Department's Ethics Office was forced to end its investigation into the conduct of its own lawyers who gave legal advice on the previously disclosed NSA domestic spying programme (officially titled the Terrorist Surveillance Program), because the investigating lawyers were denied the necessary security clearances to look into the matter.

Waihopai Makes New Zealand An Accomplice

And this is not something from which New Zealanders can remain aloof, shrugging our shoulders and saying "only in America". Green MP, Keith Locke, the Party's Security and Intelligence Spokesperson, correctly pointed out that: "Waihopai makes New Zealand complicit in the actions of what looks more and more like an outlaw agency. The two satellite dishes at the Waihopai station near Blenheim pull down all the phones, faxes and e-mails passing through the two communications satellites over the Equator.

"Many details of these messages are then forwarded to the NSA, after they have been filtered for key words and sender and recipient details. The NSA then, clearly, links them to its domestic surveillance data banks. ... the White House authorised the NSA to eavesdrop without warrants on international calls and e-mail traffic of US citizens. Now, we find that the NSA collects and maintains these huge data banks of domestic phone calls, e-mails and faxes.

"The information that we forward from Waihopai turns all of us into accomplices in this programme of dubious legality. Earlier this week, the US Department of Justice was forced to suspend its investigation of the NSA domestic spy programme. All too often, critics of White House policies get accused of being anti-American. But, as in this case, we are really speaking out to defend the American people from the actions of their own government" (press release, 12/5/06; "Waihopai spies are the real anti-Americans").

Judge Rules NSA Domestic Spying Illegal & Unconstitutional

Fortunately, at least one branch of the American State still has some scruples, namely the courts (which have dealt Bush heavy blows in other areas of his "War On Terror", such as denying him the right to detain indefinitely without trial – and to torture – "terrorists" at the notorious Guantanamo Bay hellhole). The American Council for Civil Liberties took the NSA to court and, in August 2006, Federal Judge Anna Diggs Taylor ruled the Agency's Terrorist Surveillance Program illegal and issued a permanent injunction against it. "In this case, the President has acted, undisputedly, as the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act forbids" (CommonDreams.org, 28/8/06; "JonBenet Died – And Bush Lied?", Thom Hartmann). Judge Taylor went further than declaring the spying Program illegal, she also declared it unconstitutional. "There are no hereditary kings in America and no powers not created by the Constitution. It was never the intention of the (constitutional) framers to give the President such unfettered control,

particularly when his actions blatantly disregard the parameters clearly enumerated in the Bill of Rights” (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 19/8/06, “US Federal judge halts wiretapping”). The ruling was immediately appealed by the NSA and the injunction was temporarily stayed ahead of an appeals court ruling.

The Bush Administration was not going to let inconvenient matters like courts and the Constitution get in the way of its warrantless domestic spying programme. In September, the House of Representatives passed a Bill providing Congressional authorisation for such spying when the President deems it necessary. The Bill would authorise the President to order surveillance for up to 90 days after a “terrorist attack” – if there is a reasonable belief that the target is communicating with a terrorist group. In the case of an “imminent threat of attack” the President would also be permitted to authorise up to 90 days warrantless electronic surveillance and could submit unlimited subsequent certifications to Congressional Intelligence committees and a judge to extend the surveillance. In short, this Bill authorises unlimited domestic spying without need of a warrant. It was passed on party lines but Bush was unable to achieve his goal of getting it through the Senate, and thus signed into law, before Congress adjourned for the November 2006 midterm elections. Any such law is also likely to be challenged in court.

The Coup Of The Geeks: NSA Director Takes Over CIA

At the same time the massive NSA phonetapping operation was exposed, in May 2006, President Bush nominated Air Force General Michael Hayden to be the new Director of the CIA. This was particularly provocative because Hayden was an NSA veteran of 30 years experience and a previous Director of it. The first NSA domestic spying operation to be exposed (in December 2005) was authorised by him. This led to opposition from influential quarters to Hayden taking over the CIA. For example, the *Los Angeles Times* (quoted in the *Press*, 13/5/06) wrote an editorial entitled “The wrong spy”: “...It is easy to nitpick Hayden’s nomination. If the Agency needs to refocus on human intelligence, would it not make more sense to bring in a Director with experience in that area? Hayden comes from the gadget-oriented NSA. And the fact that he is a military man taking over the one formidable non-military Intelligence agency at a time when Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld’s Pentagon is expanding its intelligence capabilities is raising legitimate concerns.

“But the most disturbing part of Hayden’s resume, and the one that disqualifies him for the job, is his proud parenthood of the NSA’s eavesdropping programme. Under the programme, the Agency listens in on conversations between US residents and overseas parties without seeking a warrant from secret courts set up for this purpose. Hayden has spoken in defence of the programme’s constitutionality, and the White House thinks it has the upper hand politically on this issue. In the name of fighting terror, most Americans seem willing to allow Bush to chisel away at their privacy and the Bill of Rights. Senators may find it hard to derail Hayden’s nomination. But they should use his confirmation hearings to ascertain exactly what those NSA eavesdroppers are up to”.

Be that as it may, Hayden was duly confirmed as the latest CIA Director, thus completing the primacy of ELINT/SIGINT over HUMINT, exactly parallel to what happened in NZ’s spy world in 2006, when GCSB Director Warren Tucker became the new Director-General of the Security Intelligence Service. The parallel goes even further. Hayden is an Air Force General. The new GCSB Director is Air Marshal Bruce Ferguson, former Chief of Defence Force. So, in both countries (the biggest and smallest members of the UKUSA Agreement) the military and the geeks are in the ascendancy over the classic spooks.

CIA Mired In Incompetence & Sleaze

Bush put Hayden in charge of the CIA to try to fix a spy agency that is deeply mired in scandal and incompetence. Its failure to predict, let alone prevent, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the US, and its role in the fiasco of Saddam Hussein’s non-existent weapons of mass destruction (the quest for which Bush used as his flimsy excuse to invade Iraq in 2003) are only the latest chapters in a long and sorry history. Believe it or not, Bush also apparently regards the CIA as a hotbed of “liberals” (the worst of all possible things to be in the nightmare world that America has become under Bush), because it has consistently not fallen into (goose)step with Bush and Rumsfeld et al over the Iraq War and the “War On Terror”. As far as Bush is concerned, you are either for him or against him and the CIA is not sufficiently rahrah over the way the American Empire is functioning.

Bush thought that he had “fixed” the CIA when he appointed the previous Director, Porter Goss, a former CIA covert agent himself and more latterly a Republican Congressman. But he was a disaster, lasting only 19 months in the job. His desire to clean up the Agency and his obsession with finding “leakers” led to mass resignations or redundancies of many experienced staff. What actually finished him off was a good old fashioned corruption scandal. Kyle Foggo, the third ranked CIA official (Goss had appointed him Executive Director when Goss took over in 2004), resigned in May 2006, amid the unprecedented occurrence of FBI agents executing search warrants on his office at CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia. Foggo was accused of awarding a contract to an old mate who is

a defence contractor. In turn, the latter was put under investigation for allegedly providing a disgraced former Republican Congressman (currently serving eight years in prison for accepting bribes) with prostitutes, limousines and free hotel suites. Goss himself was accused of attending one of the poker games where Foggo and his defence contractor mate did business (Goss denied it). So, Goss got the Presidential boot and none of his staff were sorry to see him go. One former high ranking official was quoted as saying, after Goss' resignation was announced: 'There's more champagne being drunk today than on New Year's Eve' (*Press*, 8/5/06; "CIA boss quits over 'hookergate'"). In yet another NZ parallel, the GCSB's Tucker was made SIS Director-General to try and fix an agency which, under Richard Woods, has disastrously bungled the case of our only "Islamic terrorist", namely Ahmed Zaoui.

John Negroponte, Czar Of The Invisible Empire

Between his jobs of NSA Director and CIA Director, Hayden was the Deputy Director of National Intelligence. The Director is John Negroponte, whose 2005 appointment as America's Intelligence "czar", in charge of 16 separate civilian and military Intelligence agencies, represented the biggest shakeup in US Intelligence since the creation of the CIA and NSA back in the immediate post-World War 2 years. The creation of this new super post represented a demotion for the CIA, whose Director used to be the country's overall Director of Intelligence and, as such, used to get what Americans call regular "face time" with the President. Not any more – Negroponte is the spyboss who now has Bush's ear. The CIA is just another spy agency, whose demotion is a direct result of the shock waves created throughout the Invisible Empire of US Intelligence by the September 11 attacks and everything that has flowed from that.

John Negroponte is a veteran hitman (quite literally) for the US. He came into the Intelligence job from being US Ambassador to Iraq, where he presided over the biggest US Embassy in the world and was the civilian face of the American war on the Iraqi people, with all its horrors. He gained notoriety in the 1980s when he was Ambassador to Honduras, from where he directed President Ronald Reagan's proxy war by the contras (expatriate Nicaraguan terrorists) inside neighbouring Nicaragua. Countless human rights violations, including numerous massacres, in both Honduras and Nicaragua can be laid at his feet. Between times he was US Ambassador to postings as diverse as the Philippines and the United Nations. He is a very nasty piece of work. And Michael Hayden is his right hand man. Negroponte was instrumental in getting Porter Goss fired as CIA Director and replaced by Hayden (see *Time*, 15/5/06; "The Spy Master Cracks The Whip: How John Negroponte won control of the CIA, and what he plans next to consolidate rival agencies and his power", Michael Duffy).

Negroponte presides over a vast Invisible Empire. For half a century the annual Intelligence budget has been a closely guarded secret, with the CIA having won a number of court cases to keep it thus. But, in November 2005, Mary Margaret Graham, Deputy Director of National Intelligence for Collection, casually revealed at a public Intelligence conference that the annual Intelligence budget is \$US44 billion. Steven Aftergood, Director of the Project on Government Secrecy at the Federation of American Scientists, said: "It is ironic. We sued the CIA four times for this kind of information and lost. You can't get it through legal channels" (*New York Times*, 9/11/05, "Official lets slip US spy budget", Scott Shane).

Negroponte and Hayden face a formidable bureaucratic rival in Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. During his term the Pentagon has heavily muscled into the world of Intelligence. Rumsfeld has encouraged the Defense Intelligence Agency to set up its own clandestine teams and act independently of the CIA, whom he regards as too slow. "Many of the secret activities are run by US Special Operations Command in Tampa, Florida, whose 50,000 commandos have the green light to launch missions against terrorists. The command also maintains a clandestine force of several hundred undercover spies, who specialise, for example, in planting electronic sensors or scouting terrorist targets for attack" (*Time*, 7/2/05; "How Rumsfeld Plans To Shake Up The Spy Game", Douglas Waller).

CIA Now Secret Police Force: Kidnaps, Renditions, Secret Prisons & Torture

Conversely, while the military has been doing more spying, the CIA has been transformed by the "War On Terror" prerogatives into a military force in its own right (for example, see the *Time* cover story, 3/2/03, "The CIA's Secret Army: "After playing it safe for so long, the CIA is beefing up its own team of combatants and already deploying them in Iraq. Inside the new world of American espionage", Douglas Waller. This was written, of course, before the US was actually at war with Iraq). And the CIA has morphed from a classic spy agency, which historically tended to contract out its dirty work to Third World allies, to being a full blown secret police. The "War On Terror" has seen the Agency establishing its own network of secret prisons (only publicly acknowledged by Bush in September 2006), openly using torture in them and at Guantanamo Bay (once again, Bush has defended these "harsh interrogation methods"), and kidnapping "terrorists" from foreign countries and flying them to one of its covert torture chambers on clandestine international flights on its own contracted planes. This notorious practice has euphemistically entered the language as "rendition".

And it has led to any number of diplomatic incidents, cockups and the kidnapping, imprisonment and torture of numerous innocent people. To give just one example – in 2005 an Italian court issued arrest warrants for 22 CIA operatives allegedly involved in the kidnapping, several years earlier, of an Egyptian cleric and his “rendition” to Egypt where he was imprisoned and tortured. “Milan prosecutors had no difficulty identifying the officers from cellphone records and a trail of credit card charges left at hotels and restaurants. ‘The spooks aren’t very spooky these days’, says a US counter-terrorism expert” (*Time*, 19/12/05, “Covering Its Tracks”, Douglas Waller).

The “War On Terror” has seen the CIA get caught out in all sorts of dubious practices. Bush’s closest ally in the Islamic world is Pakistani dictator Pervez Musharraf. In 2006, he deeply embarrassed the Bush Administration by publishing his tell all memoir, “In The Line Of Fire”. In it he revealed that the US had threatened to bomb Pakistan “back to the Stone Age” if it didn’t side with the US. And “he says that he was so angered by US attempts to bully Pakistan into supporting the White House that he had his military commanders study ‘war games’ to see if they could take on the American forces should they try to operate inside his borders without permission” (*Press*, 26/9/06, “Musharraf dishes dirt”, Daniel McGrory). He outed the CIA for having secretly paid Pakistan millions of dollars for handing over 369 alleged al Qaeda figures to the US. Paying such bounties to foreign governments is banned under US law and the Department of Justice said that it knew nothing about it. “The CIA refused to divulge the size of its bounty payments, saying: ‘Our relationships with international leaders are not something we are prepared to talk about’. One senior CIA figure added: ‘Nor do we expect these leaders to do so’” (*Press*, *ibid.*). These bounty payments have featured in cases where totally innocent people have been sold to the naïve Americans by the likes of corrupt Afghan warlords hankering for some easy money.

And The US Is Still Losing The War

After all that effort, overt and covert, is the US winning “The War On Terror”? Not according to its own Intelligence structure. In September 2006, an April 06 *National Intelligence Estimate* written by the National Intelligence Council, created a major domestic and international uproar when it was first leaked and then partially declassified by Bush. The *Estimate* concluded that the bloodsoaked swamp that Iraq has become, in which the American Goliath is now hopelessly stuck, has become the primary recruitment vehicle for a whole new generation of violent Islamic extremists. “Rather than contributing to eventual victory in the global counter-terrorism struggle, it concludes that the situation in Iraq has worsened the US position...” (*Press*, 26/9/06, “Iraq war fuels terror”). There is enormous irony in the fact that Bush was adamant that Saddam Hussein’s Iraq was a haven of terrorists (it wasn’t, although it most certainly was a terrorist State towards its own people and some immediate neighbours) and that was used as one of the bullshit justifications (remember the weapons of mass destruction?) to invade and violently remove his regime. By so doing, Bush has ended up creating the very thing that he said he had to go into Iraq to remove – a haven of terrorists (which is the name that all occupiers apply to the locals who ungratefully continue to resist their foreign “liberators”). Funnily enough, Iraqi patriots object to American occupiers just as much as American patriots objected to British occupiers two hundred years ago).

If Bush had stuck to “liberating” Afghanistan, from whence Osama bin Laden attacked the US, there is a possibility that the “War On Terror” might have had a better chance of success, and would have retained international support. But the moment he used that as a cockeyed excuse to hare off into invading Iraq, to settle old scores and steal its oil, he lost that international support, and he’s lost the war in Iraq as well. As for “The War On Terror”, that’s not going so well either, and Afghanistan itself is living up to its reputation as a graveyard for foreign invaders. Nice work, George.

The tentacles of the American Invisible Empire reach into all sorts of unexpected places, under the justification of the “War On Terror”. In June 2006, the US Treasury acknowledged that, since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the US, it and the CIA had tracked millions of international financial transactions handled by the Belgium-based Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Communications (SWIFT, which handles about 11 million transactions daily among banks and financial institutions worldwide). This revelation led to London-based Privacy International to file complaints with data protection and privacy regulators in 13 European countries, Canada, Australia, **New Zealand** and Hong Kong, asking them to block the release of confidential financial records to US authorities. Simon Davies, Privacy International’s Director, said that the secret CIA-Treasury programme “shows yet again how the US wilfully disregards the privacy rights not only of its own citizens, but also the rights of foreign nationals”. He added that the programme operated “without any legal basis or authority whatsoever” (*New Zealand Herald*, 29/6/06; “Swift disclosures ‘should be blocked’”). For his part, President Bush condemned newspapers that broke the story, saying their reports made it “harder to win the war on terror” (ibid.).

US Seizes Aid Money From Kiwi Churches To African Christians

ABC members may rest assured that it doesn’t affect us, even if we were in the habit of making international financial transactions, which we aren’t. There is a prosaic reason why – we bank with Kiwibank, and because it doesn’t (yet) have a SWIFT code, it can’t do international electronic financial transactions. But this covert American interference with the international flow of money definitely has impacted on perfectly innocent New Zealand organisations. One such case involved the eminently respectable Christchurch-based Christian World Service (CWS), which is the aid and development agency of New Zealand’s Protestant churches. The details were supplied to me in an e-mail (28/9/06) from John Gould of the CWS Projects Team.

“Basically, (in 2005) a transfer of NZ\$75,000 (US\$52,222) made to assist internally displaced people in South Blue Nile state in Sudan... In summary, to assist some 300,000 of Africa’s poorest people towards better health and able to feed themselves by providing improved water and sanitation, agricultural inputs, smallstock, training, education etc.

“Funds were sent from NZ to a Bank of Scotland account in the UK for our partner Church Ecumenical Action in Sudan based in Nairobi, Kenya somehow went through the US banking system and got blocked (temporarily frozen due to a query raised by the Office of Foreign Assets Control (“OFAC”) of the US Department of the Treasury the purpose of which according to its website <http://www.ustreas.gov/offices/enforcement/ofac/> is as follows:-

“The Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) of the US Department of the Treasury administers and enforces economic and trade sanctions based on US foreign policy and national security goals against targeted foreign countries, terrorists, international narcotics traffickers, and those engaged in activities related to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. OFAC acts under Presidential wartime and national emergency powers, as well as authority granted by specific legislation, to impose controls on transactions and freeze foreign assets under US jurisdiction.

“Eventually, after much argument with the local travalex branch working through their office in Australia we were able to resend the funds but this time discretely direct to (an organisation) in the UK. We did at least demand and get over \$400 interest which the bank had earned while ‘sitting on the funds’. A couple of years ago a transfer was blocked in a similar way because it contained reference to ‘Sudan’ which automatically generates a query, apparently! We have therefore been careful to avoid any reference to Sudan, but on this occasion ‘S.Blue Nile’ was sufficient to block the transfer. Frightening stuff”.

Sudan has been in America’s bad books since it provided hospitality to Osama bin Laden in the 1990s, before he moved to Afghanistan. Most memorably, it was the victim of a botched Cruise missile strike ordered by President Clinton, which succeeded only in destroying a milk powder factory that had mistakenly been identified as being some sort of terrorists’ chemical weapons factory. Sudan, of course, is currently in bad odour with the world for its genocidal policy towards its own people in Darfur province. For more than 50 years there has been an on again off again civil war between the Muslim Arab north and the African Christian south. There is, therefore, enormous irony in the American Invisible Empire blocking (effectively stealing) money being sent by New Zealand Christians to a Christian church organisation in Sudan. Counter-productive is the best description. And the people most disadvantaged by it are “300,000 of Africa’s poorest people”. That’s the way to win hearts and minds, isn’t it?

THE DEPUTY SHERIFF'S DEPUTY – New Zealand's Military Foreign Policy In Asia & Pacific

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

Devoted fans (of which I am one) of the Australian TV comedy series *Kath and Kim* know that one of that show's signature phrases is employed by the appalling Kim when, without a trace of irony or malice, she describes the gormless Sharon as her "second best friend" (we never do get told who is her best one). It is an appropriately Australian description for New Zealand's relationship with the US in this part of the world. John Howard, the Aussie Prime Minister, is happy to be called the "deputy sheriff" by his good mate, and partner in crime, President Bush. Australia took part in the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq, and except for Tony Blair's Britain, Howard's Australia is America's biggest accomplice anywhere in the world (not to mention at home, where US bases and the US military presence have proliferated under Howard). Indeed, John Howard has gone way beyond brown nosing – he's so far up Sheriff George's arse that you'd be lucky to spot the soles of his shoes.

To its great credit, Helen Clark's Labour government stayed out of the disastrous Iraq War (although it did send a token force of engineers to Basra as part of the occupation. They ended up very unwelcome indeed, and got out before they were driven out at gunpoint). But the Labour government continues to commit NZ troops to the occupation forces in Afghanistan (another American-British-Australian war that is going decidedly pear shaped at present). And in what the Government defines as its Asia/Pacific backyard, it has been an enthusiastic participant in an Australian-led military foreign policy, one which basically saves the Americans from having to do the "peace keeping/nation building" job themselves (very badly, it must be said).

It's a sad contrast to the shining example of Bougainville, where New Zealand took a major regional foreign policy initiative to end a murderous separatist war and bring peace to that island, an initiative that could not be taken by Australia because of its heavily compromised past as Papua New Guinea's main accomplice in trying to crush the Bougainvilleans' independence struggle. For several years, a completely unarmed NZ military force operated a quite unique peacekeeping and nation building mission on Bougainville, one in which they were welcomed by all parties and left with their heads held high at a job well done. Nor has that peace fallen to pieces in the years since. Bougainville is a success story and NZ played a key role in that.

Helen Clark: George Bush's Second Best Friend

Twice in 2006 Helen Clark has happily acted as George Bush's second best friend, namely by sending NZ forces (both troops and police) into the Solomon Islands and Timor Leste (as East Timor is now known). In both cases, New Zealand has been there before, having sent police into the Solomons as part of an Australian-led force to end an ethnic-based civil war earlier this decade and East Timor had represented NZ's biggest overseas military commitment since its involvement in the illstarred 1960s and 70s' Vietnam War. A case could be argued to support NZ involvement in both those previous operations, particularly the emergency intervention in East Timor as the Indonesian military and its anti-independence militias terrorised the entire population in 1999.

But NZ's 2006 re-intervention in both countries was different and very far from laudable. In both cases, it represented a direct intervention into local politics, for the purpose of enforcing the implementation of economic policies that are not in the interests of the local people but those of the occupiers, their "absent friend" (the US) and transnational corporations.

Because the NZ media (with very few, honourable, exceptions) has a lazy, colonial mentality and depends on Northern Hemisphere First World outlets for its world news, New Zealanders know more about English soccer than about what's going on in their neighbouring countries (and I include Australia in that, except for sport). So there is never any background or context provided when some "Crisis In Pacific Paradise" erupts. We suddenly get a whole lot of jumbled images of the eruption presented by "parachute" journalists, who disappear once the "crisis" is over or, more likely, deemed no longer newsworthy (i.e. boring). And the NZ public is none the wiser about just what is going on in these countries, beyond the fact that they're "unstable, dangerous, ungovernable" and need our boys to run them until they can get their act together. In the post- 9/11 world, our Asia/Pacific backyard is viewed, by Bush's Australian proxies, exclusively through the lens of "The War On Terror", amid paranoia about "failed states" that could become "rogue states" and then "havens of terrorists" that could threaten Australian, and therefore American, interests. Howard reserves the right to project Australian muscle throughout a number of his neighbours, from Papua New Guinea to the Philippines and onto the high seas, where Australia has taken the lead in asserting the right to stop, search and seize North Korean ships in international waters (but note how the US has lost interest, for now, with starting a war with North Korea, coinciding with the fiasco of its disastrous occupation of Iraq and the fact

that North Korea has now got nuclear weapons and no oil worth stealing).

Solomons

The 2006 Solomons' crisis quite literally erupted in flames when mobs in the capital, Honiara, blamed the country's tiny (but very influential) Chinese population for interfering in the country's politics and indulged in that recreation which is so popular throughout South East Asia, namely burning down Chinatown. This led directly to the Australian and NZ military intervening. But the intervention went way beyond resolving that immediate mob rule crisis. There was an attempt to determine who should become the Solomons' Prime Minister; Cabinet Ministers were arrested, and the Australians, in particular, behaved very much like an occupying army. A tiny hint of the background that led to this violent explosion of popular discontent was provided in a TVNZ *One News* item featuring one of the Kiwis fleeing the country. The caption identified him as "Privatisation Expert". How very revealing. So, following in the finest traditions of Roger Douglas and Ruth Richardson (who, having been electorally rejected by their own people as a result of the enormous damage their economic policies wrought here, then proceeded to carve out personally lucrative careers advising other "emerging" countries on how to stuff up their economies), so NZ has made an export industry out of infiltrating True Believers of the New Zealand Experiment into countries all around the world, reciting the Douglas/Richardson/Treasury/Reserve Bank/Business Round Table mantra of "public bad, private good". This happened in the 1990s in the aftermath of the catastrophic Balkan wars that dismembered the former Yugoslavia into compliant statelets that could be carved up between the Americans and Western Europeans. New Zealand "privatisation experts" were among those who got top jobs in crucial sectors of their economies to make sure they are run the right way (which means the Right way).

In NZ's own Pacific backyard, implementing wholesale privatisation on tiny, fragile economies heavily dependent on the State sector (as a necessary unifying measure against destructive tribalism and ethnic conflict) is a recipe for disaster. It duly struck in the Solomons in 2006. But once the immediate crisis was over and the NZ media stopped reporting about that country, things did not go the way that Bush's best and second best friends wanted. The very man that the Australians had striven to keep out of power was elected Prime Minister by his Parliamentary colleagues. And he promptly hit back by expelling the Australian High Commissioner for interfering in Solomons' politics. The Howard government promptly declared the Solomons a "problem State", and imposed restrictions on its politicians entering Australia. Look out for further Australian direct intervention in Solomons' affairs, no doubt aided and abetted by New Zealand.

Timor Leste

What happened in Timor Leste in 2006 was even more serious and a military coup, using foreign troops, in all but name. Once again, the NZ media had stopped reporting anything about that tiny, impoverished country years ago, once NZ's original military contingent was pulled out after independence. So there was no background or context provided to the NZ public when communal violence erupted in the capital, Dili, beyond vague claims that western and eastern Timorese don't like each other, to the point of mass murder, arson and mayhem. So, once again, our boys were rushed in to sort out these ungrateful foreigners who can't run their own countries.

When the original 1999 Australian and New Zealand military intervention (with the express blessing of President Clinton) saw off the genocidal Indonesian occupiers, the Western mini-Powers set about "restructuring" the economy of the world's newest nation so that it would be run the right way and in the interests of the right beneficiaries (very large transnational corporations). They did a thorough job in recreating the Timorese economy in their own image. This imposition of an ideologically extreme neo-liberal economic agenda onto an impoverished, devastated tiny State was predictably disastrous. One result was a huge number of unemployed young men, which is always a volatile component of these types of dysfunctional societies. Think of any poor Third World country you care to name. Think of the underclass, overwhelmingly black, in the US itself. Poverty, gangs and crime flourished, and exploded into violence this year in Timor Leste.

And it had a very strong political component, with armed rivalry between the Police and the Army, representing a deadly political struggle between competing forces in the Timor Leste government, contesting the future direction of the country. There was a military rebellion and the rebels holed up in the hills above Dili. The Australian and NZ media very quickly set the correct party line as to who was the villain in all of this – and it wasn't the military rebels who had mutinied against the elected government, a mutiny that had cost numerous lives. No, it was the elected Prime Minister, Mari Alkatiri, who was demonised as a "terrorist" and as the cause of all the problems. He was portrayed as a difficult and arrogant person; an old fashioned socialist (ignoring the fact that Fretilin, the ruling party, paid at least lip service to typical Third World style socialism during its quarter of a century armed struggle for independence); a man who had lived most of his life in exile in dubious counties such as Mozambique (once more ignoring the fact that the Indonesians went to great lengths to kill or imprison any Fretilin leaders they could get their

hands on in East Timor). And, the trump card (in this age of the “War On Terror”), Alkatiri is a Muslim. Obviously he had to go.

As soon as the Australian and NZ troops arrived in Dili (where they did a feeble job of stopping the communal violence, which raged on all around them, oblivious to their presence) they set about enforcing their governments’ political agenda. Instead of arresting Alfredo Reinado, the leader of the military rebels as a mutineer and traitor, they held polite negotiations with him. And they set about making it impossible for Alkatiri to remain in office as Prime Minister, despite the fact that he’d been elected by an overwhelming majority of parliamentarians and was enormously popular in Fretilin. To cut a long story short, Alkatiri was forced out of office, amidst (never realised) threats that he could face charges relating to the political violence.

Horta Is On “Our Side”

And who has replaced him? None other than Jose Ramos Horta, Nobel Peace Prize winner, and the international face of the East Timorese resistance throughout the quarter century of struggle. No Western criticism of him for having spent that time in exile - because he spent it in Western exile. And if you have only distant memories of Horta as some sort of vaguely socialist Third World freedom fighter from the 1970s (exactly the circumstances in which I interviewed him in Sydney, for an Australian Left/union paper, right during the very first East Timorese crisis, in 1975) then think again. He knows what side his bread is buttered on and he’s definitely one of “our” team. Nor is he shy about proclaiming his uncritical support of the American Empire’s most contentious policies. For example, he wrote this about the Iraq War in the *Asian Wall Street Journal* (17/10/05): “Retreat is not a viable option, for the costs would be too high for US vital interests in the Middle East and the world as a whole. Iraq would inevitably descend into a Somalia-like failed state” (he knows which key phrases to parrot). The irony appears to be lost on him of supporting foreign invasion and brutal occupation of Iraq, despite being the leader of a country which took quarter of a century to emerge from just such oppression.

It’s All About Oil & Gas, As Usual

But why precisely did Alkatiri have to be removed from power? How did he threaten “our” interests (apart from being an arrogant Muslim socialist terrorist)? “...Australian government antipathy towards Alkatiri can be traced back to the arguments over disputed oil and gas fields in the Timor Sea. In bitter negotiations with (Australian Foreign Minister Alexander) Downer earlier this year, Alkatiri won a deal giving Timor Leste 90% of the proceeds from the rich Greater Sunrise gas deposit, but had to agree not to pursue Timor Leste’s claims on other disputed deposits for at least 40 years.

“Australia even pulled out of the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea in order to avoid being forced to make a fairer deal with Timor Leste. Rather than see Timor Leste develop its own independent and secure economy, Howard’s government has continually tried to steal the bulk of the oil deposits in the Timor Gap. Since 1999, Australia has taken \$A1.5 billion in royalties, while providing a mere \$A300 million in aid projects for Timor Leste. There are proposals to develop an oil and gas refining complex near Darwin to supply the rest of Australia by pipeline grid, and to export gas to other parts of Asia and the US.

“In government, Alkatiri and the Fretilin Party pursued policies designed to build Timor Leste’s economy gradually, avoiding foreign debt and tackling the immediate needs of the people. For example, Timor Leste rejected World Bank and International Monetary Fund loans that required the country to concentrate on export cash crops, and to import rice rather than build up their own domestic rice production. These loans were also conditional on foreign investment and the privatisation of infrastructure and services, including health, education, electricity and communications. Alkatiri threatened the interests of US imperialism by moving to establish a Petroleum Fund with assistance from China, Portugal, Malaysia and Brazil, as well as other initiatives to enhance Timor Leste’s economic independence. He had already commenced negotiations with China to construct an oil refinery in Timor Leste, a plan that cuts the large foreign oil monopolies out of the picture.

“In contrast to the ‘user pays’ principles of economic rationalism, primary school fees were scrapped and free midday meals for students were introduced. Alkatiri’s government further enraged imperialism by accepting assistance from socialist Cuba, with 100 Cuban doctors working in rural areas and helping to set up a new medical school. Cuba has also offered 600 free medical scholarships to make Timor Leste self-sufficient in this critical need...” (*Vanguard*, 19/7/06; “Political reasons behind the East Timor palace coup”. *Vanguard* is the newspaper of the Communist Party of Australia/Marxist Leninist). So, Alktari’s big crime was to take his newborn country’s independence seriously and behave accordingly, in the best interests of his own people, resisting the neo-liberal agenda that benefits the Western powers and the transnational corporations. What a naïve fellow! No wonder he had to go.

An Australian Defence Force document (10/5/01) stated: "Policy guidance ...is caveated by the consideration that Australia has limited direct control over the development of the East Timor Defence Force...The first objective...is to pursue Australia's broad strategic interests in East Timor, namely denial, access and influence. The strategic interest of denial seeks to ensure that no foreign power gains an unacceptable level of access to East Timor, and is coupled with the complementary objective of seeking access to East Timor for Australia, in particular the Australian Defence Force. **Australia's strategic interests can also be protected and pursued more effectively if Australia maintains some degree of influence over East Timor's decision-making**" (emphasis added; quoted in *Vanguard*, 23/8/06, "East Timor and Alkatiri are victims of media lies").

Australia has always meddled in Timor Leste's affairs, either by actively colluding in Indonesia's genocidal occupation (Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, expressly approved the December 1975 invasion when he met Indonesia's murderous dictator, President Suharto, shortly beforehand) or by direct interference in the years since the West deemed Indonesian rule to be too embarrassing to be allowed to continue.

Many Unanswered Questions

This latest bout of meddling raises many unanswered questions. "For instance, what about the so-called 'east vs. west' conflict that suddenly blew up into mob violence, triggered by the dismissal of 600 rebellious soldiers from the western part of the country? What about the virtual Police strike during the chaos? Who stole the records of pre-independence atrocities held by the United Nations' Serious Crimes Unit? Who ransacked the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Who stole the Police arms inventory for missing high-powered weapons? Why did Australian troops not disarm anti-Government protesters and prevent the well-organised and coordinated destruction of infrastructure and housing in Dili? Why have they not recovered the weapons held by the rebel lieutenant, Alfredo Reinado? Why did the Australian government, with all its sophisticated electronic snooping, not warn the Government or people of Timor Leste, or are we to believe the whole thing was spontaneous?" (*Vanguard*, 19/7/06; "Political reasons behind the East Timor palace coup").

Indeed the list of questions has only got longer. Reinado and his men were finally arrested and imprisoned in Dili. But he and more than 50 others were able to literally walk out of the front gate unhindered by the Australian and NZ troops supposedly guarding the prison. He promptly led his men back up into the hills and another spasm of political unrest and communal violence erupted. This one was only mentioned in passing by the NZ media because, hey, Timor Leste's an old story now, our boys are up there doing their job (letting military traitors escape?), and "we" have achieved what we set out to do, namely getting rid of a problem politician and having him replaced by one who will look after our interests.

The New Zealand public has been led up a very murky garden path, both in the Solomons and most especially in Timor Leste. Our troops and cops are in those countries to force their governments to do the bidding of the Western mini-powers in this region, acting on behalf of Sheriff George. And to enforce the restructuring of those economies into ones that can be more efficiently exploited by the huge transnational corporations that work in a mutually beneficial relationship with the American and Australian governments. We are not there to restore order, keep the peace, save democracy or to build the nation. Helen Clark, George Bush's second best friend in this part of the world, needs to be told, in no uncertain terms, to get out of both those countries and to stop acting as a two bit enforcer for the Aussies and the Yanks and transnational Big Business. For shame.

HAREWOOD – US BASE A GLARING CONTRADICTION TO CHRISTCHURCH THE PEACE CITY

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

The Christchurch City Council is very proud of the city's self proclaimed status as a Peace City. Peace activists, who led the push for the designation, are too. But the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) says that the title is a sham. For the glaringly obvious reason that as the only city in Australasia to host a US military base (one which has been here for 50 years), Christchurch can't possibly be a Peace City.

We made this point when the concept was first being debated, in 2002 (see *Peace Researcher* 26, October 2002, "Christchurch A "Peace City"?", which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-69.htm>). In 2006, the City Council called for public submissions for its 2006-16 Long Term Council Community Plan (LTCCP). ABC took the opportunity to make the same point again. Here is our submission, written by committee member, Yani Johanson.

1. We commend Christchurch for declaring itself a Peace City. According to the Christchurch City Council (CCC) Website:

In July 2002 Christchurch City Councillors voted in favour of declaring Christchurch a Peace City. This was seen as a way for Christchurch to celebrate its peace history, as many people involved in the peace movement and some of the movement's peace initiatives started in Christchurch.

This decision was a way to show our city's commitment to actively contribute to a more peaceful future, through a range of initiatives, starting with new strategies for a more peaceful community, the development of education programmes, and the promotion of peace, non-violence and respect for all citizens.

(<http://www.ccc.govt.nz/Christchurch/PeaceCity>)

2. The strategic vision in the LTCCP should strongly reflect this position rather than remain silent.
3. The Council in order to fulfilment its commitment to the Peace City resolution should:
 - a. set out what services, funding, and projects it will support
 - b. set measures and targets to show and monitor progress
4. One target we would like to be included in the LTCCP is the removal of the Harewood US military base from Christchurch.
5. While the ABC acknowledges the positive impact and supports the peaceful, non-military operations associated to the Antarctic programme, it expresses deep concern at the provision of a US military base in our city.
6. The US military is extensively involved in violent, non-peaceful activities. By allowing a US base in our city, we are complicit in supporting those activities.
7. The Iraq Body Count Website documents that a minimum of 34,711 and a maximum of 38,861 citizens have been reported killed due to military intervention in Iraq since the start of the war and occupation (as of May 2006, it has only increased since then. Ed.). According to John Sloboda (Iraq Body Count Cofounder) "the illegal US-led invasion of March and April 2003 resulted in 7,312 civilian deaths and 17,298 injured in a mere 42 days." (<http://www.iraqbodycount.org/press/pr13.php>)
8. The deliberate use of violent, non-peaceful measures to attack other countries such as Iraq is completely contrary to the CCC's objective to be a Peace City.

But We Never Got Heard

We also attached relevant information about what the US Air Force base at Christchurch actually does, which can

be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/otherbases.html>. And we asked to be heard in person, as part of the huge number of personal submitters that kept the Mayor and Councillors fully occupied for a week. But that never happened. It was nearly two months later when Yani, in his capacity as a Community Board member, asked the relevant Council bureaucrats what had happened to our submission, that we received an acknowledgement that it had even been received. There was no apology for not arranging for us to be heard in person, simply a bald statement that "it is possible that our system got overwhelmed". So much for participatory local democracy and consulting the people. Fortunately ABC doesn't put much time and effort into the political process, because we've learnt the hard way not to rely on it when it comes to the bases issue.

Aussies Want Harewood Transferred To Hobart

As for Harewood itself, once again our Australian brethren have made a move to take it off us. Or rather, for Hobart to replace Christchurch as the airport and logistic supply base for Antarctica. This is not new, it was mooted by both President Reagan's Secretary of the Navy and the Tasmanian Premier as "punishment" for nuclear free New Zealand during the height of the 1980s' ANZUS Row (*ANZUS=The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand's defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia*).

In 2006, the initiative to transfer from Christchurch to Hobart came from Australia's Environment Minister, who proclaimed it to be the logical conclusion after Australia finishes building a new landing strip in its part of Antarctica. This touched off the usual uninformed and unedifying chorus from Christchurch's Mayor, Garry Moore, and all local Labour MPs in favour of retaining the American base. Once again, whenever Harewood's existence in Christchurch is apparently threatened, figures are plucked out of thin air to show how much the base is supposedly worth to us. This time, the worth to the Canterbury region from Christchurch hosting Antarctic programmes was given as "about \$40 million", with no supporting evidence whatsoever.

The story died a very fast natural death. Apart from anything else, anyone flying to the new Australian airstrip at Casey would then have to make another 2200 kms flight across Antarctica to the American base at McMurdo and its New Zealand neighbour at Scott Base. So, it was never a goer. But ABC was glad of the opportunity to once again, make our opposition known at Christchurch's American base. I wrote to the *Press*:

ABC Says: Let The Aussies Have "Our" US Base

"There has been recent publicity about Australian wishes for Hobart to replace Christchurch Airport as the gateway to Antarctica. The Anti-Bases Campaign would be only too happy to see this happen, as it would remove a multi-function US Air Force base from our airport that operates under the cover of providing logistic support for peaceful Antarctic activities. Harewood is a vital cog in the regional network of US bases, servicing and supplying the top secret Pine Gap spybase, near Alice Springs, which plays a crucial role in all American wars, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan. There is a simple solution. Let the Australians have the actual US military functions of "our" base and we keep a demilitarised airport which serves only as a gateway for peaceful scientific research in Antarctica. Then Christchurch really can be a "Peace City" in fact as well as in name". This was duly published on September 4 and given lead letter status with the eye-catching headline "Get rid of Harewood's US spy base". ABC has never claimed Harewood to be any sort of spybase; that is not its function at all. My own heading was "Demilitarise Christchurch Airport".

The letter provoked a furious response from Noel Gillespie, a Christchurch man who has written a history of the original US Navy's Antarctic Air Squadron. He lambasted us as "Murray Horton and his Left-wing anti-American anti-bases zealots who are still advancing their Stone Age push to have the Americans out of the city" (his reference to us being 'Stone Age' was decidedly ironic when he then proceeded to cite events from 1958 to back his argument). He claimed that Christchurch would be "financially disadvantaged" if the American base left and concluded: "The US Navy and Air Force have added more to Christchurch than the fluffy misconceived theory of Christchurch the Peace City ever will" (7/9/06, "Base advantageous"). It made me feel quite nostalgic. Gillespie's letter gave me the opportunity to reply, asking central or local government to publicly state just what the financial benefits are of hosting an American military base. Strangely enough, no one took up the challenge and the correspondence died. But the whole little episode allowed ABC to, once again, publicly call for Christchurch Airport to be demilitarised. And it's a sure bet that a lot more people read what we had to say in the *Press* than ever read our illfated submission to the City Council. Never mind, there's more than one way to demilitarise a US base.

Time For NZ To Be Independent Of US Military

There's only one fly in the ointment and it comes from our side of the argument. When I circulated my first letter to

the *Press* among anti-bases activists worldwide, our colleagues in the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition shot back “We don’t want it”. And we do sympathise with them, as the Aussies are already saddled with a fair number of American bases, with more on the way courtesy of their Prime Minister, John Howard, being President Bush’s self-proclaimed “Deputy Sheriff” and key ally in all American wars. Be that as it may, an American military base in Christchurch (or anywhere in New Zealand) is a glaring contradiction, not only to Christchurch the Peace City but also to New Zealand the nuclear free, out of ANZUS, independent country. It’s about time the reality matched the rhetoric.

The third anniversary of Bush, Blair and their “fellow” imperialists’ invasion of Iraq was vocally opposed in Wellington on Saturday 18th March, 2006. Organised by Peace Action Wellington (PAW), anti-war activists marched from Midland Park (Lambton Quay) to the US Embassy in Thorndon, via Parliament and the new Defence Building – currently being built on the corner of Mulgrave and Aitken Streets.

The new Defence Building sits in front of Freyberg House, currently home to the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB, which operates the Waihopai and Tangimoana spybases). It has been aptly named Spyberg House. According to a letter received from the Minister of Defence, Phil Goff, in response to an Official Information Act request, the cost of refitting Defence HQ is costing taxpayers \$39.5 million. Another wonderful paradox, among many, of this Labour government, is that Goff is also the Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control.

The Trillion Dollar War

Prior to the march’s departure from Midland Park speeches were delivered by Maxine Gay (Secretary of the Clothing, Laundry and Allied Workers Union) and Nick Kelly (President of the Victoria University of Wellington Students’ Association). To quote from Maxine Gay’s speech (with thanks to her for giving permission):

“Three years of war in Iraq is three years too many. The amount of money that the US has pumped into this illegal invasion is phenomenal. Over ONE TRILLION dollars*. That’s the cost of the war in Iraq, according to a new report by Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph Stiglitz, formerly of the World Bank, and co-author Linda Bilmes.

“Over ONE TRILLION dollars: • for an illegal invasion and occupation that has killed more than 100,000 Iraqi children, women and men - and maimed the bodies and memories of countless thousands more.

“Over ONE TRILLION dollars: • to bankroll an ongoing war that has cost the lives of more than 2,300 U.S. soldiers and injured over 16,000 - including 7,000 with brain, spinal cord, amputation and other serious injuries.

“Over ONE TRILLION dollars: • that could have instead been spent on vital needs in Iraq, the Third World and also within the United States such as adequate health care, decent affordable housing, quality schools and job training.

“In this country we cannot hold our heads high in opposition to this war. Although our Government did not sign up for the actual invasion it was one of the first countries to offer that wonderful contradiction of military based humanitarian assistance. Although those “non-combat” troops have now been withdrawn the Government will still not come out in complete opposition to the invasion. It wants to curry favour with the US to try and get a US economic invasion of this country in the form of a Free Trade Agreement.

“The invasion must end. The war must be stopped. The Iraqi people must be allowed to live in peace and prosperity. The invasion can be stopped now. But it will be generations before the wounds and scars of this invasion can be healed. In the end the Iraqi people may not want our support, they may believe that the West has already done enough damage. But at least we can hold them in our thoughts and continue to do what we can to ensure that the US forces leave Iraq now and the US and its allies do not initiate a new oil war on another country and its people”.

** Of course, the cost of the war has increased even more in the months since Maxine’s speech. Not to mention the ever growing human toll of those killed and maimed, both civilians and military. Ed.*

As with any vocal anti-war demonstration, chants were loud while we marched along to the beat of the Brass Razoo Solidarity Band. Don Franks, Wellington-based musician and Workers Party member, spoke outside the construction site of the new Defence Building. The march meandered up Mulgrave and Murphy Streets towards the US Embassy. It’s never easy going against the grain, particularly when it’s cars that have just driven off the motorway. Chants continued upon arrival at the US Embassy, followed by further speeches and an open

microphone. Soup and bagels, prepared by Food Not Bombs, followed the speeches.

Wellington's Thuggish Cops Put On Their Usual Act

As per usual, the Police and security played their role in protecting the interests of the New Zealand State and its very, very good friend, the United States of America. As the crowd had begun to dissipate, a Peace Action Wellington member took aim with a red paint filled water bomb and fired it "spot on" at the US Embassy's sign. This was a symbolic message that simply portrayed the blood that the US Government has on its hands. It was only a matter of minutes before the Police arrested the activist who threw the water bomb. Attempts for a de-arrest were aborted due to a combination of back-up Police and a paddy wagon arriving, and the small number of activists who were still at the US Embassy. The Police, who were mainly part of Wellington's Strategic Response Group, performed their usual heavy handed and brutal act, which included the use of head locks, carotid holds, attacking pressure points, verbal abuse, pushing anyone in their way with almighty force, arm twisting, etc.

Five activists were arrested following the vicious force that was yet again carried out by the Police. The charges laid against the five activists included combinations of wilful damage, obstruction, resisting arrest and assaulting Police. Strict and ludicrous bail conditions were immediately imposed on the five activists, including non-association and not going within 50 metres of the US Embassy. However, these conditions were challenged in the High Court within weeks and were struck down for being in violation of freedom of movement and association clauses within the Human Rights Act.

Three activists' charges were later withdrawn before any court hearing, largely due to a lack of evidence. One activist, who was charged with assaulting police and resisting arrest, won his court case. He is now filing a complaint with the Police Complaints Authority. The activist who threw the red paint filled water bomb was charged on two accounts of wilful damage. The first was for wilful damage to the US Embassy and the second for damaging a New Zealand Police officer's shirt (i.e. some red paint stains).

The hypocrisy that an activist is dragged through the New Zealand court system for throwing a water bomb's worth of watery red paint at a concrete wall whereas the US Government is responsible for the massacre and destruction of many people and their civilisations, and continues to do so, is blindingly obvious. Yet, it is the sort of hypocrisy that is all too familiar in this world. The activist was found not guilty of wilful damage to the US Embassy but was convicted on the second charge of damaging a New Zealand Police officer's shirt. She was ordered to pay \$24.10. The Police officer, who probably needs to learn to use a washing machine, is one Mr Slade Jackson and is now based at Rakaia in South Canterbury. Another wonderful use of taxpayer dollars was that he was flown from Christchurch to Wellington and back, in order to give evidence so that an activist could be convicted for damaging his shirt.

As the imperial invasion of Iraq continues, and the same Western alliance's blood stained hands remain ever present in a number of other parts of the world, it is sadly the fourth anniversary of the invasion into Iraq that now draws closer. A simple reading of Noam Chomsky, however, provides a fairly accurate analysis and significant reason for the imperialists' modus operandi: "The policies extend worldwide, and in the Middle East, their significance is enhanced by one of the leading principles of foreign policy since World War 2 (and for Britain before that): to ensure control over Middle East energy resources, recognised for 60 years to be 'a stupendous source of strategic power' and 'one of the greatest material prizes in world history'" ("On the US-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon", August 2006, <http://www.chomsky.info/articles.htm>).

ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS ACQUITTED OF DISARMING US PLANE IN IRELAND – Former ABC Activist Among Them

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

Ciaron O'Reilly, Australian by birth, peace warrior throughout the world, is well known to the Anti-Bases Campaign and the broader New Zealand peace movement. ABC is proud to include Ciaron as a former activist of ours, back in the 1990s. He featured in *Peace Researcher* when he was last in this country (see "Ciaron O'Reilly, A Flying Visit From The Peace Warrior", by Murray Horton, in *PR* 24, December 2001, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/predit.htm>).

To quote from that: "(Ciaron) 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..." (as for Moana Cole, she is still very much in Christchurch, where she is a lawyer, a mother of two, and still to the fore in peace issues).

"Neutral" Ireland Gives The US Military A Vital Air Base

In the five years since we last saw him, Ciaron has carried on to bigger and better things, travelling the world from newly independent East Timor to Britain. But it was in his ancestral homeland of Ireland that he achieved his biggest victory so far. Ireland has been officially neutral for decades but that is only skin deep. It is happy to allow the US military to use Shannon Airport in the west of the country as a vital link to service American wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In everything but name, Shannon has been turned into a US military base. Ciaron became a leading figure in a group called Pit Stop Ploughshares committed to non-violent direct action to stop Shannon Airport being used as a US military pit stop in the build up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

In February 2003 (just weeks before the invasion, in March), Nuin Dunlop, Damien Moran, Karen Fallon, Deirdre Clancy and Ciaron entered Shannon and carried out a classic Ploughshares action (following the Biblical injunction to beat swords into ploughshares), symbolically disarming a US Navy plane with hammers and an axe. Ploughshares activists always wait to be arrested and are fully prepared to go to prison (as happened to Ciaron and Moana as a result of their 1991 Gulf War disarming of the bomber at an Air Force base in the US). So the five of them were arrested and charged with causing \$US2.5 million worth of damage to the plane. They were remanded in custody for six weeks and then released on bail with very strict conditions, having to report to the Police daily for two years.

The trial eventually took place, on its third attempt, in Dublin, in 2006. The first one was aborted after six days as the judge agreed that he was biased and disqualified himself. The second one lasted 11 days before that judge admitted that he was a personal friend of President Bush who had attended the latter's inauguration as Texas Governor and had been invited to his inauguration as President!

The defence was that the five were acting to protect lives and property in Iraq. Indeed that they had no option but to confront the State and break the law because the Irish government had sold out its own Constitution on the issue of neutrality and become an active partner in the war on Iraq. And the jury agreed, taking less than five hours to reach a unanimous verdict, acquitting all of them of all charges. This was an emphatic statement of opposition from ordinary Irish people to Ireland's collaboration with the US military, entirely consistent with the fact that 100,000 people marched in Dublin to oppose the war on Iraq when it began in 2003. The jury's verdict caused apoplexy in the US, whose Embassy in Dublin asked for a "please explain" from the embarrassed Irish government.

Ciaron and co stepped up the pressure, announcing a new campaign to close Shannon Airport to all military use. "Shannon Airport is already being demilitarised by the Ploughshares action, acquittal and statement of intent. An unstoppable chain of events has been initiated which will see the demilitarisation of Shannon Airport and the cessation of its role as gas station/pit stop for the US war machine on its way to slaughter the innocents. As surely as the US is losing militarily in Iraq, the Ploughshares prophecy is winning at Shannon" (press release, quoted in *The Common Good* [NZ Catholic Worker newsletter] 38, Spring 2006). During the latest Middle East war, namely the 2006 one between Israel and Lebanon, the US rushed supplies of its latest bombs to its Israeli clients. But the flights were redirected away from Shannon to Prestwick in Scotland. Protests there forced them to be further redirected to the Royal Air Force base at Mildenhall in England. So, people power and non-violent direct action are working. Ciaron and his colleagues deserve a medal for their courage and perseverance in working to demilitarise one vital cog in the US military's war machine.

AUSSIE ACTIVISTS OCCUPY TOP SECRET PINE GAP US SPY BASE – First To Ever Face Draconian Charges

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

The top secret US spy base at Pine Gap, near Alice Springs, is not only America's most important intelligence gathering base outside the US itself, it is one of America's most important military bases full stop. It plays an absolutely critical role in all US wars, including those being waged in Afghanistan and Iraq today. When President Reagan ordered the assassination of Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi, in 1986, the planes which bombed his palace (killing one of his children) were guided by information from Pine Gap. If the US ever wages a nuclear war, Pine Gap will play a central role in that too. It has been designated as part of America's unproven Star Wars missile programme to intercept and destroy, in space, incoming nuclear missiles.

It has been controversial ever since it opened several decades ago and the subject of major protests (I went on one there in 1987). For details of the most recent national protest, held in October 2002, see *Peace Researcher* 27, August 2003, "Militant Protest At Pine Gap Warbase", by Lindy Nolan and Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr27-75.htm>).

Extensive details about Pine Gap can be found on the Website of the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition at www.anti-bases.org. There is a longstanding New Zealand connection to Pine Gap. US Air Force aircraft carry vital supplies en route to Pine Gap via the USAF base at Christchurch Airport (under the umbrella of it being an Antarctic logistics support base). Thus Christchurch Airport, or Harewood, is a vital cog in the chain of US military and spy bases throughout the Asia Pacific region. The Pine Gap connection is one of the main reasons that the Anti-Bases Campaign calls for the demilitarisation of Christchurch Airport (see the article elsewhere in this issue for details on Harewood).

Unlike the Waihopai and Tangimoana spybases in New Zealand, Pine Gap is deadly serious about remaining top secret. Nobody is allowed anywhere near the numerous "golf balls" (the giant radomes concealing the satellite dishes); they cannot be legally photographed; no planes are allowed to fly over the base. The main gate is several kilometres away from the operational area containing the domes and buildings, so protestors who brave the journey of several thousand kilometres through the Outback into the very Red Centre of Australia can't even (legally) get to see the objects of their protests. A permanent armed security force is stationed there to keep outsiders out.

Through The Fences & Onto The Roof

None of that deterred a small band of veteran Christian peace activists. In December 2005 they made that huge journey, openly stating that they were going to enter Pine Gap and carry out a citizens' inspection. What's more, they did exactly that. Here is what happened, in the words of Jim Dowling, from Christians Against All Terrorism:

"...On Wednesday morning we sought out Pat Hayes, the traditional Arrente (Aboriginal) caretaker for the Pine Gap area and asked his permission to walk on his land in order to expose the violence of the base which occupied part of that land. No permission had ever been sought or given for Pine Gap to be used by the military. However Pat graciously gave us permission to enter the area.

"Late at night on Thursday (December) 8th, four of us, Donna Mulhearn and Brian Law in one group and Jessica Goldie and myself in the other started the walk to the base from two different directions. We walked for five hours and three hours respectively. At 4 a.m. Adele and I came close to the first three metre high security fence. As we lay on the ground perhaps 500 metres from the fence security vehicles drove nearby with their floodlight panning the area. We thought they must have known of our presence and were searching for us. At least twice we thought they must have seen us and our attempt to enter the base was over. Later we realised their surveillance was routine, and they had miraculously not seen us.

"After two vehicles had gone Adele and I made the last 100 metre dash through the open floodlit area to the outer security fence. As Adele hung our banner "WHAT HAVE YOU DONE? YOUR BROTHER'S BLOOD CRIES OUT TO ME FROM THE EARTH: Gen(esis) (Chapter) 4: (Verse)10" - on the fence, I placed Jessica's beautiful barbed wire crucifix against the fence. Then I cut through the fence. We climbed through and I cut the second fence about ten metres away. Again we climbed through and realised all the power of the greatest empire in history could not stop two untrained, unfunded, unarmed Christian pacifists from entering one of their most important and secure bases - even after we had told them we were coming.

"I looked around at the huge white domes and radar dishes around us. It was obviously not possible to climb onto one of the white domes as I had sometimes fantasised. Adele headed for a tower next to a building and climbed on to the roof. I followed. Once on the roof we placed photos, leaflets, and other information on the roof and gave thanks to God. Shortly after we watched, as a security guard on a bicycle rode around. We still had not been seen. But the guard then rode around to the back of the building and must have noticed the banner on the fence. Meanwhile Adele and I took photos of one another with a huge white dome behind us. The security guard came back in sight and quickly climbed a tower holding a radar dish directly in front of us. Amazingly (although by this time nothing would surprise us), he must have looked around for a minute before seeing us. I waved, and he scrambled back down.

Arrested By Armed Guards

"Within a minute there were a number of Federal security guards and police assembled below us. My response to the first one who asked us to come down was to inform him that we had come to inspect the base for terrorist activity and would come down when we had something in writing from the Commander saying we would not be stopped from doing so. A second guard angrily yelled at me that he was coming up to drag me off the roof. I responded that I would certainly not be surprised by violence as I was aware the base had been directly involved in the slaughter of thousands in terrorist attacks.

"Of course it is easy to be brave when you are "king of the castle". But shortly a number of guards and police were on the roof. The first one said, "Get on your knees". "That's a good idea", I replied. I knelt down and prayed that he would withdraw his cooperation from the violence of Pine Gap. Unfortunately, when praying, it was impossible to hear the instructions that were being given to me. This made the original guard who threatened us rather annoyed. Amazingly he used a new compliance technique with which I am becoming familiar "the old push the head into the ground and push your knee into the head" technique. Luckily, unlike the concrete floor last time, the metal roof we were on had a little give and I only suffered a bruised cheek instead of a bloody face.

"After being escorted from the roof and into a wagon we were driven to the front of the base, searched numerous times and driven to the watch house. Meanwhile Bryan and Donna had just completed their amazing walk. Bryan has health conditions which made the walk extremely difficult and any chance of running impossible. So they slowly walked the last stretch to the security fence, Donna dressed in black and Brian in his bright white "Citizens Inspection Team" overalls. This walk was truly amazing. A security van drove towards them. They waved and the vehicle drove on. They reached the first security fence, unchallenged by the numerous police and guards now behind it, until Bryan started to cut the fence with bolt cutters. Then the security forces realised Bryan was the "enemy" and called out. Bryan kept cutting until a security guard put his hand on his gun, and perhaps not coincidentally Bryan decided he had done enough inspecting for the moment.

"Bryan and Donna were "captured" by Ken who had talked to us two days before. Ken had totally lost his jovial sense of humour as Bryan was rolled roughly in the dirt. Donna and Bryan did not think it was the time to remind Ken of how we had all laughed together about his advice that trying to break into the base in white overalls was probably not very helpful for us. Later in the watch house we joked about how next time we should try it handcuffed and carrying tracking devices to give them a fairer chance of catching us!..." (e-mail, 12/12/05, "The Bush Track To Pine Gap", Jim Dowling).

Facing Up To Seven Years Prison

Two other members of the group were arrested outside the base but were eventually not charged. The Pine Gap Four - Jim Dowling, Bryan Law, Adele Goldie and Donna Mulhearn - became the first people to ever be charged under the Cold War-era 1952 Defence (Special Undertakings) Act, an act which requires the approval of the Attorney-General for a prosecution to proceed, and which carries up to seven years in prison. They are charged with entering a prohibited area and causing \$A12,000 worth of criminal damage to fences (that is the amount that the maintenance contractor, Raytheon - which is also a notorious US weapons manufacturer - charged the base for repairing three small cuts in the fences). The depositions hearing against the four took place, in April 2006, in Alice Springs. They used the hearing to try and question prosecution witnesses, such as the base's Deputy Director (the top Australian official at Pine Gap) but he refused to answer virtually everything, even whether security guards inside the base ride bikes, on the grounds that Pine Gap is "classified". The defendants made the point that America's top spymaster, John Negroponte, the Director of National Intelligence, who is in charge of all 16 US civilian and military Intelligence agencies, was visiting Pine Gap just three days before they made their unofficial visit (for details on Negroponte, see the article on US Intelligence agencies elsewhere in this issue).

A further stage of their trial took place, in Alice Springs, in October 2006, involving the defendants' attempt to secure

discovery (get access to) Crown documents to be used in evidence against them; and concerning the suppression order (not to be confused with a name suppression order) which was hand served on all of them in September, and about which nothing could be disclosed upon pain of one year's imprisonment. The judge ruled in favour of the prosecution, namely that the Minister does not have to prove that Pine Gap is necessary for the nation's defence in order to declare it a prohibited area, but merely say that it is. Therefore the charges of breaching the Defence (Special Undertakings) Act stand, as does the suppression order. No date has been set yet for the trial proper but it won't be until sometime in 2007.

They have no fear of being convicted and cheerily expect to go to prison. For full details of their case and a wonderful selection of photos taken while they were inside Pine Gap, go to <http://www.pinegap6.org/>. During the October 2006 phase of the trial there were protest actions outside the Northern Territory Supreme Court and at Pine Gap's main gate. Five people, including Sam Land, from the NZ Catholic Worker movement, were arrested for blocking the gate.

The guest of honour at the protests was Ciaron O'Reilly (see above article), the Australian peace warrior who was one of the five defendants acquitted by a Dublin jury in August 2006 for symbolically disarming a US Navy plane (to the tune of \$US2.5 million) at Ireland's Shannon Airport, in a Ploughshares non-violent direct action just before the start of the war on Iraq in 2003. That was fitting as one of the two people originally arrested, but not charged, in the December 2005 Pine Gap action was Ciaron's older brother, Sean O'Reilly.

ABC Solidarity Messages

In October 2006, I sent a solidarity message on behalf of Anti-Bases Campaign to Christians Against All Terrorism, saying: "We live in the only city in Australasia to host a US military base and one of its main functions is logistics support for Pine Gap. So, in a very real sense, your fight is ours also. Having been on a Pine Gap protest (1987) I admire your enterprise and determination in getting into the place. Good luck with the trial and even better luck with your campaign to close down this vital part of the US global war machine". To coincide with the protest action at Pine Gap, the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition held a solidarity protest action at the Richmond Royal Australian Air Force Base, west of Sydney, which hosts the US Air Force Air Mobility Command, which flies the planes from the US to and from Pine Gap, via Christchurch and Richmond.

I sent a further solidarity message to the AABCC saying: "Solidarity greetings from Christchurch the Peace City, in nuclear free, out of ANZUS, New Zealand. Except there is a very big fly in this ointment, namely the US Air Force base at Christchurch, the only city in Australasia to host a US military base (and it's been here for 50 years, under the guise of providing logistic support for peaceful Antarctic research). Our city and RAAF Richmond are bound together, as the USAF Air Mobility Command planes fly between the two, with the common goal of servicing the obscene Pine Gap spy base, one of the kingpins in the US war machine. We wish you all success in your actions at Richmond. Our struggle is yours – we campaign to demilitarise our airport, so that Christchurch truly is a Peace City in fact as well as name; and you campaign to get the USAF out of Richmond, and Pine Gap closed. All strength to your arm!"

NORTH KOREA COMPOUNDS OKINAWA'S PROBLEMS OF US MILITARY OCCUPATION

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

The entire Pacific region is in turmoil because of North Korea's flight-testing of ballistic missiles in the seas off Japan, and most recently what was very likely an underground test of a nuclear weapon. Okinawa bears the brunt of the American-Japanese regional defence strategy by hosting numerous US bases and approximately 75% of all US military personnel in Japan. The latest US response to North Korea's belligerence is shipments of Patriot Advanced Capability-3 (PAC-3) missiles to be stationed in Okinawa. The wonderfully-named Patriot missile will be well-known to most people as the missile-defence missile that played a greatly praised (by the US itself), but mostly undeserved, role in defending Israel against incoming Iraqi Scud missiles during the first Gulf War in 1991. The Patriots are now intended to defend Japan from incoming North Korean missiles, even ones possibly tipped with nuclear weapons. There is no shortage of US real estate on bases within Okinawa on which to deploy the Patriot missiles.

Not surprisingly, Okinawans have not been consulted on this import of missiles into their territory, and they are objecting by staging protests at US military port facilities - most recently on October 9th at Tengan Harbour. Although an information officer at the massive Kadena Air Base refused to confirm that Patriot missiles were in a ship that arrived that day, about 100 Okinawans attempted to block road transport of missiles from the port to Kadena. Missile shipments in the past few weeks have been confirmed by US military officials as destined for Kadena. Local officials have made official protests about the missile deployments saying nearby residents fear the missiles endanger them. These "advanced" Patriots are likely to be an improvement on the ones used against Iraqi missiles many years ago; the US military personnel themselves are a far greater danger, with a long history of raping and murdering Okinawans.

Grannies Still Protecting Henoko Bay

The latest report from the battle to save Henoko Bay was in July 2006. Locals were still managing to block the preliminary seafloor drilling by Naha Defense Facilities Administration Bureau (NDFAB) that would mark the beginning of filling much of the bay for a US military air strip (see *"Okinawans Continue Massive Protests Against US Base"*, by Bob Leonard, in PR No. 32, March 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-128.html>. Ed.).

"In all of this, it is the elderly at the centre of the struggle. Grandmothers and grandfathers dive in front of State-sponsored ships, driving them back. Seventy, eighty and ninety year-olds shaming the state with a power beyond power lead the sit-ins and hunger strikes and human blockades in and out of the water. Their courage has moved the coastline. Down at the pier, fishermen from the north and south of Henoko have joined them. Their determination turned back the NDFAB thirty two times in a period of five months" (*Marianas Variety*, Guam, 3/7/06, Julian Aguon).

Efforts to protect the Henoko Bay habitat of the endangered dugong (sea cow or saltwater manatee) are supporting the brave actions of the grannies. None other than US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is accused of "reckless endangerment of the rare marine mammal". The lawsuit naming Rumsfeld was filed under the US Endangered Species Act and National Historic Preservation Act and is still before US courts.

Readers may recall that the proposed base development at Henoko was loudly proclaimed as an essential step in relieving the people of Ginowan of the burden of the Futenma helicopter base to the south. The helicopters were to be shifted to Henoko. What has been left out of the mainstream media hype over the base relocation is the fact that Henoko was seriously considered as a US Marine base as early as January 1966 to support the Vietnam War. The grannies have seen through the duplicity of the US and Japanese governments and refuse to yield on Henoko Bay. The net improvement for the people of Okinawa of any shift from Futenma to Henoko would be zilch and the grannies know it. They are a force to be reckoned with.

Tokenism For Okinawans

In addition to playing games over Henoko Bay, the US government and military claim to be trying to relieve the basing burden on Okinawa by relocating 8,000 US troops to Guam and giving 1,500 hectares of land back to the local people south of Kadena Air Base (*Asahi Shimbun*, 26/4/6).

How much is 1,500 hectares compared to the large area occupied by US bases in Okinawa? It's less than 10% of the occupied 23,000 hectares, and that total is not counting the new airstrip "land" that would be created by filling part of Henoko Bay adjacent to Camp Schwab. The land near Kadena was productive farmland before it was seized many years ago. Its return to local people does not mean they can immediately take up productive farming. These people have become totally dependent on menial jobs provided by the military bases, a tragic state of affairs repeated throughout the developing world wherever the US military has destroyed the livelihoods of masses of indigenous people dependent on farming and fishing. Closure of the bases will mean massive job losses with no efforts to help the people make the transition back to farming.

And what of the relocations of thousands of American military and civilian personnel and their families to Guam? Is this going to help Okinawa in any significant way? "...The personnel being relocated are mainly in command duties. Most of the operational units will remain in the prefecture, doing little to help ease residents' concerns about accident risks, noise pollution and crime" (*Asahi Shimbun*, *ibid.*). According to one resident of Naha City near Henoko it's the young marines in operational units who commit most of the horrific crimes against Okinawans, many of them young women.

The "mainland" population of Japan is destined to get ripped off on a grand scale in the relocation of US troops. The US and Japanese governments have been locked in negotiations for many months over the most significant realignment of US defence forces in Japan since 1946. Most of the bickering is over US insistence that Japanese taxpayers shoulder a majority of the cost of relocating troops which means building more bases on US territory, namely Guam. Japan seems likely to agree to pay around 60% of the total cost of over \$US10 billion (*Japan Times*, 29/4/06). Perhaps the threat of a nuclear-armed North Korea will make this huge burden feel just a bit lighter.

The Folks On Guam Ain't Happy Either

The region is sustaining a military build-up that is not about to reverse now that North Korea has gone nuclear for real. Some months before the Korean developments, a three-day conference of peace activists from Guam, the Philippines, South Korea and Japan was held in Okinawa in June 2006 with the rather optimistic theme of "Send US Troops Back To The US". Despite the wonderful economic benefits that are said to accompany US military occupation, Asian nations are seeing the truth of the matter, or at least activists with their eyes wide open are seeing it.

Debbie Quinata, a Guam activist, had this comment on shifting US troops from one Pacific island to another: "We understand the Okinawans want to free their land and to develop new industries. Maybe the Japanese officials will sympathise with us when they see the social implication of the Marines' relocation and when they see that the size of our island (Guam) is not big enough to accommodate the troops" (*Marianas Variety Online*, 9/6/06). Unfortunately, Japanese politicians are unlikely to sympathise with the people of Guam or Okinawa or their own taxpayers. They've got bigger problems coping with and accommodating the military machine of George W. Bush and Donald Rumsfeld.

These are the relevant extracts from Murray Horton's annual CAFCA/ABC Organiser's Report, presented at the September 2006 Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa. The much longer full report is in Foreign Control Watchdog 113, December 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/13/09.htm>

Waihopai Spybase Protest 2006 (& January 07)

My extremely detailed article about the Anti-Bases Campaign's very successful protest at the Waihopai spybase in January 2006 was published in *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006 ("Waihopai 2006: Longrunning Campaign Gets Second Wind"), and can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-129.html>. So there's no need to go over that again.

And we're going back to Waihopai, in January 2007, because our work is far from done. Once again I'm in the thick of organising all aspects of it, which range from the humdrum logistics (we checked out other campsites before deciding to stick with the Department of Conservation's Onamalutu reserve) to national publicity and media work. The latter can involve overseas as well as NZ media – I recently did a live phone interview with a Melbourne community radio station. That took me down memory lane. I haven't been to Melbourne since the 1980s but back then I visited that same station, more than once, for studio interviews on my participation in Australian anti-bases protests.

Waihopai Display Has Toured Country

ABC's Waihopai display has been a great success and I've been kept very busy coordinating its movements from one end of the country to the other (it's been up and back several times). It started in Auckland and Whangarei in late 2005, then came back south for us to take to Blenheim for the Waihopai protest weekend (the Library there refused to take it in 2005, on the grounds that it was "one sided" and that the spies had no right of reply, in the event that they wished to exercise one – which they didn't); then on to Nelson Library; Wellington; and prime spot in the Palmerston North Library, where it attracted media coverage and another internal self-censorship row (we won). The Greens had it in their Dunedin office window and at their national conference in Upper Hutt, followed by some more time in Wellington. It's now back home, where I set about finding venues for it. In September it was in the front window of the New Brighton Library for a fortnight and in October/November it had a fortnight in the University of Canterbury Library and a fortnight each in two other Christchurch libraries (plus a fortnight in October in Takaka, hosted by the Golden Bay Greens). In the New Year it's going into a café/gallery one street from my home. Special thanks are due to Mark Roach, a Wellington member of both ABC, who lets us use his courier account to transport the display (Mark has his own business transporting art works around the country. He has personally shifted the display himself in the past, free of charge).

Peace Researcher

My regular ABC work is as editor of *Peace Researcher*. I've got out two issues in 2006. The March one was the biggest ever, at 52 pages. I enjoy writing for *PR*, as it allows me to get back to the subject matters on which I cut my teeth as a political activist more than 35 years ago – war, imperialism, intelligence agencies, et al. I have built up a stable of regular writers – myself and Bob Leonard, of course; Jeremy Agar is our prolific reviewer; Kane O'Connell, formerly of the ABC committee and now ABC's Man in Wellington, has started writing for us this year. Each issue goes online, and we owe a debt of thanks to ABC's Webmaster, Yani Johanson, who, eventually, finds time to do that (and the full range of other activities involved in being an ABC committee member) amidst his life as a very busy grassroots local body politician.

My wife Becky is the layout editor (of the hard copy edition) and she does an extremely professional job. *PR* is the best looking, best illustrated that it ever has been. This year we had to make a decision forced on us by the tragic 2005 death of Ray Butterfield, who had been our long time printer (2005 was a dreadful year for deaths). Ray had still been a vital part of the team, pre-printing the blank covers. His sudden death (by heart attack) meant that supply would run out this year and we needed to decide whether to find someone else to replicate them or re-design the cover. We opted for the former and we now have several years' worth of pre-printed *PR* covers in storage.

In my 2005 *Report*, I described, in great detail, how Owen Wilkes' suicide was a huge event for both ABC and CAFCA last year, with both groups jointly organising a major July 4th memorial meeting for him in Christchurch. Owen has not been forgotten by us in 2006. There was a memorial tree planting for him as part of the January 2006 activities at the Waihopai spybase. May was the first anniversary of his death and to commemorate it, a fellow employed by the Christchurch City Council to take guided walks (he calls himself a "walktologist") led one through Beckenham, the suburb of Owen's childhood. That Sunday morning was a brief spell between vicious southerlies, so numbers were down, but the Mayor and his wife were there. It turns out that Garry Moore knew Owen, and contributed several Owen anecdotes (hilarious stories about Owen as a 1960s' City Council dustman) to the few hardy souls who took part. He was amenable to the suggestion

of both ABC and CAFCA that there be a Christchurch memorial for Owen and we're currently negotiating the details with the designated Council bureaucrat (she screamed with laughter when I told her that what we wanted was a statue of Owen, at the airport, wearing his leather shorts and peering through his binoculars into the US base out there. It's more likely that we'll get a plaque or a tree or some combination of both).

ABC Is Alive And Well

Let's take September and October for example. I had two letters in the *Press* urging on the Australians in their desire to have Christchurch's American base (Harewood) transferred to Hobart – the *Press* gave the first one lead letter status with the headline for the page (there was the minor matter of their headline being factually incorrect, describing Harewood as a "spybase". ABC has never claimed Harewood to be that, and that is not its function at all). It provoked an outraged correspondent to accuse me and ABC of "Stone Age anti-Americanism". Bob and I went out to Rolleston to speak to a meeting of the Rakaia Greens about Harewood and Waihopai, showing them a couple of mid-90s videos on those two bases. Jeremy Agar and I set up the Waihopai display in the front window of the New Brighton Library, then it was off to Takaka for a couple of weeks. I had extensive dealings with several Christchurch libraries in preparation for their histing the display, and I offered it, once again, to the Marlborough Public Library. I did a phone interview with Auckland student radio about the Waihopai protest. I liaised with our colleagues in Australia, campaigning to close the Pine Gap spybase (see my article elsewhere in this issue), sending them solidarity messages.

For a change, the committee has been unchanged in the past year, although our two youngest members have been present in spirit more than in the flesh. Frances Mountier has gone on leave to concentrate on saving Happy Valley but has promised to return. Lynda Boyd is a very busy union official who is now temporarily in Auckland running Unite's McDonald's campaign. On one or two occasions ABC meetings have consisted of Robyn Dann and I meeting in town over a coffee, when our American members – Bob and Yani – have been away in the States visiting family.

I am the media spokesperson for ABC and sometimes they ring me for the darnedest things – for example, the *Sunday Star Times* asked for personal information for a profile on the newly appointed head of the Security Intelligence Service (Warren Tucker, who was the head of the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau, the electronic spy agency which runs Waihopai). Why would I know anything personal about the country's top spy? Because this is a very small country, where everyone has some connection to everyone else. He is the former brother-in-law of the Wellington mate with whom I regularly stay (who himself is an old friend and comrade dating back to our mutual membership in the Christchurch Progressive Youth Movement, in 1969. He's been an ABC and CAFCA member for many years). So, while I've never met the spy boss, I have met two of his siblings (one of whom sailed a protest yacht to Mururoa Atoll when France resumed nuclear testing there in the 90s) and two of his kids....

Organiser Account In Its Best Ever Shape

The CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income, is in the healthiest state it's ever been. There's nearly \$12,000 in the operating cheque account (still held at Westpac, for totally pragmatic reasons) and nearly another \$9,000 on term deposit at Kiwibank. There are 50 regular pledgers, with a couple of new ones having started very recently (replacing two who stopped), and a flow of donations, large and small. It's been so good in the past year that I have been given two pay rises, firstly to \$11 per hour gross, and then to \$12.50 (plus it pays all of my phone rental and nearly all of my broadband access fee). The Account has been running so long (since 1991) and so successfully that it is seen as a model by other organisations wanting to free themselves from the tyranny of having to raise an income for their worker or workers. Once again, my heartfelt thanks to all of those of you who keep supporting my work, and therefore that of CAFCA and ABC, by your generosity.

CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT 2005/06

by Bob Leonard
Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

Cheque account

Balance on 31/3/05	\$5506.30
Balance on 31/3/06	\$9865.60
Net change	+\$4359.30

Expenses

Murray's pay	\$21922.92
Cash to MH (pocketed)	\$190.00
Other cheques	\$195.55
TOTAL	\$22308.47

Income

One-off donations (includes cash to MH)	\$7835.35	(29.4%)
Pledges	\$18793.70	(70.6%)
Interest	\$38.72	
TOTAL	\$26667.77	

Difference between Total expenses and Total Income is **\$4359.30**, which is the increase in the cheque account balance over the fiscal year.

50 pledgers as of September 2006 statement (averaging about \$33 per pledger per month).

Term deposit of \$8000 was opened on 5 August 2004. Interest earned as of 10 July 2006 is \$756.82.

REVIEWS: "SAVING TREES, STOPPING WARS" WJ FOOTE, THE GLEN PRESS, CHRISTCHURCH 2006

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

WJ (Will) Foote wants a new national day to mark the date "when we really grew up". Gallipoli was "a military disaster caused by bone-headed politicians and top military brass, the same people whose only strategy was to push thousands more to their deaths in the mud of Flanders. Let's keep Anzac Day for remembrance. Let's keep June 8, 1987 as New Zealand Celebration Day, the day we stood up to be counted". That was when Parliament passed the law that made NZ nuclear-free.

This, one of Foote's few specific recommendations, is the essence of his latest book. We will stop wars, he says, if we don't fight them. As nuclear war would threaten the entire planet, the opting out of nuclearism is a good idea. And, if we want to celebrate our nationhood, what could better a declaration of independence from all that tired imperial posturing?

Foote is too wise to serve up too many prescriptions. Despite never straying from his single theme - that pacifism is humanity's last best hope - Foote's book is never didactic and never argumentative. His tone is unfailingly optimistic. Violence doesn't work. It's an ideal that is often expressed but seldom with the integrity contained within these modest pages.

Will Has Been A Peace Activist All His Adult Life

His experience spans from the years between the World Wars, a period when pacifism was abhorrent to the powers-that-were. As a young man, Foote was prepared to risk acceptance, security and popularity in order to do what he thought was right. For the best part of a century he's never stopped speaking truth to power. It's easy to forget that, although now pacifist sentiments are risk-free (who cares? who listens? what's at stake?), 60 years ago they could land you in prison (*see Jeremy's review of the documentary "Sedition: The Suppression Of Dissent In World War 11 New Zealand", by Russell Campbell, in PR 32, March 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120b.html>. Will was among the conscientious objectors locked up for several years. Ed.*)

When you've seen the same mistakes being made, generation after generation, you could get frustrated, but there's no trace of that here. Foote must be a patient man. He's also unfailingly fair-minded. The result is a pleasingly conversational tone, as Foote draws on his experience to provide a context to his themes, to guide, to suggest further lines of inquiry, and then he leaves us to draw our own conclusions. His book is at once concise, economical and relaxed. It's not easy to imagine a better summary of pacifist thinking.

As he has a deft way of allying the idealistic with the pragmatic, Foote's take on domestic politics is interesting. He would like to see progressive MPs from outside the two main parties "stirring the pot within the Labour Party ranks". To join or to stay out? It's an old debate and it won't soon be resolved. Foote worries that, with no Greens (or, at the time of writing, Alliance MPs), "the party of the common people moves remorselessly to the Right".

Foote notes that there are potential allies on the Right. "They don't all grind the faces of the poor. Most want peace just as much as I do. They just go the wrong way about it". To make this point he quotes that prophet of Rogernomics, the property tycoon and iconoclast, Bob Jones. Jones proposed that NZ had no enemies, and like Costa Rica, it could do without armed forces. He ridiculed (in 1989) "war-games childishness". They're fair points. They remind us of the sometimes bitter split between the rationalist, neo-liberal wing of Tory opinion and its Muldoonist rival. Peace people do well to note the tactical advantages such ideological differences can present.

The bulk of the book is practical. Foote provides reading lists, hints at strategies, discusses ideas, and sketches historical explanation. His wry sense of humour is never far away. For many years Will Foote, a cricketer of note for decades, played in the Hawke Cup (second class competition) for Nelson and Wairarapa. His writing has the qualities of a good batsman who long ago saw off the opening attack. He's content to deflect and nudge his singles and put the odd loose ball away to the fence. The pace men breathed their fire but Will's still out there in the middle, 87 not out.

Saving Trees, Stopping Wars can be bought for \$20 from The Glen Press, 79 Lowry Avenue, Christchurch 8051.

Will Foote is a veteran and much valued member of the Anti-Bases Campaign, and until he was well into his 80s, a regular at Waihopai spybase protests from the outset. He is a prolific writer, and several of his books have been reviewed in PR, most recently "Going Uphill Backwards", reviewed by Robyn Dann in PR 26, October 2002, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-71.htm>. Ed.

REVIEWS: “THE ULTIMATE WAR CRIME” ROBERT ANDERSON, RG AND J ANDERSON BOOKS, TAURANGA, 2006

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

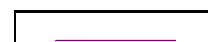
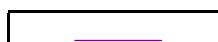
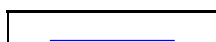
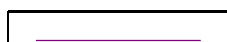
Depleted uranium (DU) is the substance that remains after natural uranium is enriched for weapons or reactor fuel. As a solid it is mildly radioactive. But DU is very heavy, which means it has a military use tipping armour-piercing shells, after which it ends up as vapour and then dust. Officials from the governments which use DU in this way say it is only a mild and temporary risk to health.

Robert Anderson, a retired science teacher living in Tauranga, thinks it is very dangerous indeed. Anderson's brisk survey deals mainly with Iraq and Afghanistan, where DU weaponry has been used. Anderson argues that conditions in these hot, dusty areas have conspired to render the use of DU “the ultimate war crime”. He discusses symptoms both of soldiers and civilians which are comparable to those inflicted by the 1945 Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombs and, since then, by victims of nuclear testing.

Lawyers have suggested that any weaponry that affects civilians or has effects that linger after the war is over is illegal. If so, and if DU is the cause of the many leukaemias and genetic disorders that have no other easy explanation, then Anderson surely has a case. So far the use of DU has not become a widely discussed topic. That could be because the chaos of post-invasion Iraq commands attention. When the dust (literally) settles, we might expect to hear more.

Officialdom is of course going to deny and deny again. They will always state that there will be no proven link between their deployment of depleted uranium and outbreaks of cancer and birth deformities. We keep going down that road. Smoking is not harmful. There is no such thing as global warming. In this instance, because it is linked to the projection of Bushite America's power over a highly combustible region, the stonewalling will be more resolute than ever.

They're not likely to be believed, not in the wake of all the lying to do with the weapons of mass destruction that the other guy was supposed to have acquired. At least one US Congressman has loaned his voice to the protestors. Dennis Kucinich worries that 2,000 tons of DU have been left in Iraq. Add that statistic to the 221,000 US veterans on disability pensions (Anderson puts the number even higher) and you have to think that Anderson is on to something. Who do you believe, the US Army or an old codger from the Bay of Plenty? The smart money would be on the old codger.



REVIEWS: “DIRTY WAR” A DOCUMENTARY (VIDEO) BY ALAN CARTER, 2005

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

In 1991 popular opposition in the Philippines forced the Senate to cancel the US lease on its bases. Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base were huge, the main American presence in the vital Asia-Pacific area. The Americans had to decide what might replace the Philippines. Filipinos, whose client and corrupt ruling elite prefers to ignore the plight of the lower orders, were dumped with the problem of cleaning up the mess that the Americans had left behind. “Dirty War” looks at three interlocked themes: Philippine society, and military and environmental issues.

It's mostly to do with the environment, because the Americans messed up. One reason that bases are sited offshore is to avoid regulation. Consider that the US military has successfully lobbied against exemption from various controls back in the US, and then take note of the history of its relationship with the Philippines. America bought the Philippines off the Spanish at the end of the 19th Century, at the conclusion of the Spanish American War, so the islands were literally their private property. In 1946 the Philippines was granted independence, but a legacy of exploitation and dependence had been established. As this coincided with the intensification of the Cold War, it's not as if Washington had lost interest in the western Pacific. The US knew that it could rely on tamed Philippine governments. Amongst other things, it got a 99-year lease on the bases it was building.

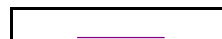
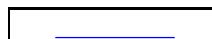
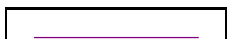
Of all polluters in the US, the military is the worst, so when this film documents the results of nearly a century of unfettered contempt for a distant people and their land, the information is almost as unsurprising as it is nasty. We are shown children with deformities; we are told there are no fish in Subic Bay. Toxic waste oozes from weapons dumps. The US has 2,000 bases in 140 countries; it spends \$US450 billion a year on making more guns and bullets, so the filth is global. The Philippines might well be the most abused of all the allies.

A spokesman for the Navy explains that, in striking a balance between the needs of the military and the environment, there must be “trade-offs”. Yet as the film notes, George Bush Himself said that “either you are with us or you are with the terrorists”. A Bush mindset that justifies any and all of its whims as part of its holy war against foreign “terrorism” does not pause to consider the plight of a distant archipelago of diminishing strategic value.

The Americans looked for a more dependable host and came up with Australia. Compared to the Philippines, John Howard's Australia recommended itself as stable, reliable and “fairly bloody regular”. That's the plus side. The negative is that the preferred site. Shoalwater Bay, near Rockhampton, is in a picturesque part of Queensland which the Aussies don't look forward to filling with toxic waste.

Enter the inevitable local politicians talking up the need for a richer rates take. Enter the spin doctors with their soothing words. It's not a base, it is being said, it's just a place where a bunch of mates can land their planes. The residents are sceptical. They suspect that their town is regarded as an out-of-the-way hicksville, keen for attention and investment but short of political savvy.

The Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition (whose spokesperson, Hannah Middleton, appears in “Dirty War”), is organising the “No Bases, No War Games” actions at Shoalwater Bay in June 2007. Visit www.anti-bases.org for more details. Ed.



**“9/11 IN PLANE SIGHT”,
A Documentary (DVD) By William Lewis. Power Hour Production, 2004.**

**“LET’S ROLL 9/11”,
A Documentary (DVD) By Dylan Avery. Loose Change, 2006.**

**“THE BUSH AGENDA:
Invading The World, One Economy At A Time”
Antonia Juhasz. Duckworth, London, 2006.**

**“OVERTHROW:
America’s Century Of Regime Change From Hawaii To Iraq”
Stephen Kinzer. Times Books, New York, 2006.**

**“FUTURE: TENSE.
The Coming World Order”
Gwynne Dyer. Scribe, Melbourne, 2006.**

A couple of years ago, Robin Cook, a former UK foreign affairs minister, suffered a fatal heart attack when tramping in Scotland. Cook was comparatively young and fit. But isn't that the way it goes? Cook's death made the news because he was admired by some for the scepticism about Tony Blair's Iraq policy that had got him sacked, but we hear now that a better explanation is making the rounds in the Middle East. Cook was bumped off. Of course. Aren't they all? He can join President Kennedy, Princess Di and the rest, the ones Who Knew Too Much or were Too Good.

Kennedy and Di had powerful friends and enemies, so all sorts of motives can be invented for their demise. We can place sinister interests on the grassy knoll* in Dallas or in the Paris tunnel. For conspiracy buffs it's an entertainment, an aspect of celebrity worship. Was it the Mafia or Castro who had Kennedy killed? Who got Princess Di's chauffeur drunk? Will Hollywood stars Brad Pitt and Jennifer Anniston make up? * *The grassy knoll in Dallas was supposedly the site of the “real” assassin(s) of President Kennedy in 1963. The Paris tunnel was where Princess Diana died in the 1997 car crash. Ed.*

The more his musings confound common sense, the more the conspiracy theorist is validated. His wisdom is deep and subtle. It sees through the trite surface of things that lesser beings accept. There's an episode of the TV cartoon series *The Simpsons* when Springfield is faced with bad news. Homer knows that sinister forces are to blame. Marge thinks it was an accident. “How naïve”, sighs a condescending - and naïve - Homer.

Like thousands of public figures Cook, as a former politician, might have written the odd op. ed. or spoken to a few student seminars. It might flatter his memory for him to be grouped with the glamorous dead, but to imagine that The System needed him eliminated is unimaginatively dumb. There is, though, a serious way the conspiracy theorist blocks understanding: if all deaths of prominent people and all spectacular events have the same sinister cause, you can't cry wolf when you need to.

Conspiracy Theories

The surprise is that 9/11 has not excited conspiracy buffs more than it has. What other event has so many of the necessary ingredients? The big panics of the past, like the 1938 radio broadcast of HG Wells' *War of the Worlds*, were stories which audiences thought real. The Twin Towers reversed that, the usual response being that an image of planes smashing into New York skyscrapers must be a movie. When fact is more spectacular than fiction, and apparently features stereotypical heroes and villains of the moment, wild rumour is as certain as an explosion of fuel.

The laboriously punning title, “9/11 In Plane Sight”, could charitably be forgiven if it referred to the content of this DVD, but it doesn't, and that's a problem, because the conspiracy busters' central claim is that they can see something that The System has overlooked. Lots of things. They admit to the much-witnessed New York planes, but these weren't all that important. What the rest of us missed were the multiple signs that the planes didn't bring down the Towers, which were in truth lowered by a planned demolition. And the other two “supposedly hijacked” aircraft

were not in plane sight at all. In the DVD's alternative reality they didn't exist. The Pentagon was hit by a cruise missile, while United Airlines Flight 93, the plane that the unwitting world believes to have come down in the countryside, also disappeared. The Pennsylvania field that featured on TV news was really untouched. And according to "Let's Roll 9/11" the al Qaeda suicide bombers didn't exist either.

A stated dislike for Bushite America should not blind the conspiracist to mundane understandings. He can't grasp that even if US foreign policy might be up to no good that doesn't mean that Americans are uniquely villainous individuals. Neither does the bad guy win every time. The paranoid pessimism of the conspiracist, his insistence that everything is always worse than it seems, betrays him every time. With no paints in the palette but midnight black the picture can't ever be pretty. That might be the intention, but what results is not just unremitting, it's featureless. So when the DVDs frame the big question - WHY? - they become merely tedious.

The first answer is the one we all knew to expect: 9/11 was set-up by the US government to justify aggression. A belief that Bush has used 9/11 to advance his quest for global hegemony is hard not to hold - and a projection of American superpower should have been anticipated right from the start - but this does not make the conspiracists prescient. It's more like the old saw about how if you got enough monkeys on enough typewriters they'd eventually write "King Lear". More important than mere coincidence is prediction based on analysis, and here the conspiracists fire blanks. They reel off names - Afghanistan, Taliban, Iraq - but they don't say why Bush wanted these enemies.

Instead they pile up a random usual suspects enemies list. The evil forces connected to the State include "defence contractors" and Congress. The implication is that, like any scam artists, the former are in it for the money; the latter want nothing more than the ability to "legislate your freedoms away" by subjecting American citizens to bodyscans and body cavity searches.

In a moment what was purporting to be an analysis of imperialism morphs into a spoiled child whine. The subject matter might seem to be Noam Chomsky, but it's more like the musings of the fascist bomber Timothy McVeigh*. Indeed the film veers swiftly from 9/11 and the corrupt government to the more congenial territory of Oklahoma City. The conspirators want to establish some sort of link between the (apparently still undisputedly) home grown bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma and 9/11, but not even these nutters can do more than throw the names and words into the pot, words like "explosion" and "bomb", and mix like mad, hoping they'll bake something. * *Timothy McVeigh was executed for the 1995 bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City, which killed more than 160 people. Ed.*

The narrator of "9/11: In Plane Sight" looks soberly at the camera and sounds like one of those "trusted" TV anchormen. "Let's Roll" has more fun. "I hope you're sitting down", the voice-over warns. It's got the boring Government stuff out of the way, so we know we're going to get the real gen. Under the Twin Towers was \$US160 billion in gold and/or the owner with the obviously Jewish name wanted the place torched as an insurance scam. Wait, there's more: big - and of course not investigated - insider trading in airline shares. Get it? And, listen up, the purpose of American foreign policy is "only to make trillions of dollars".

"Angry yet?", the unseen Timothy McVeighite voice asks as he prepares the punch line. "Tell total strangers. Ask questions". We're being harangued by the pub bore. We see a clip from a TV chat show, where some guy, captioned as "conspiracy theorist", is being interviewed by US talk show host, Geraldo Riviera. Foreign audiences need to know that Riviera's whole schtick is to be tacky. If Geraldo has you on the show, you're not supposed to be taken seriously.

Bush Is A Frontman For Washington Insiders

Conspiracists are prone to uncovering "hidden agendas", so Antonia Juhasz's title could give the impression that she's also off on a ghost busting mission. She isn't. She is accurate in a literal sense. For all his incoherent manner and cowpoke persona George Bush is frontman for powerful Washington insiders who have written down their aims.

Juhasz traces the "Bush Agenda" to 1992, the final year of his dad's presidency. That's when six men, who included Dick Cheney, now Vice President, and Donald Rumsfeld, now Defense Secretary, drafted Bush Senior's Defense Planning Guidance (DPG). Bush Senior was "setting the agenda" for his successors. Emboldened by the collapse of the Soviet bloc and his recent (first) Gulf War win, Bush was hoping to create a legacy. DPG was a blueprint for the projection of an unrivalled American power at one of those moments when anything seemed possible. DPG's agenda was to abort the prospect of a "peace dividend" by making sure that America kept up its big military spending. The authors argued that the US should be able to project overwhelming force anywhere any time. The authors envisioned a system in which "the world order is ultimately backed by the US".

Although it had no feasible military rival, America needed to “establish and protect a new order that holds the promise of convincing potential competitors that they need not aspire to a greater role or pursue a more aggressive posture to protect their legitimate interests. Second, in the non-defence area, we must discourage them from challenging our leadership or seeking to overturn the established political and economic order. Finally, we must maintain the mechanisms for deterring potential competitors from even aspiring to a larger regional or global role”.

Note how the language slides from defence, the need for which is assumed. Thus the creation of a “world order” refers to the purpose of American military and defence policy. It’s to do with what’s meant to result, the imposing of a “new order”, a planet in which all and sundry accept that America is the sole superpower. It’s aimed as much at Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Group of Seven (G7) rivals as at countries like Russia or China. No-one needs to be reminded of America’s attitude to the mass of the planet that used to be called Second or Third World. That aspect of the “old order” hasn’t changed. The “new order” part is that the US might drop its First World North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and European Union (EU) mates of the last half century. Bush thinks the US now has the ability, and perhaps the need, to go it alone. That’s the agenda.

The CIA Spells It Out

The new order, which is usually called globalisation, is to do with economic supremacy, and it’s quite happy if it leaves in its wake what others might call disorder. It even expects it. In 2000 the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) noted that the policies which Bush and his mates were hawking would induce “deepening economic stagnation, political instability, and cultural alienation. They will foster political, ethnic, ideological, and religious extremism, along with the violence that often accompanies it” (“Global Trends 2015: A Dialogue About The Future With Non-Government Experts”, approved for publication by the National Foreign Intelligence Board, under the authority of the Director of Central Intelligence, US National Intelligence Council, 2000-02, December 2000, cited by Juhasz, p5).

Four years later the CIA, the brain that guides Pentagon muscle, confirmed these predictions. “The gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ will widen... Globalisation will profoundly shake up the status quo, generating enormous ... convulsions”. The CIA concludes: “The key factors that spawned international terrorism show no signs of abating” (“Global Trends 2020: Mapping The Global Future”, National Intelligence Council’s 2020 Project, December 2004; cited by Juhasz, p298. The National Intelligence Council is a Federal agency which provides the Government with intelligence forecasts).

Between these two assessments, in January, 2002, four months after the plane attacks - though plans to attack Iraq were aired in the White House on September 12, 2001 - Bush addressed Congress: “In this moment of opportunity a common danger is erasing old rivalries... In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives... [T]he forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom”.

Central to all these “freedoms”, Juhasz remarks, is the one which is called “free trade”, a phrase which serves as “shorthand for a number of economic policies that expand the rights of multinational corporations and investors to operate in more locations, under fewer regulations”. “Free trade” is the freedom that defines and legitimises all the other freedoms.

It’s no news that businessmen run Washington - they always have - but their presence has morphed from being overwhelming to being absolute. Juhasz notes that “the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretaries of Defense, Energy, Treasury and Commerce are all former Chief Executive Officers (CEOs). The Secretaries of State, Labor, Housing and Urban Development, and Transportation are all former corporate executives or directors”.

So, in an obvious sense, there doesn’t need to be a conspiracy. It used to be said that what was good for General Motors was good for America. These days GM might be down on its luck, but the sentiment remains: what’s good for corporate America is good for America. The essence of Bushite America is the emergence of a new elite within American capitalism. Juhasz finds its centre in four corporations: “Chevron, Halliburton, Lockheed Martin and Bechtel represent three key pillars of the Bush Agenda: oil, war, and building the infrastructure of corporate globalisation... Not only have their past and present executives directly shaped the Bush Agenda, but the companies directly profit from its implementation today”.

Iraq Is The Obsession

Juhasz shows how Iraq has come to be a Bushite obsession. Because it has large oil reserves and a strategic position, Iraq has long bothered both the American and British governments, so Juhasz reminds us that sometimes the new order resembles old orders. In the years after World War 1 the then imperial rivals, the US and the UK,

squabbled over who would get Iraq's oil. The West was content that an Iraqi government remained in office so long as the US-UK axis was in power: "The Iraqis, however, wanted the British out. In 1932, in a situation remarkably similar to that of present day Iraq and the United States, the British granted Iraq *nominal* independence while British troops remained stationed in the country. British officials maintained posts in all levels of the Iraqi government, and both the British government and British companies exercised control over key sectors of the Iraqi economy" (author's emphasis).

Iraq's pattern of veering between dependence and defiance culminated in Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait (itself created as a client state of UK oil interests). Juhasz notes that "there are two main schools of thought as to why the United States did not stop the invasion of Kuwait before it began. The first is that Bush Senior believed that he and Hussein were working together, but Hussein had to make a show of aggression to impress both those inside and outside of Iraq of his seriousness. Bush did not actually believe that Hussein would invade Kuwait in defiance of US interests (even if those interests had not been stated) and those of most of Iraq's neighbours, and Hussein did not actually believe that Bush would stop him if he did invade. But once Hussein invaded Kuwait, the Bush Administration could not allow him to control both his own and Kuwait's oil and threaten Saudi Arabia, particularly since he had demonstrated that he could no longer be trusted in serving US interests. Hussein had to be removed. The other school of thought ... is that Bush allowed Hussein to invade Kuwait because it provided an excuse to remove Hussein from power, and the war with Iraq, in turn, provided the necessary excuse to bring a significantly increased US military presence into the region..."

This assessment is typical of Juhasz's restrained and thoughtful tone. She suggests that "a combination of the two arguments is also possible" and leaves the matter. Juhasz is similarly open-ended in discussing the debatable answers as to why Bush Senior's army did not go on to Baghdad and catch Hussein. Gwynne Dyer (see below) makes the case that Bush Senior, a product of the post-WW2 order, was cautious about leaving Iraq with no rooted government as the country would have become unpredictable and ungovernable. Bush Senior might not have launched Gulf War 2.

Juhasz is, however, sure that the current conventional wisdom about Bush Junior's policy is wrong. "It has been said so often that it is now repeated as gospel that the Bush administration had no plan for post-conflict Iraq. But the gospel is not correct. There was at least one clear plan - an economic plan - the blueprint for which was ready and in Bush Administration hands at least two months prior to the invasion". Of course it was. It was the plan for "free trade". And as Napoleon supposedly said, you can't make an omelette without breaking eggs.

As expressed in its Iraq clauses, the Bush agenda is commendably specific, consisting of 100 "Orders". These were published in 2003 by a certain L Paul Bremer 3rd. Once Hussein was overthrown, the US sent in an "administrator". The first choice, General Jay Garner, was fired in no time, scorned as a failure by a sycophantic mass media reciting lines drafted in Washington. His "failure" was that he urged two policies that made sense to most outside Washington but not to those inside it: a quick transfer of power to Iraqis so that the US would not come to be seen as an occupying force; and a more restrained, less ideological, economic prescription. A reliable toady, Paul Bremer, had to be flown in to draft a constitution for Washington's new, improved product.

Bremer's consultants, BearingPoint Inc. of McLean, Virginia (home of the Pentagon), picked up \$US250 million for writing it up, so it should be good. BearingPoint was spun off from KPMG, one of the "Big Four" accountancy transnationals – it used to be KPMG's management consultancy arm (BearingPoint is a sponsor of Local Government NZ.).

Blueprint For A Pure Neo-Liberal Economy

Bremer and BearingPoint's 100 "Orders" are a complete blueprint for running a purist neo-liberal economy. We heard in May 2006 of US Marines running amok and murdering civilians. They might have been comforted by Order 17, which grants legal immunity from Iraqi laws to Coalition forces - and to corporations, corporate subcontractors and their employees. Order 37 mandates a flat tax system, replacing Iraq's progressive tax system. Order 94 opens a previously closed banking system to allow complete and unrestricted foreign ownership.

The occupation is equally military and economic. Were Bush's purpose to be the establishment of "democracy", as he has always insisted, he would not be trying to remove the possibility of choice from a successor Iraqi government. The Orders are the laboratory of the "new order" and they exist to negate democracy (as the rest of us conceive it).

This did not preclude Bremer and BearingPoint from resurrecting business as usual when it came to their mates at Bechtel and Halliburton. They were guaranteed the very "old order" cost-plus contracts. These allow a company to

bill for a fixed percentage over and above whatever the work costs. The fattest pig at the trough, Halliburton, recent home of Vice-President Dick Cheney, has contracts worth over \$US11 billion (*in July 2006, the Pentagon cancelled Halliburton's huge logistic support contract and put it up for open bid, because of Halliburton's shoddy management, flagrant over-charging and general corporate arrogance in its dealings with the military. Ed.*).

The core of Bremer's constitution is Order 39 legislating "national treatment", a provision that would disallow an Iraqi government from any measure which might be deemed to protect domestic contractors from foreign competition. Yet it provides for foreigners to get preferential treatment. This enacts the complete neo-liberal freedom that, in the face of global protest, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been unable to achieve. After this, his work brilliantly done, Bremer went back Stateside. Those who keep saying that Bush had no plan do not see that Bremer succeeded in putting in place one of the clearest and most complete plans in all of history.

Juhasz traces the "free trade" phase of the American agenda to the 1980s' Reagan-era Structural Adjustment Program (SAP). Developing countries, trapped in debt to foreign banks, "had to adhere to a series of strict conditions that would reduce domestic spending while increasing capital available to pay back loans. The conditions were always the same, regardless of the country in question. They all followed the same corporate globalisation model: privatise government industries, eliminate restrictions on foreign ownership and investment, eliminate barriers to trade, eliminate government restrictions on foreign corporations, cut government spending, devalue the nation's currency, and focus development on exporting key resources such as oil, minerals, trees, agricultural products, luxury goods such as coffee and flowers, and the like".

Meanwhile the US was tying its neighbours, Canada and Mexico, into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA, which was to be the template for the world, enacting SAP policy at governmental levels. The inevitable result of a deregulated continent was that only the biggest corporations, those with the lowest unit costs and most automated procedures, thrived. Juhasz picks Wal-Mart, the grossest of them all, as the icon of the new order. Wal-Mart has eliminated livelihoods in the US by ending competition in manufacturing and retail and by producing its goods in foreign countries. Throughout North America it has laid waste local towns. Yes, its products are cheap and nasty, but then, with its customers increasingly hard up, they need to be. By importing its wares from the cheapest sources Wal-Mart made its owners, the Walton family, multi-billionaires. Juhasz describes Mexican border towns as being cheap labour camps from which Wal-Mart and others export into the American market. Mexican enterprises cannot compete. As the only viable employer in a regional economy it has itself created, Wal-Mart can drive down wages all over again. Wal-Mart is an emblem of globalisation.

In 1997, during the Clinton presidency between Bushes Senior and Junior, a cabal of neoconservative intellectuals proclaimed their Project for the New American Century (PNAC). The first order of business, PNAC urged, was the removal of Saddam Hussein, who occupied a strategic space on top of lots of oil. A few weeks later an outfit called the Center for Peace and Security in the Gulf (CPSG) wrote to Clinton with the same demand. The two groups - and others with the same agenda that sprouted like toadstools on a dung heap - had interlocking Bush Senior and Junior Cabinet-and-Chief Executive Officer membership. One such, Richard Perle, who chaired CPSG, is best known for his 1980s-era promotion of a first-strike nuclear policy against the former Soviet Union.

Gwynne Dyer (see below) cites an agenda that would have delighted conspiracists, were they into reading. A thinktank penned "Rebuilding America's Defenses", which openly yearned for "some catastrophic and catalysing event - like a new Pearl Harbor". The flood of propaganda broke the dam when Clinton enacted the Iraq Liberation Act. This stated that "it should be the policy of the United States to support efforts to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq and to promote the emergence of a democratic (i.e. 'free trade' neo-liberal) government to replace that regime". Does this mean that Bush's agenda is not new?

Bush Junior is certainly brazen. Few would deny that he is different in degree from both his father and Clinton. Is he also different in kind? He is the first modern president to avowedly go it alone. It is hard to imagine that Clinton would have sought opportunities to insult the United Nations, as Bushite American officials do routinely. And Clinton's hacks, while free traders one and all, were not the neo-con zealots who poured hatred into the ears of Bush Junior. Perhaps the difference between the last two presidents is the difference between opportunism and fanaticism.

Oil Is The Drug Which The Empire Must Have At Any Cost

Juhasz might not be the first commentator to suggest that, at the black core of US policy, is oil, but not always is the connection between oil's part in informing foreign and domestic policy as succinctly analysed as it is here. All US governments have put the need for (what they deem to be) secure supply of oil as a first principle, and for the last three decades a sort of permanent oil crisis has preoccupied policy makers.

In 1970, Juhasz argues, domestic US oil production peaked. From then on the need for foreign supplies became increasingly urgent. Libya nationalised its oil in 1971 (making its ruler, Colonel Ghadaffi, part of the "Axis of Evil") and Iraq, a more important source, nationalised in 1972. This was the time of the "oil crisis", when the world's economies seemed permanently stuck in a bog of crude. Prices soared; so too - though they prattled endlessly of how sorry they were for the whole unavoidable mess - did Big Oil's profits. It is not a coincidence that the decade of the 1970s marked the end of a post-war expansion of the domestic economy. Thirty years of rising production and prosperity brought a booming Gross Domestic Product (GDP), strong trade unions, rising wages and greater equality. In the US the share of total wealth that the richest cornered for themselves fell by 10%.

In 1980 the Reagan presidency ushered in a decade in which the trend towards better living standards was more than reversed. In the 1980s the rich's share of national wealth went up by 20%, while the great bulk of the population were mired, and the poorest became poorer, even in absolute terms. The oil shock had been the catalyst for two historic shifts, long sought by transnational corporations: a global transfer of money and influence to the very richest Americans and their mates overseas, and, within America, from working families to corporations, the biggest of which were from the same all-too-familiar rogues' gallery.

The Bush agenda, largely written by oil men, is to make explicit the primacy of Big Oil in a historical moment which has seemed to leave the US with enhanced global power. Big Oil acts as the keystone for an imperial arch. The men around Bush were in most cases the men who advised his father. They have spent their working lives passing between Government and the corporations that get all the big federal contracts. The power elite, the men - and one woman, Condoleezza Rice - who literally have written the agenda, have made themselves known to us. The agenda is anything but secret. Juhasz's focus is the international aspect of Bushite arrogance. This does not mean that the agenda is not also concerned with keeping the locals in check. On the contrary, both Juhasz and Bush take this motive for granted.

How much more useful is this explanation, and how much more straightforward, than the conspirators' vague, generic rant about "defence contractors", insurance scams, inside traders and lost gold. How much more devastating and convincing as evidence is the real world. The conspiracists are unused to systematic analysis, and because they cannot see either the trees or the wood, they have to invent. They have picked up from the popular mass media (the same mass media that they now "denounce") a suspicion that the world might have complexities they had not imagined, but they have no idea as to how it works. Like Homer Simpson, they adopt a know-nothing cynicism as a shield against their ignorance being revealed.

Journalist Stephen Kinzer's detailed history. "Overthrow", which chronicles American adventures overseas, is an entertaining account, well written and full of anecdotes from the adventurers themselves. On a global scale, American mastery of technique and control of information often looks smooth, at least from a distance of time and space. On the ground, as they say, the plotters are, as likely as not, bunglers.

Kinzer picks several events as being significant, an interpretation that follows a historians' consensus. When the narrative has to do with US foreign policy, the role of the mass media, the biases of corporatocracy and their enemies, the conventional wisdom can be dangerous, a recital of unexamined assumption. It's not a worry here. Kinzer has made good choices.

In a section called "Covert Action", Kinzer relates four key interventions, chosen because in all of them the American role was decisive. They shared three other characteristics. In each case, Kinzer says, the presidents concerned were acting within US law. In each case (with one obvious exception) "reasonably democratic governments" were replaced by dictatorships. In all four cases, a hunger to control resources was a central motivation.

Iran

In 1953, when an uppity Iran had to be put down, the US did not need to send in the Marines. The British wanted to secure their oil, nationalised by Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh. Mossadegh had been much admired in some Western circles for his progressive government, so this was too much. He had to go down. The UK was scared that an invasion could provoke a Soviet response, so they asked for US help. With buckets of Yankee dollars, the CIA did the trick. Out went the Prime Minister and a burgeoning democracy. In came the Shah and his secret police.

Thieves fall out, especially if one of a pair has the big bucks and the big guns. Mossadegh had offered British oil interests a 50/50 split. After the Americans took over their coup, they had to settle for a 20% take. A US Supreme Court judge who had visited Iran both before and after the coup was not impressed. "When Mossadegh and Persia

(*the old name for Iran. Ed.*) started basic reforms, we became alarmed. We united with the British to destroy him; we succeeded; and ever since, our name has not been an honoured one in the Middle East”.

Notoriously, Americans tend to the Henry Ford view that history is bunk, so that, a generation later, when the Shah was deposed and the US Embassy in Tehran was overrun, in 1979, the kidnappers were wont to remind their baffled captives of the events of 1953. Iranian resentment had since been nurtured by the Shah's destruction of democracy and secular humanism. Mosques, which needs be were left alone, sheltered obscurantist clerics, who filled the vacuum.

Guatemala

It was much the same the next year (1954) in the Central American country of Guatemala. A progressive leader was ousted for trying to wrest some control over his country's tiny finances from a foreign corporation. President Jacobo Arbenz nationalised United Fruit, a US banana monopoly, on the basis of its stated revenues of around \$US1 million, only to find that the company deemed it unreasonable to suppose that United Fruit would tell the truth about such matters. Its real profits were 20 times higher, Arbenz was informed. He might have guessed they would be miffed. United Fruit had acquired its lands by taking them. So out went another promising democracy and in came another thug to make Guatemala safe again for banana profits.

President Dwight Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and his brother, Allen, Director of the CIA, were both shareholders of United Fruit and John was one of their lawyers. This would not have been a moral impediment to Dulles. A fundamentalist Christian, John Foster Dulles was untroubled by doubt. Like so many political careerists he had little experience of life beyond provincial Republicanism. Dulles, whose tenure in federal office coincided with the grotesqueries of Joe McCarthy*, saw a monster called Communism lurking in the shadows, encircling the bright city on the hill that was America. Arbenz wasn't keen on an American banana company, which made him a commie, which meant he had to go. * *US Senator Joe McCarthy, with his inquisitions and deranged accusations, became synonymous with the anti-Communist witch hunts and hysteria in the 1950s. Ed.*

There is a tendency to suppose that men like Dulles, with access to both Intelligence and “intelligence”, do not mean what they say. It suits great powers to have bogeymen to blame for the depredations they are said to force upon the guardians of the cities on the hill. We'd like you to be free and happy, the guardians say, but not yet. First we must be on watch against the bogeyman, so you'll have to forgive us for upping your taxes so we can buy more tanks. Priests and imams hunt for devils; official America nurtures a Communist threat. Indeed it is the very crudity of McCarthyist scapegoating, and its often farcical hysteria, that gave the whole phenomenon of conspiracy theory a kick start. If a superstition has the effect of justifying an elite class through metaphysics and irrational speculation, and if it comes to be believed by opinion leaders, then it's probably the creation of that elite.

Vietnam

Who can be sure if Dulles believed what he said? Ultimately it might not matter, because he would have said it anyway. Ten years later, after Vietnamese had forced from their country first a rapacious Japan, and then a sadly lingering imperial France, the world might have cut them slack. It might even have given them a hand. But as we know only too well, a different American president, Kennedy, from a different party, the Democrats, looked at Vietnam and saw again the bogeyman. If Dulles was the epitome of 50s' conservatism, Kennedy's main man, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, was supposed to be Dulles' nemesis. He was the essence of 60s' cool. According to the high priests in the West's governments and media, McNamara was a “technocrat”. His “buttoned-down” mind was said to be an awesome calculating machine, as cold and clear as a prairie winter dawn (in the excitement of the moment, metaphors got mixed).

The word from Camelot (*as the Kennedy era was dubbed, after the court of the mythical King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Ed.*), and later from his successors, Presidents Johnson and Nixon, was that “international Communism” was subverting South Vietnam, on orders from Russia. Faced with having to figure out how a lumbering Soviet Union could invisibly direct affairs from an improbable distance, the propagandists discovered a new puppeteer, China (Vietnam's traditional enemy).

Kinzer relates a 1963 CIA-sponsored coup in which the Americans deposed their own man, Ngo Dinh Diem, leader of South Vietnam. This event, Kinzer argues, marks the moment the US passed its point of no return. It had not been easy to find a leader to credibly claim a legitimacy to rival Vietnam's war leader, Ho Chi Minh. Diem didn't talk of independence or economic progress and he hadn't lifted a finger against invading Japanese or French armies, so he was safe. He wasn't a nationalist, but, best of all, and in fact his only qualification that mattered, he had defined himself as an anti-commie. At the time of need Diem was training in an American Catholic seminary - Christians

comprise about 10% of Vietnam's population - and he had to be flown back home to be installed as President. As President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ) put it: "Shit, Diem's the only boy we've got out there".

Diem was put in charge of South Vietnam (*the country had been partitioned into two independent States at the conclusion of the victorious Communist-led war of independence against France, in the 1950s. An election to decide reunification was promised but never held. Ed.*). In North Vietnam, Ho governed, and not even LBJ and McNamara claimed he did not have a mandate to do so. In the ravaged and arbitrary territory that was South Vietnam an undisguised puppet leader with no popular backing could have ruled - for perhaps a decade or two - only by terror. Diem didn't have it in him, seeming to want to come to some accommodation with Ho. As this could have lead only to a unitary Vietnam controlled by Ho, Diem had to go. He and his brother were shot dead by an Army chief.

Kinzer narrates the nasty details of direct US government collusion. As he tells it (and previous accounts agree), the murder of Diem was not in the script, so squabbles broke out both within and between South Vietnamese and American plotters. Thus it could have been said - as it is now being said about events in Iraq - that the Americans did not have a plan. Coup followed coup; the war spluttered.

Conspiracy or cock-up? Again it's the wrong question. There was an undeniable conspiracy, directed by the US Ambassador, to end Diem's government. The means might have been a cock-up, but as long as US complicity could not be proven, no-one in Washington would have cared. Some might have welcomed the mess. A bit of chaos along the way made it clear that the Vietnamese were now entirely subservient to an intransigent American goal. In modern administrative parlance it could be said that the US were the governance branch and the South Vietnamese were operations.

Chile

Kinzer's fourth example is the 1973 coup in Chile (*also on the fateful day of September 11. Ed.*). When General Augusto Pinochet led a military revolt against the government of Salvador Allende it was, in one sense, business as usual, the businesses in this case being the members of a Chile Ad Hoc Committee, which included ITT, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Bethlehem Steel, Bank of America, Ralston Purina and Dow Chemical. This was a step up from bananas, and Chile was a step up from Guatemala in that its citizens had an expectation of democracy.

Allende is often remembered as the first elected Marxist - though he is more accurately seen as a social democrat. His role possibly would have been analogous to that of New Zealand's first Labour Prime Minister, Michael Joseph Savage, in 1935. Whatever the shade of pink, from an American point of view he was unacceptable. The immediate crisis that led to his murder (some say he committed suicide when troops stormed the Presidential Palace) was Allende's nationalisation of a mining company on terms consistent with the best available information about the company's books. Here was the exact Guatemala scenario. But no matter what the trigger, the gun was primed to fire. Allende's election had been celebrated by Chile's American bank refusing a loan. Other banks were told not to advance credit. The World Bank suspended a livestock improvement grant.

Eisenhower had Dulles; Kennedy had McNamara; Richard Nixon had Henry Kissinger, a person often considered either a genius or an evil genius. Evil would be closer. Kissinger's exalted reputation cannot be explained by anything on the public record that he has said or done. Kissinger, Nixon's Secretary of State, is still around, selling influence, flattering the powerful, uttering deep platitudes (that always are just what the powerful want to hear). It is Kissinger's voice that brought him fame. His Germanic accent reminds Americans of brilliant professors from television cartoons.

Kissinger could be relied on to tell the President to act tough and build more bombs. Normally a place as uncool as Chile would not warrant his attention. "Nothing important", opined the good doctor, "can come from the South". As he had previously told the Chilean Ambassador, "I am not interested in, nor do I know anything about, the southern portion of the world from the Pyrenees on down". Ambition, opportunism and an obsession with the arid cliches of the Cold War made Kissinger an ideal organiser of Pinochet's coup. Kissinger and the CIA drafted the agenda. "Allende After The Inauguration" noted that if Chile were to suffer "continued economic decline", the country might collapse into chaos and "the military would have justification for intervening". CIA boss Richard Helms was happy to scratch the back of the man who was scratching the back of the President. Helms cabled Kissinger with the observation that "a sudden disastrous economic situation would be the most logical pretext for a military move". Soon Henry Hekscher, the CIA station chief in Santiago, joined the dots. "You have asked us to provoke chaos in Chile". he cabled. "We provide you with formula for chaos, which is unlikely to be bloodless".

Hekcscher was trying to cool his boss's ardour, not realising that chaos was the intention. In all four of the classic US operations - those in Iran, Guatemala, Vietnam, and now Chile - CIA chiefs in the field advised against violence, and

in all four cases they were ignored. This might to some extent have been an example of institutional memory and pragmatic local knowledge being brushed aside by the State's theologians (when experts differ from the less exalted, who allow themselves to be guided by intuitive hunch, the experts are almost always wrong). But a blanket know-nothing contempt for the experts, the gambit of one school of conspiracists, doesn't help either. The received expert wisdom isn't all stupid all the time.

Permanent Crisis Is The Goal

Far from being a careless by-product of imperial venture, permanent crisis is its goal. A client in need is a client indeed. What I call the corporatocracy wants peace and quiet as much as the credit card company wants borrowers to pay on time. Bush's planned foray in Iraq "without a plan" is merely the latest example.

It follows that discussion of these matters framed as a "cock-up or conspiracy?" dilemma misses the point. In the medium term, it doesn't matter what happens in the short term. If Guatemala allows United Fruit a free rein, the niceties that detain judges or lower-ranking CIA agents are a threat - or would be if they became known to a wider public - because the motive of imperial foreign policy is never the welfare of the dependency. In the middle of his account Kinzer's wanders into a perfunctory diversion. "What if?" there had been a different president? What if such a fact had been taken into account? It's as though Kinzer feels that he must appeal to liberal notions of individual agency. His conclusion is nearer the mark. He presents a formula: whenever ideology and economic interest coincide the US will act to secure its needs. You get the feeling that in all four cases the end result was not in doubt.

The United Fruits of the world can no longer act with impunity at home because democracy deters profits. Dictatorship is more efficient. To suppose that the US could have or should have fostered freedom in Guatemala or Vietnam is to reverse all the evidence. To the corporatocracy democracy is a risk that must be eliminated. Guatemala and Nicaragua (*the site of America's imperialist war of the 1980s. Ed.*) were not called "banana republics" for nothing.

So there is a fifth common element. In each country, once the CIA and the other agents of corporatocracy got stuck in, moral and material standards of living degenerated. Kinzer places the last century of US foreign policy in three periods. What he calls the imperial phase began in 1893 when Hawaii was forced into the process that ended with statehood. 1898 was a decisive year, as it was then that the US took over colonial Cuba and the Philippines by waging war against a Spanish empire in terminal decline (the US business conspiracists operating in Hawaii called themselves The Committee of Safety. They would have been unaware of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, from the 18th Century French Revolution. When you despise the guidance of history, you can look pretty stupid.) The US began the 20th Century by thereby announcing that the Americas and the Pacific were to be seen as within a US sphere of influence.

The second period, the tawdry era of Dulles and Kissinger, lasted until Bush's foray into Iraq. Before this present adventure, overt US force was always qualified. Kinzer provides two examples of direct American military invasion that pre-dated the collapse of the Soviet Union, but both, Grenada in 1983 and Panama in 1989, were within the American hemisphere (the first all-US coup was a 1909 foray into Nicaragua, an event which installed a century - and counting - of dependencies).

A Century Of *Pax Americana* And The Quest For Profit

If an American initiative to seize the moment and impose a *Pax Americana* on the world has been the impetus for the amBush of Iraq, so too was the first imperial phase the result of the restless search for profit. America pushed into the Caribbean and the Pacific, Kinzer suggests, because by the end of the 19th Century, the major businesses had saturated the domestic market. They needed new customers and new resources. So it is not surprising that 2003, the climax of this expansion, played like 1898.

"The tendency of modern times is toward consolidation. Small states are of the past, and have no future". This sentiment sounds contemporary; it has the flavour of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). In fact it was the 1913 opinion of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, uttered when most of today's small states did not yet exist. That is, Lodge wanted colonies to forget about independence, an unnecessary status if "the market" was to rule (appropriately, the history of the Lodge family is reminiscent of that of the Bushes).

Teddy Roosevelt, the imperial president, was a more impressive person than Bush, but his role was comparable. Like Bush he liked to swagger, affecting disdain for the wimps of Europe and the "futile sentimentalists of the international arbitration type". Here Teddy was pure George, yet neither the United Nations nor its forerunner, the

League of Nations, had been dreamed of. Roosevelt represented the high-water mark of international anarchy, the assumption that big powers could do what they wanted to the powerless, and he didn't want any do-gooders to get ideas that there might be better ways of living together on our small planet (*Roosevelt is back in fashion in today's America. For example, see Time, 3/7/06, which devoted its Annual Special issue on The Making of America to "Teddy". George Bush likes to let it be known that Roosevelt biographies are among his favourite reading. Ed.*).

In the critical year of 1898 an influential German newspaper complained that "Americans have never worried too much about diplomatic questions. Wild as their land is wild.... they go forward on the road they believe they must travel and do not care at all what Europe says". Americans were acquiring the "cowboy" tag - put aside over the last 50 years - that Bush is doing his best to restore.

Gwynne Dyer prefaces his analysis of US foreign policy with a remark by an academic. "In all of American public life", said Andrew Bacevich, "there is hardly a significant prominent figure who finds fault with the notion of the United States remaining the world's sole military superpower until the end of time". There's the rub. At a casual glance from overseas it seems sometimes that Bush is unpopular. Domestic critics accuse him of arrogance or ignorance or whatever. But listen closely and you notice that the criticism has to do with the style of his Administration. When it comes to the basics, the substance, America's role as world cop, Bush represents a consensus.

It is axiomatic to Americans that theirs is the best of all possible worlds. America represents democracy and opportunity in a way that no other land does. This is partly historic, stemming from the 18th Century War of Independence which enshrined Enlightenment principles. The moralism that others associate with America derives in part from its history as the embodiment of progressive values. To be American was to uphold life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. This is indeed a great tradition.

The Doctrine Of American Exceptionalism

Americans came to believe that they could avoid the various miseries that afflicted Europe, which had to contend with a messy past. The doctrine of American Exceptionalism teaches that the US economy need not suffer the depressions that periodically engulf the rest of the world. Another doctrine, Manifest Destiny, declares that it is in the very nature of things that America is destined to be the best. These assumptions are ingrained in the national psyche. A century after an American invasion of Canada had been beaten back, a politician like Lodge could still call for the annexation of Canada as a deed that would be doing the Canadians a favour. If that was the prospect for the people across a river with a common heritage, where did all the other countries stand?

Secular and liberal Americans might find their President brash. They might wish he was more fluent, but when Bush says that the world needs American leadership, they don't argue. And when Bush confides that he checks out ideas with God, he might be deluded but he's not being hypocritical. Better than many commentators, Dyer, a Canadian now living in Britain, has the perspective to understand this history. He's also has some useful things to say about terrorism, a phenomenon which Americans find hard to see clearly. Obviously that's to some extent a result of the 9/11 trauma, but it's partly a function of America's blessed history.

Terrorism is the weapon of the weak, Dyer argues, and it never works against your own people. Terrorism's only chance is to trap a stronger opponent into reckless behaviour. Like many other observers, Dyer thinks that Bush's actions and words have done wonders for al-Qaeda, but he suggests that 9/11 was flukishly successful, that Osama bin Laden is unlikely to pull off another such outrage, and that, even if he were to manage it, this would not affect subsequent world history. Dyer knows the Islamic and Arab worlds well. He shows why bin Laden has never been able to hope for much help from the folks back home.

It has already become trite to note that the need to act against "terrorism" serves as a justification for aggression. "Terrorism" is the new "Communism". At a certain level this is of course true, but with a proviso. Terrorism, as practised at 9/11, and in Madrid and London and Bali, does exist, and its targets have the right to defend themselves. Harassing the Taliban in Afghanistan, as State sponsors of terrorism against innocents, was not the same thing as the later war on Iraq. "Communism", however, in neither its theory nor its practice - not that is as it has been defined by successive US presidents - has ever existed.

Conspiracy theorists have helped Bush by building up bin Laden's prestige. Conspiracists suppose terrorists or master criminals to be smarter than their victims. In their eyes, The Other, whatever is foreign to their own experience, is always a genius, fiendishly clever. The bin Ladens of the world are granted a moral and intellectual clarity that eludes the rest of us. Conspiracists (and their frequent allies from both the extreme Right and Left in the West) hear al-Qaeda's manic rants and obsessions and suppose them to be both acute and sincere. A good,

gossipy conspiracy with the right cast of characters will always gain widespread admiration. Witness the “Da Vinci Code” frenzy, which has millions of educated people believing an impossible series of things about the Catholic Church’s theology and organisation.

In many ways the conspiracists and the Bushmen are mirrors of each other. Dyer reminds us that Bush is being constantly egged on by the End-Timers, fundamentalist Christian zealots who believe that the world is about to end, with the saved (them) about to experience the bliss of Rapture and an ascension to Heaven, while the rest of us burn. So why not let God’s armies take down a few Hell-bound sinners in the meantime? End-Timers include Cabinet members. Fifty years ago the bigots’ language was more honest. “For us”, Dulles once pointed out, “there are two sorts of people in the world. There are those who are Christians and support free enterprise, and there are the others”.

By posing the big question, as do all the authors - Why Iraq? - Dyer offers a rational alternative to the manipulations of the religious nutcases. Dyer sees as self-evident the thesis of Juhasz and Kinzer that the dominant fact to take into account is a post-Cold War American desire to hold hegemony over the world. That was why Washington looked around for new scapegoats and came up with “rogue States”. Bushite insincerity is indicated by the fact that all the rogues were countries whose relations with America had not worsened for decades. Bush needed to pick a fight with one of them.

The candidates were North Korea, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Libya. The chosen rogue could not be so small that it was not seen as a credible threat, nor big enough to be too hard. You don’t need those body bags that TV reporters like to talk about. Iran was big enough to be ruled out on this score; North Korea, possibly nuclear and bordering China, was too dangerous a target.

Iraq: Illegality And Impunity

Iraq was ideal. It was the right middling size; its flat, desert terrain was manageable for swift troop advances; its army had been weakened by previous wars and by sanctions; its position is strategic, and its leader had already been demonised by Bush Senior. Dyer rejects the notion that a sheer need for oil was a factor, because states will always buy and sell for money. This does not necessarily mean that the politics and economics to do with oil were not a key reason for the choice, as Juhasz has made clear. Dyer’s focus is on military and geopolitical relations. He does not discuss finance or trade.

Most importantly for Bush, the Iraq War was illegal. Reasons were invented to justify the attack, and, after the event, a fig leaf was worn so that Europe would not lose face, but what Bush wanted above all else was the means to sideline the United Nations (and “old” Europe). Bush wanted to make an omelette as that meant he’d have to crack eggs. Dyer explains how the Bush agenda can be fully implemented only if there is no rival source - the United Nations is the only candidate - of legitimacy for a global police force.

Dyer argues that it was by declaring war to be illegal that the international bodies of the 20th Century deterred violence, not wholly of course, but enough to make the warmongers feel they had to justify themselves. If that impediment goes, if the big can act with impunity as they did in the days of Teddy Roosevelt, well yes, that could usher in catastrophe. What Bush needs to understand is that Kinzer could well have added a sixth common element to his accounts of American folly. Most of the chickens that Bush and his predecessors disturbed have not yet come home to roost.

Harold Evans, former magistrate (today's equivalent is a District Court judge), accomplished musician, peace campaigner and world-renowned "Father of the World Court Project", died after a long illness on Good Friday, 2006, aged 90. He was the son and grandson of Solicitors-General, a Royal Air Force officer during World War 2, the husband of a German admiral's daughter*, personal assistant to Peter Fraser (who was Labour Prime Minister from 1940-49) and Associate of New Zealand's Justice Northcroft at the Tokyo International Military Tribunal, which tried Japanese war criminals in the aftermath of the Allied victory, sending several to the gallows. * *Bringing home a German wife in the immediate post-war years was definitely not the done thing, particularly one whose father had been both an admiral and Hitler's naval attaché to Japan. There was a price for this – Harold lost his job as the Prime Minister's personal assistant. Ed.*

Father Of The World Court Project

After his retirement in 1979 he joined the Christchurch Peace Collective which, in 1986, organised the local visit of US international lawyer Richard Falk. This was life-changing and set Harold on a decade-long struggle to outlaw all nuclear weapons via an advisory opinion on their legal status from the International Court of Justice, in The Hague.

His many writings marshalled the legal and moral arguments to underpin the project, and by example he inspired many to join him. This amazing project succeeded in having resolutions passed at both the World Health Assembly in 1993, and the United Nations General Assembly in 1994, requesting two separate, but related opinions from the Court. Although it started as a one-man crusade, it attracted support from over 700 organisations worldwide; most of the 110 Non-Aligned States, and over four million individually signed declarations of public conscience. It was a testament to what one man could inspire and lead in its early years.

My first contact with Harold was in June 1979. I had not been back in Christchurch very long and was not aware of his reputation as an independent thinking magistrate who ruffled many collegial feathers by speaking out on a wide range of legal issues. Harold phoned to ask if he could join our newly formed Peace Collective. We had Owen Wilkes visiting at the time and he warned us that we should vet all potential members in case we were infiltrated. Ironically, it was Owen who gave Harold the "all clear" as he had been the judge who had given him a very lenient community sentence for a charge arising from the 1973 protest at the US military base at Christchurch Airport*. It was from this little group that Harold launched many of his open letters on issues of peace and nuclear weapons. He rarely spoke of his experiences at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal or as the secretary to Peter Fraser. It wasn't until we were sorting his papers for the Peace Collection in the University of Canterbury's MacMillan Brown Library that I discovered he had written to Labour Prime Minister Walter Nash in 1958 calling for immediate and unilateral suspension of nuclear testing and had questioned NZ support for the British during the 1956 Suez crisis. * *The Special Issue of Peace Researcher on Owen Wilkes – Number 31, October 2005 – can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html> Ed.*

He never shied away from contentious issues in court – for example, in 1967 he dismissed a case against a homosexual couple (*this was when homosexuality per se was illegal. Ed.*). In 1978 he wrote his first *Open Letter* opposing the appointment of former National Prime Minister Sir Keith Holyoake (1960-72) as Governor General and sent copies to all MPs in 1979. Over the next 20 years he published over 27 *Open Letters* or *Memoranda* at his own expense. They ranged from four to 170 pages covering topics such as visits by nuclear ships, the roles of the Anglican Church and the Queen in opposing nuclearism, the 1982 Falklands War, the 1981 South African Rugby Tour, the 1987 nuclear free legislation. He took every opportunity to educate others about nuclear issues; for example he published Lord Mountbatten's final speech, opposing nuclear weapons, in the *Press*.

It was Professor Richard Falk that sparked his enthusiasm for using international law and the World Court. He was so inspired, he followed Falk to Auckland. Later that year (1986) he met Sri Lankan Professor Christopher Weeramantry, and jurist and former Liberal MP Ted St John in Australia who convinced him of the case for the criminality of nuclear weapons. They became close friends and advocates for the cause.

He also discovered an article by Niall MacDermott, the Secretary General of the International Commission of Jurists entitled "Are Nuclear Weapons Legal?". He asked these four experienced international lawyers to join him in his quest. The other two of his "six wise men", as he called them, were former Attorney General Dr Martyn Finlay and former Ombudsman Sir Guy Powles. It was their opinions which formed the basis of the *Open Letter* he personally delivered to the Prime Ministers of Australia and NZ in March 1987. He then sent it to all 73 UN member states with representatives in both countries. Most responses were negative or non-committal.

Ruffling The Feathers Of The Legal Fraternity

But Harold was undeterred – he set about garnering support from the NZ International Commission of Jurists, the Peace Foundation, and the NZ branches of Lawyers for Nuclear Disarmament and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). He began to receive significant media coverage both here and in Australia for his idea and in October 1987 published a full page advertisement in the *Press* to mark Nuremberg Day (*October 1, to commemorate the momentous post-World War 2 Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals by the victorious Allies. This spelt out the criminal responsibility of those who violate the laws of war and rejected the “I was only following orders” defence. Several defendants were hanged. Ed.*). It coincided with a five day legal conference in Christchurch and was a way of educating the 2,000 lawyers attending. It called for a permanent International Criminal Court, asked the lawyers to sign the appeal by lawyers against nuclear war and to support his new project. As usual, no support was forthcoming from the legal fraternity – many of whom were affronted by the use of *Open Letters* – “it was not the way lawyers worked”. Some local lawyers told me that they were shocked by his choice of attire – a windbreaker and small haversack instead of a lawyer’s suit and briefcase, and that “he didn’t embody the nuances, the etiquette, the unwritten characteristics of the profession”. It was precisely these characteristics that endeared him to the increasingly influential peace movement here.

It must have been a lonely and frustrating path for Harold at this time and he relied heavily on a small core group to give him feedback on his ideas and help him promote them. As a diplomat and lawyer, it was quite a challenge for him to learn to work cooperatively in our small groups. He frequently attended rallies and marches against visits by nuclear warships and nuclear testing – holding placards and speaking out publicly. He even wrote letters to the Swedish government in protest at the sentencing of Owen Wilkes to six months prison on Official Secrets Act charges, in the early 1980s (*although held in custody and incommunicado for several days when arrested by Swedish security police, Owen never actually went to prison. On appeal, he was given a non-custodial sentence, including being expelled from Sweden for ten years. See the Special Issue of Peace Researcher on Owen Wilkes – Number 31, October 2005 – which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html> Ed.*).

He was pleased when in June 1988, as a member of the Government delegation to the UN Special Session on Disarmament in New York, I promoted the World Court Project in my address to the delegates and began sounding out diplomats and leading international non-government organisations (NGOs) in the UN. At home, we gained unanimous support from the Public Advisory Committee on Disarmament and Arms Control and Sir Guy Powles, Ted St John and Harold addressed the Minister of Disarmament and the Committee. Despite this, the 1984-90 Labour government was not prepared to run with this alone.

It therefore became imperative to garner more national and international support. A small band of committed Kiwis gathered around Harold, inspired by his vision and enthusiasm. The doctors secured support from their international body in 1988. Harold travelled to the UK and convinced the International Peace Bureau (IPB) to take up the cause and then almost single-handedly convinced the fledgling International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms (IALANA) to adopt a resolution in 1989. He returned via Malaysia where he addressed the Malaysian PPNW. They issued a joint appeal with lawyers to all the Heads of Government attending the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in Kuala Lumpur.

Despite these resolutions being passed, none of these organisations committed themselves to the project with resources or enthusiasm. Harold became very frustrated with them and told them so. He had carried the campaign at great personal expense for many years and felt a growing sense of urgency for action. He tried again to convince lawyers to speak out and give support by distributing *Open Letters* to all 3,000 delegates attending the Commonwealth Law Conference in Auckland which included 250 judges and Law Ministers from around the world. Professor Weeramantry used his keynote address to challenge them to support the World Court Project. But there was still no response.

With the election of a National government in New Zealand in 1990, there was no hope of any Government action on the initiative and it languished for a while, until in 1991 Alyn Ware (head of the NZ branch of IALANA) and I found support from quite a few nations to take up the baton. To cut a very long story short, we were able to convince IPPNW, the IPB and IALANA to launch the project publicly in Geneva in 1992. Erich Geiringer, George Salmond and other NZ doctors played a key role in getting a resolution passed in the World Health Assembly in May 1993 and by October the 110 Non Aligned Movement (NAM) countries sponsored the UN resolution requesting the advisory opinion on threat and use of nuclear weapons. It caused a furore in the UN. The nuclear weapon states sent demarches to capitals and threatened UN delegates with cuts to aid and trade (*demarches – when powerful States send representatives to the capitals of less powerful States to persuade them to change their votes, policies, etc. “Persuade” is a diplomatic euphemism for naked bullying and threatening. Ed*). The pressure was too great and it was deferred until 1994. After intense lobbying by international NGOs, and committed leadership within the NAM, the resolution went through – and NZ, under a conservative Government, voted for it and spoke strongly at the Oral hearings at the Court in 1995.

“Contrary To The Rules Of International Law”

It took nearly 18 months for the judges to give their opinion, and it was one of the most exciting nights of my life to be with Harold and a crowd of politicians, the media and local well wishers as the outcome was faxed through from Rob Green* at the Hague. Although the judges dismissed the request from the World Health Organisation, it did not dodge the question from the UN. * *Kate pointed out in her eulogy at Harold's funeral that she owed her marriage to him. It was through the World Court Project that she met Rob, then the head of the British branch. Ed.*

Among other things, the Court advised that

... a threat or use of nuclear weapons would generally be contrary to the rules of international law applicable in armed conflict, and in particular the principles and rules of humanitarian law,

and

... there exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to complete nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control'...

We were disappointed that the Opinion was not as clear cut as it should have been. However, it has become a benchmark for a whole range of activities by NGOs and governments, including our own, to hold the nuclear weapon states accountable. The tenth anniversary of the Court's historic Opinion on July 8th was marked by a Mayors for Peace-sponsored conference at The Hague, and another to strategise about going back to the Court for another Opinion at the European Parliament. Alyn Ware, Rob Green and I took these opportunities to honour Harold's pioneering contribution.

In 1996, the National government awarded him a Queen's Service Medal for his contributions to the judiciary and the anti-nuclear movement. In 2001 Parliament passed a unanimous resolution endorsing the World Court Opinion and calling on all nuclear weapon states to pursue their obligations to bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament. In 2003 he received one of the eight inaugural Christchurch Peace City awards. In 2007 there will be an exhibition at the Canterbury Museum marking the 20th anniversary of the nuclear free legislation and the beginning of the World Court Project. It will feature Harold's contributions and will be a vehicle for New Zealanders and tourists alike to follow Harold's example of how they can also make a difference by acting on his favourite dictum – "think globally, act locally".

A "CRIMINAL'S" FOND MEMORIES OF A JUDGE

- Murray Horton

I never worked with Harold Evans as a peace activist nor saw him in action as such (although I did witness him appearing as one of the hundreds of my fellow Springbok Tour defendants arrested in Christchurch in 1981). No, I knew him in the early 1970s when he was a magistrate and I was a "criminal", appearing in the dock of the Number One Magistrates' Court with monotonous regularity (if you want to disabuse yourself of any illusions about how our class society works, spend a morning in the District Court). We had a lot of fun with several cases, most famously when I was charged with refusing to register for the then military service ballot for young men and claimed that I was exempt on the grounds of being a minister of religion (good old Pantheism). To the astonishment of the powers that be, he ruled that my church actually existed but, as he couldn't find any reference to prayer in my tenets of faith produced in evidence, he ruled that I didn't meet the legal definition of a clergyman and convicted me. However, he ruled that, as I was so determined to stay out of the Army (this was during the whole anti-Vietnam War struggle), he'd recommend I get favourable consideration from the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal. I did, and became an official coward, according to my ex-prisoner of war father. I have a vivid memory of going to the Court Theatre many years later and just as my then partner and I were going in, up popped Mr Evans the magistrate at my side and asked, with a mischievous grin "How's your church?". I well remember going to his chambers, in my capacity as a defendant, and noting that there was a piano there, which he apparently played at every opportunity (as a young man he had been torn between music and the law).

As Kate has mentioned, Harold (this Christ's College old boy was never "Harry") was a reforming magistrate. He refused to convict a man who had been transported in the boot of a Police car after being arrested, as his way of punishing the Police for this illegal and inhumane behaviour. I was only one of those from the progressive movement to appear before him in those tumultuous years (some of his colleagues were rather more keen to have me locked up), Owen Wilkes being the most high profile, as detailed in Kate's obituary.

The Fingerprints Case

Harold's most famous case involving a political activist was that of my original mentor, Keith Duffield (see my obituary of Keith in *Foreign Control Watchdog*, March 1979). In 1970, Keith was arrested at an anti-Vietnam War protest (I was

among the others arrested, so I witnessed what happened next, through the bars of a cell door). He was a little bloke with one leg withered by childhood polio but he was a handful. Adopting his policy of “total passive resistance”, he refused to let the cops take his fingerprints or photo, despite several of them using quite extreme force on him. To quote from an early 1970s profile that I wrote on Keith (it appeared both in *Canta*, the University of Canterbury student paper, and the shortlived NZ edition of *Rolling Stone*): “...The Police opposed bail because they wanted his fingerprints but it was granted. His case was that the Police could obviously identify him anyway and the magistrate agreed – ‘I never credited that a magistrate would be game enough or honest enough to support an individual against the State’. The magistrate, of course, was Harold Evans. The Police appealed to the then Supreme Court and won, Keith appealed to the Court of Appeal and lost, and was refused permission to appeal to the Privy Council in London. The 1960-72 National government paid Keith and Harold a backhanded compliment in one of its last legislative moves, making the taking of fingerprints mandatory for everyone arrested. While his case was grinding through the courts for several years, Keith was arrested at a protest at the US base at Christchurch Airport and the cops once again tried for half an hour to get his fingerprints, including using choke holds. They failed again – they never did get his fingerprints, or at least, not until he decided to let them do so.

So, Harold Evans was no ordinary judge. He actually subscribed to the notion of justice as opposed to mindless administration of the law. And he used the law to get mightily up the noses of the powers that be, both in the criminal justice and the political Establishments. I saw him irregularly over the years but counted myself privileged to be invited to his 80th birthday party at Kate and Rob’s home. Harold’s is the only judge’s funeral that I’ve attended, and I’m pretty sure that it will be the only one. He was one out of the box. Rest in peace, Your Honour.

DEATH IN THE FAMILY

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 33 – November 2006

ABC expresses our condolences to **Nicky Hager**, a longstanding member and world expert on spy bases and Intelligence agencies, on the 2006 death of his mother, **Barbara Hager**, aged 75, in Wellington. I asked Nicky to write a couple of lines. Instead, he sent his four page funeral eulogy and asked me to do the choosing. So here's a tiny extract: "This was also the time when she became active in politics. She and our father were first National, then Labour supporters but in the late 1970s their home became a base for the Horowhenua Values Party – predecessor of the Green Party. In 1982 she became the first woman president of a political party in New Zealand". The eulogy tells a fascinating life story and if you'd like to read it, contact Nicky at nicky@paradise.net.nz.

For many years now ABC has admired from afar the incredible courage (not to mention sheer bloody pigheadedness) of two Englishwomen, Lindis Percy and Anni Rainbow (who is in a wheelchair). They, in the name of their group, Campaign for Accountability of American Bases (CAAB), repeatedly and non-violently confront the massive US National Security Agency spybase at Menwith Hill, north Yorkshire, which is one of America's most important intelligence-gathering and military bases anywhere in the world. In the case of Lindis, she has been arrested dozens, if not hundreds, of times for trespassing on the base. Their regular hard copy newsletter and e-mails are dominated by reports of this ceaseless annoying of the Invisible Empire (which has included Lindis scaling the gates of Buckingham Palace with a protest message on one occasion when the Queen was entertaining President Bush at a State banquet).

Peace Researcher has reported some of these protests over the years and ABC activists have taken part in one (see *PR* 24, December 2001, "Two Old ABCers Visit The Land Of the Great White Dome: Warren And Melanie Thomson Visit Menwith Hill", by Warren Thomson, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/menwith.htm>) To learn more about Menwith Hill and the campaign against it, visit CAAB's excellent Website at www.caabuk.plus.com

It saddened us greatly to read the following on the front page of CAAB's September 2006 newsletter: "In the early hours of August 1, Anni Rainbow's eldest son Matthew was severely injured by a mortar attack in Basra. Matt died soon afterwards from the injuries. He had served in the British Army for 11 years, he was on his third tour of duty in Iraq and was due to return to the UK the following week... It is desperate for any parent to lose a child (whether civilian or military). It is doubly dreadful for Anni, given that she is a pacifist, a Quaker and has campaigned tirelessly for many, many years against war, weaponry and violence as a means of settling conflicts. Such pathos and the irony of this dreadful news happening to Anni escapes nobody". He left a wife and two very young kids.

ABC joins with CAAB in calling for the withdrawal of the British troops, and all other foreign invaders, from Iraq and the closure of US bases such as Menwith Hill that play such a central role in the war machine of the US Empire. How many more mothers, wives and kids will have to suffer such crushing losses until America and Britain and their various underlings (such as Australia) decide to stop invading other people's countries and putting their own soldiers in mortal peril?
