

WAIHOPAI 2007 - Counting The Costs Of 20 Years Of Spying by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

As I reported in detail, in Peace Researcher 32, the Anti-Bases Campaign's January 2006 protest at the Waihopai spybase was a one off, because it came just a couple of months after the totally unexpected 2005 death of Rod Donald, Green Co-Leader, ABC stalwart and veteran Waihopai activist, at the tragically young age of 48. That weekend's activities became a major celebration of Rod's life, with the Green Party heavily involved and a much bigger attendance than usual (March 2006; "Waihopai 2006: Longrunning Campaign Gets Second Wind", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-129.html> . My obituary of Rod is in that same issue of PR and can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-121a.html>). One of the subheadings said it all: "The Rod Factor Brought Them Out In Doves This Year".

We knew that the next Waihopai protest would be, not an anti-climax, but much more back to normal. That proved to be the case, when we went back to Blenheim and Waihopai in January 2007. But don't get the wrong impression – Waihopai 07 had some quite unique features and was a very successful exercise, once again (for a tiny little Christchurch-based group ABC punches far above its weight on Waihopai and has an impressive strike record for innovation and for keeping the top secret spybase, and the much bigger and just as secret context in which it operates, very much in the public eye).

Ever since the start of the "War On Terror" and then the war on Iraq ABC's theme for our Waihopai protests has been an anti-war one, stressing the fact that this spybase constitutes NZ's single most important contribution to each and every American war. But we decided to highlight the fact that 2007 marks 20 years since Waihopai was first announced, by the Lange Labour government (which initially peddled the myth that it gave NZ its own independent electronic intelligence-gathering capacity, whereas, in fact, it is an American spybase in all but name). For years we have stressed the human cost of that to which Waihopai makes us an accomplice – namely the seemingly endless wars being waged by the US and its satellites. The perfect illustration of that is the Time photo from earlier this decade (reproduced on the cover of this issue and on our Waihopai leaflet and display) of Afghani villagers mourning at the graves of a number of kids killed by "friendly fire" called down upon them as a result of "faulty electronic intelligence" (they had picked up and innocently turned on the discarded satellite phone of a long gone Taliban leader: US intelligence locked onto the phone's signal and dispatched an air strike to kill him, killing the kids instead. This is far from an isolated example of how electronic and signals intelligence gathering plays an absolutely central role in the US war machine, and kills innocent civilians, including children, in the process).

Half A Billion Dollars

For this 20th anniversary (the first ABC protest at Waihopai was not actually until 1988) we decided to investigate and highlight what Waihopai costs in good old monetary terms. Rod is no longer with us, more's the pity, but "is Waihopai value for money?" was always one of his favourite themes, in his speeches both about and at the base. So he would have been delighted that we decided to pick up his call. Appropriately enough, we asked the Green Party's research team if they could find out for us. Green MP Keith Locke has been coming to Waihopai protests ever since he entered Parliament (at the 1999 election) and he has regularly asked the Government for the cost of Waihopai. He has always been met with a blank refusal from Helen Clark, Minister in Charge of the Government Communications Security Bureau, which runs Waihopai (the Prime Minister is always the Minister in Charge of the GCSB and the Security Intelligence Service). So, we can't tell you what Waihopai costs. But the Greens' researchers were able to get some, very incomplete, figures from the Parliamentary Library listing the GCSB's total expenditure for some of those 20 years (there are no figures for 1987-91 inclusive and likewise for 1999-2001 inclusive). The first available year was 1992, when the GCSB spent \$19+ million of taxpayers' money; and the most recent figure was for 2005, when it spent just under \$39 million. That jumped up to a budgeted \$42 million for 2006 but the 2007 Budget reduced it back to \$39 million for the current financial year.

When you factor in the years for which we can't find any figures (but for which we can make an educated guess), and look at the cumulative total over those 20 years, you're talking serious money. It is our educated guess that the GCSB (not just Waihopai, note) has cost the NZ public a cool half a billion dollars in those two decades. We decided to dramatise this as a central prop of the protest and, thanks entirely to Christchurch graphic designer, Ian Dalziel who sweated blood over it, we headed our Blenheim and Waihopai marches and rallies with a giant cheque, issued by "The People's Bank of Aotearoa", made payable to George W. Bush for \$500 million dollars for "Support for the American War Machine", and signed "The New Zealand Taxpayer". It was a brilliant, eye-catching piece of political art, which the media latched onto at every opportunity (it's very easy to understand, even the braying chorus of Rightwingers demanding tax cuts can get it). Originally we wanted to present it to "George Bush" but we were

completely unable to source a Bush mask in NZ, and our resident American, Bob Leonard, was equally unsuccessful in his homeland. They're apparently in hot demand over there for anti-war marches. So we had to settle on presenting it to Uncle Sam (who bears a striking resemblance to Bob and who always turns up at every Waihopai protest to tell us how misguided we are and, furthermore, to "bugger off" – advice we've never yet taken). The cheque was intended as a once but we could always update the date and the amount (and the recipient) to keep hammering the point. And we backed it up with a banner (done by Robyn Dann, the ABC committee's chief banner maker) reading "Waihopai Spybase. A Criminal Waste Of \$500 Million".

Thanks Phantom And Dazzler!

Mention of the estimable Ian Dalziel brings me to another unique feature of Waihopai 07. As detailed in my 2006 Organiser's Report in Peace Researcher 33 (November 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-133a.html>), ABC's excellent Waihopai display spent a fortnight in a Takaka café in October, hosted by the Golden Bay Greens (one of many venues that hosted it during 2005/06, see elsewhere in this issue for its adventures thus far in 07). That led to us being very enthusiastically approached by Takaka resident Jim Wilson who introduced himself as the founder and still owner of Christchurch-based national billboard company Phantom Billstickers. He made us an offer we couldn't refuse – in return for including the Phantom logo on our poster, and acknowledging Phantom's help in our newsletter (which we're happy to do, right here), we could have 200 of our Waihopai posters displayed free of charge on Phantom's central city bollards, distributed equally between Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch (in the end, Phantom extended that free offer to 400 posters).

Only problem was that we didn't actually have a Waihopai poster, and one of the reasons why we had only ever sporadically used posters (as opposed to flyers) in our 20 year campaign was precisely because of no guaranteed places to display them, resulting in the hassles involved in sticking them up ourselves. But prior to Jim Wilson's totally unexpected and very generous offer, we had received an unsolicited offer from Ian Dalziel to design us a Waihopai poster free of charge. We had filed that under "great idea but where would we put them up?". Voila, suddenly we had a poster and prime spot outlets, all free of charge, and with virtually no effort required from us. We provided Ian with the brief text and the arresting visual content (a great big X splashed across a photo of Waihopai's domes), he whipped it up, printed off 400 colour copies free of charge and even personally delivered them to Phantom for us. Phenomenal! It was this that led to us asking Ian if he could design us the above mentioned cheque (he said yes, but he might not have had he realised how much work was going to be involved) and ABC now has an ongoing relationship with him – we're currently investigating a Close Waihopai bumper sticker. I've known Ian since the 1970s when he was a teenager – it was a pleasure to renew an acquaintance again with an old mate from the old days, one who has put his talents to good use and who has proved himself a true friend to ABC. Good one, Dazzler!

Nicky Hager Public Meeting A Roaring Success

The most high profile unique feature of Waihopai 07 was Nicky Hager's Friday night public meeting. There was nothing new about Nicky being involved in ABC's Waihopai activities. As a veteran Wellington peace activist he was with us at Waihopai from the very start and well into the 90s. In 1996 he wrote "Secret Power", the book that blew the lid off Waihopai and the role that it and the GCSB play in the US-led international spy network. You can read my review of it in Peace Researcher 10, September 1996. That book had, and continues to have, a major international impact. But, as one of the world's best investigative journalists, Nicky had turned his attention onto many other targets in the following decade, culminating, of course, in his equally explosive 2006 book "The Hollow Men", whose revelations about the National Party's dirty linen during the 2005 election – which that party almost won – led to Don Brash's resignation as National's Leader and as an MP (you can read Jeremy Agar's review of it elsewhere in this issue). Accordingly, Nicky's appearances at Waihopai over the past decade have been very few and far between (I can only remember him being present at one previous 21st Century protest).

We've held Blenheim public meetings before as part of our Waihopai activities (featuring speakers ranging from Green MPs to a Marlborough District Councillor to a world renowned British investigative journalist, not to mention ABC spokespeople). But we've never held one as wonderfully successful as the Nicky Hager one in January 07. The idea arose quite late in our planning, because "The Hollow Men" and resulting uproar didn't happen until late 06. We had no idea if he would come to Waihopai, as he had regularly expressed a wish to "move on" from that subject. We invited him to speak tying together the themes from his two books from a decade apart, and to our delight he agreed. We knew that this would be a major public drawcard as he was the man of the moment and he hadn't spoken at any public meetings since the book came out. We notified the media (who interviewed him on the day, sent reporters to the meeting and gave it national coverage), spent some money on advertising in the Marlborough Express and publicised the meeting widely. Despite it being during the summer holidays and in a conservative provincial town, 100 people packed the overflowing venue to hear him on a sweltering Blenheim night

and they weren't disappointed (you can read the full transcript of Nicky's speech elsewhere in this issue). Nicky was the sole speaker (Bob Leonard chaired it on behalf of ABC) and the response can be measured by the fact that the collection was by far the biggest we've ever gathered at any of our public meetings. Long after it was over members of the public were pursuing us to thrust money into our hands, and it was \$20 notes not 20 cent coins. It got the weekend off to a flying start and we came out of the central Blenheim venue to witness the awe inspiring sight of Comet McNaught streaking through the night sky. It was a good omen. Nicky had done his old ABC mates a great favour and he took the weekend off for a well earned rest, playing no further part in our Waihopai activities.

Marches, Rallies & A Public Debate On Tactics At The Spybase Gate

As for the actual protests, they basically followed the pattern of recent years. On the Saturday morning up to 60 people from as far north as Hokianga and as far south as Wanaka, and all points inbetween, assembled in Blenheim's Seymour Square. In the past we've held our rallies there. This time, acting on local advice, we simply used it as an assembly point, then marched through central Blenheim and stopped for speeches at the Rotunda in the Forum, where there were a lot more people doing their weekend shopping. Speakers in town included myself on behalf of ABC, Green MP Keith Locke and John Minto of Global Peace and Justice Auckland. The march featured the same eye-catching props that we had previously used – coffins, crosses and white face masks to symbolise Waihopai's part in the killing of people by the US war machine, specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those, plus the \$500 million giant cheque that I've already mentioned, a large number of banners and placards, and good noisy chanting led by ABC's two youngest committee members, Lynda Boyd and Francie Mountier, meant that we got plenty of attention from the public and the media.

After our Seymour Square sausage sizzle (with vegetarian sausages for the non-meateaters), we headed out to the spybase in the afternoon, where Uncle Sam inspected our Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA passports at border control as we crossed into foreign territory (the UKUSA Agreement is the top secret divvying up of the world for purposes of electronic and signals intelligence gathering by the relevant spy agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ). We all then marched up to the inner gate (the GCSB allows us onto the spybase's outer perimeter for an hour, as long as we promise to "behave ourselves) for a rally with more speeches, one from Russel Norman, Green Co-Leader (the Greens' have always sent one MP, and quite often two, to every Waihopai protest, and have always sent one of their Co-Leaders. Russel is not an MP). As we do each time we go there, we let the spies know that we want them gone and their blot on the Marlborough landscape closed down.

In fact this rally at the spybase gate, in front of the spies, cops and media, became the unlikely forum for a very public debate on tactics when ABC's Blenheim organiser, Steffan Browning (a nationally prominent Green and well known in Marlborough as an environmental activist) publicly asked me, the MC, if it was time for a return to direct action tactics (which we had used, with resulting dozens of arrests, during the first decade of the campaign). To say that this Devil's advocate question, in this setting, surprised me was putting it mildly. But I was happy to explain, via megaphone, why ABC has adopted the family friendly tactics that it has, because we want to involve Blenheim people and make it something that they feel taking part in (and they do, so it works). This internal debate did not go unnoticed by the reporters present and when I got home to Christchurch I was rung by the Marlborough Express to comment further. Steffan was quoted as saying: "I am frustrated by this level of action. I think it is good for raising awareness, but I would like to see something that chips at it and shows our frustration in a stronger form" (22/1/07). ABC's position is that we are happy for other groups to organise their own non-violent direct actions at Waihopai, but thus far we're still waiting.

Excellent Media Coverage

ABC's Waihopai protests have always enjoyed very good media coverage and 2007 was no exception. Obviously it didn't get as much as the previous year, which had the unique Rod Factor, but it was still very good. It was on TV3 News, Radio New Zealand News, private radio networks and got plenty of print media coverage, especially in the Marlborough Express and the Blenheim Sun (the latter gave it lavish pictorial coverage). For the first time, the Express also decided to host a post-protest debate on the base itself, inviting both sides to comment. The spies and Government have no comment, so the pro-Waihopai case was put by a local former NZ Army officer ("Waihopai station works for our best interests", 7/2/07) and Steffan was invited to put the case against ("Base is a cog in the corporate war machine", 8/2/07). As the base and what it does is shrouded in secrecy, ABC is delighted that the local paper decided to shine a light on it.

The three day weekend at Waihopai is always an immensely enjoyable social gathering. Even the Marlborough weather played its part this year. Normally we get cooked under a blazing sun but the lousy summer of 2006/07 meant that our day of outdoor protest activities (and Waihopai is extremely exposed to the weather) took place on a mild overcast day, the coolest it's ever been. Once again the 20-30 people who camped with us for the weekend

stayed at the Department of Conservation's Onamalutu Domain (where a memorial grove of native trees was planted at the January 06 activity to commemorate both Rod and the late ABC founder and international renowned peace researcher, Owen Wilkes, who committed suicide in 2005. Peace Researcher 31, October 2005, is a Special Issue devoted to Owen and can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>). Thanks are due to my committee colleagues who do the donkey work to make it all happen – Bob Leonard and Yani Johanson who drove the rental van to and from Christchurch; Lynda Boyd, Frances Mountier and Robyn Dann who fed everyone and collected the money (as it is we didn't cover our costs, but that's OK, we're not in the business of making a profit). On top of all their other ABC duties.

Although a lovely place to camp, Onamalutu wasn't as much fun this year because there were a lot more people staying there and a significant minority were bogans who spent every waking hour roaring around the place in anything with an internal combustion engine (including very young kids on tiny motorbikes). Then an entire riding club, complete with lots of horses, horseshit and attendant blowflies took up residence (making nonsense of the signs forbidding animals). Part of our reduced camping enjoyment was self-inflicted. The family of ABC committee member Lynda Boyd had generously given us a very large family tent. But the previous year we had committed the cardinal error of not drying it out before putting it away for 12 months, with the result that a number of us had to spend two nights and three days in a very mouldy, smelly tent (with who knows what health consequences). So, next time we go to Waihopai we will give Boganville a miss and camp elsewhere and we will have the use of another tent (the mouldy one had to be dumped, as it couldn't be repaired) which we will look after better.

We'll Be Back For As Long As It Takes

ABC will keep going back to Blenheim and Waihopai as long as that spybase is there as New Zealand's single biggest contribution to each and every American war. It is a physical blot on the Marlborough landscape, it is a moral blot on our nation's conscience. It is responsible for us having blood on our hands, blood that can't be washed away by any amount of official silence or lying about how it operates in "our" interest under "our" control. That is bullshit and ABC will keep going back to Waihopai to point out the obvious – shit stinks, and will continue to do until it is cleaned up.



FROM “SECRET POWER” TO “THE HOLLOW MEN” - Nicky Hager, Blenheim, 19/1/07

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

In 1996 Nicky Hager wrote “Secret Power”, the book that blew the lid off the Waihopai spybase and the role that it and NZ’s Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) play in the US-led international spy network. You can read Murray Horton’s review of it in Peace Researcher 10, September 1996. That book had, and continues to have, a major international impact.

A decade later Nicky wrote “The Hollow Men” (Jeremy Agar’s review is in this issue), a book that had such an explosive impact in this country that it led to the immediate demise of Don Brash as Leader of the National Party. There were many common themes between those two books. The Anti-Bases Campaign thought it entirely appropriate to invite Nicky to speak in Blenheim as part of its January 2007 protest weekend at the Waihopai spybase, and asked him to tie together the themes of those books.

Hence this speech is unique. Having heard Nicky on his more recent book promotion tour for “The Hollow Men”, this is not the same speech. And at the time, this was Nicky’s first and only public meeting appearance since the publication of “The Hollow Men”. 100 people turned out to hear him (remarkable for a conservative provincial town in a traditionally National Party electorate, during the summer holidays) and it attracted major media coverage.

No written copy was available, he spoke from notes only. So this has been painstakingly transcribed (from video shot by ABC committee member, Yani Johanson) by another ABC committee member, Frances Mountier, to whom is owed a big vote of thanks. Nicky then polished it up from the transcript. It does not include the equally long and fascinating question and answer section. Ed.

Before I start, I would like to particularly welcome and thank people here from the National Party or who don’t automatically agree with what they’ve heard about the book because there’s been quite a campaign, particularly on the National Party side of politics, to stop people from reading the book. When I talk about it, it will become clear why that is, and I want to thank anyone who’s in that their group for your open-mindedness, and I welcome your questions later on. In a sense this book was written more for members of the National Party than for the rest of the country.

Tell The Public Nothing

This talk is going to be about my new book, “The Hollow Men”, but I’m also going to talk a little bit about the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB). It is fitting to spend some time on it because there are themes in my research and in that book which are relevant to this most recent book and so I’ll link the two things together. Many of you may not really know the Government Communications Security Bureau - it’s twice the size of our SIS (Security Intelligence Service), the main known spy agency, and spies electronically on the communications of other countries. They are the people who run the base out at Waihopai. When I began researching the GCSB, the Government’s official position on it was secretive and deceptive. For the first 40 years of NZ involvement in that kind of spying, the country simply knew nothing about it. The Government’s position was that it was simpler that the public did not know that this sort of spying was going on. That’s the starting point for investigative journalism and for a lot of research, that there are things which it suits the people in power for the public simply never to hear about.

Then in 1983, the remarkable researcher Owen Wilkes discovered the GCSB’s then only station, which is up near Palmerston North at Tangimoana beach: a radio intercept station. It was intercepting long distance radio from inside the (former) Soviet Union and from Russian ships across the Pacific. It could listen practically right around the world because of the nature of high frequency radio. He discovered that facility and, by finding out about that station, he worked out that NZ had a major big spy agency which no one had been told about.

Because it had been revealed, the then National Government presented a Ministerial Statement to Parliament on the existence and work of the GCSB. This very same statement was given a few years later by the Labour Government. They explained that, yes, New Zealand had been doing this kind of spying since World War Two, but that the public could be reassured that the GCSB never spied on New Zealand’s friends in the South Pacific. Which leads me to my next lesson, which is that most of us have this trusting belief that if we are given a straight, clear statement by the authorities, then it is probably correct, or it is more or less correct.

In fact, at the time they made those statements, the GCSB had three K sections. One was spying on Russian communications; one was spying, strangely enough, on the Japanese, spying on Japanese embassies and

consulates around the world because the United States had shared all the main Japanese consulates and embassies between its four main allies and itself; and the third of the three K Stations was spying on all New Zealand's friends in the South Pacific – all of the different countries which New Zealand purports to support and be a big friend of in the South Pacific. The reason we were spying on those countries was because we'd been allocated a little piece of the globe in the very secret intelligence agreements that New Zealand is part of and has been part of since the end of the Second World War. Any countries that fell within that area – which began with French Polynesia and went down to the Solomon Islands – but not Papua New Guinea – were targets of the New Zealand spies. They spied on the Prime Ministers and their officials, and the other Ministers, and the Opposition politicians. They spied on the United Nations agencies, they spied on the South Pacific Forum, they spied on the aid agencies, and they spied on companies.

The reason they did that was not because New Zealand needed to spy on all those people for our interests, but because we'd been allocated that part of the world to spy on by the United States. We were just faithfully doing our bit of the job. Now, many New Zealanders would think that that was a strange contradiction with the rest of our foreign policy: that we would be spying on those countries and sending away their intimate economic and political secrets to the big outside powers. And that's why you have this kind of secrecy. The reason we weren't told about it – in fact we were told the opposite – was that it was convenient for the politicians not to have to answer why the spies were doing that. So the next lesson in this is that when people in authority believe it's necessary, or their duty, they are prepared to mislead the public. That's something I've found in my subsequent work and which is a major theme in "The Hollow Men".

Then later, whilst I was in the middle of my research for the book "Secret Power", there was the announcement of the Blenheim base. I was later told by people who worked inside the spy agency that David Lange and the (1984-90 Labour) Government were told that the reason why we needed a new intelligence base spying on the satellites above the South Pacific, was that New Zealand had been thrown out of the American intelligence alliance when we introduced our country's nuclear free policy. Many of you will remember this time – there were many debates and headlines and foreign visitors making this point that New Zealand had been cut off from foreign intelligence. Once again, it was completely untrue. The New Zealand GCSB's relationship with, particularly, the American and the British intelligence agencies had not been changed at all. And the reason they'd set up this station was not what they told the Labour government at the time – when they said it was to make New Zealand more independent – it was actually to make New Zealand more integrated into the international alliance.

Waihopai Spies Automatically For The US

When they set up this base, what happened was that, rather than New Zealand just helping to spy on our part of the world and handing the information on, they were setting up a spy station in New Zealand which *automatically* spied for the United States and the other allies. If you visit the Waihopai station and walk down the drive to the side of the building, you'll see a long, flat wall with windows in it. This is the wall facing Blenheim almost – the right hand wall. That's a long operations room containing rows of tall electronics cabinets. Underneath each dome there's a large satellite dish, and they are pointed at one of the two main satellites above the Pacific that carry the normal, public email and other communications within the Pacific. One satellite dish does each. The satellite signals are channelled underground into that big room, and the long rows of cabinets break down all those signals into individual faxes, banking communications, data communications, phone calls, emails, and so on. They are fed through a series of computers, which are at the left hand end of the room, which are called the Dictionary Computers. This is quite well-established technology now; but they were ahead of the rest of the world when the systems were developed. All of those messages stream through the computers in what they call "real time", instantaneously, and there are lists of words they are looking for. That might be "Kiribati, Kiribati Fishing Corporation, Kiribati Police Force, Kiribati Military" as part of the collection of Kiribati intelligence and that would be sent off to Wellington, because New Zealand had the job, as I explained earlier, of processing the South Pacific intelligence and sending it off to the allies.

Many of the categories of intelligence it is searching for are not for New Zealand. At the time I was researching there were ones on Japanese embassies, and Russians, and trade negotiations, and "people we don't like" in different countries around the Pacific. For instance, an e-mail might come in and be captured by the computer after being identified as "people we don't like" in the Philippines or whatever the key word was there. The computer puts a special stamp on it, a four digit stamp, before it is sent down the wires. The intercepted e-mail would pop up not in Wellington, but in Washington DC or another allied agency, where it would get processed. And so the New Zealand base, right now, functions every day pretty much as a United States base, and a British base, and an Australian base. It is also a New Zealand base, because we get the intelligence for the subjects upon which we are supposed to be reporting for the alliance.

Now the point I'm making here is that the Labour government had been told that this base was to make us more independent because we'd been cut off from the American alliance. What was actually happening was that we'd been even more closely integrated into that alliance. And we would never have known that. They would still be saying that this was an independent base that helped New Zealand make its way in the world – except for the fact that there were insiders in the GCSB who over a number of years did interviews with me. They drew me pictures of the interior, the layout of the building, showed me which bit was which, gave me diagrams of the information that they were getting, told me which intelligence sections they went to in the Wellington Headquarters, told me what kind of intelligence they were collecting -- all of which is now written in "Secret Power".

I will just quickly say a few words about what the GCSB has been doing in the last few years. I can only do this by little snippets I've been hearing from the agency because I haven't worked on it properly for ten years. But what I can tell you is that after George Bush was elected, and after they began what they call the "War on Terror", a huge restructuring happened inside the GCSB. They didn't make a complete secret of what they were doing, because I've got their early annual reports from during this period under the Official Information Act. The Ombudsman intervened on my behalf and got sections of them released.

Waihopai Is NZ's Biggest Contribution To "War On Terror"

What they said straight after September 11 (2001) was that they had redeployed a large part of their resources to helping the "War on Terror." By the next year's annual report, they said it was the main thing they were doing. It partly sounded reasonable at the time, because after all at that stage it sounded like maybe they were trying to capture Osama bin Laden, or the people who were responsible for doing something like that. But as has become clear in the years since, the "War on Terror" has become something different and decidedly grotesque. And what's been happening at the GCSB is that those people who were previously focussed on other targets have been retrained. There have been people coming in from the overseas agencies - I particularly know about the British people coming in – who've been training them in Arab languages.

So what New Zealand has been doing, unbeknown to the public or the media or to Parliament, is to redeploy our intelligence agency to help the United States spy on whoever they believe is a target in the "War of Terror". And that means of course, that if somebody gets grabbed off the street when they're walking through a town in the Philippines or Indonesia, and finds themselves with their hood over their head in a US detention camp in Kandahar in Afghanistan, and gets flown to Guantanamo Bay, we may have helped to do that. Because intelligence is the way that you do these operations - you have to collect the intelligence so that you can catch the people, or trace the people, or bomb the people – all the different aspects of fighting a "War on Terror".

And so, what's currently going on. I saw the Anti-Bases Campaign's leaflet called "Waihopai: New Zealand's main contribution to the War on Terror". I think that that is correct. And the sad thing is that none of us have the faintest idea of what the GCSB is doing – me included. But from what little I know, I think that's a perfectly safe assumption. If they were doing reasonable things, tracking really bad people who want to hurt other people - they might be – but we won't know anyway; but if they are tracking people, or helping to capture or kill people just because the Bush administration (who are the far Right of politics, even in the US) don't like them at the moment, we also won't know, because we've got no access to what they're doing at that base.

Shoot The Messenger (Or, At Least, Call Him A Thief)

Now to "The Hollow Men". As I said when I was thanking and encouraging questions from any National Party people here, there's been a very strong campaign to discourage interest in the book which I've just published. The campaign has used the familiar public relations damage control techniques. I'll run through them, because we all need to be literate about how politicians do what they do or they get away with it. And when you're in trouble -- when for instance you're the owner of the chemical factory, and it's just blown up and it's sent a big cloud of gas over the township and everyone's screaming about what you've done -- there are a variety of steps that you do. There are manuals on this; they are published by public relations companies around the world (*and Nicky would know, because he's written the book on the PR industry's dirty tricks also: "Secrets And Lies: The Anatomy Of An Anti-Environmental PR Campaign", by Nicky Hager and Bob Burton, 1999. Ed.*).

And the first thing you do is you try to blame someone other than yourself. And so in the chemical company case, there are cases all around the world which have been documented tricks like leaking to the media that they've been having trouble with the unions and they suspect that maybe someone sabotaged that pipe that broke. This is known as "painting yourself as the victim". So, please, no one be surprised that when I am given information which makes the National Party look bad -- and particularly bad to its own members, most of whom would have no idea about the stuff I've been told and what's in the book -- they very badly need to paint themselves as the victims. We have all

seen it, then and in the time since, which is: "These emails are stolen" "this is my personal stuff", "this is my private life", "how dare anyone do this to me?". The idea is to focus attention on supposed offences done to them rather than what they have done to the country. And let us all be aware of such tactics and not take them too seriously.

Another part of crisis management is to create diversions. An interesting example of this was the resignation of Dr Brash when the book came out. It was my belief that Brash would have to go when the book came out because he had told so many undeniable lies in public and in writing. But I didn't expect him to go that quickly. It appears that the sudden resignation was pushed by other senior National Party people who wanted to protect themselves by sacrificing Brash. The way they did it was forcing Don Brash to resign, and calling a new leadership vote a tiny number of days later. You may remember the order of it. They put an injunction on the book, and then removed the injunction on the same day that Don Brash resigned. This was of course is the best timing to divert attention off the contents of the book, and to move more media attention onto who was going to be elected a few days later. It was an example of careful media management and I think you could definitely say "Murray McCully" on that particular move.

The next thing they do, of course, is to attack me. The objective of that is once again to try to stop people reading the book. And the final thing that they do – and please remember this list, because people use these sorts of tricks all the time -- the fourth thing you do when you've been caught out and you look really bad is you duck down. You don't hear Murray McCully commenting on the book. You don't hear Gerry Brownlee. John Key says: "We've moved on, I didn't open the email from the Brethren, lets move on". Instead they arrange other people to do the attacking for them. This is a classic approach in the public relations world. And so the fourth thing that they did was that they got their old mates to do all the attacking against me. "He's a thief", "this is New Zealand's first Watergate" (Watergate being *me*, the thief breaking into the Watergate Hotel) and so on. And those people, I'm afraid to say, were Jane Clifton in the *Listener*, Michael Bassett, Richard Long, Matthew Hooton, who you may have seen in the newspaper or heard on the radio. The second, third and fourth of whom play major roles in the book, but didn't declare what they were doing. I'm pleased to say that despite this the book became the number one best seller before Christmas; people are reading it.

The main thing I want to try to achieve tonight is not to tell you everything that's in the book because it is 300 pages plus 50 pages of fascinating footnotes of all the things I couldn't cram into the text. Let me just give an overview of the main themes. My investigation began with seeing Dr Brash, ex-Governor of the Reserve Bank, using his first major speech as National Party Leader to put the boot into Maori. I thought: "Who's behind him and what's going on here?". And so I put it onto my list of subjects that, if I could somehow get the right sources, I would like to write about. At that stage, my main interest was things like the Orewa speech and what was going on behind it. And I'm pleased to be able to say that there is now a chapter of the book which goes through in detail what their strategies were and what they were thinking and who wrote the speech for Brash and how they tried to dodge questions afterwards about what their evidence was for what they were saying. The whole gory story is there and I feel a sense of achievement about that.

Inside Sources Gave Him "Hundreds And Hundreds" Of Internal Party Papers

But it went way beyond that, because, as I always find with this work, and I think we should all take this as a kind of maxim about life, you should never make assumptions about other people and what they believe in and who they are. Because it would be easy for someone like me who is personally, in my own private politics, on the Left, to think: "National Party people will never talk to me". In fact, I've seen a whole world of National Party politics that has fascinated me ever since, of people who are concerned as much or more about integrity and honesty and decency in politics as you will find in any other party. In fact I would suggest that you could go to any party, and you will find people who you wouldn't want to share your tent with and people who are really fine people. And we shouldn't be mistaken into colour coding humanity by political beliefs.

The book would never have happened, but unbeknown to most of the country, the apparently united and successful National Party was an unhappy place. The caucus had been silenced by success, is how it was put to me. Essentially if Brash had been going down in the polls, people could have expressed their misgivings about what they were seeing on the inside. But when they're going up, nobody really wants to rock the boat. And they don't want to look like they're spoiling it when "Maybe We Could Become Government Next Time When We Never Dreamt That We Could". And so there was this party which on the outside looked happy and going places, and on the inside contained unhappy people who didn't like the direction it was going and who didn't like some of the tactics they were seeing.

I gradually met some of these people, and over a period of two years, got to know them well. It is a very intimate relationship built up between people who have to trust each other for the rest of their lives. At first I was hoping that I

might get some interviews, that I might get some interesting internal documents. Eventually, I got given more internal party papers than possibly anyone has ever had about any political party in the world. I'm talking about hundreds and hundreds. In fact, my main problem when writing the book was how to deal with the bulk of it, how to make sense of it. I could have, after three years, been working on something else because the National Party investigation went nowhere, but it had gone incredibly well.

So that's what the book is; I had this huge source of internal documents which I had to make sense of, and figure out the story of. Sometimes I might have a document – this is like meeting minutes, and strategy reports, and even itineraries, and lists of people who were at meetings – and sometimes I'd just get one name and think: "who's that person and how do they fit into this?". And I'd search through the papers and I'd find that person's name and that particular part of the story was about to unfold. And so I had this fascinating journey through these papers, which I try to tell through the story which is this book, which is why I'm very keen that other people have the opportunity to read it.

Unholy Relationship With Exclusive Brethren

What kind of things did I find? I found some things that were pure accountability issues. For example, the National Party entered into its now well known unholy relationship with the Exclusive Brethren Church. The links were built up mainly by Don Brash and John Key with the rest of the campaign team fully aware. National had been tempted by the \$1.3 million dollars that the Brethren were talking about spending over a six month period. They wanted that extra boost to the campaign but they didn't want anyone to know what was going on. And they went to *major* efforts to hide it.

Then news of the relationship started to come out during the election campaign and all the main people, like John Key, and Don Brash, and Gerry Brownlee were telling huge lies day after day. And they weren't just telling huge lies; but you can see them being written by Richard Long each evening. What they did each night was to calculate: "The media seems to know this much. It looks like they don't know that yet, we might get away with this over here" and they tried to figure out which lie might fit with the facts enough to get them out of a difficult place. And the next day when more news had come out, they forgot those lies there and they figured out a new set of lies which could maybe get them out of it. It is likely that National lost the election because of this obvious evasiveness, but even then the public didn't even know half of what had gone on.

The main importance of the book from my point of view is that it is a case study of how politics really works. How National Party politics works, but not only the National Party for some of it. And the reason I think that this is important is that, although we are lucky enough to live in a safe, stable democracy, we find many people, and especially younger people, dislike politics more and more. They dislike politicians, and don't want to be involved -- leaving politics to the politicians, to the likes of Gerry Brownlee. This kind of discouragement and cynicism occurs for specific reasons. It's a product of the way that people conduct politics. That's the next huge value I see of people being exposed like this.

For example, the Orewa speech. At the time people were uncomfortable. It felt like maybe Don Brash was saying some things that had a grain of truth in them. Some people thought – well I don't really like the idea of these people getting all that extra privilege, and it took time before their common sense caught up with them and they'd just seen some Maori people fixing the road and they didn't look very privileged.

At that time, it was an open question: Was Don Brash a nice, though perhaps naïve, man who was prepared to talk about race issues because he believed it was an important issue for the country, or was he a very ambitious man who was happy to let his cynical advisors try to find out a way to "Out-Winston Peters" Winston Peters, and get a lift in the votes so that the new leadership looked successful? Well, if you want to know which it was, you can now read that chapter in the book because the documents are all laid out there.

What was Don Brash talking about when he got caught out trying to get closer to the United States and getting rid of the nuclear free policy "by lunchtime" -- what was actually going on? I have to say I didn't get to the bottom of this story, because a lot of it happened face to face in meetings. But a lot of the story is now clear -- it's in one of the earlier chapters -- of who they were meeting, and who their links into Washington were, and what was actually going on.

Cynical Media Control Of "Punter Land"

But the main cynicism you see in the book is the constant media control. Whatever issue came up, there often weren't politicians thinking up an answer but a bank of spin doctors. This is the American disease of politics where

the politics is not being run by politicians, whether crafty or sincere, but primarily by an unaccountable group of advisors whose job is to manipulate events or the appearance of events in the media to the benefit of their party. What you see in the book is that whatever issue comes up – Exclusive Brethren, or tax, or something going wrong or a politician in trouble – there will be a bank of people who strategised the right “lines” (which, where necessary, meant lies), spins and twists to use to deal with the problem. The most crafty of them was Richard Long, who you can now see being a supposedly independent commentator in the newspapers.

As a little aside – and you may have seen I wrote this in the *Dominion Post* just after Christmas – I think New Zealand has got to do a big think about who we tolerate as commentators. Commentators, if you look at the *New York Times*, or British newspapers, or even Australian newspapers, does not mean spin doctors for a particular party or interest group. Real commentators should be independent and, whether on the Left or Right, the public should be confident that they are hearing that person's considered views. However, in New Zealand, many people who write commentaries in our newspapers and speak in other media have undeclared alliances with the parties or issues they are writing about. Like Michael Bassett who was helping to write Brash's Orewa speeches and lost his job at the *Dominion Post* when I exposed that (*but retains his weekly column in the Christchurch Press. Ed.*). Likewise Richard Long, who still appears regularly as a columnist, and the same Matthew Hooton who you'll see woven through the book as one of the most cynical advisors.

Hooton had this great idea for Brash after Orewa, that they could organise a conference at Parliament, a special, huge hui at Parliament, where they would invite all the iwi of the country and have the powhiri-to-beat-all-powhiris, he said, and lots of hongis, and go inside and “listen” to their views – he put inverted commas on it – and take great notice of them and then as he said: “From then on you wouldn't change anything you do, but you can say you've listened to them and they've been consulted”. All terribly cynical and you can read it in their own words.

And then you get into the election campaign where they were planning to win over the votes of what they called “the punters” or what Brash called “the punters out in punter land”. And here you get a sense of the cynicism of this little leadership group, planning a campaign which the rest of the National Party had nothing to do with. Even the rest of the National MPs had little idea what was going on. They brought in their Australian experts, a company called Crosby Textor. You can see the way that these strategy advisors – I've got the reports – planned the language that could be used by Don Brash and the other MPs, to win over these supposedly “dumb” middle voters. They weren't targeting the people who might be sympathetic to National normally, or who might be sympathetic to Labour, they were targeting the people who they believed weren't interested in politics. And they were figuring out what they called “mantra” of words that might get through to the prejudices of those people or might get past the more conscious beliefs of those people and turn them around to voting for National.

They conducted focus groups, and said things like: “So what do you think of the current Labour government?”. “Oh they're quite good, I'm quite happy at the moment”. “Well, say you were just saying any things where you're not happy with Helen Clark and the Labour government, just even the vaguest...if you were trying to say anything where you were not quite happy with Helen Clark, what would you say about this?”. And they'd harvest these vague, tentative ideas. They actually said in their reports that these ideas do not exist yet in the public, and they're totally tentative, but with watering and nurturing, we can build these ideas into stuff which will be used against the Government. So you see the tactics they use and then remember the “Iwi Kiwi” ads and the “Taxathon” ads. The book documents the internal discussions and the strategy meetings where they planned why they would use particular words and how they were doing it. At each step of the election, the focus was on these “dumb people” who they were manipulating into voting National.

The Legalised Corruption Of Huge, Secret Political Donations

The other reason I think a book like this is very important and it should be read is to do with the kind of legalised corruption that arises from election funding in New Zealand. We're a lucky country where I think it is a very rare thing or almost non-existent for crooks to turn up with suitcases of money and buy police officers and public officials. We're lucky we don't have that kind of corruption. And yet we're too complacent about business people turning up and offering tens of thousands or even a million dollars to a political party because they want that party to become government and implement its preferred policies. In other words, we may be able to suppress corruption at the few thousand dollar level affecting individual public officials, but we have not done enough to stop the kind of corruption which can influence who's in governments and what policies they have. We've got things all the wrong way up.

What you'll find when you read the book is that there were all sorts of unseen relationships between different lobby groups and the National Party. There are many of them: the private health lobby, the private education lobby, the tobacco industry; they were all busy in there, and the door was wide open to them. Wide open to them because the National Party assumed that no one would ever find out what was going on. Because you can hide these things so

easily.

But there were weird things going on, like the Talley family. And you may have heard this in the media but I'd like to repeat it again because it's such a weird story. That is that Peter Talley and his brother invited Don Brash and his advisors to visit them at their headquarters in Motueka. And they said to them: "We think you're going to lose the election the way you're going, there is some dumb staff around you, you haven't got the right kind of advisors, but we could help you win". And what they came up with – and they luckily put it in writing, so you don't have to believe me on this, you can read it in the book – they came up with this plan that Don Brash would agree to hand across the organising of the campaign to a handpicked paid set of advisors that they bought in from other countries or other places, and basically have this separate campaign team who ran the campaign for Don Brash to win the election. And if Don Brash would say yes to that – which he went along with for a while – they would spend a million dollars in paying for it all, and basically have a million dollar campaign team that would run the election for Don Brash. Now in my view, that is corruption. You should not have fishing industry magnates offering a political party a million dollars, to help get someone into power in an election. We have no way of knowing what, if anything, the Talleys were hoping for in return. That's really, really dodgy – and it's totally legal, I might add – but it is legalised corruption. In fact this wouldn't have been entirely legal, because in the amazing document which explains the plan, the lawyer who was working with them, a man called Nick Davidson (not Nick Davidson, QC, in Christchurch but a Nick Davidson in Tasman) had drawn up a proposal where they would bypass the National Party accounts and not have to declare the money at all in the election. So if it had gone ahead, it would quite possibly have been illegal. The reason it didn't go ahead was not because it was illegal, or really dodgy, or terribly compromising for the Government which was elected because they'd been indebted to Peter Talley and his campaign team. It was stopped, as far as I can see, because the people in the existing campaign team were annoyed that someone else was trying to take over their job and they wouldn't have gone along with it. But isn't it incredible that the leader of a party and his staff would contemplate accepting a million dollars like that? And more to the point, that a high up business man would think he could use that million dollars in that way.

My hope is that, in part as a result of these revelations, we will have a change in the electoral laws in New Zealand by the end of this year and it will no longer be possible to do this kind of thing. We'll see, it will depend on how bold Labour is. They sometimes start off gung-ho and then end up backing down on their plans. But in the meantime it's sounding hopeful that we might be able to clean this out of the system in New Zealand once and for all. Just a quick word on that – the way to clean-up election finances is not just openness. You can have a system like the American system where every single donation has to be declared. You can go to the United States and you can find out who from Nowhere, Wyoming gave \$20 to their Congressman. But that doesn't stop it being a country which is dominated by millionaires and billionaires and money in the elections. Finding out about it doesn't seem to stop it.

My argument in the book is that, as well as transparency, the only way to take the Peter Talley millions out of the election and to take away the influence of the Peter Shirtcliffes, Rod Deanes and others who were the main backers of the National Party -- and who are listed in the book, for the first time ever -- is to spend a little bit more public money instead. What's needed in New Zealand is what's happened in some other countries, which is you put a cap on the amount of money which people can donate -- you can say for instance that an ordinary person in New Zealand can afford a thousand dollars, and no one will give more than that -- and then as a compensation for that, you say we're prepared to spend an extra \$5 million or whatever it takes to eliminate all the big donors from making donations to the parties. It's common sense for a country; unless you hear it through the talkback voices: "Oh I don't want to give more money to those horrible political parties". But the reason why we'd give that money to the horrible political parties is because it stops it being Roderick Deane, and Peter Talley giving that money instead, for the unseen and unquantifiable influence that it buys.

Far Right Clique In The Frame

The final interesting thing I'd like to mention is a little discussed far Right clique which has a strong influence over the way politics works in this country. They've grouped themselves around something called the Centre for Independent Studies. It's a far Right think tank which has its main headquarters in Sydney. It's inspired by US think tanks. Many of the advisors, and Don Brash himself, are members of that think tank, but so is Ruth Richardson, and the millionaire donors who I named in that book, as are the people who set up and still run the Act Party. It's a grouping of only a few dozen people but they have a large influence over politics in this country.

They are the ones who helped Don Brash into leadership in the National Party. It was, in many ways, their coup. Ruth Richardson had the idea of encouraging Don Brash to go into politics and believed that he might be able to become leader of the National Party -- once there, getting on with the "unfinished business" of the 1980s and 1990s new right reformers. Other members of that Act grouping gathered around him, including Michael Bassett, and helped him win the leadership in October 2003. That grouping can be seen in the background right through the

three year period from when Don Brash became leader until the book came out and Don Brash resigned. They're not only the people who set up the Act Party; they're the same people who set up campaigns for the privatisation of ACC and the anti-MMP campaign, and all kinds of things. We're talking about approximately 25 people and millions and millions of dollars. I am pleased that their activities were documented properly for the first time as a side story in "The Hollow Men". The public should be vigilant about where their influence will appear next.

And so for all those reasons, and because I don't believe I will ever get this kind of information again, I encourage you to look in the bookshop or in the library and find a copy of the book. And if you do like it, and find it valuable, please encourage others to read it who at the moment might be thinking its just "Don Brash e-mails" and not realise what a unique picture it gives of modern politics. There may never be an insight into New Zealand politics quite like this again.



ANOTHER BLOODY TERROR SUBMISSION by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

As the Anti-Bases Campaign's terrorism legislation submission person, I was tasked with reading the latest Government Bill. At 76 pages, it promised to be no easy task. We've had to do this several times in the recent past as bill after bill has been added to the growing pile of complicated legislation designed to fight terror(ism) in little New Zealand. The latest one is called the Terrorism Suppression Amendment Bill (2007), not to be confused with the Terrorism Suppression Amendment Bill (No 2) in 2004, or the 2005 Review of the Terrorism Suppression Act (2002) which was mandated three years after the passage of the principal Act (ABC's submissions on these previous Acts can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/submissions.html> . Ed.)

Our submission on the 2007 Bill was formally accepted in late May. Since it is now before the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee we are not allowed to publish it here. But we can give you the gist of our concerns about the Bill, with due credit to Green MP Keith Locke who provided valuable insights into its worst features and saved me a great deal of mind-numbing reading.

All These Anti-Terrorist Laws And Not One Terrorist Yet Unearthed

As usual we expressed our appreciation to the Committee for the opportunity to make a submission (activists had to fight for that opportunity on at least one previous terrorism bill which was about to be rushed to a vote under urgency). We have of course expressed our serious concerns about all this anti-terrorism legislation in past submissions, and for emphasis and to simplify matters we chose to quote from our submission on the Review of The Terrorism Suppression Act (2002) by way of introduction:

"In our submission on the [original] bill (November 2001) we expressed serious concerns about how the Act would operate, how it would impact on the civil liberties of New Zealanders, how it might subvert due process and the rule of law in the pursuit and apprehension of suspected terrorists, and how it would increase the licence of our so-called intelligence agencies to spy on New Zealanders. In the three years the Act has been in effect, not one report on the functioning of the Act has come to our attention.

"To our knowledge not one suspected terrorist has been apprehended in New Zealand under the provisions of the Terrorism Suppression Act. We believe this supports our position that its onerous provisions were effectively dictated by foreign powers and that passage was done in haste, without careful consideration as to what kind of anti-terrorist legislation, if any, might be more effective than existing provisions of our Crimes Act".

Regarding United Nations requirements we commented that: "We can find no requirement in United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSC) 1373, regarding actions to be taken by member nations to combat international terrorism, that basic human rights should be suspended, that the rule of law should be suspended, that intrusions into personal privacy should be increased, or that nations should forego other important provisions in law designed for the protection of their citizens".

Since all of this anti-terrorism law arises from our so-called obligations to fight terrorism as a paid-up member of the United Nations we also referred to our earlier submission on the Terrorism Suppression Amendment Bill (No 2) 2004 with regard to complying with international standards for counter terrorist financing. We stated that we had seen no evidence in the Explanatory Note or in the text of the current Bill that bears in any way on our concerns (as summarised above) about New Zealand compliance with UNSC Resolution 1373 and/or standards set out by the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering. In other words, Parliament has failed to make any clear statements to date that justify its obeisance to UN obligations. Those "obligations" appear to us be imaginary, but Parliament still dutifully passes nasty laws foisted upon us by Big Brother.

Here is an overview of specific issues we raised with regard to the 2007 Bill. We objected to the removal of judicial review of terrorist designations and the vesting of this power in the Prime Minister. Effective judicial review and avenues of appeal under the existing Law would be effectively ended, leaving persons or groups designated as terrorists at the sole mercy of a politician. If this provision passes we will have lost the protection of judicial review, protection that was hard won by many who made submissions on the principal legislation several years. As so often happens in amendments, a few words buried in masses of legal blather erase concessions to past submitters.

Reducing NZ's Parliament To A Rubber Stamp

If this Bill passes into law New Zealand will simply adopt without question any United Nations list of terrorists. We

argued that our Parliament and judiciary should retain the power to make their own judgments as to the quality of the evidence against anyone on such a list. This is another example of the erosion of protections afforded by earlier legislation, but wiped by an amendment. We emphasised that being on such a list makes a person a suspected terrorist with little chance of removal regardless of the quality of objective evidence in his or her favour. A politically motivated designation of a “terrorist” by some foreign government should not be blindly added to New Zealand’s list. The involvement of the UN is effectively a rubber stamp.

We objected to this retrograde step: “Clause 7 repeals section 8(2)...This provision is being removed as it leaves scope for a donor [to an organisation] to argue that funds provided to a designated terrorist entity were provided for legitimate reasons associated with democracy or human rights”. This would make it much easier for a government to label as a terrorist an honest, law-abiding citizen who has made a donation to a liberation movement. We also objected to Clause 9 which repeals section 10(2) for reasons similar to those stated in the previous paragraph. New Zealanders who wish to support groups advocating democratic government or for the protection of human rights in other countries should have the right to do so without fear of terrorist designation.

It is almost laughable, but there is even a section in Clause 13 that adds the term “recklessness” in the context of supporting (financially or otherwise) a group labelled as terrorist. We suggested that “recklessness” is a term open to gross abuse by the entity or politician responsible for terrorist designation. For a person to avoid any chance of being charged with recklessness in supporting a liberation movement or similar group, he or she would have to have a comprehensive level of knowledge of that group’s every activity and motivation – a completely unreasonable expectation.

We found this gem in Clause 13 and we asked the Committee to read it carefully. This clause would amend section 13C(1) of the 2002 Act. Paragraph (g) says: “without lawful authority, commits an act, or threatens to commit an act against a nuclear facility...” What does “without lawful authority” mean in this context? A literal interpretation of the phrase would lead you to conclude that there is some government entity in New Zealand (or in some other country) with the power to grant “lawful authority” to act against a nuclear facility (perhaps against Australia’s lone reactor at Lucas Heights). We further noted that “without lawful authority” also appears in the Counter-Terrorism Act in the context of actually using a nuclear weapon in war. Although we are well aware that some nuclear-armed nations consider it to be perfectly lawful to use nuclear weapons in a first-strike or to pre-emptively attack the nuclear facilities of other countries (consider Iran or North Korea), it is absurd that New Zealand would mindlessly incorporate such wording into its own statutes.

We asked the Select Committee to recommend to the House that amendments to the Terrorism Suppression Act (2002) proposed in the current Bill not be passed into law and that the principal Act be repealed in its entirety. As the late writer Kurt Vonnegut used to say: “and so it goes...”.

THE SECRET POLICEMAN'S BALL SIS Turns 50, All The Big Brothers Came To The Party

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

2006 marked the 50th anniversary of the woebegotten New Zealand Security Intelligence Service (SIS), which is now headed by Warren Tucker (previously the head of the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau [GCSB], which operates the Waihopai and Tangimoana spybases). For many years now *Peace Researcher* has regularly detailed the misdoings of the SIS, most recently in *PR 33*, November 2006, "SIS – New Boss But Same Old Story", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-134.html>

50 is a milestone in anyone's life (one receding into the past in my case), so the SIS and Government decided to throw a party to mark the occasion. Naturally, it had to be a secret party, held at Government House in Wellington in November 2006 and hosted by the Minister in Charge of the SIS (Helen Clark) and the Governor General, with senior Government officials in attendance. It was only made public after it was over and the special guests had all left. And what special guests they were – star billing went to General Michael Hayden, Director of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Hayden, the former head of the US National Security Agency (NSA, which is the GCSB's biggest Big Brother and the recipient of Waihopai's electronic intelligence) flew in his own US Air Force C-17 Globemaster jet, which sat on the tarmac at Wellington Airport for several days before the *Dominion Post* worked out what was going on. General Hayden met with Ministers and senior officials during his Wellington stay. He has a very controversial recent past as the leading figure in the NSA's post-9/11 programme of massive domestic spying on Americans (see *PR 33*, November 2006, "US Spooks Exposed Massively Spying On Their Own People", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-135a.html>). Other "distinguished" guests included the bosses of the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO, domestic spies); Australian Security Intelligence Service (ASIS, international spies); the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS); and Britain's MI6 and MI5 (international and domestic spies, respectively).

What a wonderful bunch of villains, all gathered in little old Wellington to sing "Happy Birthday" to their most junior partner. After the bunfight was over some of the speeches were posted on the SIS Website, including that by the Director, Warren Tucker, who told the partygoers that the SIS is now "fully representative of New Zealand's modern society" (*New Zealand Herald*, 19/12/06; "Spies allow a teensy peek into an oh-so-secret affair: SIS reckons it has got the staffing mix right – but life can be tough for families", Paula Oliver). Paul O'Sullivan, ASIO Director General, spoke of the threat of "home-grown" terrorism (*Press*, 20/12/06; "Terrorist warning from top Aust spy", Dan Eaton).

This was a celebrity party where the celebrities didn't want their photos taken, nor do we know what presents they all gave the birthday boy. We can only hope that they all heartily sang the old birthday song: "Why was he born so beautiful, why was he born at all? He's no bloody good at anything, he's no bloody good at all". That sums up the feelings about the SIS by an awful lot of New Zealanders, ABC included.

Muslims Are The New Communists

Richard Woods was SIS Director from 1999-2006 inclusive (for details, see *PR 33*, November 2006, "SIS – New Boss But Same Old Story", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-134.html>). On his last day in office, he told the media that New Zealand has been used as a base by people wanting to learn about or make weapons of mass destruction. Naturally he didn't provide any evidence to back up this startling claim. Maybe these were the same weapons of mass destruction that proved impossible to find when the US invaded Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Who knew that they were hiding in NZ all the time?

In his final *Annual Report* (not tabled in Parliament until February 2007, by which time Warren Tucker had been SIS Director for several months) Woods highlighted "the use of the Internet by Islamic extremists poses a real challenge to all Western Intelligence agencies. The Service is no exception" (*Press*, 22/2/07, "Islamic extremists' use of Net a threat – SIS"). This was challenged by Green MP Keith Locke who accused Woods of scaremongering to justify the huge leap in the SIS budget from \$23.2 million in 2005 to \$43.4m in 06. "Mr Woods raises the bogey of Islamic terrorists using the Internet to radicalise people – but there is no indication whether the SIS feels this is an imminent, highly unlikely or merely theoretical threat to New Zealand. Perhaps, as with the *Rainbow Warrior* terrorist sinking, the SIS expects only to find out afterwards. The SIS *Report* leaves us none the wiser about whether the SIS is justifying its budget, or merely treading on the toes of the Police force – the agency most engaged with real international criminals" (press release, 22/2/07, "World unsafe: SIS blames foreigners, Islamists").

Woods' final *Report* did name some names of this faceless "enemy". Keith Locke subjected that to critical scrutiny too. "The other specific achievement mentioned in the *Report* is the expulsion of Rayed Ali, a Yemeni man of 'security concern'. Oddly, for an agency engaged with the 'War on Terror' the SIS just grabbed Rayed Ali and bundled him out of the country, without any serious effort to interrogate him – perhaps because they knew all along he was an innocent party" (ibid).

Of course the "Islamic terrorist" who was the prize catch of Woods' term of office is poor Ahmed Zaoui, the fugitive Algerian MP who is now into his fifth year of being slowly ground through the bureaucratic mill of prison and courts, with no end in sight while he is out on bail but stuck in a legal limbo, subject to restrictions, unable to work or receive any income and separated from his family who are in hiding in South East Asia. *PR* has reported Zaoui's case in great detail for years now, most recently in 33, November 2006, "SIS – New Boss But Same Old Story", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-134.html>). Zaoui is the first person to be the subject of a Security Risk Certificate issued by the SIS. This was set down for an August 2006 review hearing by Paul Neazor, the Inspector-General of Security and Intelligence. However, weeks beforehand, Neazor postponed the hearing indefinitely, saying that he needed more time to prepare. "However, sources close to the case said one of the reasons for the delay was a story in the *Press* on May 3 (2006) which quoted Zaoui's lawyers saying they hoped to cross-examine SIS chief, Richard Woods, who has since retired" (*Press*, 2/1/07, "Zaoui claims unfair treatment", Dan Eaton). So the SIS was not keen for its boss to be questioned.

In June 2007 Neazor announced that the review process would start in July and August, held in private, although it will be dealing with unclassified information only. This first stage involves evidence from Zaoui and witnesses for him, both from NZ and overseas. Zaoui's special advocates (lawyers given security clearance) have already been to Wellington and inspected the classified information to be used against him, which will be presented at a later stage. This is only part of the unprecedented review process which still has a long, uncharted, way to go.

While Zaoui interminably waits for the SIS "oversight" system to resolve his case (and the Government cruelly refuses to allow his family to join him in NZ), he has won a legal battle with the Police. In February 2007 the Police Complaints Authority upheld his complaint against the Police for their actions immediately after he was first arrested, upon arrival at Auckland Airport in December 2002. An undercover cop who spoke only English (which Zaoui then couldn't speak) was planted on him in custody at the Papakura Police Station and repeatedly asked him bizarre questions such as "Where is Osama bin Laden?". Zaoui replied, quite correctly, "in Afghanistan" (*Sunday Star Times*, 18/2/07; "Psst, Mr Zaoui – where's Osama hiding?". That was the start of Zaoui's two years in prison without charge, nearly one year of which was spent in solitary confinement in maximum security). The Zaoui case is a permanent indictment of both Richard Woods and the entire SIS. Coincidentally or not, the 2007 SIS budget has been cut by nearly \$9 million to \$33.6m. Perhaps there aren't quite so many Islamic terrorists under the bed as first thought.

The Privatisation Of Spying

In May 2007 the *Sunday Star Times* (27/5/07, "I was paid to betray protesters'. Finding the enemy within", Nicky Hager and Deidre Mussen) broke the story of how Solid Energy, a State Owned Enterprise (SOE), had employed a firm of private investigators which in turn had recruited and paid a spy to infiltrate the Save Happy Valley Campaign, which is very successfully stopping Solid Energy from being able to mine coal in an area of the West Coast where there are endangered native snails (it's a long story and the best way to find out about it is to go to <http://www.savehappyvalley.org.nz>). The spy's name is Ryan Paterson-Rouse and, unusually, he fessed up when confronted with irrefutable evidence of his treachery (the private eye company was hoist with its own petard when a computer glitch bounced back all incoming e-mails to their unknowing senders, who thus discovered that their private e-mails were being read and by whom). The article also named an identical spy in Peace Action Wellington, who had started off within the animal rights movement (unlike Ryan, she denies being a spy, despite being confronted with the same evidence. However, she has since vanished, believed to have gone overseas). Ryan's motivation? The measly \$100 a week Solid Energy paid him, which came in handy for a student.

Anti-Bases Campaign joined the chorus of groups condemning this corporate spying on behalf of an SOE. Saving Happy Valley is not our issue but this is of more than academic interest to us. Two of our committee members are also involved in the Save Happy Valley Campaign, one a very high profile leading figure (namely Frances Mountier, the spokesperson for the Campaign). As Thompson and Clark, the private eyes, were reading all internal Save Happy Valley Campaign e-mails that means that they were also reading internal ABC e-mails. We demand their assurance that our private correspondence, gathered incidentally to their spying, be deleted immediately and no records kept or passed onto to anyone else.

Spies, of the official GCSB and SIS variety, are our bread and butter, of course. We also know a thing or two about

spies of the infiltrator variety, having encountered a few of them in the two decades that we've been campaigning to close the Waihopai spybase. Having been a political activist for several decades, I've encountered these people in a number of groups with which I've been involved. On the very first activity of the Campaign Against Foreign Control (CAFCA), namely the 1975 South Island Resistance Ride, an undercover police officer was outed. In CAFCA's early years we had a committee member who had no "back story" (to use today's jargon) and who was very interested in looking after our membership records. He duly vanished, only to resurface in another part of the country as a policeman (finishing up as a senior detective). Other people with no back stories have appeared on the scene when major protests have been planned, then just as suddenly disappeared, never to be seen or heard of again. My all time favourite example is the fellow who turned up, a total stranger, at a 1990s' ABC meeting which was planning a protest at the Waihopai spybase, complete with video camera. When asked to stop filming he protested that he was doing a project to film how people run meetings! Yeah right! That particular cowboy rode off into the sunset too.

The Save Happy Valley Campaign spy saga has two different features to the ones I've mentioned. In this current case, the spy has confessed, unlike the other infiltrators (we knew what they were, because they fitted the profile to a T). And this is not (directly) official, State, spying but one done by a corporation, on behalf of an SOE (therefore paid by us, the taxpayer, and supposedly accountable to us). This privatisation and contracting out of spying represents a deplorable new trend and one which needs to be stamped out by the Government which is responsible for SOEs. What happened to the self-confessed Christchurch spy? In some other countries, where political movements face a life and death struggle, spies get very short shrift of the terminal variety. But this is good old laid back NZ, so the worst thing that happened to him was that he had to front up to an emotional meeting of the Save Happy Valley Campaign (people whom he publicly called his friends) and apologise. It would make a great movie, I've already got the title: "Saving Private Eye Ryan".



UPDATES: Add Tonga To The Growing List Of NZ's Pacific Interventions by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

Peace Researcher 33 ran a detailed account of New Zealand's rapidly developing role as the deputy to George Bush's Australian deputy sheriff in the Asia/Pacific region (November 2006, "The Deputy Sheriff's Deputy: New Zealand's Military Foreign Policy in Asia & Pacific", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-138.html>). This described the intervention by the Australian and NZ military and police in both Timor Leste and the Solomon Islands in 2006, in both cases responding to a "crisis" and in both cases taking a partisan stance in each countries' internal politics. In the case of Timor Leste (formerly East Timor) the Australasian military intervention played a crucial role in removing Mari Alkatiri from the office of Prime Minister, because he was deemed inimical to the interests of the Western powers. He was replaced by Jose Maria Horta, a veteran Timorese political figure who is now very much part of "our team" in Timor Leste (thus continuing a three decades long inglorious history of New Zealand behaving shabbily towards the East Timorese people. Elsewhere in this issue you can read Jeremy Agar's review of Maire Leadbeater's "Negligent Neighbour", the definitive book on the subject).

This intervention has continued, unbroken, into 2007 and provided crucial backing for Horta's election as the fledgling nation's second President this year. Upon winning, he promptly declared that he wanted the Australian and New Zealand troops to stay on indefinitely. The Howard and Clark governments are happy to oblige. And the Australasian deployment in the deeply troubled Solomon Islands has been extended through until 2008, despite the increasingly antagonistic relationship between its Government and that of Australia, which seeks to administer the Solomons as a colony in all but name. Most recently Australia has extended its military sphere of influence further north into Asia, signing a May 2007 Status of Forces Agreement with the Philippines. This will allow Australian troops to be stationed in that country from 2008 and will see Australian military assistance to the Armed Forces of the Philippines which have been fighting two major civil wars since the 1970s - against Muslim separatist guerrillas in the South and against Communist guerrillas throughout most of the archipelago. This is only the second such Agreement that the Philippines has signed, the first one being with the US, its former colonial master (the Philippine government is proud to be called America's "most reliable ally" in South East Asia and George Bush has declared the country the "Second Front in the 'War On Terror'").

New Zealand has not been standing idly by. In November 2006 it added Tonga to the list of Pacific neighbours in which it has militarily intervened. This arose from the crisis following the massive rioting and burning which destroyed a significant proportion of Tonga's capital, Nuku'alofa, killing several people in the process. Tonga is the one of the world's last feudal monarchies, certainly the last in the Pacific, and the excesses of the Royal Family have been chronicled by the outside world in recent years with a mixture of incredulity and outright horror. King George Tupou V succeeded his late father in 2006, bringing to the throne the man known as the Clown Prince, the worst possible person to be in charge of Tonga as it has been shaken by a years-long peaceful mass protest movement calling for democracy. The November 2006 riot erupted after the King's handpicked Parliament adjourned for the year without addressing the democracy movement's concerns.

But the violence was something completely new and totally out of character with the history of the pro-democracy movement. Only one mainstream NZ journalist, Michael Field, explained just who these rioters were (Press, 27/1/07; "Urban gangs wreak havoc in islands"). They were not from the pro-democracy movement, but hardened members of criminal youth gangs from both the US and NZ who had been either deported to their country of origin or sent back there by their families in a misguided attempt to get them away from bad influences. Many of them were not even Tongan-born but of Tongan descent, born in the US or NZ. Once back "home" they resumed their intimidatory habit of forming into gangs and terrorising their host community. These were the lumpen proletariat elements who rioted, looted and burnt Nuku'alofa, doing it not for any political motive but for the sheer malicious thrill of it all.

The new King and the nobles who dominate the Government wasted no time in taking advantage of this golden opportunity to smear and attack the pro-democracy movement, falsely blaming it for the riot and arresting its leading figures on sedition charges (hundreds of rank and file rioters also face a raft of criminal charges). The feudal regime's hand was greatly strengthened by Australia and NZ rushing to its assistance, sending both troops and police to "restore order" and to track down and bring to trial those involved in the riot. NZ judges were also involved in helping to manage the resulting huge upsurge in caseload for the courts. This goes far beyond "restoring order" and is a major commitment by New Zealand to prop up Tonga's repressive feudal regime, despite having regularly condemned it in recent years. This did not go unnoticed by the feisty pro-democracy movement, which condemned the partisan involvement of Australian and New Zealand troops and police. Clive Edwards, a Tongan politician, said:

“Tonga’s government, legitimate and legal though it may be, has failed the country and its people badly and now must turn to foreign governments for support in running the country in ways that have never been necessary before and should not be necessary now” (Press, 22/11/06, “Stop backing regime, troops told”, Dan Eaton).

A pattern has emerged. Initially these regional Australasian military interventions are justified by some life or death crisis (such as Indonesian troops and militias running amok in their East Timor colony in 1999; or Solomon Islander mobs burning down Chinatown in the capital, Honiara, in 2006). But the troops and police stay on long after the crisis has been solved and become major partisan participants in local politics, invariably to ensure that Western interests (such as control of hotly disputed offshore oil and gas deposits in the case of Timor Leste) are given primacy. This has got nothing to do with “aid”, let alone “development”. It is a shabby tale of mini-imperialism by Bush’s two regional Mini Mes, namely Howard and Clark. It replicates the pattern established by Howard in Iraq and Afghanistan, and by Clark in the latter (NZ’s “feelgood” military participation in the illegal occupation of Iraq turned out to be shortlived and ended ignominiously before things got really bad for “our boys”). In Timor Leste, the Solomons and Tonga, Clark needs to do what she had to do it Iraq – get NZ’s troops out. They have no business being there and their continued presence makes New Zealanders complicit in a very shabby regional state of affairs.



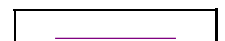
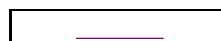
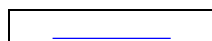
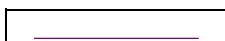
UPDATES: US Building New Secret Spybase In Western Australia - Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

For many years now Peace Researcher has written about the numerous US bases in Australia, principally about the top secret nuclear war fighting spybase at Pine Gap, near Alice Springs (see below for details of the most recent protest actions there). In February 2007 the craven Howard government (George Bush has pronounced John Howard to be his “deputy sheriff”) announced that, following three years of secret negotiations, the US will be building a new spy satellite ground control base at Geraldton, north of Perth, in Western Australia (Geraldton is also the site of the Australian Defence Signals Directorate’s satellite interception spybase which is the sister base to Waihopai in NZ. But that network of bases spy on satellites, civilian communications one; this new base will be controlling spying by military satellites. So there is a crucial difference between the two Geraldton spybases).

The official announcement said that the new Geraldton base will be the ground station for the Mobile User Objective System and will provide a crucial link for a new network of military satellites that will help America’s ability to fight wars in the Middle East and Asia. It will control two of five geostationary satellites parked over the Indian Ocean (geostationary means that the satellite sits above the Equator and therefore maintains a fixed position in space, not following the Earth’s rotation). It will provide front line military units instantly with high quality encrypted intelligence information, graphics and maps, and is aimed at significantly improving communications for fast moving ground troops. It is being sited as far west as possible on the Australian land mass, so that it can spy on the Persian Gulf and South Asia. It is the first new US base to be built in Australia since Pine Gap in the 1960s.

Philip Dorling, a Visiting Fellow at the Australian Defence Force Academy, said that once the base is operational it will be impossible for Australia to be neutral or stand back from any American war. Dorling also said that the base (the first of possibly several throughout Australia) will have direct military significance and will be a military target in its own right. “You knock out the ground station and you knock out the system” (The Age, 14/2/07; “US gets military base in Western Australia”). So Howard’s government sinks even further into the morass that is the Bush Administration. There is one comforting reality check to take out of this – the US already has by far the most technologically advanced military in the world. And that has done it a fat lot of good in its endless losing war in Iraq, where it is fighting a low tech insurgency. It already has the services of the world’s most extensive system dedicated to gathering intelligence for war fighting. I don’t see a few more spy satellites, even ones providing “high quality intelligence information, graphics and maps” making much difference to the situation faced on the ground by US troops in war zones such as Iraq. The fact is the world’s biggest military machine is losing that war.



UPDATES - Pine Gap Protesters Fined, But Not Jailed, In Groundbreaking Court Case

- Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

PR 33 reported in detail the December 2005 protest action at Pine Gap by the Australian group Christians Against All Terrorism (November 2006, "Aussie Activists Occupy Top Secret Pine Gap Spy Base: First To Ever Face Draconian Charges", by Murray Horton, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-137b.html>). Donna Mulhearn, Jim Dowling, Adele Goldie and Bryan Law made a non-violent Citizens' Inspection right into the base, getting very near to the buildings in the inner sanctum (they reached the technical support area, the first protesters to ever do so, even climbing onto the roof of one building, before being arrested). The Federal Government decided to throw the book at them, making the Pine Gap Four the first people to ever be charged under the 1952 Defence (Special Undertakings) Act, a process which required the approval of the Attorney-General. They each faced up to seven years in prison and/or a fine of \$A46,200.

The groundbreaking case came to trial in Alice Springs in May and June 2007. The Crown tried to have all four held in a kind of house arrest during the trial to prevent them undertaking any further protests at Pine Gap while they were in town. The judge dismissed that application, remanding them on bail (there were protests at Pine Gap during the trial, including some token outer fence climbing. No further charges were laid against anyone). All four represented themselves and the judge allowed them to introduce evidence about the function and purpose of the spybase (over the objections of the Crown. By contrast, the last time there was a Waihopai spybase protest trial – Blenheim, 1997 – the judge refused to allow any such evidence about Waihopai's function, dismissing it all as "hearsay", and confined the hearing entirely to the charge of trespass faced by the 20 defendants).

Not surprisingly the jury didn't take long to convict all four (they certainly didn't deny doing it, and had gone out of their way to be arrested inside the base). They fully expected to go to prison and the Crown asked for them to be jailed, submitting that their action was one of "striking at the heart of the national security and the national interest" (Daily Telegraph, 15/6/07; "Pine Gap protesters avoid jail", Jonathan Dart). But Justice Sally Thomas was not prepared to play ball with the Government, saying that the maximum penalties were severe, considering that hundreds of people had been tried in lower courts for Pine Gap protests over the decades and none of them had been jailed.

She fined the Pine Gap Four a total of \$A3,250 and ordered them to pay a total of \$A10,075.89 for damaging the fences (namely by cutting them, to get in). The judge pointed out that this was the first time anyone had been sentenced in Australia under this Cold War relic of a law and that it would set a precedent for future cases arising from Pine Gap protests. ABC salutes the courage of our Australian colleagues and we're sure that Pine Gap will continue to be a focus of protest.

OKINAWA AND GUAM - US Military Pawns Since WWII by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

The small Pacific islands of Okinawa and Guam are separated by about 2000 km. But they are inextricably linked by being pawns in the staging of US military forces since World War II. Okinawa is the southern-most island of Japan having been forcibly taken over back in 1879. Guam, an island of the Marianas to the southeast of Okinawa, has been US territory since the big war. Both islands were scenes of some of the bloodiest fighting in the Pacific. And both islands have indigenous peoples who have been the innocent victims of war and occupation for decades. Their suffering continues under constant military oppression by US naval, air force and marine personnel and their families, and political oppression from both US and Japanese governments and their minions. The following items, taken primarily from information provided by the international No US Bases network, illustrate the current state of some critical affairs in Guam and Okinawa. This article continues Peace Researcher's coverage of the saga of Okinawa, and now Guam, in several recent issues (e.g. see PR 33, November 2006, "North Korea Compounds Okinawa's Problems Of US Military Occupation", by Bob Leonard, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-140.html>).

Ripping Off The Japanese People For US\$6 Billion

The dominant issue uniting the peoples of Okinawa and Guam is the planned relocation of thousands of US military personnel from US bases in Okinawa to bases in Guam. The US government is trying to force the Japanese government (read Japanese taxpayers) to pay for a majority of the relocation costs, some US\$6 billion. To its credit the Japanese government has been reluctant to agree to this unprecedented rip-off. It would be the first time ever that a foreign nation has had to pay such costs, and apparently with no legal basis. Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Aso "...said that neither the Japan-US Security Treaty nor the Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) applies to this case..." (Okinawa-Guam Information Service on the US Marines Relocations [OGIS], Issue No 2, 30/4/07).

As of the time of writing the deal was not yet final and it could actually take up to three years before the Japanese Diet (Parliament) even begins to discuss the matter. Apparently the process depends on completion of an Environmental Impact Statement by the US Navy. A major element of the Statement will be the impacts of shifting thousands of personnel to Guam. Another major issue is who will benefit from the massive construction of housing and related infrastructure that will be needed on Guam to accommodate the population influx. US contractors are of course drooling over the prospects but fear "the bulk of the contracting work may still end up with Japanese companies" (Variety News Staff, 29/5/07, GR Partido). This will sound familiar to readers who know of the billions of dollars pocketed by US companies engaged in the "rebuilding of Iraq" (in this case a massive rip-off of the American taxpayers). Militarism and war are hugely profitable for private corporations, and when the US is involved, those corporations are almost always US-owned and intimately linked to the political machinations behind the military.

If the Japanese do accept the costs of the relocation to Guam, just over half the US\$6 billion will be in the form of loans to the US. But will the US repay the debt? There is considerable doubt since the Japanese government has no concrete measures in mind to assure repayment. It will simply "do its best to collect the debt". The magnitude of the debt would be peanuts on the grand scale of US military spending but it's fascinating that Japan could even contemplate saddling its people with a potentially "bad debt" to fund a scheme with no clear benefits to Japan.

What Would It Buy For Japan?

There may well be benefits to the people of Okinawa of getting rid of a few thousand US military folk. But given Japan's appalling lack of concern for the well-being of colonial Okinawa it is extremely doubtful that spending all that relocation money is seriously intended to address decades of abuse of Okinawans. Here is what the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installations and Environment, BJ Penn, had to say recently about US motivation for the move: "US national interests and treaty commitments require strengthening of US military capabilities in the Western Pacific.... The relocation of III Marine Expeditionary Force personnel from Okinawa to Guam under US-Japan Alliance Transformation and Realignment is part of a broader realignment ... essential for the defence of Japan and for peace and security in the region" (Pacific Daily News, 29 May 2007, DV Crisostomo).

Japan recently bought into this realignment by passing a bill in its Lower House "allowing" Japan to pay the US\$6 billion and undertake various other measures, including "forcing the local governments to cooperate with the central government in implementing the realignment plan" (OGIS loc. cit.) It's all rather mysterious just how Japan stands to benefit from all this. A cynical view would be that is motivated by Prime Minister Abe's desire for a major shift in defence policy which would allow Japan to participate in collective defence under the UN Charter. That right cannot now be exercised without "breaking the Constitution" (OGIS *ibid.*). Breaking the Constitution would have serious

implications including the potential for Japan to acquire nuclear weapons.

What Would It Buy For Guam?

The short answer is nothing. A longer answer would include increased social disruption, crime and environmental degradation beyond what Guam has already been suffering for many years. No one should be fooled into thinking a process of preparing an Environmental Impact Assessment carried out by the US Navy or any other military body is anything other than a diversionary tactic and a sham. Military bases within the US itself routinely ignore environmental controls on emissions and dumping or ask the Environmental Protection Agency (itself a bit of a joke under the thumb of the Bush cabal) to exempt them from environmental performance standards.

Guam is an unincorporated US territory. Its people are US citizens who have no vote and its congressional representative has no vote in the US Congress. In other words, Guam is a colony powerless to control its own destiny. The people of Guam, including its indigenous people, the Chamorros (37% of Guam's estimated total population of about 155,000), strongly oppose the relocation of more US military personnel to their island from Okinawa. The Chamorro people feel their race, identity and culture are under threat of destruction as their homeland becomes even more intensely militarised. The American government has ignored their pleas to deal with environmental contamination of their land and harbours with highly toxic substances including polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) and Agents Orange and Purple (pesticides). Disease rates among Guam's people are very high and include a variety of cancers, some of which are almost certainly due to radiation exposure from US nuclear weapons testing in Micronesia in the 1950s.

Economic dependency and instability, rather than the boon promised by local politicians, are the inevitable consequences of occupation by a foreign military. The experience on Okinawa has been the same as on Guam. In fact every small developing nation that has been subjected to the forced establishment of foreign military bases has suffered the same fate as Guam and Okinawa. The Philippines is another prime example of the horrific impact of US colonisation that continues to this day with rampant political corruption and brutal suppression of resistance movements (see the article elsewhere in this issue about the ongoing US military presence in the Philippines, a decade and a half after the huge US bases there were evicted as a result of decades of a massive anti-bases campaign. Ed.).

Okinawan activists have neatly summed up the "logic" of the relocation process: "Most importantly, we are challenging people to ponder the critical question: 'If the presence of the Marines is such a good thing for Guam, then why is Japan willing to pay US\$6 billion to get them out [of Okinawa]?' (Islands Business News, 1/5/07, Elenoa Baselala).

And What About The Dugongs Of Henoko?

We don't need to repeat the problems visited upon the people of Okinawa by US bases (see recent issues of Peace Researcher which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prfront.html>). Resistance by the local people to the relocation of a US helicopter base at Futenma continues unabated on a daily basis. The new location would be further to the north in Okinawa at Henoko Bay and would involve irreversible damage to a marine ecosystem that is home to an endangered local dugong* species. The people of Ginowan City, within which the Futenma base presents a great physical danger, would surely benefit from the closure of that base. But the problems would simply be shifted to people living near Henoko Bay with zero net gain for Okinawans. * Dugongs, or sea cows, are large marine mammals. Ed.

Preparations for the construction of an airstrip located partially in Henoko Bay are currently entailing a bizarre environmental "pre-survey" which will then lead to an Environmental Impact Assessment. The EIA has been labelled a façade that "will not be a precise or open environmental assessment, since the appropriate law-abiding procedures will not be/have not been conducted".

"According to news reports, the Japanese Government has dispatched the Japan Maritime Self Defense Force ship 'Bungo' to Henoko, Okinawa. 'Bungo' is gun boat and minesweeper equipped with divers. It is reported the members of Maritime Self Defense Force will assist private contractors in the environmental 'pre-survey' for the military off-shore base at Henoko".

The above quote is from an "Urgent Call for Henoko" circulated by Filipino anti-bases activist Cora Fabros on the No US Bases e-list (16/5/07) with the inspired headline: "Japanese Government points gun at Okinawans for the first time since World War II". Cora Fabros was a member of the international anti-bases community who joined about 300 local people at Henoko Beach on May 14 to protest the US presence and the looming destruction of the Bay

ecosystems in the name of defence (Cora was also a member of an international delegation in New Zealand back in 1990. She participated in ABC's Touching the Bases Tour [Tangimoana, Waihopai, Black Birch(now closed) and Harewood], which you can read about in PR 28 [First Series], February 1991, "Linking, Learning And Levitation: A Report On The Anti-Bases Campaign Touching The Bases Tour", by "a witness").

The courage and persistence of the people of Okinawa and Guam in their struggles against US bases should be an inspiration to us all.



THE US TROOPS' "UNCONVENTIONAL" PRESENCE:

Are US Special Operations Forces Engaged In An "Offensive War" In The Philippines?

by Herbert Docena (Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism)

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

As soon as the US Marine convicted of raping a Filipina* was in the custody of US Embassy officials, the United States announced that it would push through with the Balikatan training exercises involving US and Filipino troops scheduled for February 2007. It had earlier cancelled the exercises to protest the Philippine courts' refusal to release Lance Corporal Daniel Smith to US authorities while his case is on appeal.

* In late 2005 several US soldiers, in the country for one of the permanent series of "exercises" that provides the flimsy justification for the renewed US military presence, went out for some "rest and recreation" in the Americans' old stamping ground of Olongapo (home to the former Subic Bay US Navy Base). They ended up being arrested and charged with raping a Filipina, identified only as "Nicole". So, an unprecedented situation arose with American soldiers charged with a very serious, non-bailable crime. The US immediately invoked the Visiting Forces Agreement (passed in 1999, during Joseph Estrada's Presidency) and demanded custody of the accused. President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's government acquiesced, and they awaited trial in the comfortable surrounds of the US Embassy. The judge-only trial - there are no jury trials in the Philippines - was eventually held in late 2006 and, despite the obstructive approach of the Philippine government (which was supposedly "prosecuting" the GIs but made it very clear that it greatly preferred the whole thing to go away) one of the defendants, Lance Corporal Daniel Smith, was convicted and sentenced to 40 years in prison. The US immediately whisked the other, acquitted, defendants out of the country, back to their bases on the Japanese island of Okinawa. US agents also tried to snatch Smith in the actual courtroom, following his conviction, but Philippine cops got him locked up in a local prison. There he sat for all of a fortnight, while a huge row raged about where he should be held. This was a historic situation - Smith is the first American GI to have ever been convicted of anything in the Philippines. The US government demanded him back in its custody and the Philippine government agreed, both citing the Visiting Forces Agreement. But Philippine courts showed a stubborn independence and ruled that Smith must be detained in a Philippine prison. The US then upped the ante and cancelled the high profile Balikatan joint military exercise in the Philippines until they got their soldier/rapist back. Gloria didn't take much convincing - she issued an Executive Order transferring Smith to US custody (back to the Embassy) while his appeal is heard and he was clandestinely removed from prison in the dead of night in the holiday period between Christmas and New Year 2006. The US promptly uncanceled Balikatan. This whole squalid business greatly inflamed nationalist fervour across the whole Filipino population and the case of Daniel Smith and the broader issue of the Philippine/American relationship still has a long way yet to run. Ed.

Yet unknown to many, a contingent of US Special Operations Forces that had been stationed in the southern Philippines since January 2002 was clearly staying on despite the Balikatan exercises' cancellation. While the US and Philippine governments maintain that these troops are not doing anything beyond training Filipino soldiers and conducting humanitarian projects, questions persist regarding their actual mission here. In 2002, a petition was lodged before the Philippine Supreme Court claiming the US troops about to be deployed here were going to war "under the guise of an exercise". But while the Court agreed with the petitioners that US troops are indeed constitutionally banned from engaging in an "offensive war" in the Philippines, it held that whether they are actually going to do so was "a question of fact" that had to be proven first. Five years after the deployment and in the midst of the uproar over Smith, new and accumulated information on the actions of US troops in the Philippine south provide grounds for revisiting this question.

Distinguishing "Exercises" From "Special Operations"

It is important, however, to first draw a distinction between US soldiers who join the regular joint training exercises in various parts of the country and those who are part of the Joint Special Operations Task Force-Philippines (JSOTF-P). Media coverage and public discussion on the presence of US troops in the country have tended to lump those who take part in the JSOTF-P with those who take part in the exercises, but there are important differences.

For instance, while participants of the regular training exercises come from different branches and services of the US military, those under the JSOTF-P are drawn specifically from the Special Operations Forces (SOFs), or those units that, as their name implies, conduct "special operations". According to the SOF's own definition, "special operations" are those "conducted in hostile, denied, or politically sensitive environments" and that require "covert, clandestine, or discreet capabilities". The US Army Field Manual - a guide for military missions and procedures -

meanwhile says that SOFs are the "force of choice" for "dynamic, ambiguous, and politically volatile situations".

The number of participants in the training exercises is also publicly disclosed prior to each exercise. In the case of the JSOTF-P, however, this information has been withheld. Various media reports place the number of troops deployed to the southern Philippines between 160 and 350, but it isn't clear what the actual figure is for a specific period. US Embassy spokesman Matthew Lussenhop has said that it "wouldn't be above 100". But US Lieutenant Colonel Mark Zimmer, JSOTF-P Public Affairs Officer, also said it varies "depending on the season and the mission".

Many of the exercises are conducted inside military training camps or other designated training areas, and are done so with no specified target or enemy in mind. By contrast, the JSOTF-P has been operating in an area in which combat with forces seen as hostile to the Philippines government has ensued and is still ongoing. The exact coverage of its area of operation remains unclear, but the JSOTF-P has been explicit in targeting "terrorists," in particular the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG)*, and lately, the Jemaah Islamaiah, both of which are listed as "designated foreign terrorist organisations" by the US State Department.

* Abu Sayyaf Group. This bona fide terrorist group (they are not Muslim separatists, but the latest in a long line of pirates and bandits who have terrorised their fellow countrymen and neighbours in the far South for centuries) is a classic example of "blowback" – a Frankenstein monster of armed Filipino mujahedin created by the US Central Intelligence Agency in the 1980s to fight America's proxy jihad against the Russians then occupying Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden is the most famous of those Muslim terrorists who have "blown back" into the faces of their 1980s' American creators. This tiny band of criminals, confined to the southernmost islands and the southernmost part of Mindanao, are now the flimsy reason for the Americans to get a foothold back in their old colony and for Bush to have proclaimed the Philippines to be the "Second Front in the 'War on Terror'". Ed.

In truth, from the very start, US and Philippine officials announced that the deployment was part of the US-led "global war against terror". The JSOTF-P's deployment here was even labelled by the US military as "Operation Enduring Freedom-Philippines" (OEF-P), signifying that the nature and the goal of the deployment was in the same league as the original "Operation Enduring Freedom" - the invasion of Afghanistan in October 2001.

Finally, the regular training exercises are close-ended and usually last for no more than a week or two, after which the participating units return to their home bases. But the JSOTF-P's stay has been indefinite. Contrary to the 2002 assurance by then National Security Adviser Roilo Golez that the US troops would "be gone" after six months, the troops remain. US and Filipino officials are mum about any exit date. In a March 2006 interview, Captain Eddie Paruchabutr, then JSOTF-P information officer, could only say: "It's continuous as long as we are allowed to stay".

Special Warfare

In writings meant principally for internal US military consumption, JSOTF-P members reveal how they actually understand the nature of their mission in the Philippines. For example, in an article for the US Army Combined Arms Center's Military Review journal, the first Commander of the JSOTF-P, Colonel David Maxwell said their mission was "to conduct unconventional warfare in the southern Philippines through, by, and with the AFP [Armed Forces of the Philippines] to help the Philippine government separate the population and destroy the terrorist organisation". Their key tasks included "denying the ASG sanctuary," "surveilling, controlling, or denying ASG routes," and "surveilling supporting villages and key personnel".

In an apparent rebuff to the Supreme Court, Maxwell also pointed out that — contrary to the Justices' reading — the Philippine Constitution "does not prohibit combat operations". According to Maxwell, the "correct reading" of the charter would show that it proscribes only the stationing of forces, not combat operations. Reappointed as JSOTF-P Commander in October 2006, Maxwell described the operations he led as being conducted "under the guise of an exercise".

Maxwell's description is shared by members of the 1st Special Forces group who wrote a history of their unit's engagements in the Philippines for Special Warfare, the bulletin of the US Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare Center and School. According to their own account, their unit took part in "the ongoing unconventional warfare operations...". Dr CH Briscoe, the Command Historian of the US Army Special Operations Command, interviewed soldiers "who participated at all levels of operations". In 2004, he wrote how their mission "transformed from unconventional warfare to foreign internal defence and development". The ensuing ground campaign, said Briscoe, was best described by referring to the "counterinsurgency model". Eric Wendt, also writing for the same publication, cited the Joint Task Force's actions as "a superior example of successful counterinsurgency". Similarly, Cherylyn Walley, another US military historian, noted how the Special Forces in the country turned "from performing tactical

missions to implementing the counterinsurgency model that had been practiced by the American military in Vietnam" (in the 1960s & 70s' war. Ed). An analyst writing for the National Bureau of Asian Research meanwhile observed, "[A]lthough US training of Philippine forces in both Luzon and Mindanao is labelled counter-terror, in fact, the effort seems to be more counterinsurgency against the paramilitary forces of the Abu Sayyaf and the MILF [Moro Islamic Liberation Front]".

The terms "unconventional warfare," "foreign internal defence," and "counterinsurgency" are rarely, if at all used, by US and Filipino officials in publicly describing the JSOTF-P's work. But they are the words of choice of members of the US military writing on their own mission in the Philippines. In US military jargon, "unconventional warfare" and "foreign internal defence" are among the key missions of SOFs. Considered their *raison d'être*, "unconventional warfare" refers to all those operations that SOFs conduct "through, with, or by indigenous or surrogate forces which are organised, trained, equipped, supported, and directed in varying degrees by an external source". This covers "guerrilla warfare, subversion, sabotage, intelligence activities, and unconventional assisted recovery".

The operations under "foreign internal defence" refer to those activities conducted "to organise, train, advise, and assist host-nation military and paramilitary forces". According to the US Army Field Manual, this mission's goal is to ensure that the kind of assistance the United States gives to its host's troops "support US national interests". "Counter-insurgency" covers all those "military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions" performed by a government to defeat internal enemies.

"In The Thick Of It"

US and Philippine officials portray the US troops role as passive "advisers" indirectly engaged in the operations from a distance. But reports indicate that their role has been more active and direct. From the beginning, the US troops were authorised under the terms of reference between the US and Philippine governments to fire back if shot at. Under this arrangement, US Special Forces have "intentionally ventured into known Abu Sayyaf territory in an attempt to reassure locals while also dissuading the rebels from operating openly, as well as possibly tempting them to confront the Americans militarily," noted an analyst with the Washington DC-based Center for Defense Information.

Even as "advisers," Briscoe observed that the "guys were in thick of it" and were anxious to "get in the fight." He said the US troops "expected to shoot or to be shot". Such an expectation would not seem misplaced for, as one writer for a war veterans' publication pointed out: "Though the Philippines' Constitution prohibits foreign soldiers from fighting within the island nation, US troops are exposed to the same risks they would see in combat". In fact, in a June 2002 incident reported by the Los Angeles Times and confirmed in the Army magazine, US Marines exchanged gunfire with alleged ASG members. Another incident reportedly had at least one US soldier "killed in action," though not during a patrol. In March 2006, a Huey helicopter carrying US troops to Sulu was attacked by unidentified assailants.

US officials describe the Special Forces' role as "training, advising, and assisting" Filipino troops. During the on the job training against hostile forces, giving advice, helping, and actually being part of the action may well have overlapped. As Walley explained in her 2004 Special Warfare article: "Security assistance missions preclude the trainers from being combatants or from performing duties in which they are likely to become combatants. But the trainers' credibility and effectiveness as teachers mandated that they accompany the AFP troops on their graduation exercise, of which combat was an integral part". Briscoe, for his part, pointed out that while their primary role was to train, their "unspoken" mission later changed to include "facilitating the rescue" of ASG hostages. He said this entailed assuming a more assertive and central role in the planning, decision-making, and execution of the operations.

At first, the US troops were allowed to operate only at the battalion level, which left them frustrated. At one point, several US media reports said, former US Pacific Command Chief, Admiral Dennis Blair, "tried to get too aggressive" while others in the military pressed for a "longer and more intense mission". JSOTF-P Commander Maxwell also argued that confining the troops at the battalion was a "strategic error." But the then US Defense Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, later authorised US troops to operate at the company level and join patrols "as often as possible." This set up is similar to the US war in Afghanistan, where Special Forces troops joined and commanded 120-member companies of the Northern Alliance (the Afghan rebel army which was the Americans' ally in defeating the Taliban government. Ed.).

And so in June 2005, local residents told journalists that US forces had joined the Philippine military in their operations against Abu Sayyaf members in Maguindanao province in mainland Mindanao—even when no training exercises or civil projects had been announced. A P3-Orion plane was seen flying over the area. In November of

that year, the AFP launched operations allegedly against the Abu Sayyaf, even as those who were fighting back claimed to belong to the Moro National Liberation Front, a group whose 1996 peace agreement with the Government had frayed but which was not tagged a "terrorist group" by either Manila or Washington.

Eyewitnesses said US troops joined the Filipino soldiers in operations at the immediate vicinity of the fighting. US soldiers were seen aboard military trucks with their Filipino counterparts and in rubber boats, mounting heavy artillery, operating military equipment, removing landmines, or evacuating casualties. Throughout the clashes, a spy plane — which locals said had been flying over the skies for months — hovered above the area where fighting was ongoing.

“Special Reconnaissance”

US officials dismissed these reports as "absolutely not true". Asserted JSOTF-P Public Affairs Officer Lieutenant Colonel Mark Zimmer: "We are not in any way involved in military operations conducted by the Philippine Armed Forces". Other military officials and reports, however, support the claims of the witnesses. The Filipino commander during the November 2005 operations, General Nehemias Pajarito confirmed that US troops were indeed at the vicinity of the fighting, but that they were just repairing water pipes while hostilities were ongoing. Another Filipino colonel attested that he had requested the US troops' help in clearing landmines.

The US troops' role in evacuating troop casualties had previously been reported and confirmed by the US military itself. In 2002, a US Air Force magazine reported that US soldiers "helped infiltrate and extract ground forces" in the Philippines. In subsequent operations in September 2006, a Filipino military spokesperson also confirmed that US troops assisted in evacuating soldiers.

As for their role in spying, in February 2006 local residents in the south recovered an unmanned US aerial vehicle that had crashed. A US military spokesperson then said the spy planes were used for "humanitarian" projects, but other US officials, including a general, have since stated that these have been used to hunt down targets. A report to the US Congress also said P-3 aircraft provide "intelligence and communications support" to the AFP. In September 2006, Executive Secretary Eduardo Ermita himself acknowledged that US troops were using surveillance equipment to track down the ASG. That the surveillance was meant for combat had been confirmed as early as 2002 by then National Security Council adviser Golez, who was quoted as saying US pilots on surveillance flights could "call in air strikes" if they spot ASG fighters.

In at least two reports, the Philippine Star has noted the US troops' use of "unmanned planes, electronic tracking devices, eavesdropping mechanisms, experimental laser beacons, and a full range of US intelligence gadgets". Such use attests to the "special reconnaissance" mission that is a forte of Special Forces troops. According to the Army Field Manual, the mission's objective is "to confirm, refute, or obtain — by visual observation or other collection methods — information on the capabilities, intentions, and activities of an actual or potential enemy".

In these operations, the Special Forces were aided by the US Central Intelligence Agency, which has admitted in one of its annual reports that it supported the Joint Task Forces by using "human intelligence" and through other technical operations. The former Philippine Ambassador to Washington, Albert del Rosario, also confirmed the establishment of an "intelligence fusion centre" staffed by both US and Filipino troops and the setting up of satellite equipment.

Moreover, US soldiers have apparently enjoyed a special vantage point inside Philippine military headquarters during operations (during the rescue of Abu Sayyaf hostages, for instance, some US soldiers were reportedly stationed in the Philippine military command post). What their role in decision-making is exactly and how they relate with Filipino officials they supposedly "advise" is not known. US soldiers, however, are legally barred from being put under the command of foreign officers. And in at least one incident, Briscoe said, the US commanders "steer(ed) the AFP leadership" into supporting a particular plan of action. To describe what is going on as "unconventional warfare" may not be farfetched, since the US military itself defines such missions as those in which US troops "direct" indigenous forces.

The Full Range Of Operations

In denying that US troops are engaged in "actual combat" in the Philippines, US and Philippine officials have sought to reduce the coverage of the definition of the phrase to only those actions that involve the direct application of force. This implies that US troops could be considered as engaging in combat only when they themselves personally pull the trigger and fire guns at their enemies. Yet while US troops have actually found themselves in this position, US public information officers continue to stress that their actions are confined to performing "non-combat"

roles, such as training or undertaking humanitarian missions.

But even as US and Filipino officials take pains to publicly draw distinctions between US troops' missions, the US military apparently does not. As its own Army Field Manual states: "Military power is not limited to acts of violence and overt hostilities to achieve strategic objectives". This view, says the Manual, is particularly valid for US Special Operations Forces. It adds: "The principles of war apply to the full range of operations, specifically where the use of force is more selective and where restraint and non-lethal aspects of power are dominant".

The US military also defines "civil-military operations" or CMOs, including the construction of deep wells, roads, and school buildings, as well as medical and dental missions as a "group of planned activities in support of military operations that enhance the relationship between the military forces and civilian authorities and population and which promote the development of favorable emotions, attitudes, or behaviour in neutral, friendly, or hostile grounds". Testifying about their CMOs in Basilan, former US Pacific Command Chief, Admiral Thomas Fargo, said these "acted as force multipliers for US and AFP operations because the programs separated the citizens of Basilan from supporting the terrorist threat".

The goal is not just to earn the locals' sympathy, but also to extract information necessary for combat. As one military writer pointed out, the humanitarian projects' underlying aim is "not simply to provide feel good projects that achieve positive perceptions among the local populace". He added, "The purpose is to utilise the correct... carrots... that will yield actionable intelligence that can be used to target and destroy the insurgent infrastructure...".

After the carrots come the sticks. Or as Wendt put it: "After the infrastructure has been identified and exposed by the local population, its members can be killed or captured". Even infrastructure projects — the extension of airport runways, construction of piers and jetties, road paving, and so on — which have won over many local authorities have larger military goals. Pointing out how they enabled troops to move around more quickly, Walley says these projects "benefited US trainers and advisers and contributed to force protection". They are also useful for meeting the troops' supply and logistics needs. Likewise, training AFP troops serves US combat-related goals. In US military terminology, indigenous troops act as "force multipliers" in projecting power and in achieving US military objectives but — as the Army Field Manual says — "with minimum visibility, risk, and cost". To put it another way, AFP members are trained so they can be put out front and first in line when the enemies start firing.

“Long-Term Low-Visibility Presence”

Rather than just lone-standing missions, the US troops' actions in the Philippines are part of a comprehensive and wide-ranging transformation of the US military organisation and its global posture. In fact, their interrelated missions conform to the overall US military strategy, as articulated in various official documents, including the Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR), the National Security Strategy (NSS), the National Military Strategy (NDS), the National Defense Strategy (NDS), and the National Strategy to Combat Terrorism (NSCT), among others.

At one level, the deployment of troops in the Philippines is in keeping with Washington's determination to "focus decisive military power and specialised intelligence resources to defeat terrorist networks globally". This is because the challenge to US interests, as seen by US strategists, no longer comes just from state but also non-state actors, especially those taking shelter in states incapable of controlling their own territory. Says the NSS: "America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones".

This "failing state" label has been increasingly pinned on the Philippines, with former US Embassy officials describing Mindanao as "a doormat for terrorism in the region" or as the "next Afghanistan". Faced with these kinds of threats, the NSS asserts: "The fight must be taken to the enemy, to keep them on the run". In this fight, the lines between a defensive war and what the Supreme Court terms "offensive war" are blurred, if not indeterminate. For as the NSCT points out: "[T]he best defence is a good offence".

As a result, the QDR calls for a shift in emphasis "from conducting war against nations — to conducting war in countries we are not at war with" — a category that fits the Philippines. US journalist Seymour Hersh has written about a presidential order that allows the Pentagon "to operate unilaterally in a number of countries where there is a perception of a clear and evident terrorist threat". He didn't name the countries, but the description of some of them again covers the Philippines: "...friendly to the United States and are major trading partners". He also said, "Most have been cooperating in the war on terrorism". In these countries, the United States will strive to work with willing governments, but it reserves the right to act alone and pre-emptively if they so refuse. One analyst described the new strategy thus: "countries that harbour terrorists, either by consent or because they are unable to enforce their laws within their territory, effectively forfeit their rights of sovereignty". According to a memorandum prepared by former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chair General Richard Myers — who had earlier been reported as pushing for deeper

involvement in the country — the Philippines has been included in the list of "emerging targets for pre-emptive war" of a new US military unit authorised to conduct clandestine operations abroad.

A New Form Of Entrenching US Bases In The Philippines

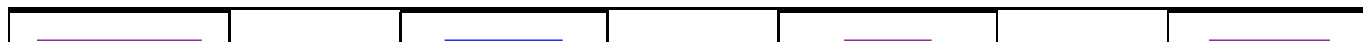
Beyond pursuing "terrorists," however, the SOF's stationing in the Philippines is an important component of the US military's evolving global positioning. As the United States embarks on the most radical realignment of its worldwide presence since World War II, the aim, according to the QDR, is "to develop a basing system that provides greater flexibility for US forces in critical areas of the world, placing emphasis on additional bases and stations beyond Western Europe and Northeast Asia". This includes the need to "provide temporary access to facilities in foreign countries that enable US forces to conduct training and exercises in the absence of permanent ranges and bases". It also entails a change in emphasis "from static defence, garrison forces" — such as those the United States had in Subic and Clark — "to mobile, expeditionary operations" as exemplified by the operations of the JSOTF-P in Sulu.

While discussing the current realignment of US military presence, then US Defense Secretary Rumsfeld had confirmed plans to establish "nodes" for Special Operations Forces in Asia. In 2004, then US Pacific Command head Admiral Thomas Fargo also announced their intention to expand SOF presence in the region by setting up more "cooperative security locations (CSLs)," or military installations to which the United States will have access, in Asia. The Overseas Basing Commission, an official body that reviews the US overseas military infrastructure, has confirmed the Philippines is among the Asian countries where such CSLs are being developed. In November 2002, the Philippine and US governments signed the Mutual Logistics and Servicing Agreement that, according to a military publication, made the Philippines a "supply base" of the United States.

In these plans, Special Forces hold a special place. More than other units, SOFs have usually been the contingent to count on to "gain or maintain US access to strategically important foreign countries". In fact, another military contingent also composed mostly of Special Forces — the Combined Joint Task Force — Horn of Africa, US — was also established in Djibouti in 2002. With its mission and objectives very similar to the JSOTF-P, the Task Force has been described as a "model for future military operations".

These small and inconspicuous units fulfil the stated need of "maintaining a long-term, low visibility presence in many areas of the world where US forces do not traditionally operate". And as Briscoe noted, the deployment in Sulu has "established an acceptable American military presence in the Southeast Pacific...". In other words, the JSOTF-P may not only be conducting war within the Philippines, it may have also entrenched a new form of US bases in the country.

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REVIEWS: “THE HOLLOW MEN” by Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, 2006

review by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

In the days after his late 2006 accession to the National Party leadership John Key apparently told a radio interviewer that he did not recall his attitude to the Springbok tour. At the time, 1981, Key would have been around 21. He is very much of the Springbok Tour Generation. Is it likely that a bright young New Zealander had no views about a controversy that merged several of our national obsessions?

Key should not be blamed for his faulty memory, even if it is selectively vague. His is a political memory, which mandates a certain attention deficit disorder. An ambitious Nationalist knows that there is no right response to such matters. Were he to have backed the tour, Key might have come across as uncool, a provincial - or even a Muldoonist. But had he been a protester, he might have been deemed out of touch with the National heartland. He might have risked being carried in an ebb tide from the Don Brash mainstream. Key realised that any answer would act as a diversion. He was going to stay “on message”, just as that week he had stayed “on message” by shrugging off Orewa-type topics like race relations.

Whatever message Key was to express, his efforts will be economic. Key is a pragmatist. He sees himself as a realist. He is North Shore Man. He’s the closest we’ve had to a Yuppie leader. He’s there to reform the economy. The details that bedevilled Brash, Key will have vowed to himself, will not get in his way. He’ll forget about how many weeks holiday the minimum wage toiler deserves. He won’t fret about nukes. He’ll concede that climate change is happening - even if it wasn’t happening last month. Give them the answer they want and they might go away.

The conventional media response to these responses, the “mainstream” take, is that Key is “positioning” himself as centrist because that’s where the votes lie. That is of course true, but only in the trivial sense that all the parties in Parliament, and especially the two main ones, always do this. There are no grounds for supposing that Key’s necessary gestures are a guide to what a Key government would do. There is nothing in either his background or his foreground to suggest that Key is anything but an economic “dry”, as dry as Brash or Roger Douglas. Like them, he doesn’t define himself as a career politician, in it for the lifestyle. He’s in politics to dry us, and, like the other true-believer neo-liberals, he doesn’t need the distraction of other people’s agendas.

For a politician what Key was doing was routine. His task was to “neutralise” potentially damaging issues. He had to “inoculate” National from the diseased citizenry. In his penetrating analysis, Nicky Hager suggests that National’s strategic need is to convince voters that a future government would not be a “back to the 1980s” outfit. Brash would not have been able to do this, and not just because he is a half-generation older than Key. Brash was very much an 80s’ person, but then so is Key. What could be more 80s than a hot-shot career as a London currency trader? Brash, though, was in Wellington, at the Reserve Bank itself.

Another very 80s man is a former adviser to Ronald Reagan, the Washington policy insider Richard Allen. Allen is a part-time Kiwi these days and confidant of National strategists. National is much inspired by the heady successes of the 80s, when The Gipper (Reagan’s nickname. Ed.), the original Teflon Man, reigned sunnily while, across the Atlantic, Margaret Thatcher was Not For Turning. Those were the days. From its inception the National Party has been eager to accept American, or, more particularly, Republican guidance, so Hager’s revelations, though vital, are unsurprising. For a very detailed article on Richard Allen, see Peace Researcher 24, December 2001, “Covert Warrior Comes Out Of The Cold”, by Dennis Small, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/covert.htm>. Ed.

The Reaganite shape of National was seen on the TV news, where Brash used to appear before a backdrop reading “Family, Security, Work, Community, Freedom”. This had been adapted from an American original: “Family, Neighbourhood, Work, Peace, Freedom”. It might seem ironic that National’s formulation reverted to a, once specifically American, McCarthyite repulsion to “Peace”. When in 1951 the first National government wanted to break the trade union movement by locking out the watersiders, they brought John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower’s Secretary of State, literally into the Cabinet Room to give them their orders. That was when Reds were under our beds and “peace” was a commie plot. It’s still a concept that National needs to neutralise”, to “inoculate” itself from.

Spin Doctors, Pointyheads & Mike Moore People

National spin doctors like to pretend that the power of transnational public relations (PR) and advertising firms, the heft of US elites and the united and dedicated efforts of the big NZ corporates is as nothing when it comes across

the combined opposition of local dissidents. They want us to despair that our elites tremble before the wrath of the fearless journalists at Fairfax and News Corporation and the outspoken nationalists at CanWest's TV3. They bang on about the "pundits", the chattering class, scribes and pointyheads – "pointyheads" is another 50s reversion - and how they dam up the "mainstream".

Now where have we heard that word before? The pundits and the chattering classes didn't use it. Oh, yes, Don Brash did. He defined himself as being "mainstream". For those in a democracy who vote for one of the other parties on offer it might well seem odd that someone seeking to be Prime Minister would have done so by announcing that an opinion that was not his was illegitimate, an eddy on the margins of history. Again, it's all so oppressive, so conformist, so 50s. Who first waded into the "mainstream", inducing us to follow? It wasn't the pointyheaded NZ press? Oh, yes, it was The Gipper.

Hager found that within National circles a "political hygiene test" is conducted so that policies they are planning which the public might not like are disguised. In the words of a strategist, "every time we talk tough on issues we also run hard with a compassionate line". Now that talk of consultation is fashionable, the spin doctors prescribe verbal placebos. The front men are to look sincere and assure voters that they "hear your concerns". They express "disappointment". They're "listening" and "engaged". In Hager's precise summation, "the positive elements provide political cover; the negative bits are what most listeners remember".

National's hope is to convert "socially-conservative working-class people" to its cause. With support from this constituency National could secure majorities. Apparently - on the evidence of the spinning e-mails sent to the leader – "Mike Moore* people is the best shorthand" for this target group. This identification surely is derived from the "Reagan Democrats" who provided the Republicans with the majorities that they are only now losing. * It is an indictment of Labour that National should identify people who supported Labour's former leader – and Prime Minister for the blink of an eye, in 1990 – as a natural constituency to be won over. Moore, of course, went on to greater things, as the 1999-2002 Director-General of the World Trade Organisation. Ed.

National has close links to the Australian far Right. In November 2003, Hager relates, a Wellington PR adviser, coached Brash for his Orewa speech: "Dr Brash's tactics must be to win as much of the Winston Peters vote as he can without doing a Bill English and losing National's core vote in the process. This is where some 'dog whistling' could come in handy". Hager comments: "Dog whistle politics is the term associated with Australian Prime Minister John Howard and his appeal to so-called blue collar voters [the 'Mike Moore' crowd] on anti-immigration and race issues. It refers to political actions and rhetoric that, while superficially appearing reasonable, contain language, claims and racial stereotypes designed to excite the prejudices of certain target audiences, in the same way that dogs will react to a high-pitched whistle that humans cannot hear".

The Aussie PR outfit which advised Howard was called in. It seems that they'd also been hired by the UK Conservatives to whistle up the doggy issues there. These are, in order of importance: immigration, abortion, taxes, hospital waiting lists and gypsies. One of the more disturbing of Hager's revelations is not in itself the existence of such cynics. We assumed such types are active. It's the apparently direct influence they exerted over the doctored Doctor. It's worth looking at a subsequent Brash speech:

"There is resentment that too many immigrants, and especially those who arrive as refugees, go straight onto a benefit, and live for years at the expense of the hard-working NZ taxpayer... Nor, frankly, do we want immigrants who come with no intention of becoming New Zealanders or adopting NZ values. We do not want those who insist on their right to spit in the street; or demand the right to practice female circumcision; or believe that NZ would be a better place if gays and adulterers were stoned".

In Australia or Britain this sort of rhetoric might have legs from time to time but there are relatively so few members of the target groups in NZ and so few opportunities to stir trouble that Brash's remarks read as over-the-top. It's not likely that either Brash or Key would want to resort to demagoguery. They don't seem the type. Nor do they really think this way. They are, neither of them, Mike Moore People. Their cocktail party circles would hold such a radio-talk-back view of the world to be uncool; they would know that immigration has been an economic boost to the country.

It's PC To Bash PC

Hager has an excellent passage on political correctness (PC), which has surely done its dash. But, however tired the polemics around PC, it's a phrase central to the ministrations of National's spin doctors, who like nothing more than PC-bashing. As Hager points out, "[t]he political objective was to delegitimise Leftwing social justice ideas and reverse the polarity of blue collar politics from Left to Right". The road to a "Mike Moore" vote is signposted with

ridicule of PC, which is identified in the public mind with Leftist ideology. With a large part of the world to provide them, it's not hard to find examples of the silliness that the spin doctors seek.

PC's been around in different guises for some time. Muldoonist ("Mike Moore") NZ resolved doubt or painted over cracks by opposing whatever seemed "trendy Lefty". Then we were invited to scorn the "chardonnay socialists", as though we should be infuriated by the very idea that within one person might be tendencies to both advocate social justice and enjoy a glass of wine. Hager points to a further, crucial, reason why there has been so much fuss about PC. He suggests that accusations of political correctness act as a diversion from real issues and as a screen from examining real privilege. It is not trendy Lefties who set the agenda; it's the corporate elite who own the media and advertising firms. It's in their interests that people worry themselves about PC trivia as that means they avoid scrutiny. As long as enough of the public blame trendy Lefties for what ails them they won't notice that the trends are in fact set by the corporates and their mates.

For National's spinners, PC serves yet another purpose. It allows the party "to avoid confronting a deep and fundamental rift within its own ranks". Hager reminds us that National has always played host to contending interests, united by a common need to retard progressive ideals. In its recent form, says Hager, the broad division has been expressed by a Winston Peters-Philip Burdon wing concerned about social stability, and the Ruth Richardson market purists. The former are traditional conservatives; the latter are Tories in a hurry, who ACT up.

This history is reason enough for John Key to forget where he was when the Springboks toured. It's an unresolved history, for which anti-PC rhetoric serves to hide the division in a common derision of egalitarian ideas. Hager's analysis here is sharp. It's not easy to speak for both strands of Nationalist opinion. Consider Mike Moore, the (Labour) man himself. Moore has boasted that when, in the orbit of the World Trade Organisation, he returned to Christchurch, where once he had been an MP, he was confronted by demonstrators, yokels so out of it that they "tucked their shirts into their underpants". It seems that the latter-day Mike, a post-modern neo-liberal, had been confronted by unreconstructed "Mike Moore People". For more Moore on those underpants, read Jeremy's review of his book "A World Without Walls", in Foreign Control Watchdog 103, August 2003, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/03/09.htm>. Ed.

National's spin doctors are adept at "framing", which Hager explains as the art of "setting a notion not about the issues people think about but giving them a WAY to think about the issues in question, that is giving them a model or a structure or equation". Hager shows that the PR hacks define issues and create the language with which they come to be discussed. Those trendy Lefties and their PC children have no such reach. They merely spin versions of what results.

During Brash's tenure the framing was to do with talk of tax cuts, and then, having placed cuts on the national agenda, with equating tax cuts with incentives. The implication has been that cuts were self-evidently good. It's worked. The other aspect was the relentless nasty insinuations about irrelevant and improbable aspects of Helen Clark's habits, framed to marry personal abuse with a bit of dog whistling. Was the PM too busy catering to "other people" and not "working families"? Following their work in the UK, the Aussie PR lads deemed that our 2005 election issues were, in order, immigration, the Treaty, health, education, taxation and defence.

From Brash's Orewa Gambit

Notoriously, the Brash version was the Orewa gambit, a pitch to the perceived middle by whistling the dogs to hunt local aliens. One PR hack wanted an "inoculating" Brash appeal to Maori. Don would host a meaningless hui on the steps of Parliament, an event that would be replete with photo ops and self-satisfaction and a waste of time and money. This gimmick was inspired by an invitation for a heart-to-heart from George Bush to a group of Muslim clerics. Muslims in Washington, Maori in Wellington: what's the difference?

In a study of the use and misuse of language it is reassuring that Hager writes with a clarity that is rare in NZ political journalism. His definition of neo-liberalism is spot on. It is, he writes, "the process whereby power, resources and responsibility for the provision of services are transferred from the public to the private sector; from the state to markets". Hager goes on to discuss a British philosopher, John Gray, a significant source in that in the heady 80s. Gray was regarded as one of the most coherent advocates of neo-liberalism. He now disavows it:

"[F]ree markets are creatures of State power, and persist only so long as the State is able to prevent human needs for security and the control of economic risk from finding political expression... The free market is most recklessly short termist in its demolition of the virtues it once relied upon. These virtues - saving, civic pride, respectability, 'family values' - are now profitless museum pieces". In other words, neo-liberalism erodes conservatism. Hager confirms this, adding a further complication by pointing out that "the conservative emphasis on social cohesion and

stability has more in common with the Left's emphasis on social justice than with the free market destructiveness of all these values".

Hager reveals that at least one of the 80s' Rogernomes was frustrated by the namby-pamby spinning. Roderick Deane remembered that National was supposed to be "halting and reversing ... the pervasive regulation" of the economy. Deane was singing his old, familiar tune. In this context the politics to do with the Resource Management Act (RMA), where developers and the rest of society can collide, has been a favoured target. The RMA can provide the opportunity for propaganda that combines the economic-freedom and the anti-PC, anti-nanny-state modes of Nationalist spin.

Hager prefers facts. These show that by any standards NZ is lightly regulated. Building consents take less time to get than in most comparable jurisdictions. Deane would know this, but Deane also knows that there are such things as inconvenient truths. "In this context", Deane elaborated, "I use a broad-based definition of regulation to effectively encompass government ownership of commercial assets". Deane, an architect of Rogernomics, has always been a most overt neo-liberal. Unlike the PR types, he is prepared to say that he sees politics as a facade behind which you do whatever you can and say whatever is expedient to help your side win. Abuse language. It's all win-lose, zero-sum stuff.

Interestingly, Deane wrote this in a letter in March, 2005, to John Key, with a copy to Brash. From clues like this we can make the likely inference that Key had been the preferred option of the neo-liberal fundamentalists for some time before Brash's resignation. Brash, who might have found Deane the most sympathetic of his legion of courtiers, sniffed that he was not in politics to be "Helen Lite". Deane and Brash made the same mistake. They did not have an appetite for "swallowing dead rats. Swallowing dead rats is like taking your medicine was in the days when medicine had to taste bad to be effective. It's the act of pretending to go along with some trendy Lefty, welfarist, civil-servant, solo-mother, Treaty, PC drivel so that you get into power. There you can unleash your own neo-liberal agenda. Dead rat swallowing is one of the "inoculations" against telling the truth. For more on Roderick Deane, see Jeremy's review of Michael and Judith Bassett's biography of him in Watchdog 113, December 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/13/11.htm>. Ed.

Just as Helen Clark used to give the impression of having modelled herself on Tony Blair, so has Key apparently been influenced by the likes of David Cameron, the UK Tory leader, and Stephen Harper, the Tory Canadian PM. They're all trying to appear moderate and reassuring and, most importantly, non-ideological. In office with a majority some of them might be, but who knows which ones? Early in his Presidency - it seems distant now - Bush's speech writer had him prattling about something called "compassionate conservatism".

To Key's Bryndwr State House Gambit

Hager's expose might have brought forward the Key takeover by as much as a year. The spinners would have hoped that his present honeymoon could have been delayed. That he is largely absent from Hager's book is not significant. Key was not the leader. No-one was inviting him to a fundraising lunch and serving him dead rats. The Bryndwr gambit, Key's "Orewa", has the potential to exploit all the tricks that Hager has exposed, but Key's unlikely to go canine. He'll go for the log cabin to the White House look, an American classic since Abe Lincoln's days. That would be presidential. Key seems to be looking past the Mike Moore People (whom he might well hope to have snared) to urban liberals. Nats like to throw around concepts like "devolution" and "self-management", sometimes in order to appeal to notions of individual responsibility, but always in order to erode the ethic of universal public entitlement. We might expect Key to appeal to neo-liberals within Maoridom, not least those within the Maori Party, by tossing in some "property rights" and well-phrased suggestions about how to make the Treaty "relevant for the 21st Century"..

It can be said that Key's childhood was not one of real deprivation. He grew up in a culture of relative equality in a full-employment economy. His local school, Burnside High, where he gave his speech, was, then and now, respected. There wasn't much under-class about living in a State house a couple of blocks from a Decile Nine high school. But Key would say that all you can do is play the hand you've been dealt. As Brash's would have been, a Key government would be a contest between what he'll find easy to manage and what he'll be able to get away with. National's prospects depend in large part on what policy details emerge before the next election. The risk for National is that Key won't be able to be vague enough for long enough. After years of fine dining he might gag at dead rats.

It's not necessarily a bad thing that NZ has not evolved a strong tradition of political writing, but to say that Nicky Hager is our best political journalist is not faint praise. This is a fine book. Hager is of course a thorough and resourceful researcher. He's also a good writer with a clear narrative line and a subtle intelligence. "The Hollow

Men” is the best guide to early 21st Century NZ politics that we’re likely to see.

REVIEWS: “NEGLIGENT NEIGHBOUR” by Maire Leadbeater, Craig Potton Publishing, 2006 review by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

In President Roosevelt's famous words, December 7th, 1941, is a date that will live in infamy. At dawn the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour. When it comes to notorious dates, December 6th, 1975 is anonymous. President Ford and the Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, flew home that day after talks with Indonesian President Suharto. It might not have made the evening news. But on December 7th the Indonesian army invaded East Timor. Maire Leadbeater points out that anti-imperialist groups in NZ had been on the streets in Wellington on December 5th, raising the issue of the rights of East Timor, but few noticed. One reason is that East Timor is a small place which no-one could place on a map, and at the time there were plenty of more pressing claims on our attention.

Post-colonial ennui would have played a role. When East Timor claimed the right to independence from the disintegrating Portuguese empire, after several hundred years as a neglected colony, it was rejected by Indonesia. Of course it was. When did a big country ever go along with minorities breaking away? Foreign policy mandarins in Western capitals noted that Indonesia was very populous and very diverse. Its hundreds of islands had little in common beyond the accident of having recently been a Dutch colony. The instinct of diplomats was to fear instability. If East Timor left, others might want to follow, most obviously West Papua and Aceh.

Fretilin, the sovereignty movement, argued that it represented a people who were ethnically, linguistically and religiously distinct from others in the archipelago. In the eyes of the United Nations, Fretilin's more compelling case might have been that it was colonised not by Holland but by Portugal. Indonesian nationalists had made the case that post-independence boundaries should follow colonial boundaries. That meant that if an island had been Dutch it must now become part of Indonesia. That was the rationale for lumping together all sorts of diverse people. So as East Timor had not been Dutch, it belonged outside the new nation. Its claim for self-determination had numerous precedents.

US Aided & Abetted Suharto's Genocide And Invasion

More important to Henry Kissinger was Indonesia's strategic position. Vietnam and its war was close, both in time and space (having just finished earlier in 1975, in a resounding American defeat, and the reunification of Vietnam as an independent socialist nation. Ed.). Suharto had commended himself to the great guru of Realpolitik by killing off half a million progressive opponents, communists, he said, and therefore deserving of their fate. Without the toxic excuses of the Cold War, East Timor might have been given a fair go. For an extremely detailed account of Suharto's genocide of his own people in the 1960s, with very active US complicity, see Peace Researcher 25, Special Issue, March 2002, "Ghosts Of A Genocide: The CIA, Suharto And Terrorist Culture", entirely written by Dennis Small, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr25intr.htm> Ed.

Over the decades since 1975 it had come to be assumed by those who think about such things that Kissinger gave the Indonesians the green light to attack East Timor, a claim that had always been derided by the followers of Realpolitik. Leadbeater has checked the archives, and we now know that the invasion went down pretty much exactly as the peaceniks and troublemakers had assumed. Kissinger gave more than tacit support, more than a nudge and a wink. More like a direction. "It is important", the good doctor lectured his host that December 6th, "that whatever you do succeeds quickly. We would be able to influence the reaction if whatever happens, happens after our return... We understand your problem and the need to move quickly but I am only saying that it would be better if it were done after we returned". When Gerald Ford died in 2006, the global media had basically only nice things to say about his brief Presidency (1974-76), which came about when Richard Nixon resigned as a result of the Watergate scandal. Little or nothing was said about Ford's murderous role in the invasion and subsequent Indonesian genocide in East Timor. Ed.

So Henry and Gerald got on the plane and next day the general sent in the troops. The local US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) man recalled: "We sent the Indonesian Generals everything that you need to fight a major war against somebody who doesn't have guns... Without US military support, the Indonesians might not have been able to pull it off". The US Ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel Moynihan, an old hand at Realpolitik, was proud of his contribution: "The Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success". By December 2nd the word had been passed to the NZ Embassy in Washington. Leadbeater quotes a cable advising Wellington that the State Department expected Indonesia to go into East Timor "after Ford leaves".

NZ Did Its Shabby Bit To Betray The Timorese

So there was a conspiracy to aid and abet Indonesia. Leadbeater has shown that there are smoking guns all over the place. Insight into the thinking of the foreign policy Establishment was provided by the NZ Ambassador to Indonesia. Roger Peters reported that Fretilin were a "hard-core Communist" insurgency. He didn't care for the East Timorese either: "Considered as human stock they are not at all impressive". In reality Fretilin were not Communist at all, not even of the softest core, but if a bunch of reds of unimpressive human stock get up the nose of Ford and Kissinger then they deserve whatever they get. Best to see no evil and hear no evil. Indonesian troops executed an Australian journalist, the only person who might have reported on events. His government - other western governments - didn't want to know about it.

Neither was this an isolated aberration that could be explained away. On October 16th, 1975, that is seven weeks before open warfare broke out, five Australian-based television journalists - one a New Zealander - had been killed as they surrendered to a provocative gang of Indonesians. It was mass murder. Australian and UK officials pretended ignorance. Alas, there's nothing we can do. Relatives were pressured into not bringing home the bodies for burial so that there would be no incriminating post mortems. An official noted that the fuss created by the bleeding hearts over the murdered victims was one of several "irritants" that prevented totally tranquillity between the governments involved.

Where else have we seen these symptoms of decadence? A big country taking over a small country, justifying itself by bleating about the international Communist conspiracy and the threat of falling dominoes. Notions of racial superiority justifying a superior race to dispose of an inferior race. Big powers who could preserve the peace preferring to first appease and then aid the aggressor. Yes, the malaise that encouraged first Mussolini and Hitler, and then Tojo, the policy of appeasement, eased the way for both those December 6th betrayals. As well as the rape of Czechoslovakia in 1938, of Poland in 1939, of Russia in 1941...

The optimist might hope that the Britain of veteran Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, had forgotten the lessons they might have picked up from Chamberlain's Britain, or that Kissinger was only accidentally reminiscent of the pro-Nazi elites in pre-war America who had no quarrel at all with that pro-family law and order man, that bulwark against degenerate races, that force for regional stability, the reliable Herr Hitler. The optimist might hope that the United Nations, surely the UN, had learned from the 1930s' League of Nations' refusal to confront the bullies. No, the Western powers had no quarrel with Suharto (and would have had no quarrel with Hitler had he not got over-excited and marched into France) and the UN was content to be shunted aside by Kissinger. Leadbeater assesses that of a pre-war population of 800,000, East Timor "lost" 200,000 between 1975 and 1999, when at last Indonesia consented to withdraw.

Leadbeater identifies a group of five whom she charges with co-ordinating the big sell out. They were the US, UK, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. East Timor attracted only derisory diplomatic support, from Cyprus, Greece, Iceland, Portugal and some former Portuguese colonies. Were these brave defenders of truth and justice? Or did they too have their own agendas? Throughout that sad period Western diplomacy claimed that only an unrepresentative faction backed Fretilin. There were indeed, Leadbeater shows, straggling bands of pro-Indonesians, mainly in the west. She denies the easy claim that they were ethnically different. No, their motivation has been that they stood to lose power from the petty fiefdoms that the Indonesians had granted. In this analysis, the guerrillas mounting raids on the post-independent East Timorese state are the moral descendants of France's Petain or Norway's Quisling (the local puppet leaders installed by the Nazis in World War 2. Ed).

In neither Australia nor NZ did attitudes change with the party stripe of the government, but it was in 1978, at the high tide of Muldoonism, that the main East Timorese spokesperson, Jose Ramos Horta, was invited to tour NZ. Well, OK, the National government conceded, you can come, but bear in mind that we don't care for foreigners "politicking". It's not the Kiwi way. Muldoon applied conditions that the putative leader of a sovereign state could not have accepted. His visit must be private, it must last no longer than seven days, it must be in the distracting month of December - and the media could not report Horta! That was laid-back NZ's way of championing freedom and democracy. In the event, other business intruded, and Horta cancelled.

Belated Conversion To The Right Side Of History

East Timor won its independence in 1999, when the big players reluctantly took up its case at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting in NZ, with the then Foreign Affairs Minister, Don McKinnon, conceding at first that its claims merited discussion only "at the margins". Why did Indonesia eventually relent? Rather, why did the Gang of Five? Leadbeater suggests that the 1990s' end of the Cold War was a factor. Perhaps the examples of the newly independent Baltic states played a part, or it might have been Kuwait (where Iraq, the 1990 invading big bully was, for once, everyone's bad guy). However history judges, the agitation by the, at first, small band of East

Timor's champions was significant. It might have been crucial.

According to media reports Gerald Hensley, the former long serving Secretary of Defence, was the epitome of NZ career diplomats. Certainly he summed up its ethos when, commenting on East Timor, he remarked that his aim had been to "work with the grain of other societies and not against it". This may be translated as glide time; she'll be right; don't rock the boat; que sera, sera. Or, in the words of Dennis Glover: "And Quardle oodle ardle wardle doodle/ The magpies said".

This business-as-usual outlook is preferable to its alternative, the attempt to rationalise cynical inaction. An Aussie counterpart of Hensley's, a safe pair of hands in and around Indonesia throughout the debacle, spoke at Victoria University in 2000. Despite the changing times, he was happy to reflect that his government's 1975 response had been a "pragmatic and realistic acceptance of the longer term inevitability" - of an integration that had been reversed. He spoke of having been guided by a "Kissingerian realism". Which is? It's seeing that world politics is not a "moral" matter. It's seeing that public accountability is a nuisance, an irritant perhaps. He explained that his career had been hampered by "the problem of Western democracy, namely that good politics often make bad policy". That's what's wrong with basing it on "domestic support". The conclusion we have to draw is that some people are resolved not to learn from their mistakes because they do not think they have made mistakes, but when arrogance, ignorance, and cowardice motivate our elites we can expect more bad policy.

December 6th, 1975: the events that it triggered in Timor Leste (as the country is now called) were at first covert, oblique, and the subsequent excesses inspired few champions, so it might never be deemed an infamous date. But, as much as any outsider, Maire Leadbeater has shown us that it should live in our contempt. Although Leadbeater is a background presence in this honest, modest, and thoroughly documented account, her role in insisting that we pay attention - and then act - has been inspiring. Leadbeater has helped set our moral compass. We can be grateful that the present "domestic support" for East Timor is based on our simple understanding that morality and policy need not be strangers. The small band of protestors who urged us to heed East Timor's plight have turned out to be on the right side of history.



REVIEWS: “STRANGE LIBERATORS: Militarism, Mayhem, And The Pursuit Of Profit”

By Gregory Elich, Llumina Press, US, 2006. \$US25.95

review by Jeremy

Agar

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

Gregory Elich wastes no time getting to the point. His opening sentence reads: “US policy is directed at creating conditions that favour the maximisation of corporate profit”. And then, introducing a chapter called “The War On Terror”, he begins: “Because the US has not succeeded in planting ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’ in Iraq and Afghanistan, it is assumed that the invasions failed to meet their objectives. But the democratic facade of the Administration’s rhetoric was always meant only to mask the real goals of the intervention, which had nothing to do with terrorism, freedom or the needs of the Iraqi and Afghan peoples, and everything to do with corporate profit and the projection of US power into key geographic regions”.

An Unremitting Assault On US Foreign Policy

Elich’s book is an unremitting assault on American foreign policy, which he accuses of being violent and immoral. His thesis is important. Can the case be made? Yes. And with the Iraq quagmire bogging ever stickier and the Bush Administration appearing to be preparing for an assault on Iran, it couldn’t be more timely. Elich touches on Iraq, but mainly to give a context for his main theme, which is that the mess is merely the latest in a series, and no-one in these pages is about to disagree. He thinks that Washington has a long track record of messing up the world. Again, you can sympathise with Elich’s frustration that America has commonly been seen as the good guy when it has never acted for other than destructive motives. So Elich wants us to look beyond today’s headlines to see afresh other regimes which the US has demonised, places where the US made successful cases for a bit of regime change. These axes of evil are still tagged as villainous, but, argues Elich, they’re all good guys, victims of American propaganda.

We are offered four examples, Yugoslavia, Croatia, Zimbabwe and North Korea, the “hard cases” as Michael Parenti dubs them in his Introduction. Elich wants to convince us that the misery inflicted on these places is as much an American responsibility as the bombs that smashed Baghdad - or Hanoi. It’s a powerful notion, an argument that Elich buttresses with hundreds of facts. But it’s unconvincing. Worse, it’s misguided.

Parenti, himself an incisive critic of American adventurism, notes that his Government has long been up to no good. He lists, accurately, some of Uncle Sam’s myriad wars, intrigues and invasions. He suggests, plausibly, that America has often got away with outrageous misfortunes because its allies were all too willing to kneel in our pews, eyes averted. As Parenti puts it, American aims have been served by our willingness to make “genuflections to the dominant ideology”. That is now less true. In the bad old Cold War days, American imperialism could do no wrong, but in February 2007, when the Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, berated US Senator Barack Obama, a Democratic candidate for President and critic of Bushite Middle East policy, with aiding and abetting the terrorist enemy, he came across as ludicrous, an anachronism.

With Bush’s reputation in tatters, we’re ready for a good old scorching diatribe. In November 2006, indeed, I reviewed three books* about the “War On Terror”, a selection of the many available. All played variations on the same theme as Elich, all successfully. Yet Elich doesn’t come close. It’s not as though he doesn’t have evidence. So what went wrong? * Jeremy’s reviews of those three books are in Peace Researcher 33, November 2006, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont33.html>. Ed.

In one sense Elich has an opposite problem to the conspiracy theorists, the sensationalists with a big, provocative idea, something really counter intuitive, and absolutely no evidence. Elich has nothing but evidence, but it’s all in the form of tiny accumulations. He’s a detective foraging for as yet random samples, a sleuth who tracks down mysterious strangers, then, surveying the many clues, pronounces the case closed. But he’s too eager for a conviction, so he doesn’t look for anything that might point somewhere else. Because he’s inventing the proof as he goes along, he feels free to decide the indictment after the event. Is it murder, burglary, rape? We’ll let you know when we’ve had a look. There must have been a crime because everyone knows he’s guilty.

Sometimes you can have too many facts so that you can’t see the wood for the trees. Elich is right to remind us that America sees its interests as global, and it is not likely that its various agents overlook any part of the world. He is right to assume that an imperial need, a strategic overview, motivates America’s various agents - Government officials, the Central Intelligence Agency, investors - whether working cohesively or disparately to get up to dirty

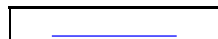
tricks. But Elich's method does not discriminate between overarching needs and immediate actions, or between the vital need and the opportunist gambit. It allows no context and no scale. We see the beast's claws and teeth, but we don't see its lair or its pack.

My Enemy's Enemy Might Not Be My Friend

In his rush to judgement Elich doesn't check the other unsavoury witnesses in the court. He should consider that some of them might be lying. Some of them might also be guilty. The enemy of my enemy might not be my friend. Desperate to secure a guilty verdict on the ringleader, Elich brushes aside all doubt. Discussing Zimbabwe, for example, Elich pots a century or so of African history, noting the many cynical US - and UK - manoeuvres, big and small, relevant and irrelevant, and concludes that ... there's nothing wrong with Robert Mugabe. The poor guy has been waging a crusade for truth and justice against the insuperable weight of history. How does Elich know this? He knows it because the State Department doesn't like Mugabe (because he has no interest in moral accuracy, and needs them only to develop the prosecution case against America, the British are left ignored in the dock, neither convicted nor acquitted).

Neither, in this kangaroo court, is there anything wrong with those two innocent victims, the Dear Leader and the Beloved Leader. North Korea merits our deepest sympathy, your honour. Just look at that smirking villain in the dock, with the stars and stripes on his top hat. It's true enough that the whole Korean trauma, and the country's very division, is a product of Cold War American intrigue, but 50 years later none of the several powers who take an interest in the area is looking good. The former Yugoslavia is another at least slightly nuanced catastrophe. Elich's defence of Serbia has slivers of sense, and thus more merit than his attempt to establish the blamelessness of the murderous North Korean and Zimbabwean regimes, but that is not to say that its overthrown leader, the late Slobodan Milosevic was on the side of the angels. It's a recognition that virtually all the participants deserve condemnation for the chaos of the Balkans.

Elich's claim, that a US attempt to force neo-liberalism on the planet is its one big idea, is one that's borne out by available evidence, so it's a pity that he fails to prove it. Like the conspiracists, Elich starts with a conclusion and then seeks to confirm it. Unlike them, he at least deals with real data. He lacks, however, perspective. Without prior assumptions about American motivations, a reader would wonder why US behaviour has been so unremittingly unpleasant. Imperialism is a big concept. Its equal connection to the former Yugoslavia, North Korea, Croatia, Zimbabwe and Iraq is not self-evident. Another unfortunate habit Elich shares with the conspiracists is his determination to shock. It's a quality that earns him kudos in cyberspace, where a surprising claim is sometimes the same thing as a valid claim. "Strange Liberators" is the sort of book that does a disservice to the progressive cause because it confirms the claim of the John Howards of the world that we're loony. No, Elich, your fellow Americans are a more subtle lot than you admit. They're probably not all equally culpable. Certainly there are differences between, say, Bush and Bill Clinton that a more discriminating critique could have revealed. Not everything America does is totally bad and not everything its enemies do is noble, pure and good. If it wants to be discerning, analysis needs to see both the wood and the trees. And it's a useful assumption that within the forest there's all manner of life.



OBITUARIES - STAN HEMSLEY by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

Stan Hemsley, who died in Christchurch in May 2007, aged 88, was a tireless stalwart of both the Anti-Bases Campaign and the broader peace movement. Stan was the ideal grassroots activist who was both immensely practical and gifted as a communicator and motivator. He was multi-skilled in the contributions he could make and he was absolutely dependable. If he said he would do something, he would get it done, with interest.

Campaigned For A Nuclear Free, Bases Free NZ

He was an ABC member from 1991 until his membership lapsed when he had to go into care (he developed dementia) in the early years of this century. The protests at the Waihopai spybase have now been running since 1988 – in the first decade of that campaign, Stan took part in four Waihopai protests, the last one when he was pushing 80. Nor did he make any concessions to his age – he drove or got driven up like the rest of us and camped out in tents, or cars, on the banks of the Wairau River (which is where we used to stay in those days). His age was a matter of interest to the Marlborough media, which regularly reported his views on the spybase. Stan was a great man for making banners, and a photo of him and his “Scrap Waihopai Spy Base” one, at the spybase gate, adorned the cover of Peace Researcher 8, March 1996. He was inordinately proud of that banner. Those were the days when ABC’s tactics were to hold arrestable non-violent direct actions outside, or preferably inside, the base, culminating in 20 people being arrested at the 1997 protest. An old friend who spoke at Stan’s funeral remembered his annoyance at the refusal of the cops to arrest him there, on the grounds of his age. In fact, despite decades as a protestor and virtual fulltime activist, Stan was never arrested for anything. But his one and only court appearance was detailed in a wonderful 1997 Press profile (10/2/97; “Tireless voice in name of protest”, David Gee) – decades ago he was fined 15 shillings for having a dog without a lead, in Lyttelton, and a further two shillings and sixpence for contempt, for arguing with the magistrate (“a miserable bugger who liked his booze”). Nor was Stan’s ABC activity confined to Waihopai – he came to actions at the US military base at Harewood (Christchurch Airport) and at the former central city office of the US Information Service. Not to mention public meetings and the like. The last time I saw Stan was in 2005 when Bob Leonard and I visited him in the home. He was struggling with his memory even then (it only got worse) but he knew who we were, he was pleased to have a good yarn with us, and he still had a vicelike handshake.

Before he got involved with ABC (and simultaneous with it), Stan was a veteran campaigner for a nuclear-free New Zealand. Larry Ross, the Christchurch-based driving force of that movement, circulated a tribute: “Stan was a dedicated member of the executive and tireless worker for the New Zealand Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association from our foundation in 1981. He helped our national three part campaign started in 1981 to have the Government declare New Zealand a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone. Although his family was desperately poor he continued to educate himself. Stan was an original one-off individualist who researched and came to his own conclusions. He could turn his hand to anything - from almost any trade to planning to personally build his own house. He wrote brilliant Letters To The Editor of the Christchurch Star and Press on peace and many other subjects. He designed and made peace banners for our various marches and demonstrations. He could always see the big picture - that mankind was capable of triggering his own global suicide and often came close to doing just that. That realisation kept Stan working for peace and nuclear disarmament all his life. Almost every week during the 1980’s, he operated a Nuclear Free NZ peace stall in Cathedral Square, often on his own, but usually with others. They gave away and sold literature, badges, stickers, T-shirts and posters and publicised the cause. He loved people and getting involved discussing the issues of the day. In 1982, he constructed a huge dummy of a nuclear missile out of a steel drum, welded the front cone and tail fins then painted it red for danger. He wanted to dramatise the terrible dangers of the international nuclear missile race. He would drive around Christchurch with the missile and an informative sign on a trailer. Then put it on display at peace events to demonstrate man’s perilous and fragile existence. Stan was a unique mixture of hands-on practicality and insights into the multiple environmental, war and nuclear threats to humanity. He was a great human being and a kind man who will always be fondly remembered”. Larry was a speaker at Stan’s funeral, which came just days after the official opening, at Canterbury Museum, of an exhibition detailing the movement that made NZ nuclear free and has kept it thus for 20 years. Several of the speakers that night, including a Cabinet Minister, paid tribute to Stan.

He Fought Foreign Takeover & Privatisation

Stan was a man of many hats. As well as being a tireless worker for a nuclear free, bases free NZ, he was also a campaigner for a New Zealand free from the domination by transnational corporations. To that end he was a very active member of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) from 1990 until he went into care early this century. He could be counted on to turn up and help whatever the occasion, whenever something needed

doing – he was a regular at all CAFCA activities from public meetings to our Annual General Meeting to any march or picket. In the 1990s CAFCA was instrumental in coordinating the Campaign For People's Sovereignty, a coalition fighting privatisation and foreign control at the grassroots, local body level. CPS campaigned for several years to try and keep Southpower, Christchurch's former power company, in public and local body ownership. We were up against the high tide of the 1990-99 National government's mania for flogging off power companies, which culminated in Max Bradford's laughable "reforms" (we're still living with the consequences of them). Southpower was duly flogged off to Canadian transnational TransAlta (it won the 1999 Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and quit the NZ retail electricity sector, leaving an even bigger mess. The main power company now supplying Christchurch is State-owned but local government no longer has any role in retail electricity supply). Pickets at Southpower and the City Council were a common occurrence, as was our attendance at Southpower's annual meeting. Stan was always to the fore and he contributed his beautifully painted banners, such as one reading "Keep Power Public". There was a wonderful consistency to Stan's banners – I have photos that he gave me of several of them, spanning the 80s and 90s. There's him and me holding a "Freedom From Smelter" one at Otago Harbour, in 1981; him holding a "Freedom From Muldoonism" one in Cathedral Square (presumably during the 1975-84 period of Piggy's rule) and one of him at Lyttelton holding a "Freedom From N. War" banner.

During the 90s, CAFCA was also instrumental in setting up the Society for Publicly Owned Telecommunications (SPOT) which focused on Telecom. Stan was a regular at the pickets and activities outside Telecom's Christchurch building and he was particularly good at collecting signatures for the SPOT petition calling for Telecom to be renationalised. There were other battles, such as that protesting Westpac's takeover of the former TrustBank and the City Council contracting out Christchurch's rubbish collection service to Onyx, a French transnational. Throughout this whole period there was the relentless march of corporatisation, privatisation and putting things on a "business footing" throughout the local government sector. Stan was in the thick of those battles as they affected his lifelong home, Lyttelton and the former Banks Peninsula District Council (since absorbed into the Christchurch City Council). I know that, if he'd been a younger man and had all his faculties, Stan would have loved to have been involved with CAFCA's successful 2006 campaign (via the Keep Our Port Public coalition) to stop the City Council flogging off the Lyttelton Port Company to Hutchison Port Holdings of Hong Kong. He would have relished that victory, after setbacks in so many other similar battles.

As it is, he did more than his share for Lyttelton. Fellow Lytteltonian Tom Hay, who had been a close friend and colleague of Stan's since they first met in 1943, said in his eulogy: "...he was solely responsible for ensuring that the present Lyttelton Library has a secure home in the not so-old Lyttelton Post Office. He trekked many miles around Lyttelton to get the requisite number of signatories to achieve this". He also played a big practical role at Lyttelton's Museum.

Throughout the 90s Stan was a generous and regular donor to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account which provides my income. I well remember his last donation – he was over 80 and forbidden to drive on medical grounds (he'd had a series of mini-strokes which played no small part in his subsequent memory loss and eventual institutionalisation). So he caught the bus from Lyttelton and walked a long way to our place in order to give me the money, in cash. When he set out to do something, he was bloody determined to see it done. And Stan was an internationalist as well. He was a member of the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa for nearly as long as his membership of ABC and CAFCA, and always attended any public meetings or activities that PSNA held in Christchurch.

Legendary Grassroots Environmentalist

Long before I first met Stan I'd heard of him as a legendary grassroots environmental campaigner. For decades he was a stalwart of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society (his family asked for those attending his funeral to donate to it). He was active from the birth of the modern environmental movement in this country, from the mighty Save Manapouri Campaign in the early 1970s. Stan travelled as far north as Auckland helping to gather some of the more than 260,000 signatures for that petition (to save Fiordland's Lake Manapouri being ruined by a dam to generate electricity for the exclusive use of Comalco's Bluff aluminium smelter. The campaign was successful and the Manapouri power station was built underground. The Bluff smelter is still there, the biggest power consumer in the country, using 16% of NZ's electricity 24/7).

He was particularly famous for his signature gathering skills for the Maruia Declaration (nearly 350,000 signatures when presented in 1977, the largest petition up until that time and still one of the biggest) to stop the logging of native beech forests on the West Coast. He was actively involved with the former Native Forests Action Council and Friends of the Earth and spent much time campaigning on the West Coast (never a welcoming part of the country for "greenies"). Speakers at his funeral paid tribute to the time and effort that he put into native tree replanting schemes, both in Canterbury and on the other side of the Alps. To quote Tom Hay's eulogy again: "In our wider

issues he played a sterling part in our several native forest preservation struggles. These included campaigns to save Waipoua and Warawara kauri forests, Manapouri, the Heaphy Track and in opposing the (former) Forest Service's Beech Scheme as well as podocarp logging, especially in South Westland".

Stan was an immensely practical man, with a love of the bush and tramping (he walked the Milford Track in his 60s), and was perfectly happy to make a constructive contribution to the reforestation of Aotearoa, not just campaign in the cities about it. He was such a staunch environmentalist that he forbade the use of any native timber in his coffin and asked his two sons to make him a plain pine one (which they did, although they didn't obey the old seadog's wish to put in a couple of portholes "so that I can keep an eye out").

CAFCINZ (as we then were) was born out of a cross-pollination of environmental and economic concerns. Our founding action was the 1975 South Island Resistance Ride, which included both Lake Manapouri and West Coast beech forests among the places we visited in our fortnight long trip around the island in two buses. I first met Stan on one of the later campaigns which was a fusion of environment and economics, namely the Save Aramoana Campaign (we did too, it was brilliantly successful, no transnational aluminium smelter was ever built on that beautiful spit at the entrance to Otago Harbour). In 1981 a group of us (including Rod Donald) travelled to Dunedin and Otago Harbour for a weekend of activities as part of that campaign. I have abiding memories of the fact that it started to snow as we waited to be welcomed onto the Otakou Marae (where the non-stop supply of kai was very welcome) and of travelling some of the way, very uncomfortably, in the back of Stan's little old van, while he regaled us with colourful stories from his working life on land and sea.

Betrayed By Labour

Unlike a lot of environmental and peace activists, Stan had a solid background in class politics, and it was lifelong – he even died on May Day. Unlike a lot of those who do have that background, his came from authentic working class experience and grinding poverty, not out of books. Stan was an instinctive man of the Left – "I'm a socialist at heart. I believe all land should be under State control and we pay \$25 per year for a piece of dirt" (Press, *ibid.*) - but only as Left as the Labour Party. For decades he was a loyal and very active grassroots activist for Labour in Lyttelton and Christchurch. For this, he courted flak from his fellow activists who did not (and do not) share his rosy view of Labour. His view was that to get anything done you needed to get a party into government and that Labour was the only party which would represent the working class. His loyalty, and that of tens of thousands like him throughout the country, was bitterly "rewarded" by the unforgivable Rogernomics betrayal of the 1984-90 Labour government, a legacy which has only been stopped in some of its most extreme manifestations by the present Labour government and certainly not rolled back. All that the Clark/Cullen government has renounced is that Rogernomics turned out to be very bad electorally for Labour, not Rogernomics itself. Throughout that turbulent period (whose effects are still very much with us) Stan had no hesitation in letting the Party leadership know of his views of their actions, including at the highest level. Trevor, his eldest son, told his funeral that Stan once quit writing to the Government in disgust and after some time a letter arrived from the Prime Minister, David Lange, asking after him and saying that he hadn't heard from Stan for a while.

Two things finished Labour as far as Stan was concerned – Rogernomics was one and the other was that same 1984-90 Government signing up with Australia to the Anzac Frigates deal, a deal which he campaigned very hard against, both inside and outside the party. He saw this as a major step backwards from Labour's brave move in making NZ nuclear free, as was Lange's gifting the Waihopai spybase for the benefit of the US war machine. Although he became bitterly disillusioned with Labour, he simply let his membership lapse and did not join the exodus that followed Jim Anderton to, firstly, New Labour and then the Alliance. And, despite his decades of environmental activism, he remained a green but never became a Green. He didn't join another party after Labour – once bitten, twice shy, perhaps. I don't know whether he continued to vote Labour, swapped allegiance or gave up the ghost. No Labour Ministers, MPs or local leadership figures were to be seen at his funeral, which tells it all, doesn't it.

Racism

But there was one contemporary issue on which Stan was completely out of step with his colleagues in the progressive movement, and he was extremely vocal about it, in private and public, at every opportunity. He always prefaced his diatribe by saying: "I'm not a racist, Murray but..." and he'd be away about "the Maoris". Sorry, Stan, but you were a racist, and that's the blunt truth of the matter. It wasn't just "Maori radicals" but Maori capitalists as well that he was disgruntled about. Like a lot of other South Island whites he wasn't happy about the 1980s and 90s' Ngai Tahu settlement process, saying things like "that Stephen O'Regan (he would never call him Tipene, let alone Sir Tipene) is no more a Maori than I am", etc, etc. Nor did he confine himself to simply moaning about it, he got involved in the whole "pakeha backlash", anti-Treaty of Waitangi movement that was particularly strong in

Christchurch in the late 90s. To quote that 1997 Press profile: "Last month he attended a meeting which protested about the Treaty of Waitangi and the way Maoris were 'getting their way'" (10/2/97; "Tireless voice in name of protest", David Gee). I (and others present) was frankly astonished to hear at his funeral how he had become good friends with Chatham Islands Maori during his more than 70 trips there as a young seaman, so much so that he was proud to say that he was regarded by the locals as an honorary rangatira. Obviously something had happened in the intervening years to drastically change his attitude towards Maori. Mind you, it wasn't only about Maori that Stan expressed politically incorrect opinions but also about the death penalty (he was in favour of it) and of the need for prisoners to be put to work.

Actually I think that his Maori bashing was a generational thing. Stan was born the same year as my Dear Old Dad and, despite backing opposing political parties for most of their respective lives, they would have been in total agreement about Maori had they ever met in their old age (in the case of my late father, he explicitly expressed the view that "we" [pakeha] had won the "Maori Wars", so this country was "ours" by right of conquest, and those bloody Maoris better not forget it. But my old man, being a recluse, never attended a public meeting or got involved in a campaign in his life. He was happy to moan about it in the privacy of his own home, justifying himself to me, and my Asian wife, by saying: "Everybody's a racist"). I certainly don't condone or excuse Stan's vocal racism, but it needs to be seen in the totality of his life as a highly valued and very active member of many progressive organisations. Fortunately, it was not what defined him, it was just one side of his personality that was out of step with the rest, and with his colleagues in the movement. It reminds me of the eulogies for Owen Wilkes at his 2005 Hamilton funeral which talked about how Owen had vocally railed against "political correctness" in his last years. When I last saw Owen, three years before his suicide, he gave me an earful about "the Maoris" (Tainui, in his case). There must be something about South island pakeha blokes as they get older, I'd better watch myself (if I start railing about "Asians" there will definitely be domestic strife).

From Extreme Poverty To A Life At Sea

Stanley Horace Hemsley was born in Lyttelton in 1918, the ninth of ten children (he was born just days after the end of WW1 and his middle name was in honour of an uncle killed in that war. By a coincidence my father's middle name was of identical origin. Obviously 1918 was a bumper year for war victim uncles after whom to name baby boys born that year). Stan's father was a London orphan who was put on a sailing ship in his youth and jumped ship in Timaru, walked to Christchurch and ended up marrying Stan's half-French mother. Hemsley senior worked on the Lyttelton wharves when he could get work. The family was very poor and Stan was more often barefoot than not. "We were very poor but we had plenty of love. It was the same for many families. I found out about poverty early. Once I was walking through a puddle near the police station with a school mate when he said I would get my underpants wet. I asked what they were, and he pulled his trousers down and the inside of his trousers had a shiny material. My mother made our trousers without a fly, but just a dicky hole. I went home and told mother about the underpants. I can still see her bursting out crying. We were too poor for luxuries like that. They were terrible days" (Press, *ibid.*). I must say that many's the time I heard Stan tell of that "dicky hole".

Stan left school at 14 and couldn't find work, so he went to work on fishing boats for no pay (he got paid in fish, which he gave to his hungry family in the depths of the 1930s' Depression). He was still barefoot but the crew found him some sea boots. He worked for no pay for two years and then started getting a pittance. At 18 he went to sea on the ship which serviced the Chatham Islands from Lyttelton, eventually making more than 70 trips there, bringing home food (such as pigs) for his family and neighbours. "I bought mother a washing machine, and the neighbours used to come in to see, as there were few around in those days" (Press, *ibid.*). He spent WW2 in the merchant navy, marrying Lilian Lloyd in 1944 and coming ashore six months before the war's end. I never knew Stan as a young man, or even a middle aged one (he was a very vigorous 60 something when we first met) so it was fascinating, at his funeral, to see a whole series of photos of him as a strapping young fishermen and seaman. He was to tell me that he was to later pay the price, in the form of skin cancer, for all those years at sea wearing nothing but a pair of shorts, with no thought of a hat. And the sea was no place for a sook, it's a rough, tough environment (I know, having both witnessed Lyttelton seamen dish it out to our opponents and having been on the receiving end of the same rough justice due to a "misunderstanding" during our "student/worker alliance" at the start of my career as a political activist, in 1969). Stan could look after himself. On that 1981 Save Aramoana Campaign trip to Dunedin, where we first met, he horrified my then partner by regaling his passengers with a sea story about he had ended one youthful fight by biting his opponent's ear and hanging on like a pig dog until the other bloke gave in (if Stan did that these days he'd have to be muzzled and fenced in).

Once ashore he had a whole range of jobs – boilermaker, stevedore, watersider, and a welder at Anderson's Foundry. For years he remained a member of the Seamen's Union and when the wharfies were locked out in the titanic 1951 struggle, Stan walked off his job in solidarity, going the whole 151 days without any income (with a wife and two kids to support). "The only thing that saved me was that I owned my house. I lived in absolute poverty for

151 days. I would never give in. It made me very humble to accept charity from friends and my mum” (Press, *ibid.*). It was Stan who painted the classic old working class slogan “United We Stand, Divided We fall” across the entire length of the old Watersiders’ Union building in Lyttelton. His 151 days of voluntary unemployment in solidarity with the wharfies was typical of his stubborn determination in all things. At his funeral the story was told about how, decades ago, the family was bothered by a noisy, drunken neighbour. The owner was Christ’s College (one of Canterbury’s very biggest landlords). For three years Stan patiently negotiated until they agreed to sell it to him. He then promptly had the house demolished and left the section empty, so that his family was never again bothered by neighbours from Hell. It was a family joke that it was the most expensive firewood storage yard in Lyttelton.

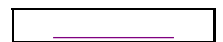
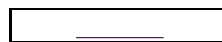
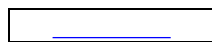
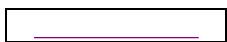
He was a most unusual member of the working class of his generation, he neither smoked nor drank and was the only old seaman I’ve known not to be tattooed. He was a greenie decades before that came to be considered as anything other than crackpot. He never owned a car or bike throughout his working life, walking everywhere. He didn’t learn to drive or buy a vehicle (his van) until he had retired, and Stan and his van then became a fixture at activities and protests all around the South Island. He made up for lost time by packing in some driving adventures, once putting his van into a West Coast ditch on a native forest trip. When retired, he devoted the last 20+ years of his life to fulltime activism.

Stan was a very regular writer of very good, succinct letters to newspapers, on a whole range of issues. He didn’t confine himself to editors: he also wrote to politicians, Prince Charles and the Queen. He had very strong opinions – that 1997 Press profile quotes him as calling politicians “a shower of bastards...a pack of drongos... rogues and liars... (who) piss all over us because no-one cares”.

They Broke The Mould With Stan

I never knew Stan personally, and never went to his Lyttelton home (although he came to mine plenty of times, for meetings). He kept his family life separate from his activist one, so much so that his eldest son, Trevor, commented in his eulogy on the large number of people present not known to the family. I never set eyes on any of his four kids or numerous grandkids until his funeral and the only time I’d previously met his wife was when she accompanied Stan when he called in to an early 90s’ picket outside the City Council building. He explained that it was her birthday and that he was taking her out. Trevor was quoted in the Press obituary (12/5/07) “Battler for peace and environment”, Mike Crean): “His whole life centred around family. He was deeply involved with family. He spent a lot of time with us kids, building kites and flying them, fishing, building yachts. He spent a lot of time helping other people. He was very generous”.

Stan was one of life’s great characters, warts and all, a person in which the good vastly outranked the bad. He was an indispensable part of many, many progressive movements (including ABC and CAFCA) for decades. It’s a cliché but they broke the mould when they made Stan. He will be sorely missed by all of us.



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Campaigned For A Nuclear Free, Bases Free NZ

He was an ABC member from 1991 until his membership lapsed when he had to go into care (he developed dementia) in the early years of this century. The protests at the Waihopai spybase have now been running since 1988 – in the first decade of that campaign, Stan took part in four Waihopai protests, the last one when he was pushing 80. Nor did he make any concessions to his age – he drove or got driven up like the rest of us and camped out in tents, or cars, on the banks of the Wairau River (which is where we used to stay in those days). His age was a matter of interest to the Marlborough media, which regularly reported his views on the spybase. Stan was a great man for making banners, and a photo of him and his “Scrap Waihopai Spy Base” one, at the spybase gate, adorned the cover of Peace Researcher 8, March 1996. He was inordinately proud of that banner. Those were the days when ABC’s tactics were to hold arrestable non-violent direct actions outside, or preferably inside, the base, culminating in 20 people being arrested at the 1997 protest. An old friend who spoke at Stan’s funeral remembered his annoyance at the refusal of the cops to arrest him there, on the grounds of his age. In fact, despite decades as a protestor and virtual fulltime activist, Stan was never arrested for anything. But his one and only court appearance was detailed in a wonderful 1997 Press profile (10/2/97; “Tireless voice in name of protest”, David Gee) – decades ago he was fined 15 shillings for having a dog without a lead, in Lyttelton, and a further two shillings and sixpence for contempt, for arguing with the magistrate (“a miserable bugger who liked his booze”). Nor was Stan’s ABC activity confined to Waihopai – he came to actions at the US military base at Harewood (Christchurch Airport) and at the former central city office of the US Information Service. Not to mention public meetings and the like. The last time I saw Stan was in 2005 when Bob Leonard and I visited him in the home. He was struggling with his memory even then (it only got worse) but he knew who we were, he was pleased to have a good yarn with us, and he still had a vicelike handshake.

Before he got involved with ABC (and simultaneous with it), Stan was a veteran campaigner for a nuclear-free New Zealand. Larry Ross, the Christchurch-based driving force of that movement, circulated a tribute: “Stan was a dedicated member of the executive and tireless worker for the New Zealand Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association from our foundation in 1981. He helped our national three part campaign started in 1981 to have the Government declare New Zealand a Nuclear Weapon-Free Zone. Although his family was desperately poor he continued to educate himself. Stan was an original one-off individualist who researched and came to his own conclusions. He could turn his hand to anything - from almost any trade to planning to personally build his own house. He wrote brilliant Letters To The Editor of the Christchurch Star and Press on peace and many other subjects. He designed and made peace banners for our various marches and demonstrations. He could always see the big picture - that mankind was capable of triggering his own global suicide and often came close to doing just that. That realisation kept Stan working for peace and nuclear disarmament all his life. Almost every week during the 1980’s, he operated a Nuclear Free NZ peace stall in Cathedral Square, often on his own, but usually with others. They gave away and sold literature, badges, stickers, T-shirts and posters and publicised the cause. He loved people and getting involved discussing the issues of the day. In 1982, he constructed a huge dummy of a nuclear missile out of a steel drum, welded the front cone and tail fins then painted it red for danger. He wanted to dramatise the terrible dangers of the international nuclear missile race. He would drive around Christchurch with the missile and an informative sign on a trailer. Then put it on display at peace events to demonstrate man’s perilous and fragile existence. Stan was a unique mixture of hands-on practicality and insights into the multiple environmental, war and nuclear threats to humanity. He was a great human being and a kind man who will always be fondly remembered”. Larry was a speaker at Stan’s funeral, which came just days after the official opening, at Canterbury Museum, of an exhibition detailing the movement that made NZ nuclear free and has kept it thus for 20 years. Several of the speakers that night, including a Cabinet Minister, paid tribute to Stan.

He Fought Foreign Takeover & Privatisation

Stan was a man of many hats. As well as being a tireless worker for a nuclear free, bases free NZ, he was also a campaigner for a New Zealand free from the domination by transnational corporations. To that end he was a very active member of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) from 1990 until he went into care early this century. He could be counted on to turn up and help whatever the occasion, whenever something needed

doing – he was a regular at all CAFCA activities from public meetings to our Annual General Meeting to any march or picket. In the 1990s CAFCA was instrumental in coordinating the Campaign For People's Sovereignty, a coalition fighting privatisation and foreign control at the grassroots, local body level. CPS campaigned for several years to try and keep Southpower, Christchurch's former power company, in public and local body ownership. We were up against the high tide of the 1990-99 National government's mania for flogging off power companies, which culminated in Max Bradford's laughable "reforms" (we're still living with the consequences of them). Southpower was duly flogged off to Canadian transnational TransAlta (it won the 1999 Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and quit the NZ retail electricity sector, leaving an even bigger mess. The main power company now supplying Christchurch is State-owned but local government no longer has any role in retail electricity supply). Pickets at Southpower and the City Council were a common occurrence, as was our attendance at Southpower's annual meeting. Stan was always to the fore and he contributed his beautifully painted banners, such as one reading "Keep Power Public". There was a wonderful consistency to Stan's banners – I have photos that he gave me of several of them, spanning the 80s and 90s. There's him and me holding a "Freedom From Smelter" one at Otago Harbour, in 1981; him holding a "Freedom From Muldoonism" one in Cathedral Square (presumably during the 1975-84 period of Piggy's rule) and one of him at Lyttelton holding a "Freedom From N. War" banner.

During the 90s, CAFCA was also instrumental in setting up the Society for Publicly Owned Telecommunications (SPOT) which focused on Telecom. Stan was a regular at the pickets and activities outside Telecom's Christchurch building and he was particularly good at collecting signatures for the SPOT petition calling for Telecom to be renationalised. There were other battles, such as that protesting Westpac's takeover of the former TrustBank and the City Council contracting out Christchurch's rubbish collection service to Onyx, a French transnational. Throughout this whole period there was the relentless march of corporatisation, privatisation and putting things on a "business footing" throughout the local government sector. Stan was in the thick of those battles as they affected his lifelong home, Lyttelton and the former Banks Peninsula District Council (since absorbed into the Christchurch City Council). I know that, if he'd been a younger man and had all his faculties, Stan would have loved to have been involved with CAFCA's successful 2006 campaign (via the Keep Our Port Public coalition) to stop the City Council flogging off the Lyttelton Port Company to Hutchison Port Holdings of Hong Kong. He would have relished that victory, after setbacks in so many other similar battles.

As it is, he did more than his share for Lyttelton. Fellow Lytteltonian Tom Hay, who had been a close friend and colleague of Stan's since they first met in 1943, said in his eulogy: "...he was solely responsible for ensuring that the present Lyttelton Library has a secure home in the not so-old Lyttelton Post Office. He trekked many miles around Lyttelton to get the requisite number of signatories to achieve this". He also played a big practical role at Lyttelton's Museum.

Throughout the 90s Stan was a generous and regular donor to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account which provides my income. I well remember his last donation – he was over 80 and forbidden to drive on medical grounds (he'd had a series of mini-strokes which played no small part in his subsequent memory loss and eventual institutionalisation). So he caught the bus from Lyttelton and walked a long way to our place in order to give me the money, in cash. When he set out to do something, he was bloody determined to see it done. And Stan was an internationalist as well. He was a member of the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa for nearly as long as his membership of ABC and CAFCA, and always attended any public meetings or activities that PSNA held in Christchurch.

Legendary Grassroots Environmentalist

Long before I first met Stan I'd heard of him as a legendary grassroots environmental campaigner. For decades he was a stalwart of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society (his family asked for those attending his funeral to donate to it). He was active from the birth of the modern environmental movement in this country, from the mighty Save Manapouri Campaign in the early 1970s. Stan travelled as far north as Auckland helping to gather some of the more than 260,000 signatures for that petition (to save Fiordland's Lake Manapouri being ruined by a dam to generate electricity for the exclusive use of Comalco's Bluff aluminium smelter. The campaign was successful and the Manapouri power station was built underground. The Bluff smelter is still there, the biggest power consumer in the country, using 16% of NZ's electricity 24/7).

He was particularly famous for his signature gathering skills for the Maruia Declaration (nearly 350,000 signatures when presented in 1977, the largest petition up until that time and still one of the biggest) to stop the logging of native beech forests on the West Coast. He was actively involved with the former Native Forests Action Council and Friends of the Earth and spent much time campaigning on the West Coast (never a welcoming part of the country for "greenies"). Speakers at his funeral paid tribute to the time and effort that he put into native tree replanting schemes, both in Canterbury and on the other side of the Alps. To quote Tom Hay's eulogy again: "In our wider

issues he played a sterling part in our several native forest preservation struggles. These included campaigns to save Waipoua and Warawara kauri forests, Manapouri, the Heaphy Track and in opposing the (former) Forest Service's Beech Scheme as well as podocarp logging, especially in South Westland".

Stan was an immensely practical man, with a love of the bush and tramping (he walked the Milford Track in his 60s), and was perfectly happy to make a constructive contribution to the reforestation of Aotearoa, not just campaign in the cities about it. He was such a staunch environmentalist that he forbade the use of any native timber in his coffin and asked his two sons to make him a plain pine one (which they did, although they didn't obey the old seadog's wish to put in a couple of portholes "so that I can keep an eye out").

CAFCINZ (as we then were) was born out of a cross-pollination of environmental and economic concerns. Our founding action was the 1975 South Island Resistance Ride, which included both Lake Manapouri and West Coast beech forests among the places we visited in our fortnight long trip around the island in two buses. I first met Stan on one of the later campaigns which was a fusion of environment and economics, namely the Save Aramoana Campaign (we did too, it was brilliantly successful, no transnational aluminium smelter was ever built on that beautiful spit at the entrance to Otago Harbour). In 1981 a group of us (including Rod Donald) travelled to Dunedin and Otago Harbour for a weekend of activities as part of that campaign. I have abiding memories of the fact that it started to snow as we waited to be welcomed onto the Otakou Marae (where the non-stop supply of kai was very welcome) and of travelling some of the way, very uncomfortably, in the back of Stan's little old van, while he regaled us with colourful stories from his working life on land and sea.

Betrayed By Labour

Unlike a lot of environmental and peace activists, Stan had a solid background in class politics, and it was lifelong – he even died on May Day. Unlike a lot of those who do have that background, his came from authentic working class experience and grinding poverty, not out of books. Stan was an instinctive man of the Left – "I'm a socialist at heart. I believe all land should be under State control and we pay \$25 per year for a piece of dirt" (Press, *ibid.*) - but only as Left as the Labour Party. For decades he was a loyal and very active grassroots activist for Labour in Lyttelton and Christchurch. For this, he courted flak from his fellow activists who did not (and do not) share his rosy view of Labour. His view was that to get anything done you needed to get a party into government and that Labour was the only party which would represent the working class. His loyalty, and that of tens of thousands like him throughout the country, was bitterly "rewarded" by the unforgivable Rogernomics betrayal of the 1984-90 Labour government, a legacy which has only been stopped in some of its most extreme manifestations by the present Labour government and certainly not rolled back. All that the Clark/Cullen government has renounced is that Rogernomics turned out to be very bad electorally for Labour, not Rogernomics itself. Throughout that turbulent period (whose effects are still very much with us) Stan had no hesitation in letting the Party leadership know of his views of their actions, including at the highest level. Trevor, his eldest son, told his funeral that Stan once quit writing to the Government in disgust and after some time a letter arrived from the Prime Minister, David Lange, asking after him and saying that he hadn't heard from Stan for a while.

Two things finished Labour as far as Stan was concerned – Rogernomics was one and the other was that same 1984-90 Government signing up with Australia to the Anzac Frigates deal, a deal which he campaigned very hard against, both inside and outside the party. He saw this as a major step backwards from Labour's brave move in making NZ nuclear free, as was Lange's gifting the Waihopai spybase for the benefit of the US war machine. Although he became bitterly disillusioned with Labour, he simply let his membership lapse and did not join the exodus that followed Jim Anderton to, firstly, New Labour and then the Alliance. And, despite his decades of environmental activism, he remained a green but never became a Green. He didn't join another party after Labour – once bitten, twice shy, perhaps. I don't know whether he continued to vote Labour, swapped allegiance or gave up the ghost. No Labour Ministers, MPs or local leadership figures were to be seen at his funeral, which tells it all, doesn't it.

Racism

But there was one contemporary issue on which Stan was completely out of step with his colleagues in the progressive movement, and he was extremely vocal about it, in private and public, at every opportunity. He always prefaced his diatribe by saying: "I'm not a racist, Murray but..." and he'd be away about "the Maoris". Sorry, Stan, but you were a racist, and that's the blunt truth of the matter. It wasn't just "Maori radicals" but Maori capitalists as well that he was disgruntled about. Like a lot of other South Island whites he wasn't happy about the 1980s and 90s' Ngai Tahu settlement process, saying things like "that Stephen O'Regan (he would never call him Tipene, let alone Sir Tipene) is no more a Maori than I am", etc, etc. Nor did he confine himself to simply moaning about it, he got involved in the whole "pakeha backlash", anti-Treaty of Waitangi movement that was particularly strong in

Christchurch in the late 90s. To quote that 1997 Press profile: "Last month he attended a meeting which protested about the Treaty of Waitangi and the way Maoris were 'getting their way'" (10/2/97; "Tireless voice in name of protest", David Gee). I (and others present) was frankly astonished to hear at his funeral how he had become good friends with Chatham Islands Maori during his more than 70 trips there as a young seaman, so much so that he was proud to say that he was regarded by the locals as an honorary rangatira. Obviously something had happened in the intervening years to drastically change his attitude towards Maori. Mind you, it wasn't only about Maori that Stan expressed politically incorrect opinions but also about the death penalty (he was in favour of it) and of the need for prisoners to be put to work.

Actually I think that his Maori bashing was a generational thing. Stan was born the same year as my Dear Old Dad and, despite backing opposing political parties for most of their respective lives, they would have been in total agreement about Maori had they ever met in their old age (in the case of my late father, he explicitly expressed the view that "we" [pakeha] had won the "Maori Wars", so this country was "ours" by right of conquest, and those bloody Maoris better not forget it. But my old man, being a recluse, never attended a public meeting or got involved in a campaign in his life. He was happy to moan about it in the privacy of his own home, justifying himself to me, and my Asian wife, by saying: "Everybody's a racist"). I certainly don't condone or excuse Stan's vocal racism, but it needs to be seen in the totality of his life as a highly valued and very active member of many progressive organisations. Fortunately, it was not what defined him, it was just one side of his personality that was out of step with the rest, and with his colleagues in the movement. It reminds me of the eulogies for Owen Wilkes at his 2005 Hamilton funeral which talked about how Owen had vocally railed against "political correctness" in his last years. When I last saw Owen, three years before his suicide, he gave me an earful about "the Maoris" (Tainui, in his case). There must be something about South island pakeha blokes as they get older, I'd better watch myself (if I start railing about "Asians" there will definitely be domestic strife).

From Extreme Poverty To A Life At Sea

Stanley Horace Hemsley was born in Lyttelton in 1918, the ninth of ten children (he was born just days after the end of WW1 and his middle name was in honour of an uncle killed in that war. By a coincidence my father's middle name was of identical origin. Obviously 1918 was a bumper year for war victim uncles after whom to name baby boys born that year). Stan's father was a London orphan who was put on a sailing ship in his youth and jumped ship in Timaru, walked to Christchurch and ended up marrying Stan's half-French mother. Hemsley senior worked on the Lyttelton wharves when he could get work. The family was very poor and Stan was more often barefoot than not. "We were very poor but we had plenty of love. It was the same for many families. I found out about poverty early. Once I was walking through a puddle near the police station with a school mate when he said I would get my underpants wet. I asked what they were, and he pulled his trousers down and the inside of his trousers had a shiny material. My mother made our trousers without a fly, but just a dicky hole. I went home and told mother about the underpants. I can still see her bursting out crying. We were too poor for luxuries like that. They were terrible days" (Press, *ibid.*). I must say that many's the time I heard Stan tell of that "dicky hole".

Stan left school at 14 and couldn't find work, so he went to work on fishing boats for no pay (he got paid in fish, which he gave to his hungry family in the depths of the 1930s' Depression). He was still barefoot but the crew found him some sea boots. He worked for no pay for two years and then started getting a pittance. At 18 he went to sea on the ship which serviced the Chatham Islands from Lyttelton, eventually making more than 70 trips there, bringing home food (such as pigs) for his family and neighbours. "I bought mother a washing machine, and the neighbours used to come in to see, as there were few around in those days" (Press, *ibid.*). He spent WW2 in the merchant navy, marrying Lilian Lloyd in 1944 and coming ashore six months before the war's end. I never knew Stan as a young man, or even a middle aged one (he was a very vigorous 60 something when we first met) so it was fascinating, at his funeral, to see a whole series of photos of him as a strapping young fishermen and seaman. He was to tell me that he was to later pay the price, in the form of skin cancer, for all those years at sea wearing nothing but a pair of shorts, with no thought of a hat. And the sea was no place for a sook, it's a rough, tough environment (I know, having both witnessed Lyttelton seamen dish it out to our opponents and having been on the receiving end of the same rough justice due to a "misunderstanding" during our "student/worker alliance" at the start of my career as a political activist, in 1969). Stan could look after himself. On that 1981 Save Aramoana Campaign trip to Dunedin, where we first met, he horrified my then partner by regaling his passengers with a sea story about he had ended one youthful fight by biting his opponent's ear and hanging on like a pig dog until the other bloke gave in (if Stan did that these days he'd have to be muzzled and fenced in).

Once ashore he had a whole range of jobs – boilermaker, stevedore, watersider, and a welder at Anderson's Foundry. For years he remained a member of the Seamen's Union and when the wharfies were locked out in the titanic 1951 struggle, Stan walked off his job in solidarity, going the whole 151 days without any income (with a wife and two kids to support). "The only thing that saved me was that I owned my house. I lived in absolute poverty for

151 days. I would never give in. It made me very humble to accept charity from friends and my mum” (Press, *ibid.*). It was Stan who painted the classic old working class slogan “United We Stand, Divided We fall” across the entire length of the old Watersiders’ Union building in Lyttelton. His 151 days of voluntary unemployment in solidarity with the wharfies was typical of his stubborn determination in all things. At his funeral the story was told about how, decades ago, the family was bothered by a noisy, drunken neighbour. The owner was Christ’s College (one of Canterbury’s very biggest landlords). For three years Stan patiently negotiated until they agreed to sell it to him. He then promptly had the house demolished and left the section empty, so that his family was never again bothered by neighbours from Hell. It was a family joke that it was the most expensive firewood storage yard in Lyttelton.

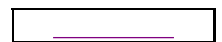
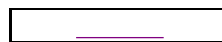
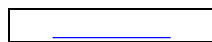
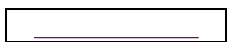
He was a most unusual member of the working class of his generation, he neither smoked nor drank and was the only old seaman I’ve known not to be tattooed. He was a greenie decades before that came to be considered as anything other than crackpot. He never owned a car or bike throughout his working life, walking everywhere. He didn’t learn to drive or buy a vehicle (his van) until he had retired, and Stan and his van then became a fixture at activities and protests all around the South Island. He made up for lost time by packing in some driving adventures, once putting his van into a West Coast ditch on a native forest trip. When retired, he devoted the last 20+ years of his life to fulltime activism.

Stan was a very regular writer of very good, succinct letters to newspapers, on a whole range of issues. He didn’t confine himself to editors: he also wrote to politicians, Prince Charles and the Queen. He had very strong opinions – that 1997 Press profile quotes him as calling politicians “a shower of bastards...a pack of drongos... rogues and liars... (who) piss all over us because no-one cares”.

They Broke The Mould With Stan

I never knew Stan personally, and never went to his Lyttelton home (although he came to mine plenty of times, for meetings). He kept his family life separate from his activist one, so much so that his eldest son, Trevor, commented in his eulogy on the large number of people present not known to the family. I never set eyes on any of his four kids or numerous grandkids until his funeral and the only time I’d previously met his wife was when she accompanied Stan when he called in to an early 90s’ picket outside the City Council building. He explained that it was her birthday and that he was taking her out. Trevor was quoted in the Press obituary (12/5/07) “Battler for peace and environment”, Mike Crean): “His whole life centred around family. He was deeply involved with family. He spent a lot of time with us kids, building kites and flying them, fishing, building yachts. He spent a lot of time helping other people. He was very generous”.

Stan was one of life’s great characters, warts and all, a person in which the good vastly outranked the bad. He was an indispensable part of many, many progressive movements (including ABC and CAFCA) for decades. It’s a cliché but they broke the mould when they made Stan. He will be sorely missed by all of us.



OBITUARIES - WILTON WILLIS by Maire Leadbeater

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

Wilton Willis was never an ABC member but that doesn't matter. He was a veteran peace activist and one of the founders of the Peace Squadron which bravely confronted US nuclear warships and submarines on Auckland Harbour in the 1970s and 80s. It is entirely due to people such as him that this country became and remains nuclear free. For that alone, he deserves the gratitude of us all. It is entirely appropriate that in 2007, when Labour politicians are patting themselves on the back on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Nuclear Free Act, that we honour those whose bravery and determination actually made it possible.

I knew him as a member of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) well nigh continuously from 1982 until his death in July 2006, missing only the few years when the family was living in Australia. His wife, Helene, told me, after his death: "He always read Watchdog from cover to cover and we often discussed the articles". He was an active member and regular donor to CAFCA and he made a point of attending my meetings whenever I spoke in Auckland in recent years. In 1993, when I did my first national speaking tour, Wilton organised my public meeting and local newspaper interview in Warkworth (the Rodney Times gave me the front page lead) and I had the pleasure of being hosted overnight by his family. My deepest condolences to Helene and their kids, and my admiration to Wilton for a life well lived. This obituary was first published in Foreign Control Watchdog 113, December 2006. MH.

Wilton Willis cut a striking figure, always impeccably dressed even when he was in casual clothes, his beard carefully trimmed, and his voice deep. He was 80 when he died but I doubt he ever saw himself as getting old and the last time I saw him a few months before his death, he seemed as energetic as ever even if his speech was a little slower on account of a small stroke. Wilton never lost the sense of urgency for putting our world to rights and would make his case so firmly that some found him overwhelming. But looking back it was a small price to pay alongside his great contributions. To me he was a warm and loyal friend who offered support and encouragement especially when I was a spokesperson for Auckland Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the 1980s and early 1990s. He was also a stalwart supporter and participant in the activities of the East Timor Independence Committee and the Indonesia Human Rights Committee.

I didn't get to know Wilton Willis properly until the early 1980s, although our paths must have crossed earlier. Wilton was one of the founding members of the Auckland Peace Squadron established in 1975 and we must have attended many of the same meetings as sea and land protests against visiting US warships were being planned. Our daughters attended the same city kindergarten and we quickly found that we were fellow anti-Springbok tour activists unlike most of the other parents! It was lovely to get to know Wilton's beloved Helene, daughter Madeleine, (same age as my Jennifer), and the twins who were then babies: Fraser and Conrad. Wilton has a daughter, Sarah, from a previous marriage and four grandchildren. Many years ago he suffered the tragedy of losing a son, Martin who was killed in a traffic accident in his late teens.

Wilton's anti-war commitment was forged from direct experience. He was born in Whitburn, County Durham, in the UK, and moved with his family to Cornwall around the time of the outbreak of war. At 16 he had won a scholarship to attend an art college but chose instead to serve in World War 11 and joined the Royal Fleet Auxilliary as a midshipman. He was profoundly affected by the death and destruction he witnessed.

Wilton was very proud of having taken part in the first anti-nuclear march held by CND from London to Aldermaston* in 1958. The CND symbol was launched at this march and Wilton held it dear and liked to ensure that people knew about its meaning: the semaphore signs for N and D in the circle of the world, white on black for hope over despair. **Aldermaston, in Berkshire, the headquarters for Britain's nuclear weapons programme and the target of a series of famous CND marches in the 1950s and 60s, the Aldermaston marches. Ed.*

Wilton came to New Zealand in the 1960s after spending some time in Australia where he had been involved in the Australian Aboriginal Advancement League. He came to New Zealand as the Chief Executive Officer of Monier and I am told he was responsible for introducing New Zealand to the concrete roof tile industry. Later he was able to step into a lighter role as the International Projects Manager for Monier and was able to work from home giving him time to do more political work. Peace stalwart Lynn Hume applied for the job as his secretary. She remembers the hectic days when they worked together and she would be firing off a letter of protest to a politician one minute and a business letter the next!

A Founder Of The Peace Squadron

The Peace Squadron was the brainchild of George Armstrong, a lecturer at St Johns Theological College, who recalls the first meeting of the Squadron in the lounge of theological students. An “unbelievable” number of people turned up and everyone was brimming with ideas – how would it ever be pulled together into a coherent activity? George says he cannot remember a time when Wilton was not part of the action – he worked hard and expected others to do the same. The Peace Squadron suited him because it gave him the chance to do his own thing as the skipper of his boat while at the same time working as part of the team.

There is a famous photo of Wilton at the helm of his boat “Shiralee” in front of the US nuclear submarine “Pintado”. The “Shiralee” (from an Aborigine word meaning “tether”) had other important peace uses too – Wilton hosted many an international guest on the Waitemata Harbour. In the 1980s Helen Clark accompanied a prominent Swedish peace advocate on one such sail. The peace movement nationally had a huge growth spurt in 1983 – spurred on by the warmongering of the Reagan era (Ronald Reagan was the Republican President of the US from 1980-88. Ed.) and the visit of internationally famous Australian peace activist and writer, Dr. Helen Caldicott. Wilton was a key member of Auckland CND but he was also at the forefront of the work to build better co-ordination among the disparate peace groups such as the formation of the Auckland Peace Forum. Lynn Hume was the first chair of that coalition. Some of the vital strategising took place in the lounge of the Willis home in George Street.

Wilton wasn't too keen on the informal “no leaders” style of organisation and at the time I tended to agree that we needed more structure and accountability. However, looking back there were some stunning achievements in terms of mass mobilisations - Queen Street marches of up to 20,000 at the time of US warship visits. However did we do it? I think a key ingredient was the inspiration of the Peace Squadron and the undoubted courage of skippers like Wilton.

Businessman or not, Wilton formed close friendships with the lively Leftie political and artistic community in Mount Eden and was a deep admirer and good friend of the late Pat Hanly (famous artist and peace activist. Ed). Wilton could never accept the compromises that his erstwhile Labour friends made when they took office - be it Rogernomics or the ongoing entanglements with the Western military alliance. He was a passionate opponent of New Zealand's participation in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. He would often ring me to expostulate about the latest “treachery” but would never give up. Working with Helene, yet another letter would be sent off to the New Herald and to the appropriate politician.

An Activist Until The End

In the late 1980s Wilton and Helene moved to Australia for a time but in the early 1990s they returned to New Zealand and settled in Warkworth. There Wilton was the inaugural President for the Warkworth Branch of Grey Power. Helene took on the challenge of managing Presbyterian Support Services in Warkworth. Helene and Wilton were active in the Alliance and subsequently became active Green Party members.

For the last several years Wilton and Helene have been living in Birkenhead on Auckland's North Shore, not too far from their now grown children. Wilton never stopped being an enthusiastic Peace Squadron activist – in 2002 he was out protesting at the entrance to the Viaduct with other veterans including Barry Littlewood and George Armstrong about the participation of the French boat “Areva” in the America's Cup races. Areva the corporation, largely owned by the French Atomic Energy Commission (CEA), is the outcome of a company merger involving both the plutonium reprocessing and nuclear reactor industries.

Helene chose a venue in the Viaduct Harbour for the celebration of Wilton's life so we could see his special Waitemata Harbour as we toasted his memory and watched the sunset. Wilton's close friend Ray Bradley, a retired Philosophy Professor, gave a moving testament, which opened my eyes to some of Wilton's interests that I would have liked to have explored with him further. He described Wilton as a “multi-faceted” man – a “veritable diamond” who had so many divergent interests and was devoted to so many causes: “The pursuit of international and social justice was just one of them. His pursuit of knowledge was another. He had an insatiable appetite for it; knowledge of the history of ideas, and of how they influenced social and political movements; knowledge of contemporary political institutions; knowledge that eventually made him the scourge of many politicians – some of them his erstwhile friends”.

Ray spoke of Wilton's membership of the Rationalist Society and the NZ Astronomical Society. “His reading interests were extraordinarily wide and at the time of his passing his copy of Engels* ‘The Family, Private Property and the State’ was beside his bed as he reread parts in preparation for a discussion with one of his dearest friends”. I will miss this wonderful member of the peace, justice and human rights family and I extend my condolences to his family. **Friedrich Engels, 1820-95, partner with Karl Marx as the ‘fathers of Communism’. They co-authored “The Communist Manifesto”, among other books. Ed.*

OBITUARIES - PHIL AMOS by Murray Horton

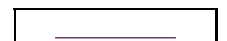
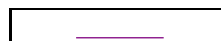
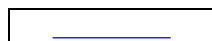
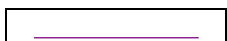
Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

Phil Amos, who died in June 2007, aged 81, was another hero of the Peace Squadron. In 1976, as a result of one of its very first protests on Auckland's Waitemata Harbour, he was convicted and fined what was then a substantial amount, for sailing his small boat into the path of an US nuclear warship. He wasn't the only one so punished for such an action during the heroic and successful campaign to have New Zealand declared nuclear free, so why should he merit special mention? Because Phil Amos was not your typical protestor. Until the previous year he'd been a Cabinet Minister. When the current or immediate past batch of MPs end up in court (or in jail, in the case of Donna Awatere), it is for sleazy corruption offences, not for a highminded and physically risky act of principle. I can't think of any other former Cabinet Minister who has emulated Amos.

He was an Auckland Labour MP for several terms in the 1960s and 70s, becoming Minister of Education in the 1972-75 Kirk/Rowling Government. He lost his portfolio and also his seat in the 1975 Muldoon landslide. Shortly thereafter he moved to Tanzania, at the personal invitation of that country's inspirational founding President, Julius Nyerere, to become an adviser at its only teachers' training college, located on the deeply forested and heavily populated lower slopes of the magnificent Mount Kilimanjaro, which erupts out of the Serengeti Plains in the north of the country, near the Kenyan border. Amos' Labour government had opened contacts with independent African countries, breaking the stranglehold of the disastrous relationship with apartheid South Africa as New Zealand's sole point of contact with that continent. Amos was keen to go to Tanzania, which was then seen as a beacon of hope, a practitioner of Nyerere's "African socialism" (long since supplanted by textbook neo-liberalism).

In 1978, preparatory to my own Big OE, I wrote to him, as a complete stranger (I started by saying: "You don't know me from a bar of soap", a phrase he quoted back to me when we first met) asking for information on the country. To my astonishment he replied, inviting my then partner and I to stay with him and his then wife. We did so, spending a fascinating week in a beautiful setting, being personally shown aspects of Tanzanian society by a man with unique access. We only spent a fortnight in the country but it coincided with a momentous time in regional history. It was during that fortnight that Idi Amin, Uganda's genocidal madman, invaded Tanzania, a suicidal action which led to a Tanzanian counter-invasion and Amin's overthrow.

Phil Amos stayed in Africa for years, eventually returning to Auckland with an African wife and family. He occasionally featured in the media in recent years in connection with his involvement with the Alliance (the Labour Party of Rogernomics and everything since was no longer the one for him). I never had any contact with him again after 1978. He was one of a very rare species – a New Zealand politician who did worthwhile things after his Parliamentary career was over, things motivated by principle, not personal gain and/or power. For that, in itself, he deserves to be remembered and thanked by the people of New Zealand.



DEATHS IN THE FAMILY by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

ABC expresses our condolences to Kate Dewes, a longstanding member and world renowned peace campaigner for decades, for the 2007 death of her father, Harry Dewes, aged 87, in Hamilton. Kate wrote this tribute for Peace Researcher. "In a recent obituary in the Waikato Times, my father Harry Dewes was described as 'New Zealand's foremost practicing veterinarian who dealt to it with eyes open, every sense alert, and brain on turbo-charge. He was a lateral thinker and often a mile in front finding solutions to animal health problems ...such as discovering trace element deficiencies, especially selenium and copper ... and a foremost authority on the impact of electrical leakages on dairy farms'.

"To his family he was a man of vision and integrity who encouraged his six daughters and two sons to pursue careers for the betterment of human - and animal - kind. For many years however, he could not understand my passion for protest and peace, especially the early Peace Squadron actions in the mid 1970s. This changed in 1986 when I was called 'a communist' by Stanley Newman, one of the speakers at a Concerned Parents Association rally in Hamilton, during the Defence Review debate. He described my peace education work as 'the Trojan horse of the Labour government' and called for the anti-nuclear policy to be overturned so that New Zealand could return to ANZUS. Dad sprang to my defence in front of a crowd of 2,000, publicly claiming me as one of his daughters - although I had a different surname at the time. He described me as a 'pig dog at a gate' with strong ideals and beliefs who had a right to defend myself against such accusations. This cost him friendships amongst some of the conservative farming and academic community; but it forged a close relationship with me over the next 30 years. At his funeral in February 2007 I was heartened to hear the former Dean of the Vet School describe him to my youngest veterinary sister as the 'hippy' of the profession. Maybe he had more influence on my peace work than he ever imagined!"

And ABC expresses our condolences to our members Ann and Bill Rosenberg for the 2007 death of her husband and his father, Wolfgang Rosenberg, aged 92, in Christchurch. Wolf was on our mailing list in the final years of his life and was involved in peace work, nationally and internationally, for decades. But he was first and foremost known as a progressive economist and socialist throughout the 70 years of his life that he lived in NZ (he arrived here as a 22 year old German Jew escaping the Nazis). Murray Horton's lengthy and detailed obituary of Wolf is in Foreign Control Watchdog 114, May 2007, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/14/04.htm>.



WAIHOPAI DISPLAY CREATES A STIR — PSA Union Official Bans It From Trade Union Centre

So As Not To Upset Her Members

- Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 34 – July 2007

ABC's Waihopai spybase display has been up and down the country several times since it first hit the road nearly two years ago. In 2007 it started off with a fortnight in an Addington café/gallery in Christchurch (my local, actually). The owners were very keen to have it, plus ABC handouts. That proved too much for a couple of older regulars who boycotted the place until our display was gone. They belong to the age group that subscribes to the once widely proclaimed view that "the Yanks saved us during the war". I'm pleased to report that neighbourhood harmony has been restored and ABC has shown its gratitude to the owners by patronising their business on more than one occasion.

That however was but a storm in a cappuccino cup compared to its next destination. Dion Martin, veteran Palmerston North organiser for the National Distribution Union and a key local ABC contact, invited us to send it up to be displayed in the trade union centre, and in the foyer of the venue of the annual May Day concert which he organises and which attracts a crowd of many, many hundreds of people. We were delighted to oblige. But both we and Dion were unprepared for what happened next, ironically on May Day itself, after the display had been up in the trade union centre for only one day. He came back to find that it had been pulled down by a local organiser of the Public Service Association (PSA, and it is significant that the building is called PSA House). When Dion asked why he was told: "Don't you realise that they are my members?". By "they" she meant the spies at the nearby Tangimoana spybase and the Government Communications Security Bureau in general. When asked how many PSA members there were in the GCSB, she replied: "Approximately 16 at Tangimoana, 20 at Waihopai, and many more in Wellington, and if any of them happened to come into this office to visit me they would be shocked to see PSA advocating for closure of the base and their jobs". Dion suggested that it was unlikely that any of the notoriously shy spies would come into the trade union centre, but was told: "They might and we can't have it up in this office". So that was that. Dion was also told, by a local organiser for the Engineers' Union: "It's better to have that installation than terrorists blowing up your country".

Personally I can't say that I'm surprised by the PSA reaction. It's a union with whom I've crossed swords over the years on several other fundamental issues, in my Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) capacity. And the Engineers' Union was a strident advocate of its members getting jobs from the Anzac Frigates project, along with other manifestations of the burgeoning NZ defence industry. So political consciousness is not high among union officials such as these, or at least, no higher than parroting Labour's line, to the extent of using the union movement as a stepping stone to a new career as Labour MPs. ABC has asked Ross Wilson, head of the NZ Council of Trade Unions, what, if any, policy the CTU has on Waihopai, NZ's Intelligence relationship with the US and NZ's involvement in the "War On Terror". At the time of writing we've had no response.

Cities Near The Spybases Are The Touchy Ones

It's the not the first time that Dion has encountered controversy in getting the Waihopai display shown in Palmerston North. In 2006 he arranged for it to be prominently exhibited in the city's Library. After it had been up a while, and unbeknownst to the senior librarian who had approved it, other staff removed it on the grounds that it was "unfair" to the spies who didn't have a "right of reply". An internal argument resulted in it being put back out on public display. Obviously the cities closes to the GCSB's two spybases are the ones most touchy about any criticism of the spies – in 2005 the Marlborough District Council refused to accept the display for the District Library, on the same grounds as those cited in Palmerston North (when the original version of the display was exhibited in that Blenheim library, in the late 1990s, it was removed after a complaint from Waihopai's then commander).

From inhospitable Palmerston North it travelled south to friendlier Nelson, where it was exhibited at the Greens' national conference at Queen's Birthday Weekend (as it was at their 06 annual conference, in Silverstream). It also spent some time on display in the Greens' office in Nelson before coming back home for a well earned rest. Its next confirmed booking is for the Alliance's national conference in Dunedin at Labour Weekend.

We're delighted that it generates controversy in some parts of the country and that it gets up the noses of some local body bureaucrats, librarians and trade union officials. The truth is always uncomfortable to confront. This display is playing an invaluable role in getting that truth out through the miasma of official silence and lies.

