

- Murray Horton

It was no surprise to either the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) or the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) when Rob Gilchrist was finally exposed as a Police spy and agent provocateur, in December 2008. We'd known that as long as we'd known Rob i.e. the ten years he'd been doing it. We didn't have any proof or evidence but we just knew. If it walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, then it's a duck. Both our organisations have had long experience of spies attempting to infiltrate us (indeed his arrival on the scene, in the build up to the 1999 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Summit in Auckland, coincided with that of a female Police spy in Christchurch. The only difference was that she was in and out fast, presumably redeployed to Auckland, once she'd established that nothing exciting was going to happen in Christchurch). Within the limits of the libel laws, we warned as many people as possible about Rob and we are sorry for the other groups who trusted him and thus enabled him to do damage to them.

When Rob's then partner, Rochelle Rees, found his secret spying files on his computer (see her article, below, for details) ABC and CAFCA were listed among the numerous groups that Rob was tasked with spying upon. ABC sussed him out from the start and never gave him any entrée into the group; equally, he soon realised that our activities at the Waihopai spybase were not susceptible to his methods as an agent provocateur. Most importantly, in the decade of his spying career, ABC never did anything that the Police would have considered worth spying on. So the completely unexpected 2008 Ploughshares action which deflated one of the Waihopai domes must have come as a terrible shock to the Invisible Men who are supposed to foretell such things. ABC wonders if Rob's \$600 weekly wage was withheld by the cops that week.

It was easy to pick Rob as a spy; he just looked and acted like one who had been sent by Central Casting. He bore an uncanny resemblance to another guy who had turned up out of nowhere in the 1980s, got involved with ABC's predecessor, Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood, and then vanished, never to be seen or heard from again. Going further back to the 1970s, the committee of what was then called the Campaign Against Foreign Control in New Zealand (CAFCINZ, now CAFCA), included an individual who perfectly fitted the classic profile of a spy. He came from nowhere, nobody knew anything about him, he had no apparent context and he had no politics. But he assiduously attended all our meetings, activities and protests and, being the classic helpful spy, offered to look after things like our mailing list (which in those days was a manual one, on index cards). He duly vanished and was next spotted by a former committee colleague, in a provincial newspaper photo, taking part in a Police fundraising run! He went on to a long career as a cop, retiring just a few years ago as a senior Christchurch detective (for the record, when we confronted him, by phone, he denied having been a spy when he was on the committee, saying that he only became a cop after leaving us. You be the judge). We wrote about it in the April 1980 *Foreign Control Watchdog* (without ever naming him) and that article was duly entered into the Security Intelligence Service file on CAFCINZ/CAFCA, with a note reading: "On page 3 under the heading of 'Spying' there is a valuable lesson here for Intelligence Officers in trying to arrange penetration of a target"! I'm glad that we were able to help the SIS with its spycraft training! (see elsewhere in this issue for articles about SIS spying on activists, including peace activists. The article on SIS spying on CAFCA, and many others, is in *Watchdog* 120, May 2009, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/20/06.htm>).

Not all spies fit that profile. The *Watchdog* article details a guy, now dead, who was a member of the Christchurch branch of the former Communist Party and a large number of Christchurch activist groups in the 1980s and 90s and who did not behave like Rob and the other two that I've cited. Mind you, he did leave a broad clue in the form of unpublished memoirs which detailed his work as a paid SIS informer in Christchurch decades earlier!

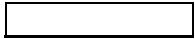
He Looked And Acted Like What He Was

ABC was only a peripheral target of Rob's spying, he didn't devote much attention to us, probably because we were not where the action was (our "exciting" arrestable actions at the Waihopai and Harewood bases occurred in the decade before Rob began spying) and probably because he knew we'd sussed him out as a spy from Day One. He certainly never tried that bullshit on us that he'd been in the Special Air Service (SAS) – he personally told me that he'd been in the Territorials. And that accorded precisely with his most unprepossessing appearance. He only ever came to one Waihopai protest, earlier this decade, and I vividly remember one of my colleagues asking: "Do you reckon Gilchrist more closely resembles Beavis or Butthead?" He turned up at that protest in a flash four wheel drive and when I commented on that, he told me that his father had died and that he'd inherited some money. I thought: "Yeah, right", and when I was later sent his expenses claims to his Police handlers (air fares, hotels and rental

vehicles, on top of his weekly pay) I thought: "Yeah, I was right". At that same protest, he cut a fine figure in a Helen Clark mask and a dress, as part of the street theatre. Dressing up must come naturally to a spy.

He looked and behaved like a little creep, so it was no surprise to learn that encrypted files on his computer included the sexual orientation of named activists and a whole lot of other similar stuff to do with personal and sexual relationships within the targeted group. Not to mention nude photos of young women with whom he was sleeping and on whom he was spying (some taken covertly), which were sent, complete with derogatory headings, to his Police Intelligence handlers for their titillation.

Rob didn't do any damage to us (or CAFCA) but he did do considerable harm, both personally and politically, within various other activist groups that he was able to infiltrate and manipulate. It is a cautionary tale and we all need to learn the painful lessons. *Peace Researcher* is indebted to both Mark Eden and Rochelle Rees for providing us with a much more detailed account of Rob Gilchrist's ten years of spying, lying and treachery. The theme of this issue is about the spies in our midst, whether they are working for the Police or the SIS.



POLICE INFORMER CAUGHT AFTER 10 YEARS OF SPYING ON ACTIVISTS

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- Mark Eden, Wellington Animal Rights Network

In December 2008, the *Sunday Star Times* published a story revealing that Christchurch man Rob Gilchrist had spent ten years as a Police spy inside a range of activist groups around the country (14/12/08, "Police Anti-Terror Squad Spies On Protest Groups" and "Crossing The Line: The Activist Who Turned Police Informer", by Nicky Hager, in the same issue, online at <http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/features/760466>).

A couple of months earlier, Auckland animal rights activist Rochelle Rees made a disturbing discovery (see *Rochelle Rees' article, below, for full details. Ed.*). She is a computer programmer and her then partner Rob Gilchrist had asked her to fix his laptop computer while she was visiting him in Christchurch. While she was checking it she came across some disturbing e-mails that suggested that Rob was sending private information from activist groups to a strange e-mail address. The evidence was enough to convince Rochelle that her partner was a Police informer. She contacted a few other activists and investigative journalist Nicky Hager, and after a six week investigation, a major story was published in the *Sunday Star Times* revealing that Rob Gilchrist was a paid informant for the Police Special Investigations Group (SIG), which was set up in 2004 under the Labour government and, according to the Police 2006 Statement of Intent, is "dedicated to the investigation of national security-related crime including terrorism". There was a week of media coverage of the scandal as more and more facts came out about how widespread the spying was. People who had worked with Rob were all comparing notes and stories about his involvement in many groups over the years.

Casting A Wide Net

Rob collected information on animal rights groups, peace groups, unions, environmentalists, human rights groups and anyone else the SIG was interested in. The Christchurch SIG is made up of Detective Peter Gilroy and Detective Sergeant John Sjoberg. Rob met Gilroy regularly and passed on e-mails and other info through an anonymous e-mail address. In return payments of \$600 a week were deposited into the bank account of a company owned by Rob. The Urban Camouflage Company Ltd was set up in January 2005 and wholly owned by Rob. He also owns NZScanners Ltd, a company which sells radio scanners and other radio equipment through a Website (*which is no longer in business. Ed.*). He claimed the scanner business was his main source of income but it appears the company is inactive and has not made money for several years.

Rob admitted working for the Police for ten years and it is probable that before 2004 he was reporting to the Threat Assessment Unit (TAU), which is responsible for "collection, collation, analysis and dissemination of intelligence on activist groups and potential threats"^[1]. See *Rochelle Rees article, below, for full details on the TAU. Ed.* When Rochelle discovered her partner was a Police informant she copied the contents of his computer and installed software on his cellphone to record his messages. Rob's computer records went back about four years. In that time he was subscribed to many e-mail lists from all sorts of campaigning groups. He sifted through these every day and passed on the interesting/useful ones to the Police (upcoming events, interesting names and addresses, details of disputes and debates etc). He was on the internal discussion lists and forums of groups all over the country including many that he wasn't part of and should not have been on.

Rob attended protests, conferences and meetings all over the country. The Police were paying all his travel, car rental and motel expenses for these trips (sometimes up to \$2,500 for a week long trip, on top of his weekly \$600 wage). He would often claim he was in town for a business trip relating to his scanner business. After a trip or a major protest he would write a report for the Police on all the groups and individuals he met, including their sexual habits, private lives and personal gossip, profiles of activists and predictions of future trends and plans.

The information on his computer was only a partial record of what Rob was doing since he became a Police informant. He first appeared around 1998 in Christchurch and tried to join several activist groups (*he was part of an upsurge in Police spying which targeted protests planned against the 1999 APEC Summit in Auckland. Ed.*). Some of these groups were very suspicious of his motives and suspected him of being a Police informant from day one, but no proof was available and Rob simply moved on to other groups, eventually finding a place in the Beneficiaries' Action Collective and through that, several local anarchist groups.

I first met him in 1999 when he travelled to Wellington to take part in protests against an animal research conference. By that time he had been involved in Christchurch unemployed rights and anarchist groups for over a year and some of my Christchurch friends knew him and worked with him. Over the next few years he was involved

in a lot of anti-globalisation and anti-capitalism campaigns and protests and even ran a national campaign e-mail list for anti-capitalist activists (*the New Zealand Activism e-list, to which both ABC and CAFCA belonged and posted notices about forthcoming activities. As Rob Gilchrist was the list moderator and had sole access to it, we had no other option but to unsubscribe from it following his exposure. Ed.*).

Agent Provocateur

He got heavily involved in animal rights campaigning and was active in organising protests and animal rights gatherings around the country. He spent most of 2001 organising protests and establishing himself as a trusted activist within the animal rights movement. He even organised an illegal raid on a factory farm that was filmed by the Havoc and Newsboy TV show. He was interviewed on camera wearing a full camouflage outfit as he broke into the farm. By this time Rob had been active in all sorts of groups around the country and was considered part of the activist "scene" in Wellington and Christchurch. He had organised a lot of stuff, been arrested and even successfully sued the Police. He was apparently earning a living as a meter reader at the time as well as running his Website that sold radio equipment and Police scanners. He claimed he was an ex-soldier and eventually confided to his closest friends that he had served in the Special Air Service (SAS) before injuring his knee and leaving the Army (and yes he showed us his titanium knee and his collection of SAS memorabilia).

By 2004 Rob moved to Wellington and was living with his then partner, who had also been involved in animal rights activism for a couple of years. He spent two years in Wellington and during that time I got to know him quite well and considered him a friend. It became obvious that he was a bit strange, dishonest and more interested in his own ego than activist work. At the time he was supposedly living off his business selling radios and Police radio scanners and seemed to have all day to sit around buying lunch or coffee for the many broke but caffeine addicted activists around Wellington.

He was only interested in exciting or secretive stuff (protests or dodgy snooping around) he didn't contribute to meetings or do any work at all unless it was sneaky or dodgy. At the same time he let everyone know that he was a very important person who was always at the centre of things. And at this time he approached several different people, including me, on several occasions and asked us to plan illegal actions with him. Some of the plans were for sensible things, and some were for stupid things. All of them involved Rob taking people for a drive or a walk, secret meetings, and planning out how the job would be done. Then Rob would suddenly lose interest and abandon the plans. Everyone involved realised pretty quickly that Rob was all talk and no action. We didn't think he was a cop but we did think that he was an egotistical idiot who was only interested in entertaining himself.

But we still tolerated him and were seen associating with him so most people assumed he was one of the gang. For the next two years he lived in Wellington and socialised with me and other activists from various groups. He used his contacts in the animal rights movement to get himself involved in any major protests happening around the country and travelled regularly to attend events in Auckland. In 2006 his girlfriend left him and he moved back to Christchurch. He became more and more unstable and was admitted to a psychiatric ward a couple of times that year that we know of. He confessed to having serious mental issues but said this was because of "post traumatic stress disorder from his Army years".

A lot of animal rights people around the country had a major falling out with him in 2006 when we tried to organise a series of hen rescues at battery hen farms. These "open rescues" involved us breaking into factory farms, filming the conditions inside, and openly taking battery hens and rehoming them. After years trying to convince us to commit crimes, Rob finally had us all sitting in a room wanting to plan a burglary and he did everything he could to prevent it going ahead! He convinced several campaigners to pull out of the planned action and spread a rumour that a good activist was an undercover cop. He was already considered to be difficult and disruptive by some but this time he had gone too far. From then on, most of the animal rights movement refused to have anything to do with him.

In 2007 he made several attempts to contact several Wellington activists (including me) with ludicrous stories about his secret operations uncovering spies in the animal rights movement. He told me that he had broken into the HQ of Thompson & Clark Investigations Ltd (TCIL), had found a way to steal all their files and needed my help to break in and finish the job! (*TCIL is a security firm contracted by private companies and State-owned Enterprises to spy on and infiltrate various Christchurch and Wellington environmental, animal rights and peace groups. For details, see Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, "The Secret Policeman's Ball", subheading "The Privatisation Of Spying", by Murray Horton, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-146.html>; and PR 35, December 2007, "The Privatisation Of Spying, Part 2", by Mark Eden, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-153a.html>. Ed.*).

The more I ignored it the crazier the stories got, as he became more and more desperate to get back into a trusted

position with Wellington activists. Unfortunately Rob was still very close to a couple of activists in Auckland and visited them frequently. Through them he was able to continue collecting info on the animal rights movement and other groups. One of the Auckland activists had strong suspicions that Rob was a Police informer but without hard evidence Rob managed to discredit his accuser and continued to be a trusted member of Auckland Animal Action.

Double Agent?

Early in 2008 he rang me with another scheme. This time he said that TCIL had approached him to spy on animal rights activists and he had decided to double cross TCIL by ripping them off. After checking with other activists it turned out he was telling us all sorts of lies about what was going on and was trying to sell info to TCIL for as long as possible. We all assumed Rob was insane enough that TCIL really would approach him to spy, and a lot of people pressured him to go public immediately. This ended up being a story in the *Sunday Star Times* where Rob exposed Thompson & Clark's continued spying on the Save Happy Valley campaign on behalf of (State coal mining company) Solid Energy (20/4/08; "Private Investigators Still Digging On West Coast", Nicky Hager, online at <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/377237>. For those of us who had known all along that Rob was a spy, this was a deeply ironic situation, namely that of an undercover Police spy going very public to complain that a private security firm had offered to employ him to do what he was already doing for the cops. Perhaps Gilchrist had scruples about privatisation, or maybe he didn't like being sold on by his Police handlers. Then again, it may have been an act to maintain his credibility with his activist colleagues – on whom he was already spying. Ed.).

By this time he was in a relationship with animal rights campaigner Rochelle Rees and had moved back to Christchurch. Rochelle is a computer genius and Rob rather stupidly asked her to install new mail software on his laptop. And the rest is history, as indeed was Rob. When all was revealed in December 08, the most common reaction from people who worked with Rob wasn't surprise but sudden realisation that it should have been obvious all along.

As a close friend of Rob's wrote afterwards: "It's so painfully obvious in hindsight. Perhaps it was simply a case of not seeing the forest for the trees, as he was in fact challenged on [his disruptive behaviour, dishonesty, constant lies] – the problems just weren't put together to make a whole picture. . . . but, since people were discussing his authenticity since early on in his informant career, it's obviously more complicated than this. Rob had very effectively sown seeds of discord amongst people and there was a lack of concrete evidence to call him out, but more importantly he had established credibility and a variety of close personal relationships which protected him"^[2].

Fantastist

From the very beginning there were suspicions that Rob was an informer, but never any evidence, and he just kept moving from group to group, causing disruption and confusion wherever he went. Most of the people who got to know him realised that he was very disruptive and interested in shit stirring and showing off rather than hard work. In his personal relationships he was emotionally abusive, paranoid, and possessive. He was always hard to deal with, a lot of people didn't like or trust him, especially those who got to know him well. But he was very persuasive and charismatic in the short term so he managed to get away with a lot of stuff by quick talking and moving along before the lies caught up with him. Most of us thought he was a nutter, and later a sad mentally ill nutter, but we tolerated him. And he was very good at convincing people that everyone else trusted him. Even after most people were avoiding him he told us sob stories about how depressed he was and how he had no friends so we would feel sorry for him. Pretty much the only thing he said that was true was the stuff about being mentally ill.

Was Rob's disruptive behaviour deliberate? I don't think so. He wasn't a master spy; he was and is a sad pathetic person with serious mental issues. In fact his incompetence and disruptive behaviour often protected him from suspicion, as surely a Police spy couldn't be that irrational. In hindsight of course, it seems the Police have to rely on nutters and dodgy weirdoes because a normal person just wouldn't want the job.

Rob was a deluded fantasist who bought SAS memorabilia and decorated his house with it so visitors thought he was an ex-commando (he may have served in the Territorials when he was young but was never a fulltime soldier). He told me he had been arrested for stealing cars in Timaru and investigated for benefit fraud before he got involved in political groups. He said his arrest for car theft was the result of a friend informing on him to the Police to escape a prison sentence, and ever since that day he had hated Police informers! It's probable that he was the informer in that case and that's how his career began. We may never know.

What Can We Do About It?

We in the animal rights movement have caught two very different spies in the last couple of years. Somali Young

was a Wellington Animal Rights Network member for two years and she spent the entire time being a very quiet helpful background person. She never had an opinion and was always happy to provide transport, take the minutes and do the dishes. All the time she was reporting to Thompson & Clark Investigations Ltd, which was working for various industries involved in animal cruelty (*for details, see Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, "The Secret Policeman's Ball", subheading "The Privatisation Of Spying", by Murray Horton, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-146.html>; and PR 35, December 2007, "The Privatisation Of Spying, Part 2", by Mark Eden, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-153a.html>. Ed.*). Rob was the exact opposite of Somali, he always had an opinion, insisted on being at the centre of events and had no interest in anything boring he only wanted action. He was also very disruptive. The one thing Rob and Somali had in common is that they never really fitted in and were never convincingly passionate about animal rights or any of the other issues they were supposedly interested in.

The animal rights movement in NZ has been lucky in a way. We have unmasked a Police informant and a corporate private investigator in the last few years without much damage to our movement. Overseas the animal rights movement hasn't been so lucky. In the United States an eco activist is serving 19 years in prison after being set up by an FBI informant who encouraged him to plan an arson attack^[3]. Several animal rights activists in the US and the UK are serving long prison sentences for "inciting terrorism " or "blackmail" for running successful protest campaigns against animal research companies^[4]. And in Austria, up to 40 animal rights activists are facing possible prison sentences for being part of a "criminal conspiracy" after successfully banning battery cages there.^[5]

Police See Activists As Potential Terrorists To Be Spied On

The NZ Police clearly regard animal rights activists, and anyone else who threatens corporate profits or the State, as potential terrorists who must be spied on. The Police Special Investigations Group was set up to investigate terrorism, and so far their main interest has been non-violent activist groups of various sorts. They paid Rob Gilchrist \$600 a week to report on animal rights groups, anarchists, peace groups, environmental groups and unions. They also spent hundreds of thousands of dollars investigating peace activist Harmeet Sooden after someone tagged the office of a company involved in arms dealing in Auckland^[6].

While there's no guaranteed way of detecting spies and informers there are a few things we can do to make it a bit more difficult for the spooks. The worst thing we could do is become paranoid and secretive, and to stop trusting each other. We do need to be far less tolerant of people in our movement who cause trouble and infighting. Even if they aren't spies we are better off without them. Tolerating disruptive dickheads just isn't worth the bother.

We should be making sure that everyone in our movements is aware of the way the Police operate. A lot of people without direct experience of spying still think it can't happen to them and don't take it seriously. At the other extreme some people have become so paranoid that they have stopped doing stuff or are convinced they are being followed all the time. We need to make sure our groups have a realistic (not naïve, but not paranoid either) idea of what the Police are up to in NZ. They have always spied on anyone they consider subversive and they have always lied about it, pretending it doesn't happen here. But, we shouldn't ever get complacent and just accept the fact that we are spied on in our so called democracy. We have to fight them, by exposing them every time they stuff up and get caught.

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[1] <http://www.courts.govt.nz/pubs/reports/2006/directory-of-official-information/list-n/29.html>

[2] The beauty of hindsight: Police informant caught after ten years <http://de.indymedia.org/2008/12/237332.shtml>

[3] See www.supporteric.org and <http://www.newsreview.com/sacramento/content?oid=80311>

[4] <http://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2008/12/416008.html>

[5] http://www.vgt.at/index_en.php

POLICE BUSTED!

How Police Spy Rob Gilchrist Was Exposed By His Partner

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- Rochelle Rees

Rochelle Rees was both an activist colleague and personal partner of Rob Gilchrist. It was her "counter-intelligence" work which outed him as a Police spy in December 2008. This slightly edited interview, detailing how she did it, was published in Liberate, an animal rights publication, in March 2009. It is reproduced with her permission. Ed.

What sort of stuff did he do as an activist, what was he like at demos, etc?

Everyone who has come across Rob over the past ten years has a different story to tell about him. His actions and spin seem to have differed depending on who was around and who he was trying to impress. For example, he was known to some as someone who would continuously hit on young women, and often make very sexist comments. To others, including myself, he never portrayed this side of himself. Quite some time before Rob was outed, one activist accused him of always standing across the road at protests, holding a cup of coffee and looking cool. It was claimed that this was all he ever did. I disagreed with this at the time, as Rob had been involved in organising some major events (though it turns out he played up his role in these).

Also, when Rob was standing across the road, he was generally listening to the Police scanner and keeping us up to date with what the Police were up to. I always found this a useful function, as with Rob around we would generally know in advance and be able to prepare when the Police were about to round us all up and arrest us. At the same time Rob was never involved in the action, and never did anything generally useful at protests. I don't think I ever saw him hold a banner or placard, or even chant at a protest – looking back, it's very strange we never thought much of that – as I can't think of anyone else who behaves that way.

How did you come to suspect Rob was working for the Police?

I had recently moved back up to Auckland, and was visiting Rob in Christchurch every second weekend. During my second visit back to Christchurch, Rob asked me (not for the first time) to fix his computer. It was running really slow and had got to the point where the best way to fix it was going to be to wipe the hard drive and rebuild the operating system. Rob had lost his Windows XP CD and serial key, and was unwilling to pay for a new copy, so we decided to install a nice user-friendly version of Linux (Open Source). Rob had previously stored his e-mails in Microsoft Outlook, which cannot be installed on Linux, so I had to transfer his e-mails into Mozilla Thunderbird, which is a similar programme, but open source and free and available on any operating system. Due to the Microsoft Outlook and Mozilla Thunderbird differences in the way they store data, the transfer was going to take a lot longer than I had initially thought. This was also largely due to Rob having many gigabytes worth of e-mails stored – all his e-mails from the previous three years. I ran out of time to complete the job while I was still in Christchurch, so I made a copy of the e-mails onto my laptop, and told Rob I would complete the transfer back in Auckland, and bring them back down on my next visit.

Two days later, on the 7th October 2008, I completed the data transfer, and went to do a quick check through all the e-mail folders to ensure that no e-mails had been corrupted. Everything looked fine until I got to the sent folder, where I saw a whole bunch of e-mails that at first glance looked as though they were corrupt. In the listing, it showed hundreds of e-mails with a blank sender address, and a blank subject. I assumed that the contents of these e-mails would also be blank, and so looked at one to check. I saw some random activist list e-mail that had been forwarded to a strange e-mail address - chuat@paradise.net.nz. I then looked at the next e-mail, which turned out to be a completely different activist-related e-mail, also forwarded to the same address. It may say something about my paranoid nature that I immediately had this sinking feeling, and somehow knew that Rob was working for someone. I looked through a few more finding exactly the same sort of thing, and I started to freak out.

I phoned (a friend and colleague) at work, on her cellphone, and asked her to come over. She asked if everything was ok, and I said no. She said she'd come over after work, and we hung up. I looked through a few more e-mails, freaking out more and more, and I phoned her and asked her to leave work and come over immediately. She agreed, knowing I wouldn't have asked if it wasn't urgent. When she arrived I told her my thoughts and asked her to tell me I was going crazy. I handed her my laptop and showed her through some of the e-mails. She came to the same conclusion as me, and we (mostly her) kept looking until we found more proof – e-mails with personal notes on them, and intelligence reports which could not have been written by anyone other than Rob.

When you found out what did you do?

We talked through what to do, but really had no idea what to do next. In the end we decided to phone Mark Eden, with whom we weren't even on speaking terms, largely due to Rob. But we desperately needed advice from someone "older and wiser", and felt we had no choice. So I phoned Mark out of the blue, told him we needed to talk about something that I couldn't go into over the phone, as we were worried about the Police listening in. Fortunately Mark agreed to meet us, and we arranged to fly to Wellington and meet him the following day, at the supermarket near where he lives. When we arrived the first thing we told Mark was that Rob was a cop and we had the proof. Still paranoid about possible Police surveillance, we stayed on the move with our cellphones off, wandering from place to place, including the Library where my laptop could be plugged in, and Mark could read the intelligence reports.

We talked through the options, like whether we had enough to make it public straight away, or whether more information could be obtained first. We talked about whether publicity would be a good idea, or whether Rob should only be outed within the activist communities. In the end we made a decision to contact Nicky Hager, as he's an investigative journalist, and had been involved in the outing of the last two spies caught – Ryan Patterson-Rouse and Somali Young who had infiltrated Christchurch and Wellington environmental, animal rights and peace activist groups for the private investigation firm Thompson & Clark (*Patterson-Rouse had infiltrated the Save Happy Valley Campaign in Christchurch; Young had infiltrated animal rights and peace groups in Wellington.Ed.*).

Nicky also knew Rob, and had written a story for the front page of the *Sunday Star Times* in April 2008 featuring Rob's outing of Gavin Clark from Thompson & Clark for approaching him to also spy for them (20/4/08; "*Private Investigators Still Digging On West Coast*", online at [. We went back to Mark's house and Mark phoned Nicky. Mark asked Nicky to come over, but wouldn't say anything over the phone except that yes we had found "another one". When Nicky arrived we told him about Rob, and he was as shocked as we had been. It was agreed that we would keep things quiet while we finished looking through the e-mails etc, and that I would continue things with Rob as per normal for the time being.](http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/377237.Ed.)

Did you manage to gather much info on his spying?

I already had flights booked to visit Rob that weekend, and I decided to go ahead with that visit for two reasons. Firstly, I didn't want Rob to know anything was up, and secondly I wanted the opportunity to search his house and see what else I could find out. During that week I was too messed up to work, so I spent my time off continuing to read Rob's e-mails, and planning how to gain more information. We did a title search on Rob's house and found out that he didn't own it, despite him claiming that he did.

There was one encrypted Word document in the e-mails, and naturally I thought it must contain some pretty big information, given it was the only thing encrypted, and it was titled "AK Op". I, with a close friend who is also a computer programmer, searched for ways to decrypt the document. First we tried running a password cracker on the document, however it turned out the password was a decent one – it wasn't made up of dictionary words, and it was greater than eight characters in length, so was going to take a super computer and a lot of time to crack it that way! I spent hours searching the Internet, as I knew being Microsoft the encryption would be pretty crap and there had to be some easy way of doing it. Eventually I found this nice Website where I could upload the encrypted Word document, and it would decrypt it for me. After uploading, the Website showed me the first paragraph of the document, and told me I could get the rest if I paid \$A40.98. The first paragraph had me sold, and I paid the money - giving cash to a friend outside of activism to use their credit card, as I couldn't risk any unusual transactions from my own accounts. A few seconds later I was reading through the decrypted document, which turned out to be of a similar nature to the two non-encrypted ones we had found.

My next brilliant idea was to find some spyware to put on Rob's phone so I could monitor his phone calls and text messages. Since Rob had a Windows mobile phone, I knew this wouldn't be too difficult a task – Microsoft is notorious for leaving gaping security holes in its software. I found a Website where for \$NZ86.01 I could open an account that would allow me to use some nice spyware for three months. I downloaded the spyware, read through the instructions and had it all ready to install on Rob's phone when I got to Christchurch.

Next, again with the help of my computer programmer friend, I wrote a nice shell script ready to set a cron* task on Rob's computer that would upload any new e-mails and documents to me every hour that his computer was on. Fortunately, due to having installed Linux on Rob's computer, this was also going to be an easy task, as the Linux operating system is designed to be used as a server or a developer's computer, and is therefore easy to modify to get it to do what you want. The entire script ended up being less than 20 lines of code! * *A cron task is a job set up to run on a computer using Linux. Ed.*

So I arrived in Christchurch that Friday night, and when Rob went to the bathroom, I Bluetoothed the spyware from my laptop to his cellphone, installed it, and from that moment on I could log into this Website and view any new text messages and phone calls he made. The beauty of the spyware was that it was completely invisible on Rob's phone, and the only way to get back into it was by typing a special code. The next day while I was in bed having a nap, Rob was texting another female activist telling her he wanted to sleep with her. Of course he had no idea that when I was sitting on my laptop next to him, I was reading the text messages he was sending.

I asked Rob to borrow his phone, with the excuse that I was trialling some Websites to run on mobile phones, and since he had such a cool phone with nice Web browsers, it would be great to test my Websites on his phone. I then sat down and typed into my laptop all of Rob's contact phone numbers. Next, I hopped onto Rob's computer with the excuse that I was transferring all of his old e-mails back onto it. I took a backup copy of all of his files, and installed the script to automatically upload for me anything new.

Then I got Rob out of the house for a couple of hours so I could search it. Unfortunately he kept his house pretty clean, no doubt because I had been living there until recently. I took copies of all storage media – CD's, floppy discs etc, but unfortunately none of them had anything of use on them. When I got back to Auckland, I signed up for "Your Telecom" on Rob's account, which I could do easily as I already had a login to view his broadband usage, as I had needed it when I lived there. Logging into that gave me his account number which was all I needed to gain access to his phone bills from the past 12 months. I downloaded and stored these and later used them to match up dates and phone calls for other purposes.

It also turned out that Rob had his Diners Club credit card, and Kiwibank account statements e-mailed to him – so I had the past three years of each of these. Unfortunately none of these statements contained any details of money from the Police. We did get proof of payments however, as Rob was receiving text message alerts regarding any deposits on a completely different account – called "Urban Camouflage Limited" - a company Rob owned, which we never knew anything about. The texts showed weekly cash deposits of \$600, one of which happened to coincide with text messages between Rob and his handler, talking about a trip to the bank the following day.

What kinds of information was he sending to the Police?

Rob was forwarding any and all activist-related e-mails he received to the Police. Of course it helped that he was on almost every public and organising e-mail list for almost every activist group in the country. He was also forwarding personal e-mails from activists. In most scenarios Rob was removing the headers from the e-mails he forwarded – and the only conclusion I can possibly draw from that is that he was trying to make himself look more important by not telling the Police that they were easily obtained e-mails from e-mail lists. Rob would also comment on particular e-mails, and organise with them to get funds to fly around the country and attend protests – this included giving them quotes for flights, accommodation, rental cars, and "general expenses".

We also found three "intelligence reports" - one being the encrypted one mentioned above. Two of these had lists of questions posed by the police, with Rob's answers to them. The other one was simply a report by Rob after a trip he made up to Auckland. The information was largely to do with the Auckland Animal Rights scene and the people involved. He gave the police updated addresses, photographs, and licence plate numbers of the Auckland animal rights activists, presumably to help them with further surveillance.

The reports also contained information about who was in a sexual relationship with who, who was fighting or bitching about who, and other general gossip. He also answered questions about what printers, etc, we had access to; who were the current main organisers and decision makers; and what future protest actions we were likely to take. The reference to what printers we had access to, was because the Police had wanted to know who was responsible for printing the Tegel stickers we made to stick on poultry products in supermarkets.

The reports also had questions answered about other groups in Auckland, including anti-war and climate change groups, and possible actions planned for visits by foreign diplomats. Rob's phone bills showed that he was in constant contact with his handlers during any major events. There were also many references in the e-mails to other forms of communication. For example, some e-mails were subject-lined things such as "discuss with me". There was also another e-mail that simply said: "She's working from home today, I'll let you know when I can escape". This was referring to a day when I had been working from home, and Rob was clearly trying to "escape" from me so he could talk to them. In the intelligence reports, Rob also makes reference to photographs on an "attached CD" - so presumably he was generally posting or handing over directly his intelligence reports or other information.

Was the information focused on specific individuals or groups and campaigns?

The information focused both on specific individuals, and on groups and campaigns. Some examples of the questions the Police asked Rob, spanning the period 2005-07, are:

Climate Change Groups

What is happening with climate change groups in Auckland?

Who is involved?

What actions might they be considering for the future?

What specific plans are in place for Climate Day of Action 07/07?

Q - What is the structure of AAA (*Auckland Animal Action, which dissolved in 2008. Ed.*) and who fills the key positions?

Q – How does AAA communicate and promote demonstrations?

Q – Do they use/have access to chat rooms etc?

Q – Update Addresses/Ph (cell and landline) Numbers/Vehicle details of AAA members.

Q – What is the proposed activist activity for the rest of the year?

Q – Who is responsible for the stickers on Tegel products?

Q – Where is the printer/scanner/etc for the above stickers?

Q – What other activity is proposed against Tegel or any other chicken suppliers?

Q – Are there any anti war/anti-US demonstrations planned to coincide with the Turkish Prime Minister's visit? (December 05).

Q – Information regarding the 26th November Grey Lynn festival.

Q – Are there any other plans for that weekend?

Anti-War/Anti-American Groups

What is happening within these organisations?

What sort of numbers are now involved?

What activities or targeting do they have planned for the future?

ANZCCART (Australian and New Zealand Council for the Care of Animals in Research and Teaching)

Who from New Zealand will be looking at travelling to Melbourne for ANZCCART in early July?

Where will they be staying and mode of travel in Australia?

Who is their contact person in Australia?

US Independence Day 04 July

What protest activity is being organised around this event in Auckland and Wellington?

Who will be involved?

APEC Sydney September 2007

Who will be looking at going to this event?

Realistically, who is likely to end up actually travelling?

Where will they be staying?

Who will their contact person be in Australia?

What will their mode of travel be?

Pre/Post APEC in NZ

Is there any intell that suggests people are aware of the possibility of visits to NZ by VIP's either side of APEC?

Are there any plans afoot for protest activity for any such VIP's they think may be visiting?

How detailed was the information he was sending through?

The information Rob sent to the Police was extremely detailed. He included very personal information about activists and the activities they were involved in.

Do you think it was particularly accurate or useful to the cops?

Large amounts for the data Rob gave the Police would have been useful to them in forming a picture of who the core organisers were, and therefore who to target or surveil further. Most of the information he sent them was fairly accurate, however there were many bits that were either mistakes or complete lies. For instance, Rob claims in one of the documents that for security measures in Auckland Animal Action's fur campaign, we were apparently "picking

targets out of a hat” so no one would know the protest location in advance. Not a bad idea given how much we now know about the Police interest in what we do – but seriously, we have never done anything so ridiculous!

Do you think Rob’s work as an informer was aimed at intelligence gathering or at disrupting groups and campaigns?

I think most of Rob's work as an informer was aimed at intelligence gathering – in particular where it would help the Police use further surveillance on us, and know who to target. However a fair bit of Rob's work was disrupting groups and campaigns. In the first instance, Rob was notorious for stirring up trouble between various activists. He was very good at manipulating situations so he could discredit anyone he deemed to be a threat, and at the same time ensure it never came back to bite him. For example, he spread a rumour that one young activist was a Police informer, no doubt because that particular person didn't like him, and he wanted to discredit that person to ensure that they couldn't cause him any damage. Since the truth has come out, everyone seems to have a different story about the ways that Rob disrupted activities, and caused arguments between various people.

Secondly, the intelligence Rob gave to the Police helped them to disrupt our activities. In October 2003, Auckland Animal Action staged a symbolic protest at the Tegel Chicken head office, where we spread some hay through the office to highlight the fact that Tegel don't even give chickens the basic necessities like hay. Jesse Duffield, who is a schoolteacher, and therefore was very careful about not getting himself into trouble, decided that while he didn't want to participate in the hay throwing, he would hand over a letter to the Tegel receptionist explaining why the rest of us were.

While the rest of us expected we might be arrested for disorderly behaviour or some other minor charge, we never expected the extreme reaction from the Police that we got. Before the protest, only nine of us knew about the protest, and seven of us participated. We never spoke about the protest on the phone, in a car or house, with our cellphones on etc, as we didn't want the Police to know about the protest before it happened in case they would stop it happening. As it happens, the Police knew well in advance what we were planning, as Rob had told them. Below is something I wrote in 2004 proving that we had an informant in our midst, though of course at the time I had no idea who it was.

The Police TAU monitoring and following protesters

Firstly, until the house raids and charges in relation to the Belucci case in May 2004 (*where a number of activists, including Rochelle Rees, were arrested at an Auckland fashion shop of that name, which sold fur products. Ed.*), we had never heard of the Police Threat Assessment Unit (TAU). Throughout Jesse Duffield's Tegel case, no mention was made in any disclosure of the TAU, despite it being them who brought this case. I believe they intentionally hid their identity from us, so as not to alert us to their covert monitoring of our group.

It wasn't until the second round of house raids and charges by the TAU in the Belucci case that they revealed their identity to us. I believe they only did so as it was necessary to prosecute the case. It was only after the Belucci case when I re-read Jesse's Police disclosure from the Tegel case, that with all the further information about the TAU and the officers involved, I realised that they must have been heavily monitoring us and have followed us to the Tegel demonstration. The following is information to prove this (all facts and time estimates other than when stated are from the Police disclosure):

The Tegel protest occurred on the 2nd October 2003 some time between 2 p.m. and 2.30 p.m. The demonstration lasted less than one minute – the entire thing was videoed. According to a statement from Detective Sergeant Mike Paki, he arrived at the Tegel office at 2.40 p.m. According to a statement from Detective Malcolm Jones, he arrived at the Tegel office at 2.15 p.m. In the search warrant application for Jesse's house and car, written by Detective Sergeant David Nimmo, he states he was in the Auckland suburb of Newmarket at approximately 2.15 p.m. on an unrelated matter. He claims to have seen six persons run from the entrance to Tegel Foods Limited.

Both Detective Sergeant Mike Paki and Detective Sergeant David Nimmo were involved in the later house raids in the Belucci case, and then identified themselves as being from the TAU. In both cases, Detective Sergeant Mike Paki was the officer in charge. I believe this on its own is enough to prove that the TAU knew in advance that we were going to do the Tegel protest, and followed us there on the day. The TAU is located at Harlech House Police Station in Otahuhu, which is at least a 25 minute drive from Newmarket. I believe that had these detectives been at work at Harlech House, there is no way that they could have arrived in Newmarket as quickly as they did. They must have already been in the area. In Detective Sergeant Mike Paki's statement, he opens with:

“While conducting enquiries with Detective JONES to possible targets for Animal Action Week, in the

Auckland Region we went to the business premises of Tegel Foods Ltd, Carlton Gore Road, Newmarket Auckland. As we entered the premises, on the forth floor we arrived into the reception area. Farm hay had been thrown throughout the area and further down walkways between office partitions. The hay had also been thrown over desks and computers”.

This seems to me to be a fairly far-fetched coincidence that these detectives just happened to be making enquiries about possible animal rights protests at almost exactly the same time as the protest finished. In the search warrant application written by Detective Sergeant David Nimmo he states:

“On 02.10.03, at approximately 2.15 p.m., I was in the Auckland suburb of Newmarket on an unrelated matter. At this time I observed a group of six persons run from the Morgan Street entrance to Tegel Foods Limited situated at 100 Carlton Gore Road, Newmarket. I watched the group run up Morgan Street in the direction of the Auckland Domain. The group of persons consisted of both males and females. A short time later I was listening to the Auckland Central Police radio. I heard the Police dispatcher request Police attendance at a situation which had just occurred at Tegel Foods Limited situated at 100 Carlton Gore Road, Newmarket. As a result of hearing the Police dispatcher I drove my plain Police vehicle into the Auckland Domain to look for the group that I had just seen run from the Morgan Street entrance to Tegel Foods Limited situated at 100 Carlton Gore Road, Newmarket”.

This seems to me like another far-fetched coincidence – that a detective from the Police TAU just happened to be in the area, in a plain Police vehicle, apparently on an unrelated matter, and see us leave the Tegel building. Further evidence from Detective Malcolm Jones says that a while after arriving at the Tegel office, he was directed by Detective Sergeant Paki to make contact with the Northern Communications Centre to request the assistance of a uniform incident car. The Police statements in the disclosure also show that apart from Detectives Paki, Jones and Nimmo, no other officers were on the scene until 2.55 p.m.

It would be strange for three plain clothed detectives with plain cars to be at the scene before any standard uniformed Police and cars if Tegel had phoned 111 when the incident occurred, but makes sense if the TAU had arranged prior to the protest to be there. Further evidence of the TAU's surveillance is that before the protest we only talked about it with the people involved. No e-mails were sent about the protest, and no communication was made with the wider group. We were also careful not to talk about the protest on a telephone. Therefore for the TAU to have known about our protest in advance, they must have had us under surveillance either by having an infiltrator in the group, or by following us.

What unit in the Police was Rob working for?

We found out what Police unit Rob was working for by working out who his handlers were. We looked at the contact numbers in his phone, and then how often he was in contact with them from his phone bills, and then who we thought was dodgy from our knowledge of him. Rob had this mysterious “Uncle Pete” who he often talked about. Rob had claimed his “Uncle Pete” was an old friend of his father’s, and like Rob, was ex-SAS (Special Air Service). Since we now knew from another e-mail that Rob had never been in the SAS, and in fact not even in the regular Army – he had only been (in his own words) a “low-level grunt” in the Territorials – we thought it was unlikely his “Uncle Pete” had been either. Also strange was that in the whole year I had lived in Christchurch with Rob, I had never met his “Uncle Pete”.

We also had a Police identification number from the questionnaires sent to Rob, which were Microsoft Word Documents. They showed the organisation as being “The New Zealand Police”, and the author as being “PG4369”. Police identification numbers start with the officer’s initials, so “Pete” fitted with this. Further investigations done by Nicky Hager showed that “Uncle Pete” was, in fact, a Police detective by the name of Peter Gilroy, working for the Police Special Investigations Unit (SIG).

We then looked at the other “Uncles” on Rob's phone, and found that they were all also Police officers, one - “Uncle John” - turned out to be John Sjoberg, the head of the SIG in Christchurch. Since the SIG was only set up in 2004, I assumed that before then Rob had worked for the Threat Assessment Unit (TAU), as they had been the main Police unit until then involved in activist surveillance. In any case, both the SIG and the TAU are part of the Combined Threat Assessment Group (CTAG). When Rob was confronted, he confirmed that he had been working for the TAU before the SIG was set up.

What does this unit do?

Both the SIG and the TAU were set up to monitor and counter domestic terrorism threats. Other than activist

surveillance, it is quite difficult to ascertain what these units do, as there really aren't any domestic terrorists in New Zealand. No doubt they also have informants inside mosques, and any other groups they consider a threat.

Apart from using Rob do you have any other idea about how this unit monitors activists?

We know from the Police disclosure in some of our protest cases that the Threat Assessment Unit have plain clothed detectives who come to our protests. A statement written by Detective Darryl Petherick in the search warrant application for the Belucci case says: "I am currently attached to the Threat Assessment Unit. Included in this role I monitor and gather intelligence on animal rights groups and activists. This intelligence gathering includes attending protest action of various kinds without making my presence known to protesters. By doing this I can familiarise myself with protesters' identities, involvement, and associations with each other and groups they are representing. One of these is animal rights group, Auckland Animal Action. My role in monitoring this group involves being familiar with its member's identities, and their actions, and monitoring and following ongoing campaigns". We also know from the October 15 (2007) "terror" case, which has still to come to trial, that the Police have used interception warrants to bug phones and cars, and that they have also used other informants.

Was this the same unit that raided your and several other houses a few years back?

Yes – the Police Threat Assessment Unit were responsible for all of the raids on the homes of Auckland animal rights activists over the past few years.

Why do you think the Police are so interested in activist groups and what do you think the broader picture is?

I believe the Police are interested in activist groups because these specialist units were set up to counter "terrorism" and "national security" threats. Since they have nothing better to do, there being no terrorists in New Zealand, they are using activist groups as target practice, and to justify their existence. The Government were warned this would happen when these units were set up as a reaction to the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center, now it has been proven. Unfortunately it doesn't seem as if either major political party in New Zealand has any intent on changing anything.

How do you think the Police were using the information he provided?

After being confronted Rob claimed that he was just a "gatherer" and that his information went to the "profilers" who would assess the information and work out whether there was any risk. This may or may not be true – certainly Rob's role was as a "gatherer", but whether or not there are some sort of high-level Police "profilers" working on activist stuff I have no idea. The Police also used the information Rob provided to target further surveillance at us, and disrupt our groups with pointless house raids and arrests.

Are you surprised at the things he did as an infiltrator, for example, inciting illegal acts?

Nothing surprises me anymore! But seriously, it makes sense that Police informers would incite illegal acts. Firstly, any informer will be trying to keep their job – that means of course proving that they have a reason to exist. Being able to prove some sort of illegal activity keeps them in work. Rob ran the "direct action training camps" for animal rights a few years ago. He came up with the idea, invited people, organised, and ran them. The people who were there attended for various reasons – some would have been there just for fun, some to learn how to plan civil disobedience actions – such as chaining yourself to a shop selling fur, and some no doubt wanted to learn how to break into factory farms to gain video footage to get on television, and to liberate animals. I attended really for all three of those reasons. Interestingly, the only illegal actions I have heard of since have been those mentioned. The only other illegal action referred to in any of Rob's "intelligence" was a meat billboard which was spraypainted in Wellington. Interestingly, the people who he claimed did it were in Auckland at the time and can prove it.

Rob wasn't particularly involved in many campaigns in 2008 before he was outed, do you think that the Police are using other infiltrators instead?

I think it is fair to assume that the Police will already have other infiltrators within our groups. And if they don't, no doubt they will be attempting to get others in. Likewise, it has been over two years since the two spies for Thompson & Clark were outed, so it would be fair to assume there are other spies for private investigators involved. At the same time I don't think it's anything to get paranoid about or worry about. Rob was involved for ten years and aside from causing some shit between people, and a few arrests that led nowhere, nothing bad has happened. We should be alert for any signs of infiltrators, but we shouldn't let our focus be deterred from the things we are fighting for. We

also shouldn't get so paranoid that we exclude new people or are suspicious of each other.

What lessons do you think the animal rights community as well as the broader activist networks can learn from this?

Most importantly what we can learn from this, and the ousting of the Thompson & Clark spies, is that we are so bloody effective in what we do that they actually consider us a real threat! The other lesson we can learn from Rob, is that when someone is causing shit, we need to talk to each other about it, and we need to get rid of people that cause trouble. Not because all troublemakers are spies, but because all troublemakers generally do damage to us.

How has this saga affected you? Will you continue to be involved in activist groups?

On a personal level, obviously this has affected me a great deal. I wouldn't say that I was "devastated" or anything about Rob, as to be honest I don't think I ever saw our relationship as that serious anyway. Towards the end the only reason I didn't leave him was because he continued to beg me to stay with him. But no doubt this whole thing has affected the level of trust I will place in people. I largely inherited my trust of Rob from the fact that everyone around me when I met him seemed to like and trust him. That makes me re-assess everyone I know and think about why I like and trust them. I will continue to be involved in activist groups. If anything, this makes me more determined to keep going and prove that they can't shut us down no matter how hard they try.

Will you be taking further action such as a private prosecution or a complaint to the so-called "Independent Police Complaints Authority"?

I have some ideas in the pipeline for further action – however I won't publicise them yet, as I don't want to give the game away to the Police.

In the recent *V Word* podcast* the commentators discussed why it was that we, as a movement, and some of us, even more so, as close friends of Rob's, put up with Rob's sexist behaviour. I thought it was interesting because as *V Word* commented many of us would consider ourselves staunch feminists and so should be speaking out against such behaviour. As someone who has been good friends with Rob for some time what are your thoughts on this? **The V Word podcast is a monthly podcast done by Meat Free Media. You can listen to it on their Website at www.meatfreemedia.com. Ed*

Rob was very good at modifying his behaviour depending on who he was around. The people I associated with would never have tolerated the sort of sexist or other disgusting behaviour we have heard about from others. For that reason I believe Rob never acted like that around us. Certainly I would never have gone near him if I had know the sort of person he really was (spying aside). Rob also seemed to have acted rather differently around males than females. With the males he seemed to try and incite illegal action more overtly. He would also put on the macho attitude and make more sexist comments. Perhaps the groups I was in being more female-dominated is another reason why I didn't see much of his disgusting behaviour.

SIS SPIED ON PEACE MOVEMENT FOR DECADES

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- **Murray Horton**

Starting in 2008, the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS) has been releasing censored versions of historic Personal Files that it held on all manner of people, primarily but not exclusively, political activists. I have been told that my now “moribund” Personal File covered the years 1969-2002. At the time of writing I have only received three pages of it, with no indication of when I will receive the rest (I have appealed to the Privacy Commissioner about the length of time it is taking). To the best of my knowledge, the only organisation to receive its SIS file is the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA). I wrote about this in a very long article in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 120, May 2009 (“SIS Spied On CAFCA For A Quarter Of A Century”, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/20/06.htm>). The following is a drastically shorter version of that, covering historic SIS spying on peace groups and peace activists.

Spying On Peace Groups & Activists

A leading peace activist (who was not the subject of a Personal File) got a January 2009 letter from SIS Director, Warren Tucker (the only SIS member who can be legally identified) in which he said that the SIS had kept files on the following peace groups: the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies, Peace Movement Aotearoa, Women for Peace, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (NZ), and the NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association. The small amount of SIS file material released to that person included a 1987 newspaper photo of peace educators newly appointed by the Ministry of Education and the SIS had helpfully gone through all the names in the caption and written their various classifications next to them (Personal File, In Records, Not In Records). Tucker explained that it had been necessary to spy on these groups because they had been infiltrated by “cynical Communists”.

Courtesy of reading various other people’s files and the CAFCA one, I know that the SIS had a Personal File on Larry Ross, veteran Christchurch peace activist, tireless campaigner for a nuclear free NZ in the 1980s and the leading figure in the NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association. Larry, who was active up until earlier this decade, is retired now and in his 80s but his appetite has been whetted and he has applied for both his Personal File and the one on the organisation which he founded and headed in his successful and historic campaign to have NZ declared a nuclear free country. Peace Movement Aotearoa is thinking of applying for its file. See Maire Leadbeater’s article, below, which chronicles the SIS spying on a leading peace and anti-nuclear activist for decades.

Owen Wilkes

The late Owen Wilkes, NZ’s world famous peace researcher and ABC founder, appears right throughout the SIS file on CAFCA and he is recorded as being the subject of a Personal File. He is portrayed as being some sort of mastermind. For example, the first of the ten SIS memos to the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) at the US Embassy in Wellington about what was then called CAFKINZ (1975) says: “Owen R. WILKES is the main organiser and activist in both CAFMANZ (Campaign Against Foreign Military Activities In NZ and CAFKINZ (Campaign Against Foreign Control In NZ)”. When I went overseas in 1978 the SIS attached great significance to the fact that I (and my then partner) was going to visit Owen in Sweden (he spent six years working for Scandinavian peace research institutes).

The most fascinating report on Owen is a December 1985 one entitled “PROTEST ACTIVITY AGAINST THE SERVICE: ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT CAMPAIGNS”. In it they recognised Owen as a formidable foe. Some extracts: “CAFKINZ and its leading personalities have had a longstanding involvement in protest against this Service. Under the direction of Murray Donald HORTON (Personal File), CAFKINZ was responsible for coordinating protest and harassment activity against Service premises in Christchurch in the mid-to-late 1970s...The Service regained prominence in CAFKINZ’s interests in late 1983 with the acknowledgement by New Zealand Customs of its referral of WILKES’ incoming overseas mail to the NZSIS. CAFKINZ took up the cause of one of its founding members with gusto and apparently cooperated with WILKES in the formation of the Christchurch Peace Research Institute (PRI)... For a variety of reasons, the temperature appears to be rising in anti-SIS feeling over recent months. CAFKINZ appears to be taking the lead and this may be because of WILKES’ personal vendetta as much as CAFKINZ’s need to find a new issue on which to focus, now that the nuclear free and anti-ANZUS issues have become more widely popular and self-sustaining. WILKES brings a sophistication to anti-SIS activity that has not been much in evidence in the past. His Scandinavian experience has already been evident in CAFKINZ and PRI activity and there is, as yet, no reason to disbelieve that the type of information gathering techniques WILKES

claimed were being used against Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) and Defence (irrespective of their success) were not in fact undertaken and could not be used against this Service. The failure, by CAFCINZ and others, to achieve any measure of success against the Service via the Official Information Act does not appear to have dampened their enthusiasm...A campaign to expose the activities of the NZSIS is being initiated. It is possible that a degree of sophistication and perseverance not previously seen may be employed by individuals involved. There is an apparent climate of support from the radical Left for such a campaign". Owen's family is applying for his Personal File. It will be a whopper and it will make fascinating reading. *Peace Researcher* devoted a special issue to Owen, after his 2005 suicide. It is number 31, October 2005, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>

Spying On MPs A Step Too Far

The most high profile and controversial Personal File to have been released is that of Keith Locke, the Green MP, veteran ABC activist and Waihopai spybase protester (as one of the children of Jack and Elsie Locke and brother of Maire Leadbeater, Keith had also been the subject of a Personal File since he was 11 and onwards for 50 years). The most controversial aspect of his file was that the last entry was as recently as 2006, seven years after he was elected to Parliament as a Green MP. The SIS took a close interest in his meetings, as an MP, with members of NZ's Tamil community and a factfinding trip that he made to wartorn Sri Lanka earlier this decade. Keith made the point that the SIS was spying on meetings that he was holding with his constituents. Unlike me, and others, Keith hasn't received an assurance from SIS Director Tucker that the SIS has stopped spying on him; nor (unlike me) has he received an assurance from Tucker that "...you have never encouraged unlawful activity such as sabotage, subversion or terrorism...". Spying on "old Lefties" (Tucker's phrase) is one thing, but spying on a sitting MP is quite another. The revelation led to uproar in Parliament, the media and among the public. John Key, as Minister in Charge of the SIS (it's always the Prime Minister) ordered Paul Neazor, the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, to investigate. He produced an unusually speedy report recommending that the SIS should not spy on MPs, but gave the spies a great big escape clause by saying that if they have to it should be cleared with the Speaker (a member of the governing party). Neazor also dipped his toe into the broader issue of the SIS files and said: "Historically, because of the extensive cross-referencing system, when a Personal File existed, information from any source about that person could find its way to the file. It could produce a vacuum cleaner approach to collecting" (*Press*, 18/3/09; "Watchdog slates scale of SIS files", Mike Houlahan). So that's where all us "old Lefties" et al are – we've been sucked up into the dustbag of (the SIS version of) history.

One of the last entries in Keith's Personal File is the handwritten word "Eeeexcellent!" accompanying a selection of letters critical of him published in various papers in very recent years. The Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security wrote in his report: "Mr Locke suggested that some at least of this material might have been gathered because of his critical stance in Parliament on intelligence issues. All I can say is that one notation which could have given that impression was certainly unprofessional and ought not to have appeared on a file of a neutral intelligence service". I would like to hear the SIS' definition of neutrality.

Waihopai Barely Mentioned In The Files

CAFCINZ grew out of the anti-Vietnam War movement and the original anti-bases campaign of the 1960s and early 1970s. As such, there is a lot of material in the SIS file on CAFCINZ/CAFCA relating to those anti-bases protests (along with nonsense such as trying to prove allegations that CAFCINZ was responsible for the 1970s' "sabotage" of the US military communications aerials situated in the disused former Royal New Zealand Air Force base at Weedons, near Christchurch. They were apparently dropped as a protest against NZ port visits by US nuclear warships but nobody ever claimed credit for it and nobody was ever charged with it. Neither I nor CAFCA had anything to do with it, nor knew anything about it. In fact, I was living in Sydney at the time and that was known to the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), proven by the fact that two of the three pages of my SIS Personal File thus far released to me consists of 1970s' memos between the Directors, no less, of ASIO and the SIS, about me living and being politically active in Sydney at that time.

And ABC grew out of CAFCA, in the late 1980s and has conducted a campaign against the Waihopai spybase ever since. I find it fascinating that the word "Waihopai" is barely mentioned in the 400+ documents released to CAFCA, so obviously all that stuff on the movement to shut down that spy base is held by the GCSB (which operates Waihopai and whose immediate past Director was the very same Warren Tucker). As SIS Director, Tucker wrote to the subject of one Personal File that the GCSB refused to authorise the SIS to release some GCSB documents about the subject that the SIS had in that Personal File. And Police Intelligence (which is the source for so much of the material in the SIS files that I've read, particularly the CAFCA one) is not offering to throw open the archives either (it mistakenly did so once, back in the mid 80s, when it auctioned a Christchurch filing cabinet containing historic pre-computer index cards on 800 "criminals", of which I was one). So it's not quite the Age of Aquarius just

yet. To test the water, I have written to both the GCSB and Police asking for all file material that they hold on me. The GCSB replied, saying that it does not have a file on me (but the letter did say that the GCSB files *Peace Researcher*, so hello boys).

Enemies List

That's not to say that there is nothing in the files about Christchurch peace organisations and activists. There is but very little. And some of that is a truly petty kind. The SIS kept a literal enemies list of those who campaigned against it and makes no bones about it. This was made extremely explicit in Tucker's letter to me (4/2/09): "You ask if you are still 'a person of interest' to the NZSIS. The answer is that you are only of interest to us as long as you are interested in us. You have campaigned publicly for the abolition of this Service but you have never encouraged unlawful activity such as sabotage, subversion or terrorism...". It's a relief that campaigning publicly for the abolition of the SIS is not equated with sabotage, subversion or terrorism.

This enemies list was maintained right down to the level of finding out who were the writers of critical letters to the editor. For example, Anti-Bases Campaign founder, Warren Thomson, (whose later multiple arrests led to his nickname of Waihopai Warren) had one such letter published in the *Press* in 1990. This was duly clipped and filed, along with Warren's address, phone number and occupation (as gleaned from the electoral roll and phone book). The accompanying report described him as "probably being the author of a derogatory letter about the NZSIS". For the record, Warren's letter cited an Australian Prime Minister who had called his spies a "bunch of stumblebums" and said that the description applied to the SIS.

Oversight? What's That?

The SIS has been a controversial and repeatedly incompetent agency throughout its more than 50 years of existence. That is a whole other article (book, more likely) in itself. Suffice to list three of their most spectacular cockups: the 1970s' persecution of Dr WB Sutch (which led to him being acquitted of espionage charges under the former Official Secrets Act, the only such case in NZ's history; the more recent persecution, this decade, of Ahmed Zaoui, which was most recently detailed in *Peace Researcher* 35, December 2007, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-153.html>; and the 1996 bungled break in at the Christchurch home of activist Aziz Choudry (see *Peace Researcher* 19/20, November/December 1999, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/choudry.htm> for the most succinct summary of this case). None of those three regarded the SIS as a joke. I haven't even mentioned the legendary stuffups like the SIS agent who left his briefcase on a Wellington footpath, containing his ID card, a pie and a *Penthouse* (that one definitely was a joke). Is there any accountability? The far from reassuring answer is, bugger all. I've already mentioned the Inspector General of Intelligence and Security. Laurie Greig, the first one, had to resign because he made a fool of himself during the protracted Zaoui case (while Zaoui, of course, spent nearly two years in prison, half of that in maximum security, with no charge and no trial). His successor, Paul Neazor, could only be better but even if he was intent on exercising real oversight, he can't. He has no staff, no resources, and is dependent on the spies to supply him with the information he needs to "investigate" them.

Every Minor Detail Is Kept Secret

Then there is the Intelligence and Security Committee, which is not a Parliamentary Select Committee but a committee of Government, controlled by the Prime Minister. There are only five members – the PM, Leader of the Opposition and their respective appointees. Since the 2008 election, the three new appointees are: Act Leader Rodney Hide, Maori Party Leader Tariana Turia and Green Co-Leader Russel Norman. There has been some media comment that these three (two from the governing coalition and one from the Opposition) may spice things up a bit and start to turn the Committee into a proper oversight body, instead of a Government rubberstamp. But any would-be reformers face an uphill struggle – members are committed to secrecy about any proceedings of the Committee, which only meets a couple of times per year (and for less than an hour per meeting). And it gets worse. ABC wrote to the Office of the Prime Minister, under the Official Information Act, asking to be notified, retrospectively, of each meeting; how long each meeting lasted; and a list of who attended each meeting. We received a reply saying that, as the Committee is not a department or organisation as defined in the Official Information Act, it is not subject to it, and our request was declined.

Effective oversight is possible – for example, the US Congress held public hearings into CIA abuses as far back as the 1970s. In that same decade the then Australian Attorney General, the late Lionel Murphy, feared that the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) was not giving him accurate information about the likelihood of Croatian fascist terrorists, resident in Australia, trying to assassinate the Yugoslav PM during a forthcoming State visit. So Murphy did something unheard of - he led a March 1973 police raid of ASIO's HQ to inspect their files for himself.

We look forward with eager anticipation to this happening in Wellington. Of course, nothing like those two examples has ever happened in NZ, where politicians of both major parties have always been willing accomplices of the code of silence that accompanies matters of “national security” in this country. Lazy, gutless cowards, is the phrase that comes to mind (with a few honourable exceptions, of course). Pardon the pun but there has definitely been an oversight about oversight, in that there isn't any worthy of the name.

A major question is why the SIS has suddenly started dishing out these files willy nilly. I don't intend to get into the speculation about that, ask the SIS. A lot of the credit is being given to Warren Tucker wielding a new broom as Director, with one commentator depicting him as some sort of Mikhail Gorbachev bringing glasnost to a hitherto secret society. Considering that Gorbachev played a major role in the demise of the Soviet Union, the State that he headed, here's hoping that Tucker can do the same for the SIS. We can but dream. The SIS is still wedded to the obsolete culture of secrecy and an obsessive hunt for “enemies”. It used to be Communists and “Russian spies” (Sutch was their only attempt at nabbing one and they came a most spectacular gutser). Then it became “Muslim terrorists” (Zaoui paid the price for that). Latterly the covert State (with the Police taking the lead and a salivating tabloid media in tow) has focused on “Maori terrorists”, allied with a mishmash of pakeha anarchists and other odds and sods. That has yet to come to trial (see my article “A Bad Case Of ‘Terrorism’ Hysteria” in *Peace Researcher* 35, December 2007, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-156.html>). The current global crisis of capitalism will see Communists back in fashion as targets for the spies.

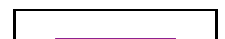
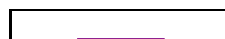
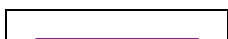
We Say Scrap The SIS

But the SIS still can't justify its existence and it never could (the files released certainly don't provide any evidence of its indispensability). Both ABC and CAFCA have consistently called for its abolition (and that of its bigger and much more secret brother, the GCSB). To quote some 1990s' CAFCA submissions to a couple of the several Acts giving increased powers to the spies: “The agencies at the centre of this Bill - the SIS and the GCSB - should not exist, full stop. In the evocative words of the lovely old song ‘Why Was He Born So Beautiful?’ – ‘He's no bloody good at anything; he's no bloody good at all’. That sums up exactly our feelings about the SIS and the GCSB. They are useless, dangerous, a waste of public money, and an anachronism in this day and age. The words ‘intelligence’ and ‘security’ are misapplied in the Bill's title - the New Zealand public has seen precious little evidence of either... Every other organ of the State has been restructured, corporatised, flogged off or closed down. So why not add the SIS to the list? What's so special about it? This is one cut in Government spending which would be both fully justified and popular”. To which ABC says, hear, hear! Pension them off and give them each a pair of binoculars so that they can spy on their neighbours (WINZ probably has plenty of vacancies for informants). If the State must have political spies, then let the cops do it and have to be (theoretically) accountable to the legal system.

Why Does SIS Spy On Legitimate Dissidents?

A couple of major questions arise from the release of the censored versions of these historic files, such as why a perfectly legitimate and transparent organisation such as CAFCA was spied on, along with numerous of its members, many of whom are peace and anti-bases activists, for a quarter of a century (from the mid 1970s to the late 90s)? And is there any democratic control of the spies, any accountability? The first one can be dismissed as being of historic interest only, but if we don't learn from the past then the mistakes and practices will continue to be repeated into the future. The second question is the vital one and needs to be properly addressed to prevent this happening again. New Zealand used to sneer at the secret police apparatus of our old Communist bloc enemies but what is revealed in the SIS files is a difference only in degree from what was practised in countries like the former East Germany. The SIS has never had police powers but they certainly put a lot of effort into spying on dissidents. If this had been exposed as having happened in one of those old enemy countries, our politicians and media would have made a meal of it, hailing the dissidents as heroes. Political spying on one's own people is reprehensible no matter in what country, or under what system, it happens.

There will be plenty more developments in this story as more and more files see the light of day. Indeed it was 24 years since CAFCA's first unsuccessful attempt to get its file, in 1985, using the newfangled Official Information Act (that request, in itself, created such alarm in the SIS that it devoted a full report to CAFCA, assessing it as being of “minimal security interest”. That didn't stop it from spying on CAFCA for a further decade and a half). So patience is obviously a virtue when it comes to dealing with these obsolete dinosaurs, which are stuck in the tar pit of ancient political history.



- Maire Leadbeater

Maire Leadbeater was a leading peace and anti-nuclear activist for decades (and is still an Anti-Bases Campaign [ABC] activist and regular attendee at Waihopai spybase protests, indeed she was arrested at one). Courtesy of being a child of leading Communists (Jack and Elsie Locke), she had been the subject of her own SIS Personal File since she was ten years old and for more than 50 years thereafter! This fact in itself attracted major media attention when it became public knowledge in January 2009. Maire has written a very detailed article about the historic Security Intelligence Service (SIS) spying on the Philippines Solidarity movement revealed in her Personal File (Maire was a leading activist in that movement in the 1980s and into the early 90s) and that can be read online at <http://scoop.co.nz/stories/HL0903/S00145.htm>. *Murray Horton's obituary of Elsie Locke (who left the Communist Party in 1956, and was one of the most famous peace activists in NZ for many decades), is in *Peace Researcher* 23, June 2001, online at www.converge.org.nz/abc/elsobit.htm. The Locke family has received Elsie's SIS Personal File. Ed.*

SIS First Spied On Maire When She Was Ten

In my teenage years I liked to make long phone calls - no e-mail, tweets, or text messages in those distant times. If ever there was a bit of static or an unusual noise on the line I would joke that the SIS was listening in. Ours was a very political household but the plans and schemes I shared with my friends were of the intense personal nature typical of most young people. Now that I have obtained my SIS records under the terms of the Privacy Act, it seems that the spies were spared the tedious task of listening to phone calls. The information obtained by the SIS (and its forerunner, the Police Special Branch) was instead obtained largely from "sources" who attended meetings and events and occasionally carried out a surveillance operation. The first entry in my file is a report stating that I delivered a copy of the Communist Party paper *Peoples' Voice* newspaper to a resident of Bangor Street in central Christchurch. I was ten years old.

It was the era of the Cold War and under the heading of "Counter-subversion" my parents Jack and Elsie Locke were persons of "security interest". When I went along with either or both of them to watch an Albanian movie or even a social evening of the William Morris cultural group an SIS source was often present. The source duly recorded the attendees, the nature of the activity and added in some "spice", often amounting to little more than a précis of some semi-malicious gossip. The Housewives Union and the William Morris group were closely scrutinised as "Ancillary organisations" relative to the Communist Party. It seems that it was enough that some members of these groups were past or present members of the Communist Party. Or that a cultural group should choose to name itself after the 19th Century British socialist design and architectural guru?

In the event the spies could find no evidence of any plots to overthrow the Government or any other threat to peace and order. So it seems they went determinedly on documenting minutiae in the hope that a conspiracy would be unearthed sooner or later. Ironically there is a bonus in this slice of history. The reports brought back warm memories of taking part in junior drama, sharing my Mum's joy in Kiwi folk songs, remembering long forgotten family friends.

Beyond the personal there are also some invaluable records of some of the seminal meetings from the early days of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). In 1959 the Nobel Laureate, Professor Linus Pauling, toured New Zealand to highlight the dangers of nuclear testing and radioactive fallout. The persuasive Professor was an important inspiration to the anti-nuclear movement then, just as Dr Helen Caldicott was a couple of decades later. I am proud to note that I distributed pamphlets at the entrance to Christchurch's Civic Theatre along with my Mum. ^[1]

My early SIS records include a smattering of reports on the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, from the early 1960s when I was closely involved in both organisations. There are notes of attendances at some meetings and lists of office holders, but with little comment or elaboration. This was also an important time at the beginning of the anti-apartheid and anti-Vietnam war movements, and my involvement is noted. Was I the secretary in 1965 of the Christchurch Anti-Apartheid Movement as suggested in one report? I think it was probably the Student Anti-Apartheid Committee as I have a Christchurch *Press* cutting from September that year showing a group of us standing outside Lancaster Park with a banner "Support Black Sth Africa - Boycott Apartheid Rugby". We staged an all night vigil - the coldest demonstration I ever took part in.

There is a gap in my SIS records from 1970 to 1983. It seems the spies lost sight of me when I left Christchurch, got

married, and took a new surname. Then it took them another year or two to figure out who I really was as was noted in May 1986. "Keith James Locke (PF) ... is indeed the brother of Maire Frances Leadbeater (PF) (nee Locke)..."

[\[2\]](#). The annotation PF indicates that the named person has their own Personal File.

I have written elsewhere about the SIS surveillance of the Philippines Solidarity Network. Compared to the effort devoted to keeping tabs on the Philippines work, peace activities do not seem to have been of such intense interest to the spies. True to form, however, the later reports appear to indicate the spies were still interested in recording internal controversy such as a 1990 dispute about sanctions in the Gulf Crisis Committee. They also made "who's who" accounts of committee members of CND, representatives at a Palestine Human Rights Conference, attendees at the Auckland Peace Forum and the people present at a 1987 barbecue at John Minto's home!. One of the most comprehensive records is of a large public organising meeting held at Auckland University on April 18th, 1983.[\[3\]](#) That is one meeting that remains clear in my memory because of the very varied participation and the sense of purpose that was generated that night in small workshops. This was a crucial meeting to consolidate Auckland's famous network of neighbourhood peace groups. At its height the network linked close on 90 groups.

Reporting On Internal Peace Movement Controversy

I was also intrigued to note a record of internal peace movement controversy that followed the release of the Defence Review Committee Report, (known as the Corner Report, after the Chairperson, Frank Corner).[\[4\]](#) The peace movement was shocked that the peace activist appointee, Kevin Clements, assented to the report's pro-ANZUS* conclusions. An early copy of the Committee's report found its way from the Prime Minister's Department to several Labour MPs who in turn ensured that leading peace movement figures were informed. Kevin Clements was subjected to telephone calls with "varying degrees of abuse" and was "variously told that he had sold out, betrayed the movement and been dismissed as a friend". My negative views (hopefully not abusive!) were conveyed by a fellow CND member. **ANZUS was the cornerstone military treaty between the US, Australia and NZ. The nuclear free policy, introduced by the 1984-90 Labour government, led to NZ being expelled from ANZUS, which remains the status quo today. The treaty continues, between the US and Australia. Ed.*

Looking back, this reaction seems unnecessarily punitive, but at the time, there was bitter disappointment among the "rank and file". We believed that Kevin Clements had been appointed because of his pacifist and anti-nuclear credentials, and should have defended the view that our nuclear free stand was more important than an outdated alliance. However, the same SIS file note paraphrases a conversation with Prime Minister Lange. Mr Lange met with Kevin Clements a few days after the storm broke and found him "tired and shaken by the experience", but suggested that Kevin's resolve was unshaken. David Lange concluded that Kevin had been able to approach his task with an open mind, as Lange had advised him to do at the time of his appointment.

When the Report, and its ambiguous conclusions, became public it was clear that the Committee had relied heavily on opinion poll data and on an analysis of submissions which included coupon submissions from a pro-ANZUS newspaper advertisement. The Prime Minister was among those subsequently expressing concern about the methodology and interpretation of the opinion poll. As I look back at the Corner Report and news coverage and articles that followed it, I marvel at the energy and commitment that went into this debate about defence and our nuclear free status. If the controversy helped to fuel our subsequent campaigning for nuclear free legislation that was a plus surely?

Professor Kevin Clements has recently returned to New Zealand after holding prestigious academic posts in peace and conflict centres in America, Britain and Australia. He is the first appointee to the Chair of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago. The last reference to me held by the SIS as at 3 October, 2008, was a reference to the fact that I was planning to participate in a peace march in September 2002, probably against the impending war in Iraq. My activism has not ceased but it would seem SIS scrutiny has, for which I am grateful.

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[\[1\]](#) District Office, Christchurch, P.F./ Locke, Marie (sic) 4 December, 1959

[\[2\]](#) From Headquarters to District Office Northern District Keith James Locke (PF) , 2 May 1986

[\[3\]](#) Miscellaneous Peace Groups "Public Peace Forum Coalition" To Headquarters (Counter Subversion) from

District Office Northern District, 9 May, 1983

[4] Note for File "Peace Movement" 6 August, 1986

THE EMPEROR IS DEAD! Long Live The Empire!

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- **Murray Horton**

As this is the first *Peace Researcher* since the 2008 New Zealand and American elections (which only coincide every 12 years and which, very unusually, took place within days of each other), we need to start by stating the obvious – there has been regime change in both countries. The extremely unlamented George Bush has gone home to Texas and Helen Clark has set up a new home in New York. In the eight long dark years of Bush's Presidency much has been written, including by us, about what a disaster it was for the US and the world. I don't think we need say any more, frankly, because it's all been said. I'll sum it up in five words: Good riddance to bad rubbish!

Wearing my Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) hat I wrote a long and detailed analysis of the NZ election result in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 119, February 2009 ("Heeeeere's Johnny!!", online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/19/02.htm>), so I refer you to that, rather than rehash it all here. It concentrated heavily on economic matters but did include a little about foreign policy: "Labour prided itself in 'rebuilding' the alliance with the US, sucking up to the war criminal Bush and his cronies. Yes, NZ stayed out of Iraq (well, almost) but it enthusiastically plunged into the Afghanistan War and the 'War On Terror' – Ahmed Zaoui was NZ's unique contribution to that chamber of horrors. The covert State of spies and spybases, such as Waihopai, had no more passionate champion than Helen Clark. And now that's she's abruptly gone Labour is headed by Phil Goff who, as Minister of Trade Negotiations, trumpeted that one of the greatest benefits of a US Free Trade Agreement would be that NZ businesses could get their snouts into the trough of US military contracts (he specifically singled out the big money to be made in the US Pacific territory of Guam, preparing infrastructure for the relocation of US Marines from Okinawa in Japan, where massive anti-bases protests over many years have forced the US and Japanese governments to make some concessions to overwhelming public opinion). Goff has been personally affected by the 'War on Terror' – his nephew, serving in the US military, is the only New Zealander to have been killed in Afghanistan. Yes, it was a terrible tragedy for the family but the Rightwing media sickeningly milked this for all it was worth, for the propaganda value of New Zealand 'doing its bit'".

The election of Barack Obama as the first black President is historic in its own right (and it could just as easily have been Hillary Clinton as the first woman President). He brings a whole different approach and style to that of the Bush Administration. He has inherited an economic crisis unprecedented since the 1930s' Great Depression (some of it being fuelled by the enormous spending required to fight imperialist wars in countries such as Iraq). *Peace Researcher* is not the appropriate journal to analyse that crisis, nor Obama's attempts to cure it; that is more *Watchdog's* territory. One point of economic policy difference is that, in March 2009, Obama indefinitely postponed the start of negotiations on any NZ/US Free Trade Agreement (to the enormous chagrin of both National and Labour who see such a deal as the Holy Grail of NZ's childlike obsession with free trade deals with anyone who will have us), while his officials review the whole US trade policy inherited from Bush. If you want to learn more about that subject, check out any recent *Watchdog* (www.converge.org.nz/watchdog) or the New Zealand Not For Sale Website (<http://www.nznotforsale.org/>), which is dedicated to fighting an NZ/US Free Trade Agreement.

Impunity For Torturers

Obama swept into office in a landslide, propelled by a genuine grassroots movement of the American people who yearn for change in so many facets of the way things are done in that country. He promised big changes to central planks of the Bush foreign policy, for example, issuing an order to close the infamous Guantanamo Bay prison for "War on Terror" detainees within 12 months, and outlawing the use of torture on detainees in places like Guantanamo, Iraq, Afghanistan and the network of secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) prisons dotted around the world (filled with people kidnapped in CIA "renditions" in third countries and flown to those hellholes). But action has not matched Obama's lofty rhetoric. The closure of Guantanamo and the release (or relocation to other prisons) of its inmates is looking increasingly shaky. The wave of euphoria among its inmates which greeted Obama's election has been replaced by anger, despair, hunger strikes and an upsurge in attempted or successful suicides. All of which is dealt with by the same brutal US methods – solitary confinement, beatings, torture, the use of riot squads, and forced feeding. In short, nothing has changed at Gitmo. Obama has allowed the release of Bush Administration memos authorising torture but backed away from his promise to publicise photos of US military abuse and torture of prisoners in countries such as Iraq, saying that they would endanger the lives of any US soldiers who were captured by "the enemy". There is no suggestion of prosecuting anyone (only a few of the lowest level American prison guards were punished for their abuse of Iraqi prisoners; they were the fall guys, the "few bad apples"). What's that old maxim about do unto others as you would have them do unto you? And he has continued

the Bush policy of allowing the vastly increased US intelligence apparatus to spy on the American people, especially the National Security Agency, which is the Big Brother of the network of spybases to which Waihopai belongs.

Quite the most bizarre and disgusting debate to have been waged in the US during the past few years is whether or not what it has been doing to those in its custody constitutes torture. This viciousness is a real symptom of a declining empire in a state of terminal decadence, so very similar to the end of the Roman Empire which the powers that be in the US have always admired (particularly its military prowess and dominance) and upon which they have modelled themselves. Murderers and torturers throughout history have always tried to pervert the language to sanitise their crimes so, in the past few decades, the US has given us phrases such as “to terminate with extreme prejudice” (to murder); “collateral damage” (the murder of innocent civilians) and, currently, a whole host of phrases such as “stress positions” to sanitise torture.

The US torture method that has attracted the most attention has been “waterboarding”, which basically means continually pouring water onto and into the victim to bring them to the point of drowning (and sometimes beyond it). Torturers have always justified torture as essential to extract vital information from “terrorists” (which is what everyone always calls their enemies). The brilliant movie “Battle Of Algiers”, about the 1950s and 60s’ Algerian war of independence against France, matter of factly depicted routine French use of torture. The US has justified the torture of “high value War on Terror” detainees, including the self-confessed mastermind of the 9/11 terrorist attacks who was waterboarded hundreds of times, as being the only way to get vital information from them and prevent further such atrocities. Torture became so fashionable that top rating US TV series such as 24 glorified it. Experts have pointed out that information extracted under torture, quite apart from being unable to be used in any court, is totally useless, because the victim will tell the torturer anything to get it to stop.

More to the point, those in the know have said that the routine use of waterboarding was accelerated, not in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the US but in the cause of futilely and falsely trying to prove a link between Saddam Hussein’s Iraq and al Qaeda (which, like those “weapons of mass destruction”, existed only in the imagination of those tasked with “selling” the illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq. Saddam was a mortal enemy of al Qaeda and its ilk – one of the great ironies of his overthrow is that it allowed al Qaeda and other militant Islamists to flourish in Iraq). By a strange coincidence, New Zealand has very recently had a case of fatal waterboarding before one of our courts – the one where a group of family members drowned a relative in the course of trying to rid her of “demonic possession” by means of sluicing it out of her with huge quantities of water. There was no official hesitation on the question of whether this was right or wrong, let alone splitting hairs about whether it constituted torture – all parties involved were charged with manslaughter.

Jumping Out Of The Iraq Frying Pan

Doubtless, Obama’s biggest change of foreign policy emphasis has been to announce that the US will wind down and nearly (but not quite) quit its illegal occupation of Iraq, a war that has done such terrible damage to that country and its people, destabilised the whole region and played a major role in the decline of the US Empire, militarily, economically and in terms of its position in the world. It was Bush’s greatest international crime (his lack of response to the distress of his own people devastated by Hurricane Katrina was his greatest domestic crime). This act of criminal folly left Iran as the one clear winner, which is setting things up for another war further down the track. Even Bush was not stupid enough to attack Iran but Israel is twitching to have a go, having been humiliated by Iran’s Hezbollah ally in the 2006 Lebanon war. Comparisons have been made between the Vietnam and Iraq wars and there are some, particularly the crippling economic cost to the US. But the contrasts are greater – the US, while it bombed the shit out of North Vietnam, never actually tried to invade it; it was fighting a much better organised opponent, who was fighting for an independent country governed by a clearly articulated ideology, namely Communism; and it paid a much, much higher price in terms of dead, wounded and decades-long trauma to the American psyche (the “Vietnam syndrome” has been a fixture of US foreign policy since the 1970s).

Vietnam was a catastrophic US defeat (of course, from the Vietnamese perspective, it was the greatest thing that had ever happened in their bloodstained history); Iraq is a stalemate and has been for years. It is the quicksand bog in which the arrogant hopes and dreams of the most extreme, naked US imperialism became inextricably stuck. Following in the footsteps of centuries of militarists and madmen (“the war will be over by Christmas”, “the thousand year Reich”, etc, etc) Bush and his henchmen invaded Iraq as only the proclaimed first step in their mission to “sort out the Middle East”. They proved adept at destroying and pillaging the place but completely useless at even the rudiments of running an occupation – the Americans have never, to this day, got the economy back up and running, with the basics like the supply of electricity and water dysfunctional. Ironically they have never got the place secure enough to steal Iraq’s oil which was one major aim of the exercise. God help me, they even fucked up the judicial murder of Saddam Hussein (if you support the death penalty, then a monster such as him was a prime candidate for it, but those tasked with hanging him achieved the difficult feat of making him look like a man and themselves like

gutless thugs. In the case of one of the others hanged with him, they managed to stuff it up to the extent of ripping off his head. Decapitation by hanging – that’s a new one).

Iraq has been a “bad news story” for so long that it has dropped out of the headlines of the papers that once breathlessly trumpeted that the invasion was right and necessary and that those mysterious “weapons of mass destruction” were going to be found the next day. It’s become so much part of the furniture that even *Peace Researcher* hasn’t written about it for several years. Now, of course, some factions of the chattering classes and powerbrokers in the US are worrying out loud that Iraq could yet be “lost” if Obama doesn’t have an “exit strategy”. To which Obama’s response seems to be: “We haven’t lost Iraq, just misplaced it”.

Only To Jump Into The Fire Of Afghanistan & Pakistan

But, of course, Obama isn’t quitting (or rather, partly quitting) Iraq because he has renounced the American imperial adventure. Oh no, he is just reprioritising which one of its wars is more important in his view, and that is Afghanistan. So the first of Bush’s wars (dating from shortly after the September 11 attacks) has now become Obama’s war. He has even mimicked Bush’s Iraq strategy by ordering a “surge” of more American troops into that benighted country. If Iraq is a stalemate, a quagmire, Afghanistan is a war where the Americans and their allies are being actively defeated by the resurgent Taliban. This follows the pattern of all foreign invaders into Afghanistan since recorded history began, the most recent, of course, being the Russians – defeated, in a wonderfully ironic twist, by an earlier version of the same Islamic fanatics and feudal warlords who were armed to the teeth by the US as part of its Great Game with the former Soviet Union. Poetic justice really does exist. If the US can make the tenuous claim that Iraq is a work in progress, things haven’t got started in Afghanistan. The so-called “government” has no mandate outside the capital, Kabul; what there is of a “state” is irredeemably corrupt; the warlords have carved the country up again into feudal fiefdoms (thiefdoms might be a more accurate description); and Afghanistan is once again the world’s top opium grower and heroin supplier.

That bleak analysis doesn’t even include the security situation where the Taliban, who were routed out of power in 2001, now control large areas of the country and are taking the fight to the Americans and co. Afghanistan does resemble the Vietnam War in that the American and allies are fighting a very well organised guerrilla movement, which enjoys substantial local support. More ominously, the other parallel with the Vietnam War (which spilled over into neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, leading to American defeats in all three Indochinese countries) is that it has spread into neighbouring Pakistan, which is far more important to the US than its medieval neighbour ever will be. In the same way that the US war on Cambodia greatly strengthened the genocidal Communist fundamentalists of the Khmer Rouge, leading to them winning that war and seizing power, the US war on Afghanistan has led directly to the birth of a native Pakistani Taliban which is now fighting a civil war with the American-backed Pakistan government (very ironic as the Afghan Taliban was partly the creation of Pakistani Intelligence in the 1990s, as part of their incessant meddling in Afghan affairs). The usual heavy handed American military methods that have so alienated Afghans – namely air strikes by bombers or missiles fired by unmanned drones that have killed thousands of innocent civilians over the years – are achieving exactly the same result in Pakistan.

The original major rationale for the Americans to invade and occupy Afghanistan was to kill or capture Osama bin Laden, the Afghan-based al Qaeda leader responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Neither of those has happened, eight years later, and bin Laden has been elevated to mythic status. The capture and judicial murder of Saddam did nothing to damp down the Iraqi war of independence against the Americans; there is nothing to suggest that a similar fate for bin Laden would make any difference to the “War on Terror” (or whatever euphemism it is now called).

All that has happened is that both al Qaeda and the Taliban have been driven across the border into the sympathetic tribal territories, which is a natural stronghold for them. Just as in Vietnam, where the US military invaded the neighbouring countries in an attempt to destroy their enemy (they actually believed that there was a “Viet Cong headquarters” just across the Cambodian border, a sort of jungle Pentagon), so they keep bombing and attacking across the Pakistan border. Result – they have stirred up a hornet’s nest of indigenous Islamic militants, who are now fighting the Pakistani military not too far away from the country’s capital. The Western media has suddenly got all agitated about Pakistan’s nuclear arsenal falling into the hands of those Islamic fanatics (it has no such reservations about Israel’s far larger nuclear arsenal falling into the hands of that country’s Zionist fanatics, nor was it worried about the Big Daddy of them all, the US nuclear arsenal, when it was controlled by Bush’s warmongering fanatics and Christian fundamentalists).

Wars With Unintended Consequences

What is happening in Pakistan is a classic example of the law of unintended consequences. It is not the only one

confronting the US at present. Global shipping is being menaced by pirates operating out of the failed state of Somalia. Earlier this decade an indigenous Islamic militant movement fought its way to power in Somalia and set about restoring order to that most chaotic of countries. That was not to the liking of the US, so it used the proxy military of neighbouring Ethiopia (an ancient enemy of Somalia) to invade, overthrow the Islamic regime and then proceed to allow the country to revert to its previous chaos, one dominated by warlords, criminals and, now, pirates. Good work, boys.

There are other examples – ever since the end of the Cold War, which saw the demise of the Soviet Union and the ascendancy of the US as the sole superpower, it has relentlessly worked to recruit the newly independent states that arose out of the Soviet Union and use them as buffer to surround and contain Russia, which is still seen as a rival and a threat, if not any more an outright enemy. These countries have simply swapped allegiance from being Russian satellites to being American ones. The limitations of that policy were vividly demonstrated in 2008 when Georgia, one of the most grovelling of the new American vassals, foolishly invaded breakaway territory which was defended by the Russian military. In very short order the Georgians were routed, evicted and found themselves dealing with a Russian invasion. The Americans' stood by and watched while their satellite was humiliated by its old master.

The Middle East is the classic one. An American-backed Israeli policy of militarily destroying Yasser Arafat's secular Palestinian Liberation Organisation over several decades led to it being replaced with a far more formidable foe, namely Palestinian Islamic groups such as Hamas, which now controls Gaza and is implacably opposed to any deal with Israel, and Hezbollah, which gave the Israeli military a fright by fighting it to a standstill in the 2006 Lebanon war. Israel has to use heavier and heavier force, such as its cynically murderous attack on Gaza in the January 09 interregnum between Bush and Obama, just to maintain its status quo as a Western settlement in the Arab world.

NZ Back In Bed With Uncle Sam

New Zealand is not an innocent bystander in any of this. Despite our nuclear free policy meaning that we haven't been a formal member of any military alliance with the US since the 1980s, New Zealand is a very active American ally, and becoming more so. Ever since David Lange claimed that he was duped by the spies that he was nominally in charge of into approving Waihopai as providing NZ with its own "independent intelligence gathering capacity" (yeah, right), that spybase has been this country's most important contribution to the US military and each and every war that fights. Electronic intelligence, of the sort provided by Waihopai and its sister bases in the global network that comprise the ears of the UKUSA Agreement (the electronic and signals intelligence agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ), is absolutely critical to the modern, "smart" warfare being waged by the US in countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan (so "smart" that it routinely kills hundreds of innocent civilians in its attacks on "the bad guys"; meaning that NZ has blood on its hands thanks to Waihopai). That, of course, is our contribution to the covert alliance. But NZ's overt support for the US has increased markedly in recent years. From 2005 to 2008 the US had no more loyal cheerleader (certainly none so immaculately dressed and coiffed) than Winston Peters in his capacity as Helen Clark's Minister of Foreign Affairs (of course, for his pains, he and his party were voted out of Parliament and into political oblivion, in 2008).

It is correct that Iraq was the first American war that New Zealand stayed out of (Don Brash, the then National Leader, made it clear that he would have followed Bush to war if he'd been Prime Minister at the time) and Helen Clark was justifiably proud of that. But it also needs to be remembered that she did send a small NZ military contingent into Iraq once Bush had proclaimed the war "won" – a contingent of Army engineers was sent to join the British occupation forces in Basra, in the Shi'ite south of the country, to help in "reconstruction". For a while the NZ media was full of feel good stories about the good work being done by "our boys", then the propaganda machine went quiet and within short order, "our boys" were withdrawn from Basra (and Iraq) before they got shot out of it by the rapidly growing Shi'ite insurgency that has more recently got rid of the British military also, leaving the Americans to deal with the mess that they created.

By contrast, Clark committed NZ to military involvement in the Afghanistan War from the start, in 2001. Basically that has involved the Special Air Service (SAS) doing a couple of tours of duty there (which has led to one much ballyhooed Victoria Cross being awarded, the first to an NZ soldier since World War 2) and a feel good Provincial Reconstruction Team, made up of personnel from the Army, Navy and Air Force, based in low risk Bamiyan Province, well away from the fighting (although the war is now intruding into there too). As a result of this low key approach, NZ has suffered no combat deaths. That benign scenario may soon be about to change. Obama has proclaimed Afghanistan to be "his" war and has put the hard word on satellites such as NZ to provide combat troops for the intensified fighting that the US plans to conduct. At the time of writing, John Key hasn't announced any decision, saying that the Government wants to think about it.

War Exercises & Access To A Secret US Military Internet

Military ties have got closer in recent years. In 2008 it was revealed that a secret 2005 meeting at the NZ Embassy in Bangkok, involving US and NZ officials, was where the ice was broken and a range of military and political meetings and exchanges took place as a result of that. By the time Bush's Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, visited NZ in July 2008, she formalised the new reality by referring to New Zealand as a friend and ally. In September and October 2008, NZ troops spent a month with US forces at a high tech combat centre in Germany, the first time this had happened in decades. They joined troops from Britain, Canada and Australia (the same five nations that comprise the UKUSA Agreement, the Anglo-Saxon victors of World War 2 from which this relationship dates) in training for warfare in Afghanistan and Iraq. "A group of New Zealand soldiers are practising breaking into buildings and then making instant decisions on whether the occupants are friendly or hostile. The Kiwis are taking apart in joint exercise with four other English-speaking nations designed to help them operate together and work out any kinks before they hit the battlefield" (Associated Press, 25/9/08). Doesn't sound too much like provincial reconstruction to me – and this took place under the Labour government. The likely resumption of joint US/NZ military exercises was indicated in a statement from the US Air Force's Pacific Commander, published on the US Air Force Website in October 2008.

Most fascinating was a Rand Corporation study into intelligence operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, leaked in March 2009, which revealed that NZ is "quietly plugged into the world's most secret internet, allowing access to the Pentagon's battle plans at strategic and tactical level. It's known as the 'Secret Internet Protocol Router Network' or SIPRINET, a sophisticated alternative to the Internet which allows even New Zealand frigates and armoured vehicles access to material seen on generals' desks in Washington, London and Canberra...Last year, Colonel Mike Convertino of the US Air Force Cyber Command told computer media that SIPRINET was completely separated from the public Internet. 'We conduct wars on SIPRINET', he said. 'So it's very important that there is little to no chance that it can be interfered with'" (*Stuff*, 6/3/09; "NZ plugged into secret internet", Michael Field).

So the stage is being set for an intensified war in Afghanistan (with Iraq having been downgraded to a "manageable occupation" that the US hopes to painlessly exit from, once it's got a puppet regime firmly in control - which doesn't appear to be likely any time soon). The propaganda machine is working overtime – indeed you could be forgiven for thinking that the reason for invading Afghanistan was to liberate that country's terribly oppressed women. Nothing is said about any base motives – there is a whole literature about what some experts have renamed Pipelineistan, meaning the complex politics of securing access to, and control or ownership of, the region's rich deposits of natural gas and the pipelines needed to transport it across the various "stans" of Central Asia, including Afghanistan, to the energy hungry West, comprising the same countries which occupy it today. Indeed the much reviled Taliban was hosted in the US by the same Bush Administration (which soon afterwards overthrew it) when they wanted to talk pipeline deals.

Stay Out Of America's Wars

It would be better for all concerned for those foreign countries, including New Zealand, to get out of Afghanistan, and leave it to sort out its own problems. That doesn't mean endorsing the Taliban, a bunch of medievalists, flat Earth obscurantists and misogynists who are a singularly repulsive demonstration of why theocracy is the worst possible kind of government. The Americans went in there, with considerable international support and sympathy, as a kneejerk reaction to serious terrorist attacks plotted by Arabs who were based in that country (let's not forget that there were no Afghans, or Iraqis, on those planes on 9/11. In fact, on the basis of the nationality of most of the hijackers, a good case could have been made for the US to invade Saudi Arabia, which shares an uncanny number of similarities to the Taliban). They achieved their immediate goal of rooting out those terrorists and the Taliban regime – then they made the mistake of deciding to stay indefinitely "to finish the job". The trouble is, nobody knows now just exactly what that job is. And the international support and sympathy for the US has long since evaporated, mainly because Bush used 9/11 as an excuse for his real agenda of getting rid of Saddam, the "unfinished business" from his father's Presidency. Far better to cut the losses, before they get any worse, and get out now. At the very least, if there is going to be a stepped up war, then New Zealand should stay out of it. We shared the bitterness of the American defeat in Vietnam, so why go through it all over again? Let the Americans fight their own wars and let New Zealand resume building a truly independent foreign policy, one which doesn't involve being the eager servant to whichever imperial master happens to be in the ascendancy at the time.

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US MARINE CLEARED OF RAPE IN PHILIPPINES

First Ever Conviction Of GI Ended By A Fix

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- Murray Horton

In late 2005 several US soldiers, in the Philippines 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 was 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 (VFA). 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 was 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 uncancelled 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 military relationship once again became a cause celebre (the Philippine people waged one of the greatest and most successful anti-bases campaigns in history, succeeding in getting the huge, 100 year old, US bases closed down and gone, in 1992).

The interminable Philippine legal process ground on (poor defendants can remain in prison for years before ever coming to trial; the cases of rich defendants tend to stay on the bottom of the pile and forgotten about, while they remain at liberty); Smith stayed comfortably ensconced in the US Embassy: and the case dropped out of the headlines. But, in a bombshell development in February 2009, the Supreme Court ruled that Smith must be held in custody in a Philippine prison, and quashed the deal allowing him to be “detained” in the Embassy. Suddenly the whole issue was very much back in the headlines and causing all sorts of problems for both governments and their cosy military relationship. Cora Fabros (whom the Anti-Bases Campaign toured through NZ in July 2008; see *Peace Researcher* 37, November 2008, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont37.html>) spoke on behalf of the Stop the War Coalition-Philippines: "This is a partial victory for all those who've been fighting for justice for 'Nicole' and for all those who've been fighting for the sovereignty of the Philippines. However it is only partial because the VFA should have been declared unconstitutional. The transfer of custody could however prompt the United States to revisit the agreement. What the US wants through the VFA is to put its soldiers above the law, beyond the reach of local authorities. By preventing this, the Supreme Court has struck at the heart of the VFA's ability to give immunity to US troops" (press release, 11/2/09).

Victim Recants

It became imperative that a deal be done to allow business to proceed as normal. Lo and behold, in March “Nicole” filed an affidavit recanting her testimony and withdrawing her accusation of rape against Smith, saying that the sex had been consensual. Never mind that the affidavit didn’t sound like she’d written it or that it was first made public by one of Smith’s lawyers. She then promptly left for the US with her new American boyfriend, a hard to get US visa was rushed through for her, she was given a fairly insignificant sum of money by way of “compensation” and she disappeared from the reach of the Philippine media. To say that it was disappointing to her many supporters was putting it very mildly. The whole sad story was best put into perspective by Emmi de Jesus, Secretary General of the women’s movement Gabriela (Emmi was one of the Filipinos hosted by ABC on the 1990 Touching The Bases Tour through NZ):

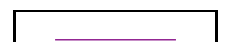
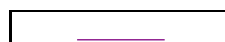
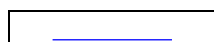
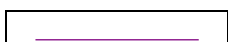
“Nicole is not the first and will not be the last rape victim to recant. As a women's alliance that for 25 years has worked with women victims of violence, we have faced many such situations. The battle for justice, especially in a society as unjust as the Philippines, is never easy. This rings more true when the enemy is not a mere criminal but a symbol of US dominance over the Filipinos and the accomplice to the crime is a Philippine government most servile to the whims of its master. The Arroyo government can lie through its teeth and deny with all its might its hand in Nicole's recantation but its track record only proves otherwise. From the day the Subic rape became public, the Arroyo government has utilised all legal and political means to protect and absolve Smith. That the Arroyo government debauched justice by surreptitiously transferring Smith to the US Embassy after Smith's conviction is enough proof of where the Government stands on the Subic rape case. Currently, the Arroyo government, through its spokespersons, cannot even hide its apparent glee at having served its US master well. The victim has always been not just Nicole but the Filipino people. The enemy has always been beyond L/Cpl. Daniel Smith but the United States government and its' military. The accomplice has always been more than the three other US soldiers but the puppet Arroyo regime. The fight has always been more than justice for the crime of rape, but justice for a people long subjugated by the imperialist US. The struggle for justice in the Subic rape case has never been just a single Filipino woman's battle for her dignity. It had, and shall always be, the battle of a people united to reclaim our national dignity. The fight will continue. The Filipino women and the Filipino people shall maintain its stance: Justice for the Filipino people! Jail the rapist Smith! Junk VFA!” (press release 18/3/09; “Nicole’s recantation serves US and Arroyo government most”).

Smith Acquitted & Freed

“Nicole” had become an expendable pawn in a much bigger game and things turned decidedly ugly for her. The Philippine media (which has no inhibitions about the privacy of rape victims, routinely parading them on TV, along with the most intimate and grisly details of what happened to them) called her all the usual sorts of names. The coup de grace came with the April decision of the Court of Appeal acquitting Smith (immediately afterwards he left the US Embassy and returned to the States). The all-female panel of judges excelled themselves in putting the boot into “Nicole”, describing her rape in a van as being a “spontaneous, unplanned romantic episode with both parties carried away by their passions and stirred up by the urgency of the moment caused probably by alcoholic drinks they took..”. The judges claimed that she was motivated by shame – “dumped in a kerb literally with her pants down” – so she decided to cry rape. They ignored her testimony that she had become so drunk that she had to be carried from the nightclub to the van where she was raped. “When a woman is drunk, she can hardly rise, much more stand up and dance, or she would just drop. This is a common experience among Filipino girls” (how’s that for a sweeping generalisation?). And they dismissed her as a liar: “On hindsight, we see this protestation of decency as a protective shield against her own indecorous behaviour” (*Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 24/4/09; “CA: Smith not guilty of rape. All-women court: Twas a romantic episode”, Dona Pazzibugan).

Making The Problem Go Away

This lamentable sort of outcome in cases involving allegations of rape against well connected men in uniform is not one that is confined to the Third World; we only have to think of the very recent Louise Nicholas case against senior policemen to see an exact New Zealand parallel (in her case it never even got to a conviction that then became necessary to have overturned; they were acquitted). Worldwide, women have always been treated as expendable if they threatened the interests of those in power. The laughably labelled “romantic episode” between the GIs and “Nicole” became a major impediment to the military relations between the US and the Philippines; it became a political threat, a problem. So, in the best traditions of how things are handled by the system in the Philippines, the problem was made to go away (as was “Nicole”, literally). She can probably count herself lucky that she got out of it alive (because murder, abduction and disappearance are other traditional ways of solving “problems” in the Philippines). The Smith case was an unwelcome reminder of the bad old days when the Philippines was overrun by hordes of drunken GIs in search of “rest and recreation”, and when the US military and its bases operated with total impunity. Nothing much seems to have changed.



SCRAP THE VISITING FORCES AGREEMENT!

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- **Murray Horton**

This was written, in my capacity as Secretary of the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa, and published in Bulatlat (an online Philippine publication www.bulatlat.com) 26/5/09. MH.

In September 1991 I was one of the tens of thousands of jubilant, soaking wet people who gathered outside the Senate when the historic vote was taken to not renew the bases treaty with the US. It was quite a night, marking the culmination of decades of struggle by one of the most successful anti-bases movements in the world. Coming only a few years after People Power astonished the world by peacefully getting rid of Marcos, the Philippines once again earned the admiration of the world's peoples for its courageous and principled rejection of the presence of American or any other foreign military forces on its soil (those has included New Zealand, which had regularly used the US bases for training purposes during the Marcos dictatorship).

I had seen the effect of those US bases for myself, having been in Olongapo when the US fleet was in Subic Bay Naval Base and the sailors were out on the town. And I had been in Angeles City and seen the concentration of brothels, many of them owned by foreigners, around the entrance to Clark Air Force Base. To be honest, witnessing that made me ashamed to be a white male. In my home town of Christchurch, New Zealand, there has been a continuous US military presence at our airport since the 1950s but it will come as no surprise to Filipinos that GIs behave very differently in white First World countries than they do in brown Third World ones. Suffice to say that the US military in NZ has never been able to enjoy and/or exploit any equivalent of Olongapo or Angeles.

So, it has been with sadness and alarm that I, and millions of likeminded people around the world, have witnessed the Philippine government determinedly undermining the clearly expressed will of the Philippine people and doing their damndest to get back into bed with the US military in every way except offering it permanent bases again. It is no surprise that the dynasties who comprise the ruling class want that relationship restored to exactly how it was. Every Philippine President since Marcos has actively promoted the restoration of such ties. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo seized the opportunity presented by 9/11 to offer the Philippines on a plate to George Bush. Bush has gone, Gloria is still there and nothing much appears to be changing under Obama.

The legal justification of all this is the Visiting Forces Agreement but the way that it has been utilised by both the US and Philippine governments is that the US military is back in the country as the visitor that never goes home. The VFA means that, once again, the US treats the Philippines as a door mat, with the Philippine government and military as the obsequious doorman. In this master/servant relationship, even the tips don't amount to much. The US military has never entrusted its Philippine counterpart with very much in the way of its most modern and expensive equipment, only the outdated castoffs that it no longer needs. And once again US GIs are treating the Philippines as the place to sow their wild oats. If the Philippines actually asserts its sovereign rights to punish such behaviour, as it reluctantly did in the case of Marine Lance Corporal Daniel Smith, then the US pulls out all the stops to remind the Philippines just who is the boss. The message that it sent via the Smith case was: "Don't mess with Uncle Sam".

The Sky Didn't Fall In NZ & It Won't In Philippines

The Philippine government and military peddle the line that a close military relationship with the US is indispensable to the country's national security; that the Philippines cannot manage without it. There is a parallel between our two countries. The US used to have no more loyal ally in the South Pacific than New Zealand, which had fought in every American war of the second half of the 20th Century (and, before that, in every British one, including those in the Philippines' nearest neighbours). But, in the 1980s, after a prolonged and heroic people's struggle, the Government declared NZ to be nuclear free. This provoked a thunderous reaction from the US (NZ was expelled from the cornerstone ANZUS Treaty between it, Australia and the US). NZ's "AmBoys" (i.e. America's Boys) declared that the sky would fall. One by-product was that the NZ military was no longer able to use the US bases in the Philippines for training.

But, guess what? A quarter of a century later, after several changes of Government, NZ remains nuclear free, the policy has become the status quo among all parties, the servile military relationship with the US has never been restored (Iraq was the first US war that NZ refused to join), and the sky has not fallen. NZ currently has a Rightwing government but it has not automatically ceded to the formal request from the US to commit combat troops to Afghanistan, saying that it wants to think about whether that is the best use of NZ's military. So, take it from us – the sky won't fall if the Philippines kicks out the US military. After all, you've done it once and earned the admiration of

the world. Scrap the VFA, show Uncle Sam the door, stand on your own two feet, be masters of your own destiny by finally ending the colonial relationship and being truly independent of the US.

REVIEW - “THE SHADOW FACTORY: The Ultra-Secret NSA From 9/11 To The Eavesdropping On America”

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

by James Bamford. Doubleday, Auckland 2008

- Bob Leonard

(Quotations are from the book unless otherwise noted).

James Bamford seems to have made a career of spying on the spies at the US National Security Agency (NSA). “The Shadow Factory” is his third exposé of the Agency and effectively covers the period of the criminal regime of George W Bush. NSA reaction to these books has swung a bit like a pendulum: they hated the first one (“Puzzle Palace”, 1982), loved the second (“Body of Secrets”, 2001; see Nicky Hager’s review in *Peace Researcher* 24, December 2001, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/hagrview.htm>), and were not pleased with this latest one. The title is a good one – the NSA, in a time of great intelligence need after 9/11, produced shadows. Always a puzzle to the outside world, keeper of trillions of secrets in the world’s most powerful computers, the NSA effectively let 9/11 happen by failing to share critical intelligence with other government agencies.

Describing the history and operations of a massive intelligence agency, the world’s largest and most expensive, could be boring and almost unreadable. But Bamford’s books combine history with gripping narrative on the flow of events, woven together with a myriad of facts and solid documentation. Like Nicky Hager, author of “Secret Power” (1996, the story of New Zealand’s “branch” of the NSA), Bamford is a masterful researcher and investigative reporter. And like Nicky he has managed to get the spies themselves to tell him much of the story “from 9/11 to the eavesdropping on America”. You can only conclude that there are plenty of spies out there who want the wider world to know what goes on behind the veil of ultra-secrecy. Most are understandably unwilling to be identified and ruin their careers, but they’ve got very guilty consciences.

The Intelligence Fiasco Surrounding 9/11

This book is written in five major sections, or “books”. Book One covers the events leading up to the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. It follows the paths of several of the terrorists in minute detail, so the NSA knew all about these guys. You may think you’ve heard it all before, but as seen from inside the NSA, you have to wonder how the 20 terrorists pulled it off. Here’s a clue. The Director of the NSA at the time (1999-2006) was Michael Hayden, so the 9/11 intelligence buck stops with him. One of Bamford’s strengths is his ability to convey the personalities and motivations of key players (he managed to interview them in depth). His portrayal of Hayden, a high ranking military man, as all directors have been, is not flattering. On Hayden’s watch, several of the 9/11 terrorists moved into the US, took up residence, and engaged in some very interesting activities, such as learning how to fly large airliners. They were suspicious characters and the Agency was watching them. “But Hayden’s decision to secretly turn a deaf ear to nearly all international communications entering and leaving the US – even when they involved known terrorists within the country – would have momentous consequences”. Some of those communications were with known associates of Osama bin Laden. A further fascinating insight is that Hayden’s “momentous” policy decision was “completely unexplored by the 9/11 Commission, which, astonishingly, virtually ignored the NSA in its investigation”.

Book One is a riveting catalogue of intelligence failure. The spies knew a great deal about the terrorists (except where, when and how) but were powerless to do anything about them. It certainly shakes your confidence in the usefulness of intelligence gathering. In fact “The Shadow Factory” is a devastating account of just how useless it is (we’re not allowed to know about the successes of NSA of course, but we are assured that they exist). This stuff would be hilarious if weren’t so tragic. Here’s another example, this one from June 28, 2001, in the words of Richard Clarke, White House Counterterrorism Coordinator: “A series of new reports continue to convince me and analysts at State, CIA, DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) and NSA that a major terrorist attack or series of attacks is likely in July”. This was followed two days later by a briefing paper to top officials with the headline: “Bin Laden Planning High-Profile Attacks”.

Post-9/11, The NSA, And The War On Terror

The seeds of the infamous warrantless spying on the American people began immediately post-9/11. Throughout the 1990s the NSA reacted to the so-called Church-Pike era (the 1970s’ Senate revelations of NSA’s massive spying on Americans) by keeping well within the law on domestic spying. But the “surprise” attacks of 2001 caused the complete abandonment of this policy: “Civil liberties were out” according to Bamford. One of the chapters in

Book Two is entitled “FISA” (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978) and is all about the biggest stumbling block to the warrantless eavesdropping programme. The chief legal architect of that programme was a chap called David Addington. “One reason why [Vice President] Cheney and Addington hated the [FISA] court [responsible for issuing warrants] was its tendency to resist attempts by the Bush Administration to push beyond legal boundaries, even before the events of 9/11”. Less than a month after those events “...Hayden received authorisation to bypass the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court and begin eavesdropping on international communications to and from Americans without a warrant”. Authorisation was from President W.

These abrupt changes at NSA had a profound impact on New Zealand’s Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), the spies who operate what is effectively an NSA eavesdropping station at Waihopai. Nicky Hager stated in an online news item: “New information, prised out by former Chief Ombudsman John Belgrave and from intelligence insiders, makes it clear that Waihopai, and the GCSB that runs it, have been heavily focused on supporting the US War on Terror since September 11, 2001” (www.stuff.co.nz/4521682a10.html, 11/5/08). Was there a shift to warrantless spying on the international (and even domestic) communications of New Zealanders as there was on Americans? We have no way of knowing. But we do know that the NSA, not the New Zealand government, makes the rules for the GCSB.

Warrantless spying by the NSA was a futile exercise but it went on until early 2007. By the spring of 2000 the NSA actually had the international intelligence it needed in order to have revealed who was planning 9/11. What never happened was involvement of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) so that their legal monitoring of domestic communications could have revealed the “who, what and where” needed to stop the attacks.

“Cooperation” By Private Companies

Book Three describes the struggles of the NSA to cope with changing technology. Snooping on stray signals from satellites, as Waihopai does, is pretty straightforward as far as the physical interception goes. The problems began as communications were transferred increasingly to undersea and underground cables. “Echelon* began living on borrowed time...” around 2000. That was a bit of an exaggeration since satellite signals intelligence is still going on, and unfortunately Waihopai has not been abandoned. But Bamford’s 2001 statistic that “just 1% of the world’s communications travel by satellite...” is startling. Nevertheless, the NSA was slow to develop the technical means to tap into fibre-optic cables and complex packet switching (Internet and e-mail). In describing what might be called Echelon II, tapping into the global cable “spider’s web”, Bamford mentions little NZ: “It would be an enormous change in technology, but more important, the NSA and the other members of the Five Eyes – Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – would have to get access to the cables either through secret agreements or covertly, or both (note that Five Eyes is Bamford’s term for the five partners to the UKUSA Agreement of 1948. Echelon is the code name for the programme operated by the five-nation spy network that systematically listens in to civilian telecommunications sent by satellite).

To accomplish this new interception feat the NSA had to enlist the “cooperation” of the big telecommunications companies (is this happening in New Zealand and Australia?). The story is long and complicated and involved much coercion and plain illegal manoeuvring. And it was not new to the present decade. The fascinating chapter entitled “Shamrock” relates the history of interception and code-breaking beginning shortly after World War I (there were no satellites then but there were cables).

The chapters in Book Three are somewhat encouraging to those who see the NSA and its partner agencies as all-knowing and all-powerful. And there is good news for communication among terrorists. As this section of the book draws to a close it becomes evident that recent communications developments are presenting terrific obstacles to the spies. To give just one example, VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocols) has proved to be a tough interception nut to crack. “Among the most popular VoIP systems is Skype, which is a revolution in telecommunications. Not only are Skype calls cheap and easy to make, they are virtually unbuggable....”

The Wall Of Secrecy Crumbles

The final two of the five Books are even more of an indictment of the NSA than the first three. Book Four chronicles the development of cracks, fractures and finally the collapse of the secrecy that allowed the Bush Administration to bug Americans domestically in the name of national security. A story in the *New York Times* in December 2006 blew the lid off warrantless domestic spying. The White House in panic mode tried desperately to block publication of the story. Meetings were held between the Government bigwigs (including Secretary of State Condi Rice, Director of National Intelligence John Negroponte, and Harriet Miers, the White House Counsel; Vice-President Cheney wisely avoided the press) and *Times* executives. A sample of the threats levelled at the *Times* if they published the story: “...Editor Bill Keller was warned that publication of the story would alert the terrorists and ‘shut down the game’. ‘It’s

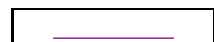
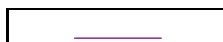
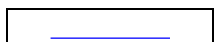
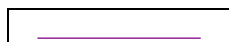
all the marbles,' said one official cryptically, adding, 'The enemy is at the gates'. Bush himself even warned the *Times* publisher that if another terrorist attack took place: "There'll be blood on your hands". The full story was published on December 16, 2006.

The final chapters (Book Five entitled "Future") are loaded with technical detail and heavy going, unless you are a computer geek. They are about the NSA's insatiable appetite for computer power and for land and buildings to hold all the hardware and the people needed to process and make sense of the oceans of information being vacuumed from around the planet every second of every day. NSA headquarters in Fort Meade Maryland has long been a vast, self-contained fortress city. But its appetite for growth, and as a black hole for tax dollars, seems limitless.

And What Of The NSA?

Bamford's last chapter is entitled "Abyss" and has a very clear message. It is a catalogue of severe problems facing the NSA. The massive collective brainpower of the NSA has developed a database called TIDE, an Oracle database with a Unix operating system that is the heart of the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC). Here are the punch-lines: "The only thing that makes the NCTC worth anything is the database, the TIDE database. This is the most important data since 9/11. If you screw this up, we know they're out there, we know they're operating, we know they're trying to get back in. This data is buried in this database" (quoted by the author from a senior intelligence official). "Nevertheless', he said, 'the system is a disaster. *The database is incompatible with both the NSA and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) systems*'. "That's the problem with data in the intelligence field – there is no leadership right now" (emphasis added).

Bamford ends the book with a dire warning about the NSA: "There is now the capacity to make tyranny total in America. Only law ensures that we never fall into that abyss – the abyss from which there is no return". "The Shadow Factory" brings James Bamford's invaluable story of this unbelievable intelligence monstrosity right up to date. After reading the book it is easy to understand why it was not well received by the National Security Agency.



REVIEW - "THE HOLLOW MEN"

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

A Film By Alister Barry, Vanguard Films, 2008

- Jeremy Agar

The new Government's in place and it doesn't look good. Soon after the election, Rodney Hide, Act Leader, prevailed on National to set up a commission to investigate climate change and Tim Groser, the Trade Minister, told an international conference that NZ would have to renege on our Kyoto commitments. There have been several other early signals of where the Key government's going, but these two could suggest its essence.

Key's last known public statement about climate change had been that it existed, it was caused by human activity, and it was a bad thing. Previously he had sounded like Hide, a denier. Since Galileo's time few civilised leaders have gone on record to affirm that the world was flat or that gravity was a greenie myth, so why now, several centuries since the Renaissance, do self-styled practical men like Hide and Key make out like Taliban clerics?

A common link is the needs of power. Religious dogmatists enforce obedience through their control of theology, and for National fundamentalists it's as important to assert that the world is not getting hotter because of pollution as it was for medieval popes to assert that they presided over God's static world. If it isn't hotter, there'll be no need to control carbon emissions or regulate industry. Hide and Key deny so that they can get rid of all those compliance costs that the nanny state imposes. They're saying that NZ is open for business.

Keynote Ideology Is So Behind The Times

The usual catechism was to the effect that what's good for General Motors is good for America. Trouble is, GM went bust, and what had been good for GM - petrol-guzzling cars and autocratic management - was bad for Americans. How time flies. When the National Party's 2008 Conference launched its election campaign, it was still possible to worship General Motors. Barack Obama had not yet secured the nomination to run as a Democrat for the US Presidency and the deregulated "free trade" model that enthralled Messrs Key, Hide and Groser had not collapsed. Less than a year ago it was possible for Nationalists to aspire to a George Bushite New Zealand. The film version of Nicky Hager's "The Hollow Men", which premiered in 2008, was prescient in its exposure of National's wish to ape a paranoid style of American politics. It would be a comfort to suppose (as Hager detractors will doubtless want to suggest) that "The Hollow Men" have fallen over and so we need no longer fret about them. That would compound the confusion. The free trading mullahs might be living through bad days but that's no reason to suppose that their ambitions will have dimmed.

While it might be thought that 2008's market mess ended an era, the new context could render the film yet more relevant. This is because there seem to be two main ways free traders seize control of a state. We're familiar with the shock doctrine of crisis, a tactic analysed most thoroughly and recently by Naomi Klein*. The alternative, when opportunity isn't knocking, is to settle in for the long haul, hoping that in time the electorate will be nudged your way. This would have been the advice offered Key by his hollow men. It's why he spent the campaign grinning and shrugging. *See my review of "The Shock Doctrine" by Naomi Klein, in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 117, April 2008, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/17/06.htm>. Klein's analysis of neo-liberalism is spot on.

Key had set the tone by announcing his intention to be a compassionate conservative. Eight years earlier George Bush used the same phrase at a similar stage of his political career. It doesn't seem smart that Key would choose to parrot the slogan of the most reviled US President in living memory, a man whose record suggests anything but a compassionate nature. Why would Key opt for Dubya as a role model? If you see this movie, you'll know why.

A week earlier Key had said that a National government would retain Labour's Working for Families initiative. The PM-in-Waiting explained: "These are families with mums and dads who are working long hours, trying to get by on a modest wage in the absence of tax cuts under this Labour government. We don't want to make life more difficult for them" (28/7/08, www.tvnz.co.nz). Not long previously Key had been adamantly opposed to the programme, which he knew to be imposing "Communism by stealth". Those reds were still under the bed, but you don't expect a millionaire Prime Minister to succumb so meekly to creeping commies. Or was it Key's try at defining "compassionate conservatism"?

Key Has A Problem With Universality

Key explained that he was opposed to Government programmes including the middle classes. He supposes that it's wrong to treat people equally. Key has a problem with the principle of universality, the ethic that everyone deserves a healthy childhood and a secure old age, the ethic that built our roads and railways, our schools and hospitals. It used to be called the Kiwi way, which was neither creeping nor commie. So some time in July 08 it must have been explained to Key that the people who had been middle class welfare bums were more diplomatically - and compassionately - perceived as families with mums and dads who are working long hours. You're more likely to get a vote from Kiwi battler mums and dads than from a commie.

Key knew that those Kiwi mums and dads swim in the mainstream, as defined by Don Brash, his ill starred predecessor as National's Leader. The one law for all rhetoric is a code, not to be taken literally. Zealots like Brash and Key can never say what they really want to do, which is to shrink public government in the interests of corporate wealth, because, if they did, National would never make it into office. They believe in one law for all only when it can be defined so that it suits their partisan needs. By its own words, National is not concerned with the national interest.

Nicky Hager's original book came out in November 2006. It showed us how, in the 2005 election campaign and the build up to it, the National Party was being guided by some dubious public relations (PR) lads in Australia and secretly supported by a rich cult, the Exclusive Brethren, an outfit whose very name indicates its hostility to an inclusive national interest. Not all the private agendas coincided, but all concerned had a mutual, if tacit, understanding of the enemy. National's always been more united about what it doesn't want rather than what it does want. It came into being as Not-Labour, and has remained so. That's one permanent reason National's policy is best left vague. Hager exposed the result (see my review of the book "The Hollow Men", in *Watchdog* 114, May 2007, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/14/03.htm>, for an analysis of the Brash e-mail saga). Publication coincided with Don Brash's resignation as National Party Leader. Brash had been under duress for some time, but "The Hollow Men" book hastened his departure. To illustrate the story, Hager has teamed up with director Alister Barry. It's a happy partnership, uniting NZ's best investigative reporter with a filmmaker of outstanding integrity.

Three years on, it might be thought, we've read the book, do we need to see the film? It's not like shooting a novel with its visual and interpretative aspects. In movie foyers people talk about whether they prefer the book or the film. How do you do that with a pile of e-mails? Hager and Barry solved any such questions superbly. We see details which weren't in the book. Some scenes and conversations are necessarily dramatised, but there are shots here suggestive of moles beyond the mystery of the e-mails themselves. Rather than being redundant, the film is complementary, enriching.

Subtly - it never explicitly makes the case - the film reminds us that John Key in 2008 was in a position analogous to that of Brash in 2005 (and of Bush in 2000). And Hager found that National was still using the same spin doctors who prescribed to Brash. Despite the scandal and the publicity, nothing had changed. The present version in fact tells us that Key flew off to Oz to see Messrs Crosby and Textor in his first week as Leader, ensuring that the film is as relevant and as topical as the book. This time round, with an election to follow almost immediately after the film's release, the electorate was forewarned. Sure enough, straight after the 2008 election, we heard that Crosby and Textor were still around.

At the start of the film we're reminded of the original context of the book. After the 2002 election, when they suffered a big loss, the National Party was ready to cast off its moderate fancy dress. If the good cop routine didn't work, the bad cop might as well drop pretence and go for it. Enter Don Brash, stage Right. Brash, known to the electorate as the head of the Reserve Bank, was the real deal, a neo-liberal fundamentalist. Richard Prebble, a Lange-Douglas Minister, Hide's predecessor in Acting up, was exultant. The Nats, he enthused, were now "enormously" more likely to win favour.

Prebble always gave the impression of believing his propaganda, of assuming that he enjoyed public support. More understandably, so did the ivory bank tower Brash. We see him, on his first day as Party Leader, announcing that he was itching to finish the unfinished business. Air New Zealand, TVNZ, the power generators and Kiwibank would have to be cut loose from the dead hand of the State. Prebble and Brash were revolutionaries, ready to complete the Douglas-Ruth Richardson reforms.

Spin Doctors Advised Brash Not To Tell the Truth

At this stage, the hollow men were wheeled on. It was explained to a reluctant and initially uncomprehending Brash that he'd never get elected if he told the truth. The advertisers had to design the "product" and "package" it. The "perceptions" of consumers (those persons formerly known as voters) had to be manipulated by "images" until they were induced to have an "emotive gut reaction" to the message. According to Hager and Barry, on the eve of the caucus poll incumbent Leader Bill English enjoyed a one vote advantage. The next day Brash won by one vote.

One MP had switched, the State house boy from Bryndwr, the Merrill Lynch whiz kid himself. John Key had been offered the position he wanted in a Brash Cabinet.

Brash was a neo-liberal rather than a neo-conservative. Neo-libs believe the State should set up rules so that big corporations effectively make policy. Then the now unnecessary Government need not interfere much at all with individuals' lives. Neo-cons, by contrast, are socially conservative. We see a man from the neo-con Maxim Institute complaining that the Civil Union Bill was going to remove any distinction in the law between various couples living together. To a liberal like Brash his private take would have been that's the way it should be. As his careful words in Parliament suggest (captured in the film) he came to inoculate himself against the outrage of the religious Right only reluctantly. Like the neo-liberal Young Nationals we also see, Brash took his opposition to the "nanny State" seriously.

Hager and Barry tell the story of National's notoriously clever 2005 election ads. In his earnest, boring way, Brash lit up at the Iwi-Kiwi billboard. In his eyes those seven letters conveyed more than neo-con racist resentment. Brash saw Government intervention, any Government intervention with the potential to affect pure contractual relationships, as just wrong. He would have been frustrated that his opposition is still seen in cultural terms. To neo-liberals what's wrong with the Treaty of Waitangi is that there should be only World Trade Organisation and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade-type treaties. The National campaign brilliantly, because effortlessly, united what could have been disparate elements within its natural supporters.

There's a great vignette of a particularly fierce Kim Hill asking Brash about his first speech at Orewa (Orewa 1). Doubtless mindful of Margaret Thatcher's assertions that there is "no such thing as society" (or perhaps National's idea that there's no such thing as a nation) there being only individuals and families, the formidable interviewer suggested that treating people as discrete individuals might destroy a culture. Knowing he had to stay on message, aware that the ground where he was being invited to tread was as slippery as a gangplank, and certain that the lefty Hill hadn't a clue about the market economy, Don looked bewildered. Two incompatible moralities looked at each other. For a moment, before the TV silence demanded to be filled, there was nothing more to say.

It seems that one of National's main spinning tacticians is Matthew Hooton. He told Brash that to go up in polls he needed to make big bold moves. That would enable future initiatives. A gradual or incremental style, Hooton advised, would make the leader a "prisoner of caucus". This is in the shock doctrine style of Roger Douglas, and the new Leader's apparent naivete on his first day would have been an attempt to seize a revolutionary moment.

The Orewa Speeches

Hence Orewa 1, the stated concerns of which had little to do with the real agenda of either spinner or spinnee. But Brash was soon floundering, unable to give specifics of Maori privilege. "We need", said Richard Long, another spinning Nationalist, "to come up with a credible holding answer". And what about superannuation? Should they take the Communism-by-stealth or the Kiwi-mums-and-dads line? National should "appear to support a tangible fund out there which seems to give people more comfort". Always the tone swings between condescension and contempt.

The film looks again at Dick Allen, a Reagan insider now seasonally resident in Central Otago. We learn that Allen was pushing for a better deal for landlords, private hospitals and tobacco transnationals. Hooton was chuffed that having Allen as a mate meant that National might be able to prostrate themselves before Allen's "close friends, Rumsfeld and Cheney" (*Secretary of Defense and Vice-President, respectively, in the former Bush Administration. Ed.*). Hooton wanted to suck up to the two most bloodthirsty neo-cons in a bloodthirsty Bush White House. *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 film never argues its case, allowing the witnesses to incriminate themselves. National had swallowed the dead rats of retaining some public assets and some progressive taxes. It had stopped opposing superannuation, four weeks annual holidays, the Civil Union Bill and Kiwibank. Hager and Barry could have added yet more examples of the party acceding to Labour policies that they had vowed to oppose. Interest free student loans, KiwiRail and subsidised early childhood care come to mind.

Learn From Bush

Hooton recommended the locals learn from Karl Rove, George Bush's main strategist, whose advice had been to target an opponent's perceived strengths. So it was that we heard doubts about Helen Clark's integrity and complaints about her "arrogance". In the US, too, as the Republican candidate, John McCain, flailed in the search

for a credible gambit during the 2008 Presidential campaign, someone told him to attack Barack Obama for being ... "arrogant". It lasted about one day.

Rove was bad enough a teacher. But worse even than Rove was David Horowitz. Hooton told National to ape Horowitz's idea that an effective election campaign was one that stirs up "anger, fear and resentment" in those mums and dads. Horowitz is a lone ranger nutter, his strings pulled by very rich - and very Rightwing - foundations. The puppeteers like him because they can present him as a former deluded radical youth who has seen the light. Horowitz, an attention-seeker, relishes extravagant gesture. In his revolutionary days, for instance, white, Jewish David became a Black Panther. He likes bold grassy knoll conspiracies.

Because they more readily evoke panic in an audience ready to be manipulated, Horowitz favours issues to do with personal and sexual morality. It's some relief that this part of the agenda is dated. The Christian fundamentalist strain in American politics has never travelled well and the demise of Bush and Rove means that we're likely to be spared the sort of rabbleroising manipulations that they cherish. Neo-con moral indignation served Reagan and Bush as a tactic to mobilise support for the strategic aim of transforming the economy. Post-market meltdown, we can expect a more gradualist, less hysterical style.

Poor Brash. Ultimately he's a comic figure. He had a safe multicultural line to use: "My wife's from Singapore". Beyond pleasantries, though, it was never easy. Keep on message, he had been told. You've been inoculated against the disease of a clear and honest foreign and defence policy. Repeatedly asked whether it had been a good idea to attack Iraq, Brash kept trying to raise his taxation talking points. But he's no Winston Peters or John Key. All he could do was repeat that Iraq was "no longer relevant at all". It used to be that National politicians evoked foreign wars centuries past to validate their prejudices. For Dr Don an ongoing war - it's still going on, post-Brash, post-Bush - was as dead as a swallowed rat. Key will be hoping to avoid foreign policy debate.

Key and his hollow men have publicly made much of their desire for NZ wages to match Australia's. In reality they're happy for NZ to become a cheap labour offshore island for the Aussie economy*. The 1990-99 National government gave us the former Employment Contracts Act (ECA) so that bosses didn't have to contend with a union and could intimidate employees into accepting lower pay. The present National government's December 08 rush to empower employers with its 90 Day Probationary Act is a "free trade" extension of this impulse. To view the intent of the ECA and its successor as the means by which inexperienced workers and bosses can arrange life to their mutual satisfaction, as the new Minister has done, is as wilfully implausible as Rodney's flat earth ethic. *See my review of "At The Crossroads: Three Essays" by Jane Kelsey, in *Watchdog* 100, August 2002, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/00/07.htm>.

Brash Wanted To Stay An Honest Man, But He Was A Weak One

His political failure was brought about because he never found it easy to play the facile games that come so easily to successful politicians. He never seemed to enjoy dissembling, yet his final election pitch emphasised how "trustworthy" he was. It was the Exclusive Brethren who had urged a demagogic Trust/Distrust motif on National. Beyond Brash's self-aggrandising smugness lay a more serious moral failure. His last words as a contender to be Prime Minister were put in his mouth by a cult so far from his cherished mainstream that they regard social contact with the rest of society is sinful. That's exclusive all right.

Slyly, throughout the film, we see Rodney Hide. He was there apparently at all National events, looking on, confident that his mates would enact the full neo-liberal agenda for which his party exists as a revolutionary vanguard. The film has an unobtrusive feel for the machinations at play, the fruit of long observation. Brash's early advice had been to leave talk of the important item, tax cuts, to Hide. Out of options, Key wanted to talk of nothing else.

Hide's Act and the Maori Party have each secured two ministries. Post-election, the media has made much of how Key's four headed monster (Mr Sensible Dunne is there too) indicates that the Government will be centrist. It doesn't. It indicates that Key and his advisers have made a tactical move that will allow them a majority in Parliament. The hollow men think that the patient needs to be anaesthetised before the next shock therapy is carried out. They'll offer placebos to the Maori Party and Dunne. Three years on, they'll be hoping, the nine year remission allowed by the Clark government will have faded, and it'll be time to take the country back into the operating theatre. By then people will have come to their senses and accepted that Rodney Hide knows more about earth sciences than the earth scientists.

Full Speed Ahead To the 1980s!

Having been handed two keystone portfolios, Local Government and what's been described as Regulatory Reform,

Hide - and Act's most senior MP who's not a minister, a certain Roger Douglas - are hoping that they can soon perform major surgery. Though Key will, in the short term, disappoint them, mates are on hand. Newly prominent National ministers include Groser, a former "free trade" bureaucrat, and Steven Joyce, who was actually one of the hollow men. The strategic jobs are in the hands of neo-liberal purists. Of course the finance market debacles which coincided with the election will delay the hollow politicians. Who knows for how long? Permanently? It could be that world opinion will shift far enough that democratic countries will no longer stand for shock therapy.

As the Government settled in, Auckland issues have become dominant. The rest of the country thinks in terms of the Jafas feathering their nest, but a Key government will be no more (and no less) prone to easy vote grubbing as any other government. The north-west motorway and the Super City are more helpfully seen in the light of the neo-lib agenda, the common factor being that they're playing to the business gallery. Joyce is in charge of pulling down houses in Helengrad to make room for cars and trucks, and Hide is pushing for the Super City. There's a lot to be said for more unity and coherence in our cities' governments, but Rodney's doing it to dismantle popular controls. The city wide electorate for councillors will, as many have pointed out, empower big, well funded blocs which can override local choices, and it seems to be assumed that Banksy, as pro-business a public figure as any, will become Super Mayor. This much we all know.

But why has there been such quiet over the Key-Hide proposal for appointed councillors? In a democracy the people's representatives get elected and councillors should no more be appointed than should parliamentarians. The Super City looms as the culmination of reforms whose central purpose has been to convert councils into rubberstamping boards of governors for bureaucrats. The other shoe to drop is Hide's signalling that he expects councils to stick to their "core functions" - as interpreted by him. Auckland's important to the latter day Rogernomes not so much because of its many votes but because it's where the bigger businesses are. If other cities are influential enough to thwart neo-liberal policies, they'll get Super Sized too.

What this landmark film suggests us is that, in intent, Key will turn out to be as pure a neo-lib as Don Brash and Roger Douglas. The transparent Brash complained that there was no point in getting into power if you really had to abandon everything you wanted to do. We can be sure that, off camera, Key is just as upfront. The big difference now is that the version of shock therapy we're living through, our collapsing economies, was unintended. It's a Dr Frankenstein moment. The biggest shock of them all has been global, and it's been inflicted on the clients of the spin doctors - by themselves. Now that there seems to be a consensus that extremist neo-liberal ideology has been the disease all along, and not the cure, minds and policies are changing. Has any major Western leader looked as yesterday as soon as Bush has? So Key can't do Orewa-type stuff and he might not get the chance to operate as he'd like. But an old mate in Gibbston, Otago, thinks the rotten system's got life yet. Dick Allen is worried that the reform of world capitalism that he - now - says is desperately needed won't come about "anytime soon, because to accomplish fundamental change the foxes must be chased out of the chicken coop. Lamentably, it's the foxes who write the rules" (*Mountain Scene*, 3/10/08).

To buy a DVD copy, write to Community Media Trust, PO Box 3563, Wellington or e-mail alisterbarry@paradise.net.nz, including your postal address. A copy will be mailed to you with an invoice for \$30, which can be paid by cheque or online. If you wish to pay in advance, make your cheque to Community Media Trust.

REVIEWS

“THE BASES OF EMPIRE:
The Global Struggle Against US Military Posts”
edited by Catherine Lutz, Pluto Press, London, 2009.

“ISLAND OF SHAME”
by David Vine, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2009.

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- **Jeremy Agar**

In August 1971, on a quiet coral island in the Indian Ocean, a man was sent by the US government to kill the local inhabitants' dogs. There were about a thousand of them, roaming free. He tried to shoot them, but some were merely wounded and howled. So he went off to get a poison and strewed strychnine. But still dogs survived. So the remaining ones were rounded up, put in a compound and gassed, while the island's children cried.

The next day all the children and their families were herded onto a boat and shipped away from their home. The island was thereby emptied of people and pets, and two hundred years of human culture was abolished. The people have still not been allowed to return. The expulsion is one of the moral watersheds of the last 50 years. These books explain why it happened, why it's so little known, and why it matters.

During the 1950s' Eisenhower era, when the Cold War between the US and the USSR had become the defining feature of global politics, America was exuberantly powerful. The Russians might have a bomb, but the Stars and Stripes flew over the oceans. It was a period when America could “project” its influence with few impediments, so officials pressed for it to take its chances while the going was good. Some farsighted staffers within the Government recognised that the colonies of Africa and Asia might soon attain independence and the locals might get stropy.

It occurred to a certain Stu Barber, from the Long Range Objectives Group of the US Navy, that the oceans of the world contained scores of small islands that were going to waste. “Our military criteria were location, airfield potential, anchorage potential. Our political criteria were minimal population, isolation, present status, historical and ethnic factors”. As a US Navy historian has explained, the idea was that the US “should acquire base rights in certain strategically located islands, mostly in the Southern Hemisphere, and stockpile them for future use”. The race to check out the world's islands was on, especially those that were “sparsely populated”. These would be “the easiest to acquire and would entail the least [sic] political headaches”.

Depopulating Diego Garcia

The Indian Ocean, handy to Africa, South Asia and the Middle East, was ideal. In no time, 60 likely sites had been found there. Best of all was Diego Garcia, part of the Chagos Archipelago about 1,000 miles south of India. Too small to show up on normal maps, the island was still long enough for runways, and its almost enclosed lagoon could shelter as many aircraft carriers as might one day be needed. There was one problem: people lived there.

Diego Garcia had once been uninhabited, a perfect example of the sort of palm-treed, coral-reefed atoll that features in magazine cartoons. That lasted until 1783, when the island's French “owner” brought in 22 African slaves to grow coconuts. In 1814, with Napoleon defeated, Diego Garcia became a British colony. Because slavery was abolished in 1835, Indians were imported to replace the slaves as cheap labour. That's how Diego Garcia remained for the next century or so, a pinprick on the map of empire, and less than a pinprick on the conscience of the Colonial Office.

The post-war American surge coincided with a tired Britain trying to cut costs. The UK felt it could no longer hang on to all its pink empire, deciding to give up on all its conquests between Suez and Singapore. This didn't mean they didn't worry about “the vacuum in the Indian Ocean” that might have resulted - had it not been for kind Uncle Sam. Successive British governments had become attuned to abasing themselves before the Americans and were quick to agree that the US deserved to have “exclusive control” over Diego Garcia. Parenthetically, spelling out the obvious rider, the UK added, “(without local inhabitants)”.

Whatever Yankee wanted, Yankee got. So as not to inconvenience Washington, it was accepted that Her Majesty's Government “should be responsible for acquiring land, resettlement of population at HMG's expense”. The people of

Diego Garcia would be shuttled off to Mauritius, the nearest available island, a thousand miles away to the south-west. The Chagossians wouldn't get off the boat in Mauritius, despite the promise of \$1 each as a resettlement bonus and a slum shack.

In the meantime, the worst worries of both imperial governments had been justified. The Third World, as the self-styled First World was pleased to name the colonies, was indeed becoming independent - in formal if not real terms - and the UK Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, warned US officials that he might have to "pay a price" at the UN for having ejected a whole culture from its birthright. A British official pleaded with the Americans. He needed a "bribe". It's an ambiguous plea. Did the Right Honourable gentleman mean the islanders needed a sweetener or did he have his hand out? Ostensibly the former, but the Brits have always favoured the nod and the wink.

In those more upfront days US officials might have felt neither Wilson's nor the Chagossians' pain. Wilson was to offer the new Prime Minister of Mauritius three million pounds to cover the costs of transferring an entire culture to his island, to which the Chagos Archipelago was formally attached. This arrangement gives a further clue as to the hapless bargaining position of the islanders. In so many colonial territories, the post-independence boundaries were haphazard, reflecting imperial convenience rather than the needs of the colonised. In this case, the locals didn't count at all because the day after the dogs of Diego Garcia were exterminated, the human locals too no longer existed.

Dumped Into The Slums Of Mauritius

In 1964 Chagos had been politically separated from Mauritius, allowing the co-opted local elite to wash their hands of the whole squalid affair. Fearing dominance by Indians, the conservative Opposition, which was largely Kreol (ethnically African) and Coloured, had come out against independence. Never mind that the people of Diego Garcia were themselves mostly African. With almost no resettlement money and the demise of the copra industry, the people who had been forced into a monoculture of coconuts had no place in the economy and no means to gain a toehold in a future economy. A vague plan to invent a culture for them as pig farmers was aborted and they were dumped into the slums of Port Louis, Mauritius, where they were derided as the bottom of the heap by those one tiny notch above on the ladder. Deprivation does that to people. Like pigs in crates, they turn on themselves and on each other.

Vine paints Diego Garcia as very much a tropical paradise, and the few other impartial observers who have been able to visit concur. The Americans based there seem to have delighted in the place - as individuals. As cogs in a machine they have dredged its pristine coral to make concrete. Throughout, the islanders have been refused even service jobs at the base on their own land. That's because any sort of occupation could one day allow a legal challenge to stay. The imperial masters reckon it's safer to deny any hope, however faint.

Eventually, shamed at last into a gesture of guilt, the UK gave some Chagossians citizenship. A small group bound by a common and intensely narrow experience, with no cultural ties to other sub-cultures from deprived backgrounds, the emigrants will find the going tough. At present they live mostly near one of London's airports (neither of the books discusses this present tense, the epilogue to their stories).

Vine, an anthropologist, is very good at putting their plight into context. Most accounts of this nature are written from an exclusively political or economic bias. Vine's understanding of culture, of the effects of dislocation, and of generational impoverishment, allows him to engage imaginatively with his topic. The injustice under scrutiny is so blatant that his book could easily have become a spluttering polemic. It's much more than that, at once sympathetic, scholarly and witheringly angry.

Amid stark contrast, irony abounds. Mauritius is one of the richer places in the region, its wealth deriving from tourism. Tourist venues in the "Third World", typically on islands, are like that, with the whims of rich First Worlders being met by some of the world's poorest workers. The central Indian Ocean thus has two big new airports, one for bombers and one for tourists, and many of the people expelled from their home to make room for the military now find work catering to the tourists who might, in a less neurotic world, otherwise have been enjoying an unspoiled Diego Garcia.

Legal Victories; Political Defeats

Supported by international solidarity, the Chagossians sued the British government in the British courts. Everyone was surprised when they won, with the UK Supreme Court declaring the expulsion to have been illegal. The problem was that the verdict had no coercive power. The law be damned, the Government lawyers fumed. The return can't happen. So it was that in 2004, an Order in Council, a decree from the Cabinet, banned it. Then, a

further surprise, the High Court judges overturned the ban, with some staunch comment: "The suggestion that a Minister can, through the means of an Order in Council, exile a whole population from a British Overseas Territory and claim he is doing so ... for the 'peace, order and good governance' of the territory is, to us, repugnant".

The judges can't be faulted, but there's an absurdist look to proceedings. The law, it seems, is unimpeachable - until the State discerns a serious threat, when all bets are off. According to John Pilger at the time, the British authorities brazened a blank denial of the truth. "There is nothing in our files about a population and an evacuation", declared the UK Department of Defence (antiwar.com: "Diego Garcia: Paradise Cleansed" 4/10/04).

In the US, in 1975, Ted Kennedy, then as now a Senator representing Massachusetts, put in an unwelcome but successful amendment to a Congressional bill, asking for a report on the expulsion. In their reply, the two complicit bureaucracies, State and Defense, were less abrupt than the Brits but more misleading. A simple lie can be challenged, but the US denial was couched in the evasive terms of public relations spin: "In the absence of more complete data", Washington prattled, "it is impossible to establish the status of these persons and to what extent, if any, they formed a distinct community". With the whole government machine determined to hide it, the "data" would remain "incomplete" for decades.

Washington suggested that the removal of Chagossian people from their homeland was doing all concerned a favour as it was a way "to avoid social problems". Vine translates. This was "a polite way of referring to trumped up racist fears about prostitution" at the base. To the State and Defense Departments, there was no problem as the Chagossians ("these people") "all went willingly". Always happy to look on the bright side of life, US military Websites can now enthuse about the good living on the island, with its great golf and snorkelling. After the "sweep" that had "sanitised" the base from messy human beings, Diego Garcia could be branded as pristine and perfect. Official amnesia allowed an impression that it had lain unspoiled and receptive for millennia, awaiting only the sympathetic power of the US Navy for it to achieve its destiny as a home away from home for the guardians of global peace.

In 2001, as domestic US opinion recovered a repressed memory, a class action suit was launched in Washington. The defendants included Robert McNamara, President Kennedy's whiz-kid technocrat, and those more familiar and recent villains, Donald Rumsfeld and the Halliburton corporation. The Chagossians had difficulties beyond the obvious imbalance in power and influence, most obviously in Mauritius. Opinion in the Archipelago was divided between one island and the next, and between Indian and African. While some opposed the base, others welcomed it as a potential job provider. While some Chagossians decried interference with their traditional lifestyle, others hoped for new opportunities arising from the new link to the world.

Most languished in local slums; a few got to England. Are you keeping count? The menial workers clustered around Gatwick Airport south of London represent a third diaspora. Diaspora 1: from Africa or India to Chagos; Diaspora 2: from Chagos to Mauritius; Diaspora 3: from Mauritius to England. And only now has the possibility of a normal freedom, in the sense of their being able to choose a way of life, arisen. It has for the younger generations growing up in England, triply displaced as they have been, with no cultural memory. You could say that they're on their own. It's an ambivalent legacy.

Base Central To All America's Wars

Since the base was built, Diego Garcia has been involved in all America's regional wars. In Gulf War 1 B-52's flew to Iraq. From there Afghanistan has been bombed. And after 9/11, it hosted a new "Camp Justice", a secret detention centre. Vine shows that the base serves as a model for any future "Diego Garcia" that could be set up in Africa. As one military planner notes: "It's the single most important military facility we've got. It's the base from which we control half of Africa and the southern side of Asia, the southern side of Eurasia [and]...the Persian Gulf region. If it didn't exist, it would have to be invented.... We'll be able to run the planet from Guam and Diego Garcia by 2015".

The base's motto is "Footprint of Freedom". The US State doesn't do irony, so they won't be concerned that people who really do care about the environment enjoy us not to leave a "footprint" on the earth. A greener consciousness than the US Navy might balk at the ethnic cleansing of a people so that their land could be paved for bombers. If you look at a map you'll see why Guam, which became vital to the military during World War 2, is seen as a natural partner for Diego Garcia as the future eyes and ears of Freedom. Its position east of Indonesia, the Philippines and China is comparable to Diego Garcia's position vis-a-vis north-east Africa and south Asia. In any strategic planning, the western Pacific and the northern Indian oceans will likely dominate into the foreseeable future.

While Vine treats his topic of Diego Garcia with thoughtful respect and depth, he provides context with sketches of

other islands. "Bases Of Empire" has the opposite emphasis, with chapters on each, including one on Diego Garcia by Vine. The latter book is mostly set elsewhere. The Pacific, big and empty, has been bounty galore for military planners. The first big American push followed its take over of the Philippines in 1898; the second followed the defeat of Japan in 1945. Since then the US has enjoyed a free run. The tropical seas were either unpopulated or, like Diego Garcia, peopled by a few dispensable locals. It's been a half century when no restraining rivals could check US impulses.

Prostrate Japan offered Iwo Jima and Okinawa, whose people are regarded by mainland Japanese as a lesser culture, and whose economy still lags the rest of the country. Tensions with the occupying Americans persist. Perhaps the closest parallel to Diego Garcia is the Bikini Atoll, whose population was removed to free it up for testing atomic bombs. Apart from giving its name to the skimpy two-piece bathing suits of the Fifties, a joke of sorts, Bikini has, like Diego Garcia, had no voice.

Polluting Puerto Rico

Some of the islands of empire are within the US itself. Puerto Rico, an island colony in the Caribbean and constitutionally American, serves as a sort of landfill site for the 48 continental states. To show that they're boss, the Navy routinely complains of "civilian encroachment" caused by the existence of neighbourhood Puerto Ricans looking for a place to live. The Pentagon has always opposed initiatives to clean the island's air, soil, water and hazardous waste, which has been fouled by decades of unrestricted military swagger.* Even in the mainland US urban sprawl near its many bases has compromised the health of civilians. *A domestic NZ version of this is the propensity of State-Owned Enterprises like ports and airports to try to exempt themselves from responsibility for their local environments by claiming that the existence of nearby residents creates "reverse sensitivity" issues which interfere with their efficient operation.

Eventually Puerto Rican opposition to gross pollution could not be resisted, and the Navy left. As in Diego Garcia it trumpeted its environmental credentials, in this case by agreeing that the land it had occupied be declared a national park. In practice this meant that they didn't bother to clean up the contaminants when they left. This chapter comments on the battle for public opinion in terms which will resonate with NZ readers. Co-opted journalists told Puerto Ricans opposing Iraq War 2 that the pro-Bush position was the expression of a "rational, inevitable and realistic policy". Democratic supporters of an independent and responsible foreign policy (two can play at the language game) were patronised as "idealists" and "romantics". Well meaning they might be, but that's the road to ruin. If they won, the peaceniks would bring about "chaos, political and economic crisis, coups and civil war". All debates over principles and values tend to echo with variations on this demagogic panic mongering. What else can you do when you control the government, the military and the press but your argument makes no sense? That's the problem posed by democracy and an educated population, the Diego Garcia problem for which Stu Barber devised a final solution.

The Philippines is at once a biggish country and a collection of smallish islands and its entanglement with the demands of empire has been as long and as complete as anywhere. So it is not surprising that the fightback in the Philippines has been strong. Filipino pressure freed the country from Clark Air Force Base, one of the world's largest and most intrusive. Long experience has created alliances between activists. The various campaigns - against foreign military bases, against social and environmental pollution - have been increasingly linked. Huge injustices remain, but each victory increases the chance of future successes.

But it is in Diego Garcia that the ravages of empire are most obvious in that the injustices committed have been without any mitigating excuse. The history of the island is the story of how a perfect storm of exploitation was created, and we can attach whatever label we wish to explain it, whether that be to do with imperialism or colonialism or militarism or racism or patriarchy. However, one explanation offered by a contributor, that the islanders were the victim of so-called "bureaucratic neglect", is harder to sustain. The neglect was not the result of careless negligence.

Another writer reminds us that the abuse was dealt out when Henry Kissinger ran US foreign policy. This man believed in "realpolitik", a fancy word for bullying. Eurocentric Kissinger used to boast that "southern" concerns were of no interest to him and that the African bureau of his department was a "bunch of missionaries". That's because officials at the embassy in Mauritius were appalled by the expulsion. Vine is particularly lucid in analysing the social dynamics of small, homogenous situations. For whites on the island the culture of the base was all they had as a reference for daily life. It's not realistic to have expected resistance from within the local power structure.

There is one misreading on Vine's moral compass. It's OK that he openly sympathises with the Kreols, but problematic when he ignores Indian experience and blames the Indian leadership for selling out the Africans. As he

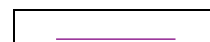
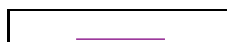
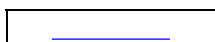
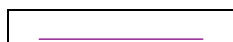
has himself demonstrated, there was a hierarchy of misery, and blaming one of the victims doesn't help. Chagos's ethnic history was a colonial construct, designed by the imperial power precisely to be divisive. It's a pattern along the lines of Trinidad, Guyana or Fiji. In all these instances, there has been an unfortunate habit among liberal white academics to chastise Indian politicians, when in all four colonies progressive, non-sectarian resistance has been largely led by Indians.

In 2004 the US announced its Global Defense Posture Review, which was all about how to "project" their power. That entails an indefinite "posture", squatting all over Diego Garcia. Just why did the Bushes attack Iraq and Afghanistan? All the likely critiques make the bases integral, whether the wars were just about the oil or Kuwait, or whether they've been "demonstration" wars ("pour encourager les autres") or whether they've been excuses to re-legitimise other Middle East bases. Whatever the emphasis or immediate motivation, the need for island bases is assumed.

US Washes Its Hands Of Chagossians

When at the Congressional hearing the Embassy in Mauritius asked home base to think about the US's "moral responsibility", the responding flunky suggested the Government bore no "legal responsibility. Moral responsibility is a term, sir, that I find difficult to assess". That might be bureaucratic, but it's not the voice of "neglect" or civil service caution. It's the voice of a bully who won't answer to anyone. To a State Department flunky would New Zealand be an "island"? Probably it was - until the nuclear row. That's one good news item for us locals. Another comes from an overview of US policy:

"Equally courageous are the banished people of Diego Garcia who are struggling to return home and to end their years of suffering and marginalisation as foreign outcasts. With activist allies in New Zealand and the help of leading journalists, human right organisations, and jurists in Britain, they have risen from oblivion and won case after case in the British courts" ("US Foreign Military Bases And Military Colonialism", Joseph Gerson, a US Quaker, "Bases of Empire", p67). As he was finishing his book, curious about the man who first proposed the expulsion, Vine tracked down Barber's son. Barber was dead, but, said his son, he had come to bitterly regret his part in the tragedy. Yet all his efforts to influence the system came to nothing. As an individual man with a conscience Stu Barber didn't count.



REVIEWS - "SPIES, LIES AND THE WAR ON TERROR"

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

by Paul Todd, Jonathan Bloch & Patrick Fitzgerald, Zed Books, London and New York, 2009.

- Jeremy Agar

The title of this brisk survey tells you pretty much about what's inside. That in itself is notable, in as much that the "War on Terror" goes back no further than the very recent, yet distant, George Bush-Tony Blair axis. In the last couple of years we've had available several accounts of post-9/11 US policy, so it's not a criticism to say that this analysis by three British-based writers doesn't add much to what's already available. However, it came out before much of the emerging evidence about torture.

Only a few specialists will want to read more than one or two of the books, and which one you pick is largely a matter of taste and style. Choose "Spies, Lies And The War on Terror" if you fancy something that respects the reader's ability to draw her own conclusions. It's short on rhetoric and moderate in tone. When Dubya announced his "terror" campaign he justified it by suggesting that he was only responding to events. Existing restraints on the projection of US power had been "designed for another era". A White House staffer explained: 'We are an empire now. And when we act, we create our own reality'. Is this new era thinking? It certainly has a post-modern ring, but po-mo itself often comes off as something Mussolini might have come up with.

Mainstream neo-conservative US ideology didn't seem to think that a new era was dawning. The authors quote a typical ideologue, Michael Lebden, who in 2002 suggested that "the radical transformation of several Middle East countries ... is entirely in keeping with the American tradition... Creative destruction is our middle name". Benito and the Italian futurists he championed would have liked to adopt these middle names. The Duce would have warmed to Lebden's irrational exuberance: "We do not want stability the real issue is not whether, but how best to destabilise the dependent world" (for a brilliant dissection of this mood - one that, far from being the child of a new era, has dominated elite opinion in the US for at least a century - read "The Shock Doctrine" by Naomi Klein, which I reviewed in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 117, April 2008, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/17/06.htm>). Italy creatively destroyed Ethiopia and the US has been creatively destroying Iraq. There, let's hope, the parallel dissolves, because the Axis - that's the Axis containing fascist Italy, not Dubya's latter-day Axis of Evil - went on to creatively destroy much of the planet.

The All-Seeing Eye

In 2002, at the high tide of Bush's imperial venture, the Pentagon hatched a scheme to watch over everyone and everything. Total Information Awareness (TIA) "sought the open-ended gathering of 'transactional data' on every aspect of social activity - with 'financial, education, travel, medical, veterinary, country entry, place/event entry, transportation, housing, critical resources, government, and communication records' being declared targets". TIA aimed to collect DNA, iris scans and the now old-fashioned fingerprints. Phone tapping? One source said that the aim was access to "every call ever made".

TIA came to light by chance in 2005 in the course of Congressional hearings into giant US telecommunications company AT&T. The resulting furore forced it into retirement, but many aspects of TIA remain under different guises. So the paranoid can still obsess that someone sometime will control the world. Apparently the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) international terrorism watch list has 190,000 names and they keep records on 325,000 people.

Yet, overall, the book gives comparatively more weight to British and European responses than to American. The UK, America's "pillion passenger", was along for the ride. The CIA has funded the British in Afghanistan. As one US spook explained the reasoning: "They basically take care of the 'how to kill people' department". The authors emphasise PM Tony Blair's penchant for saying that the wars were justified by his "belief" in the cause.

That's not the way Parliamentary democracies are meant to work. Belief is best left to fanatics - like the Taleban. Blair always gave the impression of being intellectually arrogant. Certainty in the powerful is always dangerous, but when it's justified by the sort of moral snobbery that marked Blair's faith, it can be a lethal habit. If you think you're carrying out God's will, you won't let earthly good manners restrain you, and Blair made much of his religion. The Iraq War, he was pleased to think, was "a struggle that will last a generation and more.... It's an attack on our way of life". That's how the mullahs conceive of their jihad against those whom their God - the one Blair says he worships - regards as infidels. Messianic talk is best left to the likes of Mussolini, who prattled on about Destiny, or, it has to be

said, of Hitler, with his strutting faith in a "triumph of the will".

REVIEW: “KIWI COMPAÑEROS: New Zealand And The Spanish Civil War”

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

edited by Mark Derby, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2009

- Jeremy Agar

1939 newsreels showing German tanks plunging into Poland can make it seem that World War 2 had a sudden and surprising start. This impression goes along with a supposed knowledge that Hitler's generals had devised a “lightning war” strategy, for which neither Britain nor France was prepared. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, is remembered for “appeasement”, a policy based on the hunch that the whinging Herr Hitler had a point. His country had been hard done by and, treated with respect, the Chancellor would settle down.

In fact, the war had already begun. It could be dated to 1937, when Japan invaded China, or to 1935, when the Italian Army marched into Ethiopia. And of course Hitler's propensity to violence had already gone unchecked within Germany. Rather than accept that Chamberlain was a stunned mullet, it would be more accurate to say that the governing elites in the UK and France didn't mind what was happening. Their miscalculation was in gambling that the strategic interests they felt they shared with the Nazis would be appreciated in Berlin. They never thought the Wehrmacht would march west.

Spain Was The Cause Celebre Of the 1930s

These days, outside Spain at least, the Spanish Civil War is largely forgotten, but not long ago it provoked passion. Fought between 1936 and 1939, the war was historically significant as it served as a prelude to World War 2, which broke out the year it ended. In the Thirties, the drift towards catastrophe was there for all to see, and nowhere more clearly than in Spain. It began as a run of the mill military coup against an elected government in a country that normally didn't matter much to the big powers. But the times were anything but normal. In his Introduction, Mark Derby sets the context:

“In a highly volatile Europe already fractured along faultlines of politics and class, this desperate localised uprising swiftly became an international conflict....Over the next three years the names of at least 15 New Zealanders would appear among the bewildering cosmopolitan forces in this very globalised ‘civil’ war... [T]hey were drawn into the war's centre of gravity by their conviction that Spain's war would be a decisive bridgehead in the struggle against fascism, the ideology that already held sway in Germany and Italy and threatened much of the rest of Europe. By late 1936 it was apparent, even in secluded New Zealand, that if fascism were not defeated in Spain, a world war would eventuate”.

In ones and twos the Kiwi *compañeros* made their way to Spain, where they fought in defence of the Spanish Republicans - the Government - alongside Britons, Americans, Canadians and assorted Europeans in what came to be called the International Brigades. Against them were ranged the regular Spanish Army - or at least those parts of it on which the military leader, General Franco, could rely - and guns, bombs and planes supplied by Hitler and Mussolini. It was a unique historical moment, one that could not have occurred either earlier or later than it did.

Derby has collected chapters on each of the New Zealanders, from a variety of researchers. We're given the reminiscences of relatives and friends. It's a fascinating look at a past which might seem impossibly distant. It isn't though, not chronologically. A note at the end of one chapter reads, “Sir Geoffrey Cox died in April 2008 as this book was in preparation”. Besides being the longest-lived of the *compañeros*, Cox was the only one whose name is widely known (but probably more so in Britain than in Invercargill or Timaru, where his young life was spent). Cox was sent to Spain as a cub reporter for a London newspaper. His dispatches and books on the experience and subsequently on hot spots for the rest of the 20th Century became classics of the genre. In the Thirties Cox, who went to Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship, a contemporary of those other expat university men, Paddy Costello, John Mulgan and Dan Davin, held classic “old Left” views. Interviewed near the end of his life by James McNeish, Cox was happy to pronounce himself an admirer of Margaret Thatcher. Like his journalistic forays to the world's crises, Cox's ideological journey defined and reflected an epoch.

Doug Jolly, from Otago, a medical student active in the Student Christian Movement, became another expat in the UK with a background of classic New Zealand idealism. Jolly pioneered surgical techniques that were to be used by Allied surgeons in World War 2. Quotes from an articulate Jolly illustrate this chapter. Not all the volunteers were motivated by a love of democracy. Some were excited by the prospect of an adventurous OE. They're a lively lot.

One at least seems to have been escaping a dodgy life at home. There were even a couple who fought for Franco, but their motives seem to have been apolitical.

Labour Government Offered Only Tepid Support To Spanish Struggle

The contributors elucidate the interplay between New Zealand's domestic politics and Spain. Although the fascists were backed by Germany and Italy, France and Britain did not help the Republic, claiming that any intervention of theirs would provoke Hitler and Mussolini to even grosser aggression. The Soviet Union did chip in, but not on a scale that began to match what Franco got. Were the Russians acting out of socialist solidarity or did they fear they'd be the next target? At the time the Communist connection was a big deal, a reason for the tepid support for Spain offered by the Savage government, and for the heated opposition from the Roman Catholic hierarchy in New Zealand. The Spanish fascists paraded as defenders of God and landlords, guarding family values against the Russian bear, who wanted only to invade Spain (and then NZ) and burn down the churches.

Did Rightwing intellectuals believe their own propaganda? Nicholas Reid, a historian of the Church, quotes a letter from Archbishop O'Shea to the Editor of the *New Zealand Tablet*: "I know the Prime Minister and most of the members of his Cabinet well enough to be convinced that they have not the slightest intention of legislating on communistic lines nor in favour of anything forbidden to Catholics... Unless our Government did what they are doing, the Left Wing of the party, which such legislation holds in check, might easily prevail with Labour".

O'Shea was taking issue with the Editor for having printed a letter denouncing Labour's "socialism". This suggests that the Archbishop was concerned primarily to hold back progressive ideals. He assumed that censorship of opinion in the Church's paper was a justifiable tactic, and that support for social democratic legislation was needed in order to finesse the call for more radical measures. The Archbishop was an opportunist, a manipulator, looking at the end game. Editorials on the evils of democratic Spain dominated official Catholic writing throughout the late Thirties and it seems likely that the obsessive hostility of the church to the Republican cause was a way of discrediting Leftist ideals so that the Savage government would remain only mildly reformist, a safety valve. O'Shea was relying on the prevailing ignorance about foreign affairs among the population, using Spain as a scapegoat. The hierarchy had to take into account the strong Catholic influence within the Government. It knew that Catholics, in general, were more likely to vote Labour than were the members of any other religious grouping.

REVIEW: "PASSING BELLS"

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

by WJ Foote, The Glen Press, Christchurch, 2009

- Jeremy Agar

Will Foote's title alludes to a pacifist poem from World War 1. This war, one of the most miserable in the long and futile history of miserable wars, inspired several anti-war poets. Foote, who has a humane and wide view, sprinkles quotations throughout his breezy monograph. A large part of "Passing Bells" is a brief history of war, from a New Zealand perspective. As Foote points out at the start, the basic information he's passing on will be familiar to many readers and he's not pretending to break new ground. What he does do very well is sum up the sad legacy of human conflict.

As with his previous books, Foote is concerned primarily with making the case for pacifism. Wars don't solve problems because they never seem to end up how the warriors would have hoped. Their one sure outcome is death and destruction. A wise propagandist, Foote knows that the debate about the morality of violence is a long one and he's not going to change minds about fundamental principles. So he contents himself with a few general observations and guides the reader to where she might find more detailed expositions.

Foote thinks that popular justifications for war which locate lofty motives and happy outcomes are misguided. Two common examples: the American Civil War was not waged to end slavery, and World War 2 was not about saving Jews from the Holocaust. The broad sweep of events has a certain inevitability about it, which violence can affect only in the short term. Foote has a great sense of history, and his judgements are shrewd. Some examples of his take on pivotal decisions:

On World War 2, he quotes Noam Chomsky, a favourite source: "If the United States and Britain had wanted to stop Hitler in 1938, they probably could have done it. There wouldn't have been any war, but they didn't particularly want to". The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was unnecessary, even in narrowly military terms. It was prompted by President Truman's desire to forestall an expected Russian advance on Japan so that, as Truman himself put it, "little Harry could show Molotov and Stalin that we've got the cards".

In Gulf War 1, Bush the First left Saddam in power because "the Americans decided that 'the devil they knew' was better than rule by the 'mad Mullahs' or Communists that might succeed him. That led Saddam to vent his wrath on those, such as the Kurds, who had not supported him and had been promised protection by the Americans". The mess in Afghanistan continues, 30 years on from a 1978 call by the Americans and the British to help the Mujahidin, a reactionary, rural opposition to a popular secular government. That prompted Russian help for the Afghan government, the end of Soviet Communism, the rise of bin Laden, a ruined American economy, and al-Qaeda.

It's The Warriors Who Are Out Of Sync

Defenders of global violence like to decry pacifism as being based on a false notion of human nature. Foote thinks that this naive view fails to recognise that, on the contrary, "there's no original sin, there's original goodness". Modern science endorses Foote's optimism, and it's the warriors who are out of sync. Even when there are no actual wars they compromise our humanity and waste our resources. Every year the world spends \$1 trillion on its military. Productive investment with the potential to provide clean water and clean energy and eradicate acid rain and illiteracy would cost a fraction of that. It would also ease the causes of violence.

Non-violent protests work, Foote suggests, and he takes us through some examples. His important insight is that officials in the belligerent governments and the international financiers whose policies have been so destructive are not evil. They don't intend to crush the world's poor, but they do because they're caught in a system and a mindset. In a more rational world, society could readily organise itself to apply "common morality to the common good". Pacifist thinking traditionally has a strong religious component, but Foote seems inspired more by a sturdy secularism. Active in the New Zealand peace movement for 70 years, Foote knows that the way for a united vision to succeed is to present an argument in ways that invite broad acceptance. As an introduction to the topic, this book is hard to beat.

Copies of "Passing Bells" cost \$20 (or \$15 each if buying two or more) and can be ordered from The Glen Press, 1/52a Aorangi Road, Christchurch 8053.

Will Foote is a veteran and much valued member of the Anti-Bases Campaign, and until he was well into his 80s, a regular at Waihopai spybase protests from the outset. He is a prolific writer, and several of his books have been reviewed in PR, most recently "Saving Trees, Stopping Wars", reviewed by Jeremy Agar in PR 33, November 2006, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-131a.html>. Ed.



OBITUARY - IAN PRIOR

A Long-Term And Dedicated Worker For Disarmament

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- Nick Wilson

Nick Wilson is the Chair of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (NZ). This obituary was also published in IPPNW (NZ)'s June/July 2009 newsletter.

Ian Prior, who was well known to the New Zealand peace movement, died in February 2009, aged 85. Ian regarded the threat of nuclear weapons as a critical public health issue and with a group of physician friends he co-founded the New Zealand branch of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW)* in 1981. He played leading roles in the New Zealand branch (including as Chairperson), and provided sustained contributions to the international efforts of the organisation for over two and a half decades.

**See "SIS Spied On Peace Movement For Decades", by Murray Horton, elsewhere in this issue. That details the peace groups that the Director of the Security Intelligence Service has confirmed were the targets of its historic spying. IPPNW (NZ) was one of them. The Director explained that it had been necessary to spy on these groups because they had been infiltrated by "cynical Communists". Ed.*

Ian was particularly good at engaging young doctors and medical students (myself included, back in the early 1980s) in a way that made them feel part of an important and worthwhile national and international effort. Another attribute was Ian's ability to attract key international people to New Zealand to speak publicly on peace issues in well-orchestrated events. At these events it was easy to see what a great networker Ian was and how he engaged with politicians, diplomats, officials, scientists, artists and community leaders, both in New Zealand and internationally. As George Salmond* once wrote: "with great skill and sensitivity, Ian uses his networks to advance the cause of nuclear weapons abolition". *George Salmond is a long standing member of IPPNW, a long term friend of Ian's and he was a key figure in the World Court Project. He is a former Director General of Health.

Together with his late wife Elespie, Ian also provided critical financial resources to help IPPNW, particularly through the IPPNW Education and Research Trust. Elespie also provided strong and sustained emotional support to Ian, and frequently helped host IPPNW meetings at their Wadestown home. Ian contributed to many publications by IPPNW and other peace groups – and helped ensure that these were well produced, launched and distributed. He also contributed to various research projects, including work on the impact of nuclear testing [1].

The contribution that Ian made to nuclear disarmament activities has been well recognised, including in the book "The Health of Pacific Societies – Ian Prior's Life and Work". George Salmond also spoke eloquently about his important role on National Radio (1/3/09, Radio NZ). Furthermore, IPPNW (NZ) has recently deposited its key documents with the National Archive and this means that future historians will be able to study more closely the contribution that Ian and his colleagues have made in the disarmament field.

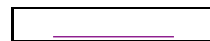
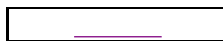
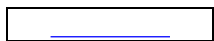
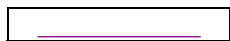
There was also other public recognition for Ian's long and varied contributions to disarmament, the environment, to the arts and to advancing public health. In 1988 he was awarded an Honorary DSc. (Victoria University of Wellington) and in 1996 he was inducted as an Officer of the New Zealand Order of Merit (ONZM). Various articles expand on Ian's contributions in these other fields (e.g., [2-5]), but to me his contributions to advancing public health and disarmament particularly stand out.

Although never an ABC member nor involved directly in our branch of the peace movement, Ian Prior was an extremely generous donor to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account which provides Murray Horton's income. He was among the very first to donate when it was set up in 1991 and his most recent donation was in 2004. And he was a member of, and an extremely generous annual donor to, the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) from 1993-99. Ed.

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OBITUARY - CONNIE SUMMERS

Peace Researcher 38 – July 2009

- Murray Horton

Connie Summers, who died in Christchurch in December 2008, aged 89, holds a special place in the history of the New Zealand peace movement. Connie Jones, as she was then, was the only woman imprisoned in World War 2 for pacifist offences. The best recent history on this subject is Russell Campbell's excellent 2005 documentary "Sedition: The Suppression Of Dissent In World War 2 New Zealand". Contact Russell at Russell.Campbell@vuw.ac.nz for details. "Sedition" was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120b.html>.

"Constance May Jones – or Connie as she has always been called – was born on the 1st March 1919. She was the second youngest, the third daughter of four, and the last surviving member of the ten children born to Lillian and Ernest Jones. None of us here today can remember her mother, as she died in 1939, before any of us were born. However we can remember her father, Ernie, who had a big impact on her life and beliefs. He was an ardent socialist and would bike from Oxford to Christchurch and back again in order to attend political meetings (100 km over shingle roads)".

"She was born in Oxford where her father had also been born, while her mother came from Ashburton. Both families were of English/Welsh ancestry – and of peasant stock as she was fond of asserting. Shortly after her birth the family moved to Christchurch – Halswell Road – just a kilometre or two from where she died – appropriate for her who was very much a homebody, and proud of the fact that she'd never been outside of New Zealand.

"The family was poor, but this never featured particularly in her reminiscences. However her father's large garden, both vegetable and ornamental did – and she inherited a love of gardening from her parents. She also, of course, inherited many other qualities, including her principles, and her Protestant work ethic – both of which she has passed on to her children. She went to Spreydon School and for three years to secondary school at West Christchurch, as Hagley was called at that time. She learnt the piano briefly – and got a medal, and won a knitting prize for a two-tone scarf, which has recently been retrieved from her extensive archives and admired, in a Christchurch-wide competition.

"At 13 she joined the Socialist Guild of Youth and went to meetings every Sunday, and by 15 she was a committed pacifist and has remained so for her entire life. At first she was a Humanist Pacifist as her father was an agnostic, but she became involved in the Baptist, and then the Methodist Church and joined both the No More War movement and the Christian Pacifist Society.

Prison

"In 1939 when she was 20 she went to Wellington and boarded with prominent pacifist Archie Barrington for about three months, returning to Christchurch just before her mother died. She often talked about how she came back to organise her mother's funeral. When she returned to Wellington she boarded with the Reverend Ormond Burton, another very prominent pacifist, and had a variety of jobs as work was hard to get. She worked at the Centennial Exhibition, but of course, it being war time, the exhibition was a big flop. She also worked for an importer of German-made pharmaceutical display stands, and lastly and most successfully, as a ledger keeper for Turners and Growers.

"1941 was a defining year for her. Two years into the war, freedom of speech, the right of dissent, had been curtailed in the interests of the war. Christian pacifists who tried to influence public opinion were arrested – yet on Friday nights, week after week, activists climbed on their soap boxes and spoke for peace. And so it came to her turn. She climbed on the box – a young constable pleaded with her not to do it. She managed a few words: 'The Lord Jesus Christ tells us to love one another...' Chief Inspector CW Lopdell, the Wellington Police chief, arrested her..." (family eulogy at her funeral, delivered by her daughter, Bronwen Summers).

"Though she lived a further 67 years, she never regretted her action on the street corner that Friday evening. Neither did she regret the public vilification she attracted and the many times she was punched and jostled, as she walked the town wearing a sandwich board bearing anti-war slogans.... Two of Summers' brothers were conscientious objectors in the war. One served a month's imprisonment at Paparua, near Christchurch... Looking back in 1986, she told the *Press* she wished she had done more to oppose the war. By then she had also protested against the Vietnam War, from 1965 to 1973..." (*Press*, 17/1/09, "Frank pacifist stuck to anti-war beliefs", Mike

Crean).

“She was simply charged with obstruction under the emergency regulations, spared the additional Supreme Court appearance for attempting to hold a meeting, which had earned the others another 12 months’ gaol. ‘When I asked Lopdell why he’d only charged me with the one offence, he insultingly replied that he was being *kind* to me’... She told the Magistrate’s Court in 1941 that the State had no right to make her follow a law that she didn’t believe in. (the magistrate) didn’t agree. She got three months hard labour. She was 22.

“She served her sentence at the Point Halswell Reformatory, immediately above the girls’ borstal. ‘It wasn’t actually hard work, but the food was poor’. She was locked up for 14 hours a day without a toilet. Working in the hard land of the prison garden in winter, she froze in her thin prison clothes. ‘For the first time in my life I had chilblains, on my ears and hands’” (*Listener*, 3/9/94, “A matter of principle: Lifelong pacifist Connie Summers is armed with her beliefs”, Bruce Ansley).

“She recalled the matron of the reformatory saying to her ‘I suppose, Constance, you won’t sew the uniforms for the Army’. And we can hear her firm reply ‘certainly not’ – as that would have been helping with the war effort. After prison she returned to Christchurch in August and by late September (1941) had married Dad – and yes, I think it’s generally well known that she did the proposing” (family eulogy).

Marriage, Bookshop

“John Summers, surprisingly, went to war, on medical duties only. ‘He still believed in pacifism’, says Connie, ‘but John had a pretty violent side to his temperament. He knew about this and he didn’t feel that he could claim to be a pacifist in the true sense of the word while that side of him flourished. So he felt he had to compromise. We were married just over a year when he went overseas (he served in North Africa and Italy) and he was away near enough to three years. But, there was never one word of difference over his going to the war.

“John was not an easy person. Very quick tempered, very bad tempered. Anyone who knew both John and I would know it wouldn’t be an easy marriage, because of the strength of the convictions. When I get a conviction it’s strong, it’s not something I drop by the wayside. But I loved him very dearly for over 50 years that we were married...I love my children very dearly. Full stop. They are not my life. But when John died (in 1994), my life died. John *was* my life. It didn’t matter what the difficulties of my marriage were” (*Listener*, *ibid.*).

“It was an extraordinary marriage, built, so they said, on faith – which gave rise to the name of their first born. Faith was born in 1942 just before Dad went overseas as a medical orderly. She flatted in Hereford Street until he came back in 1945 when they moved to Hororata where he worked in a saw mill (*they had seven kids. Ed*). In 1958 they went into business, setting up in a bookshop in Chancery Lane. They subsequently moved to Manchester Street and finally to Tuam Street. Dad always said that Mum was the brains of the business and tempered his otherwise rash decision-making tendencies. Mum always worked in the shop – in early days, taking the bus home around 2 p.m. in order to get the dinners ready” (family eulogy).

“Her husband was an art collector and critic, a writer and a lover of books. Summers supported him in running a Christchurch bookshop and worked in it for many years... It became a ‘hang-out’ for arty and literary types and political radicals (*I was one of the latter category of customers. Ed*)... A former customer, who asked not to be named, says Summers ‘tended to be grumpy’, possibly because of her husband’s frequent ill temper. She was always frank and forthright. Her integrity, consistency and generosity won her wide respect” (*Press obituary, ibid.*).

“In 1968 they moved to the Domain Terrace house. Throughout all this time a wide variety of artists, poets and writers visited them at home – often staying for meals and talking late into the night. They were also collecting art works, always purchased very inexpensively through their friendship with artists who were still establishing their reputations such as Colin McCahon, Toss Woollaston, Tony Fomison and others. Thousands of books also made their way home. Regular outings were made to art show openings, and concerts – Mum was particularly appreciative of women singers such as de los Angeles, Schwarzkopf and Mahalia Jackson. They also saw Paul Robeson in concert – being a big fan not only of his singing, but his social conscience. The bookshop was finally closed in 1983 when Mum was 64. Once she had more time, Mum spent a lot of it in her garden, which gave her a lot of pleasure.

Arrested Five Times During 81 Springbok Tour

“Also during this time there were social issues to be involved in – the Vietnam War was a prominent one – and both Mum and Dad took part in many demonstrations. She hit her stride again in 1981, during the Springbok Tour, when

they participated in many demonstrations, and in the course of which she was arrested five times. As a consequence of explaining to the judge her long-held beliefs, she was discharged without conviction on all charges. Well the judges weren't stupid were they!

"Although intensely political, and a keen listener to Parliament when it was sitting, she did not join any political party because they all believed in the necessity for a defence force. She was proud of not voting for winners in elections – commenting quite recently that her father had never voted for a winner in any election. To her it was more important to vote for the one she most believed in – regardless of their likelihood of getting into Parliament. During this most recent election (2008) there were two billboards on her fence – one for the Greens, the other for the Alliance. In earlier years the New Labour Party put up their billboards, until Jim Anderton became persona non grata and was sent the inevitable letter!" (family eulogy).

Unyielding Principles

"I'd go to the bloody stake for my beliefs; it doesn't matter that they've hurt me a good deal'. In one (1981 Springbok tour-related) court appearance, she read a passage from Bram Fischer, sentenced to life imprisonment in South Africa. 'Were I to ask for forgiveness today I would betray my cause. That course is not open to me. I believe that what I did is right'" (*Listener*, *ibid*). "She expected her family to follow her lead, even though it caused difficulties, even alienation, among them. She admitted she was openly critical of family members and had many rows with them" (*Press* obituary, *ibid*).

An extraordinary insight into just what this meant can be found in Bruce Ansley's 1994 *Listener* profile of her, specifically the relationship between Connie and her son, Llew Summers, the famous sculptor. "My son Llew has said our marriage was a bloody disaster. Well, at least I stayed married and Llew didn't' ... Llew is one of their seven children, but he hasn't seen much of his mother since 1977. That year, a divorced man with children, he took up with Rose. She has been his partner for 17 years. But Connie wouldn't let Rose in her house. They were not married and that was that. Rose's name is not mentioned during our conversation" (*Rose died in 1998, of cancer, aged 49. Ed*).

"My children', says Summers, 'look upon me as unbending. I know it. I say, yes, but what about the other person. They're going in the opposite direction from me. Are they unbending? Or am I the only one? Llew lives in a way I don't agree with...When Llew told me he was going to do this, I said to him, well, you must live your life and I hope you find the living of your life easier than I know I'm going to find mine. I'm his mother, and I hoped the beliefs I hold very dearly had infiltrated enough for him to live by them. But, if they haven't, and he doesn't believe in them, well stuff it...Llew came to see me one night after John's death and said he supposed now I would change my mind, now there'd been a death. I don't believe a death is any reason to change what I believe. Well, he said, as he went out the door, it was just a bloody nuisance. I'm not setting out to be a bloody nuisance. I'm just continuing to live the only way I know how to live'" (*Listener*, *ibid*).

"No overview of her life would be complete without a word or two about her principles. And to quote from Mum herself: 'Being arrested has nothing to do with bravery. We have certain temperaments we're given. I have the background of these people, my grandmother, my father, who gave me these strengths'. And then referring to her marriage to Dad, she said: 'He thought I was malleable. After we were married, he thought it was the biggest joke of his life. The only woman jailed, as I was, malleable!'" (family eulogy).