

# A Dotcomedy Of Errors

## GCSB Illegally Spies On New Zealanders. We Told You So.

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Murray Horton

The endlessly entertaining saga of Kim Dotcom having been illegally spied upon by the hapless NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) proves that we, the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC), can justifiably say “we told you so”. For many years now we have said that the claim by successive Governments, National and Labour, that the GCSB and its Waihopai spy base only spy on foreigners is complete bullshit. The official line has always been that Waihopai only intercepts international civilian telecommunications. But whenever ABC has asked the GCSB if it intercepts international communications where one end of the call or e-mail, etc, involves a New Zealander, the spies have always refused to comment, let alone deny it. Draw your own conclusions. In fact, no need to, as the Dotcom fiasco proves that the GCSB spies not only on New Zealanders’ international communications; it also spies on New Zealanders’ domestic communications.

Prime Minister Key was being extremely naïve, or straight out lying, when he said he was “shocked” by allegations that the GCSB intervened in the Dotcom case on behalf of the United States. No Prime Minister has full control over the GCSB, as the late David Lange acknowledged (in his foreword to Nicky Hager’s seminal 1996 book “Secret Power”, about the GCSB and its Waihopai spy base,). The Government, and specifically the Two Johnnies, Banks and Key, must rue the day they ever heard of Kim Dotcom, because everything about his action-packed couple of years of presence in New Zealand so far has come back to bite them in the bum (for example, see “Kim Dotcom And The Good Character Test: Money Versus Power”, by James Ayers, in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 130, August 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/30/06.html>). But the fact of the matter is that they gave him New Zealand permanent residence and the GCSB is supposedly prohibited from domestic spying on NZ citizens and residents.

The scandal broke in September 2012, immediately after New Zealand had just hosted its first visit by a US Defense Secretary in 30 years, and the only surprise is that Key didn’t put his back out with all the bowing and scraping he did. Secretary Leon Panetta (who was allowed to get out of the country before it broke and thus avoid any awkward questions about the Dotcom scandal) had made it clear that everything about the US/NZ military and political relationship is on course to revert to the good old days of ANZUS\*, so why should anyone be surprised that “our” spooks should be doing the bidding of the US government and its law enforcement agencies in the Dotcom case? \**The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand’s defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia. Ed.*

### GCSB Exists To Be Sub-Contractor For US Intelligence

The staff at the Waihopai spy base routinely intercept communications for their US and UK big brothers with few questions asked. The spy base does not operate in the interests of New Zealand and should be closed down. As former whistleblowers (for instance, Katharine Gun in the UK\*) have revealed, neither laws nor ethics bother the spooks. Politicians have little idea about what the spies do. In Britain the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), which is responsible for massive interception of international business and private communications, is increasingly involved in domestic spying. At a minimum the GCSB should be put under proper control by a Parliamentary Select Committee before the same thing happens in New Zealand - not the current sham “oversight” regime of the Inspector General of Intelligence and Security (retired judge, Paul Neazor) and the Intelligence and Security Committee, which operates in non-accountable secrecy and is a committee of Government, not a Parliamentary Select Committee. Better still, it should be shut down, as not being in the national interest. Let the Yanks do their own dirty work rather than hiding behind a so-called “New Zealand” spy agency. \**For information about Katharine Gun, see Bob Leonard’s review of “The Spy Who Tried To Stop A War: Katharine Gun And The Secret Plot To Sanction The Iraq Invasion”, by Marcia and Thomas Mitchell, in Peace Researcher 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr39-183b.htm>.*

The most interesting feature of this case is that the spy agency in question is the GCSB, not their bumbling cousins in the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS), who have a well deserved reputation for cockups going back decades. The most famous recent SIS classic hit was their 1996 aborted break-in at the Christchurch home of political activist Aziz Choudry (for full details see “Aziz Choudry Wins Case Against SIS: Out Of Court Settlement; Damages; Government Apology”, by Murray Horton, in *Peace Researcher* 19/20, November/December 1999, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/choudry.htm>).

The problem that ABC has always had, in making an issue of the GCSB, is that it is a faceless agency. A lot of that is to do with the difference in the type of spying done by it – signals and/or electronic intelligence (SIGINT/ELINT) - as opposed to the SIS, which does human intelligence (HUMINT). The only “personification” of the GCSB in the eyes of the media and public are the Waihopai spy base domes. The only high profile GCSB Director has been Warren Tucker, and I bet he’s glad that he left that for his present job as SIS Director (the present GCSB Director, Ian Fletcher, is suitably faceless).

### **No More Anonymity**

The GCSB has been dragged, blinking, into the spotlight and become a household name. All because of its cosy relationship with an increasingly militarised Police force; one which is bedazzled by the shiny tools of covert spying, and which is very keen to carry out heavy-handed “War On Terror” style raids like the ill-fated 2007 “Urewera terrorists” raids; and the equally doomed January 20th, 2012, raid on the Dotcom mansion at Coatesville, north of Auckland (coincidentally, the very day that ABC was assembling in Marlborough for our weekend of activity at the Waihopai spy base). And all because both spies and cops, not to mention the politicians nominally “in charge” of them, are slavishly eager to impress the Big Boys in the US, be they the Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), or the Hollywood movie and music moguls who want Dotcom’s Megaupload business shut down to protect their profits and intellectual property.

But if you’re going to impress those Yankee Big Boys when they order you to carry out a primetime extradition bust you gotta get the basics right. And the GCSB stuffed up big time when they assumed that Dotcom was a foreign citizen without New Zealand residence and that they were therefore legally allowed to spy on him. Wrong! Dotcom had been granted New Zealand residence under a controversial immigration provision by which the rich buy their way into the country and was therefore legally protected from the GCSB. Claims by the GCSB and its Minister, John Key that they didn’t know that are just nonsense – the egomaniacal German billionaire had celebrated being granted NZ residency by treating Auckland to the biggest fireworks display in its history, and made sure that everyone knew about it. No wonder the Yanks prefer to kill their targets when they do their own guntoting doorkicking (think Osama bin Laden) – this “due process” business can be a real impediment to getting what you want.

Like all political scandals, it quickly became bogged down in a confusing morass of claim and counter-claim, of who knew what and when they knew it (or claimed that they didn’t know it), etc, etc. The flimflam can be stripped back to a couple of central points – the GCSB spies on New Zealanders in New Zealand; and it is under no effective oversight or control. Even the desultory “investigation” by the Inspector General revealed a few more instances where he considered that the GCSB had overstepped the mark in recent years. The only reason that the illegal spying on Dotcom came to light was not because of any “oversight” but because Dotcom’s smart cookie lawyer asked some awkward questions of the cops at one of the interminable Auckland High Court hearings that have been a feature of this spectacularly botched attempt to extradite him to the US – the lawyer asked a Police witness who were the mysterious other Government officials at a meeting in Wellington to plan the raid? The cat was out of the bag and the old proverbial hit the fan (to mix some metaphors). Within a very short time Key had been forced to admit that there had been illegal GCSB spying; he publicly tore strips off the spooks, of whom he is nominally in charge (because they broke the golden rule of all public servants – getting caught out and making your Minister look a fool in the process); and apologised to Dotcom, which may leave taxpayers open to a hefty payout if he decides to sue the Government for the crime it has admitted committing against him (as happened in the Aziz Choudry case).

### **Methods Revealed; Names Named**

When a top secret spy agency and its partners in crime in the intelligence world are suddenly subjected to quite unexpected scrutiny by the media, politicians and the public, all sorts of things come out. Operational spying methods were revealed. For example, the *New Zealand Herald* (5/10/12, “Suspicion over Dotcom net glitch”, David Fisher) disclosed that Dotcom had a dedicated Internet connection from his Coatesville mansion to the Sky Tower in central Auckland (to enable him to retain his “number one player” world ranking in the online game Modern Warfare 3). *Herald* inquiries revealed that Telecom and staff at its technology service company Gen-I were investigating irregularities with Dotcom’s Internet connection as early as November 2011, well before the illegal GCSB spying was said to have happened (the GCSB admitted spying on him from December 16, 2011 until the day of the raid, January 20th, 2012). When Gen-I technicians did a standard “trace route” search of his Internet signal, they discovered that it was being diverted within New Zealand, rather than going directly to an overseas Xbox computer server.

The media made a great play about the names of GCSB agents becoming known (in fact, in contrast to the SIS situation where only the Director can be legally named, GCSB staff have never been legally shielded by anonymity.

Because they're different types of spies to the SIS). But it's all good fun. So, in October 2012, the spotlight was shone on "Agent CX" (sounds like a type of nerve gas), who was identified as Hugh Wolfensohn. He was in the news because he had been designated to carry the can for the Dotcom cockup and was sent home on "gardening leave" i.e. paid to stay home. Wolfensohn is a GCSB veteran who was identified as its legal officer in Nicky Hager's "Secret Power" in 1996. Media investigations revealed that, in the 2011/12 period he had three titles in 12 months, starting with Operations Director, then Acting Director, and back to Chief Legal Adviser. Wolfensohn is no stranger to *Peace Researcher* readers – his photo appeared on the cover of *PR* 13, August 1997, under the headline "Top GCSB Officials Observe Waihopai 20 Trial". The caption described him as the GCSB's Senior Executive Officer. That issue included an article by Bob Leonard entitled "Spies 'Bug' Waihopai 20 Trial" (<http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/2010/06/peace-researcher-vol2-issue13-august.html>).

Other names came tumbling out, such as Damien Rogers, a former GCSB employee who is now an academic and the partner of the former journalist who is now an adviser to David Shearer, Leader of the Opposition. Rogers was named in some media outlets as the source for Shearer's very high profile but unproven claim that the GCSB filmed Key's February 2012 talk to GCSB staff at its Wellington headquarters, the visit where he is alleged to have been briefed about the Dotcom situation and to have talked about it (Key initially denied any such briefing, then told Parliament that he had forgotten about it and accepted that he had been briefed about Dotcom by the GCSB much earlier than his initial claim of September 2012). But Shearer could not produce any evidence of the video's existence and both Key and the GCSB denied that it had been filmed.

Most worryingly for the GCSB's foreign Big Brothers in the Five Eyes electronic intelligence agencies network operating under the UKUSA Agreement (the US National Security Agency, the British Government Communications Headquarters, the Canadian Communications Security Establishment, and the Australian Defence Signals Directorate), the spotlight started to be shone on them and their activities. Mainstream media started talking about Echelon, the codename for the massive international electronic spying on civilian electronic communications that is the reason for the existence of Waihopai and its fellow spy bases around the world. The media reported that the agencies met in Wellington on the same September 2012 weekend that US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta was meeting Key in Auckland. These reports publicised another hitherto very shy NZ body called the Intelligence Coordination Group, which operates out of Key's office, and is responsible for the relationship not only between NZ's various spy agencies but, much more importantly, between NZ's spies and their foreign counterparts. Its Director is Roy Ferguson, NZ's immediate past Ambassador to the US. And that's another example of what a small country this is – I spent five years in the same class as Roy at high school in Christchurch in the 1960s, where he finished up as head prefect and went on to a career as a top diplomat, culminating as Ambassador to the US. I've had no contact with him since high school and he probably won't want to talk to me now.

## Losing Middle New Zealand

The timing of the September 2012 revelation of the Dotcom/GCSB illegal spying scandal was sandwiched between Panetta's visit to NZ and Key's bootlicking visit to the Hollywood movie moguls who are so keen to shut down Megaupload and lock up Dotcom. It was this obvious servility to US entities, ranging from the FBI to Hollywood transnational corporations that so pissed off a wide range of NZ media and public opinion. For a small sample, here is an extract from Bryce Edwards' regular *Political Round-up* in the *New Zealand Herald* (27/9/12, "Growing anger over Dotcom fiasco"):

"If provincial newspaper editorials are anything to go by, there is growing anger about the authorities' handling of Kim Dotcom. The *Waikato Times*' editorial entitled, '[NZ: 51st State Of The US](#)', is particularly worth reading. It says that the announcement of the illegal spying has 'heightened suspicions that this country's relationship with the United States has become one of servility rather than friendship'. The editorial's conclusion is worth quoting at length: 'Dotcom is wanted in the US to face nothing more threatening than breaches of copyright laws. The GCSB's involvement - like so much about this case, including FBI agents, helicopters, heavily armed police and botched search warrants - has turned the pursuit of him and the operations of our law enforcement agencies into the stuff of farce. It is preposterous to suggest Mr Dotcom threatens our national security. The Government's unquestioning readiness to cooperate with American authorities, on the other hand, seriously corrodes our claims to be an independent state'.

"The *Southland Times* editorial '[Crusading Against Kim](#)' is equally scathing: 'The lickspittle anxiety of New Zealand government agencies to impress Kim Dotcom's would-be prosecutors in the United States has become more than a general national embarrassment. It is now acutely troubling'. It goes on with more scornful analysis, concluding that the Government's 'supposed political oversight of our intelligence service' has become too 'laissez-faire'. Similarly, today's *Press* editorial, '[Dotcom Mistakes](#)', warns 'the authorities need to bear in mind that New Zealanders' trust in their capabilities has been impaired. The Prime Minister should consider also that his refusal to deal adequately with

John Banks, and Dotcom's apparent ability to turn each of the various twists in his case into a public relations victory, are damaging to the Government's image'.

"In another example which shows that it's not just Nicky Hager anti-Establishment types who are upset by the Dotcom case, *New Zealand Herald* business journalist Fran O'Sullivan is warning that the business community will be alarmed by what's going on - see: '[Dotcom spying worry for business](#)'. She says: 'If the authorities are so supine in their relationship with their US counterparts and so eager to corral an alleged copyright criminal - allegations which Dotcom is strongly contesting - that they don't check the basics before mounting their interception, what guarantees do other businesses have that this is a one-off affair?' O'Sullivan says it's bad news to see that the PM and his Deputy and Finance Minister are obviously not working closely together".

### **No Control Or Oversight**

What O'Sullivan is referring to here is the fact that, after Dotcom's lawyer questioned the cops in an August 2012 Auckland High Court hearing about who were the other "mystery Government officials" at the meeting to plan the Police raid, the spooks immediately rushed to the Government to try and stop the beans being spilled. A week later Bill English, in his capacity as Acting Prime Minister, signed a Ministerial Certificate suppressing details of the GCSB's involvement in the case. Both he and Key claim that English didn't tell Key about this when Key came back into his office after having been overseas and, furthermore, Key said that he hadn't seen any need to ask English if there was anything he should be aware of that had happened in English's capacity as Acting Minister in Charge of the GCSB. Pull the other one, boys. This is either a good old fashioned cover up or the top two politicians in the country are asleep at the wheel. Take your pick. Either way it did them no good. Within weeks Dotcom's lawyer had filed an affidavit with the Court seeking more information about the "mystery Government officials" and the game was up.

The overall impression of the GCSB is of an agency operating outside of any real control or oversight and one which lacks direction and leadership. Ian Fletcher, who became its Director in January 2012, was the fifth person to lead it in just 18 months (including Hugh Wolfensohn as Acting Director). Very embarrassingly for the Establishment, one of them was the present Governor General, Sir Jerry Mateparae, who went from Chief of Defence Force to GCSB Director in February 2011. He was appointed for five years but only served until July 2011, when he became Governor General (very controversially he remained GCSB Director after it was announced that he was to become the GG). The Government has refused to answer any questions about whether any of the illegal spying (on Dotcom or anyone else) took place while Mateparae was in charge. That would not be a good look for the Queen's Representative. Not surprisingly, GCSB staffers have started to leak stuff, including a June 2011 internal staff survey (the first since 2007) which revealed "climate has gone down across the board". Concerns cited included restructuring, moving premises and pay issues; cumulatively they have left staff "feeling less engaged with GCSB. Staff said the move to a new Wellington building was 'poorly organised – and created more tension than it solved'...One comment, highlighted by the survey's authors, said: 'We have many long-serving employees. Quite often people are promoted due to length of service rather than competence; also, if you have a good relationship with a senior manager and are therefore known to them your chance of being promoted is greater'" (*Press*, 16/10/12, "Staff survey shows unhappy spy nest").

This makes me feel nostalgic. I worked, in the humblest of capacities, for the Railways for 14½ years and was very familiar with the seniority system, which was the norm right across the public service in those days (1970s-90s), not to mention crawling to the boss. Obviously the spies have never had to undergo the involuntary "culture change" (or "paradigm shift" to quote the once fashionable cliché) forced upon the rest of the public servants. I've often wondered what happened to the legions of no hopers and arselickers laid off in droves in wave upon wave of redundancies – it looks like some of them may have found themselves a comfortable new home at the GCSB, where the good old days have apparently never ended.

### **Close Waihopai & The GCSB**

As for the Anti-Bases Campaign, we will continue to do our little bit to lower the GCSB staff morale even more (although they, and their political nominal bosses, seem to be doing a pretty good job of it all by themselves). Kim Dotcom, a cartoonish self-promoting egomaniac billionaire, is the most unlikely of allies but he has inadvertently done all of his fellow New Zealanders a favour. And "fellow New Zealanders" is the operative phrase – the GCSB is legally prohibited from spying on New Zealanders; they were caught out doing so; and the truth was revealed to be exactly what ABC has always said it is. The GCSB is spying on us, on behalf of its American masters; it acts unlawfully; it is not under any sort of effective oversight or control. The Waihopai spy base must be closed and the GCSB itself made redundant.

# Back Into Bed With Uncle Sam

## A Loyal Satellite Once More

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Murray Horton

As already mentioned, the revelation of the GCSB's illegal spying on Kim Dotcom took place immediately after US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta had safely left the country, in September 2012. More's the pity, as he would have been the man to put on the spot about the role of US law enforcement and intelligence agencies in the whole shabby business. Panetta has more than a passing insider's knowledge of US intelligence – he is the immediate past (2009-11) Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. He was the CIA Director who oversaw the 2011 operation to kill Osama bin Laden (see Dennis Small's "Killing Bin Laden" elsewhere in this issue).

Panetta was the first US Defense Secretary to visit New Zealand in 30 years, since Caspar Weinberger in 1982 (when Ronald Reagan was President and Robert Muldoon was Prime Minister). His visit was basically the icing on the cake, the culmination of the process of openly reintegrating New Zealand, politically and militarily, into the US Empire's war machine – NZ's intelligence agencies have always been integrated, albeit covertly, despite the so-called "breach" arising from NZ's adoption of the nuclear free law and ban on US warship visits in the 1980s. For the background to this, see Warren Thomson's "Manoeuvred Back Into ANZUS: Subversion Of NZ's Independence" in *Peace Researcher* 43, May 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/43/pr43-001.htm>.

### More Military Exercises With US & Panetta Offers Bases Here

It's worth refreshing our memories about the rapidly increasing number of combined US/NZ military exercises in 2012. "The most visible of those was New Zealand's invitation to RIMPAC, the biggest maritime exercise of its time, after a 28-year absence. It used to be a standing joke that there were only two countries in the world not invited to the monster display of military might - North Korea and New Zealand. No wonder. This year's guest list included 22 nations, 42 ships, six submarines, more than 200 aircraft and 25,000 personnel. The vestiges of the old grudges over the ANZUS rift were not eradicated, however. The New Zealanders were required to dock at a civilian port, away from the American warships at Pearl Harbor, a hangover from the old system that for years required a Presidential waiver before any military-to-military exchange. A watered-down version remains.

"Other exercises have been less visible. In February, New Zealand joined nine other countries taking part in Exercise Bold Alligator on America's east coast, one of the biggest joint and multinational amphibious assault exercises in a decade. In June, Operation Galvanic Kiwi saw our troops train alongside Marine combat engineers in the US. And in April, 35 Marines and 41 Army personnel participated with New Zealand and British troops during the 10-day Exercise Alam Halfa, held in the central North Island" (Stuff, 21/9/12, "Easy does it for closer military ties with US", Tracy Watkins).

Sensitivities are still high, however, about the nuclear warship ban and ANZUS bustup. No military exercises consisting solely of forces from Australia, NZ, and the US have been held since the 1980s, so as not to re-inflate the "ANZUS Row". And the Americans aren't having a bar of John Key's invitation for them to send a US Coastguard ship to visit NZ – that is beneath their imperial dignity. It's either warship visits or nothing. For his part, Panetta indulged in some arrogant kite flying during his 24 hours in the country. "United States Marines could help train New Zealand forces in amphibious capabilities following talks held here during US Defence Secretary Leon Panetta's historic visit. Mr Panetta has also left the door open to stationing US troops in New Zealand, if invited, saying the US is more than ready for that kind of relationship" (*New Zealand Herald*, 23/9/12, "US Marines could train NZ forces"). It remains to be seen if even the Key government would be so breathtakingly supine as to accept US bases here. Of course, there has been one at Christchurch Airport since the 1950s but that hides behind the "Antarctic logistic support" façade and never has been a combat base. It would be a quantum leap to agree to something like what Australia has done, namely hosting a US Marine base in Darwin.

### It's All About Confronting China

All of this is about the US whipping its Asia Pacific satellites into line to form a military and political alliance against China, the up and coming superpower. It tends to be forgotten that the previous President, George Bush, came into office in January 2001 determined to confront China. Within a very short time there was a military confrontation when a US military spy plane collided in midair with a Chinese fighter jet (whose pilot was killed); the US plane and its crew were captured and only released after the Bush Administration delivered the apology that China demanded. Everything was nicely on target in terms of propaganda demonising China and provoking military confrontations, until the al Qaeda terrorist attacks on the US on September 11 that year spun the US war machine off into a totally



different direction, one from which it is still trying to extricate itself more than a decade later. But a hallmark of the Obama Administration has been to get the US military out of Iraq (Bush's war); announce a deadline to do the same in Afghanistan (Bush's war, but one which Obama embraced with gusto), and to reorient imperial military policy towards the Pacific and specifically to contain and, if necessary, to confront China.

Of course, the American carrot that is being dangled in front of the New Zealand donkey (or, rather, the New Zealand John Key) is the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA), the misleadingly labelled "free trade" deal – it's actually a multilateral Asia/Pacific investment deal, which will greatly increase the wealth and power of transnational corporations, specifically American ones – that is touted by its proponents in both National and Labour as being the means to bring into effect that shimmering mirage ardently pursued by all neo-liberals, namely a free trade agreement with the US. So far, the negotiations have taken years (the latest round being in Auckland in December 2012) and are years behind schedule – the process started under Clark and Bush. This is not the place to go into details about why the TPPA is such a threat to NZ's sovereignty; you can find all that at <http://www.nznotforsale.org/> and <http://www.itsourfuture.org.nz/>. A couple of comments will suffice: firstly, the US definitely wants the TPPA to create an Asia/Pacific bloc to confront China, which has not been invited to join (but is instead offering its own, rival, deal to many of the same countries, including New Zealand). And, secondly, if the TPPA comes to pass, the power of American movie and music moguls, such as the ones pulling NZ's strings about Kim Dotcom, will be immeasurably strengthened.

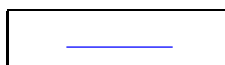
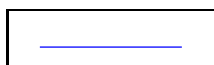
Interestingly, this is not meeting with universal approval from some of the usually most reliable NZ media supporters of the US Empire. For example, the *Press* editorialised (25/9/12, "A delicate balance"): "The United States is practised in thinking hard-headedly about its own interests but it is uncertain if New Zealand is. This nation has been able to make a comparatively safe passage through history, whereas the US has been engaged in much of the hard going. It therefore can be almost guaranteed to make the realistic calculations about the future of the Pacific and it has the power to act on them.

"New Zealand, at least in terms of its Foreign Minister and Prime Minister, shows few signs of such realism, but at least the tiny international affairs community here has the issue of big-power rivalry in the Pacific high on its agenda. The consensus is that New Zealand has its own interests in the conflict and should not subsume them in ties to Washington or Beijing. The calculus is simple in outline: New Zealand emphatically shares the ideals and practices of American democracy rather than Chinese dictatorship; we also with America favour an open economy and free trade; but New Zealand must engage with the economic dynamism of Asia, typified most impressively by China; we must also accept that China will increasingly exercise its influence in the South Pacific.

"Over-riding all those calculations is New Zealand's interest in keeping the US-China relationship peaceful and productive. War or aggressive stand-off between the two big powers would threaten our prosperity and continued viability as a nation. Whatever the doomsday talk that sometimes emerges, the reality is that both China and America have an overwhelming interest in keeping the peace between them. Their economies depend on each other and neither could expect to emerge unmauled from military conflict. War's unlikelihood does not make New Zealand's course any easier. Progress will require clever navigation guided by the need to look to our own best interests. It would be a mistake, for instance, to bind ourselves too firmly to a military alliance with the US or to enter a trade pact that shuts China out. In those and most Pacific matters, New Zealand should remain engaged but independent and unencumbered".

## Independence From America

The *Press'* reasons are different from ours, but our conclusions are the same – New Zealand needs to have a genuinely independent foreign policy, not one which consists of swallowing whatever is on Uncle Sam's menu for the day. Nor should New Zealand swap from being a craven American satellite to being a craven Chinese one. We've already done that once in recent history, going from being the most loyal colony clinging to Mother England's skirts to being the smallest of the kids running behind Uncle Sam's jeep to catch the lollies being thrown by the GIs. It's time we truly stood on our own two feet.



# Killing Bin Laden: The Legitimatising Of State Terrorism

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Dennis Small

*“Two United Nations Special Rapporteurs issued a joint statement cautioning that ‘actions taken by states in combating terrorism, especially in high profile cases, set precedents for the way in which the right to life will be treated in future instances’”* (<http://en.wikipedia.org/>: “Death of Osama bin Laden”).

Being a superpower means above all that you can exercise internationally the ultimate legitimating basis of a national State: the right to take life in the name of the State. At least, this is the basis of US self-serving “exceptionalism”. The killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan in May 2011 served a number of American objectives. Prime among them was the demonstration that the US will ruthlessly eliminate its enemies wherever they might be, and reinforcement of its claim to self-justification for such killings. American celebration of this act of State terrorism has accordingly been portrayed as an act of justice, as well as retribution. This was part of the spin in TV3’s “60 Minutes” item on bin Laden’s death, “I Shot bin Laden” (16/9/12). This TV3 item featured an extended interview with one of the US Navy SEALs (US Navy Special Forces unit which operates on sea, air and land) who took part in “Operation Neptune Spear”, targeting bin Laden, code name “Geronimo”. American State terrorism has its historical roots in the brutal treatment of the continent’s indigenous inhabitants. The TV3 item had a lot of revealing insights into American death squad propaganda.

## Putting Over the Right Spin

The Navy SEAL, using the pseudonym Mark Owen, claimed the operation was “kill or capture”. It is pretty clear that capture was not the objective (Wikipedia, op. cit.). Three men and a woman, besides bin Laden, were killed in the raid. These other people killed were bin Laden’s son, his courier, the courier’s brother, and the brother’s wife. One of bin Laden’s wives was apparently wounded, as was the courier’s wife. Whether any children were hurt remains unclear. Apparently, in bin Laden’s compound in Abbottabad there were “small knots of children....on every level, including the balcony of bin Laden’s room” (Wikipedia, ibid.).

Owen described the operation step by step. The overall aim of the TV3 item, besides the sensationalist angle of an interview with one of bin Laden’s killers was to portray the operation in the best light. The spin was damning at times. The wife of the courier’s brother heroically tried to save her husband by jumping in front of him to try and protect him. She was shot dead. But the TV3 interview completely glossed over this altogether. Instead, there was an amazing comment intended to distract attention from this very embarrassing fact. Mark Owen commented instead at this point about how the women in the compound were much more aggressive than women in Afghanistan! So the heroic, self-sacrificing act of the woman, who was killed in the raid, was pictured as an unpleasant reaction to a home invasion.

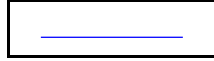
## The Big Hit

The SEALs were shooting on sight. When bin Laden poked his head out of his bedroom he was shot in the head and fell back into his room on the floor. Owen’s mate had fired the bullets. Owen and another SEAL then finished off bin Laden when they got to the room. Next, they actually got one of his children to identify him. Since the SEALs’ hit team had illegally invaded Pakistan’s sovereignty, they had to scramble to get out of this country, especially given the crash of one of their helicopters. They transported bin Laden’s body back to Afghanistan for official identification by a female Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent, who had played the key role in tracking bin Laden. The CIA coordinated the whole operation. The body was then dumped at sea.

American State terrorism has been coordinated by the CIA, and increasingly the Pentagon as well, over many years (for background see “The Real Terror Network”, Edward Herman, South End Press, 1982/3). Professor Herman closely analysed the role of the mass media with their continuous spin on American “constructive and benign terror” (ibid, p144). This syndrome is even more rampant and blatant in the 21st Century. Evidently, only one of the compound’s inhabitants was armed. Bin Laden was shot before he could get to a couple of guns in his room. But bin Laden might not have wished to risk the lives of his wives and children anyway. Owen however suggested that bin Laden had shown cowardice in not shooting back. Ironically, Owen himself, author of “No Easy Day” (on the SEAL operation), was heavily disguised for the interview, fearing for his own life in the midst of the American national security State.

## Combating Global Murder Inc.

In essence, in the killing of bin Laden, we have all the elements of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) death squad operations in Afghanistan, similar activities in Iraq, and the robotic Predator drone attacks on a growing number of countries. Any "collateral damage" involving women and children, and other civilians, are just the acceptable human cost of such operations for the perpetrators of Western State terrorism. Western militarist imperialism, an extreme form of violence, has engendered Muslim extremism in response. Both forms of violence, like Israeli-Palestinian armed interaction, feed on each other. Breaking these cycles challenges us more than ever today if we are to have a better future.





# The Campaign To Demilitarise Harewood

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Maire Leadbeater

In 1992 my late mother, Elsie Locke, published "Peace People: A History Of Peace Activities In New Zealand" (*Murray Horton's review of it is in Watchdog 71, November 1992, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-november-1992.html>. Ed.*). It was the first time anyone had attempted a comprehensive documentation of peace activities and it brought the story up to 1975. I am working on a book which (I hope) will bring that story up to the 21st Century. It is tentatively titled "Peace, Power and Politics" – an attempt to channel the energy of two conferences given that title; one in 1968 and the other in 1993.

An important part of the peace narrative involves the story of the US military activities that have been carried out at Christchurch International Airport (Harewood) under the cover of "Operation Deep Freeze". The US Navy has been making use of facilities in Christchurch for its Antarctic activities since 1955 when preparations were being made for International Geophysical Year (IGY) in Antarctica. In 1958 a formal US-New Zealand agreement was signed which gave the US rights to use their Christchurch facilities for Antarctic expeditions, but did not explicitly authorise purely military functions.(1)

## Early Protests: 1973

The following is adapted from the work in progress and it may jog a few memories or even corrections from those involved over the years in the Campaign against Foreign Military Activities in New Zealand (CAFMANZ – *one of the ancestors of today's CAFCA. Ed.*), Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood (CDH) and the Anti Bases Campaign (ABC). Christchurch peace activists have demonstrated at Harewood since the 1960s, starting with highlighting the US military presence there in their campaigns against the Vietnam War. The first anti-bases campaign -1968-1973 - targeted US military installations inside the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) Base at Woodbourne (Blenheim) and atop Mount John in the Mackenzie Country and a proposed Omega submarine navigation station at Lake Pearson, near Arthurs Pass. Then in March 1973, the series of militant actions culminated in a feisty weekend-long demonstration at both Harewood, and at the US military's radio transmitting facility at RNZAF Base Weedons (just south of Christchurch).

At that time the US Military Airlift Command (MAC) made use of its Christchurch foothold for the visits of high level US military personnel. It is highly likely that the base was also used to support US military research projects in New Zealand, including nuclear test monitoring (Project Longbank at RNZAF Woodbourne) and research into missile detection (Mt John).(2). The 1985 Vanguard Films documentary "Islands Of The Empire" captures the police confrontation with the mainly student demonstrators during that March 1973 Harewood protest. It must have been quite terrifying to be in the midst of the action as police with the help of the RNZAF used the tactics which became more familiar during the 1981 Springbok tour. Rows of police chanting "Move, move move"; with helicopters hovering overhead made it nearly impossible for Owen Wilkes\* to conduct his planned tour around the airport buildings. Owen was pushed against a barrier and injured (by no less than the Police's Christchurch District Commander, Chief Superintendent Gideon Tait) but kept on trying to make his presentation to his fellow demonstrators. \*Peace Researcher 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html> is a Special Issue devoted to the late Owen Wilkes. Ed.

When the National government and Robert Muldoon came to power in late 1975, the regular visits of nuclear powered warships began attracting major protest action. Although the peace squadron actions were high profile, not all of the action was on the water. The USS *Truxtun*, the first of these unwelcome visitors, arrived in Wellington on 27 August, 1976. The next night, the US Navy's 30 metre communication tower at Weedons was felled. The tower had been installed specifically to maintain a link between New Zealand and Hawaii, and according to Owen Wilkes it is probable that the tower was used to relay the *Truxtun's* radio traffic back to Pacific Fleet HQ. "Whether one approves of the action or not it has to be admitted that this is powerful pressure on the US Navy..(3) The US Navy Commander at Deep Freeze said it would take months to replace it and it would cost \$17,000 – you could buy a house for that amount at the time.

## Bob Leonard's Decades Of Research

The US Deep Freeze Base is an employer of local people and it makes a significant contribution to the Christchurch economy. Christchurch is proud of its connection to Antarctic research, and the cooperation between the New Zealand's Scott Base and the nearby US McMurdo base is well known. When Citizens for the Demilitarisation of

Harewood (CDH), was set up in 1982, it had to make it clear that it did not have legitimate Antarctic research in its sights. Dr Bob Leonard began his long and patient task of ferreting out the data about the military activities at the base and especially the details of the US flights that came and went from Christchurch without ever going anywhere near the Antarctic.

Bob found plenty of bureaucratic obstacles but he persisted over the next quarter of a century in getting information from the Christchurch City Council, the Civil Aviation Division of the Ministry of Transport and finally the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. City Council data for the early 1980s showed that more than half of the US military flights transiting through Harewood were not connected to the Antarctic programme.(4) These were the “channel” or shuttle flights - on a circuit from American Samoa to Christchurch and on to Australia’s Richmond Air Force Base and from there to Alice Springs, close to the Pine Gap intelligence base. Some flights stopped in Australia first before stopping at Christchurch en route back to the United States.

CDH then unearthed documentation from US Congressional Hearings and *Aviation Week* magazine, that indicated that the Christchurch base was a part of the US Rapid Deployment Force network - effectively a contingency asset in the event that other airports might withhold landing rights or be closed for weather reasons.(5) In 1984, when the peace movement was expanding rapidly, the campaign to demilitarise Harewood was an integral part of national campaigns against the ANZUS\* relationship and the many ways we had become drawn into US strategic policy. Peace activists had also begun campaigning against the US Navy’s Transit Circle Observatory at Black Birch, near Blenheim, built to map star positions with exquisite accuracy, and pass on the data for military purposes. And in April 1984 the Tangimoana electronic spy base in the Manawatu operated by the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau was publicly outed by Owen Wilkes. *\*The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand’s defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia. Ed.*

### **Big Protests In 80s**

Fortunately, the Harewood demonstrations of the 1980s did not attract the same level of police aggression as the 1973 demonstration but they were always imaginative and arrests were not unknown. In March 1984 there was a whole weekend of action. Demonstrators formed a human chain stretching from the US military command area to the Deep Freeze headquarters. A scroll and a mock one-way airline ticket to the United States were passed down the line to my mother Elsie Locke and a small child accompanying her. The pair affixed the messages to the door of the Deep Freeze Headquarters which called on the US military personnel to depart. About 20 hardy souls camped overnight close to the Travelodge and were woken in the early hours by noisy aircraft. Up in Auckland some of us in Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) organised a street theatre protest in solidarity.(6)

That was good practice for the coordination at the time of Triad, a giant ANZUS air exercise that took place in October 1984 – a few months after we had elected a Labour Government with an anti-nuclear policy. Triad was the largest military air exercise to take place in New Zealand since the Second World War and it involved sophisticated American fighter jets and a giant airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft. The air forces of Australia, New Zealand and the United States were allocated to opposing “blue” and “orange” forces and the make-believe air war was set to be fought over most of the country during a four day period.

Owen Wilkes wrote: “Triad appears to have no particular relevance to the defence of New Zealand or Australia. It is rather an exercising of the techniques and technology that would be used in a 1980s’-style Vietnam type war, a war carried out by F-16s bombing, strafing and napalming Third World villages, and F-15s providing protection against the local air defence and carrying out deep interdiction strikes, with the whole war controlled by a circling AWACS plane. Do we want to get involved in that sort of thing?“(7)

The protest response had a great national dimension. CND in Wellington and Auckland joined with Peace Movement New Zealand Aotearoa, the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee and Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood to coordinate two peace camps, one at Christchurch International Airport and one at Whenuapai Air Force Base, west of Auckland. October 6 was selected for a nationwide actions and the call was supported by the Waimarino Peace Group in Raetahi who summonsed other local peace groups to join it in a demonstration on State Highway One at Waiouru (site of New Zealand’s biggest Army base). Wellington activists protested at Defence Headquarters.

Christchurch activists camped opposite the Deep Freeze staging area at the airport for five days, and their Saturday rally drew over 100. Activists who kept a close watch on the Triad activity observed that there was no attempt to make any physical separation of Deep Freeze operations and the Triad support. Prime Minister David Lange seemed to have had a change of heart. Before the election he described the exercise as “a spectre of militarism” but

he was approving when he was taken to observe the war game aspect of the exercise at Waiouru.

But the United States was insistent on sending nuclear weapons capable warships to New Zealand ports. The US would “neither confirm nor deny” whether or not nuclear weapons were on board. The peace movement was equally determined to keep the warships out. In late January 1985 the movement mobilised en masse to tell the Government to say no to US nuclear weapons capable warships “if in doubt keep them out”. When the Government turned down the request to host the USS *Buchanan* soon after, it was a major victory and opened up the potential for New Zealand to forge a genuinely independent foreign and defence policy.

### **Labour Exempted Channel Flights From Nuclear Free Law**

However, the Labour government immediately came under enormous pressure from its traditional allies and there was one area of our defence commitment to the United States that no one in Government wanted to touch: the US military operations at Christchurch’s Harewood Airport. Only weeks after the USS *Buchanan* was turned away, Captain Brian Shoemaker, Commander of the US Naval Support Force Antarctica was speculating that if America’s Military Airlift Command (MAC) was forced to leave “because of its ANZUS connection”, the Naval Support Force would also have to leave, even though the Deep Freeze Operation was not explicitly with ANZUS. (8)

Dr Bob Leonard responded for CDH that the military influence was entrenched at Harewood and that Captain Shoemaker had made a tacit admission that MAC conducts “purely military” business through the airport, which was not covered in the 1958 Deep Freeze Agreement. (9) CDH now had detailed data about the C-141B Starlifters and their cargo missions. It was very clear that the channel flights – averaging two per week - were flying to Richmond near Sydney went on to serve the US bases at Pine Gap, Nurrungar and North West Cape.(10) Coordination with Australian anti-base activists sometimes allowed the Christchurch activists to track individual planes transiting between Christchurch and Alice Springs.

It took the Government nearly a full term before it finally passed the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone legislation. Behind the scenes it was still trying to appease its traditional allies. It is doubtful that the US ever seriously contemplated shifting the Deep Freeze base, but hints that that might happen came up from time to time. In 1986 the Premier of Tasmania, Robin Gray, made it known that he had an offer on the table for the base to move to Hobart. He renewed the offer a year later when the US Secretary of the Navy, John Lehman suggested “isolating New Zealand’s nuclear free disease” by shifting the Antarctic support operations to Tasmania.(11)

So Government did bend to make sure that the US aircraft visits could continue. At a late stage, Clause 10(3) of the New Zealand nuclear free legislation was amended to make provision for the Prime Minister to give a blanket approval “to a category or class of military aircraft, including foreign military aircraft that are being used to provide logistic support for a research programme in Antarctica, and may be given for such period as is specified in the approval”. Before the Bill was read for the final time, Mr Lange told US Ambassador Paul Cleveland of this change, making it clear to him that this blanket clearance would cover both Antarctic-related and “channel” flights. Cleveland accepted this reassurance and put forward arguments that the United States should not take further retaliatory actions when the Bill was passed. (12) For the activists who had been working hard on this issue this was very disappointing, since the Prime Minister seemed to be overlooking the most important issues. What about the role of the channel flights in US strategic planning? The probability of nuclear weapons passing through Christchurch was agreed to be very small, at least in the absence of heightened superpower tension. But at the same time the risk was not zero. Activists argued that the Government was taking a “trust in the US” stand about nuclear weapons on aircraft that it would not accept with respect to nuclear warships.

Bob Leonard and Peter Wills had dug out declassified Pentagon data that showed that Harewood was included in a data file of overseas military bases maintained by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The researchers said this was further strong evidence that the base had a current role in US global military plans.(13) The Prime Minister was briefed by his officials to the effect that US aircraft on channel flights could be described as “non combat”. But this was not really an accurate description for Starlifters which can and have been used in combat situations. The phrase did not appear in the legislation.

### **Sovereign Immunity; Servicing Pine Gap**

After a stormy debate in Parliament, the Prime Minister argued that the Opposition was putting the Deep Freeze base at risk as the Americans might decide all these assumptions about the non-presence of nuclear weapons amounted to a challenge to their “neither confirm nor deny” policy. (14) The area of the Deep Freeze base has the status of US sovereign territory; it even had its own post office complete with US zip code, and a shop known as a PX\*. New Zealand civilians working for the US military at the base were denied the right to join a union(15), a stand

justified by US Embassy mainly on the grounds that base had “sovereign immunity”.(16) Essentially the base and the US military were operating outside New Zealand law. *\*The post office with its US zip code is still there but the PX store closed when the US Navy quit Deep Freeze in 1998. Ed.*

In the early 1980s New Zealand Customs uncovered evidence that drugs and illegal meat and animal products were coming into Christchurch via the base. There were major abuses of the US military’s duty free privileges. A *Listener* cover story in 1989 exposed the story as it emerged from leaked US documents and files. A few US officers had been charged and convicted of importing cannabis, but in subsequent negotiations the US successfully insisted on its right to deny unrestricted entry to its planes. It was clear that the politicians and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had succumbed to high level US pressure Customs was barred from boarding US aircraft despite the firm objections of that agency. (17)

In 1987 Christchurch activists stepped up their campaign against the transit of US military flights through the airport. In October a coordinated weekend of protest was held at the Deep Freeze base in Christchurch, outside the Australian High Commission in Wellington and at three bases in Australia. By this time the eagle-eyed Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood team had uncovered at least one specific function of the Starlifter flights. They had spotted pallets of computer tapes labelled “Credible Dove”(18) inside the cargo bays of Starlifters parked at the base. Alice Spring activists who had been monitoring activities at Pine Gap explained that this code referred to an upgrade operation currently under way at the base.

### **Arrests To Force US Military Into Court**

So to liven up the protest proceedings the demonstrators held a raffle with the prize of a “Credible Duck”. My mother, despite her years a faithful participant in all Harewood protest activities, won the raffle. The weekend of coordinated protest seemed to have an impact on the schedule of the Starlifters – the regular US Air Force Starlifter did not make its usual Christchurch stopover.(19) Anti-bases activists were emboldened to take matters a little further in October 1988. Murray Horton found a breach in the security fence and he and eight others proceeded onto a military cargo area. Their banner read “Reclaim New Zealand Sovereignty” and all were arrested. In preparation for their trial, Murray Horton filed further Official Information Act requests: “Who owns the land that the US Military Airlift Compound stands on? Who is the tenant? Whose law applies in the compound (US or NZ?)”.(20)

Owen Wilkes, one of the arrestees, described the subsequent trial as “lovely” even though he and his co-defendants were all found guilty of trespass and fined \$100 each. Their defence focused on definitions in the Civil Aviation regulations, and US officers from the Deep Freeze base and USAF Military Airlift Command were called as witnesses. Owen’s greater knowledge of the Deep Freeze organisational manual discomfited the military official, and the cross-examination process “tended to give the impression that it was the US military rather than the peace activists who were on trial” (21)

In 1989 CDH tried another angle – laying a complaint to the Chief Ombudsman (Nadja Tollemache) that the United States channel flights between Christchurch and Australia were in breach of the nuclear free zone law.(22) The Ombudsman made a study of Ministry of Foreign Affairs advice to the Prime Minister concerning the flights between Christchurch and Australia but secrecy prevailed and she declined to sustain the complaint or disclose the grounds for her decision.(23)

On Hiroshima Day in 1994, veteran Ploughshares activists Moana Cole and Ciaron O’Reilly were arrested while protesting at the warehouse doors of the US Air Mobility Command. Fifty people supported their action at the base perimeter. Moana Cole handled her arrest with unusual equanimity - continuing to address supporters and observers about US war crimes from the wound-down window of the police vehicle (*Moana’s impromptu speech from the back seat of the cop car is the highlight of Sam Miller’s short film “Base Deception”, made for the Anti-Bases Campaign. Ed.*). As in 1989 the trial brought the US Base Commander onto the witness stand as the “occupier of the property”. He gave the “neither confirm nor deny” answer when asked about the transport of nuclear weapons, and would not give any information about the Australian destination of the flights through the base.(24)

### **US Air Force Still Has Christchurch Base**

Christchurch marked 40 years of US Antarctic activity in 1995. A representative of the US National Science Foundation, Dr Charles Paul, was frank in comments quoted by the local media: “The United States has always had three reasons for being in Antarctica and science has always been the lowest priority. The first was military – keeping an eye on what the enemy was doing; the second commercial and the third scientific”.(25) The data released to Dr Bob Leonard(26) showed that regular channel Starlifter and Galaxy military cargo flights to the large intelligence bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar varied in frequency over the years. But, until the 1998/99 year the

number of military flights remained greater than the number of Antarctic logistics flights.

In 1998 the US Navy was phased out of Operation Deep Freeze, and the US Air Force was tasked with Antarctic logistics. For the casual observer, this change was unremarkable since the Air Force (now termed Air Mobility Command) Starlifter and Galaxy aircraft were already a common sight at the airport. The pilots for the specially adapted Ski-Hercules would in future be from the New York Air National Guard rather than the Navy. However, the Anti-Bases Campaign pointed out that the move to single service operation would enhance the “camouflage” that the Antarctic operation offered to the Air Force.

In the 21st Century the percentage of military flights to Antarctic-related flights dropped still further, so that in 2004-5 the non-Antarctic flights were only 6.3% of the total.(27) It is likely that this change reflects the closing of the US satellite monitoring base at Nurrungar in South Australia and the change to newer cargo planes (such as C17 Globemasters) that require less frequent refuelling and hence less need to come to New Zealand. In 2010 there were nine non-Antarctic-related US military flights transiting through Christchurch and in 2011 there were none, according to data supplied to me by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.(28) But Operation Deep Freeze at Christchurch International Airport remains a contingency asset for the US Air Force and its aircraft still have an annually renewed “blanket” clearance for passage through New Zealand – no questions asked. *And the US military’s “hearts and minds” campaign continues unabated in Christchurch. In September 2012, as part of IceFest, a C17 Globemaster made a low altitude demonstration flyover of the city and was opened to inspection by thousands of people on the tarmac at a subsequent open day at Deep Freeze. Ed.*

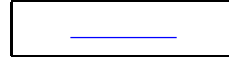
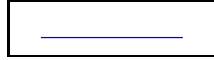
## Endnotes

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5. Leonard R. and Burgess, K "Business as Usual", *Peacelink*: magazine of Peace Movement New Zealand, Dunedin, Issue 17, March 1984.
6. *Auckland Star* 8/3/84, and Campaign Against Foreign Control in New Zealand. (CAFCINZ, Christchurch), *Foreign Control Watchdog* 47, May 1984.
7. *New Zealand Times*, 23/9/84.
8. *Christchurch Star*, 23/2/85.
9. Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood, press release, *Christchurch Star*, 25/2/85
10. The Australian bases were officially designated as Joint Australian and United States defence facilities. The US admitted that these planes served the Australian bases. Leonard, R. "Operation Deep Freeze: Aotearoa's Only Foreign Military Base", *Peacelink* 60, April 1988; magazine of Peace Movement New Zealand, Dunedin.
11. *Press*, 14/3/87.
12. Templeton, M. and New Zealand Institute of International Affairs. (2006). "Standing Upright Here : New Zealand In The Nuclear Age, 1945-1990", Wellington, Victoria University Press in association with the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs.
13. Leonard, R. "Operation Deep Freeze: Aotearoa's Only Foreign Military Base" *Peacelink*: magazine of Peace Movement New Zealand, Dunedin, Issue 60, April 1988
14. *Auckland Star*, 14/4/87.
15. Workers also signed an affidavit declaring that they would not go on strike. Staff employed by US contractors were granted the right to join a union in 1983.
16. *Off Base*: newsletter of Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood (CDH), Number 27, June 1990
17. Ansley, B. "Frozen Out: The Deep Freeze Drugs and Customs Dispute", *New Zealand Listener*, 13/11/89.
18. An Australian documentary, "Inside Pine Gap", which screened on Australia's Channel 9, also reported that the pallets contained computer tapes (*The Star*, Christchurch, 17/2/88).
19. *Press*, 19/10/87.
20. "Bungling Incompetence: Not A Good Time For The Ministry", *Peace Researcher* (first series) 24, September 1989
21. Wilkes, O. "Trial of Deep Freeze Protestors", *Peacelink*: magazine of Peace Movement New Zealand. Dunedin, Issue 69, March 1989
22. Clause 10(3) of the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Disarmament and Arms Control Law reads: "Any such approval may relate to a category or class of foreign military aircraft, including foreign military aircraft that are being used to provide logistic support for a research programme in Antarctica, and may be given for such period as



is specified in the approval".

23. *Off Base*: newsletter of Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood (CDH) 24, September 1989
24. *Peace Researcher* (second series) 2, December 1994, "Two Sentenced For Trespass At Harewood"
25. White, RE and University of Auckland., "Nuclear Free New Zealand: The Policy In Action", Centre for Peace Studies, University of Auckland, 1999.
26. Dr Leonard updated data about the channel flights from information released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs under the Official Information Act (OIA).
27. *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006
28. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 21/8/12: "Flight Data For USAF Scheduled And Non-scheduled Missions Transiting Christchurch New Zealand", supplied under the OIA.



- Warren Thomson

## New Zealand's Western Spook Allies Shafted Again

Overseas reports suggest a top secret meeting held in New Zealand in February 2012 discussed implications of a massive security breach after it was discovered a Canadian operative had severely compromised Western intelligence information. The international espionage case has severely shaken western spook agencies. Sub-Lieutenant Jeffrey Paul Delisle, a naval officer, is believed to have disclosed a large amount of classified information to Russian agents. Sub-Lieutenant Delisle's activities were the subject of high-level consultation between the Canadian and allied governments and were discussed at a secret international conference in New Zealand earlier this year, the *Melbourne Age* reported (25/7/12).

The impact of the spying on this country is unknown, and PM Key covered up with the traditional response from his office that the Prime Minister does not comment on security issues. Much of the information sold to the Russians was highly classified, and included signals intelligence collected by the "Five Eyes" intelligence community of the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. According to the *Age*, Australian security sources have privately acknowledged the security breach compromised intelligence information and capabilities across Western intelligence agencies, especially in the US and Canada, but also including Australia's top secret Defence Signals Directorate (the equivalent of NZ's Government Communications Security Bureau - GCSB) and the Australian Defence Intelligence Organisation.

According to the *Huffington Post* (19/1/12) Delisle spent almost his entire career in intelligence and, at one time, worked in the military's nerve centre at National Defence Headquarters, in Ontario. Up until 2010 Sub-Lt. Jeffrey Delisle worked for both the Chief of Defence Intelligence and at the Strategic Joint Staff, which oversees virtually every major aspect of the military's domestic and international plans and operations. When arrested, Delisle was working at the Royal Canadian Navy's Trinity intelligence and communications centre at Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was arrested after the Canadian Security Intelligence Service concluded he was passing classified information to Russian operatives.

His information access reportedly covered signals intelligence produced by the US National Security Agency, the UK's Government Communications Headquarters, Canada's Communications Security Establishment, Australia's Defence Signals Directorate and New Zealand's GCSB. Delisle, 41, was denied bail in March and has been in custody at the Central Nova Scotia Correctional Facility since his arrest in January. In June his lawyer said he had to wade through thousands of documents - many of them blacked out - before determining how to proceed with the unusual case. "A lot of it is blacked [because of] 'security interests and the risk of exposing informants in the field'" (*Huffington Post*, 13/6/12).

In October 2012 Delisle saved the spooks the embarrassment of a trial by pleading guilty to all charges and will be sentenced in January 2013. He admitted walking into the Russian Embassy in 2007 and offering his services, for which he was paid \$C3, 000 per month (he aroused suspicions after returning from a trip to Brazil with thousands of dollars in cash – he had been meeting his Russian controller). He is the first Canadian to be convicted under that country's Security of Information Act, passed after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the US



*Jeffrey Delisle Photo: The Age*

### **New Australian Laws To Access Cyber Data**

Under the laws passed in August 2012 Australian state and Federal police will have the power to compel telcos and Internet service providers to retain the Internet records of people suspected of cyber-based crimes, including fraud and child pornography. Only those records made after the request will be retained, and law enforcement agencies will be prevented from seeing the information until they have secured a warrant. Aussie spooks, however, will get even stronger powers to snoop as these laws, which will specifically target suspected cyber criminals, do not go as far as separate proposed laws designed to retain every Australian Internet user's Internet history for two years in the name of national security. At the time of writing, a Parliamentary Committee has been tasked with reporting on the issue.

These proposals would allow the telephone and Internet data of every Australian to be retained for up to two years and intelligence agencies would be given increased access to social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter (*Stuff Website*, 23/8/12). In May 2012 Attorney-General Nicola Roxon released a national security discussion paper that canvassed proposals for compulsory two-year data retention by telecommunications and Internet service providers, streamlining telecommunications interception approvals, and enhancing stop-and-search powers for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO).

Ms Roxon has argued that compulsory data retention is essential so that "vital investigative tools are not lost as telecommunications providers update their business practices and begin to delete data more regularly. The loss of this capability would be a major blow to our law enforcement agencies and to Australia's national security" ("Aussie Web snooping plan suppressed by Govt" Philip Dorling, 11/10/12). At the time of writing (October 2012) the Australian Prime Minister's Department rejected a Freedom of Information application by Fairfax Media for release of its file on the proposed national security laws on the grounds that declassification would "substantially and unreasonably divert the Department's resources from its other operations" (*ibid.*). At the same time, the Attorney-General's Department refused an application by the pro-transparency Pirate Party Australia for release of the draft national security and data retention laws on the grounds that any disclosure would "prejudice...current negotiations and decision-making processes that are in train".

An opinion piece in the *National Times* (19/7/12) said the plans before Parliament's Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security "include laws to force your Internet provider to store records of your online activity - all of it - for two years. Maybe you are a mad, bearded bomber with a woody for martyrdom. Maybe, like me, you just like to indulge in a bit of celebrity tentacle porn (*don't ask. Ed.*) every now and then. Doesn't matter. We're all going into Room 101 together. And while we're in there, if the Attorney General's Department has its way, all of your social media data will be available on the screens at ASIO, no matter what your privacy settings, no matter whether you sent a message via DM on Twitter or to a family member or close friend on a 'closed' social network like Path. They won't even need to go to the trouble of using brute force decryption to work out your password (or, you know just keying in your pet's name). You, your sysadmin, your Internet or social network provider, you will all be going to jail if you don't cough that password up".

The *Sydney Morning Herald* (10/8/12) interpreted the "controversial Internet security plan" to store the Web history

of all Australians for up to two years as being stalled by the Federal government until after the next election. It reported that senior intelligence officials, who have been pushing for the increased powers, complained the legislation will be delayed until after the election due in 2013. "A senior national security official told Fairfax Media yesterday that Ms Roxon's decision to refer the proposals to the Parliamentary Joint Committee for Intelligence and Security was symptomatic of "the risk adverse character of the Government"; and: "These reforms are urgently needed to deal with a rapidly evolving security environment". The Aussie spooks are not happy.

In August 2012 an Australian arm of hacking group Anonymous, in reaction to the plans to increase Internet spying, attacked the ASIO Website via its Twitter account, and it was temporarily put out of action. The spy agency said in a statement that it was aware that there may have been some technical issues but it did not host any classified information and the disruption would not represent a risk to ASIO's operations. On 26 January, 2012 the BBC reported the former head of MI6, Sir John Scarlett, as claiming the issue of cyber attacks from states, activists, criminals and terrorists has become a "huge issue". Now chairman of the Bletchley Park Trust, Sir John told *Newsnight's* Science Editor Susan Watts that the increasing reliance on the Internet inherently raised the threat of digital attack.

## British Government Accused Of Covering Up Torture Role

A report by [Richard Norton-Taylor](#) and [Ian Cobain](#) in the *Guardian* (11/9/12) said that the British government is establishing new courts that will enable it to conceal operations where UK personnel were involved in torture. The chief UN official responsible for investigating wrongdoing by security and intelligence agencies is reported to believe that the new generation of secret courts proposed by the Government could suppress evidence of British collusion in [torture](#). Prof Juan Méndez, the UN's special Rapporteur on Torture, who was himself a victim of torture in his native Argentina in the 1970s, is quoted: "If a country is in possession of information about [human rights](#) abuses, but isn't in a position to mention them, it hampers the ability to deal effectively with torture".



*Photo of Binyam Mohamed from Reprive Website.*

Prime Minister David Cameron and his Ministers say [that the new secret courts are needed](#) to protect its intelligence-sharing relationship with the US and other governments, while [critics say they are intended to conceal evidence of crimes](#) committed by the British government, including involvement in the rendition and torture of British citizens suspected of being terrorists. The reference to keeping shared intelligence secret because of obligations to crony organisations is a well-used tactic in avoiding publicity over intelligence issues.

According to the *Guardian*, the issue was at the centre of High Court hearings in 2010 about the treatment of Binyam Mohamed, the Ethiopian-born UK resident secretly renditioned to Guantánamo Bay after being seized in Pakistan in 2002. In a victory for democracy and a severe blow to the spooks, the British High Court ruled that US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) information revealing [MI5 and MI6 \(MI5 is Britain's internal security and spy agency; MI6 is the overseas one\) knew of Mohamed's ill-treatment](#) should be disclosed. This predictably upset the spy Establishment. To avoid further incriminating evidence being disclosed, the UK government paid out large amounts of money in an out-of-court settlement to British citizens and residents who had been incarcerated in Guantánamo Bay. The Government have also tried to bring in new laws to stop any information in the hands of the security and intelligence agencies from being disclosed in civil cases.

## CIA Stuff

*It was Harry Truman who in retirement commented: "I never would have agreed to the formulation of the Central*

*Intelligence Agency back in 47, if I had known it would become the American Gestapo" (28/4/11, World Socialist Website).*

## **Trying To Pick Winners In Syria**

Somewhat battered from its historical failures to arm potential allies without supplying weapons that will be turned against American interests a few years later, the CIA has been quietly working along Syria's northern border with Turkey to limit the supplies of weapons and ammunition reaching rebel forces, according to Syrian opposition officials. Some of these officials have claimed that "Not one bullet enters Syria without US approval," according to the *Sunday Times* (12/8/12). According to reports from Washington and the Turkish-Syrian border, the main US intelligence role has been to act with the Turks in stopping arms reaching groups they view as undesirable (*Guardian*, 14/8/12).

The CIA has been apparently blocking shipments of heavy anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons while approving the supply of light arms such as AK-47 Kalashnikov rifles and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs). *The Sunday Times* quotes Bob Grenier, a former Director of the CIA Counterterrorism Center, as saying that the CIA's policing activities along the border were intended to protect the Administration from future embarrassment if the rebel groups it supports today turn out to be hostile to Israel or America should they gain power. CIA agents have been active along the border, attempting to prevent jihadists sympathetic to al Qaeda from joining the Syrian fray. "The CIA vetoes al Qaeda and its not very keen on the Muslim Brotherhood," a Syrian opposition official said.

Seumas Milne, in a *Guardian* feature (7/8/12) stated that President Barack Obama had so far resisted the demands of liberal hawks and neoconservatives for a direct military assault. Instead he'd authorised more traditional forms of CIA covert military backing, Nicaragua-style, for the Syrian rebels. Milne reminds us that the US, which [backed its first Syrian coup in 1949](#), has long funded opposition groups. But earlier in 2012 Obama gave a [secret order](#) authorising covert (as well as overt financial and diplomatic) support to the armed opposition. That includes [CIA paramilitaries on the ground](#), "command and control" and communications assistance, and the funnelling of Gulf arms supplies to favoured Syrian groups across the Turkish border

## **Is The CIA Assassinating Iranian Scientists?**

In January 2012 Iran claimed it had evidence that Washington was behind the latest killing of one of its nuclear scientists. In the fifth attack of its kind in two years, a magnetic bomb was attached to the door of 32-year-old Mostafa Ahmadi-Roshan's car during the Wednesday morning rush-hour in the capital Tehran. His driver was also killed. "We have reliable documents and evidence that this terrorist act was planned, guided and supported by the CIA," the Iranian Foreign Ministry said. US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton denied responsibility and Israeli President Shimon Peres said Israel had no role in the attack, to the best of his knowledge. Iran in the past has accused Israel of causing a series of spectacular and sometimes bloody mishaps to its nuclear programme. Iranian State television has also alleged British spooks could be involved as the killing of Iranian nuclear scientists which began after the head of Britain's MI6 spy service announced intelligence operations against states seeking nuclear weapons (*Stuff Website*, 15/1/12).

## **CIA Linked To Spy Cams In Australia**

An Australian single mother, who online is an anti-surveillance State activist known as Asher Wolf, is leading a campaign to expose a world-wide spy operation which was created in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks and has been operating without public scrutiny for years (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 13/8/12). The operation, under the name "Trapwire" is run by a private company with close links to the CIA. The founder of TrapWire is 30-year Central Intelligence Agency veteran Richard Hollis Helms. Several of TrapWire's top managers are also former CIA officers. It is part of security company Abraxas Corporation, which reportedly holds sensitive and lucrative contracts involving activities such as creating fake identities for CIA officers.

TrapWire's parent company claims to prevent terrorist attacks by recognising suspicious patterns in activity. It forwards its reports to police departments across the US and law enforcement organisations such as Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and US Department of Homeland Security. The existence of the programme came to light via a Wikileaks release on August 10, 2012, of emails from the private intelligence company, Stratfor. The emails and other documentation [revealed](#) TrapWire is installed in some of the Western world's most sensitive locations - including the White House, 10 Downing Street, New Scotland Yard, the London Stock Exchange and [500 locations](#) in the New York subway system. Trapwire is also [installed](#) in many Las Vegas casinos, presumably to monitor potential terrorist attacks rather than to curtail Mafia operations.



Helms said in a [2005 interview](#) that TrapWire "can collect information about people and vehicles that is more accurate than facial recognition, draw patterns, and do threat assessments of areas that may be under observation from terrorists". In 2007 [the company said](#) that it analyses each aspect of a security incident and "compares it to all previously collected reporting across the entire TrapWire network. Any patterns detected - links among individuals, vehicles, or activities - will be reported back to each affected facility" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, *ibid.*).

In December 2010 Cubic Corporation bought Abraxas for \$US124 million. While it appears that TrapWire does not operate in Australia, its parent company Cubic [holds several large](#) Commonwealth, New South Wales and Queensland government contracts. It operates in Australia as Cubic Transportation with offices in Sydney, Brisbane and Perth. In 2008 it also opened a defence subsidiary based in Queensland, Cubic Defence Australia, run by Mark Horn. Cubic Defence Australia has won about \$A32 million in contracts with the Australian Defence Force, mainly providing combat simulation and training systems.

### **Company Full of Former CIA Agents**

According to the Public Intelligence Website (11/8/12) a [management page on TrapWire's Website](#), "which has [recently been removed](#) for an undisclosed reason" records that: the President and one of the founders of the company, Dan Botsch, "served 11 years as an Intelligence Officer with the Central Intelligence Agency, focusing on Russian and Eastern European affairs". Michael Maness, the company's Business Development Director, served over 20 years with the CIA, "where he directed counterterrorism and security operations in the Middle-East, the Balkans and Europe. As a senior operations officer and field operations manager, he was instrumental in combating al Qaeda's operational units in the immediate wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks". Michael K Chang, the company's Director of Operations, served for "12 years with the Central Intelligence Agency as a counterterrorism operations officer and security officer" and even acted as personal security for the Director and Deputy Director of Central Intelligence.

*TechNewsWorld* (13/8/12) reported "the makers of a video surveillance program [Trapwire] developed by former United States Central Intelligence Agency staffers attempted to sell their system to several big-name tech firms, according to leaked memos". One of the big name firms was Google. An internal email written by Fred Burton, Vice President of private spook company Stratfor, has been published by WikiLeaks. It claims that Salesforce.com expressed interest in the programme, dubbed, "[TrapWire](#)," after a briefing. In it, he also apparently wrote that it was time to approach Google again, noting the Internet giant was becoming increasingly frustrated with penetrations of its network by hackers.

The internal TrapWire emails were obtained by hackers when they broke into Stratfor Global Intelligence. Stratfor had a partnership deal with TrapWire which saw Stratfor earning an 8% finder's fee for any clients it referred to Cubic. *Peace Researcher* notes that some of the private intelligence companies involved have a penchant for grossly exaggerating their capabilities in the interests of attracting business, so assessment of what they do and what they can do is tricky.

### **CIA Website Hacked**

In February 2012 the hackers' group Anonymous claimed responsibility for making the CIA Website inaccessible for several hours, one of a number of recent attacks on US Federal agencies. In June 2011 a group affiliated with Anonymous, Lulz Security, temporarily brought down the Agency's homepage. The attacks are unlikely to have compromised the CIA's operational computer systems – but hopefully, the hackers will continue trying. Websites are usually targeted through a denial-of-service attack, which involves bombarding the site with a huge amount of traffic until its servers are overwhelmed. At the beginning of February 2012 the BBC's Website reported that Anonymous managed to intercept a conference call between the FBI and British police as they discussed legal action against hackers, and following the shutdown of Kim Dotcom's Megaupload file-sharing Website in January, a statement attributed to Anonymous claimed responsibility for shutting down the Websites of the Department of Justice and FBI, among others.

### **CIA Claim A Success**

In May 2012 US spooks claimed they had prevented a bomb attack on a US bound aircraft by a dramatic sting operation. The man the terrorists were counting on to carry out the attack was actually working under cover for the CIA and Saudi intelligence, US and Yemeni sources said. He volunteered to take part in the suicide mission, and was to wear the bomb packed into his underwear (*PR Co-Editors refrain from further comment on this!*) The spooky spokesperson, who demanded anonymity, also said this was another success against al Qaeda because it was an operation that delivered one of their latest bombs intact to US intelligence (*Aljazeera Website*, 9/5/12).

## Lest We Forget: CIA Role In 1975 Whitlam Coup

*The following is a transcript from a six part radio documentary Watching Brief, broadcast on the Public Radio News Services from Melbourne in October-November 1986. This segment was entitled "The CIA in Australia". Ed.*

Welcome to *Watching Brief*, your national award winning environment programme. I'm Jane Lanbrook and this week the first of a six part series on the CIA, the American Central Intelligence Agency, and its involvement in Australia including the overthrow of the (1972-75) Whitlam Labor government. Only recently, CIA activities have been on the news again. The recent attempt on the life of General (Chilean dictator) Pinochet, the 13th anniversary of the CIA-backed coup which overturned the Allende government in Chile, the continuing war against the Angolan government and CIA involvement in Australia and New Zealand politics have made sure that the Agency's role, especially in Australia, remains the focus of continuing controversy and concern in the community. In this special two part series, we look at the CIA and its covert operations against governments, trade unions, community organisations and individuals in Australia.

Ralph McGehee (*who spent 28 years as a CIA agent and wrote the book "Deadly Deceits" after leaving. He toured New Zealand and Australia in 1986 Ed.*): "The Agency, of course, overthrew the Mossadegh government of Iran to establish the Shah (in 1953); it overthrew the government of Guatemala in 54, remnants of it are still in control of that country; it overthrew two Uruguayan governments; the government of Brazil in 64, Chile 73. It tried to overthrow the government of Cuba in 61 with the Bay of Pigs; it conducted invasions of China; it was running guerrilla warfare operations in the Soviet Union, Nepal, Albania; it was involving itself in elections in Italy beginning in 48 up to the 70s, it spent a hundred million dollars in various Italian elections; it was involving itself in elections in Germany. In one country, Syria, I've counted so far that it has conducted at least seven attempts to overturn the governments there. I don't know how many were successful -- I haven't got into that area. But the Middle East has been the sort of favourite playground of covert operations. In Africa, of course, the same thing. They are trying right now to overthrow the government of Angola. Recently, they tried to overthrow the government of Ethiopia. I'd say that I don't think there is a government in Latin America that has neither been overthrown nor supported by the CIA. And probably I could say much the same for governments in the Middle East and, less to do, in Africa".

Ralph McGehee: "Well, my views are 'what's the problem'? I mean, we had a whole series of Agency spokesmen said, 'oh, yes, there was an Agency role in the overthrow of the Whitlam government'. I just don't know why Australians can't accept that. I did just a little bit of research before I came out and you had Ray Cline, a former Deputy Director of the CIA, saying 'when Whitlam came to power there was a period of turbulence and the CIA will go so far as to provide information to people who will bring it to the surface in Australia, say a Whitlam error which they were willing to pump into the system so it may be to his damage and we may provide a particular piece of information to the Australian intelligence services so that they make use of it'. And then the *CIA National Intelligence Daily* said, 'some of the most incriminating evidence in that period against the ministers in the Whitlam government may have been fabricated.' This is about as strong as you get them to say so. It is quite obvious that information was being leaked about ministers Rex O'Connor and Jim Cairns and some of it was being forged which is a standard CIA process. Jim Flynn, who was associated with elements who were involved with the Nugan Hand Bank\*, he said that he was involved in manufacturing the cables and leaking them to the press. Now he would not be a very credible source except that he worked for Nugan Hand. Admiral Bobby Inman, former Deputy Director of the National Security Agency and Deputy Director of the CIA, said on two occasions that he expressed deep concern that investigations of Nugan Hand would lead to disclosure of a range of dirty tricks played against the Whitlam government. You have the statements by Christopher Boyce\*\* who was in a relay point for information from the CIA and in his trial he said that 'if you think what the Agency did in Chile was bad, in which they spent 80 million dollars overturning the government of Chile there, the Allende government, you should see what they are doing in Australia'. On the Shackley Cable, which was a virtual ultimatum to the head of ASIO to do something about the Whitlam government, it is sort of prima facie evidence of CIA interference in the Whitlam government. This was on November 10. On November 11, Governor-General John Kerr dismissed the Whitlam government on a parliamentary technicality. John Kerr earlier had been the founder of Law Asia, a CIA-front organisation".

*\*The Nugan Hand Bank was a CIA-controlled bank in Australia which collapsed amidst scandal in 1980. \*\* In the early 1970s Christopher Boyce was an employee of a defence contractor which makes top secret spy satellites. He became privy to CIA cables expressing the Agency's wish to get rid of the Whitlam government, because of its perceived threat to US bases in Australia, such as the top secret Pine Gap. He supplied that material to the Soviet Union and was sentenced to 40 years' prison. He has since been released. Ed.*



*Ralph McGehee Photo: Wikipedia.*

### **Trigger-Happy Blackwater Mercenaries Escape Real Punishment**

A security firm, which held US security contracts worth billions in Iraq and Afghanistan, has agreed to pay a \$US7.5m fine to settle US Federal charges related to arms trafficking. The offences include illegal possession of arms and unauthorised sales of training and equipment abroad. In 2004 four of its security guards were ambushed, shot, beaten and burned to death in the flashpoint city of Falluja. Two of their bodies were hung from a bridge in an act which shocked the United States and triggered an assault on the city. The firm was accused of exposing them to high risk without proper protection. Personnel working for the company were also accused of being trigger happy in their Iraq operations.

The company, now called Academi LLC was formerly known as Blackwater and earned a notorious reputation for illegal activities and dangerous operations in Iraq and other places. The case bought by the US Department of Justice involved possession of unregistered automatic weapons in the US, unauthorised sales of satellite phones in Sudan and illegal export of body armour, among other things. But there is no sign this minor rap over the knuckles will change the activities of the renamed company; business will carry on as usual as long as it meets auditing requirements and complies with export restrictions in future. *For a detailed account of Blackwater's numerous crimes in Iraq, see "Mercenaries Inc: Private Armies Profit From America's Wars" by Murray Horton, in Peace Researcher 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr39-190.htm>. Ed.*



*Blackwater mercenaries in Baghdad: Photo from Huffington Post*

### **Canada's Electronic Spy Agency Gets Even More Secret**

The Canadian government has quietly stopped telling Canadians about the annual priorities of the Communications Security Establishment (CSE), the GCSB's sister snooping agency; so the scant details of its mission that were once made public are now classified. In past years, a section of the Defence Department's annual plans and priorities report spelled out the agency's priorities. In 2011-12 they included a focus on Canada's mission in Afghanistan, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, foreign espionage and interference, and the Federal government's northern Canada strategy. The report also included information about the CSE's plans for an elaborate new facility

The CSE has a staff of more than 2,000 - including skilled mathematicians and computer whizzes - and a budget of



about \$C400 million. Budget and personnel figures were previously available, and the new entries provide little hint of what the CSE is actually doing. "For reasons of national security", none of [the formerly available information] will be published", the CSE says. CSE critics say the spooks are withdrawing information that has been available for years, and that there is no clear justification for doing so (Jim Bronskill, *The Canadian Press*, 25/7/12). New Zealanders should note, however, that the CSE's activities continue to be subject to some form of external and public review by a watchdog, the Auditor General, the Privacy Commissioner, the Information Commissioner and Parliamentary committees, a far more impressive supervisory arrangement than the risible GCSB oversight with which we are palmed off in this country..

### **Widespread Racism And Bullying At GCSB's Big Sister**

According to the *Telegraph* (23/4/12) the UK's Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ) is being sued for £150,000 by an Asian civil servant for alleged racism, and bullying is rife at the agency. Alfred Bacchus, who was a senior press officer at the GCHQ in Cheltenham claims he was badly treated by his bosses when he wanted to publish an official report in 2010 into race bias inside GCHQ, which warned that not enough ethnic minority staff were being recruited to help fight terrorism. It found that black and Asian intelligence officers at GCHQ complained of a racist culture in which they were insulted by white colleagues and challenged over their loyalty to Britain. Bacchus resigned in August 2011 and is suing for race discrimination and constructive dismissal. He also claims he was victimised after making public interest disclosures as a whistle-blower.

His lawyer Joseph Sykes said: "If what my client says is found proven, it shows that nothing has changed at GCHQ since the 2010 report which highlighted allegations of widespread racist conduct. GCHQ needs black and Asian officers as analysts and for undercover work to deal with threats from terrorist organisations but has been accused of distrusting the ethnic minority staff it recruits" (ibid.). Bacchus's case opened on the same day as the inquest into the death of Gareth Williams, the GCHQ spy whose body was found in a bag in a bath in his London flat in 2010.

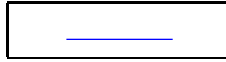
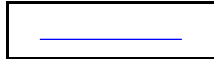


*GCHQ in Cheltenham*

### **British Cooperation With Shin Bet**

British security measures during the 2012 London Olympics involved working closely with Israeli intelligence. Israeli terrorism experts claimed "robust" British counterterrorism efforts, coupled with a weakening of terror organisations' abilities, prevented attacks at the Olympic Games (*New Zealand Herald*, 13/8/12). "The British didn't leave any stone unturned," said Israeli terrorism expert Ariel Merari. An official from Israel's Shin Bet internal security and intelligence agency, speaking anonymously because the official was not permitted to discuss the matter with reporters, said Israel and Britain cooperate on security issues, but would not discuss Israeli tips on possible attacks. Shin Bet is notorious for past cases where a number of persons detained in their custody died in the course of

“interrogation”. Iraqi authorities also provided Britain with information about contacts between terrorist groups in Iraq and the UK.





# Resisting The Roots Of War

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Dennis Small

Dennis Small not only presents a comprehensive summary of the base causes of international and civil conflict, he also points out the compelling need to oppose those who perpetrate military violence. To quote from the article: "Professor of Anthropology, R Brian Ferguson, declares his view: 'that – in most cases – not every single one – the decision to wage war involves the pursuit of practical self-interest by those who actually make the decision...from New Guinean 'big men' to kings and presidents, **leaders often favour war because war favours leaders**' (emphasis added). The obvious inference for us, given recent history and current conditions, is that we should use every democratic means we can - including non-violent direct action and civil disobedience - in order to counter warmongering and militarist mobilisation by Western leaders, and their agencies of social control". Ed.

*"When you've got 'em by the balls, their hearts and minds will follow" (a Green Beret slogan).*

*"The spectre of Vietnam has been buried forever in the desert sands of the Arabian Peninsula" (George Bush I, after the First Gulf War, 1990/1, quoted in "Target Iraq: What the News Media Didn't Tell You", ed. Norman Solomon & Reese Erlich, Context Books, 2003, xi).*

*"Today, there is widespread agreement that the mass killing of the 20th Century is of the greatest moral significance for the 21st. ("Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin", Timothy Snyder, The Bodley Head, 2010, xix).*

Having grown up under the shadow of nuclear weapons, I have always been very uneasy about the human story to date. There have been lots of big, pressing questions. Why did the rise to so-called civilisation happen within such a short period of time? How did we reach the stage of world war so quickly after the advent of so-called civilisation? Why has human history been so bloody and barbaric to date, including, or indeed even especially, the "civilised" era? Are we madly rushing to a peak of consumption, competition and conflict before consequent collapse?

From the latter half of the 19th Century, industrialisation and the ongoing development of technology have been closely associated with mass warfare, and by the mid-20th Century, the looming threat of self-destruction. Only the fear of nuclear weapons, sheer luck, and peacemaking efforts, have enabled us to avoid yet another world war, hard on the heels of the previous two wars. Another full-scale world war could certainly wipe out humankind or, at least, catapult the remnants back to the Stone Age. But in the 21st Century - with nuclear proliferation, and other compounding global problems - there is no guarantee that general peace will continue to hold for the future. The focus of this essay is on challenging the reasons and rationalisations given for aggressive war-making and bloody interventionism by Western agencies, their underlying assumptions, and their operating premises.

## The Problem Of Aggression

The historical record testifies that we are a violently afflicted species. Yet societal commemorations of war dead like Anzac Day in Aotearoa/NZ, one of the so-called "developed" countries, are noteworthy for the lack of recognition of the problems inherent in this syndrome. Instead, they overwhelmingly extol nationalist "sacrifice" in the name of "freedom". These commemorations reinforce national, societal and community solidarity in the name of war. Indeed, they have traditionally celebrated war and its causes. Anzac ties bind us to Big Brother Aussie armed forces, and in turn to the American military-industrial complex. In NZ, Anzac Day and its military background - as exemplified on the beaches and hills of Gallipoli during World War I – is even widely recognised as our national day rather than Waitangi Day.

It is most significant that an egregiously stupid case of military blundering and wasted lives in a world war generated by the competitive rivalries of industrialising Western nations is remembered in this way in the far-off Antipodes, an offshoot of the British Empire, following colonisation. In practice, this remembrance takes societal precedence over the hugely momentous instance of the acknowledgement by a Western imperial power of the rights of an indigenous people, and the need to cooperate together in building a positive future. We can put all this in historical perspective. "In the past few centuries, the indigenous cultures of Oceania – a collective name for the Pacific Islands and Australia – have been greatly affected by colonialism; at various times they were disrupted or even unified by their opposition to it. In NZ, for example, strong Maori resistance to settlement by Europeans resulted in an 1840 treaty establishing terms of coexistence" ("Book of Peoples of the World: A Guide to Cultures", Wade Davis et al, *National Geographic*, 2007, p148).

Thus, in Aotearoa/NZ, there is a stark contrast between honouring a unique, cooperative treaty meant to bring

peace, and the remembrance of war dead that leans heavily towards the regular reaffirmation of militarist bonds. Indeed, in 2012, Anzac Day – for all intents and purposes - expanded into a much longer time period celebrating the de facto revival of the ANZUS Treaty\* with the US and Australia. Visits by elements of the American military here, personnel exchange by NZ and American defence forces in training exercises in their respective countries, the RIMPAC war games\*\*, further joint exercises at Darwin, and other such symbolic signals of renewed alliance have all contributed to reinforcing our participation in the Anglo-American axis and its militarist projections (see, e.g. <http://english.cri.cn/6966/2012/07/27/3124s713935.htm>). Meantime, the NZ government is proudly sponsoring a new War Memorial Park in Wellington, widely endorsed by the social Establishment. How about a monument dedicated to peace, expressing cooperative commitment and hope for the future? – You have got to be joking! \*ANZUS - the Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand's defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia. \*\*Rimpac - the Rim of the Pacific Exercise, is the world's largest international maritime [warfare exercise](#), held biennially.Ed.

In popular modern Western culture, the portrayal of violent themes is a constant. This cultural dimension has been acutely and pervasively aggravated with the advent of the so-called “War on Terror”. Since 2001 the Anglo-American axis has embraced a new type of selectively focused world war that can have no end... eventually other than in nuclear disaster. The reasons for this lie in the underlying roots of the conflict. The Orwellian “War on Terror” stems from the resource imperialism of the West, and in particular, that of the Anglo-American alliance. Greater control over the oil and gas of the Middle East, as well as the hydrocarbon resources of Central Asia and Northern Africa, constitute the grand prize at stake, and the War's operative *raison d'être* and imperative. Obviously enough, 9/11 would never have happened without the West's economic and military involvement in the Middle East and contiguous regions.

## Theories Of Aggression

Consequently, theories of capitalist imperialism and resource wars can explain much of what is happening worldwide, including the mounting rivalries with China and other “emerging economies”. More generally, capitalist globalisation is an aggressive process that is ultimately and increasingly the key factor in generating conflicts both within countries and between them. Again, we have covered such matters and their implications in recent issues (and back issues, including the historical series) of *Peace Researcher*. But we also need to look more deeply at the human record in order to try and assess, as accurately as we can, how we have reached this stage, and to understand what we must do to help shape a more humane future.

Theories of human aggression reach back in application to the very dawn of our species. Of those theories applying to early humans, they range from claims that there is a genetic basis to human aggression to theories that are more sociologically grounded than biological in origins. There are theories, too, that synthesise the biological and sociological approaches. Anthropology, socio-biology, evolutionary psychology, and related disciplines can all put forward theories of this nature. It should be noted that there are many aspects to the concept of “aggression”, and therefore a working definition in terms of this essay is necessary for my purposes. This definition is as follows: “socially organised or coordinated physical attacks on members of the same species that result in serious injury or death; can also refer to threatening or intimidatory behaviour (including psychological warfare)”.

## A Question Of Biology?

Ethology developed as the scientific study of animal behaviour in the field. Early on it gave rise to certain comparisons between humans and animals. Aggression came to be seen by some as an instinct shared by humans and various other mammals, among animals in general. This particular proposition got to be the subject of quite lively debate in related scientific circles, and has carried on into the present. A landmark multi-disciplinary critique was published under the editorship of well-known anthropologist, Professor MF Ashley Montagu - “Man and Aggression”, Oxford University Press, 1968. It lambasted what was labelled “a 20th Century form of neo-Social Darwinism”, especially associated with the eminent ethologist Konrad Lorenz, and popularised by Robert Ardrey (in “The Territorial Imperative”, 1967, among other books).

Montagu contended that the image of the human “killer ape” was not only founded on a “wholly erroneous interpretation of human nature”, but that it diverted “attention from the real sources of man's aggression and destructiveness, namely the many false and contradictory values by which, in an overcrowded, highly competitive, threatening world, he so disoperatively attempts to live” (“Man and Aggression”, op. cit, p16). Instead, Montagu emphasised culture and the process of learning - nurture rather than nature. We need to forge constructive, cooperative values in order to shape a positive, sustainable future. We also see that politics is at the heart of the question of human aggression, given fundamental differences over the values by which we should live.

## **The Paradox Or Contradiction Of Cooperation**

However, even cooperation can be problematic. Genetic theories of aggression aside; perhaps the most disturbing theory of human aggression locates this phenomenon in an unusually high capacity for cooperation (as compared with animals, including other primates). In terms of this approach: "Our propensity for killing other humans is much older evolutionarily than the advent of modern weapons or the crowds of a highly industrialised society" ("Biology: Today and Tomorrow", Jack Ward & Howard Hetzel, West Pub. Co, 1980, p518). In 1980, at the time of the statement of this viewpoint, humans were generally recognised as "the only animals that cooperate in groups for the purpose of aggression" (ibid.). The theoretical line formulated by Ward and Hetzel drew on the fields of ethology, socio-biology, and anthropology (e.g. Richard Leakey in "Origins").

They maintain: "Cooperation created culture. With a continuing increase in intelligence during our evolution, group aggression and killing of the opponent was a small additional step in cooperation. Our intelligence created the cunning that was necessary and shaped the weapons that we used" ("Biology: Today and Tomorrow", op. cit, p519). From this viewpoint, our earliest ancestors probably relied more on inter-group cooperation for the defence of resources rather than inter-group competition. "In fact, cooperation allowed us to control the environment itself", eventually, above all, by the development of agriculture (ibid.). "This move to agriculture, often called the 'Neolithic Revolution', rapidly changed the course of human culture. It allowed for higher population densities, stratified societal complexes, and warfare" ("Book of Peoples of the World", op. cit, p82).

## **Drumming Up War**

As a result: "The ideology of the supertribe was formed and often maintained by the most dominant individuals (the leaders), and the cooperative nature of their followers became a powerful weapon. It was easy to motivate thousands to give up their lives in the face of competition with other supertribes" ("Biology: Today and Tomorrow", op. cit, p519). Hence, the mass society wars ensuing in the modern era, and the conditioning for violent competition that continues so rampantly nowadays. In endorsing the theoretical approach outlined, another Professor of Anthropology, R Brian Ferguson, declares his view: "that – in most cases – not every single one – the decision to wage war involves the pursuit of practical self-interest by those who actually make the decision... from New Guinean 'big men' to kings and presidents, leaders often favour war because war favours leaders" ("The Birth of War", *Natural History*, vol. 112, no. 6, July/August 2003, pp28-34, quote p34; Ferguson edited "The State, Identity and Violence: Political Disintegration in the Post-Cold War World, Routledge, 2002). The obvious inference for us, given recent history and current conditions, is that we should use every democratic means we can - including non-violent direct action and civil disobedience - in order to counter war-mongering and militarist mobilisation by Western leaders, and their agencies of social control.

Ferguson concluded his article with a sober warning: "Of course, those who push toward war, do not make their case in terms of their own selfish interests... their arguments invoke collective dangers and benefits. But even more, those advocating war always define it in terms of the highest applicable values – including the desire to 'promote democracy'. That is the way to sway the undecided and build emotional commitment. And always, it is the other side that somehow brought war on" (ibid.). Ferguson adds that in his view: "Such drumbeating is not only, or even primarily, cynical manipulation" (ibid.). He thinks that there is "a basic human need for self-justification", and that those leaders "who start wars usually seem to believe in the righteousness of their chosen course. It is that capability that makes human beings such a dangerous species" (ibid.). When we have "cynical manipulation" and "self-justification" combined, as in recent years - appealing to both fear and "the highest applicable values" - then we confront a very real and present danger. Professor Ferguson says that the resources at stake in "drumbeating" for war can range from "basic subsistence resources" to "goods available only to elites" (ibid.).

## **Territoriality And The Defence Of Resources**

The theories of aggression that Ashley Montagu et al contested in "Man and Aggression" (op. cit.) were based largely on the alleged linkage of genetic factors and the defence of a particular resource, namely territory (viz. Robert Ardrey's "The Territorial Imperative"). Ward and Hetzel also advocated the thesis of territoriality to some extent. They claimed that: "Research comparing modern and 'primitive' cultures indicates that all humans, regardless of culture, display the same protective behaviour – which is called territoriality. Obviously, then, it must be at least partly biological" ("Biology: Today and Tomorrow", op. cit, p508).

We can see today, however, interpreted on the basis of its ultimate roots, the "defence" of resources and territoriality expressed most dramatically in American neo-imperialism in the Middle East, and elsewhere. For the American Administrations of the 20th and 21st Centuries, these policies have significant cultural and historical roots, along

with corresponding continuity and momentum. The Monroe Doctrine\* announced in 1823 (applying to the Americas) and the ideology of Manifest Destiny (1845) have meant that not only is the US homeland sacrosanct, but this nation has proclaimed worldwide interests - an overseas "territoriality"! - with the acquisition and protection of beneficial investments, resources, and strategic interests. \**The Monroe Doctrine proclaimed North and South America to be the US sphere of influence, and off limits to any would be European coloniser, who would be resisted by American military force. Ed.*

Manifest Destiny legitimated US territorial expansion, first within North America against Mexican possessions, and then beyond in imperialist ventures overseas. Most brutally, it reinforced the dispossession and repression of the land's indigenous peoples. By the end of the 19th Century, such ambitions had been given renewed impetus with the official closing of the western frontier within the US (1890), and then the conquest of overseas colonies such as the Philippines and Cuba during the Spanish-American War (1898). Later, in the context of the ideology of the Cold War and defence of the so-called "Free World", the Carter Doctrine updated this policy in 1980 to explicitly include Middle Eastern oil and re-assert America's global reach ("The 30-Year Itch", *Mother Jones*, Robert Dreyfuss, April 2003, pp40-45).

## **Being The Top Predator!**

"For three decades, Washington's hawks [had] pushed for the US to seize control of the Persian Gulf", a prize seen as essential, with "the key to national security" being the maintenance of "global hegemony - dominance over any and all potential rivals" (ibid.). In the campaign to control oil, these pro-Israeli hawks have constituted a pivotal group of influential Washington players, including leading instigator Henry Kissinger, Patrick Moynihan (prime inspiration for our current ambassador to the US, Mike Moore), Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz, Robert Kagan, James Woolsey, and those with whom they have been closely associated like Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld. The impetus of US neo-imperialism in the 21st Century has a solid, accumulating history behind it. These days, the evils of the rapidly deepening institutionalisation of neo-fascist ideology and practice are increasingly evident in the US. Lamentably, a significant number of people throughout the rest of the Anglo-American axis, including Aotearoa/NZ, are only too eager to participate in this very same process and the Social Darwinist struggle for world hegemony.

American inter-group "exceptionalism" - so arrogantly self-defined - extols their own "supertribe" and nationalism above those of everyone else, and thus the right to apply different standards to their own behaviour as opposed to that of other peoples: in other words, to practise an assiduous, self-serving hypocrisy - an ideology of "self-justification". Its power elite has long felt comfortable with a highly selective and portentous morality, apparently blessed by God, that is so expressive of the Anglo-Saxon heritage. American intra-group cooperation, however motivated or enforced, becomes eminently manipulative at the expense of other nations and societies. As well, the inter-group focus on external enemies, as again defined by the nation's leaders, serves the vital function of protecting the wealth, power and status of the presiding oligarchy.

Of course, the US stands out as the world's most powerful and predatory country - as the most prominent rogue nation ("Law, Resources & War", *Pacific Ecologist*, Winter 2006, pp5-7 <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/pe12.html>; "Rogue State: A Guide to the World's Only Superpower, William Blum, Common Courage Press, 2005). Various other nations also testify in practice to the same sort of behaviour, if on a less egregious scale to date. To date, Western power has enabled its institutionalised ideology of hypocritical, selective morality to prevail. It has so far succeeded in protecting its agencies of aggression from proper legal accountability and punishment. But the Western model is proving insidiously deleterious as the distribution of power shifts on the world scene.

## **Rationalising Inhumanity**

In a profound study of the genocidal crimes of Hitler and Stalin, Professor Timothy Snyder has documented the history of what he calls the "bloodlands" of Eastern Europe ("Bloodlands", op. cit.). His conclusion explores the reasons for these crimes and how we should understand what they mean for us in the 21st Century. He looks closely in depth and detail at the motivations of these crimes, and the rationalisations used by those who perpetrated them. The two regimes of the Soviets and Nazis systematically murdered some 14 million people in the middle of Europe, during the period 1933-1945. While the German-inflicted deaths took place during World War II, those committed by the Soviets were overwhelmingly carried out before the actual war. The total 14 million deaths were killings unrelated to direct combat. These deaths included the Holocaust of the Jewish people, a total of 5.7 million victims, 5.4 million of them slaughtered by the Nazis (ibid, pp384 & 407). The Soviets also accounted for a number of Jews among their victims.

The history of the cultivation of "victimology", as it were, can provide salutary lessons for us in the early 21st Century. In order to implement their genocidal activities, both the Nazis and the Soviets portrayed themselves and

their constituencies as the victims of their alleged enemies. They did this effectively enough to mobilise substantial real support beyond just the fear they instilled. To a large extent, their propaganda worked. The perversity of it could get so obscene and contorted that Stalin and his Politburo blamed the Ukrainian peasants, whom they were deliberately starving to death, for trying to sabotage the Bolshevik Revolution by choosing to be in such distress ("Bloodlands", *ibid.*, ch. 1). Stalin employed continuous allegations of subversion by a combination of internal and external "class" enemies to help cover his genocidal crimes.

Similarly, Hitler and his Nazi henchmen articulated Jewish-Communist conspiracy theories to justify their own horrendous actions. In accordance with variable causal factors and conditions over time, the perpetrators and ideologues of crimes against humanity can come from any cultural background. A number of the more ruthless Soviet/Bolshevik leaders happened to have Jewish backgrounds. Stalinism later became anti-Semitic during the Cold War (*ibid.*, ch. 11). In the 21st Century, hardline elements of the powerful Zionist lobby in the US, Israel, and the wider West exemplify the same type of ruthless sentiment. At the same time, anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial on the part of the current Iranian leadership constitute a corresponding antagonistic stand. When ethnic, geopolitical, victimhood, and other causes fuse together in opposing armed camps, then the outlook can be very grim indeed.

### **Malevolent Militancy**

Against the background of the bloodlands, fast forward to the aftermath of 9/11 and the American-led reaction of the "Coalition of the Killing". "No major war or act of mass killing in the 20th Century began without the aggressors or perpetrators first claiming innocence and victimhood. In the 21st Century, we see a second wave of aggressive wars with victim claims, in which leaders not only present their peoples as victims but make explicit reference to the mass murders of the 20th Century. The human capacity for subjective victimhood is apparently limitless, and people who believe that they are victims can be motivated to perform acts of great violence" (*ibid.*, pp399/400). When this is conveyed with a sense of permanent threat to security and wellbeing, then the possibilities are seemingly limitless.

In the "War on Terror", even client state NZ has joined in the Coalition of the Killing in a whole variety of ways, including the conduct of death squad operations ("Other People's Wars: New Zealand in Afghanistan, Iraq and the War on Terror", Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Pub, 2011; reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/42/pr42-009.htm>). However, this does not bother our political leaders, military, and most of our media. The latter largely articulate the official line with State-owned TV1 usually leading from the front. NZ has always participated at some level, even if only by connivance and cover-up, in the crimes of the Anglo-American axis. Continuously contesting this syndrome must be an essential aspect of safeguarding our humanity. We have to bust the constraints set by this repressive thought regime.

### **"The Brutal And The Lawless"**

In his warmongering propaganda on Iraq in 2003, George Bush II declared: "We refuse to live in fear. This nation – in world war and in Cold War – has never permitted the brutal and lawless to set history's course" ("Target Iraq", *op. cit.*, p148). Since 9/11, the US has gone on to very dramatically exemplify the "brutal and lawless" in action, and thus deliberately and viciously subvert the basis for civilised norms, international law and cooperation, adding to its previous history of such systematic abuse ("Lawless World: America and the Making and Breaking of Global Rules", Philippe Sands, Allen Lane, 2005). As already intimated, this abusive behaviour has in turn provided inspiring examples for a number of other countries, as expert commentators well warned and predicted (*ibid.*).

Things have got so bad that the *Sunday Star Times* can have a headline for its "World" section as follows: "Global peace dream ends in Syria" (5/8/12). Hiroshima Day is remembered on the 6th of August each year. Reflecting on the failure of the United Nations (UN) to make peace in Syria, *Times* writer Matthew Parris declares that the dreams of "multilateralism", let alone a kind of "world government", are on the rocks (*ibid.*). He goes on to say that in the post-Cold War world, this "momentum was lost and (I would argue) has now reversed. The first signs of drift were when the US began to develop a habit of not ratifying or not acceding to things. The nuclear test ban treaty, the ICC [International Criminal Court], a range of Security Council resolutions about the Middle East... America started sitting these dances out" (*ibid.*). Parris says: "Then rifts opened between rich and poor countries, rifts that have stalled progress for the WTO [World Trade Organisation] (the Doha process is still stuck) and successive 'Earth Summits'" (*ibid.*). He cites further critical factors like the disregard for international law by Russia and China, seeing the "internationalist lights" extinguished, as "our global institutions are being hollowed out and disregarded" (*ibid.*). If we allow ourselves to continue down this path then the outcome is certain doom.

### **Back To Our Roots**

To try and better understand the causes of human aggression and what it means for us, we need to further examine



the available evidence relating to the case for biological determinism, even if summarily enough for this article. We are looking here at the question of the origins of aggression. Research on other primates, most famously chimpanzees by Jane Goodall (e.g. "In the Shadow of Man"), has shown that some can carry out very aggressive intra-species acts on the inter-group scale. But, as anthropology Professor Agustin Fuentes observes: "Humans are the only species that practise premeditated homicide and full-out war" ("Race, Monogamy, and Other Lies They Told You: Busting Myths About Human Nature", University of California Press, 2012, p115). What then of the evidence today for biological roots for this aggression?

In answering this question, Professor Fuentes also asks: "What percentage of the seven billion people on this planet is actively engaged in war?" (ibid, p118). Overall, Fuentes argues that aggression "is less central to humanity and our evolution" than many think (ibid, p119). Many controversial aspects relate to our early evolutionary history and its interpretation in the area of aggression. In the view of Fuentes and his school of thought, "the fossil evidence supports the assertion that war is not part of our deep evolutionary past" (ibid, p131). Similarly, while various biochemical processes can be implicated in the complexity of emotional and motivational dimensions of aggression in human behaviour, science has found no key causal element – no determining genetic factor (ibid, 144). Popular myth even grossly over-rates the role of testosterone in male aggression.

On this biological basis then, how can we explain wars and other forms of human violence? Fuentes quotes Ashley Montagu to the effect that we have to ground our "image of humanity" on the understanding we gain from our study of the past (ibid, p154). Fuentes concludes – in line with a common view in this field – that: "Humans are not naturally aggressive, but they do have a great potential for aggression and violence" (ibid.). Assigning war and human rights crimes to human nature prevents us "from moving forward as societies invested in understanding and managing violence" (ibid.). Human aggression has complex causes and often depends on context, with historical, cultural, sociological, economic, political, and psychological factors all at work.

Professor Fuentes even agrees with Ward and Hetzel to the extent that the evolutionary record of the "prevalence of cooperation does not negate aggression or violence and in fact probably enables the kind of intense and extreme violence that is characteristic of modern warfare and civil conflicts. To create and maintain armies you need extremely complex cooperation, and to engage in wide-scale warfare, coordination and a near complete suppression of selfish behaviour is needed. One might even argue that war is possible directly due to humans' unique abilities to maintain large-scale and intensive cooperation" (ibid.): in other words, our capacity to subjugate ourselves to authoritarian control.

### **Super-Tribes and Super-Conformity**

Worryingly enough then in its own way, it seems that "while some violence between individuals undoubtedly happened in the past, warfare is a relatively modern human behaviour (12,000 to 10,000 years old)" (ibid.). Certainly, with the advent of industrial mass warfare, the record of armed conflict in recent centuries, and most ominously the potential use of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the human response to defusing the potential and accumulating threats has been woeful. Consider the growing confirmation - in a multitude of ways - by which mass media regularly reinforce the commitment to the military in Aotearoa/NZ. All this cultural conditioning comprises a spectrum of positive reporting: from Anzac memorials, war stories and reminiscences, military exercises and other types of bonding with our nuclear linked allies, to honouring our war dead and war "heroes" in Afghanistan and elsewhere. An example of this constant militarist affirmation is a weekend series by Mike Crean (& Bob Cotton) in the *Press* called "Last Post, First Light: Commemorating NZ's Military History" (e.g. 4/8/12). Any of the very rare exceptions to this trend stand out very markedly (e.g. "The Truth That Peace Brings", Anthony Hubbard, *Sunday Star Times*, 1/7/12).

As indicated above, NZ has renewed its role as a client state of the Anglo-American axis. Moreover, the NZ Establishment is now clearly intent on a quite sinister programme of indoctrination and conformity, as part of the American-directed North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) programme of deliberate preparation for the war to end all wars (whatever the official doctrine might be). Our subservience is paramount. To pick up again on the militarisation theme in Aotearoa/NZ, there is a plethora of books on our military history, including the glamorisation of the Special Air Service (SAS). Film, TV content, computer games, etc. massively reinforce the relevant attitudes, in tune with the dominant Western theme of keeping the barbarians at bay (from the "Hun" to al Qaeda). The ruling media convention is celebration and commemoration (token comments on the pity of war aside), rather than angst, reflection and effort as how to try and avoid the otherwise eventual and inexorable holocaust. For the most part, peace activism and the peace movement in general are treated from a very limited, critical or unappreciative stance. In terms of the trajectory of human history to date, this is understandable enough but quite extraordinary in its suicidal stupidity and obvious meaning for the future of the species and the fate of the Earth.

I remember many years ago taking part in an all-night, anti-nuclear, peace vigil in Wellington at the Cenotaph near Parliament Buildings. Our ranks included a feminist group taking a strong stand in memory of the female victims of rape and violent abuse during wartime. There was a sour note in the early dawn ceremony when a military representative made a dark reference to alleged enemies within. This particular vigil took place during the era of the Iranian revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the advent of the dangerously far Right Reagan Administration. The McCarthyite-style national security state is always waiting in the wings ready to be activated again given a conducive climate of opinion and attitudes condoning the crushing of dissent. In fact, it is already creeping up fast upon us with regular additional layers and elements of surveillance legislation, policy and practice, in tandem with the new onslaught of militarisation. Leaders can always manufacture crisis anyway, as the 2003 invasion of Iraq demonstrated.

## Types Of Mass Murder

We must keep in mind the forms which aggression can take. Modern history has witnessed a range of types of mass murder (including combat-related) that can be carried out and the accompanying types of rationalisation. A provisional typology of mass murder is as follows:

(i) Ethnic cleansing of targeted groups or categories of people

(ii) Political cleansing of targeted groups or categories of people

(iii) Strategic means in fulfilment of claimed higher political ends, epitomised by the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to end Japanese resistance in World War II; another example is the WWII bombing of Dresden and other German cities (“The Truth That Peace Brings, *ibid.*)

(iv) Targeted retaliatory or pre-emptive attacks on designated enemies, e.g. US death squad drone attacks on alleged “militants” in a now considerable number of “Third World” countries. Purportedly, a drone strike might be aimed at a relatively few individuals. In reality, however, drone casualties have proved numerous in certain strikes (any male of military age in the strike zone is eligible by Pentagon definition anyway), while the scale and regularity of attacks amount in actuality to a widespread, intensive and continual form of State terrorist warfare, along with multiplying murderous raids in Afghanistan and other countries (<http://truth-out.org/news/item/10659-general-petraeus-and-the-drone-war>). A recent report suggests that very few high level militants have been killed by drone attacks whereas many civilians have been killed or injured; furthermore, drone attacks seem to be a strong motivation towards anti-American feelings and actions (see “Spooky Bits”, elsewhere in this issue. *Ed.*).

(v) Outcome of the inevitable brutality, mistakes and excesses of war, including civil war, and other forms of armed conflict. The illegal invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, of course, entailed inevitable and coldly calculated casualties in the hundreds of thousands, with ongoing violence for the foreseeable future, as the destabilisation of the Middle East and beyond goes on.

## Techniques Of Mass Media Manipulation

In the 21st Century, accompanying rationalisations for aggression have been wide-ranging. A whole ideology has been formulated to justify the “War on Terror”. As we have seen, victimhood is a major element since 9/11. Retaliation and revenge are thus fundamental themes. The alleged right to pre-emptive war has moved to the fore. While Western leaders have purportedly endeavoured *not* to portray the “War on Terror” as a “clash of civilisations”, the dynamic, interactive processes unleashed have been hard to keep in check with regard to the broader cultural dimensions. Blowback reigns as ever with the latest example shaping up to be Syria ([http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle\\_East/NH03Ak04.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/NH03Ak04.html)). Again, of course, all this was very easy to predict. There are a variety of techniques commonly practised by the mainstream media to cover up the human rights crimes of the Anglo-American axis. They overlap with the types of mass murder given above, and overlap with one another to a degree. These techniques are applied by the Western media in general.

(a) Screen the truth under “the cone of silence”, as illustrated in the comic TV series *Get Smart* (starring secret agent Maxwell Smart), or “The Germans” episode in *Fawlty Towers*: – don’t mention the war... or the massacre, etc.! This is the most regularly adopted technique of all, assiduously also employing the Orwellian “memory-hole”. It is a technique hallowed by tradition and time. Of course, the cone of silence did not work well in *Get Smart* and Basil Fawlty succeeded in really upsetting “The Germans”! One of the main functions of the mainstream media is to try and suppress the truth as much as possible whenever it strikes at the core of the Western Establishment. This can particularly pertain to any leaks that could prove damaging in the long-term.

An outrageous ongoing example relates to the outright pack of lies that justified the Anglo-American axis's invasion of Iraq in 2003. For instance, a July 2012 Associated Press (AP) report on US Presidential candidate Mitt Romney's support for nuclear-armed Israel, and his menacing belligerence towards Iran, mentioned "the so-called neo-conservative foreign policy Establishment that pressed former President George W Bush to invade Iraq under the *mistaken* [my emphasis] assumption that the country had weapons of mass destruction" (reproduced in the *Press*, 31/7/12). In fact, these American "neo-cons", or rather neo-fascists, deliberately manufactured consent for mass murder as part of the "War on Terror".

(b) Define the human cost as acceptable, justified, or okay according to some formula or other. The use of euphemistic language and related ploys are integral here. For some people, "Pentagonese" has rightfully become notorious, e.g. "collateral damage" for civilian casualties. The propagandists can run riot here. War crimes are excused as the unavoidable and unfortunate outcome of military activity. Very deliberately, the Pentagon does not count the civilian casualties of other countries resulting from its military depredations. Outrageously and most maliciously, the mass media take their cue from this. The media spin the fallout in accordance with the military's dictates, while "mistaken assumptions" and "mistakes" run rife.

Most importantly, define the contest by the use of the word "war", and so the commonly perceived right to take "defensive" action against dangerous enemies, as delivered by drones, special forces, etc. Proclaim the grand goals of defending "freedom" and "civilisation". Avoid more truthful terminology, and any embarrassing facts. Terms like "death squad", if used about a group of Western personnel, are beyond the pale for the mass media. In recent years, whenever reporting on legal matters relating to the human rights crimes of the Chilean or Argentinian military dictatorships, the media carefully avoid recognition of the fact that the Latin American death squads were backed by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the "Operation Condor" assassination programme ("Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic", Prof. Chalmers Johnson, Scribe 2007, p108: citing "The Condor Years" by Prof. John Dinges). "Terrorism", of course, is a term never applied to officially sanctioned aggression by Western forces and agencies. Instead, "terrorists" are always our designated enemies. All this amounts as well to a variation of the cone of silence with the underlying reality hidden or disguised from Western publics. Partial truths are meant to constantly mislead.

(c) Legitimate retribution – a constant theme since 9/11 and a basic rationale for the "War on Terror". It was launched with the "shock and awe" bombardment and invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, and then reinforced with the full-scale assault on Iraq in 2003. Revenge is extolled in a plethora of cultural expressions; e.g. TV series like *Strike Back*, and the film "Captain America: The First Avenger" (2011), while Nazi-style *Homeland* portrays the bastion of freedom under siege. Special forces, the CIA, and other military and intelligence organisations are celebrated for their heroism in battling the foreign "bad guys", including in the countries Westerners occupy by force. TVNZ1 pushed "strike back" and "revenge" in reaction to attacks on NZ troops (e.g. *ONE News*, 6pm, 20/8/12).

### More Techniques

(d) Pre-emptive attacks - appeal to defensive action against allegedly imminent, further or gathering threats. Both the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions have been justified in this way. Indeed, it is now the driving rationale for the "War on Terror" a la George Orwell's "1984". Iran is the current big target (along with Syria too, of course).

(e) Avoid all reference as much as possible to obviously base reasons frowned on in Western public ethics and moralising discourse; e.g. don't mention the oil and gas, and any other resources at stake, when invading other countries. This is another variation of the cone of silence. Journalist Tom Bower was struck "by the candour of the Vice President of one of America's biggest oil companies, whom [he] asked in passing in 2007: 'Was George W Bush's invasion of Iraq about oil?' He replied: 'Absolutely, yes.'" Some argue that the ideological Cold War has been replaced by "resource wars" ("The Squeeze: Oil, Money and Greed in the 21st Century", Harper Press, 2009, xii). The Bush II Administration strategically kept oil out of sight, and so hopefully out of mind, in its propaganda ushering in the invasion of Iraq. In light of the July 2012 AP report *Press*, 31/7/12 [see (a) above] about the "so-called neo-conservative foreign policy Establishment", its influence, and "mistaken assumption", we should remind ourselves of some further relevant information in this particular context (see also my article "More Media Warmongering [Part 1]: Sign Of Things To Come" in *Peace Researcher* 41, July 2011, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/41/pr41-006.htm> on the special Pentagon propaganda unit on Iraq).

US Deputy President Cheney and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice were both involved during 2001/2 in a secret task force on energy, which Cheney chaired ("The Squeeze", op. cit, p259). Revealingly enough, in 2003 a Federal Court obtained task force documents that included a map of Iraq's oilfields (*Secrets of the Seven Sisters: The Shameful Story of Oil* [Sunset Press, 2011], TVNZ7, 4/6/12). But "according to the mainstream media, Bush Administration ties to the oil industry [were] irrelevant", despite facts like "Bush ran an oil company"; "Cheney was

the Chief Executive Officer [CEO] of the oil equipment corporation Halliburton, and National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice served as a member of Chevron's board of directors" ("Target Iraq", op. cit, p109).

The key neo-con grouping, the Project for the New American Century (PNAC), brought together prominent politicians and Government advisers in conjunction with military, intelligence, corporate and media representatives ("Weapons of Mass Deception: The Uses of Propaganda in Bush's War on Iraq", Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber, Centre for Media & Democracy, Tarcher/Penguin, 2003, pp47/8). PNAC members had openly agitated for war against Iraq from 1997 on geopolitical grounds and some played pivotal roles in the Bush II Administration. Members included Cheney and Lewis "Scooter" Libby, his chief of staff, as well as Defense Secretary Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz (ibid.). Among other influential PNAC figures were "Steve Forbes, publisher, billionaire; and Republican Presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000"; *New Republic* publisher Martin Peretz; the Pentagon's Perle; along with Kagan, and Woolsey, a "former CIA director turned lobbyist... whose law firm, Shea & Gardner [had] represented the Iraqi National Congress" (a US-backed group set to benefit from invasion) (ibid; "The 30-Year Itch", op. cit.).

(f) Avoid any acknowledgement of the use of immoral strategy and tactics. Although the strategy of murder by death squad-operated drone is a publicly proclaimed method in the "War on Terror", death squad strategy in the original sense was devised or adapted by the CIA and the Pentagon in order to allow both the US and the terrorist regimes that it supported, as in Latin America during the Reagan/Bush I era, to deny any involvement in systematic human rights abuses and so any responsibility. The majority of Americans accept drone operations, as shown by surveys (*Press*, 3/812).

(g) Use of any other techniques to facilitate or legitimate the killing of targeted opponents and enemies: the perspective and rationale can be developed in a multitudinous variety of ways; e.g. those eliminated richly deserved their fate; it might have been a lamentably gory process but the prospects for a better future are now great; thankfully, we have eliminated a potentially enormous danger. All the proven ploys of propagandistic method can be brought to bear on a certain case over time, and in relation to event and circumstance. Such techniques, and those listed above, have been clinically dissected and documented by leading critics of covert action, para-politics, and the media (e.g., "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media", Edward Herman & Noam Chomsky, Vintage 1994, [Pantheon, 1988]; "Year 501: The Conquest Continues", Noam Chomsky, Verso, 1993; "The New Rulers of the World", John Pilger, Verso, 2002/3).

## **Defending Freedom?**

Besides the systematic cultivation of a sense of siege and permanent threat in the "War on Terror", the standard Anglo-American propaganda line is the defence of freedom, and civilised values. Just how much these civilised values are dependent on the diminishing supply of oil is already unfolding before our eyes. Nick Cohen is an English journalist prominent in the Western mainstream media, and a regular purveyor of the freedom argument in the Anglo-American tradition. Fittingly enough, he has also been a warmonger on Afghanistan and Iraq. But one could read his arrestingly entitled book, "You Can't Read This Book: Censorship in an Age of Freedom" (Fourth Estate, 2012), without getting much impression of his underlying militaristic sentiments and commitment to Western State terrorism. There are certain clear clues, however, including the book's dedication to the memory of Christopher Hitchens, who went "turnabout" after 9/11 in very bloodthirsty fashion (see e.g., "Bush in Babylon: The Recolonisation of Iraq", Tariq Ali, Verso, 2003, Appendix, pp199-207). Cohen is a columnist for the *Observer*, and also writes for the *Spectator* and other British media.

In essence, Cohen's thesis is that the West is defending freedom against an implacable Islamist enemy, and that it is in danger of compromising this defence by yielding to cowardly and "politically correct"-type self-censorship; e.g. suppressing cartoons that satirise Mohammed. We must instead take a staunch stand for the cause of liberty. Cohen explicitly rejects the idea that his freedoms, given the historically accepted assumptions of economic wellbeing for both the existence and health of democracy, may be dependent on the gross exploitation of people, let alone the environment. He asserts that in the minds of Leftwing radicals, Western societies, their corporations and foreign policies, remain responsible for the ills of the world half a century on from the end of colonialism. So Cohen operates freely in an explicitly "a-historical" vacuum. His society has had no responsibility in the generation of militant Islamism, which has evidently arisen out of the sheer potential of the Muslim faith for political malevolence.

The Zionist Cohen puts it like this: "If you believe that Western democracies are the sole or prime source of oppression, then you are wide open to the seduction of fascistic ideologies, because they come from a radical, anti-democratic tradition that echoes your own. If you think that Israel or the West is the sole or prime source of conflict in the Middle East, your defences against anti-Semitism are down, and ready to be overrun" (ibid, p296). We

see here a common ploy used by Cohen in this regard. He tries to smear his opponents with malicious allegations by simply ignoring the evidence, and passing off extreme positions (note use of the word “sole”) as positions taken by opponents of American imperialism.

It is not the purpose of this particular article to expound further on the general or the specific imperial economic derelictions of the West, except as appropriate for making points about the accompanying rationalisations for war and military (or bloody covert) intervention. Besides the cases of Chile, Argentina, Afghanistan and Iraq cited above, let a couple of pertinent quotes suffice here to refute Cohen in his demonstrably self-interested position. The Iranian revolution of 1979 overthrew the Anglo-American-backed regime of the Shah and his feared Savak security service. Ever since, the Anglo-American axis and its ally, Israel, have been at covert war with Iran. Imminent open war looms. As the writer Stephen Kinzer noted: “The wealth that flowed from beneath Iran’s soil played a decisive role in maintaining Britain at the pinnacle of world power while most Iranians lived in poverty” (quoted in “Crude World: The Violent Twilight of Oil”, Peter Maass, Penguin, 2009, p142). Even British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin (in office 1945-51) admitted that without Iranian oil there would be “no hope of our being able to achieve the standard of living at which we are aiming in Great Britain” (ibid.).

## **A New Crusade**

As an indication of how things have been so cynically confused in the “War on Terror”, Cohen has some appreciative references to George Orwell (Cohen’s pal Hitchens even wrote a book on Orwell!). But, most ironically, Cohen sees Orwell’s predictions as only partly coming true. At one stage, he refers to Orwell’s quote about a “continuous war atmosphere” but fails to note its obvious relevance to the “War on Terror” (“You Can’t Read this Book”, op. cit, p254). Cohen contends that Orwell is wrong in his depiction of Airstrip One in “1984” since “most dictatorships do not want total control but *effective* control” (ibid, p273). He argues in fact that efforts under the “War on Terror” to curb free speech have been weak, and that there is still plenty of scope for criticism of the Western authorities. Instead, the real danger for him is giving in to jihadist threats. He says that we should be supporting Muslim dissidents and liberalising elements everywhere.

Given his politics, this means in practice that Cohen is really a dedicated advocate of the “Clash of Civilisations” thesis. The tightening grip of the Western national security state premised on Social Darwinism and resource war is not Cohen’s concern. According to Cohen, we supposedly should extend our freedoms across the world in typically aggressive Anglo-American bullshit fashion, by force if necessary! His militarist, imperialist agenda becomes evident behind the hypocritical mask of the liberalism that he espouses when he dismisses appeasement as feeding “the beast it seeks to tame” (ibid, p301). He openly declares that: “It is best to stop them before they get started” (ibid.). Like so many, he cannot recognise the beast in himself as well.

Cohen can comment that: “During the Arab Spring, outsiders thought that once the subject peoples had risen up the dictators would vanish like mist before the wind. As it turned out, the dictators had supporters, not just among the servants of the regime who feared the loss of their jobs, but among those who preferred tyranny to chaos” (ibid, p174). But not here, or anywhere, in his book does he comment in any really critical way about the historical, systematic support by Western forces for many of these dictatorships, along with the brutal repression of the Islamists that he fears so much. Cohen - and so many other Western Rightwing ideologues - is caught in a huge and deepening contradiction: that between resource imperialism and the pretence of liberty. We desperately need alternative paths to sustainable development.

To crusade aggressively in the cause of modernisation - of supposedly bringing the benefit of freedom and liberalism to Muslim peoples by armed force, among other means - not only compounds the insults of historical reality but elevates stupidity to even higher levels of attainment. “The 2005 publication of 12 caricatures of the Prophet Mohammed in a Danish newspaper triggered riots in many Muslim countries” (*Press*, 13/9/12). In September 2012 an American anti-Muslim film ignited a huge wave of violent protests throughout the tinderbox of prevailing sentiment in the Muslim world. This has been a huge blow to Western power and influence, and perhaps a crucial turning-point on the back of the Arab Spring. Blowback reigns (see my article “Middle East Turmoil And Beyond: Political Blowback In Action”, in *Peace Researcher* 43, May 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/43/pr43-008.htm>).

## **Undermining Contradictions**

Imperialist contradictions lie at the heart of so much Western pontificating on the Islamist threat. Daniel Benjamin and Steven Simon both served as directors of the US National Security Council in the 1990s. They are most concerned about the globalisation of jihadist sentiment. But they afford revealing insights into the mentality of many American strategic planners and security experts. In their 2005 book “The Next Attack” - strongly recommended by

former President Bill Clinton - they openly refer to the fact: "In Muslim eyes, America is a nation of hypocrites. Roughly two thirds of Turks and Moroccans and almost as many Pakistanis believe we are using the campaign against terror to mask other objectives" (op. cit, p53). Benjamin and Simon refer to majorities polled in such countries, who believe "that the US wants less democracy in the world, not more. More than 60% of Moroccan respondents think that the US aims to control Middle East oil; or simply to 'dominate the world'" (ibid.).

The authors go on to express concern about "how little the populaces of these countries understand American strategy" (ibid.). What is so stunning here is that Benjamin and Simon can actually make this remark seemingly in all seriousness. If on one level, they are clownishly grotesque in their ludicrousness, they also cynically contrive in their argument. Most tellingly, only one carefully selected specific example of why these perceptions are apparently wrong is actually addressed by these two authors. This is the fear shown by some peoples about invasion. After all, ask Benjamin and Simon in a rhetorical flourish: "What American leader would want to occupy Turkey or Morocco?" (ibid.). They worry instead "how much public opinion has come to parallel Usama bin Laden's own argument about American intentions" (ibid.). Yet we have the glaring absurdity – rubbishing the argument of Benjamin and Simon - of American ambitions and strategy documented on the public record in governmental papers, let alone in actions. "World domination" and the intent to "control Middle East oil" constitute openly acknowledged American goals, if not exactly broadcast via the corporate mass media ("The 30-Year Itch", op. cit.). To use Cohen's own words, the Western goal is "effective control".

### **Continuous Military-Industrial & Corporate Media Crap**

What then emerges as so damning in their thesis is that Benjamin and Simon brazenly remark that all this suspicion and hostility would not really "matter much were it not for the danger that some of those who hate us will be moved to act, to become terrorists" ("The Next Attack", op. cit, p54). So it is quite okay if the "overwhelming majority of Muslims will no doubt be content to dislike or even hate America as they have before" (ibid.). But it is "another problem entirely" if the victims decide to strike back at the State terrorism and exploitation imposed on them. For Benjamin and Simon then, having the overwhelming power to crush resistance and ignore resentment is fine. The real problem only begins when this power is directly contested in turn by armed force. American arrogance and hypocrisy, as manipulated and cultivated from the top, is certainly breathtaking in its scope and depth. Unmasking its contrivances and exposing the real motivations, and our part in them, is our ever growing and urgent challenge. Otherwise, we are being programmed as willing accomplices in fashioning ever more crimes against humanity and ultimate disaster.

As a Rightwing mainstream journalist, Nick Cohen is riddled with contradictions and inconsistencies when he pretends to represent a social conscience. He is a fierce critic of Julian Assange and Wikileaks, for allegedly putting the lives of Western-allied informers at risk in countries like Afghanistan, while he happily embraces all the casualties of the West's "War on Terror". He rails against the human rights crimes of the Islamists while ignoring or excusing the crimes regularly perpetrated by Western forces. Taliban "death lists" are lamentable but NATO death lists are apparently all right (op. cit, p297). He inveighs against "Islamists [supposedly] slaughtering *tens of thousands of civilians* in Pakistan, Iraq, Nigeria and Afghanistan", as seen on the "evening news" (ibid, p51). But Cohen is an apologist for Western wars, State terrorism and imperial policies so heavily responsible in actuality - both directly and indirectly - for the far greater mass slaughter of Muslim civilians, most graphically since 9/11. And, naturally, he takes no personal moral responsibility for this at all – just the very opposite! Again, this is the typical ploy of displaced responsibility so widely shared among his mainstream media mates – *blame those who are the original - and overwhelmingly - the current, and ultimate victims*. And thus help create endless more victims and mayhem.

### **Challenging The "Self-Justification" Syndrome**

In his August 2012 speech from the refuge of the balcony of the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, Julian Assange defended Wikileaks for exposing the "secret crimes of the powerful". Nick Cohen and his ilk do their best to protect these crimes from such public scrutiny. Human rights crimes committed in the name of freedom and democracy – even humanitarianism - are a peculiarly distinguishing function of the Anglo-American axis. Mainstream journalists like Nick Cohen comprise a major element of the dominant ideological apparatus. They play a critical role in providing the intellectual and moralising cover for continuing imperial depredations. I was prompted to read Cohen's book by a very laudatory review ("a fearless call to *battle*!") by mainstream (*Press*) journalist Martin van Beynen (7/4/12). Supposedly, the warmongering Cohen is not racist or culturally arrogant "towards the poorest and weakest in the world", whereas Left-wing critics of neo-imperialism show "creeping cowardice" about being personally attacked by jihadists! (ibid.). Appropriately, van Beynen is Senior Reporter of the Year in the Newspaper of the Year (Canon Media Awards, 2011).



Internationalism, like social justice, is a victim of global capitalist forces. Instead, “super-tribe”, inter-group competition emerges as the essence of globalism, increasingly in militarist forms. Intra-group competition is also intimately interlinked with this socially destructive process. From the Middle East to the South and East China Seas, the challenge to peace is now huge. We need a whole new wave of committed, grass-roots internationalism in the cause of peace in order to counter this phenomenon as the 21st Century proceeds. And this peace movement has to bond more effectively with the worldwide green movement. Whatever happens, such action is the only path to safeguarding human compassion and dignity.

## Nuclear Nullity

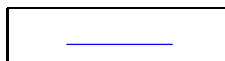
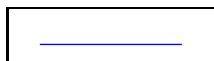
Our culture is saturated with aggressive imagery and the legitimization of militaristic activities. *Mother Jones* aptly proclaimed its cover headlines for “The 30-Year Itch” as “Playing for Keeps: Washington’s Endgame for the Persian Gulf” (op. cit.), and we might add – the world! Here in the South Pacific, we are now getting openly and regularly conditioned for conflict and coming confrontation with China, despite all the economic ties with this country. Censorship on matters of war, mass murder and related nuclear issues is likely to emerge again in full-blown form unless we can mobilise resistance. “Nukespeak” and warmongering very nearly tipped us over the brink during the Reagan era (“Nukespeak: The Media and the Bomb”, ed. Crispin Aubrey, Comedia Publishing Group, 1982). Today, the Reagan heritage provides plenty of inspiration for Republican Party ideologues, politicians and corporate sponsors in the US and beyond – even in NZ!

It was during the inflammatory 1980s and the clear-cut confrontation of the giants (US and Soviet Russia) that the international activist peace movement reached its peak in the campaign against nuclear weapons. In the early years of this particular decade, Jonathan Schell wrote a very profound reflective book on “The Fate of the Earth” (Picador, 1982). At the time, Schell was appealing for a much stronger peace movement. His concluding comments, like his book as a whole, have enormous relevance today. Among his remarks, are these: “At present, most of us do nothing. We look away. We remain calm. We are silent. We take refuge in the hope that the holocaust won’t happen, and turn back to our individual concerns. We deny the truth that is all around us. Indifferent to the future of our kind, we grow indifferent to one another. We drift apart. We grow cold. We drowse our way toward the end of the world” (ibid, p230). But he saw the prospect of a gathering hope that: “*we would begin to withdraw from our role as both the victims and the perpetrators of mass murder*” (ibid.)

## Beyond Barbarism

Western barbarism will inevitably get worse as global capitalism slides into ever deepening crisis. Ruling class interests will be desperately trying to maintain their status and power under a widening range of pressures, making the future increasingly dangerous. We are inevitably part of these pressures as well. This is why we need more than ever to confront vested power structures in a pre-emptive way, contest the messages of the mass media that they control, challenge their definition of the situation, and work harder to build up the international movement of resistance and positive alternatives (<http://www.icanw.org.nz>; [www.converge.org.nz/pma/](http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/)). Keeping the issue of human rights to the fore and working to safeguard them in face of the dangers is essential. We must vigorously step up our efforts to counter the momentum for full-scale resource war by the Anglo-American national security state and NZ’s client role within this strategy.

**(Correction:** In my article “Growing Pacific Rivalry: The Return Of Big Power Competition” in *Peace Researcher* 43, May 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/43/pr43-006.htm>, on page 19 the phrase “the Yangtze (Yellow River)” should have read: “the Yangtze (heavily human-impacted like Yellow River)”: all omitted in the on-line version. And in my article “Middle East Turmoil And Beyond: Political Blowback In Action”, in that same issue, on page 32, it should be noted that a more precise figure for foreign troops in Afghanistan is 130,000).



# Case Study: The 1965-70 Indonesia Genocide

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Dennis Small

On 12 October 2012 Australian political leaders and New Zealand Foreign Minister Murray McCully commemorated the victims of the terrorist Bali bombings of 12 October 2002. But the bloody Balinese massacres of 1965/66, backed by Anglo-American State terrorism, have conveniently gone down the memory bolt-hole. Some 80,000 people were viciously murdered in Bali, victims of Western repression. A *Greymouth Star* article titled "A Long Road to Justice" traced the fate of the perpetrators of the 2002 nightclub bombings in Bali (6/10/12). Yet another unwitting, ironic insight into NZ's carefully calculated media duplicity.

## Dissimulation And Rationalisation

Let us take a close look at what I consider the most important case and some of the original propaganda involved. This case affords a very revealing look at how propaganda for mass murder can work because the lessons are so stark. The 1965-70 Indonesian genocide, orchestrated by the Anglo-American axis, provides a graphic case study that has a host of insights relevant for us – both now and into the future. Towards the end of 1965, *Life International* had, as one of its cover stories, "Police Action' in Indonesia" (29/11/65). During this era, *Life International* (owned by Time-Life) was one of the US's most prominent organs for State propaganda, reaching a vast readership. On the pretext of an alleged Communist coup on September 30-October 1, 1965, the CIA engineered a very cunning operation to install a military dictatorship in this South East Asian country. The plot and the genocide, which followed, were intended to establish geopolitical control, facilitate foreign investment - especially American - and open up the land's resources, including oil, to corporate predation by the West and Japan (see e.g., "The Model Pupil" in "The New Rulers of the World", op. cit, pp17-47; and my "Ghosts of a Genocide: The CIA, Suharto and Terrorist Culture" which constituted the entire Special Issue of *Peace Researcher* 25, March 2002 <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr25intr.htm>; and <http://www.pmc.aut.ac.nz/articles/brutal-truth-about-1965-massacres-indonesia>; and <http://opinion.inquirer.net/15075/october-1965-the-shadow-on-indonesia-%e2%80%99s>; & [www.wsws.org/articles/2009/jul2009/indo-j07.shtml](http://www.wsws.org/articles/2009/jul2009/indo-j07.shtml)). The general planning and encouragement for the genocide had been in the pipeline for quite some time before the actual events.

By November 1965, against the background of the turmoil in Indonesia, *Life International* was running a two part article on the country's history by a former Dutch Foreign Minister "Dirk Stikker, who later became Secretary General of NATO" (*Life International*, op. cit, Part II). Given this framed setting, Time-Life Bangkok Bureau Chief Louis Kraar reported how the staunchly independent President Sukarno was being toppled from power; that is, according to the storyline scripted by the CIA. Kraar said that Sukarno had "relied for his power on a combination of personal popularity (as the Indonesian who stood up to the *white man*) and his Army" (ibid, p36). He continued with the official version of events: "This year, suddenly, Sukarno's Army turned against Sukarno's Communist Party (PKI) pals in Indonesia, after an attempted coup, in which six Army generals were killed" (ibid.). Kraar, then in Indonesia, was "the first regular Time-Life correspondent to be admitted into Indonesia since 1961" (ibid.).

His piece was entitled, "In Today's Indonesia: 'A Sharp Turnabout'" (ibid.). In one sense, it was, as it were, a *back* echo of the CIA's later propaganda book on the 1965-70 Indonesian genocide – "Indonesia-1965: The Coup that Backfired" ("Ghosts of a Genocide", *PR*, op. cit, p3). But fundamentally, it was an adaptation from a basic script that had already been written. Major media like *Life International* were already in tune with the orchestrated song sheet. They were spreading the lies as instructed. As ex-CIA agent Ralph McGehee told us in 1986, during his trip to Aotearoa/NZ hosted by the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee, the CIA's boast was that it could play the world's media like a "Mighty Wurlitzer" pipe organ. Over the years, unfortunately, it has certainly had plenty of success and willing collaborators.

Kraar painted a picture then of "A Sharp Turnabout" – indeed, "remarkable for a country that just a few weeks ago was rushing toward Peking-oriented Communism and cursing Americans in the street" (op. cit.). The alleged Communist coup attempt had "unleashed a popular fury against Red China and the Indonesian Communists" (ibid.). Ralph McGehee told us that CIA plots so often have hidden weapon caches. Sure enough then, according to Kraar: "The Army uncovered more than 20,000 Red Chinese weapons" (ibid.). *The theme of victimhood was crucial.* "Tanks lined the streets while soldiers went from house to house looking for Communists. The Army-controlled TV kept repeating a grisly documentary showing the mutilated bodies of the generals... [and] the Army kept rounding up Communist leaders to execute them" (ibid.). The Anglo-American instigated and backed genocide was under way. Many Chinese Indonesians, and people other than alleged Communists, were to die in the massacres, as *Life International* later readily acknowledged (11/7/66, p64). The duplicitous scenario had already been written to include "collateral damage". Amazingly enough, *Life International* did not even make any pretence at humanitarian concern

for the victims of the genocide (ibid.). It was openly and gleefully inhuman, almost beyond belief.

## Orwellianism In Action

What then became so grossly evident in all that unfolded afterwards – *right up to the present!* - was the virtually totalitarian Orwellian perspective of the rest of the Western mainstream media as well. Remember, this was the same media, which paraded endless horror stories, allegations, and warnings of Communist cruelty and slaughter. In his *Life International* report, Louis Kraar was cynically coy, yet calculatedly callous. Amid the bloodbath taking shape around him, he concluded his propaganda piece thus: “The enemy most mentioned now is no longer the US but Red China. Americans and British who have been avoided by Indonesian friends find the old ties being renewed again” (29/11/65, op. cit, p36). He and his pals stood watching “a noisy anti-Communist demonstration by labour groups”, and noted that the “cautious and opportunistic new approach to the West was exhibited by one young Indonesian who asked us whether we liked what was going on. *It’s interesting, we said,* and asked whether he liked the drive against the Communists. He grinned and replied: ‘A little’” (ibid.). So there you have it as presented in a very popular international publication – the open and unashamed endorsement of mass murder. It’s clearly chilling - even diabolical - when carefully considered, even without any knowledge of the deliberate planning, deception and execution behind it. For the agents of the Anglo-American axis, genocide can obviously even be fun! Yet this kind of presentation by *Life International* was clearly seen as acceptable in the Western zeitgeist of the age, indeed proudly “edited for a world audience”. The specific lesson here is that Western media spin can effectively rationalise, legitimate and cover up the most vicious human rights crimes. Evil can be an easy disease to catch given our human potential if we are not constantly vigilant. Some of the most significant elements in the current “War on Terror” are evident in Kraar’s 1965 presentation courtesy of Time-Life. It all starts, of course, with an enemy crime – whether genuine or concocted – and the consequent cultivation of *outraged victimhood*. On the basis of this, the leaders and their media disseminators develop the theme of legitimate *revenge* for atrocities that have been perpetrated, or at least excusable revenge in the circumstances described. This will be justice. The standard scenario also usually comprises components like “hidden weapons caches” (as updated, the Weapons of Mass Destruction in Iraq in 2002-3). Above all, there are always dangerous and ruthless enemies that are now – *what a relief!* – finally being countered and eliminated. Homeland leaders are effectively protecting their citizens.

## Camouflage For Genocide And Plunder

In 1967 Richard Nixon declared that: “With its 100 million people and its 3,000-mile arc of islands containing the region’s richest hoard of natural resources, Indonesia is the greatest prize in South East Asia” (“The Model Pupil”, op. cit, p17). Nixon became President in 1969 when the massacres were still going on. Prior to the Suharto takeover in October 1965, *Life International* had been helpfully setting the scene. Under a headline “Sukarno’s Sweet Touch of Fury”, the magazine warned darkly about President Sukarno’s “anti-Western tirade”; his “lust for power”; “anti-American rallies”; confrontation with Malaysia; and opposition to the UN and peace, with “Red China” waiting in the wings (8/2/65, p23).

Later, *Life International* openly gloated over the outcome of the conspiratorial genocide it helped to legitimate and cover up. It happily wallowed in lots of gory details – proclaiming “Indonesia’s Blood-Bathed Vengeance Shatters A Vast Communist Plot” (11/7/66, pp60/1). Its editorial congratulated the Lyndon Johnson Administration for - among other “foreign policy successes” - the welcome prospect that Indonesia’s “new leaders” were now seemingly “steering their unfortunate country back to the ways of order and sense” (ibid, p8). The magazine gave its full backing to its pal Suharto, the new “strong man” Indonesian leader and the West’s own genocidal Pol Pot. Its Suharto spin was breathtaking in its dissimulation e.g., “Suharto, like most Javanese, hates open conflict” (ibid, p66). It lovingly pictured in colour photos some of death squad operatives, e.g., a “band of the crack [Army] Siliwangi Division which, played a large role in the destruction of the Communists”, and “militant students” (ibid, pp68/9). As the father and hero of Indonesian independence, President Sukarno (now an invalid) remained untouchable to the death squads but was manoeuvred from any real power.

Yet there were glaring inconsistencies in the propaganda right from the start for those who were concerned enough to look closely. Again, this model success story of Western-manipulated deception and genocide has plenty of lessons for us in this respect. For example, on the one hand, the Army clearly participated in the slaughter (noted above). On the other hand, in the CIA-spun story promulgated by *Life International*, - and later much elaborated - “the people began to *strike back*”, with savage and frenzied retaliation in an apparently spontaneous uprising (ibid, p63). “Even in lovely Bali, killing became an orgy” (ibid, pp64/5). But asked why he took part in the killing, a boy replied: “Some *authorities* just came by one day and said to get rid of them [the Communists]” (ibid, p64). The boy then said, “with a shy, pleasant smile: ‘And so we did’” (ibid.). His statement concluded this particular article. Thus *Life International* could put the sweet, smiling face of innocence on a land where: “The corpse-laden rivers ran *red* from butchery” (ibid, pp.62/63). *Time* magazine, the US’s most important propaganda magazine right up to the

present day, celebrated the genocide under the title "Vengeance with a Smile", promoting it all as a virtual triumph of democracy (15/7/66).

### **Putting Over The Right Spin**

Don Moser of *Life International* noted that the "anti-Communist reaction" in Central and East Java and Bali involved both "Army and civilian anti-Communist youth organisations like Ansor, a militant Moslem group", using "Party membership lists" (ibid, p63). In fact, the CIA supplied the lists of the names of thousands of people whom they considered a priority for slaughter. This is one of the agency's standard methods. Moser said that the Indonesian Army supplied the students with firearms, grenades, etc. and "gave them instant courses in how to use them" (ibid.). Again, the Americans supplied weapons and other equipment. Prisoners had their thumbs tied together behind their backs, a CIA-mandated practice later widely applied in Central America during the 1980s, and elsewhere (ibid, p62).

Horribly enough, Moser delighted in describing how friends and relatives betrayed one another (ibid, pp 62-5). He revelled in such details as: the amputated "ears and fingers" of a mayor; and the action of "a pleasant, soft-eyed young Moslem named Ali", who greeted "an old friend", who had been captured, with "good evening", and then chopped his friend's ears and nose off before decapitating him (ibid, p62). Similarly, a niece got her husband to kill her uncle for being a Communist (ibid, p64). Youths, fresh from raids on villages, even gave away "the wrapped heads of Communists as souvenirs" (ibid, p63).

*Life International* exulted in the barbarous fact that: "As many as 400,000 party members may have been butchered, and thousands more are in prison" (ibid, p60). Its reportage incorporated the following language: "national bloodbath"; "irrationality"; "madness"; "fanaticism"; "bloodlust"; "witchcraft"; "ferocity"; "slaughter"; "grim"; "frenzied"; and "like watching kids torture a cat"; with "the most exquisite cruelty", all embellished with colour photos of some leaders of the massacres, from General Suharto to a youthful killer with a machete (ibid. pp60-65). This horrific outcome was obviously to the good: "a Red Defeat", symbolised by the "haunted face" of a Communist prisoner (ibid, p60). Real blame was squarely assigned to the Communist victims, duplicitously portrayed as the original instigators of violence in their CIA-fabricated attempt "to seize power" (ibid.). "Reprisals" had happened because the Communists' "dreams of glory" had led to the "bankruptcy" from which the country was now trying "to extricate itself" (ibid.). In other words, the Commies richly deserved their fate. At last, there was the opportunity for a better future for everybody, both in Indonesia and in the West.

"Why did the Indonesians destroy the Communists so mercilessly?", rhetorically asked Moser (ibid, p64). A significant reason in fact was the constant incitement to mass murder by the Johnson Administration and the CIA. In implementing this, the mobilisation of militant Muslims was a critical factor. "A brilliant and fiery Moslem leader named Subchan ...told the Moslems to rise up and crush the Communist Party" (ibid. p63). In the situation that had been deliberately manufactured: "For Moslems the rising against the Communists was a holy war" (ibid.). As the momentum of the massacres built up: "Nowhere was the slaughter more frenzied than on Bali" (ibid, p64).

*Fast forward* this time to 2002 and Jemaah Islamiya (JI) and its *fiery*, spiritual, terrorist leader Abu Bakr Bashir. In October 2002 attacks on nightclubs in Bali killed 202 people, mostly Australian tourists. But Australian backing for State terror in Bali in 1965 and beyond had been conveniently sent down the memory-hole (see below). Ironies run riot. In 1962 President Sukarno crushed the Dar ul-Islam (Domain of Islam) rebellion. "In the 1990s the progeny of the Dar ul-Islam generation of fighters took up the cause of JI, this time against the regime of Suharto, and later his successors ("The Next Attack: The Globalisation of Jihad", Daniel Benjamin & Steven Simon, Hodder & Stoughton, 2005, p109). The latest spin is that Government counter-terrorism programmes have crushed "violent Islamist groups intent on driving Indonesia from its traditionally moderate moorings" and "its revulsion from terrorism" (reprinted *Washington Post* article in the *Press*, 29/8/12). In March 2012 Indonesian police shot "five suspected [JI] militants" on Bali (*Press*, 20/3/12). Ironically, Suharto's authoritarian rule is blamed for having overly "politically controlled" Islam and its consequent blowback (*Washington Post*, op. cit.).

### **Green Light for Mass Murder & The Spoils of War**

The history and heritage of the 1965-70 Indonesian genocide show that you can get away with mass murder under Western eyes if you carry out media manipulation cunningly enough. You can fool most of the people if you create the right climate of fear and insecurity, with the experience and/or threat of victimhood. A horrific orgy of savage killing can be ultimately okay given the right public relations storyline. But it seems to go deeper than this. At bottom, worryingly, perhaps most people can be conditioned to endorse and sanction obvious and widespread brutality, even participate on a large scale - most ominously, in preparedness for nuclear war and the final solution.

Britain and Australia were Anglo-American allies in this Indonesian genocide (“The Model Pupil”, *ibid*; “Complicity in a Million Deaths”, Mark Curtis, in “Tell Me No Lies: Investigative Journalism and Its Triumphs” ed. John Pilger, Jonathan Cape, 2004; and “Oyster: The Story of the Australian Secret Intelligence Service”, William Heinemann, 1989, pp102-6). Australia had covert, “subtle, personal links between present and former intelligence people going back to the early 1960s” (“Salaams to Suharto”, chapter v in “Secrets of State: Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy, 1968-9”, George Munster & Richard Walsh, 1982, quote p55). During the Indonesian/Malaysian confrontation, NZ special forces were involved in action in Borneo up to 1965 and the Suharto coup. NZ, of course, strongly supported the Suharto regime and its bloody repressive record (even lauded by National Party Deputy Leader Don McKinnon for its democracy!), and backing for repression continues in one form or another (as in West Papua/Irian Jaya/Papua Barat). Of late, Indonesia’s National Human Rights Commission has urged trials for the military officers who committed crimes during 1965-70 [http://directaction.org.au/indonesian\\_commission\\_urges\\_trials\\_of\\_military\\_rights\\_abusers](http://directaction.org.au/indonesian_commission_urges_trials_of_military_rights_abusers) ).

### **Militarist Economic “Free Trade” Model: “Efficacious Terror”**

In November 1967, with foreign control firmly in place, Time-Life Corporation organised an extraordinary corporate conference in Geneva for the capitalist vultures to carve up Indonesia’s resources (“The Model Pupil”, *op. cit*, pp39-42). The successful Indonesian operation proved a model for other such subversive coups; e.g. Chile’s own bloody 9/11 Pinochet coup in 1973 and a general model for the employment of deception and propaganda to enable large-scale aggression and Western economic control - most dramatically the 2003 invasion of Iraq and its aftermath since. Brad Simpson, Assistant Professor of History & International Affairs at Princeton University, has described how the leaders of the Anglo-American axis regarded the 1965-70 genocide as an “efficacious terror” (“Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and US-Indonesian Relations, 1960-1968”, Stanford, 2008; *Inside Indonesia*, 99: Jan-Mar 2010).

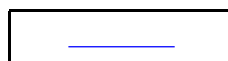
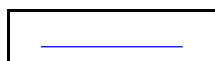
The usual elements of the militarist economic model can be wheeled out again and again in responses tailored and adapted to evolving situations and global conditions. These days, purported humanitarian concern can even provide a convenient cover for geopolitical gaming. For instance, the *Press* – a long-time propagandist for the CIA and American foreign policy in general – recently ran this headline on the Syrian conflict: “CIA sent to support rebels: The US President has authorised the CIA to operate in Syria amid claims the regime is rounding up and shooting activists” (reprinted Murdoch *Times* article, 4&5/8/12).

### **Suharto & Kissinger: Accomplices In Mass Murder**

In 1975 the West backed dictator Suharto’s invasion of East Timor, resulting in many more deaths and suffering (“Negligent Neighbour: NZ’s Complicity in the Invasion and Occupation of Timor Leste”, Maire Leadbeater, Craig Potton Pub, 2006; reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141b.html>).

Suharto’s smiling face graced the cover of the August 20th 1976 edition of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* under the affectionate title “How the ‘Old Man’ Rules”. According to the updated storyline, Suharto had “a strong belief in observing the proprieties of any situation and ensuring that things should be seen to be done by constitutional means” (*ibid*, p20). Even his decision to invade East Timor was construed as prompted by a crisis (*ibid*.). Actually, the US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, helped him make this decision, just as Kissinger was a leading decision-maker in instigating Chile’s 9/11 coup in 1973 (for East Timor see: <http://etan.org/news/kissinger>). Kissinger himself was even later joined by an old critic and enemy – journalist and ex-Leftist Christopher Hitchens - in promoting the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the spoils of oil.

President Suharto’s used-by-date for the West came up in May 1998 when the World Bank’s model economy of Indonesia ran aground on the rocks of corruption and cronyism. But Kissinger had already shared in the spoils by – among other things - becoming a director of the then Freeport [Grasberg] mine in West Papua [Papua Barat] (“The Model Pupil”, *op. cit*, p41). The struggle for a free West Papua continues in the face of the predatory grab for its resources ([www.converge.org.nz/pma/](http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/); “West Papua: Forgotten Pacific Nation – threatened with genocide”, *Pacific Ecologist*, nos. 7/8, Autumn-Winter 2004, <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/papuaforgotten.html>). I remember Kissinger on film being interviewed by a Congressional committee and defending the CIA as necessary to help protect American firms and foreign investments (“Allies: The White House, the CIA and Australia”). This very nasty war criminal (another Nobel Peace Prize winner, like State terrorist President Obama!), so admired by Basil Fawley, still parades the world stage.



# CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account

## Financial Report 2011- 2012

Peace Researcher 44 – November 2012

- Warren Brewer, Organiser Treasurer, 24/9/12

### 1. Term Deposit: \$16, 127.55

Currently invested at 4.50%, matures November 16th 2012

(5,000.00 was transferred from the working account at the time of renewal)

<b>Organisers Account – Financial Report 2011- 2012</b>			
<i>Balance at April 1st 2011</i>		<i>5,261.23</i>	
<i>Balance at March 31st 2012</i>		<i>9,188.73</i>	
<i>Difference</i>		<i>3,927.50</i>	
<b>Expenses</b>		<b>Income</b>	
<i>Wages</i>	<i>33,440.00</i>	<i>Donations</i>	<i>14,965.00</i>
<i>Printing</i>	<i>252.75</i>	<i>Pledges</i>	<i>28,655.82</i>
<i>Phone</i>	<i>634.57</i>	<i>Interest</i>	<i>316.97</i>
<i>Internet</i>	<i>491.47</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>42.09</i>
<i>other</i>	<i>5233.59</i>		
	<b>40,052.38</b>		<b>43,979.88</b>

### 2.

	<u>2010 – 2011</u>		<u>2011- 2012</u>	
	<b>Expenses</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Expenses</b>	<b>Income</b>
<i>Wages</i>	<i>30,000.00</i>		<i>33,440.00</i>	
<i>Printing</i>	<i>255.9</i>		<i>252.75</i>	
<i>Phone</i>	<i>527.28</i>		<i>634.57</i>	
<i>Internet</i>	<i>479.4</i>		<i>491.47</i>	
<i>other</i>	<i>3,078 b</i>		<i>5233.59 a</i>	
<i>Donations</i>		<i>7,124.40</i>		<i>14,965.00 b</i>
<i>Pledges</i>		<i>22,916.20</i>		<i>28,655.82</i>
<i>Interest</i>		<i>326.75</i>		<i>316.97</i>
<i>Other</i>		<i>7,000.00a b</i>		<i>42.09</i>
	<b>34,340.58</b>	<b>37,367.35</b>	<b>40,052.38</b>	<b>43,979.88</b>
	<b>NOTES</b>		<b>NOTES</b>	
	<b>a)</b> Includes \$4000.00 call on reserves		<b>a)</b> Includes \$5000.00 transfer to Investment account	
	<b>b)</b> Includes \$3,000.00 loan from CAFCA		<b>b)</b> Includes the Resnick bequest \$9,350.60	



### 3. Overview

	08-09	09-10	10 - 11	11-12
# pledges	NA	50	59	61
% income pledges	18.4	78	67	65
% income donations	81.6	21	21	34

### 4. Current Balance (statement #212, 19th September 2012)

Opening Balance      \$ 9,444.94

Closing Balance      \$ 9,707.82

### 5. Wage Increase

Suggested increase \$1 per hour = 2080 pa

### PAY RISE FOR ORGANISER

The financial report of the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account is presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA). Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) does not have an AGM. The following is from the Minutes of CAFCA's 2012 AGM, held on September 24th. "Warren Brewer moved a motion for a \$1 per hour pay increase for Murray, to take effect as soon as possible, taking his pay to \$17 per hour. This was passed unanimously. Because Murray is now paid by fortnightly automatic payment, and no longer by cheque (a very recent innovation), this pay rise was not immediate, as it could not take effect until the necessary procedures had been enacted by the bank (which was in October). Warren pointed out that the pay rise of \$1 per hour will add \$2,080 to the Organiser Account's annual expenses and that the Account has now reached the limit of sustainability, meaning that any future pay increase will cause it to go into deficit. So, it was moved from the floor, and passed unanimously, that the CAFCA Committee be authorised to underwrite the Organiser Account to a maximum of \$5,000 in the 2012 financial year. The meeting passed a vote of thanks for Warren. He accepted nomination as Organiser Account Treasurer and was duly re-elected".

## **Organize: Building From The Local For Global Justice edited by Aziz Choudry, Jill Hanley and Eric Shragge, PM Press, Oakland, California, 2012**

*Peace Researcher* readers will pay attention to the name of one of this compendium's editors. Aziz Choudry was a target of one of the more Keystone Kops moments in the continually inauspicious history of the New Zealand secret police (*the most succinct summary of the saga that arose from the unmasking of the 1996 attempt by NZ Security Intelligence Service [SIS] agents to covertly break into the Christchurch home of Aziz Choudry can be found in Peace Researcher 19/20, November/December 1999, "Aziz Choudry Wins Case Against SIS: Out Of Court Settlement; Damages; Government Apology", by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/choudry.htm>. MH).*

Authorities claim to be saving us from terrorists, but they prefer going after intellectuals. For the policy makers (themselves intellectuals, but serving a different master) people who think for themselves are always the greater danger, while the functionaries who do the snooping might well be resentful of eggheads. Choudry must have fitted the stereotype of the trouble maker. Here was not just a social scientist but an organiser - and of course one with a suspicious ethnicity.

### **Formidable Line-up Of Activist Writers**

Choudry is now in Montreal, an academic in International Education at McGill University, where Jill Hanley is an Associate Professor of Social Work. Eric Shragge is at the School of Community and Public Affairs at Concordia, another Montreal university. The biographical sketches indicate that all three are active in social justice activities, as are all their other 27 fellows. It's a formidable line-up. Many of the 30 contributors are academics, though all 30 have varied resumes, escaping the simpler classifications of earlier times. To give an idea: two are trade unionists, five are students, two are researchers, five are community organisers, three are film makers or writers, one is a lawyer and one is a politician. But not one of the 30 identifies him or herself with just one designation, and most could as easily be provided with a different description from the one I've chosen.

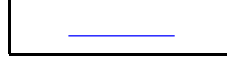
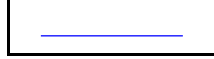
This is significant, an indication of the approach the editors set out in their introduction. The put down that traditionally accompanies "absent-minded professors"; that they're inhabitants of ivory towers, is not one that can be pinned on Choudry et al. They want to organise. Their collective are not primarily students or teachers or workers. They're activists, seeking to combine theory and practice. To get an idea of the elasticity consider the sketch of one of the authors, of a chapter called "Prefigurative Self-Governance and Self-Organization: The Influence of Antiauthoritarian (Pro) Feminist, Radical Queer, and Antiracist Networks in Quebec". It takes all of eight lines to list the identities of Sandra Jeppesen, from the "Random Anarchist Group, TAO Communications, Active Resistance, Uprising Bookstore, Block the Empire/Bloquez l'Empire... She has produced a punk-anarchist novel..., guerrilla texts and other trouble". You get the idea.

Such postmodern travels infuriate the official mind, but they can also annoy that other traditionalist stereotype, the short-back-and-sides brigade, a species as common in Canada as it has been in New Zealand - and an objective ally. It would be a pity if potential readers allowed themselves to be hampered by any lingering culture shocks, which need to be left back in the 20th Century. The central theme of "Organize" is that all oppressions need to be resisted. Success demands unity, not judgemental preferences based on style.

### **"Dialogue" To Divide And Conquer**

Some might be surprised that linguistic conflict is not addressed. From outside, the political news from Quebec is generally to do with Anglo-Franco tension. It's not here. One obvious reason is that the writers are Anglophones, many, like Choudry himself, from international backgrounds. English is, for better or worse, the global language. But there is a further, more substantial factor. Quebec's language wars are effectively over, and to wage a rearguard campaign would only be divisive, splitting natural allies. To look away from the old quarrels - more stuff from the short-back-and-sides era - was a smart choice.

A sidebar insert from Choudry looks at the 1999 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders' Summit in NZ, from which, by way of the Official Information Act, he obtained a Cabinet paper on how to deal with dissent. It's an instructive look at how State apparatuses typically behave, and a more useful learning tool for radicals than comic diversions like the earlier raid on a suburban Christchurch house. For APEC the strategy in Christchurch was to try to co-opt protestors and non-government organisations (NGOs) by spreading an impression that the Government valued differing opinions, that it was open to "dialogue". If public opinion forms a view that the State is "listening", the Government can potentially build at least tacit support from "middle NZ" and split its opposition into "responsible" and "disruptive" elements. There's one chapter from NZ itself in which Maria Bargh from Victoria University outlines the foreshore and seabed issue. It's a succinct summary, though she might not now write that "activists from the last 20 years" tend to be in the Maori Party. Sometimes tides ebb and flow quite quickly.



## Larry Ross

*This was originally published in Foreign Control Watchdog 130, August 2012.*

Larry Ross was the true father of nuclear free New Zealand and a veteran peace activist from his arrival in this country (from Canada) in the 1960s right through until just a few years ago. It is worth reminding ourselves that the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA, or CAFGINZ – Campaign Against Foreign Control In New Zealand - as we then were) grew directly out of the massive anti-war movement of the 1960s and 70s. In fact, by the time CAFGINZ was founded, nearly 40 years ago, Larry had already “retired” from his first remarkable stint in the peace movement, namely as a leading figure in the 1960s’ national campaign against the Vietnam War and NZ’s disgraceful involvement in it. That was the context in which I first met Larry, going right back to the beginning of my brilliant career as a political activist. Larry was an intermittent CAFCA member over the years, most recently in 2005. But our economics focus was never his primary interest; Larry was, first and foremost, a peace warrior.

The other half of my job as Organiser is for the Anti-Bases Campaign and although he was never a member of ABC and never came on a Waihopai spy base protest, Larry took part in plenty of protests at the US military base at Christchurch Airport (Harewood) over many decades. Among those who worked very closely with him in the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee in Christchurch in the 1980s were Bob Leonard and Dennis Small. Both went onto become Editors of *Peace Researcher* (Bob did it for two decades); Dennis remains a regular *PR* writer today. Bob, of course, was a founder of ABC and the driving force behind it, until the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake forced him and Barbara to permanently move to Wellington. Dennis is a current and long serving member of the CAFCA Committee and a longstanding, not to mention voluminous, writer for *Watchdog*. Bob was an active CAFCA member for the nearly 30 years that he lived in Christchurch; and for 20 of those years he was my paymaster as Treasurer of the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account. So we have lots of connections to Larry, both political and personal.

Larry died in April 2012, aged 84, having been adversely affected by a series of mini-strokes in the past decade, which put him into the rest home where he spent his final few years. It was a severe stroke which killed him. How ironically coincidental that he should die in the same month when US combat troops were holding joint exercises in New Zealand for the first time since 1986 – the year in which NZ was expelled from the ANZUS Treaty\* because of our nuclear free policy. That was the product of a hard fought mass campaign over many years, with Larry as one of its leading lights (he died just a couple of months short of the 25th anniversary of the Nuclear Free Act, an anniversary that attracted a lot of coverage in the mainstream media). \*The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand’s defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia.

### **Tireless Campaigner For Nuclear Free NZ**

Maire Leadbeater sent this tribute to Larry’s funeral, in Christchurch. It is the best summary of why Larry deserves the eternal thanks of all New Zealanders. “I have been researching old peace files with the hope of publishing a book\* and I have spent time delving into the vast Larry Ross collection at the Macmillan Brown Library at Canterbury University. So I can testify to Larry’s incredible hard work and absolute commitment to peace work. I think he might be best remembered for the work he put into the nuclear free zone campaign – the campaign to get local boroughs, district and city councils to make a nuclear free zone declaration. This campaign was an intrinsic and vital part of the campaign to get our Government to pass legislation establishing New Zealand as a nuclear free zone.

“Here is how the progress went: the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee was formed in 1981. By mid 1983 Larry for the NZNFZC told the media that there were 23 nuclear free zones representing more than three quarters of a million people. By the time of the snap election in 1984 60% of the population lived in a local nuclear free zone. But the Labour victory did not signal the end of the campaign – in October 1989 72% of the NZ population lived in nuclear free zones. Larry played a particularly important role in encouraging these campaigns in the rural areas and smaller centres and he personally travelled all round the country to ensure that the groups and peace-minded individuals in these places had all the encouragement and resources they needed to mount a successful campaign. Activists from this time will well remember the succession of wall maps of NZ which marked each nuclear free zone and recorded the population figures.

“Some of that work was not so apparent in the larger centres and probably at times Larry did not get his due credit. But Larry was never discouraged by setbacks or failure to get media coverage, the NZNFZ continued to host a wide range of speakers, participate in demonstrations, distribute resources and lobby politicians. The NZNFZ Committee was renamed the NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaking Committee in 1988 (after the NZ legislation was passed) and it was very active at the time of the 1991 Gulf War and subsequently as peace activists confronted the so-called “War on Terror”. I believe the group went into recess only in 2007. Larry leaves behind a great legacy and his work lives on. My condolences and sympathy to his daughter Laurie Ross who has kept the peace candle burning so diligently, and to all Larry’s family and friends”. \*Maire is updating “Peace People” by her late mother Elsie Locke. My obituary of Elsie is in *PR* 23, June 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/elsobit.htm> my review of her book is in *Watchdog* 71, November 1992, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-november-1992.html>. Elsie’s book covered peace movement history up until 1975. Maire aims to update it up until 2001 (the start of the “War On Terror”).

Maire is quite right about Larry not getting his due credit. In his day he was a major public figure, nationally influential, internationally renowned, a charismatic man with a following of many thousands of people and one who generated a truly impressive amount of money for the nuclear free cause. He was one of only a handful of people that I knew then who made a living as a fulltime activist (in the 1980s, when Larry was at his zenith, I was working as a Railways labourer). And he was the first person that I knew who had to register for GST because he was turning over more than the then limit of \$30,000 per year from sales of merchandise and suchlike (to put that into perspective, I bought our house in 1982 for \$25,000). But Larry’s “day”, in fact, extended far beyond the 1980s. He was heavily involved in the campaigns against the 1991 Gulf War, the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan and the 2003 invasion of Iraq. He remained active in the peace movement well into the last decade (for example, in 2006 he gave a public lecture on the threat of a nuclear strike on Iran) until a series of mini-strokes bugged his short term memory and he had to go into the rest home where he lived until his 2012 death. So he was by no means some old hasbeen from a bygone era – but you wouldn’t know that from the mainstream media. To research this I checked out my obituary file (I know that some of my friends and colleagues think that it’s purely imaginary, but I assure you it’s a very real and regularly updated file box of clippings and articles). It goes back more than 20 years, yet I could find absolutely nothing about Larry in it. Which means that by the 1990s the print media had stopped reporting and profiling Larry. Shame on them.

### **SIS File An Invaluable Scrapbook**

But I had no shortage of material about Larry from his “day” and, in a couple of cases, from distinctly unusual, not to mention downright hostile, sources. Over recent years CAFCA has collected an archive of copies of the Personal Files held on various individuals by the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS). Larry’s is one of them. Getting it was the only project whereby I actually worked with Larry, from 2009-11, and it came right in the final three years of his life, when he was already living in the rest home. It involved me in the most contact I’d ever had with him and I, and colleagues (such as Bob Leonard and Warren Thomson) had a number of highly enjoyable social gatherings with Larry in the course of it. Larry’s SIS file is voluminous but the vast majority of what they chose to release to him is simply what’s on the public record, including Larry’s own encyclopaedic writings (the very first recipients of released SIS files, such as CAFCA itself, got much more of the full uncensored version. As more and more people applied for them, and the SIS got its act together, what they released was much more sanitised. For example, there is a great contrast between what the SIS gave my colleague Bill Rosenberg and what they gave me, which is along the same lines as what they gave Larry). But even that acts as an invaluable record, scrapbooking to an obsessive degree things like the innumerable letters Larry wrote to the *Press*, to give one example. I am indebted to the SIS for keeping the 1980s’ *Press* and *Herald* features on Larry quoted in this obituary. The latter was the most recent, published in 1989, and that must be the last time that the mainstream print media profiled Larry. This is the first time that I’ve used one of the SIS Personal Files in CAFCA’s archive as a source for that person’s obituary.

The other such source is even more curious, namely the May 1988 issue of *Plain Talk*, the journal of the now forgotten Plains Club, which was a stridently pro-American, pro-nuclear, pro-ANZUS Christchurch-based lobby group in the 80s. This issue was titled “Rent-A-Demo: New Zealand’s longest playing soap opera” and was aimed at “exposing” the peace movement (I was given it by a bemused journalist who had received it from the Plains Club). It listed the “Leading Characters” as “Horton, Murray” and “Wilkes, Owen”. The “Supporting Cast” included: “Hager, Nicky; Ledbetter (sic), Maire; Leonard, Bob; Locke, Elsie; Rosenberg, Bill; and Ross, Larry”. It filled 12 of its 16 pages about us. I’ve kept it because it is fascinating to read your own life story being exhaustively chronicled from a Rightwing perspective by my ideological enemies who tried to tie it all together into a seamless conspiracy (spoiler alert – it’s all a Communist plot!). Somebody not at all kindly disposed to me has gone to all the trouble (no Internet, Google or Wikipedia in those days) of documenting all sorts of things from my ancient past that I’ve long forgotten, so the least I can do is keep it and give it an airing every now and again. I last used it in my obituary of Owen Wilkes in *PR* 31, Special Issue, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr31-119.html> At the time of writing,

Owen's brother Jack, his only living immediate relative, is fighting an uphill battle to get the SIS to release to him Owen's file, even the sanitised version.

## Canadian Since Age Eight

Lawrence Frederick James Ross was born in New York State in November 1927. Interestingly, his SIS Personal File's Personal Particulars Form (stamped "Keep On Top Of File" and classified Secret) lists his birth month as January 1928. So, they got the wrong month, and the wrong year. Who would have thought that the SIS made mistakes in the files of those they spied on? I was surprised to learn that Larry was an American by birth, because it was so ingrained into everyone's heads in NZ that he was Canadian (in the end he held dual Canadian and NZ citizenship). He was eight when his family moved to Canada. I don't know why they moved but that was right in the middle of the 1930s' Depression, which may have been a factor. From then on Larry was a Canadian. He grew up during World War 2.

"In fact he was intending to enlist in the American Air Force in his final year at high school when Hiroshima made his patriotism unnecessary. The terrible image of the mushroom cloud towered over 1950s' consciousness and Ross acknowledges the power it had. 'I stared at the photos and it really set me to thinking'. He became involved with the Albert Schweitzer peace group and as a member of the Unitarian Church lobbied for an end to the Cold War of the 1950s. In 1962 the Cold War intensified as the Kennedy Presidency dealt with the Cuban missile crisis. By this time Ross was an account executive for a Montreal advertising firm. He was married with six children. 'And there was Kennedy on the television telling us it might be a good idea to start building fallout shelters in our backyards. I tried to imagine what it would be like being down a hole in our backyard with six children and decided to spend on emigration the \$C4,000 we needed for our fallout shelter'. New Zealand was the most distant English-speaking country the Ross family could find. They settled in Christchurch and Ross was hired by a market research organisation" (*New Zealand Herald*, 14/11/89, "Larry Ross follows his dream", Gilbert Wong).

"He had followed the arms race very closely, and concluded that President Kennedy's recommended fallout shelters would not be effective. People in them would be roasted or asphyxiated, or they would be irradiated or starve to death when they came out. New Zealand looked like a safe, remote, civilised, English speaking country with a democratic system of government, so the Ross family packed up and emigrated. He had a friend in Christchurch, so that is where the family settled" (*Press*, 27/4/82, "Canadian pressing for NZ as neutral refuge in World War III", Garry Arthur). It is impossible to overemphasise the all-pervasive air of apocalyptic nuclear dread during the early 1960s. In 1962 I was 11 and, like most New Zealand primary school kids of that age at that time, had very little awareness of the big wide world. But I have a crystal clear memory of the Cuban missile crisis. Our headmaster assembled us all on the playground of our little primary school on the outskirts of Christchurch and told us that World War III, which would be a nuclear war, was imminent, maybe within hours. Welcome to the grownups' world, kids, and sorry that it's all over so soon for you! The fact that it didn't happen was more down to good luck than good management. I've never forgotten that moment in my childhood and I can fully empathise with why Larry wanted to get his family as far away as possible from where the radioactive shit was threatening to hit the fan. Canada's loss was New Zealand's gain. Larry was to spend the next 50 years of his life in Christchurch, 40 of them in the one house in New Brighton, which he was to rename Peace House.

## Nuclear Refugee

From the outset Larry displayed the enthusiastic patriotism of the new migrant (particularly one of the nuclear refugee variety). His very first appearance in the mainstream media was an article of his in the Christchurch *Star* (9/4/63) entitled "A Note to the *Tribune*....NZ as Close to Paradise As Anyone Could Wish For". It was accompanied by an editorial explanation reading: "This is a copy of a letter which Mr Lawrence FJ Ross, a recent arrival in Christchurch from North America, has sent to the Editor of the *Chicago Tribune* complaining of the picture his newspaper has been painting of the Dominion and endeavouring to set it right" (fascinating to see the country routinely referred to as "the Dominion" 50 years ago. Who today would have any idea what that meant?). It was a paean of fulsome praise for Larry's new homeland. "My wife and I and our six children were born and raised in the United States and Canada. Although we have only lived in New Zealand for nine months we love it and would never consider returning to North America to live, although we still have a great affection and concern for our homeland.... Although people's ideas of the good life vary widely, we believe that New Zealand is just about as close to paradise as one could ask for".

When he arrived he was in his mid 30s and he had a wife, Shirley, and six young kids to support, so his first priority was to earn a living. In Canada he had been a qualified engineer and an advertising executive, but he never worked in those particular professions again (although his background in advertising doubtless stood him in good stead when it came to selling the idea of a nuclear free New Zealand). "Larry Ross hoped to make a living by free lance



writing on some of the subjects that interested him, such as the use of hypnosis in childbirth and as a means of tapping the unused potential of the mind. There was not much money to be made from that nor, as it turned out, from a book he wrote about 'World War III in the Southern Hemisphere'. He spent £600 to publish it himself in 1963. Thanks to an inheritance he was able to work fulltime for peace in the 1960s" (*Press*, *ibid*). The inheritance was a legacy from his father.

Larry hit the ground running when he arrived in Christchurch and he plunged into peace activism. "Meanwhile, a new voice was being heard in the land. LFJ Ross, better known as Larry Ross, arrived from Canada with his family, satisfied that New Zealand offered a safer and more congenial base for pursuing his active concerns with the peace of the world. He already had a network of international connections; and now he wrote an 'Open Letter To World Statesmen', dated 1 June, 1963. His view was that the nuclear free zone should be 'pioneered within an area of land and water surrounding the total of New Zealand and most of its territories'. Once accomplished in this limited area, recognised and subject to inspection, such a zone would be a model and precedent for future treaties. He submitted his proposals in some detail to the 1964 conference of the United Nations Association (UNA) of New Zealand, along with a number of others. He envisaged his adopted country becoming a world peace laboratory, and a centre for peace initiatives. This meant a lot of new ideas all at once for the UNA; but they went so far as to set up a special sub-committee on peace and war" ("Peace People: A History Of Peace Activities In New Zealand", Elsie Locke, 1992).

### **Prodigious Writer & Lobbyist**

Within a couple of years of Larry's arrival he was the subject of a report from the Director of the SIS to the Prime Minister. For decades he was a prodigious writer of newsletters, articles and letters to the editor. Brigadier Gilbert\*, the founding Director of the SIS (1956-76), wrote to the Prime Minister, Keith Holyoake (27/5/64): "Almost immediately after his arrival in New Zealand, ROSS began writing to newspapers. He has continued an incessant barrage of letters and articles ever since. His main theme has been nuclear disarmament and plans for a nuclear free Southern Hemisphere. He has published a booklet 'World War III and the Southern Hemisphere' which he has distributed to, among others, the Prime Minister, External Affairs, the US Ambassador and the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires... ROSS is obsessed with the idea that nuclear war is inevitable in the Northern Hemisphere, and with a desire to keep New Zealand out of it. His constant letters to prominent public figures will no doubt cause antagonism towards him". \*My obituary of Gilbert is in *Watchdog* 58, January 1988, [http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-january-1988\\_11.html](http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-january-1988_11.html). "Brigadier Gilbert was one of those splendid one-dimensional characters of the 60s and early 70s...His views were suitably prehistoric – a late 60s' feature described him as regarding Communism as a green slime that was, even then, oozing under the door. Predictably he was reviled by the protest movement. Demonstrations resounded with chants of 'The Brig's a pig'..."

Larry's first NZ peace movement article was for the *NZ Rationalist* in 1962 (he was a member of the NZ Rationalist Association). His first organisational involvement was with the United Nations Association. "At a meeting of the United Nations Association, Christchurch Branch on 11th May 1964, it was announced that a new group called 'The World Peace and International Affairs Committee' was being formed. This appears to be the brain-child of ROSS and provides him with an opportunity for disseminating his propaganda in a manner which attributes it to the United Nations Association. For example, one of his recent leaflets states 'the above material has been prepared by LFJ Ross for the Christchurch Branch of the United Nations Association of New Zealand, in accordance with his responsibility as Executive Council member concerned with peace/disarmament matters'. ROSS is a member of the Branch Council of the Christchurch Branch of the United Nations Association. Of the 17 members of the Christchurch Branch executive, 14 are known to have had connections with the Communist Party or with various Communist front activities" (Brigadier Gilbert, letter to Prime Minister, *ibid*). Predictably, Larry was soon under attack from MPs of the ruling National Party, such as Christchurch's Bert Walker, who went on to become a Minister (*NZ Truth*, 26/5/64, "MP Slates UN Group As 'Anti-West'").

Larry first came to the attention of the SIS by taking the direct route and writing several letters to Brigadier Gilbert, starting in 1963. "It occurred to me that some might misinterpret my ideas and thus I thought it best to write to you, so that you would be informed in case the matter came to the attention of your office" (Larry to Gilbert, 4/6/63. He addressed it to Brigadier Gilbert, Internal Security Police, Wellington). Gilbert replied: "May I assure you that I personally share your deep concern on the subject of New Zealand's defence and security. While I appreciate your motives in writing to me, you will, I am sure, understand when I say that I am not in a position to offer any official comments or criticisms of the work" (Gilbert to Larry, 11/6/63). In April 1964 Larry wrote Gilbert a four page letter outlining his views (which had already been published in numerous articles and letters to the editor), reassured him that he wasn't a Communist, and asked Gilbert's opinion on his suggested creation of an "NZ Political Intelligence Agency...As matters now stand I doubt if NZ has a broad enough range of information coming in to develop

accurate theories. We may be a victim too often of our trust in other nations and thus rely on false CIA secrets to influence our response. Do you think there is a chance of developing an organisation such as I suggest? It might make the difference between national survival and death for all of us" (Larry to Gilbert, 28/4/64). But he only received a non-committal acknowledgement. His SIS Personal File doesn't include any more letters which he wrote specifically to Brigadier Gilbert but he kept sending material to Gilbert. For example, a copy of a letter he wrote to the Prime Minister (10/7/65), to which Larry added a handwritten note which read, in part: "I am not, and never will be an enemy of the State...". This correspondence was unique in my experience (there is nothing similar in any of the other SIS Personal Files that I've read). I know people (myself included) who have written to various SIS Directors over the years but only for purposes such as seeking files, never to attempt to engage the Director in political or philosophical discussion, let alone to offer advice on how the work of NZ's spies could be done better. Larry had a political naivety that made him be very direct in his approaches to people such as Gilbert. It didn't cut any ice with the Brigadier and the SIS already had opened a file on Larry (his 1965 SIS Personal Particulars Form includes "Description: 5'10"-11" in height, slim build, dark hair, semi-crew cut, slightly slanted eyes, sallow complexion, neat appearance, glib and persuasive speaker").

## Vietnam War

Of course, the huge international peace issue of the 1960s (and halfway through the 70s) was the Vietnam War. It was Larry's Herculean efforts in opposition to it that justifiably made him nationally famous, indeed a legend within the anti-war movement. One of the international giants of the peace movement was the world famous British philosopher Bertrand Russell (1872-1970; one of the giants of philosophy, and a pacifist and militant peace activist for many decades. In his last years he was a high profile opponent of the Vietnam War). Larry corresponded with Russell and was invited to set up a New Zealand and Australian Branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which he duly did in 1965. Russell wrote: "The formation of a New Zealand and Australian Branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is an event which gives the greatest encouragement to us...I have corresponded with Mr Ross over many years and have learnt to value his unceasing work for peace. He has my every confidence..." (undated letter). In "Peace People" Elsie Locke described Larry's overseas correspondence on behalf of the Foundation as "amazing".

This led to Larry becoming the subject of a second report from Brigadier Gilbert to Prime Minister Holyoake (who committed NZ troops to the Vietnam War; they were there from 1965-72). "Early this year ROSS circularised persons in New Zealand and also in Australia regarding the formation of an Australia and New Zealand Branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. He stated that Bertrand RUSSELL, with whom he had been in communication, had asked him to be the Chairman. According to ROSS, the parent body was formed in England by Bertrand RUSSELL in September 1963, its aims being described as being: 'To investigate the causes of war, and to pursue such measures as may diminish and eliminate the risk of war' and 'To communicate with all the governments and peoples on the nature of the danger, its imminence and magnitude'. As Chairman of the Foundation, he has since produced a flood of Foundation literature; all prepared by himself, condemning US policy in Vietnam. He has also lectured in various centres to enlist support for the organisation. The headquarters of the Foundation is in Christchurch, and branches are reported to have been formed in Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin. Membership, which was only 70 in April 1965, is still believed to be small. During recent months ROSS's obsession with the situation in Vietnam has verged on hysteria...Apart from a relatively unremunerative connection with Gallup Polls (NZ) ROSS has had no paid employment since he arrived in New Zealand in June 1962. ROSS has mentioned that Bertrand RUSSELL has considered he should be paid for his services as Chairman of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation of Australia and New Zealand once the Foundation was properly established. However, despite appeals for financial support in most of the Foundation literature issued, a recent report from the Foundation indicated that their treasury was 'below zero'. In the circumstances, he is unlikely to receive a salary from this source in the near future, but it would seem that he has ample private funds to continue his present unpaid preoccupation with 'peace' matters, and Vietnam in particular, for some time to come" (Gilbert to Prime Minister, 22/7/65). Doubtless to the disappointment of Gilbert there was no Moscow gold involved in supporting Larry – his three years of fulltime unpaid work for the Foundation were financed by a legacy from his father.

Larry's ceaseless writing, public speaking and lobbying in opposition to the Vietnam War had an impact at the highest level of Government. In September 1965 the Christchurch-based *Monthly Review* filled pages and pages with a correspondence entitled "The Great Debate on Vietnam: Holyoake and Hanan v. Ross", in which both the PM and the Acting Minister of External Affairs wrote to debate claims made by Larry in the May 1965 issue. It is impossible to imagine a comparable situation today, and just goes to show the extraordinary influence that Larry wielded, not to mention the late, lamented *Monthly Review* (my obituary of it is in *Watchdog* 84, May 1997, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-may-1997.html>). "The war in Vietnam was the main focus of attention then, and Larry Ross's attempts to show the true origins of the war led to public discussions of Government policy with Sir Keith Holyoake in the pages of the Leftwing journal *Monthly*

*Review.* He regards that exchange as the highlight of his campaign against New Zealand involvement in Vietnam, and, although it did not stop New Zealand from sending troops, he believes his work may have moderated New Zealand's involvement" (*Press*, 27/4/82, "Canadian pressing for NZ as neutral refuge in World War III", Garry Arthur).

### **Once Met, Never Forgotten**

Larry made a deep impression on all who met him in the 60s. Here are a couple of tributes sent to his April 2012 funeral. "I first met Larry when he lived in New Brighton, Christchurch with six kids and his wife. I was about ten, it was probably 1967; Larry and my mum and brothers somehow met up; them all being committed peaceniks. Larry, as I recall, having been charged with starting the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in NZ. I remember their wonderfully chaotic home: here were a family of exotic 'Americans' who spoke with accents and ate strange foods; my first experience with hamburgers, peanut butter and jelly, and real spaghetti came at their crowded kitchen table.

"Larry a hyperactive speaker and thinker, rushed hither and thither in the chaos, his dark hair flopping over his furrowed forehead. The words and letters I remember over those days/months/years, run together in my mind now; LBJ, Vietnam, the CIA, the Bomb, Nixon, the Bomb, CIA, Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs, Robert McNamara, JFK, the CND, intercontinental ballistic missiles, the Pentagon Papers (perhaps these particular words came later; but for sure at this particular house Larry's sunroom was stacked from floor to ceiling with papers; falling out of boxes, lying on the desk, leaking from the shelves; Larry's papers came to be in *my* childhood memory forever a vision of the Pentagon Papers). Larry and mum and others pored over these papers and we licked envelopes stuffed full of papers to post out to 'the members'/'the faithful few'? We marched up through Cathedral Square carrying placards - the demonstrators then seemed to consist of Larry's family, my family, some Quakers with pushchairs and probably Elsie Locke and her family, perhaps some union people, maybe a few long haired students. We sang songs; 'We Shall Overcome', 'Down By The Riverside', 'We Shall Not Be Moved' and 'Last Night I Had The Strangest Dream'. I felt embarrassed to be walking in the middle of the road but also kind of proud that we were the ones who knew about the Bomb!

### **Preparing To Survive Nuclear Holocaust**

"Larry's family and our family bought a bach on the West Coast at Okarito. This was so we could go and hide there when the Third World War came (which, due to all the papers, LBJ, and the Bomb, the CIA and Nixon and Vietnam, was imminent). Our family had tea chests packed up in the hall with 'survival' stuff ready to throw into the Morris Oxford should the moment come. Larry's family had a big long 'American' style car which was so long its rear end hung out over the hairpin gravelly corners of Arthurs Pass. I remember actually seeing this as we drove behind their wagon when we did our 'practice run' to the bach.

"Being at the bach was so much fun that I spent the next months hoping 'they *would* drop the bloody bomb' because I definitely wanted to spend the next several years of my life in Okarito, not going to school and living off toasted marshmallows (another fantastic exotic experience!) and playing with all the kids. Sometime after this (1968. *Ed.*) there was a big earthquake at Inangahua Junction on the West Coast. Christchurch woke to heavy shaking in the early hours of the morning. I heard Dad telling someone that Larry had shot straight up in bed that morning and said: 'the bloody fools have done it!', somehow this was very scary" (Gael Johnson, who started her tribute with "he is a giant in the mythology of my childhood").

And: "I was aware of Larry before I met him because he arrived, with Shirley and their children, from Canada, bringing with them a huge Ford car, about 20 feet long, at a time when there were very few cars like that on the road in New Zealand. Larry and Shirley had bought a large rambling house in Keyes Road, New Brighton, and, as we lived in New Brighton at that time, we saw the car frequently. I met Larry through my mother who was one of a fairly small but dedicated group of workers for peace. When I met Larry he was working full time on peace matters, and I spent hours at his place helping prepare material for dissemination. From time to time Larry hosted gatherings at Keyes Road and it was at these that I met a wide range of people who all had their own ideas for making the world a better place, from Trotskyites who advocated bloody revolution to humanists and Quakers who were on quite a different path.. Wolf Rosenberg\* was usually on hand to assist our understanding of economics. Jim Flynn dazzled us with his academic approach to issues of the day. Larry through his knowledge and enthusiasm, plus access to dissenting material managed to coordinate a lot of the protest effort at the time. Larry introduced us to the *IF Stone Weekly* which always contained material that flatly contradicted what was in the mainstream press. Larry was instrumental in introducing us to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. By coordinating the efforts of many people and providing excellent insights into what lay behind the headlines Larry created and fostered a formidable peace group in Christchurch "(Anne Johnson). \*My obituary of Wolfgang Rosenberg is in *Watchdog* 114, May 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/14/04.htm>.

Larry was certainly a legend to me before I'd ever met him or got involved in politics. 1964-68 inclusive were my high school years, which coincided exactly with Larry's stratospheric work with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. I started off supporting the Vietnam War (along with sporting ties with South Africa and taking Israel's side in the Middle East – I hasten to add that I saw the error of my ways on all those issues). When I changed my mind about Vietnam, I felt the need to write a mawkish schoolboy letter to the North Vietnamese to express my support for them. But where could I send it to? I went to school with one of Larry's sons and asked him to ask his old man for the relevant postal address. Back came the answer – the North Vietnamese Embassy in London. I duly sent it there – months later I got a polite letter from the South Vietnamese Embassy in London, saying that their enemy did not actually have an embassy in that city, and that they couldn't help me. Oh dear! When I finally did meet Larry years later, we had a laugh about it (for the record, I should have written to the North Vietnamese Embassy in Paris). That son of Larry's went on to become a fellow member of the Progressive Youth Movement (PYM), the first political activist group that I joined (he's been living back in his native Canada for decades).

### **Owen Wilkes' Peace Movement Apprenticeship With Larry**

Larry was an instrumental 1960s' figure in the lives of other key Christchurch activists, people with whom I was to have a close political and personal relationship over the following decades. The SIS has only released a tiny sample of the late Owen Wilkes' Personal File to his brother Jack (who is trying to get the rest). The earliest entry is from 1965, recording Owen's involvement with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. "In 1965, he worked as a dustman in Christchurch, a job he enjoyed immensely – he recalls occasions such as the one when he dressed up in a white tennis dress found in a rubbish bin (*this was in the days before household rubbish was disposed of in wheelie bins*). It was this job that led to him being politicised, an occasion straight out of Gilbert and Sullivan. He pulled a newspaper out of a rubbish bin, and read that during the Wellington visit of the US Ambassador to (the then) South Vietnam, an American Secret Service agent had dropped his gun at the feet of a student protester. Owen began to realise New Zealand's involvement in America's war in Vietnam – he pulled more papers out of rubbish bins, and read them so assiduously that he once fell off the truck. When Keith Holyoake sent New Zealand troops into Vietnam, later in 1965, Owen decided to get involved in the anti-war movement. He joined the Australasian branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and as he was unemployed, made a fulltime job of 'cranking duplicator handles'. The Foundation eventually printed over one million leaflets. It was here that Owen first met Keith Duffield, Christchurch's veteran agitator and future partner in crime" (this is from my obituary of Owen Wilkes in *PR* 31, Special Issue, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr31-119.html>). Keith Duffield became my first political mentor and was a major influence on me, not to mention an excellent friend and comrade in my first decade as an activist. He died far too young (my obituary of Keith is in *Watchdog* 18, March 1979, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-march-1978.html>. Note that the Web address says March 1978. That is a mistake; the issue is March 1979).

I still have the typed carbon copy (remember typewriters and carbon copies?) of a profile I wrote on Keith Duffield entitled "The Man They Couldn't Hang" (as I don't have the actual published article, I'm not sure where it was published or in what year. My guess is it was in the short-lived NZ edition of *Rolling Stone*, sometime in the first half of the 1970s). This gives some of the flavour of the 1960s' movement in which Larry, Owen and Keith all met and worked together. "He (Keith) joined the Citizens' All Black Tour Association, which focused on the 1960 tour to South Africa; in 1961 he with others formed the Canterbury Association for Racial Equality, becoming Secretary. CARE lasted four to five years and was ultra-respectable - meetings were held in Council Chambers and an Executive member was Bert Walker (National MP and later a Cabinet Minister). Keith joined the UN Association, met Larry Ross (a Canadian living in New Zealand) and in April 1964 they, with others, started printing literature on the Vietnam War. A sub-committee of the UN Association was set up and SE Asia discussed – the very same Bert Walker attacked it in the press and Keith and Larry were forced off the Executive by a 'Quaker-pacifist takeover'. He (Keith) describes the UN Association today as a 'stooge of Government foreign policy'.

"Larry Ross established the Australasian branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, lasting three years and printing over a million leaflets. It was here that Keith met Owen Wilkes, now the leading campaigner against the US military in NZ ('Owen's got an incredible penetrating scientific mind; I'm astounded that an individual can find this information'). Larry Ross sank his life savings into the Foundation and Keith credits him with single-handedly establishing local opposition to the Vietnam War. Duffield was in on the founding of the Joint Council on Vietnam which specialised in silent marches and banners censored by the pacifists. He describes the CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) and Quakers as 'pacifist gangsters, old fuddy-duddies who equate US atrocities in Indochina with the violence of the victims defending themselves'. None of these groups satisfied his desire for action and people's involvement, so in May 1967 he founded the Citizens' Vietnam Action Committee with himself as Chairman and Owen Wilkes as Secretary...". That was the point where Larry went one way and Keith and Owen went another.



“The Foundation went into recess in 1968 as the Vietnam War began to wind down (*actually it lasted until 1975. Ed.*), and Larry Ross’s own resources became exhausted. Not that he minded using up his capital: ‘There’s no point in taking wealth into a nuclear grave’. He tried to get back into advertising, but was told he was too controversial and might upset certain clients. He found a job selling building society shares which left time free for peace work” (*Press, ibid*). Larry worked as administration manager for the Western Building Society for the next 12 years. That’s what he was doing when I first met him when I started as a political activist in 1969 (he was a born salesman, but he had no luck selling me building society shares). He had retired as a fulltime peace activist but he certainly hadn’t retired from the anti-war movement. For example, Elsie Locke’s “Peace People” has a chapter titled “The Mobilisations”, describing coordinated big national protests around the end of April/beginning of May 1970. “Christchurch rallied about 1,000 demonstrators who marched through Cathedral Square three times with two sit-downs. On the Sunday the PYM hosted a rock rally in the University quadrangle, where some 500, mostly young, people listened to Murray Horton, Larry Ross and James K Baxter as well as to the music. Fired with enthusiasm, the next day 11 of them held a sit-down at the Joint Services Recruiting Centre; three left when asked to go and eight were arrested” (including me and Keith Duffield).

## **Down Time**

The 1970s were Larry’s “down time”, when he concentrated on earning a living and supporting his family. Not to mention his numerous other interests. “Inventing is one interest that has suffered from his concentration on the peace movement. He says he invented the sailing surf ski years ago and did nothing about it. Now it is a multi-million dollar industry. He did the same with inflatable water skis for walking on water. Now he has an idea for a manually operated underwater propulsion device, which he would like to develop if he gets time” (*Press, ibid*. I used to call him “Larry the Messiah” because of my professional admiration of his healthy ego. But I never realised that his messianic repertoire actually included walking on water). There’s precious little 1970s’ material in his SIS file. Interestingly, when the spies really had the chance to stuff him up – when he applied for NZ citizenship in 1978, which required SIS vetting – they waved him through. “Since arriving in New Zealand in 1962, ROSS has been involved in a variety of organisations e.g. the NZ-USSR Society (1963) and the Betrand (sic) Russell Peace Foundation which he founded in 1965. He has been a frequent contributor to “Letters to the Editor” expressing views on such topics as Disarmament, Apartheid, New Zealand’s Defence Policy, and the Vietnam War, his last letter being published in the *New Zealand Listener* on 5 March 1977. Recommendation: I (name withheld) would suggest that ROSS’ political consciousness was to some degree heightened by the Vietnam War and a large part of his political activities were directed against that war. It appears that the traces do not fall within the guidelines of the Cabinet Directive on Citizenship and I would therefore recommend a No Comment reply be given in respect of his application” (SIS Personal File, 9/11/78). At the bottom of that document are handwritten notes: “I (name withheld) agree. I think ROSS is a minimal current interest”.

Not that he ever walked away from the anti-Vietnam War movement, which raged on throughout the first half of the 70s, until the Vietnamese people achieved their hard fought victory and true independence. I well remember Larry, somewhat the worse for wear, at the victory party at the former Resistance Bookshop. He made an impassioned speech insisting that it was a victory for Vietnamese nationalism, not Communism – he always had a bee in his bonnet about Communism, which rendered laughable the insistence of the pro-American, pro-ANZUS, pro-nuclear groups that he was some sort of Communist dupe, if not an outright commo. He always went to great lengths to assure anyone and everyone that he wasn’t one – as evidenced by his self-initiated remarkable correspondence with Brigadier Gilbert, which I’ve already cited. At a 1980s’ protest at the US military base at Christchurch Airport (Harewood) I witnessed Larry, from the speakers’ truck, publicly go ballistic when he spotted a Communist Party banner in the crowd. He engaged in a shouting match with the less than pleased banner holders. Vietnam always retained a special place in his affections – he was deeply touched to be given a Ho Chi Minh T-shirt at his 80th birthday by a former colleague who had recently visited that country. A couple of years later when I had lunch with him, I mentioned that and he immediately hauled up his jersey to reveal that he was wearing that very shirt.

## **1980s: Larry’s Time Had Come**

The 1980s were Larry’s golden decade and, unlike in the 60s, he wasn’t pissing into the wind. He slogged his guts out for a nuclear free New Zealand (see above for Maire Leadbeater’s succinct summary) and, before that decade was out, that amazing goal had been achieved and become part of the country’s law (and it still is). When David Lange died in 2005 (my obituary of him is in *PR* 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-121b.html>) he was lauded as the father of nuclear free NZ, but that accolade rightfully belongs to Larry – with the help of the hundreds of thousands of Kiwis who passionately campaigned for that cause. It was Larry’s singleminded vision, boundless energy, organisational genius, unparalleled salesmanship and sheer personal charisma which provided the leadership that helped to make it all happen.

Kate Dewes wrote an obituary of Larry in the Catholic Worker Movement's newsletter *The Common Good* (61, 2012). "In his mid 50s he joined the Christchurch Peace Collective and committed the rest of his life to helping secure New Zealand's nuclear free policy and shift public opinion towards a more neutral peacemaking role in the world. In December 1981 he established the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee, which became the NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaking Committee in 1988. Following the lead of Devonport which had become a nuclear free borough in March 1981, he then led the campaign to get other local councils declared nuclear free. Christchurch became the first nuclear free city in March 1982, the same night as Lyttelton. Over the next two years Larry visited 25 centres nationwide helping establish local peace groups especially in small towns. By the time our now famous nuclear free legislation was passed 25 years ago in June 1987, over 72% of the population lived in locally declared nuclear free zones. He encouraged people to act locally, to dress formally, meet MPs, collect petitions by door knocking, write letters to papers, and have stalls in main streets".

Kate wasn't kidding about Larry's insistence on dressing formally. "Anti-nuclear campaigner Larry Ross flatly refuses to be photographed wearing a nuclear free New Zealand T-shirt. 'No, I'd rather not', he says firmly. 'It's just too easy for people to say it's all part of that hippie dippie stuff and downgrade the issue'" (*New Zealand Herald*, 14/11/89, "Larry Ross follows his dream", Gilbert Wong). This old dippie hippie got the message that I should wear my funeral suit and (only) tie to Larry's April 2012 funeral, which was held in a suburban Baptist church. Larry was an active Unitarian all his adult life, in both Canada and NZ. He told the *Press*: "I'm not religious but peace work has become like a religious mission to me" (*Press*, 27/4/82, "Canadian pressing for NZ as neutral refuge in World War III", Garry Arthur).

When I helped the octogenarian Larry to get his SIS Personal File, the accompanying letter denied that the SIS had ever had a file on the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee or its successor the NZ Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association. That flatly contradicted what the current SIS Director, Warren Tucker, had told another prominent peace activist in a letter in which he itemised the four peace groups which he said had been the subject of SIS files. So I helped Larry to successfully pursue the separate file on the Committee/Association (there had been a "misunderstanding" said the SIS, it was all down to a filing error. Of course it was). There is nothing particularly exciting in that file, nothing worth quoting here, because it is virtually all comprised of Larry's own writings, either in *Nuclear Free*, the group's newsletter, or other newspaper clippings. But that alone provides a fascinating record of just how much was going on in those hectic 1980s' years, and of just how much Larry got done.

## **Stan The Man**

Larry was front and centre in that incredibly vibrant 1980s' peace movement. He was back working with some of his original colleagues, such as Owen Wilkes, who had gone on to a stellar career as an internationally famous peace researcher and activist. A 1983 *Evening Post* article is illustrated by a photo of Owen and Larry together on the steps of Parliament (they look polar opposites, both sartorially and tonsorially). They were there to present a 50,000+ signature petition calling for NZ to be declared a nuclear free zone. There were some veteran Christchurch campaigners who worked closely with Larry for many years. For example, in my obituary of Stan Hemsley (*PR 34*, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-142a.html>) I quoted Larry's eulogy at Stan's funeral, which was probably Larry's last public speaking appearance: "Stan was a dedicated member of the Executive and tireless worker for the New Zealand Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association from our foundation in 1981. He helped our national three part campaign started in 1981 to have the Government declare New Zealand a Nuclear Free Zone...He wrote brilliant Letters To The Editor of the *Christchurch Star* and *Press* on peace and many other subjects. He designed and made peace banners for our various marches and demonstrations. He could always see the big picture - that mankind was capable of triggering his own global suicide and often came close to doing just that. That realisation kept Stan working for peace and nuclear disarmament all his life. Almost every week during the 1980s he operated a Nuclear Free NZ peace stall in Cathedral Square, often on his own, but usually with others. They gave away and sold literature, badges, stickers, T-shirts and posters and publicised the cause. He loved people and getting involved discussing the issues of the day. In 1982, he constructed a huge dummy of a nuclear missile out of a steel drum, welded the front cone and tail fins then painted it red for danger. He wanted to dramatise the terrible dangers of the international nuclear missile race. He would drive around Christchurch with the missile and an informative sign on a trailer. Then put it on display at peace events to demonstrate Man's perilous and fragile existence. Stan was a unique mixture of hands-on practicality and insights into the multiple environmental, war and nuclear threats to humanity...". It was Stan the ever practical man who rigged up an old washing machine wringer so that Larry could squeeze flat each bulging copy of his newsletter and other mailouts, after Larry had got into a contretemps with Post Office counter staff about the size of his items and how much he should be paying for them. According to one eyewitness Larry proceeded to stomp on the offending item on the Post Office floor so that it would make the fit and go at the lower price. The wringer was Stan's solution to that problem.

## **Inspired People To Build A Movement**



Part of Larry's genius was to inspire new people to get actively involved. John Gallagher who worked very closely with Larry in the 1980s and 90s wrote, in an online tribute: "I first met Larry a year or so before he got into nuclear-free campaigning. He joined a social club of which I was also a member, as was Jenny Lineham. Jenny lived just around the corner from his Keyes Road address. These were Cold War days, and Larry drew us and some others at the club into conversations about the global nuclear situation and New Zealand's connection to it as a member of ANZUS. This was around 1980-81. At one point Larry put together a paper on the subject, which he piloted one evening with the social club at Jenny's home.

"Like many interested in current affairs I had been used to 'for or against' framing of many issues which could lead to seemingly endless, polarised argument. A remark he made that evening rung a lot of bells with me as something that could enable New Zealand and New Zealanders to make a difference. Referring to the then recently resolved Iranian hostage crisis he remarked that the Algerians, as a neutral third party, had enabled the parties involved to reach an agreement. That crisis involved Iranian students invading the United States Embassy in Teheran in 1979 and holding over 50 US Embassy staff hostage for 444 days, for well over a year. An agreement was made for their release in January 1981.

"Larry also emphasised how Switzerland, because it was neutral, was suitably positioned to offer peacemaking services to Cold War antagonists. In other words, neutrality could be a practical option, indeed something the world actually needed. Larry carefully differentiated his neutrality from 'isolationist' neutrality by calling it 'positive' neutrality, and later on more descriptively, 'positive, peacemaking neutrality'. Critics in the peace movement quickly pointed out that Switzerland had this or that flaw. Of course it did - all countries do. Then there were also three other neutral models of what neutrality could be in Europe, each with their own unique strengths and weaknesses, cultures and style of neutrality – Austria, Sweden and Finland. The case did not stand or fall on everything Switzerland did or did not do. What Larry wanted to do was not just to get rid of ANZUS, but replace it with a clear and viable alternative, which was why he proposed positive neutrality.

"Larry was soon engaging Jenny, who had a background in typing and office work, to type up media releases and letters. The era of affordable desktop computers had not yet arrived. Soon she also helped set up office structures and procedures in his home. A hard-working New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee also came together. In the early days this included Jenny Lineham, Carol Peters, Bob and Barbara Leonard, Dennis Small, Julie McKinnon, Keith Burgess and Stuart Hickman and others. Soon Larry was putting out a newsheet which became a regularly produced *Nuclear Free* magazine. He also toured the country, setting up local groups to campaign and lobby to have their local bodies declare their area nuclear free zones.

"Many volunteer workers also came to his place over the years to help get newsletters out, and increasingly also, to send out petitions for a nuclear free New Zealand, literature, badges and bumper stickers in response to requests from all over the country and the world. Larry noted how instead of just discussing roads and potholes, the councils throughout the country were now also debating 'the fate of the Earth' and what they could do about it. He encouraged and helped organise the lobbying of politicians both locally and in Wellington. United States, Russian, British and Swiss embassies were also visited. As Jenny remarked, when I contacted her to check out some details for this blog, Larry created a structure that 'reached and motivated ordinary grassroots people around the country to feel they could do something and to act together'" (<http://www.village-connections.com/blog/?p=6400>).

Jenny Lineham wrote, in her online tribute: "Many people want to contribute their skills and talents to making the world a better place. The problem is there is often no ready-to-hand means for individuals to come together and act in ways that are both collectively effective and personally meaningful. Larry created opportunities for people to contribute by turning his home at Keyes Road, Christchurch, into a national coordination centre to support peace group formation and activities in localities throughout New Zealand: I would say it was Larry's gift that he could relate to mainstream people and empower them to take some action. This is what happened to me. Having absolutely no background in political matters, Larry got through the message of how important it was for ordinary people to make their feelings felt. Next thing, I'm inviting around 30 friends for an evening to discuss such matters with Larry as the guest speaker and he brought along Barry Metcalf (sic\*). Next thing, the New Brighton Peace Group is formed. From here I became involved at HQ with secretarial type duties and along with many others kept the office going as Larry set off on his trips to inspire people to set up local peace groups in all sorts of places" ("Learning from successful Nuclear Free Peacemaking", <http://www.village-connections.com/blog/?p=6414>). \*Owen Wilkes' obituary of Barry Mitcalfe is in *Watchdog* 52, May 1986, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-may-1986.html>.

## Exposing CIA Plots

It was in the 80s that the political activities of Larry and CAFGINZ/CAFCA were the most aligned that they were ever to be. A Christchurch *Star* article headed "Ex-CIA men may give talks in NZ" (3/6/86) featured both Larry and me. "Planned visits by two ex-CIA agents who have blown the whistle on their former employer could cause friction between the United States and New Zealand. Philip Agee, author of 'Inside The Company: CIA Diary', and who, in the 1970s, revealed the names of many alleged Central Intelligence Agency officers around the world, has been invited to speak by the organisation Campaign Against Foreign Control In New Zealand. The other former agent is Ralph McGehee, author of 'Deadly Deceit', based on his 28 years in the CIA and who has been invited by Larry Ross of the Nuclear Free Zone Committee to speak on CIA infiltration of unions, papers and politics".. Well, Larry succeeded where CAFGINZ/CAFCA and I failed (incidentally I use both our previous and current title, because this spans the period when we changed name). Three years of work to get Agee to tour NZ came to nought in 1987, when he changed his mind and declined the invitation that he had previously accepted, citing a rearrangement of priorities (my obituary of Philip Agee is in *PR* 36, August 2008, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr36-164a.html>). But Larry did successfully tour Ralph McGehee through NZ, in August 1986. Indeed, McGehee's visit marked the only time that I ever visited Larry's New Brighton home in the nearly 40 years that he lived there. He and his colleagues, including Dennis Small and Bob Leonard, who went on to become my very close colleagues, did excellent work in analysing and exposing the CIA destabilisation plots against New Zealand in the 80s, when this country was seen as posing a dangerous threat to the US, because of the nuclear free example we presented to other American allies, who might get infected by what was called "the New Zealand disease".

CAFCA, ABC and Larry had a long running shared interest in the murky world of US intelligence agencies. Right through the 1980s and nearly to the end of the 90s he supplied both groups with a photocopy of each issue of the wonderful US magazine *Covert Action Information Bulletin* (which later renamed itself *Covert Action Quarterly*). CAFCA holds nearly a complete set of these, filling three file boxes in my office, dating back to the second issue, in 1978. It was only when the quality of the photocopies we were getting from Larry deteriorated to the point of illegibility (I have a vivid memory of the toner coming off the pages and all over my hands when I was trying to read an issue in bed) that CAFCA/ABC severed the arrangement with Larry and dealt directly with the magazine (sadly, and without explanation, *Covert Action Quarterly* stopped publishing with number 78 in 2005). In *PR* 11, December 1996, Larry reviewed *Covert Action Quarterly* under the heading "US Magazine Exposes CIA Assassinations, Plots, Coups And Disinformation" <http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/2010/06/peace-researcher-vol2-issue11-dec-1996.html>. That may well have been the only time that Larry ever wrote for *Peace Researcher*, at least to my knowledge. It illustrates his lifelong interest in the CIA and co.

Naturally the local Rightwing apologists for the American Empire came to the conclusion that any Kiwis not on Uncle Sam's side during the Reagan years of the Cold War must be commos, if not outright agents of the Soviet Union. At the beginning of this obituary I have already mentioned the extraordinary May 1988 issue of *Plain Talk*, the journal of the now forgotten Plains Club, which was a stridently pro-American, pro-nuclear, pro-ANZUS Christchurch-based lobby group in the 80s. This issue was titled "Rent-A-Demo: New Zealand's longest playing soap opera" and was aimed at "exposing" the peace movement (I was given it by a bemused journalist who had received it from the Plains Club). It listed the "Leading Characters" as "Horton, Murray" and "Wilkes, Owen". The "Supporting Cast" included: "Hager, Nicky; Ledbetter (sic), Maire; Leonard, Bob; Locke, Elsie; Rosenberg, Bill; and Ross, Larry". It filled 12 of its 16 pages about us. Its' conclusion was: "While Wilkes, Hager, Ledbetter (sic), Horton, Rosenberg, Leonard, Ross and the many others may not be overtly pro-Soviet, they are socialists. They are steeped in the doctrines of Marxism and have a natural affinity for that cauldron of revolutionary socialism, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Their activities pose a very real threat to the future stability, and indeed the freedom, of the countries of the South Pacific region". The Plains Club calling Larry a "socialist" was the 1980s' equivalent of the Tea Party calling Barack Obama one, and about as accurate. As for the bullshit about the Soviet Union, bear in mind that this was written a mere three years before the Soviet Union imploded and disappeared without a trace, taking the "Communist bloc" and the "Second World" with it (yes, there used to be another "World" between the "First" and "Third" ones). I was never a fan of the Soviet Union. I went there once, in 1978, as a rank and file tourist who crossed it from the Pacific to the Baltic on the Trans-Siberian Express, and it didn't strike me as a "cauldron" of anything, let alone "revolutionary socialism". Ah well, the Rightwing conspiracy nutters have never let the facts get in the way of a good story.

### **Larry Was A Professional, In Every Sense**

To quote from Mike Crean's obituary of Larry in the *Press* (5/5/12, "Leading figure in NZ anti-nuclear crusade"): "When his children had left home he returned to full-time anti-nuclear campaigning, in 1981. He established the Nuclear Free Zone Committee that year. Revenue from books, posters, stickers and other protest merchandise that he developed helped sustain him. Maintaining a fitness regime of daily swimming at QE11 pool and walking on the beach near his New Brighton home kept him in good physical trim. He built up a formidable collection of books, journals and papers. They filled his house and garage to overflowing, but they also provided the background for him

to argue his case against nuclear weapons to groups and towns throughout New Zealand and abroad.

“His achievements included the successful promotion of the idea for towns and regions to declare themselves nuclear free. He gave hundreds of addresses and did radio and TV interviews around the world. Daughter Laurel says her father travelled widely ‘empowering people to start neighbourhood peace groups to lobby their local councils to declare a Nuclear Free Zone’. Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland City Councils were among 86 local bodies that had passed the declaration by 1984, when the Labour government was elected on this policy platform. Within three years 72% of New Zealanders lived in 105 nuclear free zones and the policy was enshrined in legislation. Ross was awarded the Queen’s Service Medal and the Peace City Award for his work.

“Leading peace campaigner Kate Dewes says Ross differed from other activists in two main ways. Ever the ‘professional’ man, he was always well dressed and groomed. He insisted on wearing a suit and tie. He wanted to break the common image of a ‘peacenik’ and make it difficult for people to dismiss him as a crank. He remained sharply focused on the nuclear threat to humanity, refusing to broaden his focus to other topical issues while his peers were protesting against apartheid, abuses of the Treaty of Waitangi and violence against women. Some people in the peace movement found Ross overwhelming. He was a forceful character with strong self-belief. He was relentless and brash, in a North American way, Dewes says. He mellowed with age and became better able to work with others and empower them. ‘He was energetic and dynamic. He did his research thoroughly and always had the facts at his fingertips. I honour his perseverance and commitment. I learned a lot from him. He had a huge impact on keeping New Zealand nuclear free’, says Dewes”.

## **No Saint**

That extract from the *Press* obituary hints at a darker side of Larry, who was definitely no saint. Words such as “sharply focused...refusing to broaden his focus...overwhelming...forceful...relentless and brash”. Larry was a messianic figure with a very strong ego (I remember a journalist from a national publication telling me that he’d got sick of Larry regularly ringing to urge that the publication write about him and his campaign). He was not foremost a team player, not did he practise internal democracy in the groups that he founded and/or headed. He did not accept the concept of agreeing to disagree; on the contrary, he publicly and repeatedly attributed base motives to those on the same side who disagreed with him, or who had different priorities. I emphasise that I had no personal experience of this – the only time we ever actually worked together was in the final three years of his life, on the project of getting his SIS file. By that stage he was a mellowed out and likeable old man who was in a rest home and who had lost his short term memory to a series of mini-strokes. In his prime in the 80s, when his and CAFCA’s interests and activities were most closely aligned, namely in our mutual interest in CIA activities, we weren’t travelling on the same train but on two separate trains on parallel tracks. CAFCA’s focus was always much broader than that of getting New Zealand nuclear free, or peace issues in general.

So my experiences and memories of Larry are entirely benign. But not so for some of my friends and colleagues. No names of individuals or groups – but I was told that his idea of running a committee was to tell them what he’d done and expect retrospective approval. In one group things got so bad that an official mediator was engaged to see if problems could be worked out. They couldn’t and people walked out, leaving Larry to it. When he died, one of my current colleagues, who had started off in the peace movement in the 80s, said: “Well, I won’t be going to his funeral. He ‘outed’ me as a CIA agent at a peace gathering because I supported Maori sovereignty” (unlike CAFCA, he never changed the country’s name in his group’s title from New Zealand to Aotearoa). Larry regarded those sorts of issues as not merely distractions and deviations from the One True Path but as manifestations of a treason to the peace movement – specifically, his definition of the peace movement - being manipulated by the malign forces of the US covert empire. He made a lot of enemies in the broader progressive movement by indiscriminate accusations of “CIA influence”. When Owen Wilkes very publicly turned his back on the peace movement in the early 90s and supported nuclear powered ships being admitted to NZ harbours, Larry let loose with the “CIA” claim again. Until the end of his life, whenever Owen was mentioned, Larry wondered aloud if “the CIA had got to him”. Larry’s commendable vigilance against the likes of the CIA could also veer into outright conspiracy theories. In our last ever “real” conversation a few years ago (I don’t count the ones when he was in the home, etc, because, although he didn’t have dementia or anything like that, the brain damage caused by his strokes-induced memory loss meant that he couldn’t keep up his end of the discussion so well), he expressed surprise that I didn’t agree with him that the 9/11 terrorist atrocities were an inside job by the US government. My view of that theory is it that it insults the intelligence of America’s enemies by suggesting that they lack the motivation or the military and technical ability to do what they did with such devastating effect. It’s almost a form of thinly disguised racism.

That’s enough of the criticism, which is all second hand, but it is essential to provide balance. A veteran peace activist summed it up best by saying: “I admired Larry but I didn’t love him”. After a lifetime of high profile and very contentious single issue peace activism which included a globally significant victory over the world’s strongest

superpower, that is a fitting epitaph. I'd be happy to settle for that for myself. If you're serious about making real change, you're going to make mistakes and make enemies; people are going to get hurt, including those close to you. The old saying "nice guys finish last" is not usually thought of as applicable to the peace movement, but Larry was proof that you need steel in your backbone to get things achieved. Maybe the 1983 *Christchurch Star* headline labelling him the "strongman of the peace movement" wasn't so silly after all. Most emphatically, Larry wasn't a "hippie dippie". He wasn't even a classic pacifist – in more than one media interview he said that he'd be prepared to "shoot a gun" to defend New Zealand.

## **Never Stopped Campaigning**

New Zealand becoming nuclear free by law was certainly not the end of it for Larry. To quote from the *New Zealand Herald* profile on him (14/11/89, "Larry Ross follows his dream", Gilbert Wong): "But after eight years as a full-time peace worker, Ross is not one jot more optimistic. Humanity, he says, still has a better than even chance of being the first species on the planet to trigger its own extinction. A nuclear free New Zealand is only a faltering step away from that prospect, he says. And a nuclear free zone is only half a foreign policy. It means little if New Zealand does not take the next step and declare itself neutral and walk away from the Western military alliance.

"Ross sees New Zealand becoming a South Pacific Switzerland or Sweden. 'Neutrality does not mean that we would not have armed forces. We would defend ourselves in the case of attack. But neutrality would become our main defence. We would be too valuable a resource for other Pacific nations to invade'. Ross dreams of New Zealand as a nation respected for professional peacekeeping, supplying observers, peacekeeping troops and offering a neutral debating ground... Ross thinks there is ample room for such a nation in the Southern Hemisphere. He has been to see the American Embassy about it. 'The Ambassador heard me out and agreed that it all made sense, but was something the American government could not countenance'....

"Ross shows no sign of losing his enthusiasm for the campaign. But his continuous campaigning has exacted a personal toll. His marriage ended in divorce. 'At times I regret that I was not a better father to my children. I could have been there more'. Two of his children support his work. The others are more distant. Does the continuous pounding against what appears to be the unassailable walls erected by the superpowers, and the mounting evidence he collects of major destruction, weigh down the spirit? 'No, not at all', he says. 'You become like a doctor in an accident and emergency clinic. Every night bloodied bodies pass before you. There's little point in fretting. It's a job that has to be done'. Ross considers what drives him on. 'In five billion years the Sun will be a white dwarf and we'll all be dead anyway. But why do we have to go before our time? It was Jean-Paul Sartre who said that when we choose, we choose in part for all men. I think we have to choose to live rather than to die'".

"Even after the National Party adopted the (nuclear free) policy in 1991, Larry did not give up. He toured 17 towns warning that NZ must not return to ANZUS. He also spoke in Australia, Italy, Japan and Canada. When Christchurch became the first United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Peace City in 2002 Larry received one of eight inaugural Peace City Awards. His amazing collection of papers is safely stored in the Macmillan Brown Library at Canterbury University" (Kate Dewes' obituary of Larry, *The Common Good* 61, 2012). Larry certainly did not give up peace campaigning but he never had the same profile or impact that he'd achieved in the 1980s. Mind you that was a nice problem to have because it was a problem of success, not of failure, namely his leading role in this country becoming nuclear free.

He never ceased campaigning against the threat posed to all life on Earth by nuclear weapons (a threat which remains just as real today). Nor did he stop vigorously campaigning against those who wage war (but the SIS finally worked out that he wasn't an enemy of the State and stopped spying on him. The last clipping in his Personal File is dated 1994. Ironically it's a *New Zealand Herald* article [11/4/94] headed "US admiral's visit splits protesters", featuring opposing quotes from Larry on behalf of the Nuclear Free Peacemaking Association and Nicky Hager on behalf of the Coalition Against Nuclear Warships). He was actively involved in the Christchurch campaigns against the 1991 Gulf War; the 2001 invasion and occupation of Afghanistan (which is still ongoing); the 2003 invasion and years-long occupation of Iraq; and the endless "War on Terror". Just a few years ago, in the middle of the last decade, Larry, by then in his late 70s, was still publicly speaking out against the danger to world peace posed by the Bush Administration's threats to wage war on Iran (that remains a current threat, but one now being waged by Israel, rather than directly by the US). He remained a peace movement activist and supporter until the end of his life, attending peace movement functions until his final year - the nuclear free sticker on the door of his room in the rest home left residents, staff and visitors in no doubt as to what he stood for.

## **Final Few Years In A Home**

Throughout those last two decades Larry and I saw each other now and again (we were never personal friends or

direct colleagues; we never had a political discussion outside of the parameters of the peace movement, so I have no idea what his politics were or even who he voted for). He belonged to CAFCA off and on (although he never joined ABC); we saw each other at peace movement activities and meetings; we even bumped into each other at the movies now and again (don't worry; they were good PC anti-war documentaries, not Hollywood action movies). And we socialised in as much as I attended Larry's 70th and 80th birthday parties, and he came to my 60th in 2011 - he enjoyed it so much that as he left, he said: "Have another one next Saturday!". As I've already mentioned I saw more of him in his final three years than ever before, because of our successful joint project to secure his SIS file. That was a long drawn out process and involved me visiting Larry in the home on several occasions and also taking him out for some very sociable lunches, accompanied by old friends and colleagues such as Bob Leonard and Warren Thomson.

To quote from Mike Crean's obituary of Larry in the *Press* (5/5/12, "Leading figure in NZ anti-nuclear crusade"): "His health suffered in latter years and after a spell in hospital, he entered a rest home in 2007. He rebounded and regained much of his independence, helped by the loving care of partner Brenda Crocker. He kept a lively interest in current events, plants, photography, food and arts and crafts". Brenda certainly deserves a big vote of thanks for the care she took of Larry in his final years, and for her constant companionship. It is highly unusual to have got this far into the obituary of a Christchurch person without mentioning the earthquakes. That's because Larry was unaffected by them. The home he lived in is in the west of the city and was unscathed (Larry told me that he looked out the window during the original September 2010 quake and told me: "The land danced!"). Bob Leonard and I took him on a late 2010 outing to see his old New Brighton home of 40 years, which had been converted into a small business – from the outside at least, it looked fine (I don't know how it fared in the much more destructive February 2011 quake and subsequent big aftershocks). But Larry was lucky to no longer be living in New Brighton or anywhere else in the east of the city, where whole neighbourhoods have been condemned as no longer habitable and thousands of people have to involuntarily leave. He was particularly lucky not to have ended up in an eastern suburbs rest home – several were destroyed, leaving their residents not only homeless but substantially out of pocket

Larry remained remarkably fit and youthful looking until the end. He looked more like 64 than 84. When Becky and I paid him a final visit when he was terminally comatose in hospital, she said, with the brutal honesty of the spouse: "You've got more wrinkles than him". Whenever I visited him in the home I had to make sure that I fitted it in around his daily walk. I last saw him, quite unexpectedly, just days before his fatal stroke and he was his usual friendly, chatty self. The problem in his final years was the short term memory loss caused by a series of mini strokes. Bob Leonard and I witnessed this when we took him on another outing, to visit the Owen Wilkes memorial bench in Beckenham Park. When we told him where we were going, he asked: "How is Owen these days?" We had to gently tell him that Owen had killed himself, in 2005. To which Larry replied that he did remember that now. Our outing fired up his old instincts and he parted company with us by saying that he would start writing letters to the *Press* again, maybe do another speaking tour. But those resolutions would have been soon forgotten, as our visit no doubt also was.

### **Remarkable Legacy; Brilliant Organising Model**

"It has been a privilege to work closely with Larry for over 32 years. He leaves a remarkable legacy. His fundamental role in our nuclear free heritage is yet to be properly documented and extolled. When it is, he will be acknowledged for his passion for world peace, his intellectual capabilities and his dogged perseverance despite meagre funding and other challenges. Larry nurtured a compelling obsession that called us all to reject violent solutions and embrace a constructive altruism based on mutual respect, independence and peace. May he now rest knowing he has helped create and shape a policy that New Zealanders will always identify as fundamental to who we are as a nation" (Kate Dewes' obituary of Larry, *The Common Good*, 61, 2012).

"Many people at this funeral and in the wider community have, like me, opposed New Zealand's entanglement in the nuclear threat and the wars of world powers. But Larry was exceptional. He was possibly the single greatest contributor to making New Zealand nuclear free through years of hard work, dedication and sacrifice. His contributions to peace by no means end there, but New Zealand's nuclear free status is a distinctive and invaluable part of New Zealand's history and values. It certainly was influential in changing the thinking of people around the world as to the seriousness of the issue and whether they could do anything to reverse the arms race. Larry, go in peace and with pride in what you achieved" (Bill Rosenberg, tribute for Larry's funeral, April 2012).

I concur with both Kate and Bill and would add one observation of my own. If Larry is remembered for nothing else (but he will be) let it be for the absolute genius of the model he used to drive the nuclear free movement, namely getting councils of cities, town and regions to declare themselves nuclear free. But he didn't approach this as a top down thing to be lobbied for with local body politicians and bureaucrats. No, Larry built it from the bottom up, by urging grassroots people to form local peace groups (there were hundreds of them right through the country in the

80s) and for people to declare their churches, schools, workplace, streets, even their houses, nuclear free. It was a single issue campaign but an incredibly important one, which took on a nuclear superpower and its local collaborators and won. It's an organising model that is applicable to any number of current issues. Of course Larry singlehandedly did not make New Zealand nuclear free, no more than David Lange did. But Larry played a critical, leading, role in achieving that amazing feat.

### **We Musn't Rest On Our Nuclear Free Laurels**

I'm going to conclude by doing something of which Larry would have approved, namely by issuing a call to action. This is a press release that I circulated on behalf of the Anti-Bases Campaign on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Nuclear Free Act, which is "a worthy cause for celebration for what was, and is, a fantastic achievement. It is also timely to remember that it was accomplished by hundreds of thousands of ordinary New Zealanders who were prepared to confront the State and its pro-nuclear, pro-war, pro-ANZUS status quo. They directly confronted the US nuclear machine and its New Zealand enforcers on the water; on land they confronted and defeated a colonial mentality that swapped from gutlessly hiding behind Mother England's skirts to gutlessly hanging onto Uncle Sam's coat tails. The victory belongs to the New Zealand people; the headline hogging politicians only surfed the tsunami of public opinion.

"But New Zealanders can ill afford to rest on our nuclear free laurels. Much remains to be done. For nearly 60 years Christchurch Airport has been the site for a US military base, albeit one that is a medium level transport base. How many New Zealanders know that US military planes using it operate under exactly the same 'neither confirm nor deny' policy that has seen US warships banned from New Zealand since 1987? Christchurch remains the only city in Australasia to host a US military base. This country still operates two 'New Zealand' spy bases – at Waihopai and Tangimoana. In the case of Waihopai, it is a US spy base in all but name, operating as an outpost of the US National Security Agency in rural Marlborough. Details of all three bases can be found at [www.converge.org.nz/abc](http://www.converge.org.nz/abc).

"In the 25 years since New Zealand became nuclear free by law, our Government, whether National or Labour, has continued to help the US fight its seemingly endless wars. Currently NZ has troops in Afghanistan, effectively acting as mercenaries helping the US to prop up a corrupt regime of opium barons, warlords, murderers and misogynists, in a totally meaningless war. In recent months NZ has sent troops to train on US soil; hosted US combat troops here; and sent NZ warships to take part in US naval war exercises – all of these for the first time since NZ was unceremoniously kicked out of ANZUS in 1986 for having the unmitigated gall to put our own national interests first.

"Wikileaks reveals that full intelligence relations between NZ and the US were covertly resumed in 2009; plus revealing a whole lot more details about the extent of that cosy covert relationship, right through key organs of the NZ government. All in all it adds up to a concerted drive to putting the 'NZ' back into ANZUS and turning back the clock to the good old days when NZ was a loyal satellite of the American Empire. The nuclear free movement in this country did a great job but it's not finished by any means. And the powers that be in both Washington and Wellington are doing their level best to completely undo it. They need to be forcefully reminded of the successful campaign of the New Zealand people for an independent foreign policy, of which the Nuclear Free law was an important part; a policy which rightly earned this country both international admiration and self-respect. Instead of restoring military and intelligence ties with the US, NZ needs to be breaking the chains that bind us to the world's biggest warmonger" (13/6/12; "We Musn't Rest On Our Nuclear Free Laurels: Concerted Drive To Put The 'NZ' Back Into ANZUS"). Larry, you can rest in peace (how appropriate), you've more than done your bit. But for the rest of us, there's still plenty of work to be done.

## **Rosa Edith Oliver 3 August 1921 – 16th May 2012**

**- Evin Wood**

She will be remembered for her strong humanitarian, ethical and political beliefs and the tenacious way she stuck to them. Rosa Oliver was born in 1921 at Mexborough, South Yorkshire. She grew up and was schooled at Mexborough Grammar in the 1930s. It was a time of "Depression" in the mining area of South Yorkshire and during her early life she lost both her natural father and then her stepfather; both of these men she admired greatly. Rosa witnessed the hardships of the Depression but was fortunate to have parents who were very loving and caring and who were around, not only to look after their family, but who went out of their way to help others less fortunate than them during this time. Both Rosa and Mary (her elder sister) inherited the love and caring that their parents had shown. In the late 1930s she moved south with her mother and sister to Winchester in Hampshire. Due to hardship and the 1939-45 war she had to delay university education.

Eventually she went into further education and eventually become a teacher and a posting in Camberley in Surrey where she taught and lived, up to the early 1960s. During this time she remained in close contact with her mother and sister Mary (who had married). She loved to visit her own family in Winchester and also, when she established



her own home, had family visit her. Her mother died in the late 50s and in the early 60s she decided to “up roots” and move to New Zealand to teach French at Marlborough Girls College in Blenheim.

## **50 Years In Blenheim**

Even though Rosa had left her family in the UK, she remained in constant contact either by letter or phone. The family were often to read of the next cause that she would venture into. The letters were always handwritten in Rosa's inimitable style. Rosa was able to meet all of her great nieces and great nephews either on trips to the UK or on their trips to New Zealand. Rosa's last 50 years were as a resident of Blenheim, apart from a couple of years when she went to teach in Botswana in the 1970s.

Her experience in Botswana was a very significant experience for her and she had very fond memories of her time there. Rosa had a staunch Christian socialist attitude and a love to help those less fortunate, together with any cause where an injustice had been perceived. It was with the love, caring and sharing Rosa was brought up. With that instilled in her to forever seek caring and justice for those less fortunate than herself. She could only think of love of humanity and abhorred the thought that war could solve anything.

While teaching at Marlborough Girls' College, Rosa encouraged the students to think about the social issues of the day and as one student said: “We often were able to get Rosa onto topics of social interest rather than the French language that was supposed to be being taught”. She formed a French Club that extended the students into language and social events reflecting French society. Rosa felt very strongly about the situation in South Africa and used her classes and extra-curricular groups to make her views known.

She spoke about the time she had a run-in with the Principal of Girls College, because she was accused of inviting Trevor Richards\* to speak to a group of girls without the Principal's permission. This eventually led to Rosa's resignation. At this time she was saving to return to the UK to catch up with her family but she told an ex-student that she decided to give these saving to HART as “It was the right thing to do”. *\*Trevor Richards was the founding leader of Halt All Racist Tours (HART) through the 1970s. You can read my tribute to HART in the Obituaries in Foreign Control Watchdog 72, March 1993, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-march-1993.html>. MH.*

Rosa was strongly opposed to cruelty and injustice where ever she perceived it to be, whether against people or animals. She always had two or more cats she was looking after. One of these still is cared for by her neighbours. Rosa was a keen supporter of many social concerns and often attended meetings of various causes held in Blenheim. One such occasion was when a gathering was trying to form an umbrella group to cover issues of peace and human rights. After several hours of interminable discussion it was felt an agreement had been reached and the meeting could conclude, only to have Rosa call out: “What about vivisection?”

## **Active In So Many Causes**

She was a long term staunch supporter of Corso and an active and avid supporter of Trade Aid. When the Trade Aid shop was in Blenheim she was the person responsible to educate the volunteers on the Trade Aide principles which often led to her feelings of frustration about the volunteers' commitment, when it wasn't as strong as hers. She was a long term supporter of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom, as well as the Franciscans religious order and the Howard League for Penal Reform. She wrote and was still writing to people in prison, in both New Zealand and the USA, advocating for their rights. She often provided accommodation in her home for people who found themselves down on their luck, always accepting people as they were.

Writing letters in support of one cause or another took much of her time and there were always letters on the go to one politician or official of one sort or another. She was a very long term supporter of the Labour Party and particularly of David Lange's stand on nuclear issues and Helen Clark's strong leadership. Rosa despaired at the fact many people changed their allegiance to the Green Party when it was formed, which she did too after the Clark government's action over the Seabed and Foreshore Bill.

She had strong empathy with issues for Maori and a strong sympathy with the ideals of Maori Party Co-Leader Tariana Turia. She was very proud of the fact that she would always answer her phone with “kia ora”, after the controversy that first caused. She befriended the McDonald family, next door to her home, and they accepted her too as part of their family. They were some of the most regular visitors to her while she was in a rest home. They were able to discuss with her what arrangements she wanted for her funeral and made sure they were carried out.

Rosa nominated BUPA, the British company running her rest home, for CAFCA's annual Roger Award for the Worst

Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/NZ because of the way they exploited the staff and paid such a pittance in wages. BUPA was placed second in 2010. She also supported the Anti-Bases Campaign and was strongly supportive of the annual Waihopai protests. She was delighted to welcome Murray to her rest home when he was in Marlborough in 2011.

Rosa's mind was active up to the last and she regularly did crosswords and puzzles in the *Listener*, to which she was a long term subscriber. She had a phenomenal memory for people and events in her life. She considered herself lucky to have had the life she did. Rosa was forever proud of her name being the same as that of Rosa Parks, the woman who first refused to move to the back of the segregated bus in the southern US in 1955 and helped to initiate the civil rights movement there.

The prayer she asked to be included on her service sheet encapsulated her well. It read:

I sought my soul, but my soul I could not see,  
I sought my God, but my God eluded me,  
I sought my brother and found all three.

## In Memory Of Rosa Oliver

- Murray Horton

Although she never joined the Anti-Bases Campaign, Rosa was a regular participant in ABC's protests in Blenheim and at the Waihopai spy base right from the very start in the late 1980s until just a few years ago when old age finally got the better of her and she went into a home. Blenheim is far from fertile ground for peace activists (my sworn affidavit detailing Marlborough institutional prejudice against ABC's Waihopai campaign over the years was the reason that the Domebusters' criminal trial was shifted from Blenheim to Wellington, so that they could get a fair trial) and it takes a brave person to stick their neck out in such a conservative, Tory-voting, military town. For years now ABC has been indebted to a small band of brave souls to be our key contacts and activists in Blenheim (Evin Wood, who wrote Rosa's obituary, is one of them). Rosa was always in the thick of our local supporters. Nothing frightened her. She was garrulous, pugnacious, passionate and fond of a good laugh.

In provincial towns like Blenheim the local activists tend to be involved in everything and Rosa was no exception. She never joined the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) either but she always attended whenever I was in town to address a public meeting as part of a CAFCA speaking tour. And I felt the lash of her tongue when I dared to criticise her beloved Labour Party at one such meeting – she was having none of my disparaging of Helen Clark and Michael Cullen. But, as Evin has said, she became disillusioned with Labour and when I visited her at her rest home in 2011 (the last time I saw her, just months before her 90th, and final, birthday), she told me she'd swapped to supporting the Greens. She also told me she was deeply saddened by what had happened to "her" Labour Party.

### Rosa Told It Like It Is

The purpose of that visit to her rest home (which was in the course of my most recent CAFCA speaking tour) was to inform her that her nomination of BUPA, the British transnational corporation which owned that very rest home, had succeeded in winning it second place in the 2010 Roger Award (you can read the *Judges' Report* at <http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/community/CAFCA/publications/Roger/Roger2010.pdf>). As a matter of policy, CAFCA guards the anonymity of those who send in nominations for the Roger Award. But I'm happy to make an exception for Rosa – she's dead, no harm can come to her and, as she was utterly fearless, she wouldn't mind who knew (she was delighted when I told her about the result of her BUPA nomination). Rosa was never one to mince words - the first reason she listed for her nomination of BUPA was "factory farming of elderly" What a wonderfully concise description of that whole for-profit industry from one of its "battery hens"!

My other hat is the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa (which, needless to say, Rosa also never joined) and when PSNA sent a speaker (Amirah Ali Lidasan) to Blenheim for the first time in 2007, there was Rosa, larger and louder than life, waiting for us when we arrived at the venue for the public meeting. By that stage Rosa was well into her 80s and living in the rest home but she had rung all her friends and contacts the night before and urged them to attend the meeting. We actually got a credible turnout of 15 at that meeting which, believe me, is good for Blenheim. PSNA missed Rosa's magic touch the next time I accompanied Philippine speakers to Blenheim (Luis Jalandoni and his wife Coni Ledesma, in 2010). Rosa wasn't there, wasn't involved and the attendance at the public meeting was a big fat zero.

Rosa was into everything going (including the campaign asserting the innocence of convicted double murderer Scott Watson). I never knew her personally and that 2011 visit to her rest home unit was the only time I saw her in a private setting. So I was deeply touched to be informed by Evin that when he last spoke to Rosa, a couple of days

before her death, she asked him to inform me when she died, and for me to inform the movement. Once met, never forgotten. Complete with her little Noddy car, she reminded me of one of the formidable claymation Northern little old ladies in the marvellous *Wallace And Gromit* films. It is people like Rosa who make a movement and who are particularly invaluable precisely because they are not in the big cities but because they fly the flag in the smaller towns. It takes guts to stick out in a place like Blenheim on an issue like Waihopai (and all the rest) - Rosa had it in spades. Rest in peace old battler, you've earned it.

