

# John Key Says Yanks Not Spying On Him He Should Lay A Complaint About Being Left Out

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- Murray Horton

John Key says that he's allowed to wear big boy's pants because New Zealand is a member of The Club (Five Eyes, formally known as the UKUSA Agreement), which he says means that the intelligence agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand don't spy on each other's countries. He reckons it specifically means that the US National Security Agency (NSA) does not spy on him. To which the Anti-Bases Campaign says – pull the other one, John, this one's got a bug in it.

Of course the NSA spies on its "allies and friends" in Five Eyes. Why wouldn't they? They're spying on all their other "friends". ABC says its dollars to doughnuts that NSA has been, is, and will be spying on Key. So will the other Big Brothers in Five Eyes. Indeed it is highly likely that the NSA will have subcontracted the job to one of the allied agencies to spy on the smallest of the small fry. But don't just take ABC's word for it that the NSA spies on its Five Eyes allies, or that the constituent agencies are used to spy on other member countries. After all, we might be "anti-American conspiracy theorists with an axe to grind".

## From The Horse's Mouth

No, take the word of one of the spooks who worked inside the system. And we're not talking about Edward Snowden. In 2001 (just after 11/9, as it turned out) ABC organised a national speaking tour by former Canadian spook turned author, Mike Frost. We did so because he had written, in 1994, an insider's book called "Spyworld: Inside The Canadian And American Intelligence Establishments". Here are some relevant extracts from Bob Leonard's review of it in *Peace Researcher* 23, June 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/frostspy.htm>:

"Mike Frost is not the first spy to spill the beans... But Frost's is the only firsthand account (to our knowledge) of the inner workings of America's National Security Agency (NSA) and its Canadian sibling agency just over the border, the Communications Security Establishment (CSE). Frost was an employee of the CSE for 19 years and spent plenty of time at NSA as well in training and liaison. "Embassy collection even involves the **Americans spying on the Canadians** (*our emphasis. Ed.*). In his many trips to College Park for NSA briefings, Frost learned of techniques for disguising antennas on the roofs of embassies. He and his colleagues quickly concluded that Canada was not immune to NSA spying. 'The Americans don't care who they commit espionage against, on the principle that they may get something that's useful to their country. **They routinely collect foreign intelligence against everybody**' (*our emphasis. Ed.*).

"In 1983, **CSE was asked to spy for GCHQ at the behest of Margaret Thatcher.** ' (*our emphasis. Ed.*)...it seems as if Margaret Thatcher [then British Prime Minister] thinks two of the Ministers in her Cabinet are not 'on-side'... She wants to find out if they are'. CSE carried out the intercepts: 'We never stopped to question the morality of doing what amounted to dirty tricks for a partisan politician, for her very personal reasons, in a foreign land. After all, we weren't spying on Canadians...that time anyway'".

So there you have it, from the horse's mouth. And why would Margaret Thatcher ask the UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ, one of the Five Eyes alliance spy agencies) to subcontract Canadian intelligence to spy for her within Britain, on her own Tory Cabinet colleagues, no less? So that British intelligence would have plausible deniability, if the spying was discovered. Frost also revealed that Canadian intelligence spied on the US, for trade and economic reasons. He detailed how CSE bugged the car phone of the US Ambassador to Canada to find out what the US would charge China to sell it wheat. And then Canada successfully underbid the US. This was seen as a routine State aid to Canadian business.

## Close Waihopai & GCSB, Get Out Of Five Eyes

The examples given by Frost happened decades ago, when Communists, not terrorists, were used as the justification for the spy agencies' crimes and abuses, but the only things that have changed since then is that spying on "allies and friends" has become more extensive and systematic. It has got worse, not better. So, John Key is kidding nobody when he reckons that NSA doesn't spy on him. It is also guaranteed that they will be spying on NZ's Ministers and trade officials in connection with the secret talks to negotiate the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). The US will want to know things like how hard NZ really will fight to gain the "holy grail" of dairy products access to the US, and how hard NZ will fight to save Pharmac which the US drug transnational corporations want

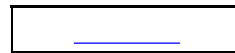
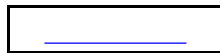
rid of.

It's no defence to say "everyone's doing it". So, does that mean that the GCSB is using Waihopai to bug Obama's mobile phone? That's a very likely scenario, isn't it? New Zealand needs to close Waihopai and the GCSB, get out of the international criminal enterprise which is Five Eyes, and develop a truly independent defence and foreign policy. ABC's message to John Key is – you've spent too long away from your home town of Christchurch. Forget about Five Eyes; learn from Cantabrians and become one eyed.

### **Snowden Update: US Spies On Five Eyes Partners**

*Since this was written, much more evidence has emerged that the Five Eyes member nations do spy on each other, courtesy of Edward Snowden.* "The National Security Agency is authorised to spy on the citizens of the closest US allies, including Britain, even though those English-speaking countries have long had an official non-spying pact, according to a newly disclosed memorandum. The classified NSA document, which appears to be a draft and is dated January 2005, states that under specific circumstances, the US intelligence agency may spy on citizens of Britain without that country's consent or knowledge. The memo, provided by former NSA contractor Edward J. Snowden, is labelled secret and 'NOFORN', indicating that it may not be shared with any foreign country.

"The NSA declined to respond to questions on whether the draft became official policy and whether spying on Britain without its consent had ever taken place. But portions of the document appear to indicate that, whether by formal agreement or simply long-standing practice, both Britain and the United States believed that in extraordinary circumstances, one country might feel compelled to spy on citizens of the other. In a reference to an intelligence-sharing compact struck in March 1946 (*the UKUSA Agreement. Ed.*), the memo said the two nations had agreed 'that both governments will not target each other's citizens/persons'. That Agreement, however, came with a caveat that 'when it is in the best interest of each nation', unilateral spying by one nation on the other could take place, the memo says. It goes on to expand that mandate to **allow US spying on any of the Five Eyes countries**" (*our emphasis. Sydney Morning Herald, 21/11/13, "US Can Spy On Britons Despite Pact, Memo Says", <http://www.smh.com.au/world/us-can-spy-on-britons-despite-pact-memo-says-20131121-2xxcc.html>*).



# Spooky Bits

Peace Researcher 46 – Month Year

- Warren Thomson

## NSA Spying .... On Everything!

For many years the Anti-Bases Campaign has been trying to make people aware of the all pervasive nature of the American surveillance programme (supported, we have to add by our own Government Communications Security Bureau [GCSB]). Thanks to the courageous whistle-blowing of Edward Snowden, the nature of the US spy beast has been revealed – and it is almost impossible to comprehend the full magnitude of the digital intrusion. The National Security Agency (NSA), working with the British Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), has secretly been cracking encryption technology that billions of Internet users rely upon to keep their electronic messages and confidential data secure, according to published reports based on revealed internal US government documents.

The reports describe how the NSA has invested billions of dollars since 2000 to ensure it could snoop on anyone it chose. The NSA uses its cutting edge supercomputers to break encryption codes and has partnerships with unnamed technology companies to insert "back doors" into their software, the reports say. Such a practice would give the Government access to users' digital information before it was encrypted and sent over the Internet. One briefing document, written by the NSA for the GCHQ states: "For the past decade, NSA has led an aggressive, multipronged effort to break widely used Internet encryption technologies". Reports in the *New York Times*, Britain's *Guardian* newspaper and the non-profit news website *ProPublica* say the NSA and GCHQ have bypassed or cracked much of the digital encryption used by businesses and everyday Web users (AP on *Stuff Website*, 6/9/13). What follows is a brief summary of recently revealed examples of "aggressive" interception operations designed to ensure continued US dominance in business, diplomacy, and military affairs.

- In June, 2013, US officials confirmed the existence of an electronic spying operation codenamed Prism, which according to Snowden, collects data from European and other users of Google, Facebook, Skype and other US companies (*Stuff*, 6/7/13).
- US National Security Agency spying on Google has been confirmed. The US government agency tapped into computer networks of companies including Google Inc., according to leaked US documents aired by Globo, Brazil's biggest television network. A *Washington Post* report (30/9/13) said the NSA had tapped directly into communications links used by Google and Yahoo to move huge amounts of e-mail and other user information among overseas data centres. Google Executive Chairman Eric Schmidt told the *Wall Street Journal* that Google had registered complaints with the National Security Agency (NSA), President Barack Obama and Congress members. Schmidt said in the interview that the NSA allegedly collected the phone records of 320 million people in order to identify roughly 300 people who might be a risk (*Stuff*, 5/11/13)
- *Reuter* sources (9/9/13) stated the NSA had tapped into systems operated by France's Foreign Ministry and the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunications, an international bank cooperative known as SWIFT, through which many international financial transactions take place.
- According to the German magazine *Der Spiegel*, the Americans have bugs hidden amongst European Union representatives in Washington. *Der Spiegel* reported on its Website that the National Security Agency (NSA) bugged EU offices and gained access to EU internal computer networks. According to Snowden documents, which *Spiegel* had read, the EU representation was attacked in the same way as representatives in New York at the United Nations. In the NSA document of September 2010, the Europeans were expressly named as an attack target. One report in *Der Spiegel* shows that the US "secret service" had tapped EU offices in Washington, Brussels and at the United Nations (Reuters, 1/7/13).
- The European Union is threatening to suspend two agreements granting the United States access to European financial and travel data unless Washington respects EU rules on data privacy. The Terrorist Finance Tracking Programme (TFTP), which provides the US Treasury with data stored in Europe on international financial transfers, and the Passenger Name Record agreement, which covers data provided by passengers when booking tickets and checking in for flights, are under threat. All such information is passed to the US Department of Homeland Security.

## Spying On Leaders of "Friends & Allies"

- Other sources have also reported that the NSA spied on the Presidents of Brazil and Mexico. Documents

released by Edward Snowden showed that, in June 2012, the spooks were reading the emails of Mexican President Enrico Pina Nieto, including ones which discussed who would be his Cabinet Ministers. No detail was given on the intercepted communications of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff but the NSA was collecting billions of Brazilian emails and telephone calls (*Press*, 3/9/13).

- The Brazilian network Globo also revealed that the NSA spied on the Brazilian State-run oil firm Petroleo Brasileiro SA (Petrobras), which has made some of the world's biggest oil finds in recent years.
- The US spooks have, for many years, been monitoring the mobile phone of German Chancellor Angela Merkel. German secret service officials travelled to Washington to seek explanations into the alleged surveillance of the Chancellor. While a White House spokesperson claimed in October 2013 there *is* no such surveillance, the glaring absence of past tense confirmed that, except for the immediate time of speaking, it was all too true. A report in *Der Spiegel* said the Chancellor's mobile number had been listed by the NSA's Special Collection Service (SCS) since 2002 and might have been monitored for more than ten years. The newspaper *Bild am Sonntag* reported that the NSA listened to Merkel's mobile phone, and another phone. It said the contents of text messages and phone calls were reported directly to the White House (information from *Observer* article printed in *New Zealand Herald*, 28/10/13). Ironically, before the public revelation that her phones had been tapped, Merkel had defended the US monitoring of Internet communications and said that the US cyber-snooping had helped prevent attacks on German soil.
- In an SCS document cited by *Der Spiegel*, the agency said it had a "not legally registered spying branch" in the US Embassy in Berlin. From there, NSA and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) staff were tapping communications in Berlin's Government district with high-tech surveillance. Quoting a secret document from 2010, *Der Spiegel* said such branches existed in about 80 locations around the world, including Paris, Madrid, Rome, Prague, Geneva and Frankfurt. The newspaper suggested one a key reason was former Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's refusal to support the Iraq War. Merkel took office in 2005 (*NZ Herald*, *ibid.*).
- The US has also locked Australia's Telstra into a national security agreement requiring its subsidiary Reach, started as a joint venture with Hong Kong's Pacific Century Cyberworks, to set up a US-based and staffed facility opening its database to American analysts. Reach is Asia's largest intercontinental telecoms carrier, with 82,300km of undersea cable linking Australia with New Zealand, China, Japan, Fiji and the US. The agreement requires the company to establish "a facility ... physically located in the United States, from which electronic surveillance can be conducted pursuant to lawful US process" (*NZ Herald*, 2/11/13).
- In November 2013, Fairfax journalist Andrea Vance reported suggestions that Australian and New Zealand's diplomatic posts in Asia have been used for espionage (*Stuff*, 3/11/13) and according to the *Der Spiegel* report and Australian experts in the Australian media, Australia conducts electronic spying from its embassies in Jakarta, Bangkok, Hanoi, Beijing and Dili, and high commissions in Kuala Lumpur and Port Moresby, as well as other diplomatic posts.
- NSA's Aussie (and NZ) partner, the Australian Defence Signals Directorate, has joined its Singapore counterpart to break into undersea fibre-optic telecommunications cables linking Asia, the Middle East and Europe. The intercepts are made through an operation codenamed Stateroom, based on America's XKeyscore programme, which opens an enormous database of Internet communications ranging from emails to social media and online chats (*NZ Herald*, 2/11/13).
- The NSA has a similar agreement signed with Britain's SatCom Distribution Ltd, which operates the global Inmarsat satellite network, covering most of the Asia-Pacific region, including New Zealand, Australia, Japan and China. Inmarsat's four tracking stations in Italy, China and Canada are supported by a backup station in Auckland.

James Clapper, the US Director of National Intelligence, defending US interception of sensitive political, commercial and financial information, admitted US agencies do collect information about economic and financial matters but claimed that it is used to combat terrorist financing and predict problems that could lead to financial crises or disrupt financial markets. "What we do not do," Clapper said in a statement, "is use our foreign intelligence capabilities to steal the trade secrets of foreign companies on behalf of - or give intelligence we collect to - US companies to enhance their international competitiveness or increase their bottom line" (*Stuff* *ibid.*). Given that most of the statements given out by the spy bosses are either misleading or downright lies, we take the above with an enormous grain of sodium chloride.

### **Black Propaganda At Work?**

As the revelations about the true extent of US spying spread through the world's media we were suddenly confronted in August 2013 with alarmist stories of US embassies being evacuated because of terrorist threats – none of which eventuated. A fine example of the enormous publicity machine which cranks out stories to inspire dread and fear – to safeguard a spy machine of unimaginable dimensions with an insatiable appetite for public funds (see article below)

## **New Zealand Spooky Bits**

### **GCSB's Powers Further Increased**

The Telecommunications Interception Capability and Security (TICS) Bill, the second part of the Government's new legislation to legally cover up GCSB spying, passed (just) through its final stages in Parliament at the beginning of November 2013. It is the companion legislation to the recently passed Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) Act and sets out the access that network operators and Internet service providers must give to spy agencies to allow them to monitor communications. It also places new obligations on network operators such as Telecom, Chorus and Vodafone to consult with electronic eavesdropping agency the GCSB on matters of network security (see next story). Some companies like Google, Microsoft, Facebook and Yahoo have claimed that the Bill could oblige any "blogging platform, social network, email service or other online forum", anywhere in the world, to provide assistance to the GCSB (*Stuff*, 15/10/13).

### **New Law Ensures GCSB Can Spy On NZ Telecoms**

*This is an edited version of a Marlborough Express article by Green MP Steffan Browning, (9/11/13).*

This week the Telecommunications (Interception Capability and Security) (TICS) Bill was ticked through Parliament ensuring spying agencies the technical ability to gain access into our communications networks. The Bill was the partner to the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) Bill which passed into law in August. I had participated in Parliament's Law and Order Select Committee to consider the TICS Bill and was the last speaker in the debate before that Bill was voted through into law 61-57.

These two laws are an arrogant, unjustified, extension of the ability of the State to intrude into the private lives of ordinary New Zealanders. A robust and genuinely independent inquiry into all aspects of New Zealand's security and intelligence services is very necessary and long overdue. Depending on the poll, something between 75 and 90% of New Zealanders have said they are concerned about the direction of this legislation. The GCSB Act basically allows the GCSB, normally tasked with foreign intelligence issues, to spy on New Zealanders, to invade our privacy, and breach our human rights. The TICS law is the technical part of how that can happen. While a certain amount of surveillance capacity may have its place in serious criminal situations, the acceptable level of trade off of civil rights should be debated through the community, and the activity and capacity of the spying agencies and their allies' needs to be fully understood.

Allowing the interception capacity of every communications network, from potentially baby monitors through to Telecom and Google, the seafloor cables and telecommunications satellites, in such a way that the US National Security Agency (NSA) can gather everything it wants to store on any one of us is potentially treason, yet this is what the TICS Bill has done. The TICS law is a veneer. It is just a legalised "local surface" to a deep global spying operation. There has been significant international media about the NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden, the data collection system Prism, including its link into New Zealand through the Waihopai spy base "Five Eyes - Echelon system" and hence the GCSB. What many of us have been concerned about is that what has been happening at Waihopai for decades has now been shown to be true, and yet it is not even covered by this legislation. This law, however, certainly ensures that the portals that those spy agencies want to exploit will be open to them. Waihopai should be pulled down and our laws reviewed.

### **How NZ 's Spooks Will Operate Under Their New Legislation**

In an article in the *Sunday Star-Times* (8/9/13) Nicky Hager outlined how the GCSB would operate its surveillance systems under the recent new enabling legislation (the Government Communications Security Bureau Act - passed in Parliament by 61 votes to 59 at the end of August 2013 after months of controversy and mass public protests – which gives the GCSB extended powers to spy on New Zealanders). Wikileaks released confidential new security industry documents which indicate the details of the kinds of surveillance systems that will be used in New Zealand. The documents included operating manuals, promotional material and invoices from companies specialising in Internet and telecommunications spying equipment. The material included information about equipment for "mass monitoring", "tactical Internet monitoring", "deep packet inspection" and "data warehousing". The British, German and Swiss companies producing the equipment promised to "fulfil the customer's needs" for "massive data interception and retention".

Amongst the techniques available were special off-the-shelf systems to provide governments with speech identification, facial recognition and number plate recognition technology. The documents outlining just how that spying will be conducted are now publicly accessible on the Wikileaks Website (the US government tried to close

Wikileaks after its massive leak of US embassy cables and military reports in 2010. However, the whistle-blowing Website continues to operate and this is the fourth major leak since then. The latest leaks reinforce the Edward Snowden revelations about US mass surveillance systems. Wikileaks has been supporting and cooperating with Snowden).

Wikileaks' founder, Julian Assange, said in a press release that the leak of espionage industry documents was part of Wikileaks' "ongoing commitment to shining a light on the secretive mass surveillance industry". He said the sensitive sales brochures and presentations were being "used to woo State intelligence agencies into buying mass surveillance services and technologies". The focus of the documents is Internet spying technologies, but the documents also detail bulk interception methods for voice, SMS (short message service i.e. texts on mobile phones), MMS (multi-media message service), email, fax and satellite phone communications, "the ability to analyse Web and mobile interceptions in real-time".

One of the specialty services revealed in the documents is called "intrusion solutions". These are computer systems that allow a government to hack into private computers. For instance, a company called Dreamlab Technologies produces a system called "Finfly iProxy", which is like a computer virus or "trojan" used to enter people's computers when they are downloading information off the Internet. One system, which was designed to cover two Internet exchanges in the Gulf State of Oman, was "used to infect binaries (non-text files) downloaded from the Internet by the configured target".

The system also had an "update infection mode", entering people's computers when their computers searched for updates to iTunes and other software. Once the computer is hacked, it will automatically send back the users' information to the government agencies. An example is the 'Finfly' system, which was found by human rights activists during a search of an Egyptian intelligence agency after the 2011 overthrow of Mubarak. It was also discovered in Bahrain where it was apparently being used to target political opponents.

The Internet monitoring equipment falls into three main types. First, there are "probes" that tap into and automatically search the major trunk lines of the Internet, many of which pass over US and British territory. Second is equipment for what the documents call "LI" operations (Lawful Interception), which are systems like Prism for tapping into private Internet companies. The third category covers State-organised computer hacking. New Zealand's electronic spy agency, the GCSB, has legal powers to conduct all three of these types of operations (*Sunday Star-Times*, 8/9/13).

### **Key Avoids Responsibility For GCSB**

Following reports out of Germany, New Zealand's membership of the exclusive Five Eyes club has come under further scrutiny. There has been recent evidence that Australian and New Zealand's diplomatic posts in Asia have been used for espionage. Repeatedly asked by reporters for details about the extent of the GCSB's activities, Prime Minister John Key claimed he hadn't bothered to ask. Whatever happened to the John Key that assures us he is in full control of the GCSB? Either Key knows what is going on under his watch or he is not doing his job. But his not bothering to ask is a standard political tactic: "plausible deniability" has been used to evade responsibility since the 1960s. Politicians who claim they don't have the information find it much easier to distance themselves from the spooks' hiccups and cock-ups, or the politician's own dirty dealing.

Key is desperate to keep his "smiley" clean image untainted by any unethical or illegal GCSB operations, and the dirty details and fascist tendencies of modern espionage. Above all, Key and his cohorts get off on being junior partners in the US intelligence machine. The National government has dragged NZ back into the military, intelligence and diplomatic back pockets of the Washington bosses. In pushing through legislation to strengthen GCSB surveillance, Key is anxious to show the big bully brother that he is a fully servile supporter. Obviously, however, he is less willing to take responsibility for his actions.

### **GCSB Boss Says Ex-MP Keith Locke Wasn't A Target**

GCSB Director Ian Fletcher has confirmed that former Green MP and activist Keith Locke was not among the 88 New Zealanders his Bureau may have spied on illegally. Activists should carefully note, however, that he did *not* say whether the GCSB had asked a sister agency to do such spying for them – a standard tactic amongst the brotherhood. In a letter at the end of October 2013, Fletcher confirmed the ex-MP was not (directly?) spied on. Keith had asked whether he had been spied on by the GCSB due to the fact that "during the time period of the GCSB's illegal spying I was subject to Security Intelligence Service (SIS) monitoring of preparations for my peace monitoring trip to Sri Lanka as an MP in October 2003, as reflected in two SIS reports added to my SIS file on 10 September 2003 and 24 September 2003". Asked whether Fletcher's decision indicated he would provide an answer to similar

questions from other activists, a GCSB spokeswoman said: "We consider each request on its merits, and if a requester isn't happy with a response they can take it up with the Privacy Commissioner" (*NZ Herald*, 6/11/13).

### **GCSB Acted Illegally On Kim Dotcom**

At the end of August 2013 there was an official announcement that the Police would not press criminal charges over illegal spying by the Government Communications Security Bureau, even though it had been found that Internet communications relating to Internet media entrepreneur Kim Dotcom were illegally intercepted by GCSB agents. No charges were laid because the Police found a loophole whereby they claimed the spying Bureau didn't act with "intent". Because the communications intercepts were not done with "intent" the GCSB, according to the Police, were not criminally liable. Complaints over illegal spying on Dotcom and his colleague Bram van der Kolk were made in 2012. A further complaint - about surveillance on 85 Kiwis revealed in the Kitteridge report into the GCSB – was also not investigated by Police. Greens Leader Russel Norman has condemned the Police lack of action on the Dotcom case and called on the GCSB to inform 85 other Kiwis, who were the subject of surveillance, who was spied on and for what reasons. Until now the GCSB has refused to confirm any details.

Nicky Hager's investigations revealed that in the Dotcom saga, the GCSB helped the Police by monitoring Dotcom's email. What this largely or entirely meant in practice was that the GCSB sent a request through to the NSA to do the monitoring for them and received the results back. This means that the NSA used either wide Internet surveillance (essentially "Echelon for the Internet") or else requested surveillance from an Internet company (for example, Gmail, Hotmail etc) directly; this is a "Prism"-type operation. It's not clear which it was.

### **Party Time At The GCSB**

Recent focus on the GCSB hasn't persuaded them to hide their social activities from public attention. The GCSB has been advertising for a "bright, enthusiastic and highly motivated" events coordinator to make arrangements for visits and events hosted by GCSB, the NZ Security Intelligence Service [SIS] and tenants at Pipitea House. The work includes arranging catering and confirming visitor security clearances. Presumably the martinis will be shaken, not stirred. How to get an invite? (*Stuff, Insider*, 27/9/13).

### **GCSB No Longer Masters Of Cyberspace**

A case of hubris rescinded? Until recently the GCSB Website proclaimed that the agency controlled cyberspace; the slogan "Mastery of Cyberspace" headlined the Website home page. Now this slogan has been removed from the page. Should we speculate about what brought about this revision? Has there been some monumental cock-up which has persuaded the spooks that in fact they are not "masters of cyberspace"? We await with interest the official, or perhaps more interestingly, the real reason for the change.

### **More Government Cover-ups. Inquiry Into Terror Laws Shut Down**

Justice Minister Judith Collins has shut down a review of the Terrorism Suppression Act; the second time the Key government has strangled attempts to reform it. Law Commission General Manager Roland Daysh said no explanation had been given as to why the review was dropped from the Law Commission programme by the Minister. The 1999-08 Labour government passed the Terrorism Suppression Act in 2002 in a dim-witted response to the 9/11 terror attacks on the US. The Act was used by Police to spy on, then arrest, Tame Iti and his Urewera cohorts in 2007. Most charges, including the most serious ones, were later dropped, and the Act deemed "unnecessarily complex" and "incoherent" (Adam Dudding, *Fairfax News*, 15/9/13). The predominantly negative fallout from the Urewerea fiasco clearly showed the need for re-examination of the legislation, but Collins, like her predecessor, Simon Power, has killed any Law Commission review. Greens' Co-Leader Russel Norman stated that this was to avoid any further situation where the Government's surveillance activities could be investigated or held to account. Collins later claimed a review was unnecessary and low priority.

### **New Head For Domestic Snoopers**

On the 12th of November, Key announced that one of his inner circle would take over the post of Security Intelligence Service (SIS) Director. The post has gone to the person who wrote the report on the GCSB following the Dotcom affair, the Secretary of the Cabinet, Rebecca Kitteridge. She replaces the current Director Warren Tucker, whose term will come to an end on April 30, 2014. Kitteridge will be the first woman to take up this position. She spent four years in the legal division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, four years as Crown Counsel on secondment to the Cabinet Office, and nine years as a lawyer in the private sector working on legal compliance for corporate entities.



## Australian Spooks Anger Indonesians

Revelations that Australia was systematically spying on its neighbour from its embassy in Jakarta have caused a big rift in relations between Jakarta and Canberra, and Indonesia is threatening to back out of current cooperation over terrorism, information exchanges and refugees, as well as strongly supporting moves for anti-spying resolutions at the United Nations. Foreign Minister Marty Natalegawa has said that neither the Government of Australia nor the United States would confirm or deny that the espionage that has been reported in various media is taking place. In 2004, President George Bush signed a directive elevating Australia to Intelligence Partner, the highest level of foreign access, and Washington depends on Australia to monitor this part of the world – along with our own GCSB. Recent developments include a partnership to share geospatial intelligence collected by satellites and monitored at the defence satellite communications ground station at Kojarena near Geraldton, north of Perth. *In November 2013 Indonesia recalled its Ambassador from Australia, highlighting its displeasure at being spied on by its neighbour. Ed.*

## UK Spooks Heavy *Guardian*

David Miranda - the partner of *Guardian* journalist Glenn Greenwald, was detained at Heathrow Airport and questioned for nearly nine hours under terrorism legislation, in August 2013. The British government claimed material seized from Miranda could compromise counter-terror operations, and intelligence agents in the field could be exposed as a result of the data. But *Guardian* Editor Alan Rusbridger dismissed the statement as containing "unsubstantiated and inaccurate claims," and questioned the danger, arguing that the Government had done little to address the issue before Miranda's detention (Danica Kirka, AP report, 31/8/13).

Rusbridger has also disclosed that British government officials – spooks from GCHQ - ordered the destruction of hard drives at the *Guardian* offices in London because they alleged the hard drives contained information relating to NSA leaker [Edward Snowden](#). In a seemingly nonsensical action, the hard drives were destroyed even though it was patently obvious that the material would be safely backed up somewhere else. They took the action even though Rusbridger explained the *Guardian's* NSA reporting is written, stored and edited in New York, and journalist Glenn Greenwald, the lead reporter on the story, lives in Brazil (*Guardian*, 20/8/13). The *Guardian* also reports that the officials from GCHQ, Britain's equivalent of the NSA, were apparently unaware of the concept of information in the cloud - and seemed satisfied that they had been able to destroy something tangible. One spook was described as being mystified as to why the *Guardian* would want to continue its reporting on the subject as "there's no need to write any more" (ibid.).

## GCHQ's Massive Spying Operations

At the beginning of this Spooky Bits column we listed a number of examples of the covert interception of the NSA. But we mustn't forget the incredible reach of Britain's Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), which some have suggested pulls in more data than the NSA. We know from court cases that the GCHQ has worked hard to ensure it has back door access into any communications system, and documents released by Edward Snowden show that GCHQ had been trying for years to exploit traffic from the big companies like Google, Yahoo, Microsoft and Facebook.

Along with the NSA, the GCHQ has bypassed or cracked much of the digital encryption used by businesses and everyday Web users, according to reports in the *New York Times* and Britain's *Guardian* newspaper (AP on *Stuff* Website, 6/9/13). The reports describe how the NSA invested billions of dollars since 2000 to ensure they could snoop on anyone they chose. They also state that the GCHQ had developed "new access opportunities" into Google's computers by 2012 but could not say how extensive the project was or what kind of data it could access. But the [Internet](#) giant has said in a court filing that people sending [email](#) to any of Google's 425 million Gmail users have no "reasonable expectation" that their communications are confidential (*Stuff*, 14/8/13).

## But One Spook Changes Sides Over MI6 Torture Involvement

A former [MI6](#) officer carried out a week-long hunger strike in August 2013 because he said he was so ashamed of the British secret service – the agency for which he once worked. MI6, he claimed "... now supports policies including assassination, rendition, torture and detention without trial". Harry Ferguson aimed to highlight the plight of the last UK resident, Shaker Aamer, being held at Guantanamo, who had been (August 2013) on hunger strike for more than 170 days. Ferguson said that recent claims that British intelligence officers had been covertly campaigning against Aamer's repatriation had proved the final straw. "In fact (the legal charity) Reprieve has recently uncovered evidence that MI6 is directly briefing against his return to this country because once he arrives here he will reveal that [MI6 officers were present while he was being tortured](#)," he added ([Observer](#), 10/8/13).



Ferguson said he was ashamed of the recruitment work he had carried out for MI6 and lectures he had hosted defending the security services. "Sadly, my advice today, to any aspiring recruit who values the defence of human rights, would be to stay away and do something better with their lives. The intelligence services are not what they were. Above all, they have forgotten the lessons that we learned during the struggle against Irish terrorism: that brutality and injustice are not the answer, they simply fuel the next generation of terrorists" (*Observer* *ibid.*). Aamer has been detained in the US military prison for 11 years without being charged or tried, although six intelligence agencies, including the CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), agreed that he was no threat to the United States or its allies

### **The Incredible Cost Of Spookery**

Information on US intelligence (excuse the oxymoron) budgets for fiscal 2013, obtained by the *Washington Post* from Edward Snowden, reveal that \$US52.6 billion (\$NZ63.6 billion) would have been spent on covert spookery by the CIA, NSA, and other spy agencies. This does not include the separate \$US23 billion devoted to intelligence programmes that more directly support the US military; for example, the Defence Intelligence Agency. The documents detail spending levels proposed to the House and Senate Intelligence Committees in February 2012. Congress may have later made changes. The *Washington Post* writers conclude: "... US spy agencies have built an intelligence-gathering colossus since the attacks of September 11, 2001, but *remain unable to provide critical information on a range of national security threats ...*" (*WP*, 30/8/13, emphasis added). The CIA and NSA have launched aggressive new efforts to hack into foreign computer networks to steal information or sabotage enemy systems, embracing what the budget refers to as "offensive cyber operations".

16 spy agencies make up the US intelligence community, which has 107,035 employees. The budget documents show that the US intelligence community is paranoid about what it calls "anomalous behaviour" by personnel with access to highly classified material. The NSA had planned to investigate at least 4,000 [!!!!] possible 'insider threats' in 2013, cases in which the Agency suspected sensitive information may have been compromised by one of its own. How teeth must have gnashed when Snowden blew the lid before being detected.

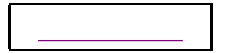
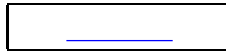
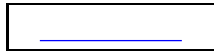
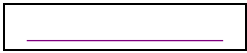
One aspect that surprised outsider analysts was that spending by the CIA has surged past that of every other spy agency, with \$US14.7 billion in the requested funding for 2013. The figure is much bigger than the usual estimates and nearly 50% more than the budget for the NSA. After the intelligence failures leading up to the September 11, 2001 attacks and the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, the CIA seems to have won back its primacy. The *Post* reports that, in 1994, the CIA accounted for just 11% (\$US4.8 billion) of a budget that totalled \$US43.4 billion in 2012 dollars, with the NSA and the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO), which operates satellites and other sensors, having a much greater chunk of the budget. During the past decade, apparently, these two high tech surveillance agencies have been pushed back by Langley. The NSA was in line to receive \$US10.5 billion in 2013, and the NRO was to get \$US10.3 billion.

The CIA share of the whole gourmet pie surged to 28%. The surge in resources for the Agency funded secret prisons, a controversial interrogation programme, support for expanding special forces operations, the deployment of lethal drones and a huge expansion of its counterterrorism centre. The agency has been transformed from a spy service into a paramilitary force. The CIA has devoted billions of dollars to recruiting and training a new generation of case officers, with the workforce growing from about 17,000 a decade ago to 21,575 in 2013. The Agency's budget allocates \$US2.3 billion for human intelligence operations, and another \$US2.5 billion to cover the cost of supporting the security, logistics and other needs of those missions around the world. An interesting sidelight is that a small amount of that total, \$US68.6 million, was earmarked for creating and maintaining "cover", the false identities employed by operatives overseas.

### **SIGINT Spending To Go Up**

Those of us who oppose the creeping Big Brotherhood and the extension of surveillance should note that the documents cite one category as particularly indispensable: signals intelligence, or SIGINT. Spending on satellite systems and almost every other category of collection was projected to remain stagnant or shrink, but the 2013 intelligence budget called for increased investment in SIGINT. The latest intelligence budget request (fiscal 2014) was 2.4% below that of fiscal 2012. However, the *WP* article estimates that, in constant dollars, this was roughly twice the estimated size of the 2001 budget and 25% above that of 2006, five years into what was then known as the "global war on terror". It also says that current spending easily surpasses (in relative terms) the amounts allocated to the agencies at the height of the Cold War. Because of the massive infusion of resources that followed the September 11 attacks, the US has spent more than \$US500 billion on spying and analysis in the last decade. The spooks, according to the information in the *Post*, remain fixated on "terrorism" as the gravest threat to US

national security. Counterterrorism programmes employ one in four members of the intelligence workforce and accounts for one third of all spending. Overall, in terms of defence, however, the US government gives ten times as much to the Pentagon as it does to the spooks.



# The GCSB's Legal Baseball Bat

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- John Minto

*John Minto's address to the TICS Bill (Telecommunications Interception Capability and Security) public meeting in Wellington on 23 September 2013. Both the GCSB and TICS Bills have since become Acts. Ed.*

There's been a lot said about the GCSB Bill and now the TICS Bill – the legal baseball bat the GCSB will wield against telecommunications companies to enforce compliance with spying on New Zealanders. The debate so far has centred on the expanded powers of the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) to spy on New Zealanders. Like a lot of people I felt like a proper idiot because I didn't think they spied on us – the legislation was clear that they couldn't and I believed them when they said they only gathered foreign intelligence. But the conspiracy theorists were right – they were spying on us all along. What idiots we were to believe their lies.

## Waihopai Spy Base

What I want to do here is bring the debate back to the most important role of the GCSB which is as part of the global "Five Eyes" network – the nickname for the UKUSA Agreement signed after the Second World War, where the US, UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada agreed to cooperate in a global intelligence gathering network. As a result the Tangimoana spy base near Palmerston North was established in the early 1980s and then Waihopai base near Blenheim was built in the late 1980s to conduct this surveillance for the network – a network controlled by the US National Security Agency (NSA – the US equivalent of the GCSB – much bigger than the US Central Intelligence Agency [CIA]), which is the wholly dominant partner in the alliance.

Waihopai was established under the 1984-90 Labour government and it's very interesting to read Dave Lange's foreword to Nicky Hager's 1996 book "Secret Power" where the former Prime Minister and Minister of Intelligence and Security, who approved the \$50 million for Waihopai, said he had no clear idea what the base did until he read Nicky Hager's book a decade later. What is obvious is that our spies see their first allegiance to the US rather than to the democratically elected Government of New Zealand.

Just one other example tells us all we need to know about the GCSB. Back in early 2003 when the US was trying to get United Nations Security Council support for a resolution endorsing an invasion of Iraq, the NSA sent an e-mail to its partners in the Five Eyes network. The e-mail was from Frank Koza, the NSA's Deputy Chief of Staff (Regional Targets), and requested that the Five Eyes spy on members of the UN Security Council – in particular Angola, Cameroon, Chile, Bulgaria and Guinea – in an attempt to get leverage to pressure those countries to support a UN Security Council resolution to invade Iraq.

So while the Helen Clark government was refusing to support the invasion, the GCSB was working for the US to get support for an attack – all in the name of cooperating with our intelligence partners. We can be thankful for the whistle-blower Katharine Gun\* who was the UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ, one of the Five Eyes' agencies) analyst who leaked that email in a brave attempt to avert war. We should congratulate her for doing so at huge personal risk just as we should celebrate other heroes such as Chelsea Manning (formerly Bradley Manning) and Edward Snowden – thank heaven for these courageous humanitarians. \*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>. Ed.

So what's changed with the GCSB's role in spying on New Zealanders with the GCSB and the TICS Bills? The GCSB legislation extends the role of the GCSB to spy on New Zealanders – making legal what the agency was previously doing illegally. It also reaffirms the role of the GCSB to "cooperate with our foreign intelligence partners" and so what does this mean today. We already know they spy on the United Nations and European governments from a series of leaks and blunders (Brazil's President cancelled a trip to US President Barack Obama in September 2013 because of revelations the US was spying on email communications from the Brazilian President's office. *And, since John gave this speech, there has been the huge scandal following the revelation that the NSA had routinely spied on the personal mobile phone of German Chancellor Angela Merkel. She was one of 35 world leaders spied on by the NSA – but not on John Key, according to him. Apparently he doesn't say anything that the Yanks consider worth listening to. Ed.*)

## GCSB Enables NSA To Spy On All Of Us

But what do they do in the 2013 and what role does New Zealand play? Edward Snowden's whistleblowing has lifted the lid and the spying is far more comprehensive and far more intrusive than most of us imagined. It involves the wholesale collection of data – not just metadata as our Prime Minister tried to say – and its storage for retrospective spying on everything we do or have done. And I say “we”, because it's not just the US citizens but all of us here in New Zealand; who are also in the NSA's sights.

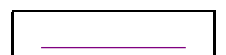
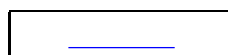
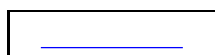
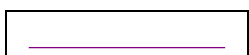
In the wake of Edward Snowden's revelations US officials have been struggling to justify their mass surveillance programme. They say that if you want to find a needle in a haystack then you have to be able to search the whole haystack. The GCSB's role is to provide the New Zealand and South Pacific part of the haystack for the National Security Agency to search. The GCSB requires a warrant to spy on New Zealanders – in theory at least – but the National Security Agency doesn't and under the GCSB's role to “cooperate with our foreign intelligence partners” the GCSB gives the NSA access to all our communications for them to search as part of their global surveillance.

Here is the crucial point - there is nothing in this legislation (GCSB or TICS Acts) which would prevent the wholesale spying on New Zealanders as revealed by Edward Snowden. If the Prime Minister is asked about this he will refuse to comment on how we cooperate with the US (e.g. he has refused to confirm or deny whether New Zealand is part of the global surveillance through Prism – the code name for the NSA's global spying method, revealed by Snowden - but will say he can assure us the GCSB follows the law and if it wants to spy on New Zealanders it needs a warrant and has proper oversight of that process. In other words Key will sidestep the issue.

In ten years time when this mass surveillance of New Zealanders is exposed we will have a Prime Minister throw up his or her hands in horror and say how upset s/he is that this has been going on – and the law will be changed to allow mass surveillance by the NSA. This legislation is not about keeping us safe but rather it's about keeping the flow of intelligence from Waihopai to the US so it can pursue its global military, political and commercial objectives more easily.

Why the surveillance anyway? The driver of terrorism in the world today is US foreign policy. Instead of facing this and developing an independent foreign policy New Zealand politicians engage in the most embarrassing toadying behaviour towards the US. Who is the most servile NZ politician when it comes to the US – John Key, Jonathan Coleman or Murray McCully? Feeling nauseous? Join the club. Experience tells us we can't trust anything the GCSB says, so let's not have them treat us like idiots again. We must roll back this legislation.

On a brighter note – for a marvellous musical presentation about the Waihopai spy base I suggest you Google “Jeff Simmonds” and “Waihopai” for a great little Kiwi song which tells the truth about New Zealand's involvement in US wars through Waihopai. There is an annual protest at Waihopai on the weekend of January 24-26, 2014 – run by the Christchurch-based Anti-Bases Campaign. I'll be there – I hope some of you will make the trip too.



# GCSB Bill A Threat To Anti-TPPA Campaigners

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Jane Kelsey

*Jane delivered this speech at the Auckland rally which was part of the July 27th 2013 National Day of Action Against the GCSB Bill. The Bill has since been passed into law. Ed.*

When the news broke about the GCSB's (NZ Government Communications Security Bureau) illegal spying on 88 New Zealanders\* I had a rush of calls from the media asking if I thought I was one of them, especially because of the international campaign against the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). I said I don't know. How could I know? I wrote to the GCSB and they said it would jeopardise NZ's security to tell me. So I still don't know. But I have pretty strong suspicions that give the lie to the claim that spying is not a problem if you have nothing to hide. \*See Peace Researcher 45, June 2013, "Crime Pays! Government Legalises GCSB Culture Of Impunity", by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/45/pr45-001.html>. Ed.

The campaign against the TPPA aims to stop our Government and 11 other governments from concluding an Agreement that is designed to empower foreign states and mega-corporations at the expense of the wellbeing of New Zealanders, and protect of our democratic right to decide our futures and our ability to honour te Tiriti o Waitangi. The US government, on behalf of US information technology (IT) industry and other corporations, is also demanding the TPPA has enforceable rules to prevent governments from imposing privacy rules to prevent the free flow of information. We know, thanks to Edward Snowden, that private firms are already trawling communications and meta-data on behalf of governments.

Nothing we are doing to stop this Agreement is illegal. We analyse boring and tedious documents. We educate people about the consequences. We lobby. We do press work. We talk with negotiators from many of the countries involved, and sometimes do work to assist them in understanding the implications. We hold regular teleconferences to share information we have gleaned and to discuss strategies. It seems ironic that they can withhold basic information on these negotiations on the grounds of confidentiality to ensure effective negotiations, but we have no control whatsoever over the confidentiality of our private communications.

## **I Repeat, None Of What We Are Doing Is Illegal**

We are merely attempting to bring fundamental democratic principles to bear on a secret, anti-democratic negotiation. As a taxpayer funded academic it is also about discharging our responsibilities as public intellectuals, and the statutory responsibility of universities to act as critic and conscience of society. Why do I think the GCSB has already been spying on us? Some will recall back in 1996 the SIS (NZ Security Intelligence Service) was caught burgling Aziz Choudry's house\*. One of the legal documents disclosed in the case that Rodney Harrison brought against the Government was an interception warrant signed by Prime Minister Jim Bolger – not the week before the Asia Pacific Cooperation (APEC) Trade Ministers' meeting in Christchurch, which was the immediate context of the burglary, but many months before. It may well have been a rollover of previous warrants. Aziz was a key activist in the campaign against neoliberal globalisation, as well as supporting Maori sovereignty and other *perfectly legal* activities. \*See 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>. Ed.

After that, the SIS law was changed to define their functions to include protecting New Zealand from activities that "impact adversely on New Zealand's international and economic wellbeing". What constitutes a threat to that "wellbeing" is defined by those in power. Prime Minister Helen Clark once described those of us who opposed the now derailed Doha Round at the World Trade Organisation as "wreckers". The same term was apparently used at the recent joint NZ US forum of Government and business people to describe opponents of the TPPA.

## **Do I Trust That They Are Not Monitoring Our Campaign? Hell No**

It seems obvious to me that, if the GCSB is to assist the SIS in matters over which it has warrants, then clearly they will be trawling the meta-data as well as the substance of our communications. It is also going to pass that on to the US and other countries. Why does it matter? First, we know that this Government is hell bent on shutting down opposition to the TPPA. When the December 2012 TPPA Round was in Auckland even those of us registered as "stakeholders" were locked out of the Convention Centre aside from the narrow "stakeholder" day on the pretext of

insufficient space. The truth was revealed in the hitherto secret “pokies for convention centre” negotiations, where the Government has demanded that critics like us are not even allowed to hire a room to hold an event, if they deem it contrary to NZ’s international interests. As the negotiations reach the point of political tradeoffs, as they are about to do, the stakes will increase. We can expect that the communications and data being collected will be shared across the countries involved. This has especially serious consequences for those in countries even less tolerant than our own.

There are participants in this network from Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, all of which have draconian international security laws that have been used by governments to shut down dissent. (In July 2013), when the TPPA Round was in Malaysia, 14 people holding a peaceful picket outside the venue were detained on the spurious grounds they were suspected of drug taking and by law, they could be detained to undergo compulsory drug tests. More information from our spy agencies about their participation in *perfectly legal activities* will be very dangerous for them. So we have a duty to fight this law, just like we have a duty to fight the TPPA. The two are intimately interconnected. But more than stopping this draconian legislation – we must demand the repeal of the other State surveillance powers they have aggregated over the past two decades.



# Q. Why Did The GCSB Cross The Road?

## A. Because It Was Never Really On Our Side!

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Adrian Leason

*From the Kapiti Independent, 15/11/13 Adrian Leason, Peter Murnane and Sam Land are the three Domebusters who deflated one of the Waihopai spy base's domes, in April 2008. They were acquitted of all criminal charges by a Wellington jury in March 2010. But the Crown is suing them for the \$1.2 million cost of replacing that dome. It won a summary judgement, meaning that they were ordered to pay the money without the need for a civil trial. In October 2013 the Court of Appeal upheld that summary judgement. Next stop is the Supreme Court. Ed.*

If the Government Communications Security Bureau is not working for us, then who in the world is it working for? This of course is the one billion dollar question, as it has cost New Zealand taxpayers close to this amount to build and run our part of the "Five Eyes" spy network for the last 25 years. Revelations about the GCSB's primary loyalties have been coming thick and fast since the Dotcom saga first appeared in January 2012. What we have all discovered through this sorry tale of illegal surveillance is that in fact, in this instance, the GCSB has been working for Warner Brothers Studios and the like in relation to their complaint that Dotcom is assisting in the theft of their products; questionable behaviour possibly, but hardly a matter of New Zealand's national security. Reading the meticulously documented writings of investigative journalist Nicky Hager on the activities of the GCSB for over 20 years one can only conclude the Dotcom saga is the mere tip of the proverbial iceberg of commercial spying being done by the GCSB on behalf of so-called friendly business interests.

### GCSB's Spying On Airbus

The GCSB's spying on Airbus on behalf of Boeing and the spying on our Pacific neighbours for the benefit of US fishing interests are two additional examples that intelligence insiders have brought into the light. As concerning as the GCSB's "bread and butter" work might be, the recent diplomatic scandal concerning the "Five Eyes" spying on the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel provides insight into the GCSB culture of theft. Clearly both friends and foes are legitimate targets in the pursuit of diplomatic or commercial advantage.

Katharine Gun, whistle blower and intelligence analyst for the UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), revealed, in the days leading up to the US-led illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003, that the US National Security Agency (NSA) directed the "Five Eyes" network to spy on the United Nations Security Council members. Surely this is behaviour that undermines New Zealand's high standing in the international community and is harmful to our national interests. \*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>. Ed.

### 25 Years Of Requests

For over 25 years now concerned citizens in New Zealand have been requesting information about the activities of the GCSB; the only response provided has been that the GCSB has not, does not and will never spy on New Zealanders. Thanks to Kim Dotcom most Kiwis now know that assertion has been a lie. The above litany of criminal practice, as part of the day to day operations of the GCSB, pales into insignificance when we consider the ultra-secretive involvement the Bureau has in war crimes and crimes against humanity.

### Snowden's Mention Of Waihopai

NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden has specifically mentioned the Waihopai spy base as a key US supplier of "real-time" intelligence. Spying of this nature done from Waihopai, from NZ Navy ships and from the NZ Air Force's Orions is vital for the work of extrajudicial "special rendition". This is where a person is kidnapped off the street, spirited to a third country where "black sites" exist and is then tortured by US interrogators and their collaborators. We may well all feel proud that the NZ Army was not sent into combat during the criminal folly that was the US illegal invasion of Iraq; a humanitarian disaster zone resulting in the deaths of 800,000 Iraqi citizens.

### NZ's Involvement In Iraq War

However, before we adopt a superior attitude, we must acknowledge that New Zealand was strongly represented by



the GCSB in the Iraq debacle. Nicky Hager writes that intelligence gathering and weapons deployment are two sides of the same coin. When US cruise missiles killed civilians in Iraq you can be sure Waihopai was connected; either as a provider of raw intelligence, a conduit for information transfer or as a source of linguists for data translation - evidence for which includes the dozens of Arabic language experts currently employed by the GCSB.

The Echelon spy network, or "Five Eyes", of which the GCSB is part, is a seamless cloak serving its creator the NSA and the foreign policy objectives and business interests of the world's leading "aggressor nation" the US of A. Applying an everyday cost benefit analysis to the operations of the GCSB it becomes clear very quickly that an enormous sum of money has been spent against a history of 25 years of zero achievement that might benefit New Zealanders. Zero arrests, court cases or prosecutions in relation to the 88 Kiwis illegally spied on by the GCSB. Zero terrorist plots exposed, zero foreign spies uncovered, zero industrial or commercial illegal spying operations against New Zealand interests intercepted.

It would appear that the GCSB has been using the whole notion of a "terrorist watchdog" as a proxy for its covert core business as an NSA subcontractor. Of course apologists may argue that total and permanent secrecy is essential to successful spying, but surely just a few examples of best practice after 25 years wouldn't be too much to ask, surely one billion dollars gets a few publicly acknowledgeable results? When the US illegal invasion of Iraq began in March 2003, I was living with my wife and four sons in an urban slum in Southeast Asia, as part of our work with an NZ non-Government organisation for Christian aid and development. On returning to NZ, I became reconnected with the NZ peace movement and campaigned against the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Having engaged in all forms of legal and peaceful protest, I became compelled to become more personally involved in helping prevent the tragic loss of innocent lives in these war zones.

### **"Tried To Put Faith Into Action"**

As part of the so-called Waihopai Three, I belatedly and clumsily tried to put into faith into action. I believe in the "Golden Rule" – do unto others as you would have them do unto you! 800,000 people in Iraq plus thousands more in Afghanistan have fallen under the wheels of war; if I could stop that machine, even for a day, any cost to myself would be worth it. I would want help for my family, if our situations were reversed. We achieved our immediate goal of upsetting the operations of the Waihopai spy base and we went on to be acquitted of all criminal charges in a NZ court of law by a jury of our peers.

However, what's going on now has us and many others concerned. The Crown having lost in the criminal court is now suing us for money we do not have. And indeed have already successfully sued us without even giving us a hearing. Our recent attempt to request a court hearing concerning the liability for damages has been rejected by the Court of Appeal. It would appear that the "old boys' network" is as strong as ever. The only course open to us now is an appeal to the Supreme Court of NZ. Maybe we'll have our day in court yet?

Knock, knock? Who's there? GCSB! GCSB who? I'm sorry, for "security reasons" I can't give out any more information.

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# The Rocky Tiger Ploughshares Trial

## (19-22 August, 2013)

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Sean O'Reilly

Rockhampton is a provincial town of 60,000, 650km north of Brisbane and is strongly associated with cattle and mining industries. It is near the Shoalwater Military Training Area which is the central area for the biennial joint US-Australian military exercises\* which began in 2005. They are one of the USA's biggest joint military exercises and during this period have had as one of its foci the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. Activists have travelled to Rockhampton on each occasion to protest, raise awareness and interrupt the exercises by way of blockade, lock-ons and incursions into the training area. *\*These are ANZUS Treaty exercises. ANZUS was 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.*

### Bryan Law Died Before Standing Trial

In July 2011 Bryan Law, with the assistance of Graeme Dunstan, set out to take that resistance further and grounded one of Australia's Tiger Reconnaissance Attack Helicopter (RAH), stationed at Rockhampton Airport. The Tiger RAHs, similar to the Apache helicopter, were used in the exercises and intended for deployment to Afghanistan. It was all the more amazing as Bryan had stated on several occasions that he had intended to undertake such an action, and was in poor health. In October 2012 Bryan moved to Rockhampton to build further support in the local area and prepare for the trial. Bryan looked forward to his day in court and to argue before a jury the reason for his actions, knowing that the outcome would likely be a lengthy prison term. Sadly Bryan passed away in the last week of March 2013. A very sad loss for his wife Margaret and son, Joseph, and one that was felt far beyond (see Peace Researcher 45, June 2013, for obituaries of Bryan Law by Murray Horton, Michael Moore, Ciaran O'Reilly and Jim Dowling, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/45/pr45-007.html>. Ed.).

Bryan's death would also mean that Graeme would be going to trial alone and supporters from as far away as Melbourne made their way to Rockhampton for the trial commencing on 19 August. Being with folks who have made the journey to support a friend or friends going to trial is something special. We were very fortunate to have the hospitality of Chris from Haveachat. That space and its proximity to the court were instrumental in how well the week went. As a group we shared and worked together very effectively and harmoniously, bringing a variety of skills to the table. From the shopping and cooking to the media, filming and leading in prayer to maintaining the witness outside the court whilst the trial proceeded inside.

However from the outset we were underprepared. Legal Aid withdrew their representation about six weeks prior to the trial. The reason given was that Graeme wished to continue to plead not guilty although the record of interview (ROI) he had given on the day after the action provided a very clear and frank admission of the facts of the case. Legal Aid, understandably I would say, felt that to persevere with a not guilty plea was a waste of their time and the limited resources of the Legal Aid Service. They would not have been seeing the case from the perspective of a strong moral argument but rather a perceived weak legal position and this raises a discussion we should have in the future about the pros and cons of providing a ROI to police.

Graeme accepted my offer to be a McKenzie Friend. It is a role whereby a person who does not have legal representation can have somebody with them to provide advice. I only began to focus on preparation once we collected the brief from the lawyer on 19 July, one month before trial. As this was in the middle of the Talisman Sabre 2013 ANZUS exercise there was little time to get down to preparation, which only started properly 3½ weeks out from trial. It was a challenging time with Graeme in Rockhampton and me near Brisbane and working fulltime.

I made the mistake of naively believing that I would be given a broader scope by the judge, by putting forward a plausible argument given legal aid was withdrawn at such a late stage, the severity of the charges and possibility of a lengthy custodial sentence in the event of a guilty verdict. That was dealt a blow on the eve of the trial with an email from the prosecutor confirming what I had already begun to anticipate and that is that they would oppose my having a broader role than providing direct advice to Graeme.

On the morning of 19 August we processed to the courthouse, gathered and prayed outside before heading into court. Throughout the trial a presence was maintained outside with banners and placards. Graeme argued our case

that Judge Samios should allow me to have a greater role in the proceedings but was turned down. The jury selection process was interesting. Of the 55 or so candidates there was only one with a professional occupation and at least 80% fell within a narrow range of occupations - home duties, retired and unskilled positions. Challenge or not? There is less than ten seconds once the name is called to form a snap opinion about the candidate and then challenge or not. And you only have eight challenges. We aimed for a cross-section of gender and age and, in the end, probably could not have ended up with a significantly different jury.

The prosecution's case was made quite easy by virtue of the ROI. There was very little by way of cross examination apart from questioning (by telephone) of the two soldiers involved in Bryan's arrest as to their role and that of the Tiger RAH and Talisman Sabre exercises. The other witnesses were restricted to the police officer from the ROI, two officers in regard to the exhibits, WIN regional TV cameraman and Director of the Armed Reconnaissance Helicopter Unit to clarify that the Government actually owns the helicopter.

### **"Collateral Murder": First Time Screened In A Trial**

The high point was putting before the jury the evidence from Graeme, Simon Moyle and Donna Mulhearn, and the "Collateral Murder" DVD\*. On Day 2 Graeme went into the witness box and spoke of his transformation from officer training at Duntroon Military Academy to peace activist, community artist and his journey, eventually, to Rockhampton to oppose Talisman Sabre and support Bryan. We later mounted a case for the showing of the "Collateral Murder" video and introducing our two other witnesses, Simon and Donna. There was opposition from the prosecutor but not so compelling nor so forcefully argued that Judge Samios had difficulty making a ruling in our favour.

*\*\*"Collateral Murder" can be viewed on YouTube at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rXPrfnU3G0>. It is the 2007 US helicopter video camera footage, with accompanying audio ("oh yeah, look at those dead bastards") of an unprovoked fatal attack on a number of unarmed Iraqi civilians, including children, in a Baghdad street. Several were killed including two journalists. This was one of the first incriminating leaks of US military material made by (the now imprisoned) Private Bradley Manning via Wikileaks. Ed.*

It is worth mentioning that in this case where the prosecution appeared to have a rather easy legal hurdle that it seems better to defend oneself. It could be argued that with a reasonable judge, and that described Judge Samios, there is greater latitude and assistance given to the defendant. It may also be that this situation avoids the natural professional competitiveness and adversarial environment that would have occurred should a lawyer be dealing with prosecutor and judge.

The showing of the "Collateral Murder" video was almost certainly the first time that it had been shown in a trial anywhere in the world. It appeared to have a strong impact on the judge and some of the jurors and how could it not do so? Those 17 minutes encapsulated for me many of the reasons Bryan was moved to take this action and the reason Graeme came forward in support, enabling Bryan to accomplish this act of disarmament. And the reason we were all in that courtroom. The Tiger RAHs were part of the Talisman Sabre 2011 exercise and it was clear at that time they were intended for deployment to Afghanistan. The viewing almost did not happen when the DVD player refused to work. We then had the curious sight of the assistant prosecutor helping us for about 10-15 minutes during a recess, trying to get the DVD to work through his laptop. That was a very memorable moment.

Simon and Donna provided strong testimony regarding their experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq respectively. It was important to include the link between their experiences and particularly what they had learnt about the role of attack helicopters and the Australian military's role, and that they had conveyed these experiences to Bryan and Graeme prior to July 2011. At one point when it appeared that I had not clearly enough made that link in the evidence from Simon and Donna, Judge Samios came to the rescue and advised me so.

Day 3 commenced with each side presenting their summary. Graeme recounted his life's journey in peace activism, opposition to the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, and Australia's ongoing involvement, and his arrival at deciding to assist Bryan in achieving his act of disarmament. Graeme spoke with emotion and conviction. The prosecutor's closing remarks were very brief and merely directed the jury to the evidence of the ROI. The judge provided his instructions to the jurors who then retired at about 11.45 a.m. to consider their verdict. It was a surprise then to be informed by the bailiff two hours later that the jury wished to review the ROI again and the WIN television film of the action. The jurors also requested transcripts of the ROI. It remains unclear as to the reason(s) for these requests. The defence had to provide permission for the transcripts to be provided. It was my initial reaction was that this could be a negative without knowing why and it was only after some advice and encouragement from the judge that we agreed to the request for copies of the transcripts.

Following the second viewing of the ROI and WIN footage, the jury retired again only to return again 90 minutes later with questions of clarification. There were now only two jurors holding out from returning a guilty verdict. There were four questions and three of them were addressed to Graeme. The fourth related to clarification of the parameters of the charge. They seemed to be questioning Graeme's character and/or decision making. Why did he not join Bryan in the disarmament? Why did he leave Bryan behind? Why did he notify the media? Samios sent the jury away again and it was only at 5.45 p.m. that he concluded the day's proceedings. The prosecution and defence were given the four questions and asked to provide responses on the following morning. We were instructed not to reveal the questions to anyone else.

## **Guilty**

On the morning of Day 4 Judge Samios reported that the jurors had reached a unanimous verdict and our responses would not be required. It remains unknown as to what changed in the minds of the two jurors holding out. The jury was then brought back into the courtroom and stood in a line in front of the jury box. They were all asked for their verdict and responded "guilty" before being dismissed by Samios. One juror was observed to be crying as she left the courtroom. It was remarkable that given the apparent obvious outcome in a narrow legal sense that the jury deliberated for as long as they did and this spoke to the power of the case put forward. It was anticipated that the trial would only run two to three days and here we were almost midway into the fourth day. There is much to take away from this.

We were to return to court at 2.30 p.m. and I prepared notes to challenging the figure of \$A162, 000 in damages. The expert witness, Worsley, was questioned by telephone. It was obvious that major questions arose out of the charges for repairs but we could not make any headway without our own expert witness to provide information by which to counter. Graeme effectively raised some important questions but Judge Samios repeatedly favoured the line that Worsley was giving. Sentencing remarks were quite generous to both Bryan and Graeme "I accept that you are genuine about how you feel. Peace should be the primary way we live rather than be consumed with war. There is no doubt that from the views you expressed about the film that was shown to the jury, called 'Collateral Murder', there is no doubt people would be moved by the thought that those people died the way they did. It included two journalists... I take the view...that it is understandable because of your convictions...to see peace in the world...". The sentence was then handed down - a two year fully suspended sentence, three year good behaviour bond and \$A162, 000 in restitution.

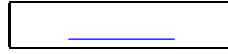
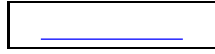
## **Response To Permanent War**

In regards to how we conducted ourselves during the trial, there was much with which to be satisfied. Graeme, Donna and Simon spoke very strongly and the showing of the "Collateral Murder" video was very powerful and moving. There are lessons learnt. We could have been better prepared even with the limited time but more time would have been beneficial, as I learnt in preparing; one inevitably goes down some dead ends before back tracking and finding a better path. It hit me too late that I would most likely not be given the latitude that we had hoped for in regards to my role during the trial. The thing is to prepare for those opportunities you can control such as

- The opening and closing statements as they give the defendant an opportunity to speak directly to the jury without interference from the prosecutor. The closing statement particularly is important as an opportunity to summarise your case and leave the jury with the strongest impression of what you have tried to convey.
- The ROI probably meant that the prosecutor did not have to produce in court any witnesses from the military to provide evidence regarding the actual arrest and therefore an opportunity missed to question military personnel more fully.
- Our arguments for allowing Simon and Donna to give evidence and for the inclusion of "Collateral Murder" video were reasonable and "got us over the line" but in retrospect could have been prepared more thoroughly
- I should have introduced into evidence in a more structured way Australia's breaking of its own laws in relation to war crimes and international conventions including the United Nations Charter as the invasion of Afghanistan was illegal under international laws as was the invasion of Iraq.
- With more time we may have been able to find witnesses to speak directly as either victims of helicopter attacks, or from the military. This would have taken a considerable time to identify these people and develop the relationships sufficiently (if in fact such witnesses are there to be found).
- The very good media work performed by those within the group was very important as was Ciaron O'Reilly's efforts in increasing the profile of the case overseas. Also it was Ciaron's suggestions to broaden the approach to attack helicopters generally and the inclusion of the "Collateral Murder" video. These inclusions were pivotal in the strength of the case that we presented

In conclusion, the Rocky Tiger Ploughshares action stood on its own regardless of the trial outcome. Bryan is to be

commended for his vision and commitment to undertake such an act of disarmament. It spoke directly to Australia's ongoing involvement in this permanent war and struck directly at our nation's ongoing involvement in the occupation of Afghanistan. Bryan was very much looking forward to having his day in court to speak to his action. The trial was an extension of the witness, it resonated strongly for those folks there and many beyond, and the spirit of Bryan was present. Graeme had risen to the occasion in providing the support which enabled Bryan to achieve his goal. If not for Graeme this act of disarmament would not have happened.



# The Challenge Of Climate Wars: Countering Resource Conflict And Genocide

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Dennis Small

*"Our species is good at understanding the direct, immediate and visible consequences of our actions. We are a lot less smart at grasping the consequences when they are dispersed across billions of people whom we will never meet. This might not have mattered when we lived in caves but it won't let us live well in a global society. Our impacts used to be local and visible. Today they are not. Perhaps we need to find it as shocking when we see dispersed suffering inflicted through needless carbon emissions as it would be to see the same suffering inflicted all in one place in front of our eyes by, let's say, a street stabbing" (Mike Berners-Lee, "How Bad Are Bananas?: The Carbon Footprint Of Everything", Profile Books, 2010, p8).*

*"Potentially, therefore, the greatest threat posed by global climate change is not so much the destruction of ecosystems, although this is worrying enough. Rather, it is "the disintegration of entire human societies, producing wholesale starvation, mass migrations and recurring conflict over scarce resources" (Confronting Climate Change: Critical Issues for New Zealand, ed. R. Chapman, Jonathan Boston & Margot Schwass, Victoria University Press, 2006, p54, quoting: Prof. Michael Klare, 2006, "The Coming Resource Wars".*

As we go deeper into the 21st Century, the challenges of the future continue to mount. Global capitalism is already locked into the aggressive competition for resources, whether in the form of violent confrontation, selective militarist commitment, or potential conflict – from Afghanistan and Iraq to the South China Sea, from Syria to Venezuela, from Mali to Uzbekistan. Big power rivalry, with the US, China and Russia fully implicated, spans Eurasia and the rest of the Earth. Indeed, there are a multitude of conflicts (local, regional, and international) over natural resources - from land, water and living space to rare earth minerals. These incipient, intermittent, or full-blown conflicts appear around the globe. Meantime, peacemaking efforts remain woefully inadequate. Internationally, what is urgently needed is a sense of growing crisis that can unite and channel the energies of concerned people in pre-emptive, positive action. Can the looming threat of climate change be this motivating agency? The world peace movement must mobilise on an unprecedented scale, both to help prevent war and to chart sustainable economic alternatives to the current system.

## Growing Concern On Climate Change

The last decade has been the hottest on record, with 63 countries breaking weather records of one sort or another (TV1, *Noon ONE News*, 4/6/13). It has been a decade of extremes with experts attributing this to global warming and climate change. In 2013, there have been soaring record temperatures at the heart of the Anglo-American axis, both in the US and Britain, while other parts of the planet like India and China have similarly suffered acutely hot weather. There have been raging floods and storms in all these regions. Glaciers on the Himalayan and other mountain ranges surrounding the Tibetan Plateau (sometimes called the Third Pole) continue to melt into the mighty rivers upon which so much of human food supply depends. One day it is predicted these rivers will run dry ("When the Rivers Run Dry: What Happens When Our Water Runs Out?" Fred Pearce, Eden Project Books, 2006; "Water: Our Thirsty World" – *A Special Issue, National Geographic*, April 2010). Yet if there is keen concern in some places about the threat of climate change, globally the momentum forward is still badly stalled. Those of us who are seeking a better future, especially for coming generations, must certainly contribute as much as possible to the ongoing discussion and ideally, we must formulate constructive policy for practicable action. We must help support and promote the movement away from fossil fuels to renewable sources of energy as part of international peacemaking efforts for the longer term. At the same time, we must try and deepen commitment to both social justice and conservation of vital ecosystems, including preservation of all the other forms of life with which we share this small, vulnerable planet.

At the top level of capitalist/globalist thinking, ideology and strategy have been in some turmoil over the burning question of climate change ever since the issue took off publicly in the 1980s. This confusion of thinking can be analysed in various ways. One way of looking at the phenomenon is simply along the lines of optimism versus pessimism: can Western-style capitalism continue to grow and prevail interminably? The view that it can is articulated, both directly and indirectly, by the mainstream media and the economics profession as a regular working assumption. The idea of limitless growth on the Earth with its fragile biosphere is fundamental to capitalism and globalisation, and the whole Western project of modernisation.

Neo-liberalism is the supreme expression of such attitudes. The crusading optimistic neo-liberal mindset is even sometimes explicitly contrasted – in the usual superficial fashion - with non-capitalist projections, as for instance in a *Listener* cover story that promoted research findings by *The Economist's* Daniel Franklin et al on what they see as the coming megatrends ("Touch the Future", April 28/May 4, 2012). Profitable predictions, after all, are the bread and butter of the capitalist spirit. With regard to Western popular culture - ironically and most revealingly - darker projections about the future are overwhelmingly the preserve of the capitalist entertainment industry. Here vampires, zombies, vicious forms of violence, societal collapse, dystopias, war and all sorts of apocalyptic end-games run rampant. At the same time, however, the mainstream media are inevitably preoccupied with two great threats to global capitalism.

Besides the struggle for recovery from the global financial crisis (GFC), there is of course the ongoing so-called "War on Terror" and the whole panoply of alleged militarist or terrorist threats to the US and its Western allies – from Yemen to China, from Syria to Somalia. These threats to the rule and lifestyle of the rich and powerful also include the humanitarian plight of refugees, migrants, asylum-seekers and so-called "boat people". The American National Security State (NSS), and the Anglo-American axis in general, including NZ (currently, like Australia, implementing anti-"boat-people" legislation), are all on a permanent war footing - at least to some degree. As well as environmental depredation, Western modernisation so evidently generates diverse types of human resistance to its agenda, including violent opposition and aggressive competition. Despite all this, the Western propaganda machine constantly churns out the Orwellian messages of freedom, human rights and benign economic growth, even as the "Big Brother" NSS consolidates with ongoing erosion of civil rights and the pervasive surveillance of its citizens.

While the mainstream media might occasionally relay information to the public on the worsening state of the planetary environment and related issues, its general strategy is to largely ignore or play down the nature of such problems. After all, growing concern about climate change is highly problematic for the pundits and advocates of globalisation because more and more people might wake up to the limits of entrepreneurship, industrialisation and growth. And, then – *horrors!* – they might start to seriously question capitalism and the very notion of progress itself. It is likely they would instead seek alternative paths to sustainable development and human survival, paths necessarily much more oriented to egalitarianism and participatory democracy.

### **The Cultivation Of Sophisticated Scepticism**

Corporate cultivation of scepticism on climate change has long been the practice of the fossil fuel industry – most notoriously ExxonMobil – and other vested interests. While such scepticism is still widespread, any pretence at scientific credibility seems increasingly questionable. In 2013, US President Barack Obama explicitly declared that he has no time for today's equivalent of the Flat Earth Society and has especially targeted coal for elimination as a source of energy and heating. However, the architects and agents of fossil-fuelled globalisation have endless ploys of delay and inaction at their resort. NZ's Trade Minister Tim Groser, former World Trade Organisation (WTO) negotiator and a recently failed contender for the WTO's top job, consistently plays the game of pushing scepticism and corresponding policy inaction to its officially prescribed boundaries. In the NZ Parliament, Green Party spokespeople regularly and rightly inveigh against the Government's dedication to fossil fuels, the rampant mining of NZ, and the related lack of positive, pre-emptive policy and action on climate change. But Groser and co. are committed to systematic prevarication and indolence on the threats to both our specific environment, and the planetary ecosystem as a whole.

When pressed in Parliament by Green Party Co-Leader Russel Norman on the reasons for the lack of any really meaningful action, Groser (bizarrely, but significantly enough, also the Minister for Climate Change Issues) replied by stressing the uncertainties around the science of climate change as the National Party government sees them (*Parliament TV*, 6/6/13). In damage control mode, he later declared that the NZ Government recognises the reality of climate change and is taking measures appropriate to NZ's place in the world (*ibid*, e.g. 8/8/13). But our country's greenhouse gas emissions have increased substantially in recent years. The Government's measures are merely token and grossly ineffectual in nature, being specifically designed to protect short-term economic interests.

Seasoned ex-diplomat, former university lecturer, and now Green MP, Dr. Kennedy Graham makes excellent, incisive speeches on the threat of global warming and its implications. The inane, short-sighted stupidity of responding National Party MPs has to be seen to be believed, although the mainstream media do their very best to screen this stupidity from the public. National MPs routinely dismiss the best, up-to-date scientific assessments and the consequent urgent imperative for action as "scare-mongering", or worse. They thrive on their own cultivated ignorance and blindness. But then there are always certain scientists, even non-sceptics on climate change, who are only too willing and ready to lend the corporate brigade a hand. Since the general scientific approach is searchingly critical in style, and at issue is the biggest and most complex environmental challenge that humankind has ever faced, there is plenty of scope to contest aspects of the anthropogenic case for global warming. This can



be done in a negative or dampening fashion, especially regarding the implications for policy and action. Of course, too, opinions will inevitably range widely on practicable actions with regard to this particular issue, given its very nature. What those of us who are committed to substantive social change need to do is to try and shape the debate as positively as possible in as broad and meaningful context as we can, drawing on all the relevant knowledge and disciplines available.

These days, scepticism in mainstream circles may apply more to the options for practicable action rather than to the question of anthropogenic climate change itself. In fact, this sort of scepticism seems to be the dominant official stance in the Western world in the second decade of this century. It is related in turn to interpretations as to the severity of the global warming threat. In terms of such sophisticated scepticism – as contrasted with what can be called the fundamentalist or primitive scepticism of climate change denial – any radical measures to mitigate climate change are normally just too hard to contemplate, let alone try and implement. This applies in particular to the issue of the role of humans in global warming.

### **Choosing Political Positions**

As noted, the mainstream media deliberately avoid giving climate change the attention it deserves and this cursory treatment is reflected in so much of the commentary that is actually presented. The keystone shareholder of Australian-based Fairfax Media is mining baroness, Gina Rinehart, a fervently dedicated and activist climate sceptic with views that reflect her corporate self-interest (see my article "Crunching NZ: Globalist Contradictions Bite Home", in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 131, December 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/31/10.html>). Furthermore, Rinehart is both representative and symbolic of Australia's commitment to coal and other fossil fuels. The extremely short-lived 2013 Rudd Labor government in Australia cynically ditched the "unpopular" carbon tax in July 2013. This was a tax which the transnational corporation (TNC) controlled mining industry - and the corporate media (dominated by Rupert Murdoch and Rinehart & co.) - had already effectively gutted in a campaign that sunk the first Rudd government (2007-10). Fairfax Media owns a very substantial raft of newspapers and other media in Aotearoa/NZ and Australia. So far as Australia goes, a change of governance to a "Mad" Tony Abbott-led Liberal government would only further deepen commitment to mining, fossil fuels, and global warming. "Abbott wants to turn the effort against boat people into a military operation headed by a general" (*Press*, "Abbott's Crazy . . .", 28/8/13).

Australian mining companies currently have a strong foothold in Aotearoa/NZ, with a big push under way for more exploitation. Australian company Bathurst Resources is making a major bid to access more of Aotearoa/NZ's coal resources despite strenuous opposition from the NZ environmental movement. Bathurst has a green light and enthusiastic backing from the Government, including the so-called "blue-green" Minister for Conservation Nick Smith, over the advice of his own Ministry. At present, the Government is rewriting the landmark Resource Management Act to further downgrade environmental principles in favour of economic development at any cost, especially to facilitate more fossil fuel mining and intensive dairy farming. The latter enterprise is fed by irrigation - mining and milking NZ's waterways - many of which are already heavily polluted and often reduced in natural flow. In practice, the policies of the National government – whatever the hypocritical, lying rhetoric – are making the already badly contaminated *100% Pure* brand of Aotearoa/NZ much worse. Prime Minister John Key, a former Merrill Lynch money trader, treats it openly and unashamedly as just another cynically contrived advertising slogan anyway - like those of McDonalds or L'Oreal. In true Americanised style, superficial image and appearance are everything.

### **Promoting And Politicising Sophisticated Scepticism**

As an example of the promotion of sophisticated scepticism, let's look at an article on "The Politics of Climate Change" (in the Fairfax Media-owned *Press*, 20/10/12). This article was framed by the contextual heading: "The climate change debate is not being helped by the exaggeration both from alarmists and sceptics. So what do scientists and policy-makers actually believe these days?" To find out, opinions were sought from David Frame, the new Director and Professor of the Climate Change Research Institute at Victoria University. But what we have already learned is that the so-called "alarmist" attitude to climate change is clearly not germane to "scientists and policy-makers", at least as expounded by this particular article. It is most important then to note how politics, public policy, and scientific understanding of climate change are intimately interwoven.

Professor Frame's own personal views are articulated at length and in detail in the article. Frame claims the "middle ground" between scepticism and alarmism for the dominant scientific position on climate change and its implications for action. But his interpretation of the "middle ground" is obviously coloured by his background and conservative political outlook. According to the line taken, Frame's past experience "as a Treasury think-tanker" as well as his present role as an atmospheric scientist "positions Frame now to have an influential say in what governments

actually do" (*ibid.*). Let's hope not! In fact, Frame is very much in the "don't panic – indeed, let's do as little as possible" camp. As a Treasury acolyte, for Frame it is very much business as usual. He explicitly dismisses the idea of social justice and any compensation for poorer countries by richer countries despite the latter's historical responsibility for global warming. He says: "Americans don't perceive themselves as being a colonial power", and they don't buy into this concept, unlike "many of the European countries that once used to run empires" (*ibid.*). The history of American imperialism right up to the present obviously eludes Frame. He openly washes his hands of any sense of "colonial guilt" on the part of the rich, industrial countries. Besides, "...it is the emissions from the emerging ones, like China, Brazil and India that will soon be causing the bulk of the problem" (*ibid.*). Yet the poorest regions of the world will inevitably suffer the most.

Professor Frame freely expresses his Rightwing outlook on the world (*ibid.*). He contends that environmentalism has been taken over by the "Leftwing". In turn, global warming was similarly hijacked: "The threat was talked up to support a particular world view" (*ibid.*). It is very hard to see how scientists like James Lovelock and NASA's James Hansen can be considered "Leftwing" in any meaningful political sense (e.g. see Lovelock's "The Revenge of Gaia" & Hansen's "Storms of My Grandchildren: The Truth about the Coming Climate Catastrophe and Our Last Chance to Save Humanity". The latter was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 124, August 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/24/10.htm>). They have been driven primarily by their scientific findings. But Frame can apparently fit this sort of thing into his own corporate-oriented world view, which he is content to pass off as the "middle ground". In his extensive survey of the science of climate change and the state of global warming, Fred Pearce, the *New Scientist's* environment correspondent, quotes James Hansen to the effect that: "We are on the precipice of climate system tipping-points beyond which there is no redemption"; and that: "We are on the slippery slope to hell" ("The Last Generation: How Nature Will Take Her Revenge For Climate Change", Eden Project Books, 2006/7). As Pearce so rightly stresses, in the course of reviewing the issues and problems we confront, there have been a lot of surprises to date in climate research and there are bound to be more – and some could be most unpleasant (*ibid.*, see section "Inevitable Surprises" leading to his conclusion, emphasising the mounting danger to the inhabitants of spaceship Earth).

Frame, nevertheless, is far more circumspect. Considering himself the exponent of a "rational" outlook, Frame enjoins that we should recognise country "self-interest as much as the collective good and learn to work with that" (*Press*, *op. cit.*). Well, yes, so far that is stating a pretty obvious principle of practicable politics, at least as a starting point. However, we can still strive to reshape prevailing perceptions, attitudes and behaviour as much as possible for the greater long-term "collective good". Otherwise, given the human record to date, Professor's Frame's advice is simply a recipe for ultimate disaster. If we do not succeed in creating a global cooperative consensus on genuinely positive action to counter and mitigate global warming, experts like Lovelock and Hansen say we are surely doomed as a species, or at least destined for a massive "population crash" ("Population crash" – "A sudden sharp reduction in a size of a population that can be caused by disease, environmental stress [such as pollution], or when its numbers exceed the carrying capacity of its habitat. Also known as dieback". Chris Park, "Oxford Dictionary of Environment and Conservation", Oxford University Press, 2007, p349).

## **The Trajectory Of Human Development**

What practicable policy does Frame suggest then? As might be expected, he advocates a more market approach. "He believes the game has now changed to a more pragmatic approach, where individual nations will do deals that may be wrapped in with trade and aid agreements. 'Access to markets could be swapped for climate commitments'" (*Press*, *op. cit.*). He is "not too concerned by the apparent failure of the Kyoto Protocol ETS (Emissions Trading Scheme) agreements – the attempt to put a world price on carbon by charging countries to pollute" (*ibid.*). This is despite the fact that Kyoto was seen as a weak commitment from the start.

Even Lord Ron Oxburgh has commented that: "The Kyoto Protocol, which is criticised by many as ineffectual, represents a faltering first step on the part of the international community to bring greenhouse gas emissions under control and so avoid the most extreme consequences of climate change" ("Confronting Climate Change", R. Chapman, et al, *op. cit.*, p202). Oxburgh has been a Professor of Mineralogy and Petrology at Cambridge University, chairman of the Shell Transport and Trading Company, and a governmental adviser (including a stint as "chief scientific adviser to the Ministry of Defence from 1988 to 1993"), among other appointments. Professor Frame's policy prescriptions – to focus on the newly industrialising countries and employ a "piecemeal" approach making use of market access and trade agreements – must be music to the ears of free trade pundits like NZ Trade/Climate Change Issues Minister Tim Groser and his cronies. NZ's trade and environmental principles are closely coordinated. Conservation Minister Nick Smith heartily endorses the negotiating focus adopted by Groser. For sure, the whole history of international negotiations since World War II between the West and the rest makes a complete mockery of such the pious hopes expressed by Frame. We need unprecedented cooperation and action if humans are to survive.

Professor Frame is very disappointed "the way green political philosophy has become so hairshirt anti-growth that it has created a partisan split between Left and Right" as he sees it (*ibid.*). In line with his Treasury background, Frame is very conventional in his understanding of economic growth and its prospects. He "...argues it seems a simple truth that economic growth itself has only been a force for the good" (*Press, op. cit.*). Leaving aside questions of human development and exploitation, it is immediately evident that Professor Frame has no, or certainly very little, appreciation of the environmental costs of economic growth, let alone concern about the limits of such growth (see e.g. "A Short History Of Progress", Ronald Wright, Text pub, 2004; and "Why The World Needs An Economics Revolution", *Pacific Ecologist* 19, Winter/Spring 2010, <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/19/>). This is most revealing about a climate scientist who is now in a position "... to have an influential say in what governments actually do" (*Press, op. cit.*). For him, "the only question here really is how can we decouple future growth from carbon?" (*ibid.*). In his opinion, industrialisation can apparently go on indefinitely. His grossly simplistic views are thus exactly what the NZ government wants to hear and put into practice. Free market globalisation should rule on Spaceship Earth!

### **Capitalist Competition Compounding Into War**

But globalist industrialisation is clearly an unsustainable process of human interaction with the environment that is massively geared to plunder the planet's resources and ruin the environment. Moreover, such unleashed growth must lead to greater competition, conflict and even eventually all-out war ("Resource Wars: The New Landscape Of Global Conflict", Michael Klare, Henry Holt & Co, 2001). In a mere couple of centuries – a blink of an eye in geological time, even biological evolutionary time – we have actually adversely affected the planetary climate, undermining the basis for future sustainability. One would have thought that any atmospheric scientist would be stunned, deeply shocked, and acutely concerned by such a result. While a considerable number of natural scientists are indeed most concerned, the social implications of global warming are crying out for far more attention. This is the province of "social scientists" who study the role and response of humans in this emerging crisis. In particular, the discipline of human ecology applies directly to the interaction of humans and environment, and related problems (see especially "Overshoot: The Ecological Basis of Revolutionary Change", William Catton Jr, University of Illinois Press, 1980; overshoot is growth beyond an area's carrying capacity, leading to die-off or dieback).

Certainly, Professor Harald Welzer, in warning us of the climate wars and genocides to come - if we do not act pre-emptively in time - is deeply concerned and worried, calling for a lot more social science research ("Climate Wars: Why People Will Be Killed In The Twenty-First Century", Polity Press, 2012). Professor Welzer is a sociologist and social psychologist. He is head of the Centre for Interdisciplinary Memory Research at the Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities in Essen, Germany. On the opening page of his book (*ibid*, p1), he reminds us of how the West has achieved success over the centuries. "The pitiless brutality with which early industrial countries satisfied their hunger for raw materials, land and power, and which left its mark on whole continents, cannot be seen in the landscape of the West today. The memory of exploitation, slavery and extermination has succumbed to democratic amnesia, as if the countries of the West had always been as they now are, and their superior wealth and power were not built upon a murderous history . . ." (*ibid.*). We can add, just as this imperial history has largely gone down the Orwellian memory hole, so has more recent neo-imperial history, let alone all the hypocritical propaganda about the widespread swathe of current abuses. The whole Western social model with its pretensions to democracy, freedoms, liberalism, art and culture is now increasingly in question (*ibid*, p4).

"This social model, so remorselessly successful for a quarter of a millennium, is becoming global and even drawing once Communist countries into the intoxication of a standard of living complete with cars, flat-screen TVs and travel to faraway lands [like Aotearoa/NZ!]" (*ibid.*). But this is all on track to knock the planetary climate out of kilter. In this broad historical context, Welzer goes on to examine systematically the social implications of the general scientific consensus on projections for global warming (on the basis of chapter 4, "A Brief Survey of Climate Change", *ibid.*). As the subtitle of his book indicates, his subsequent examination is highly disturbing. It contains a survey of conflicts and the human prospect in chapters such as: "Killing Yesterday" (ch. 5); "Killing Today: Ecocide" (ch. 6); and "Killing Tomorrow: Never-Ending Wars, Ethnic Cleansing, Terrorism, Shifting Boundaries" (ch. 7).

Professor Welzer points to a deep, underlying contradiction at the heart of the Western world and capitalist globalisation – indeed, for humankind: "An economy based on growth and resource depletion cannot function globally since it logically implies that power is accumulated in one part of the world and applied in another. It is, in essence, particularist, not universal: everyone cannot exploit everyone else at the same time" (*ibid*, p5). Globalist contradictions are thus set to implode. In practical terms, Earth is very much like an isolated island for all of its inhabitants. As resources run down or run out, people around the world will face deepening crisis of one sort or another: "*more and more people will have fewer and fewer means to ensure their survival*" [my emphasis] (*ibid.*). The result will inevitably be that: "New wars will be environmentally driven and cause people to flee from the

violence", and this will in turn lead to further violence (ibid.). Issues of class, religion and ethnicity will gain gathering currency in helping generate and channel such conflict.

### Assessing The Risks Of Climate Change

A crucial matter cultivated by sophisticated scepticism arises at this point. This is the issue of evidence pertinent to the impact of climate change on human behaviour, likely responses, and life chances. Professor Welzer states that: "Sudan is the first case of a war-torn country where climate change is unquestionably one cause of violence and civil war" (ibid, p12). In particular, the western Darfur province of Sudan serves as an ominous case study. His book develops the argument that the Sudanese experience charts the future unless somehow we can avert it. But the capitalist sceptics have an open agenda to contest this linkage. For example, a brief article entitled "Climate Wars" in the *Economist* (8/7/10), launches an attack on the proposition that global warming "will fuel more conflict for decades" (ibid.). The article even contested the relevance of Darfur, arguing "the connection is elusive" in this particular case (ibid.). The above general prediction and warning about the impact of climate change was made by Barack Obama when collecting his Nobel Peace Prize.

The *Economist* piece comments that: "The forecast is close to becoming received wisdom" but then goes on to also question this "received wisdom" by using the approach of selectively applied academic caution (ibid.). Again, this article illustrates the division between optimistic economic projections and more pessimistic projections within the Western capitalist camp, the latter often being associated with elements of the military or Social Darwinist ideologues. It should yet be kept in mind that while this "division" has some validity for analysis, it is also to some extent an artificially contrived concoction to screen globalist machinations, a public relations exercise in the ongoing crusade of militarist capitalism.

Continually spooking the markets is not a good idea for encouraging profitable investment. Most markets need stability. While the "War on Terror" and the associated privatisation of the military and security industries has enabled some stability for investment in these particular sectors, the agents of capitalist ideology have to try and ensure confidence in other vital sectors and profit-making markets as well. Otherwise their consumerist constituencies could get increasingly restive, especially if there was further damaging of the welfare nets for the masses that are now unravelling in country after country. Above all, the glaring and deepening inequalities within Western capitalism might start to tear the social fabric apart with the "proles" rising up from below. "Bread and circuses" entertainment and mainstream media pap would then not be enough any more. All this, of course, heightens the risk of imperialist adventures as in Afghanistan and Iraq, and beyond, as power elites struggle to maintain their position and control, reinforcing the NSS and the conformity of fear.

Even when explicitly examining modern warfare, the *Economist* is revealingly two-faced (see "Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence: The Technologies That Are Transforming Them", ed, Benjamin Sutherland, *Economist/Profile Books*, 2011). It can make plain enough the brutal militarist reality of Western capitalism and neo-imperialism, whatever the glossy spin (which actually is pretty thin overall in this particular volume). At the same time, it promulgates a relatively optimistic message: "Technological one-upmanship fuels arms races and will make wars easier to start. Crucially, however, wars are apt to be smaller and less deadly than the horrific conflagrations of the last century" (ibid, from the blurb on the back cover). So, hurrah, humankind can happily blunder on in its unique bloody way!

In the *Economist* article on "Climate Wars", it is claimed that little academic research backs up assertions or predictions of a definite linkage between climate change and violent human behaviour (op. cit.). While Obama drew on the advice from a group of American generals and there have been various military and geopolitical experts making such dire projections for the future, the *Economist* says there is a dearth of hard academic data on any such alleged connections. It concludes that a lot more precise research is needed. The fact that "climate change could indeed cause woes aplenty" demands this precision, according to the article. But in light of contentious debates within the natural sciences, and the often close interaction between scientific research and politics in the West – over issues from tobacco to pesticides - the call for such precision is absurd. For over four decades, free market corporate interests have cynically subverted the democratic use of scientific knowledge ("Merchants Of Doubt: How A Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth On Issues From Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming", Naomi Oreskes & Erik Conway, Bloomsbury, 2010). [And wealthy Rightwingers such as the Koch brothers have spent large amounts of money in order to manipulate the debate. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political\\_activities\\_of\\_the\\_Koch\\_brothers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_activities_of_the_Koch_brothers). Ed.].

The whole history and current state of the debate over the reality of global warming itself surely demonstrates the enormous problems that can be involved. This becomes all the more evident when one moves into the softer, so-called "social sciences" where we are dealing with the specific connections between changes happening in the

natural world and the human world. In the social sciences, attribution of causal determination can often constitute a sticky theoretical problem. A major difficulty lies in over-determination by a whole range of possible diverse factors. Professor Welzer emphasises the problems of really understanding apparent irrationality and extreme behaviour anyway ("Climate Wars", op. cit, p95). The call for more precise research can easily become a convenient cover for indefinitely postponing any properly positive policy and action, particularly on issues where the "precautionary principle" should apply ("precautionary principle: A proactive method of dealing with the environment based on the idea that if the costs of current activities are uncertain but are potentially both high and irreversible then society should take action before the uncertainty is resolved", "Oxford Dictionary of Environment and Conservation", op. cit, p353).

### **Being Pre-Emptive And Precautionary**

At this stage, we need to apply two pretty obvious principles of commonsense evaluation. One is a summary review of human evolution to date. On the basis of the lessons we can draw from this, we can then propose informed and rational policy for future action. There has been roughly 12,000 years of settled life (since the origins of agriculture), some 5,000 years of which is deemed "civilisation", characterised by urban institutions and advanced social organisation. The latter period has culminated in a short dynamic period of industrialisation and technology-driven economic growth mushrooming into globalisation. The human population has rocketed in number and usurped ecosystems all over the Earth. At the same time, this process has been riven by conflict over land and resources, a series of international wars (some on a hugely destructive scale), the rise of the Orwellian NSS, the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and an interactive web of various types of terrorism and warfare. *If we were to add to all this the aggravating effects of destabilising climate change . . .*

"In any event – and this is largely agreed among social scientists – we can say that the consequences of climate change will interact with political, economic, ethnic and other social-historical factors and may also lead to the open use of force" ("Climate Wars", Welzer, op. cit, p75, citing Thomas F. Homer-Dixon, "Environment, Scarcity and Violence", Princeton, N.J., 1999, p177). Consequently, given the potentially dire nature of the situation - the obvious, commonsense answer is for us to adopt the precautionary principle. Global warming is surely the prime candidate for application of this particular principle. The relevant precedents are very powerful and convincing too. "The Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (1985) and Montreal Protocol [on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer] (1987) were at the time quite unique amongst international environmental initiatives, because it was probably the first time that serious attempts were made to avert a major environmental problem *before* the more serious consequences and side-effects were obvious" ("Oxford Dictionary of Environment and Conservation", op. cit.). The international measures implemented under these agreements averted disaster befalling humankind from further unrestricted damage to the atmosphere's ozone layer.

By the 1980s too, global warming was emerging as another enormous problem relating to the planetary atmosphere. In December 1997 the Kyoto Protocol was put into place under the United Nation's Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). In concise terms, the Kyoto Protocol is: "An international agreement that sets limits on the emission of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, in order to reduce the threat of global warming by air pollution" (*ibid*, p247). It is now being undermined by a short-sightedly self-interested combination of rich nations (including NZ), and newly industrialising nations. Primary responsibility for this – and the general failure of the international community to implement more sustainable development worldwide – lies with the Anglo-American axis, which has systematically sabotaged the international campaign for social justice and global cooperation from the time of the Third World bid for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) in the early 1970s, and even earlier. Ultimately, human survival depends on the outcome of far better cooperation on conservation and the use of natural resources. This must include greatly improved management of our waste, and the planetary commons like the atmosphere and the seas.

### **Concerns About War And Genocide**

In his searching study of climate change and the likelihood of wars and genocides, Professor Harald Welzer carefully draws on the lessons of history in order to make predictions about the future ("Climate Wars", op. cit.). As a German, he looks back at the colonial genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples in South West Africa (modern Namibia), seeing this as "a blueprint for future genocides" (*ibid*, pp3/4). Welzer sees this type of repression and genocide as a model for the enormous and systematic abuses of human rights in the 20th Century, and in the century now unfolding. He has conducted his own personal research on the social psychology of mass murder, namely of Nazi SS perpetrators of State terrorism: "In a study of mass murderers, I tried to show how the men in question manage to bring murder and morality into harmony with each other. They do this by operating within a mental frame of reference that allows no doubts to form about the necessity and rightness of their actions" (*ibid*,



p15, ref: "Täter: Wie Aus Ganz Normalen Menschen Massenmörder Werden" ["Wrongdoers: How Quite Normal Men Become Mass Murderers"], Frankfurt am Main, 2005).

In American terms, such people can come to see themselves as "the good guys" dealing to the "bad guys", whatever the dirty and ruthless means used towards this end. Welzer discovered that the Nazi SS murderers whom he studied had never really experienced any personal acceptance of guilt. In fact, they even felt themselves to be *victims* because of their gruesome duties – surely the ultimate psychological perversion! Perpetrators of mass murder can indeed see themselves as victims for a number of reasons, not least because they face threats - or purported threats - from perceived internal or external enemies, or both. On the record of history, especially recent modern history, Professor Welzer finds that the human capacity to inflict horrendous actions on members of our own species can be dangerously close to the surface of our psyche.

In this connection, Welzer stresses the relevance of certain general findings of social psychology in the light of historical research. These findings conclude that values, perception and attitudes can change over time without our noticing this process; attitudes and behaviour are often very inconsistent; and we have a variety of ways of resolving dissonance as illustrated in Welzer's own research findings on SS men (e.g., denial of reality and embracing contradictions). Other findings comprise the following: vested interests can be critical in shaping interpretations of reality; the sense of personal responsibility and accountability tends to be very attenuated in complex social organisations with specialised roles; social conformity and "group-think" can be determinative; irrationality can be a very powerful factor; insecurity and fear are conducive to radically reactive and aggressive action; we may be blind to emerging dangers and then react irrationally at crisis points; violence is an option for both defining and charting solutions to acute social problems; genocidal motives are often projected on to the victims of slaughter by the "accusation in a mirror technique"; and such slaughter is routinely defined as "defensive" against a looming threat. Carrying out mass murder can be seen as a necessary duty, however unpleasant. Overall, Welzer worries that we have a most disturbing potential capacity to turn on our near neighbours - given the precipitating conditions of a social conflict crisis - in a sudden, traumatic and seemingly unexpected fashion.

With regard to our perceptions of climate change and its effects, coupled with our corresponding responses, people have what Professor Welzer calls "shifting baselines". This is "...the fascinating phenomenon that people change their perceptions and values along with their environment without even realising that they are doing it", an observation relevant to the first point in the paragraph immediately above (*ibid*, p7). Baselines can shift in a "context of interdependence" and dynamic social interaction, and in human interaction with the environment, *or in a situation of both together*. This is a particularly insidious and dangerous process as we become adapted to lower and lower standards of what we expect from our environment and its ecological systems. This lowered set of expectations and standards makes for worsening environmental problems, which in turn puts societies under greater and greater stress. "Since violence is *always* an option for human action, it is inevitable that violent solutions will also be found for problems that have their origin in environmental changes" (*ibid.*).

As Welzer says, "we know from Turkey, Germany, Cambodia, China, Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Darfur, and from many instances of ethnic cleansing that radical solutions are always an option even for democratic societies" (*ibid*, p19). The traditionally very asymmetrical relationship between the West and the "Third World" emphasised by Professor Welzer has exacted a heavy toll on human life right up to the present. This has been compounded by the continuing depredations on animal life and ecosystems, the latter syndrome accelerated now by further industrialisation. But hypocrisy and confusion on these matters have become deeply ingrained in Western culture.

## Contesting The Future

In Professor Welzer's opinion, the formulation of future policy on climate change needs far more input from "social scientists". Whereas natural scientists readily contribute their knowledge and expertise about the effects of global warming on the planetary environment, the social consequences of climate change have so far been virtually ignored in academic social theory and research, other than the kind of defence studies referenced above by President Obama and the *Economist* ("Climate Wars", *op. cit.*, p27). While certain generalisations are widely accepted within social science, some of which have been noted, there is a dearth of relatively "hard" data and associated middle range findings. So Welzer explicitly takes up the appeal by the *Economist* and others for more precise research on the social impact of climate change and in doing so, implicitly challenges capitalist scepticism about the implications for future violence and even genocide.

It is most important here, the main thrust of my article aside, to note that international discussion and debate has already become very complex. There is a range of views on both the Right and Left of the political spectrum contesting the significance of any linkage between violence and climate change. As well, academic research that seems pretty neutral and unbiased is divided on the central question of significance. Even the role of climate change

in the generation of conflict in Sudan, and particularly Darfur, is hotly debated (intimated above). All this makes a further mockery of the opinion of climatologist Professor David Frame that the political Left has taken over concerns about resources and the environment. In the end, the real questions are over social justice and sustainable development, and how we need to all try and cooperate better in coping with a more unstable climatic and environmental future (<http://www.mrfcj.org/>; <http://350.org.nz/>; "Support Grows For Equity-based Global Warming Strategy", Aubrey Meyer & Kay Weir in *Pacific Ecologist* 13, Summer 2006/07, pp18-20 <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/13/contraction-and-convergence.pdf>; *Pacific Ecologist* 18, "Living Lightly – Aiming For 350ppm CO<sup>2</sup>", Winter 2009, <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/18/pe18-editorial.pdf> ).

In a rare mainstream article addressing such questions, Barry Coates, the Executive Director of Oxfam NZ, takes to task the NZ government for its lackadaisical attitude to climate change ("NZ Retreats From Climate Battle: NZ's weak climate target fails Pacific communities" [some facing effective loss of their island homes], *Press*, 2/9/13). As Coates aptly argues: "NZ is one of the highest per capita emitters of greenhouse gases in the world. A voluntary target of 5% falls well short of our fair share of global action and is far lower than the target many other countries are taking, including some countries far poorer than NZ" (ibid.). In fact, NZ has been going *backwards* on climate policy and action under the National government, an enlightening example of Professor Frame's country "self-interest" at work! (ibid.). Some humanitarian and development commentators have expressed concern over what has been labelled the "securitisation" of climate change i.e. paying attention to climate change in terms of security. But the military and security industries will do this anyway. The requirements of realistic political analysis oblige us to take account of such trends. What we have to do if we are genuinely concerned about the looming human costs is to help create alternative development paths.

We should note another informed commentator's broad perspective on the future impact of climate change on human life. "Mike Berners-Lee is founding director of Small World Consulting, an associate company of Lancaster University that specialises in measuring the carbon footprints of products and services" ("How Bad Are Bananas?", op. cit: inside back cover). Berners-Lee notes that one estimate of the cost of carbon pollution on the Earth's human population in terms of lives actually lost "...is already 300,000 per year" (ibid, p206; "Confronting Climate Change", R. Chapman et al, op. cit, gives an estimate in 2005 of 150,000, p18).

Given projections for the high emissions scenario for global warming that climatologists like Frame are obviously willing to countenance in practice - whatever the rhetoric - one coldly reasoned "view is that in that kind of scenario, by 2100 the world will only be able to support one billion people instead of the nine billion of us that are forecast without climate change" ("How Bad are Bananas", ibid.). So what is going to happen to the other eight billion? If we leave out of the equation those who will not be born, given worsening social and environmental conditions, there will still be several billions destined to perish one way or another in very untimely and painful fashion. Business as usual looks to be more and more suspect . . . more like a typical evolutionary boom and bust scenario.

A great irony of the call by the *Economist* for more precise research on any possible linkage between climate change and violence is its own warmongering history as a key propaganda organ for the neo-imperialism of the Anglo-American axis. For instance, it strongly backed the 2003 invasion of Iraq in order to secure oil supplies in the interests of the axis, although it did not of course openly endorse such a base motivation. It later expressed disillusion as to how the invasion and its aftermath were conducted. Certainly, the confusion in the West generated by the trigger of 9/11 is compounding the ideological contortions, contradictions and rationalisations of the mainstream media. The coils of neo-imperialism are inevitably entangling, ultimately stifling.

### **The Media Portrayal Of Western Neo-imperialism**

When considering the ramifications of 9/11, conventionally minded mainstream journalists can tie themselves up in knots. Jason Burke is a specialist in the international aspects of the "War on Terror". He is the South Asia correspondent for the *Guardian* and also reports for the *Observer*. Burke has had several books published by Penguin: "Al Qaeda", "On The Road To Kandahar", and "The 9/11 Wars" (2011), the last mentioned an important tome in the literature on these wars and their still unfolding saga. As a frontline correspondent, Burke has lots of fact, observation, analysis, anecdote and detail to impart. But his understanding of the big picture is clearly biased and flawed. He is (or at least has been) a true believer in the Western modernising crusade. "For many decades, the conventional wisdom has been that economic development around the globe would necessarily render the project of liberal democracy and free-market capitalism more popular. One of the lessons of the 9/11 wars is that this optimism was misplaced" ("The 9/11 Wars", ibid, p501). So, no understanding of Western neo-imperialism is evinced here.

In his long, detailed review of the "The 9/11 Wars", Burke almost completely ignores the role of oil. But he does refer to oil early on in the sense that "longstanding strategies to secure the stable flow of strategic resources such



as oil to world markets and key short-term domestic factors were allowed to continue to determine policy" (ibid, p38). The rest of his book fails to elaborate on this obviously crucial aspect. Moreover, Burke deliberately gives the resource war aspect a benign spin about guaranteeing "the stable flow of strategic resources such as oil to world markets", rather than examining any further the predatory global reach of the Anglo-American axis for which he is a prominent international reporter and opinion-maker. Again, he recognises that: "A Cold War legacy of support for repressive regimes was continued with the new enemy becoming the Islamists rather than the Communists. The bulk of the volunteers flowing into Afghanistan came from countries – Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Algeria – whose governments received significant support from the West. Even if the West was by no means at the root of all troubles, as often argued, the policies and language of Western countries did help militants 'frame' the world's problems and their own grievances within a simple and persuasive single narrative of Muslims suffering at the hands of a belligerent, rapacious America and, to a lesser extent, its allies. This may not have been true but was nonetheless convincing to many" (ibid, pp38/9). So much then for both "liberal democracy and free-market capitalism"! Freedom has a very strange meaning in reality for Burke & co.

Besides his coy or cynical neglect of the role of oil, Burke employs a number of techniques to play down the West's predatory strategy and behaviour, and so help whitewash the forces for which he is such a committed Western agent. Like so many commentators he talks of the "errors" and "faults" of Western policy instead of seeing what they entail as symptomatic of blindingly obvious malevolent intent (e.g., ibid, pp38 & 501). In light of all the analysis and investigative research to date this is disingenuous to say the least, especially since Burke purportedly aims at comprehensive understanding at what has happened in the wake of 9/11. As is so typical of the Western mainstream media position in general, his case is thus riddled with all sorts of contradictions and selective morality. For the 15 months following the Tora Bora engagement expelling al Qaeda from Afghanistan, Burke presents a very Anglo-American interpretation of what was happening in Pakistan. President "Musharraf, himself relatively popular domestically, and his speeches announcing a policy of 'enlightened moderation' in religion and *neo-liberal* economic reforms, reassured much of the international community" (ibid, pp73/4). Burke just does not get the crusading neo-imperialism he implicitly expounds.

However, he is sensitive to some things and certainly demonstrates concern about the human cost. For instance, in chapter 4 of "The 9/11 Wars" ("The Calm Before the Storm"), he shows awareness of the blundering and self-serving exploitation of women's rights issues in Afghanistan by Western forces, and the problems of trying to supposedly "modernise" or transform Afghan society according to a Western model. The Soviets had caused similarly negative reaction in the past with efforts on issues like female education and land reform. Another case of history repeating itself! Likewise, he is critical of the Pentagon and the CIA for seeing their operations in Afghanistan as "counter-terrorism" instead of "counter-insurgency" (as he understands it), of having a focus on killing the "bad guys" rather than winning civilian hearts and minds (ibid, pp86/7). The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) dependence on war lords like Rashid Dostum, Mohammed Fahim and Gul Aghan Sherzai have undermined the credibility of Western intervention.

While Burke noted an "ideological turn" taken in the "War on Terror", he fails to understand that this "ideological turn" actually accounts for so much of what he labels as mistaken strategy and tactics. This is very evident when he reviews the erroneous information peddled by the Anglo-American axis drumming up propaganda for the 2003 invasion of Iraq (ibid, pp101-7). While he indicates the depth and extent of this misinformation, his line of inquiry gets very confused in its ultimate import. He ends up in a grossly inconsistent journalistic mishmash of information, inference and conclusions. The so-called "ideological turn" was in fact taken when George Bush II first took office as US President in 2001. It had been formulated earlier during the 1990s by the Project for the New American Century (PNAC) and other far-Right groups who supplied both personnel and ideological input to the new Presidential regime ("Weapons Of Mass Deception: The Uses Of Propaganda In Bush's War On Iraq", Sheldon Rampton & John Stauber, Tarcher/Penguin, 2003). Burke fails to mention any of this. Thus the events of 9/11 are not placed in any properly meaningful context.

### **The Need For A New Policy Prescription**

In intermittently tracing the practice of torture and abuse of captives from early on in the "War on Terror", Burke observes: "This suggests the abuse was thus both a 'ground-up' and a 'top-down' phenomenon and thus deeply representative in a profoundly worrying way of the essence of the broader conflict" (op. cit, p89). Well, yes, to be sure . . . and yet Burke – in the general sense - still goes on to see this "broader conflict" in terms of Western well-intentioned "optimism", and subsequent nasty reaction to the process of Westernisation/modernisation. Given his observations about torture and the abuse of captives, one would have expected this particular dimension to be explored in depth and its meaning probed. Instead, as Burke interprets it all at bottom: "A sense of national or religious chauvinism appears often to be a corollary of a society getting richer rather than its opposite, and the search for dignity and authenticity is often defined as much by opposition to what is seen, rightly or wrongly, as

foreign as anything else" (ibid, p501).

If, on the one hand, Burke can swallow the myth of "the project of liberal democracy and free market capitalism" as a benign crusade, at the same time he is also very conscious of the exercise of Western power and so self-interest at work. Not only will the conservative Muslim reaction delimit Western power in the future, but it "will pose a growing and increasingly coherent challenge to the ability of the USA and European nations to pursue their interests on the global stage for many years to come. This, alongside the increasingly strident voices of China and other emerging nations, means a long period of instability and competition before any new *modus vivendi* is reached" (ibid.). As noted, in tracing just what has gone wrong Burke often seems conflicted. At one point, he *actually* declares that: "The impression that a few deliberately fuelled the fear of many to build support for a deeply divisive policy is strong" (ibid, p107). Right on! The big problem here, however, is that it is not clear just exactly whom Burke means out of all the individuals, groups and countries that he has mentioned. Burke can be frustratingly vague – perhaps even deliberately so - in his political analysis.

Yet, if journalist Jason Burke cannot acknowledge the real nature of Western resource imperialism in the first decade of the 21st Century, he does – as again already indicated above - openly worry about the future ahead for the conduct of international affairs. He remarks that: "American intelligence agencies reported in their quadrennial review in late 2008 that they judged that within a few decades the USA would no longer be able to 'call the shots'. Instead, these agencies predicted, America is likely to face the challenges of a fragmented planet, where conflict over scarce resources is on the rise, poorly contained by 'ramshackle' international institutions" (ibid, pp501/2). Only four years before, the previous review had foreseen 'continued dominance' for many years to come (ibid, p502). Burke is blind to the fact that this resource conflict had been happening long before 9/11 and that he has been part of it. Furthermore, the US-led West has been deliberately and systematically undermining "international institutions". But Burke does foresee a future of the West pitted against the rest. Various political analysts of all shades of the spectrum have predicted such an outcome.

Plenty more could be said on Burke's book and his interpretations. For the purposes of this article, we can make some pertinent points. Mainstream journalists like Jason Burke, extensively informed on international issues involving large scale political violence, can openly worry about the scarcity of future resources, geopolitical instability, and the kind of human behaviour likely to ensue. In other words, even conventionally oriented commentators can see huge challenges looming for humankind over the basic means for living in light of what has taken place to date with economic growth, modernisation, market competition, and international relations. This is not even taking any account of climate change and its impact, at least in any explicit form. We have been moving into an increasingly unstable and perilous world. So what then do our political choices mean for the years to come? The political Right stands for freedom for the rich and powerful few, for the justification of privilege, status and inequality, for market solutions to environmental problems, for greater societal surveillance and control, for boosting police and military forces, and usually a more aggressive foreign policy, certainly a more narrowly self-interested one. For the reasons outlined in this article, these policies will not solve the daunting problems the world is facing. Rejecting this policy prescription must therefore be part of the ever continuing effort to forge a better and humane future. Neo-fascism, the logical extension of Western capitalism, will otherwise be the driver of the future. .

### **Global Warming And The Sparks Of Conflict**

A study by international analyst and commentator Gwynne Dyer, also with the title of "Climate Wars" (later subtitled: "The Fight For Survival As The World Overheats"), makes a similar case to that of Harald Welzer (Scribe Pubs., 2008). In this book, which is considerably more journalistic and less rigorously systematic than Welzer's work, Dyer surveys a range of issues and sources of information relevant to the theme of climate and war. The value of Dyer's book is its groundbreaking status and the breadth of the author's research and interviews with a number of experts. He draws on various studies predicting an ominous linkage between worsening climate conditions and violent conflict.

For instance, the CNA Corporation produced a report for the Pentagon called "National Security And Climate Change" (April 2007), predicting heavy costs, one way or the other ("Climate Wars", Dyer, ibid, p10). This report was selling a mission: "The next mission of the US armed forces is going to be a long struggle to maintain stability as climate change continually undermines it" (ibid.). Certainly, the US military and intelligence community view climate change as having serious consequences for national security. Another study cited by Dyer is "The Age Of Consequences: The Foreign Policy And National Security Implications Of Global Climate Change", co-published by the Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS) and the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) in November 2007. Lead authors were John Podesta, Leon Fuerth (former national security adviser to climate campaigner Al Gore when he was Vice President), and R. James Woolsey Jr, head of the CIA 1993-95. Overall, the report foresees that: "*Beyond a certain level climate change becomes a profound challenge to the foundations of*

*the global industrial civilisation that is the mark of our species*" (ibid, pp17/18). The study outlined different scenarios, including a "2040 Severe Climate Change Scenario" by Leon Fuerth, who later became a Professor of International Affairs at George Washington University.

In the particular scenario just named environmental deterioration would lead to a breakdown in social organisation. This breakdown is considered region by region. Fuerth can starkly reveal his Rightwing bias in interpreting the various outcomes. For instance: "In Latin America generally, the report predicts severe climate change will be a death blow for democratic governments, and Chavez-like governments (as in Venezuela) will proliferate" (ibid, p19). The attempted CIA coup against the democratically-elected Hugo Chavez government in April 2002 surely represents the epitome of irony here ("Secrets of the Seven Sisters: The Shameful Story Of Oil – "A Time For Lies" episode, TVNZ7, 25/6/12). The US and its oil companies have ruthlessly exploited Venezuela ever since oil extraction began there in Lake Maracaibo almost 100 years ago (ibid.). History's record of the murderous death squad governments instigated and backed by the US over many years in Latin America – from El Salvador to Argentina – testify to the capacity of the "free world" and its leading nation for systematic slaughter, and the future potential to engineer genocide ("The CIA: A Forgotten History", op. cit.). Hauntingly, at the end of Roberto Bolano's novella "Amulet", the author evokes the vision "of a whole generation of young Latin Americans led to sacrifice" (1999/Picador 2010, p184). "Amulet" is set at the time of the US-backed repression of Leftist students and other activists in Mexico in 1968. Roberto Bolano, recognised as one of the continent's great modern novelists, was a refugee from Chile's 9/11, the bloody CIA-backed Pinochet coup on September 11, 1973.

Climate change scenarios aside, it is evident enough that resource limits will inevitably choke industrial civilisation to death at some near future stage. Deteriorating ecosystems would eventually conspire to do the same. If the imminent and obvious threats posed by global climate change cannot alert the denizens of capitalist industrialism to their demise, then nothing can. Of course, the usual Rightwing tactic is to simply deny reality and inately accuse its opponents of "scaremongering". This is regularly demonstrated by the NZ National government in Parliament. National is fervently dedicated to the free market pillage of the country's natural resources, flying full in the face of what sound environmental management demands, especially in the critical new era we have now entered.

We can generalise globally here as well on the basis of reactions by vested interests to climate change. The scepticism shown by the *Economist* ("Climate Wars", op. cit.) towards the sort of military/intelligence assessments noted above not only points up the growing contradiction between the market and the military dimensions of Western capitalism but ignores how self-fulfilling prophecies can operate. Just as the perception of declining oil reserves has been a major driving motivation for the Anglo-American orchestrated invasions of Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 ("The Last Oil Shock: A Survival Guide To The Imminent Extinction Of Petroleum Man", by David Strahan, John Murray [pub.], 2007; "The Terrorist 'War on Terror'", Murray Horton, *Peace Researcher* 26, August 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-63.htm>; "Stop Thief!: Sadly It's A Common Story – A Desperate Addict Turns To A Life Of Crime", Murray Horton, *Foreign Control Watchdog* 102, May 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/02/06.htm>), so the perception of climate threats will inevitably shape future foreign policy. Given that the effects of global warming are actually taking place right now, often quite dramatically, human motivation and response related to climate change must only increase, whether in a positive or negative form. Consequences can indeed be entailed by perceptions, and these are often shaped by shifting baselines as Professor Harald Welzer repeatedly emphasises in his analytical projections for the future ("Climate Wars", op. cit.). And such perceptions can operate in varying ways. The constant big challenge is to get greater commitment for positive policy and action.

## Conditions For Conflict

In the "2040 Severe Climate Change Scenario" by Leon Fuerth, the author warns that **"massive non-linear events in the global environment will give rise to massive non-linear societal events"** ("Climate Wars", Dyer, op. cit, p22). Fuerth's theorising connects with that of Welzer's later wide-ranging study of "Climate Wars" (op. cit.) Specifically, Fuerth draws on complexity theory in studying the interface of climate change and the subject matter of the "social sciences". When interviewed, Professor Fuerth stated in this regard that: "The essential insight in complexity theory would be: Don't think of this as a linear process" ("Climate Wars", Dyer, op. cit.). Some small change of inputs into a complex system could cause a huge flip in outputs. There is thus substantial import here for social theory on the relationship of climate change and social change with connections in both the natural and social sciences. For Professor Welzer there are "a number of weighty reasons" why humans ignore threats that are looming upon them, including "a belief stretching back generations in the supposedly automatic progress of history", the sort of beliefs with which people like climatologist Professor David Frame are so enamoured (op. cit, p137). Among these weighty reasons, Welzer says: "The most important is the complexity of modern action chains and the incalculability of their consequences" (ibid.). The phenomenon of shifting baselines and lowered expectations and standards can be critical here as well. Small shifts of inputs that are not noticed can accumulate detrimentally, or take effect quickly, even suddenly, and with great impact.

What is called the "global weirding" of the weather due to global warming may indeed exemplify complexity theory in action in all sorts of ways ("*Horizon – Global Weirding*", Choice TV, 21/10/12). Climatic and weather patterns are seemingly becoming more volatile and unpredictable. Climate sensitivity could mean abrupt changes ("Sleeping Giants: Surprises In The Climate And Earth System", Will Steffen, "Confronting Climate Change", op. cit, ch. 10). Certain "tipping points" could even prove chaotic and catastrophic. In a non-linear situation, real ecosystems could already "be poised at the edge of chaos" ("Complexity Theory: Life On The Edge Of Chaos", Roger Lewin, Phoenix, 1993, p77, [http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Complexity\\_theory](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Complexity_theory)).

Indeed, we do know that some critical ecosystems are close to breakdown because of human interference and the peril of abrupt change("The Last Generation", Fred Pearce, op. cit, p59). It is fittingly symbolic that science journalist Roger Lewin, throughout his book on "Complexity Theory", traces the catastrophe due primarily to drought and climate change that ended the Anasazi culture of Chaco Canyon in Colorado about 1,000 years ago (pp1-10, 20-22, 70, 151, 192-6; noted also by Pearce, op. cit, pp260/1). In recent years, Colorado and other states in the southwest of North America have been very hard hit with heat waves and wildfires. At the time of writing in late August 2013, a huge wildfire was threatening the water and electricity supplies of San Francisco, as well as ravaging much of Yosemite National Park in the US, with such fires up 50% in 2013 in California. Meantime, 2013 saw the warmest winter on record in Aotearoa/NZ, following a severe drought over much of the country during the previous summer.

Predictions of increasing socio-economic conflict related to global warming – whether from a Marxist or a Social Darwinist perspective – are affirmed by "social scientists" as different as Professors Fuerth and Welzer. The dimension of environmental reality can cut across all social theory, whether from a "bottom-up" political perspective or a "top-down" one. Most worryingly, Welzer puts forward a powerfully persuasive argument that war and genocide are integral to the modernisation process, in essence that Westernisation and industrialisation entail war, ethnocide and mass murder. After all, most Western nations have undergone nation-building at the point of a gun and other weaponry. Then there is the whole bloody record of imperial and colonial history. The Middle East is currently afflicted by ever-spreading violent turmoil with lots of political blowback for the West (e.g., "Middle East Turmoil And Beyond: Political Blowback In Action", *Peace Researcher* 43, May 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/43/pr43-008.htm>). The US-backed military regime in Egypt is ruthlessly proceeding to crush the Muslim Brotherhood as the Anglo-American axis postures about democracy and human rights while being drawn deeper into the Syrian maelstrom. Inexorably, the West is caught in the tightening coils of its own hypocrisy and violence. Under Nobel Peace Prize winner Barack Obama, the US is leading the charge in a vicious underground war against Muslim Jihadists and militants ("Dirty Wars: The World Is A Battlefield' Jeremy Scahill, *Serpent's Tail*, 2013). What has been revealed by the mainstream media of covert CIA and Special Forces operations at war with the world's poor in Somalia, Yemen, and other countries, is only the tip of a potentially fiery cauldron, threatening to drag down everyone into its gaping maw. Both Professor Harald Welzer and journalist Jason Burke agree on the negative reaction to "modernisation" experienced in so many countries.

### **Creating New Development Paths**

Early on in this article I closely examined and critiqued the political views on climate change and policy articulated by David Frame, the new Director and Professor of the Climate Change Research Institute at Victoria University. A quote was also highlighted from a collection of papers delivered at "a major conference on Climate Change And Governance: Critical Issues For NZ And The Pacific in March 2006 to address this challenge. The conference brought together leading climate scientists, policy experts and civil society spokespeople from around the world" ("Confronting Climate Change", op. cit, p17). One of the primary goals of the conference was "to highlight the urgency and importance of climate change" (ibid.). Indeed, as the blurb of this particular book testifies: "The overwhelming message is one of urgency, but also optimism: it is not too late to make a difference" (ibid.).

Life is full of ironies. Professor Frame joined Victoria University in 2011 from Oxford University where he had previously been Deputy Director of the Smith School of Enterprise and the Environment, and later a Senior Research Fellow there. His boss had been the School's first Director, Sir David King, who was also the UK's Chief Scientific Adviser from 2000 to 2007. The declared aim of the Smith School is to bring the natural sciences and social sciences together in an interdisciplinary fashion to address global environmental challenges. Sir David King, of course, is well-known for his warnings about the combined dangers of climate change, population growth, environmental stress, uncertain food supply, and resource wars. Victoria University Professors Jonathan Boston (Public Policy) and Ralph Chapman (Environmental Studies), lead editors of "Confronting Climate Change", look at the "critical issues" in their introductory chapter. With reference to the dangerous level of global warming, they point out that: "Sir David King and others have been pointing out such concerns recently, but there is a regrettable tendency to see such assessments as '*alarmist*'" [my emphasis] (ibid, p20). King is on record as saying that the Iraq war in 2003 was the first 'resource war' of the 21st Century ([http://www.ox.ac.uk/media/news\\_stories](http://www.ox.ac.uk/media/news_stories)

[/2009/090213.html](#)).

## Forging A Better Future

Obviously we need to take genuinely constructive and positive action as fast and as much as possible; and this action programme has to connect meaningfully with other efforts and initiatives for environmentally relevant change around the planet. There are plenty of useful proposals in "Confronting Climate Change", in Mike Berners-Lee's book "How Bad are Bananas", and other readily available sources of information. We need to mobilise en masse to actually make a real difference for the future, to create low carbon and more sustainable societies. And the argument of my article is that this international programme has to reach far deeper than ever before in the creation of sound environmental management and in peacemaking. All this will help counter the drive to war and genocide. This will involve networking in unprecedented ways and on a much greater and integrated scale if we are to truly help humankind, i.e. ourselves and our progeny, to both adapt and survive the mounting threats ahead.



# CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account

## Financial Report 2012/13

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Warren Brewer, Organiser Account Treasurer

Presented to Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa Annual General Meeting, 24/9/13

### Financial Report For Year Ended 31 March 2013

	2013	2012
<b>Income</b>		
Pledges	28,517.58	28,655.82
Donations	8,104.30	14,965.00
Interest	555.45	316.97
Other	539.40	42.09
<b>Total Income</b>	<b>37,716.73</b>	<b>43,979.88</b>
<b>Expenditure</b>		
Contractor	35,600.00	33,440.00
Phone	296.46	634.54
Internet	538.40	491.47
Printer	178.50	252.75
Donations	450.00	0.00
Other	2,176.50	5,233.59
	<b>39,239.86</b>	<b>40,052.35</b>
<b>Cash surplus (Deficit)</b>	<b>-1,523.13</b>	<b>3,927.53</b>
<b>Opening bank account</b>	<b>9,198.73</b>	<b>5,261.23</b>
<i>Add surplus deficit</i>	<i>-1,523.13</i>	<i>3,927.53</i>
<b>Closing bank account</b>	<b>7,675.60</b>	<b>9,188.73</b>

#### Notes:

- a/ Other Income** - CAFCA, ABC & Philippines Solidarity share of Internet costs.  
**b/ Other Expenditure** - \$2,000 transfer to term deposit. Balance misdirected cheques.  
**c/ Donations** - 2012 Includes the Resnick bequest \$9,350.60.
- 2. Term Deposit** (38-9002-0977676-00): \$18, 853.29  
 Currently invested at 4.30%, matured 16/11/13  
 \$2,000 was transferred from the working account at the time of renewal
- 3. Current Balance** \$6,618.73
- 4. Living Wage: Resolution of the CAFCA Committee**  
 The CAFCA Committee meeting of 12/9/13 resolved to recommend to the AGM that CAFCA adopt, in principle, that the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account should pay the Organiser the Living Wage rate of \$18.40 per hour. This recommendation was adopted by the CAFCA AGM and the implementation of it, along with the necessary fundraising, has been entrusted to a subcommittee

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# A Living Wage Is Our Issue

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- Warren Brewer

Regular readers of *Peace Researcher* will not be surprised to find us asserting that the Living Wage Campaign is an ABC issue - and not simply because we feel it would be "nice" to pay the Organiser something like a decent income. Research into defining a Living Wage for NZ was conducted by Peter King and Charles Waldegrave of the Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit with the rationale of establishing, empirically, the level of remuneration that would enable workers and their families to be able to afford the necessities of life, live with dignity and participate as active citizens in society. The figure is \$18.40 per hour.

## A Handful Of Cheap Slogans

The movement campaigning for a living wage, Living Wage Aotearoa/New Zealand, was launched in Auckland in 2012 and brings together 130 community and faith-based organisations and unions concerned about growing poverty and inequality in New Zealand. The ABC and CAFCA Committees are proud to join with these groups and share their objectives – the right to live with dignity is fundamental and living with dignity is in large part solely dependent on having the resources – a living wage. The richest 150 people in New Zealand grew their wealth by 20% in 2010 while wages moved by less than 2%. Indeed New Zealand is ranked by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as 23rd out of 30 developed countries for income inequality. And none, absolutely none of this is the unintended consequences of Government policy. Neo-liberal economic dogma assumes that a handful of cheap slogans (all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding [Endnote 1]) are the answer to all the problems of economics and society, specifically:

- **The Rule Of The Market.** Liberating "free" enterprise or private enterprise from any restrictions imposed by the Government no matter how much social damage this causes. Greater openness to international trade and investment, for example the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). Reduce wages by de-unionising workers and eliminating workers' rights that had been won over many years of struggle. No price controls. All in all, total freedom of movement for capital, goods and services. To convince us this is good for us, they say "an unregulated market is the best way to increase economic growth, which will ultimately benefit everyone". The trickle down theory.
- **Cutting Public Expenditure For Social Services** like education and health care. Reducing the safety net for the working poor and others who, though no fault of their own, find themselves needing assistance - again, all in the name of reducing Government's role. Of course, no neo-liberal dogmatist can be found opposing Government subsidies and tax benefits for business.
- **Deregulation.** Reduce Government regulation of everything that could diminish profits, including protecting the environment and safety on the job.
- **Privatisation.** Sell State-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors. Although usually done in the name of greater efficiency, which is often needed, privatisation has mainly had the effect of concentrating wealth even more in a few hands and making the public pay even more for its needs.
- **Eliminating The Concept Of "The Public Good" Or "Community"** and replacing it with "individual responsibility". Pressuring the poorest people in a society to find solutions to their lack of healthcare, education and social security all by themselves - then blaming them, if they fail, as "lazy" (Endnote 2).

## We Want Organiser To Have Decent Income

We are all too well aware of the individual elements underlying these policy objectives, here in Aotearoa, that to reprise them is simply gratuitous. To actively oppose them is not. And that is exactly what the Living Wage Aotearoa New Zealand campaign is; an act of community resistance to an objectively flawed policy prescription that is destroying the lives and wellbeing of ordinary hardworking Kiwis. ABC and CAFCA's commitment to the campaign is twofold. In the first instance we are recommending to our respective members that we formally endorse the Living Wage Campaign. Secondly we also wish to give practical expression to that view by paying the CAFCA/ABC Organiser a decent income, as defined by the Living Wage Campaign.

Included with this issue of *Peace Researcher* is an appeal for more pledges and donations to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, the fund from which the ABC and CAFCA Secretary/Organiser, Murray Horton, is paid. Murray's contract for services is currently based on \$17 per hour; to increase that to \$18.40 per hour rate we need your help; more pledges and donations. Your pledges and donations ensure the viability of our organisations



and we now are asking you to dig a little deeper, so that as an organisation we are able to make a decent income real for the Organiser. If we were in management we would be “walking the talk” but enough of that nonsense - help us to make a real commitment to the campaign and pay the Organiser a decent income as recommended. Your donations and pledges have always made a real difference and we are now asking for more to help us make this difference within our organisation.

We live in stringent times and we are all too well aware that most of our readers are facing the same day to day difficulties of getting by as everyone else - not being able to assist us at this time is no crime there are plenty of other actions you can take in the fight back against the neo-liberal nonsense. One simple action is to take the Living Wage Aotearoa/New Zealand message out into the community you live and work in; the rugby club, your church, union, or community groups. The more individuals picking up this task the more likely a living wage will be achieved. Please join us in the struggle for a living wage – it is important.

## Resources

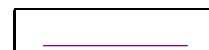
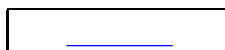
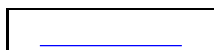
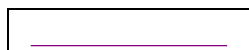
- Living Wage Aotearoa New Zealand - <http://www.livingwagenz.org.nz/>
- Report of an investigation into defining a living wage for New Zealand - <http://bit.ly/189pHF2>
- The Family Centre Social Policy Research Unit - <http://bit.ly/1b0zj5e>
- Child Poverty Action Group = <http://www.cpag.org.nz/>

## Endnote 1

“Neither the radical programmes of the 1980s and 1990s nor the Third Way model of the 2000s have led to economic success even in neo-liberal terms. The OECD has noted (in its economic survey of New Zealand in 2003) that “the mystery is why a country that seems close to best practice in most of the policies that are regarded as the key drivers of growth is nevertheless just an average performer”. Bill Rosenberg, 2010, “Rowing Boat On The Open Sea, Or In A Haven From Financial And Environmental Crises? New Zealand, The Global Financial Crisis, And A Union Response”. [http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/GLU\\_conference\\_2010/papers/30. A rowing boat on the open sea or in a haven.pdf](http://www.global-labour-university.org/fileadmin/GLU_conference_2010/papers/30_A_rowing_boat_on_the_open_sea_or_in_a_haven.pdf)

“This survey takes a closer look at the New Zealand conundrum of low productivity and low incomes - despite comparatively good structural and macroeconomic policy frameworks”, OECD, 2013, *Economic Surveys: New Zealand 2013*.

**Endnote 2** Source: CorpWatch, “What Is Neo-liberalism? A Brief Definition For Activists (amended)”. Viewed: 10/7/13, <http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=376>



- Jeremy Agar

## Friendly Fire: Nuclear Politics And The Collapse Of ANZUS, 1984-1987 by Gerald Hensley, Auckland University Press, 2013

*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. For a detailed analysis of David Lange and the 1984-90 Labour government, see Murray Horton's obituary of Lange in Peace Researcher 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-121b.html>. Ed.*

Wikileaks defines Gerald Hensley's title, the phrase "friendly fire", as "an attack by a military force on friendly forces while attempting to attack the enemy, either misidentifying the target as hostile, or due to errors or inaccuracy. Such attacks often cause injury or death. Fire not intended to attack the enemy, such as negligent or malicious discharge, or deliberate firing on one's own troops for disciplinary reasons, is not called friendly fire". That's as good a definition as any, one that captures the intent of the expression as it's always used. It's certainly Hensley's meaning. In this case, the military force that's shooting up his own side is the Prime Minister of New Zealand. David Lange is being accused of trying the patience of his benign mentors (the governments of the USA, the UK and Australia, who have all the answers) by endangering the peace of the world by aiding and abetting the bad guys (the former Soviet Union). It's not that he meant to, mind you. It's just that he had personal issues, which led him astray.

The original problem, as Hensley sees it, was that Lange had never accepted his country's anti-nuclear obsessions and would have been happier had all the business about military alliances and foreign policy never emerged. When they did arise, he found it hard to concentrate on them, his main concern being to balance the contrasting tugs of domestic opinion and the needs of foreigners. Unable and unwilling to consult with colleagues or to build alliances within the Labour caucus, he resorted to bluff, hope and jokes, usually playing for time, hoping something would turn up to deflect attention. Lange developed his sharp wit as a defence against a too demanding world.

At one stage Hensley half-heartedly suggests that Lange's nuclear forays were deliberately diverting voters' attention from the shock therapy being administered by his Finance Minister, Roger Douglas. This might have been a factor with some of the Rogernomes in the Cabinet, but not with Lange, who blundered into matters economic in much the same absent-minded way he blundered into foreign policy. He would have felt himself squeezed by fundamentalists from his Left and his Right.

### Hensley's Purpose Is Character Assassination

Hensley is probably right about Lange's irritating vagueness, his critique meshing as it does with the observations of other participants. So far, so good. Lange's extroverted but defensive charm invited judgement, in that it seemed to have a role in shaping New Zealand's governance. Hensley, though, goes further than this, much further. His real purpose is not another rehash of old tales. His portrayal of Lange, his reason for putting pen to paper, is character assassination. Throughout this account of the fourth Labour government's foreign policy, Hensley – through proxies - repeatedly accuses Lange of being a "liar", an "unbending" and "dangerous isolationist", who was placing NZ in "extreme jeopardy". The nuclear-free stance was a "betrayal". The insults flow thick. The people of NZ – or those of them who expected the Government to enact long-stated policy by keeping nuclear stuff out of the country - cop it too. They must have been smoking pot. They were your typical fanatics: given to "single-issue policies", nutcases "whose feelings were outraged" by the sensible ministrations of the foreign affairs mandarins in Wellington.

Diatribes like this are seldom about the ostensible subject; they're all about the author. It helps to know that Hensley was for 20 years a Foreign Affairs staffer who went on to be head of the Prime Minister's Department under Robert Muldoon and Lange. He was the ultimate insider. This enables him to pretend objectivity by putting most of the more extreme rhetoric into the mouths of foreign politicians, evidence stored away from conversations or diplomatic cables. After 30 years, his boss safely dead and unable to answer, Hensley drags out all the catty gossip. Much is from some of the world's most reactionary policy makers. Paul Wolfowitz, a notoriously bloodthirsty hack from the State Department, a go-to man from Bushite America, is a Hensley staple. *Wolfowitz was Donald Rumsfeld's*

*Deputy Defense Secretary from 2001-05, in the first term of the George W Bush government, i.e. during the invasions and occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq. For a detailed analysis of Wolfowitz, see Dennis Small's two part article "More Media Warmongering: Signs Of Things To Come" in Peace Researchers 41, July 2011 <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/41/pr41-006.htm>, November 2011, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/42/pr42-008.htm>. Ed.*

### **"Liar; Contemptible Buffoon In The Beehive; The Fucking Fellow"**

According to the selection on offer here, Bob Hawke's Australians, always keen to be America's favourite little helper (albeit fellow Labourites) were the most consistently crude. Hawke felt only "contempt" for his Anzac mate, the "buffoon", "the fucking fellow". Once, when the Aussies wanted to express some of this, they made a point of posting their letter from Washington rather than Canberra. Hawke (who was Australian Prime Minister from 1983-91) wanted it known that he was playing Robin to America's Batman. He was in the Bat Cave and thus should be respected.

Having been at the heart of the NZ State apparatus all his adult life, Hensley's take on what makes the world tick helps an understanding of why our defence and foreign affairs gurus have been so wrong for so long. Hensley of course takes it as given that the nuclear "deterrent" is what has kept the bad guys from having their way with us. Writing in the present tense he is still able to assert that NZ had to allow nuclear-powered warships into its ports as otherwise the Soviet Union would have continued its march through the Pacific. But when Foreign Affairs came out with this notion in the 1970's it was bogus, and nothing has changed in the 40 years since.

The liar Lange, the contemptible buffoon in the Beehive, the fucking fellow, did not realise that NZ's wish to opt out of nuclearism would encourage the Soviet Union to stay away from disarmament talks. He thus dismayed the Reagan Administration. That's how it seemed to Hensley, or so he says. Never mind that in the actual world this was the decade when the US was resurrecting the doctrine of a winnable nuclear war and colossally increasing its weaponry. The liar Lange, the contemptible buffoon in the Beehive, the fucking fellow, was similarly unaware that "south-east Asia had long been the cockpit of great-power rivalry", and if US warships were enjoined not to dock in Auckland this would ... would what...? Here Hensley seems to have dreamed up an even more distant legend. He's reprising the ludicrous domino theory that landed us alongside the US in Vietnam, where the only meddling big powers had been imperial Japan (an extinct species since 1945) and colonial France (locally extinct since 1953). And, of course, rendering Hensley's angst absurd, the UK and the US.

Foreign Affairs has been wrong about everything, which is why Hensley feels the need to protest. He's worried about the historical verdict and wants to distract us. The insults to Lange and his Government are a pretext. He protests too much. His Department was wrong in the 1960s and wrong in the 1980s, and there's no reason to suppose that future opinion will condemn NZ's recent distaste for nukes. Caught between the wish to ridicule his employers for thinking that tiny, irrelevant NZ mattered to the world's movers and shakers and the need to assert that world peace depended on NZ having nukes, Hensley drifts into absurdity. You can't reconcile opposites.

One minute he's saying that no-one in the US government had heard of NZ; the next minute he's saying that NZ would undermine global security. Yet Hensley also says – often - that he and his mates recognise that it would make no difference to the US and its allies if NZ became nuclear-free. How to square the circle? There were peaceniks everywhere, especially in Europe, and if NZ was allowed to "get away with" an independent foreign policy it would encourage all the freeloaders in Denmark and Norway and - most alarmingly for Mr Hawke - Australia.

But ANZUS was not forged as part of a global strategy. It was what it says: an alliance of three countries forged in response to the war in Korea in the 1950s, and subsequently evoked over Vietnam in the 1960s and 70s. It was a product of time and place, supposedly to thwart the Soviet Union and/or China, but they weren't coming then either. And as Lange pointed out, it did not say anything about nuclear weapons. If Hensley misrepresented facts, Lange didn't worry about them. Hensley says that the PM once remarked that he had learned from Lee Kwan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore, and - of all people - Reagan. His personal worldview seems to have been conventionally relaxed, and his Government's stand was never based on an anti-imperialist analysis. The Yanks were the bad guys only because they were allies with a navy.

Anti-nuke stands actually started under a National government because of safety worries about nuclear energy. Labour politicians consistently said they wanted to be both non-nuclear and a member of ANZUS, with only a few peace activists – none, of course, in positions of power - seeing a bigger picture. It was the ANZUS partners, not NZ, who blew the nuclear ships row into a big stoush. There was no operational need for US warships to dock in NZ, the demand for visits being political, not military. They could have waited out the Lange government

## **Tired Cold Warrior Venting Against Govt. He Tried To Subvert**

Since the 70s protests over ship visits had been regular events and Labour's policies were well known. Yet Hensley doesn't mind saying that Lange didn't give notice of wanting to ban nuclearism. He says the Americans were taken by surprise by NZ's supposedly inflexible stand. Hensley, the Australians and the Americans talked of compromise, their way of saying that it was up to Lange to soften public opinion so that the country would come to put up with nuclear ships. The Thatcher regime in the UK, not an ANZUS signatory, got in on the harassment, too. Anything other than the NZ government abandoning its independent policies was deemed to be unacceptable.

For this to be the attitude of the US is only to be expected, but it's dismaying to read it from the head of the Prime Minister's Department in Wellington. Hensley and the mandarins warned that there would be trade sanctions. There weren't. They warned that global politics would become unstable. They didn't. They warned that the public would be spooked, but when the US expelled NZ from the club, no-one cared. A poll after the supposedly climactic disaster of losing the official friendship with the US showed that only 3% saw it as a big deal. You would have thought that head bureaucrats were loyal to the governments they served. They're supposed to be paragons of discretion and trust, and if you relied on the reviews of Hensley's book from the major media in NZ, that's what you'd read. If you read the book itself, though, you might think that Hensley was a tired cold warrior venting rage against the Government he was trying to subvert. Talk about friendly fire.

## **THE GENERAL: The Ordinary Man Who Challenged Guantanamo by Ahmed Errachidi, Chatto & Windus, London, 2013**

As a boy, Ahmed Errachidi used to stand on the shore in Tangier, where Morocco looks across at Gibraltar and Spain, and dream about what lay behind the night lights. He'd absorbed American images from films and magazines but wasn't quite sure about the difference between America and Europe. He just knew there was an intriguing Western world over the water. He ended up in London and improvised a career for himself as a chef. So, yes, he was an ordinary man making a typical start to life in the global village

Then came 9/11, the war on Iraq, and the rest of it. Errachidi says he hadn't been especially interested in matters religious or cultural, but images from the barrage on Afghanistan inspired him to get to Pakistan and slip over the border in order to help the victims. His motive, that is, was humanitarian rather than political. Back in Pakistan, he was hitch-hiking in a crowded truck which was involved in an accident. That's how the passengers came to the notice of the police in Pakistan. From this random event Errachidi finished up in Guantanamo, the US base in Cuba where the allegedly most threatening terrorists are incarcerated.

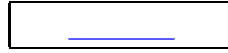
Errachidi's story is told by Gillian Slovo, a South African writer (and daughter of anti-apartheid heroes, Joe Slovo and Ruth First). The partnership seems to have been her initiative. Having written a play about Guantanamo, she was sensitive to the tangled and tragic stories hidden behind its walls. There would be few better choices to write up Errachidi's experiences. We have no independent witnesses to this autobiography, so hostile readers could always argue that Errachidi is unreliable in that no-one back in Morocco after being freed from five years in Guantanamo would admit to having gone to Afghanistan to bomb people. In Errachidi's defence, we know that the Pakistan authorities made a habit of accusing people in circumstances like the ones here, and even the soldiers at Guantanamo eventually conceded that he was innocent. The General's ordeal was arbitrary. He says he had no connection to terrorists or their way of thinking.

There would have been grounds, though, for suspicion. Errachidi's trip to Afghanistan is explained as a side trip from Pakistan, where he was looking into establishing a business exporting silver jewellery to Morocco. The timing was odd. Errachidi had a new wife and a baby boy with a heart defect. He says that as he had been illegally in the UK, he needed to set up a lucrative business in Morocco. If not a spy, he was at least impulsive. That might be a weakness, but it's not a crime, and his degrading treatment that followed is the only issue.

### **Disgusting Conditions & Torture**

The more convincing – and relevant - evidence is the tone of the story, dignified and strong. Errachidi came to be known as The General because he was a natural leader of the detainees. Most of the book details disgusting conditions at Guantanamo and the author's resistance. Errachidi's exposure of torture is disturbing. Prisoners were

subjected not just to the sort of mental cruelty that might be expected in the circumstances. There was also direct, prolonged physical torture. Other accounts of life at Guantanamo are consistent with what we come across here, so, again, The General's account rings true. Repeatedly he was asked about Osama bin Laden, of whom he had no knowledge. Guilt can be established, but how can you prove innocence? Eventually, through Red Cross, contact was made with the outside world and The General had an alibi. This ordinary man with extraordinary strength of character is now back with his family in Morocco.



- Murray Horton

## Bob Leonard

Bob Leonard, who died in August 2013 in Wellington, aged 74, was the face and voice of the Anti-Bases Campaign ever since it was founded in 1987. He played a leading role in all of ABC's campaigns, past and present. Over and above that, he was a committed peace activist all of his life. He was a leading figure in the New Zealand peace movement, which is why his death was marked by obituaries in the mainstream media (in both the *Press* and, more surprisingly, the *National Business Review*). There was also a lot more to Bob than just the peace and anti-bases activist. He lived in New Zealand for 31 years and for all of that time he was a very close friend of mine, and we were also very close ABC colleagues for nearly all of those years (the February 2011 Christchurch killer earthquake ended that, by forcing him and Barbara to immediately and permanently move to Wellington; and the trauma of that quake tipped his already very fragile health into a two year long steeply downward spiral from which he never recovered). Sadly this is the first time that I've had to write an obituary of an ABC Committee colleague, and also the first time I've had to do one for such a close friend.

Although I have filing cabinets (both of the real and the cyberspace variety) full of material by Bob, I have precious little about him. That was befitting of a man who was modest when it came to blowing his own trumpet. There is no folder of newspaper or magazine profiles of him; he doesn't feature in my Obituary folder of clippings and profiles dating back a quarter of a century; he hardly rates a mention in any of the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) files on individuals and organisations in my possession; he never applied for any SIS Personal File on himself because he didn't believe there would be one.

### "Dr Odd Base"

So, my sole written source on Bob's life, specifically his life in his native US and New Zealand before 1992, is a profile that I wrote about him that year. It had been commissioned by Owen Wilkes for *Peacelink*, the national monthly magazine of Peace Movement Aotearoa, as part of a series on Heroes Of The Peace Movement. I wrote three such profiles; two were published, and Bob's was to be the third. But its' publication was stymied by the 1992 demise of *Peacelink*, which had been produced from Hamilton for the previous six years by Co-Editors May Bass and Owen Wilkes, who were partners in print and in life (and remained so until Owen's 2005 suicide. *Peace Researcher* 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>, is a special tribute issue to Owen).

But all was not lost. As a major part of my job as the Organiser for both ABC and the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA), I am also the longstanding Editor of the latter's *Foreign Control Watchdog* and I decided to publish it there. This is the editorial introduction I wrote for it: "We don't normally run profiles. Indeed, you usually have to be dead to feature in these august pages. But this profile, commissioned by Owen Wilkes for *Peacelink*, has been orphaned by that magazine's precipitate closure. However I reckon it's too interesting a story to be left languishing; Bob needs no introduction to CAFCA members; the ABC is our sister organisation; and I am employed by both it and CAFCA. So, for all those reasons, we are running it. If it makes you feel better, we'll categorise it as a premature obituary. Regrettably, our primitive technology doesn't enable us to run the photos that Tony Webster especially took for *Peacelink*".

So it was duly published as "Dr Odd Base" in *Watchdog* 70, August 1992, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-august-1992.html>. And here it is again, 21 years after it was first published. It remains the only profile of a living person ever published in *Watchdog*'s nearly 40 year history. Sadly, I have no idea what happened to Tony Webster's photos of Bob which I commissioned for *Peacelink*. It would have been great to have had at least one of them to accompany the profile's reappearance – and it really is an obituary this time around.

Why the peculiar title? I explained that at the end of the profile: "All our mail from the Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament arrives solemnly addressed to 'Dr Odd Base, Box 2258, Christchurch, New Zealand'. There is a newsletter called *Off Base*, edited by Dr Bob Leonard, but apart from that, it's anyone's guess. It just struck me as strangely appropriate". Indeed it was the subject of great hilarity at meetings of ABC, and before that, those of its predecessor, Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood (CDH), when that Chinese publication was tabled with the correspondence (*Off Base*, which was CDH's newsletter, was a standalone publication for 12 issues from 1984-87 inclusive and then became part of what was then called *Peace Researcher* incorporating *Off Base*).



That arrangement lasted until 1994. Those 12 standalone issues of *Off Base* and the later 1987-94 issues as part of *PR* can be read as part of the online historic *Peace Researchers* at <http://www.historicalpeacere searcher.blogspot.co.nz/>. The originals of the 12 issues were among the historical material rescued by ABC Committee members from Bob and Barbara's quake-battered and abandoned hillside home, in February 2013. Our thanks to ABC (and CAFCA) Committee member Lynda Boyd who then uploaded the scanned issues, after Bob's death, as part of ABC's tribute to Bob's life and work.

And why did my profile of ABC's founder and leader get published only in *Watchdog*, not in ABC's *Peace Researcher*? For starters, I had no *PR* role in those days, other than as a writer (editing it was not part of my original CAFCA/ABC Organiser job description, when I started in 1991). I didn't become Co-Editor, with Bob, until the late 1990s, and I didn't become Editor, succeeding Bob, until the early 2000s. In 1992 *PR* was very much Bob's baby – he was the Editor - and, modest chap that he was, he would never have agreed to include a profile of himself. As I said in it: "Indeed he had to be talked into this profile".

## Childhood

Robert Leslie Leonard, an only child, was born in 1938 in Reno, Nevada ("but I've never gambled in my life"). That sentence needs qualifying – for nearly all of his life Bob believed that he was an only child and he certainly was the only child of his parents' marriage. But when he was well into his 60s, into the last few years of his life as it turned out, he was astonished to be contacted by a older half-brother that he never knew that he had. Jim, a decade older than Bob, was the product of a relationship between their father when he was a young man and a wealthy woman for whom he worked. Part of his job was to drive her on transcontinental road trips and, as the old joke goes, they didn't have TV in those days. Bob's mother died (in the 1990s) never having known about her husband's other son. Bob was fascinated to go to Colorado and meet this whole other family that he didn't know that he had. What's more, they turned out to be both Republicans and Mormons, the polar opposite of Bob in terms of politics and attitude to religion (he wouldn't have a bar of the latter). Bob was also incredulous to discover that he had a newly discovered nephew who had a military aviation background and who persisted in addressing Uncle Bob as "sir" and Aunt Barbara as "maam", in that all-American fashion. But blood is thicker than water and the long lost brothers got on just fine (presumably as long as they didn't mention politics or religion. Probably sex was out, too). When the whole Leonard clan from across the US and New Zealand gathered at Lake Tahoe in the California High Sierra in October 2013 to scatter Bob's ashes, his octogenarian brother and wife were present.

Now, back to the 1930s. The family moved permanently to neighbouring California when he was a baby. His father was a skilled worker without much formal education. He ended up working at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena (headed by New Zealander William Pickering, later to be Sir William). Bob grew up surrounded by guns – because the family was poor, they needed to hunt for food. Bob had a lifelong aversion to guns and told me of his horror when he discovered several hand guns in his father's room while cleaning it up after his death. His parents were conservative Republicans (so, obviously, his older brother inherited those aspects of their father's genes). As his daughter Andra told me, in a March 2013 e-mail: "...his Republican parents were horrified when he first grew a beard in grad school because they feared he was becoming a disreputable Berkeley hippy. In the 50's and 60's in Pasadena all the respectable folks were clean cut..." (in the 30 odd years I knew Bob, I never saw him without a beard. I saw him once with a shaved head, when he was very sick during the long sad decline of his final couple of years, but I never saw him without a beard. Not even in old photos). Bob was old enough to remember WW2, with its blackouts and air raid sirens. He saw an internment camp for Japanese Americans: "I always thought it was a horrible thing to do, those people were Americans".

His tertiary schooling was at Pasadena City College; then at 19 he left home to go to university at Berkeley. He graduated in 1960 with a Bachelor of Science (BSc), majoring in Forestry, followed by a one year Forestry degree from Yale, right across the other side of the US (he told me that was when he felt homesick). He was offered three different fellowships, deciding on the National Science Foundation one in plant physiology (ironically it is the NSF which has for decades provided the respectable scientific cover for the US military presence at Christchurch Airport – Harewood – which Bob was to devote considerable energy campaigning against throughout his life in Christchurch). Also in 1960 he got married to Judy Hayden, a registered Democrat, who persuaded Bob to change parties also. The marriage lasted eight years and produced three kids, Mark, Andra and Brendan (who, between them, have seven kids. The three of them live in California, Iowa and Vermont, so they're distributed right across the US). He was a hands-on dad – quite literally in the case of one baby, whom he had to catch as it shot out of Mum while the doctors and nurses were out of the room. He loved telling that story.

## Berkeley In The 60s

From 1961 to 69 he was doing his Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) at Berkeley. "Those were the days of turmoil; it was a



great time to be at Berkeley". It involved a complete change in his world outlook. He had applied to be a Navy trainee pilot and only failed because of his eyesight (he wore glasses). He came from a conservative family, "so the military seemed quite a reasonable option to me" (his son, Graham, explained to me that Bob would have looked favourably at that option because it would have provided a pragmatic way to fund his university studies). If he had been accepted, his life may have turned out very differently (the thought of Captain Bob Leonard flying one of the US military's former Starlifters – since replaced by Globemasters – into Harewood is quite startling). But instead he plunged into the radical ferment of Berkeley in the 60s. He had been involved in a successful early 60s' campaign to stop a nuclear power plant. But Berkeley marked his introduction to radical activism, starting with the Free Speech Movement in 1964 and proceeding through the lethal battles to establish People's Park, and the whole epic of Vietnam War protests.

He was never personally in danger of being drafted to Vietnam. Students held 1A exemption. But he was a rank and file participant in all the big California battles of the 60s, complete with long hair, beard and headband. "I was thrown in at the deep end". He personally witnessed a man shot in the back by buckshot fired by the "Blue Meanies" (untrained, trigger-happy sheriff's deputies). The guy survived, Bob volunteered to be a witness but nothing was ever done about it. He experienced being gassed by CS gas dropped from helicopters (it induces projectile vomiting). Bob's first leadership role was in RIOT (Refusers of Illegal and Oppressive Taxes). The city of Berkeley was levying a surtax on electricity, which (as usual) hit the poor much more than the rich. Naturally the poor happened to be black. It involved an 18 month campaign to get it put to the ballot as a local initiative – and it was defeated. "I became a staunch advocate of public utilities and staunch enemy of anything nuclear", positions he maintained for the rest of his life. Berkeley in the 60s was ground zero of the counter-culture (a phrase you never hear now), but I have no idea if Bob plunged into that lifestyle. Maybe he did. When I spoke at his Christchurch memorial gathering, in September 2013, I said that I'd never seen him drink alcohol – Barbara interjected from the floor that "he was at Berkeley in the 60s", leaving us to draw our own conclusions. But if he did get into the counter-culture lifestyle in the 60s he left it there. The only time he alluded to it to me was to express his fondness for some of the Californian musicians of that era.

In 1969 he moved to the University of California campus at Davis, to do two years of post-doctoral work in biochemistry. Life got complicated in 1971 when he moved to Lake Tahoe as the Field Laboratory Director. He was stressed out, commuting many hundreds of kilometres every week between his workplaces in Tahoe and Davis, and his family in Berkeley (his marriage had ended). So he did something quintessentially Californian and went to an encounter group. It turned out to be a wise move, because he met Barbara Sloane there. They started living together in 72, got married in 76 and their son Graham was born in 77 (Dr Graham Leonard, who lives in Wellington and is married with a baby daughter, is now a nationally renowned scientist with the Crown Research Institute GNS Science, regularly in the media issuing dire warnings about volcanic eruptions and tsunamis).

Bob and Barbara were to spend more than 40 years together – it really was "until death do us part" – and, as Graham said in his speech at the Christchurch memorial, "Mum was the love of Dad's life". From 1971 to 82 the Leonards lived at Lake Tahoe. Bob was a limnologist (a lake specialist). "It was an activist job; we were generating all the information to fight the developers". Tahoe is on the California/Nevada border, and the Nevada shore is a big time resort, with casinos. It was a high pressure job, as he had to combine being a scientist and administrator, dealing with politicians.

## **Reagan Refugees Move To NZ**

1982 was when the Leonards took the drastic step of permanently immigrating to New Zealand. It was the Ronald Reagan presidency and the zenith of the peace movement worldwide. "When that clown Reagan was elected President in 1980, that was too much" (Bob had experienced Ronnie's governorship of California in the 60s. See "Fuck Ronald Reagan", by Bill Weinberg, in *Peace Researcher* 30, March 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-105a.html>, for a refreshingly honest obituary. We got hate mail for years afterwards from outraged Reaganauts). Bob and Barbara had both got involved in the bilateral nuclear freeze movement. A major factor was that they lived downwind of a nuclear power plant. "But we would never have shifted if we didn't have a young son". Bob was in his 40s (his life was more than half over, as it turned out) but the drastic decision to live in a faraway country for the rest of his life was no midlife crisis – it was a response to the existential crisis posed by the very real threat of nuclear war in the 80s.

But why New Zealand? Bob had never been out of the US before and his only personal experience of Kiwis was William Pickering at Pasadena's Jet Propulsion Laboratory (where his father had worked) and post-grad students with whom he had worked. "We chose NZ because it was far away, isolated, under-populated, and beautiful. I wanted to get clean out of the Northern Hemisphere". They subscribed to the *Dominion* (now the *Dominion Post*) and the *Press* to apply for jobs (no Internet in those days). Barbara, who had worked with computers for years,

found one in Christchurch; rang them and was hired over the phone. They were granted permanent residence (NZ citizenship for all three of them followed, years later) and moved (bringing with them Barbara's terminally ill mother, who died of cancer six months later). They were classic Reagan Refugees, but far from the only ones to come to NZ – for example, long-time ABC member and veteran Waihopai activist, Dick Keller and his wife Jane moved from the US to NZ in 1987, settling in Wellington. Dick came to ABC's Christchurch memorial for Bob and told the crowd that it was Reagan's re-election that year that decided him and Jane to permanently shift. They arrived in the country at Christchurch Airport and, he told the memorial, they were met by the smiling faces of Bob and Barbara. Bob and Dick remained friends and ABC colleagues until Bob's death.

Bob never regretted shifting; he loved New Zealand and Christchurch with a passion (it took the catastrophic February 2011 earthquake to force them out, permanently, to Wellington). The only things he missed about the US were his three kids and the mountains of California. Until his health completely collapsed in the last three years of his life, he made a trip to the States virtually every year to visit them and his grandkids and, in his final years, his newly discovered half-brother and his family. And, less often, his kids and grandkids visited him. The only time there has ever been a joint *Peace Researcher* and *Watchdog* mailout (in 1999), utilising all available rooms in our house, his daughter Andra and her two young sons helped out. Andra was staying with Bob and Barbara for several weeks in January/February 2011, helping to look after him as his health became extremely bad, and she was with them on February 22nd, when the killer quake struck and wrecked the house. Andra played a critical role in getting both of them out of the house and immediately out of Christchurch, ending up in Wellington – Bob never returned. As for those California mountains: the young Bob was quite the mountaineer, and there were several old photos of him in that capacity as part of the slideshow at his Christchurch memorial. He told me that the difference between Californian and New Zealand mountains was that the latter can kill you, fast and unexpectedly, due to the extreme changeability of our weather. Some times when he went on holiday to the US he went back into his beloved mountains (one memorable trip was on horseback and they slept in tents in bear country). It was entirely fitting that, in October 2013, Barbara and Graham took his ashes back to the US where almost his entire family gathered and scattered them at his beloved Lake Tahoe (where he had scattered his parents' ashes).

## **Two Decades Teaching At Lincoln University**

There were the inevitable cultural confusions upon arrival – Bob delighted in telling me of his incomprehension when he went to the then Post Office to arrange to get a phone connected and was asked to make the cheque to “NZedPO”, which made no sense to him. He read NZPO as “NZeePO” (over the decades he and I had many interesting and often hilarious discussions about the differences between American English, English English and New Zealand English). Early on, he and Barbara were invited to a Kiwi couple's home for tea. So they ate a meal and went to the house expecting to drink tea. You can guess the rest. But basically they hit the ground running. Barbara had already got a job before they arrived and they bought their Huntsbury Hill home within a few months of arrival (and lived in it until the February 2011 quake wrecked it, along with most of their side of the street, and forced them to immediately abandon the house and contents and move to Wellington. At the time of writing the fate of the house and contents remains undecided). Within a couple of years Bob got a job at what was then called Lincoln College (now University) and worked there for the next 20+ years, retiring in 2007 when he was in his late 60s. This is what Ian Collins of Lincoln University sent to the *Press*, for Bob's obituary (24/8/13; “Veteran Protester Learned Activism In 60s' California”, Mike Crean):

“Dr Bob Leonard ... quiet, but deeply passionate about causes. Tenacious in his beliefs. A complex character. I knew him well as a colleague here. He was someone whose time, conversation and wisdom one appreciated. The peace campaigner was only one side of him. He was passionate about stewardship of the environment. A Senior Tutor in the Soil and Physical Sciences Department here at Lincoln University. Started in 1984. He was a limnologist ... a freshwater scientist. Limnology is the science of lakes and inland waterways. He was a close colleague of the late Associate Professor Graeme Buchan, an environmental physicist. Together, in 1990, they founded the popular and highly successful Lincoln University EnviroSchool programme ... a campus-based biennial vacation school for environmentally-minded senior secondary school students. Largely on Bob's initiative, Sir Edmund Hillary was approached and accepted the job of Patron of the EnviroSchool programme. The EnviroSchools, which ran for more than a decade and won a Government award for their contributions to environmental care and education, were a real legacy that Bob could be proud of. Ironical that Bob and Graeme, whose offices were in the same corridor, only a few doors apart, and worked closely together on environmental science, the one on water, the other on soil, should die within less than a year of each other. In 1992 a paper they co-authored on propagating environmental science and ethics was accepted for the first World Environmental and Communication Congress following the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

“Bob's role in the co-founding of Lincoln University's EnviroSchool programme deserves a mention in any obituary. Numerous participants who have grown up, gone on to university and are now in environment or conservation

related careers will remember him. Academically Bob was highly qualified ... he had a masters degree from Yale (in Forestry), and a PhD from the University of California. He was world-class in his understanding of scientific matters, highly praised by students for his lectures and laboratory classes, particularly chemistry. I have a testimonial here from one of his mature students, who came late in life to university, who described Bob's Global Environmental Issues subject as "brilliant". But Bob never sought the limelight. He started humbly at Lincoln University as a casual staff member but was soon "snapped up" by the University, for a permanent academic position. As a limnologist his research took him to many places including Lake Baikal in Russia, in capacity the largest freshwater lake in the world, and he brought back water samples to Lincoln University for analysis as part of his research".

Lincoln University was well represented at ABC's Christchurch memorial for him, in September 2013. Indeed the speaker who spoke the longest was Associate Professor in Soil Science Peter Almond, the head of Bob's old department. He detailed Bob's academic career at Lincoln and included tributes from former colleagues and students. He told stories of Bob using paper clips instead of staples, to encourage recycling; of him browbeating the Library into setting up a paper recycling system; of him carefully monitoring the departmental printer to see how much paper was being used. He told of Bob warning colleagues not to go into his office unannounced and of strange noises coming from within, which came from Bob's greyhounds (he ignored the ban on dogs in the building). He emphasised that Bob was a stickler for correctness in things like punctuation, which jogged my memory, and I told the crowd that during our time as *Peace Researcher* Co-Editors, Bob had driven me mad as an apostrophe Nazi. This, in turn, inspired Barbara, whom we had not expected to speak, to get up to talk about Bob "the pedant", who, even when he could no longer talk in his final months, was still correcting punctuation mistakes by means of gestures and sign language. Throughout his two decades at Lincoln Bob rubbed shoulders with some household names, who were either his colleagues or his students. Long before Rodney Hide became an MP, ACT Leader and a Cabinet Minister, he was an academic at Lincoln, where Bob told me his nickname was Mr Property Rights (Bob's all-time favourite publication in Hide's office was titled "Property Rights and Canada Geese"). When I visited Bob one time in Burwood Hospital in 2010, I was surprised to be told that Richie McCaw had popped in to say hello. Bob had no interest in rugby (it was one of the few subjects we never discussed) and the All Blacks weren't doing one of their PR hospital visits, so why did the All Black captain visit Bob? He'd been one of Bob's students (Bob described him to me as "helluva nice fellow"), was at Burwood Hospital with one of his numerous rugby injuries, spotted his old lecturer was in there, and called in to his room to say hello.

### **Nuclear Free Zone Committee**

Upon arrival in Christchurch they immediately got involved with the peace movement, initially in Larry Ross' New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee (my obituary of Larry is in *Peace Researcher* 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44/pr44-008.htm>). "We saw it as a very viable movement". He described his several years on the Executive of the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee – he ended up as Chairperson - as "a very exciting time". In 1983 Keith Burgess founded *Peace Researcher* as a supplement to its newsletter. In the mid 80s Bob and others (including Barbara, Dennis Small and Keith Burgess) parted company with the Nuclear Free Zone Committee and a collective of six formed Educate for Nuclear Disarmament, which published *Peace Researcher*, co-edited by Bob and Dennis. There was also the short lived Nuclear Free Kiwis group, involving much the same people, plus others like current *PR* Co-Editor, Warren Thomson.

Although they were no longer in the same organisation, Bob and Larry still worked together on projects and remained friends, right up until Larry's death in 2012. For example, Larry and others, including Dennis and Bob, did excellent work in analysing and exposing the US Central Intelligence Agency (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" Among other projects, they organised a national speaking tour through NZ in 1986 by Ralph McGehee, a former CIA agent turned author. Decades later, in the final few years of Larry's life (2009-11 to be precise), when a series of mini strokes had damaged his short term memory and he was living in a retirement home, Bob and I worked together with him to secure his SIS Personal File. It involved me in the most contact I'd ever had with Larry and I, and colleagues (such as Bob and Warren Thomson) had a number of highly enjoyable social gatherings with Larry in the course of it. Larry had worked very closely with the young Owen Wilkes in the 60s (that was the start of Owen's stellar career as an international peace and anti-bases researcher and activist), so, for one of our outings, Bob and I took Larry to the Owen Wilkes memorial park bench which ABC had got the Christchurch City Council to pay for and install in Beckenham Park in 2007. Our very last trip out as a trio was after the September 2010 earthquake, when Bob could only walk with the aid of two sticks (but he could drive just fine). Larry wanted 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). We took Larry for lunch at the New Brighton Pier, took him for a drive around his beloved New Brighton, back through the central city and then for a visit to see leading peace activists Kate Dewes and Rob Green

in their badly damaged Riccarton home (scheduled for repair in 2014). It was a highly memorable day and it is very sad to reflect that both Bob and Larry are now dead (as is Owen).

## Harewood & CDH

Bob and Barbara had been startled upon arrival in Christchurch to discover that they, the nuclear refugees, were living in a city hosting a US base. Bob was familiar with the US Air Force's Military Airlift Command (now called the Air Mobility Command) flights from his days in Davis. Starlifters and Galaxies loaded with nuclear weapons flew over the city en route to and from Travis Air Force Base. "So when I came here, I was shocked to find the bloody things were right here". They arrived with an American can do attitude, and American perceptions on the NZ scene. For example, Barbara's initial concern about Harewood was that it could be a nuclear target, and emphasis was placed on the possibility of nuclear weapons being transported through it under the neither confirm nor deny policy. Bob had no previous experience of working with Communists and there was an early incident involving a Communist Party banner at a Harewood march. Bob soon politically acclimatised and dropped any such previous hangups (which became academic in the 90s, anyway, with the demise of the Communist Party). They arrived in the country at the zenith of the NZ peace movement and public interest in all things to do with peace and nuclear issues was very high. They featured in a *Christchurch Star* series on the peace movement, under the heading: "Searching For A Safe Place To Live". Barbara was quoted as saying: "Our first task is to rid New Zealand of the American military presence. Failing that, we'll probably move, at least to another part of the country". Well, Christchurch Airport still has an American military presence, albeit in a greatly reduced role, and the Leonards did shift, involuntarily, to another part of the country – but not until nearly 30 years after they did that interview.

In 1983, whilst actively involved in the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee and the South Christchurch Peace Group, Bob contacted the Campaign Against Foreign Control In New Zealand (CAFCINZ, which changed its name to CAFCA later in the 80s), offering to specialise in Harewood. Despite an illogical paranoid suspicion of Americans, he was seen as a godsend (I can remember going, with my then partner, to visit him and Barbara at their home to discuss our suspicions that there was a spy in our ranks. Barbara's immediate response was to exclaim: "You don't think it's us, do you?" No, we didn't – it was a good old Kiwi). The Harewood campaign had been essentially moribund since the big anti-bases demos of the early 70s (for an succinct summary of the decades-long Harewood campaign, including Bob's leading role in it, see Maire Leadbeater's "The Campaign To Demilitarise Harewood", in *Peace Researcher* 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44/pr44-003.htm>). He became the driving force behind CDH (Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood), which produced its own newsletter, *Off Base* (which can be read online at <http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/>, along with the 1983-2000 issues of *Peace Researcher*). CDH marked the beginning of my nearly three decades of working very closely with Bob – meetings were held at our place (where I still live and work); and young Graham was put down to sleep in a sleeping bag on the lounge floor behind the couch while Bob and Barbara were at the meetings. Barbara left anti-bases activism quite early on and peace activism a few years later (moving on to other issues). CDH lasted a few years; from 1988 onwards it changed into the Christchurch ABC and *Off Base* became part of *Peace Researcher* (until 1994, when *Off Base* ceased). Within a few years it was just known as ABC, as there were no longer ABC groups in other cities. That remains the status quo today.

In my 1992 "Dr Odd Base" profile he said, of the Harewood campaign: "I've had a reasonable degree of satisfaction out of the campaign, not only because of the camaraderie of the things we've done there – and they are some of the highlights of my life – but simply because every time we do something, we're a burr under the saddle of the US military. I think we've actually been a restraining influence on them; if we hadn't started this in 83, we would never have known about the Pine Gap connection. The whole research element has been very important. It's been very satisfying, the number of times we've gone out there and their flights have avoided Christchurch altogether. I still have some optimism that their most vulnerable point is the fact that they're flying military intelligence flights through, ostensibly as Antarctic ones, without any governing authority" (for decades US Air Force planes routinely transited through Harewood to service the highly strategic, top secret US spy base at Pine Gap, near Alice Springs in central Australia. There is no longer evidence that Harewood is still involved in that role of servicing Pine Gap. Changes in technology and increased capabilities of aircraft are among the likely reasons why that situation has changed. MH).

## Bob Epitomised Campaign

I started that 1992 profile thus: "If any one person epitomises the campaign against US military installations in Aotearoa, it has to be Dr Robert Leslie Leonard. For the whole ten years he has lived in this country, the 53 year old American has been the backbone of the campaign focused on the USAF/Navy base at Harewood. Tall, bearded, unfailingly polite, he and his well used Toyota HiAce van\* have been familiar sights at many of the Waihopai demos; he's been up Black Birch three times (once on foot); and once to Tangimoana. But it is Harewood that remains his central concern. 'Operation Deep Freeze is a cover for the US military to have a contingency base (one of hundreds



around the world), and I think it is an insult to all New Zealanders for the Americans to be blatantly using something that is ostensibly scientific for what is in reality a contingency military asset. A big element of my concern is concern for Antarctica per se, and the potential for conflict. We have one continent left to rape and pillage, and we seem to be set on doing it'. (*\*The well used van came to a sad end one night in 2004 when it was broken into while parked on their drive – Bob and Barbara were inside the house watching TV - burgled and set on fire, destroying it. Nobody was ever caught. Barbara specially requested that I write a Peace Researcher obituary for it. So I did: "In Fond Memory Of Bob's Old Van", PR 29. June 2004, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr29-98.html>. MH).*

"So, for a decade it's been Bob, in his jacket and tie, who has fronted press conferences and public meetings; led marches and pickets (the tension of which has been known to trigger his asthma and migraines); and generally been identified as the leader of the campaign to demilitarise Harewood. It's not a role with which he is fully comfortable – he is sensitive about being perceived as a 'foreigner' interfering in NZ business...It's a public profile that has led to a fair degree of flak. From blinkered local MPs and politicians who shamelessly inflate the alleged monetary value of Harewood every time it is questioned; from public hysteria at times like the arson (by provocateurs unknown) of the Brevet Club Spitfire during the Triad 84 ANZUS air exercise – 'we were smeared with that but the Police knew damned well we didn't do it'.

"And from the same side of the fence too. Thin skinned Labour heavyweights did not take kindly to glaring loopholes in their 'nuclear free' law being highlighted. When Frank O'Flynn was Minister of Defence, he made a pointed reference to 'disaffected Americans'. Bob and I appeared before a Select Committee chaired by Helen Clark – she was downright rude (but Piggy Muldoon, for his own partisan reasons, was much more attentive)...There were plenty in the peace movement, particularly in Labour's first term (1984-87), who regarded Bob and the Harewood campaign as a bloody nuisance. Why did he have to rock the nuclear free boat? (*I well remember Larry Ross telling me, more than once, that the US base's continued presence at Harewood was the price we would have to pay for the country going nuclear free. He also said that about Waihopai. MH*). 'Those other three bases (Waihopai, Tangimoana, Black Birch) represent an entanglement that is hidden from the people of New Zealand. As symbolically effective as our nuclear free legislation is, it is paper thin. If we had a genuine crisis in this part of the world, we'd soon see just how paper thin that disentanglement is. We're still cemented into the nuclear infrastructure and we're not that far from an ANZUS type of situation" (*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. Bob's 21 year old quote has proven to be prescient. See Warren Thomson's "Manoeuvred Back Into ANZUS: Subversion Of NZ's Independence" in PR 43, May 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr43/pr43-001.htm>. MH).*

### **His Files Are A Treasure Trove**

Coinciding with writing this obituary I have been, as time allows, methodically going through Bob's ABC and peace movement papers that we rescued from his quake-bugged and abandoned house back in February 2013. Some have been chucked out as too old and no longer relevant, but I've kept plenty. This has provided a unique opportunity to fully appreciate the sheer extent of Bob's work, over many years. His published output, in publications such as *Off Base* and *Peace Researcher*, is publicly available (and can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prfront.html> and <http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/>). But the many cartons full of file boxes and folders of his papers enable me to access the full story. It has increased my admiration for his prodigious energy and work rate, because the amount of correspondence he produced just on that one topic alone – Harewood - was phenomenal (in the days when people wrote letters). He was a scientist and was happy to apply his skills to tasks that the rest of us were not equipped or not prepared to do. To give just one example; for many years he acquired (which was a whole campaign in itself), analysed and published – complete with graphs – the official flight data recording all US military planes arriving and departing from Harewood.

Bob's files are meticulously kept and chronologically organised, with many of his outward letters accompanied by handwritten notes of the points he wanted to make. And his handwriting is as neat as his files (I, let alone anyone else, haven't been able to read my own handwriting for many years). I raised a wry smile when I noticed that while his personal letters were signed "Bob", his formal ones to Prime Ministers, Ministers, MPs, Councillors, the US military, etc, were signed "Robert L Leonard" and, sometimes, "Robert L. Leonard PhD". I laughed out loud when I read that a few of his very early formal letters started with the salutation: "Gentlepersons". My admiration for Bob's fantastic productivity only increased when I reflected that the ABC rescue mission had certainly not retrieved anything like all of the files and papers from Bob and Barbara's house – we left plenty behind – and that what we did retrieve was, by necessity, grabbed on a pretty random basis (we were working in a badly damaged and dangerous house, with the contents all over the floor, with no power – I worked by torchlight in the basement where a lot of the historic papers were filed and/or strewn all over the floor, not far from where the bricks of an old chimney had smashed through the floor boards and beams from the kitchen above – and with nobody present from the family to

guide us). We all owe a big vote of thanks to ABC Committee member, Robyn Dann, who volunteered to store the lot until their final fate is determined and who put her librarian's training to good use by sorting them out before I went through them, bit by bit.

When I wrote my obituaries of Owen Wilkes and Larry Ross I had no such access to their papers (beyond what was in Larry's SIS file, which is in my possession). Actually, going through Bob's papers, specifically the voluminous Harewood ones, has increased my respect for Owen, because an awful lot of that correspondence was between the two of them. How sad that Owen turned his back on, firstly, the peace movement, and then, life itself. And I can empathise with Bob's frustration that progressively worsening ill health left him telling me "I've got no energy" years before his health totally collapsed. Going back through his Harewood files brought back many, many memories for me, such as: the 1986 Spies Picnic (the only photo I have displayed in my office is of that, with Bob and I among the suitably disguised "spies"); the last time I got arrested was at a 1988 Harewood protest; the sheer cheek of Bob and I hiring a room at Christchurch Airport in 1989 to hold a press conference to make public a treasure trove of internal Deep Freeze documents that a mole inside the US base had leaked to Owen; our protest on the tarmac next to US Starlifters and Galaxies during a 1994 Deep Freeze open day (we called our action The Hitchhiker's Guide To the Galaxy); Bob and I holding a huge Harewood-related banner outside the entrance to the Air Force Museum in 1999 when Bill Clinton, the only US President to visit Christchurch (and only the second US President to visit NZ) was arriving for a State dinner. We knew the motorcade's arrival was imminent when, all of a sudden, every cop present suddenly marched up and stood, literally toe to toe, in front of every picketer. As Clinton's limo sped past, Bob, the expatriate American, could restrain himself no longer, and roared "What a waste of bloody money!", right into the face of the unfortunate cop marking him).

Some memories are hilarious – for several years in the 1980s a group of Catholic, mainly women, peace activists called Ploughshares (not to be confused with the Ploughshares group of male Catholic peace activists who deflated the Waihopai spy base dome in 2008) held weekly pickets at Harewood, with a religious angle. In the approach to Easter one year they were performing the Stations of the Cross; Bob was among those there in solidarity. The cops arrived, ignored the women and went straight to the bearded patriarch, assuming him to be "in charge", and asked him what was going on. The women, all good feminists, were furious and Bob was the last person to ask to explain anything religious.

The best way to appreciate Bob the Harewood campaigner is to watch, online, "Base Deception", a 14 minute long 1994 documentary about Harewood, made for ABC by Sam Miller, and fronted throughout by Bob (it also features wonderful footage of the 1994 Hiroshima Day arrests of Moana Cole and Ciaran O'Reilly for trespass inside the base). This can be viewed at <http://www.historicalpeacere searcher.blogspot.co.nz/2013/08/base-deception.html>. Our thanks are due, once again, to ABC (and CAFCA) Committee member, Lynda Boyd, who uploaded the film, after Bob's death, as part of ABC's tribute to Bob's life and work. His family certainly appreciated that. Bob's daughter Andra e-mailed me, in August 2013: "I watched it twice yesterday and it was wonderful to see my dad standing tall and to hear his strong voice discussing an issue he cared so deeply about" (Andra came to New Zealand more than once during Bob's long sad decline and was in daily phone and/or Skype contact with him throughout his final couple of years, so she really appreciated having a movie record of him in action and in his prime). It was wonderfully appropriate that, 19 years after he made "Base Deception" with Bob, Sam Miller volunteered to film the September 2013 Christchurch memorial for Bob. At that I heard him say to Graham, Bob's son: "Your dad was a gentleman". And so he was. ABC got one DVD of the memorial for our archive; another two were supplied to Bob's family, in Wellington and the US.

### **"I Have Never Been A Hippie"**

In my 1992 "Dr Odd Base" profile I mentioned Bob "in his jacket and tie". Bob believed that dressing the part, when necessary, helped to give respectability and credibility to both him and the issue. He took seriously any slight on either. Among his papers I found a 1996 letter that he wrote to a Blenheim cop, after an ABC protest at the Waihopai spy base led to six arrests. "I take strong exception to being described as a 'hippie type individual'. I am a university tutor with a PhD. I have spent my entire career in university teaching and research. I am married, have four grown children and four grandchildren. Without wishing to denigrate genuine hippies or the unemployed, I have never been a hippie and I have never been without a job since graduation. In other words you are very wide of the mark in your description and not only of me. On the basis of my personal knowledge, the individuals you have attempted to smear with grossly inappropriate characterisations are thoughtful and intelligent and committed to social causes, often at the cost of great personal sacrifice....You have every right to make comments of a political nature when you are speaking in a civilian capacity. However I suggest you may have exceeded your brief as a policeman with some of your remarks" (there is no reply or acknowledgement in the file).

In *Peace Researcher* 37, November 2008, I reported that Bob and I travelled to Blenheim, in solidarity with the three

Waihopai Domebusters, who were appearing in the District Court for the depositions hearing on the charges arising from their April 2008 deflation of one of the spy base's domes. "Bob himself had been a Waihopai defendant in that court, in 1996 but in 2008 he was there in a very different capacity, namely as a fully accredited court reporter for *Peace Researcher*. We only had the idea very late in the piece and were frankly surprised that our request was granted without demur by the court authorities. Not only was Bob there as a court reporter, he was the best dressed one. I had asked what was the expected dress standard and had been told jacket and tie – Bob turned out to be the only court reporter so dressed".

But let there be no doubt that although Bob dressed respectably when the occasion required it, he made no bones about what he was or where he stood on the bases issue. "Anti-bases campaigner Bob Leonard, calling for the Bill to be 'binned', told the Committee that people like 'Murray and me' are dissenters. 'We make no bones about it. We believe Operation Deep Freeze should be demilitarised, and that Waihopai is essentially an arm of US intelligence', he said" (*Press*, 12/2/02, "Allegation Upsets Mark: Terror Bill Hearing Heated", Martin van Beynen. Bob and I were presenting ABC's submission on the Terrorism [Bombings and Financings] Suppression Bill, to the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Select Committee. It was the then New Zealand First MP, Ron Mark, who was "upset" at the "allegation" by the then Green MP Keith Locke that the Committee planned to hear submissions in secret).

## **Black Birch & Tangimoana**

Of course, Harewood wasn't the only base of concern for Bob and ABC. I have devoted so much attention to it in this obituary because it was the first and oldest of the bases (indeed it pre-dates ABC by decades) and it's still here, albeit in a reduced form. It is the daddy of them all. And for a more pragmatic reason: as Harewood was the focus of my 1992 Dr Oddbase profile, it was the subject of nearly all of the direct quotes from Bob that I have reprinted here. Bob was also centrally involved in the 1980s and 90s campaign against the US Naval Observatory atop Black Birch Ridge, in Marlborough. He and I were among those who walked up it on a couple of occasions (most memorably in an unseasonal spring snowfall whilst escorting a group of activists from decidedly tropical Asian and Pacific countries, in the course of ABC's 1990 Touching the Bases Tour). On another 1980s' occasion he held the fort at the bottom of the hill while the rest of us walked up – a cop chatted to him amiably for a long time; then happened to ask where were the people from the other vehicles? Bob cheerfully told him that we were on our way up to the US observatory. The penny dropped for the cop who immediately called for reinforcements to chase us up the hill by car – we still got there first. Tangimoana is the older of the Government Communications Security Bureau's (GCSB) two spy bases - it does a different sort of spying to Waihopai – and, as it is in the North Island, has not been the subject of as much attention from the Christchurch-based ABC. But Bob and I still got there a couple of times – once on that 1990 Touching The Bases Tour and, most recently, in 2005. On that latter occasion our group included then Green Co-Leader Rod Donald and then Green MP Keith Locke. Rod thanked us for enabling his first ever visit there (and it was to be his only one, as he suddenly died just months later). Rod and Keith were high profile key participants at many of ABC's Waihopai protests in the 90s and 2000s (and Keith, although now retired from Parliament, keeps coming. My obituary of Rod is in *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-121a.html>).

On re-reading my 1992 "Dr Odd Base" profile, I was surprised at how little mention it contained of Waihopai, the spy base which had been the reason for the creation of ABC in 1987, and which has been the focus ever since of ABC's campaign to shut it down (with another protest scheduled in January 2014). In the years between 1988 and 1992 we had held our biggest, most militant and most frequent protests there, with lots of arrests and Bob was in the thick of all of that. So why was "Dr Odd Base" all about Harewood, with only passing mention of Waihopai? I can't remember but I suspect what happened was that it was intended to be the third in a series on Heroes Of The Peace Movement in *Peacelink*. The first two had been published – they were on my ABC Committee colleagues Don Murray and Warren Thomson (Warren rejoined the Committee after 13 years in Bangkok and is also *Peace Researcher* Co-Editor) – and they were focussed on Waihopai. At an intelligent guess I think *Peacelink* Co-Editor Owen Wilkes, who commissioned the series, asked me not to repeat that but to emphasise Harewood instead. And then *Peacelink* went belly up and it was left to good old *Watchdog* to come to the rescue and ensure that it got published at all.

## **Waihopai**

There is no need to go into a detailed account of Bob's campaigning against Waihopai, other than to emphasise that it is, and has been since it was first announced more than a quarter of a century ago, New Zealand's most important contribution to the covert intelligence alliance with the US, the secret ANZUS that was never interrupted or threatened by the 1980s' "ANZUS Row" which saw NZ kicked out of ANZUS (this is the Five Eyes alliance of the electronic intelligence agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ, formally known as the UKUSA Agreement). Bob's Waihopai story is the story of ABC since its creation in 1987; that spy base is the reason why



Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood turned into the Anti-Bases Campaign. To read Bob's/ABC's Waihopai story, all you have to do is look through *Peace Researcher*, which is online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prfront.html>, with the older 1983-2000 issues at <http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/>. Interestingly, a number of 1990s' Waihopai protests are not reported in *Peace Researcher* but in *Foreign Control Watchdog* (the 1974-99 issues are online at <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/>). Once again, thanks are due to Lynda Boyd, of the ABC and CAFCA Committees, for uploading the historic *Watchdogs*). The reason for that is simply that I was (and still am) *Watchdog* Editor, but only a writer for *PR* in those days and quite often *Watchdog* deadlines were more convenient than those for *PR*.

I'll just mention a couple of highlights of Bob's Waihopai campaign. In 1996 he was one of the people arrested during the protest, the only time he ever got arrested. He did so deliberately in order to argue in the Blenheim District Court that the GCSB and Waihopai were acting illegally – the judge rejected those defence arguments and convicted him and two others (including Warren Thomson, *Peace Researcher* Co-Editor then and again now). Once again, the brief report of the case appeared in *Watchdog*, not *PR*. "Bob Leonard had a well researched defence, which cited the 1990 Bill of Rights Act, the 1993 Privacy Act and the 1982 International Telecommunications Convention (the Nairobi Convention). The judge, however, was having none of that 'political' stuff in his court and stuck rigidly to the narrow issue of trespass. He convicted all three, but because he deemed them 'sincere', imposed no penalty beyond that. Thus: there were no fines, or even any court costs, which is a good result" (*Watchdog* 82, August 1996 "Waihopai Update: Three Convicted And Discharged"). Bob did it all despite knowing what the impact of the stress would be on his health – a night in a cell in the Blenheim Police Station in a hot Marlborough summer brought on one of his migraines and when we drove into town the next morning to pick them up after they had been bailed, we found him coming towards us on the highway, having walked several kilometres to try and walk it off.

### **The Domebusters**

It was another much more high profile (and ongoing) Waihopai court case which took up a lot of his time in the last few years. Bob was in the US in April 2008, making one of his regular visits to see family and friends, when the three Waihopai Domebusters – Adrian Leason, Peter Murnane and Sam Land - astonished the country by getting into the top secret spy base and deflated one of the domes concealing a satellite dish. But he made up for lost time upon his return, by plunging into assisting with their defence. I have already mentioned that Bob was *Peace Researcher's* officially accredited court reporter at the depositions hearing in the Blenheim District Court later in 2008 (you can read his court report in *PR* 37, November 2008, "Waihopai Domebusters: The Police Present Their Case", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr37-168.htm>). When the Domebusters' criminal trial was held in the Wellington District Court, in March 2010, the defence wanted to call Bob as an expert witness. That meant he had to wait (mainly in the corridor outside the court room) for all eight days of the trial, and could not take part in the daily protests and solidarity actions outside the court and throughout central Wellington – but he never got to present his evidence, as the Crown successfully argued that he was not what they considered to be a "real" expert, and that his evidence would add nothing to the case. But it did mean that he was present in the court for the wonderful moment when the jury announced its verdict acquitting the Domebusters of all criminal charges. And Bob's meticulously written affidavit certainly did not go to waste. I published it in *PR* 40, July 2010 ("Domebusters' Trial Suppressed Evidence: Bob Leonard's 'Inadmissible' Defence Affidavit", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-192b.htm>).

That affidavit was also used by the defence in the 2013 Court of Appeal hearing in the Crown's civil damages against the Domebusters (which saw the three of them ordered to pay \$1.2 million. It was referred to in the Court's October 2013 judgement dismissing the appeal. Whether they will appeal again, to the Supreme Court, is unknown at the time of writing). Bob became friends with all three Domebusters and kept in touch with them after their acquittal – for instance, he and I met with Peter Murnane in Christchurch's former Dux de Luxe restaurant for lunch one unforgettable late 2010 day, only about half an hour after a particularly big aftershock had sent thousands of people pouring into central city streets. All three of them, plus their Christchurch lawyer Mike Knowles, visited Bob in Wellington Hospital in 2011. In the case of Sam Land, Bob was a mate of his before his 2008 dome deflation, because Sam spent several months on the ABC Committee in Christchurch in 2007.

Bob's affidavit listed his history as an ABC researcher on Waihopai under the subheading "Peace Research: Co-founder (with Owen Wilkes) of the Anti-Bases Campaign in 1987. Researcher and writer for *Peace Researcher* since its first publication in 1983 (Editor/Co-Editor 1985-2003). I have been studying the Waihopai base and its functions since it was first announced, prior to construction, in 1987. Earliest information was from writings of and discussions with the late Owen Wilkes, an internationally recognised researcher on signals intelligence (SIGINT). I have read widely on the subject of SIGINT and other forms of intelligence gathering. My sources include European Parliament reports on the US Echelon system, *Annual Reports* of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), writings of investigative journalist Nicky Hager, including his book "Secret Power" (1996), and numerous personal discussions with Nicky, the books "Body of Secrets" (2001) and "The Shadow Factory" (2008), both by

James Bamford (authoritative sources on the National Security Agency), the book "Axis of Deceit" (2004) by Andrew Wilkie, the book "Spyworld" (1994) by Mike Frost and Michel Gratton (and many other books on intelligence), correspondence with the then Director of the GCSB (Ray Parker, Director 1988-1999), and personal research into the operation of the base. In addition, the Anti-Bases Campaign has an extensive library of media materials and our own published reports (mostly in *Peace Researcher*) covering the entire 20+ years of base history and protest" ("*Secret Power*" was reviewed by Murray Horton in *Peace Researcher* 10, September 1996, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/33726186/Peace-Researcher-Vol2-Issue10-Sept-1996>; "*Body Of Secrets*" was reviewed by Nicky Hager in PR 24, December 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/hagrview.htm>; "*The Shadow Factory*" was reviewed by Bob Leonard in PR 38, July 2009, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr38-175a.htm>; "*Axis Of Deceit*" was reviewed by Bob Leonard in PR 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120a.html>; and "*Spyworld*" was reviewed by Bob Leonard in PR 23, June 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/frostspy.htm>. MH).

Bob was an extremely good researcher. When we both went to Blenheim for the Domebusters' depositions hearing in September 2008 (the only time we ever shared a motel room) we drove out to Waihopai to take advantage of the fact that the deflated dome had not yet been replaced (that happened in 2009) and for Bob to run an expert eye over the exposed satellite dish and take some measurements. In the following months he commissioned a surveyor to visit Waihopai and professionally measure the angle and direction of the dish and then commissioned a satellite expert to conclude from those measurements just which satellites were being spied on. The results were published in PR 40, July 2010, ("What Does Waihopai Spy On? Asian Civilian Telecommunications Satellites, For Starters", by Nicky Hager, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-195.htm>).

### Uncle Sam

And, of course, I can't conclude writing about Bob's Waihopai campaigning without highlighting his wonderful performance as Uncle Sam at the protests in Blenheim and at Waihopai for years. As a tall bearded American he was a natural for the role and he threw himself into it with gusto. In the days when the GCSB base commander allowed us to come onto the spy base's grounds and march up the access road to the inner gate, ABC issued passports to the "Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA" (the secret intelligence sharing agreement between the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ, currently referred to as Five Eyes). Uncle Sam was always present at "the border" to run his (American) eagle eye over everyone crossing into "his" territory" and he always gave a rousing speech in defence of the American Empire, telling us that he'd just flown into Harewood on a Starlifter and concluding by telling us that "you can all bugger off!". Bob made a wonderful Devil's Advocate, last doing it in 2008 (the role is now played, with equal gusto and complete with vintage motorbike and spyglass, by Alice Leney – who's actually a bloke). Bob got a Christchurch costume hire business to make the suit for him, which he hired, at his own expense, every year (he refused to let ABC pay the hire cost). He provided his own hat and that now hangs on the back of my office door, as a constant reminder of Bob as Uncle Sam (it was among the stuff we rescued from his quake-bugged and abandoned house, in February 2013. It was front and centre at ABC's Christchurch memorial for Bob, in September 2013, and is going back to Waihopai in January 2014).

Bob was ABC's Waihopai campaign, he threw himself into all aspects of it with great passion, for more than 20 years. He and I shared dozens of trips there over those years, with some pretty hairy camping adventures along the way. It forged a wonderful personal and social bond. The last time we shared a tent was at the beautiful Whites Bay Department of Conservation camp during the January 2010 protest weekend (DoC has given ABC permission to plant a native tree at Whites Bay, in memory of Bob, during the January 2014 protest weekend). He continued to take part in Waihopai protests despite the various serious health problems that plagued him from the 1990s onwards. On one memorable occasion he was the main driver of our rental van and spent the weekend in a tent, sleeping on the ground, despite just having had emergency dental surgery the day before, and been told to take it easy, and not to drive.

The very last time Bob went to Waihopai was very poignant but also indicative of his sheer pigheadedness and determination to keep campaigning to close that spy base. It was in October 2010, after his health had really packed up and he had spent several months in hospital. Wearing my Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa hat, I and my PSNA Committee colleague, Leigh Cookson, drove two very senior Philippine revolutionary movement leaders – Luis Jalandoni and his wife Coni Ledesma – from Christchurch to Waihopai as part of their national speaking tour organised by PSNA. By that stage Bob could only walk with the aid of two sticks but he could drive just fine and, to our surprise, he drove himself solo from Christchurch to Waihopai and back in order to accompany them to the base. He stayed overnight with them in Blenheim and, as precisely no members of the Blenheim public attended their meeting; we had our own "private public" meeting with them. It was most informative, enlightening and highly enjoyable night. We discussed all sorts of subjects that would probably not have come up at a public meeting.

Bob was always prepared to, quite literally, go the extra mile when it came to Waihopai and international visitors. In

2005 he met a party of visiting Japanese peace activists in Christchurch and was supposed to go with them on the train to Blenheim. Here is his account of what happened: "Tuesday started early and traumatically. I was to be the Waihopai guide and accompany the Japanese party on the TranzCoastal train. But I missed the train departure to Picton by five minutes due to an incorrect time provided by some unknown travel agent. Not to be deterred I returned home and drove my car to Waihopai, arriving with about 30 minutes to spare in order meet the delegation at 3 p.m. at the farm gate (the outer gate to the base, from the public road). Cell phones do have their uses as I was able to inform the delegation that all was not lost and that I would be waiting for them at Waihopai (over the years I have slightly moderated my attitude toward mobile phones. I no longer have the urge to smash mine, and have even been known to successfully complete a call or two)" (PR 32, March 2006, "Japanese Delegation Visits Harewood And Waihopai With ABC", Bob Leonard, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-124.html>).

### **Peace Researcher**

There was more to Bob's ABC work than protests. As he said in his Domebusters' trial affidavit, he was a researcher and writer for *Peace Researcher* since its first publication in 1983 (Editor/Co-Editor 1985-2003). *PR* was very much Bob's baby for the best part of 20 years. For many years he was solely in charge of all dealings with our backyard printer Ray Butterfield (his obituary of Ray is in *PR* 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr31-117.html>). I changed to our present printers when I became Co-Editor. In the early days Bob did the layout and for years he was responsible for printing the address labels (as time passed he was relieved of those jobs). Although founded by Keith Burgess and pre-dating ABC, Bob took charge of it in 1985 and in the 90s it became ABC's newsletter. At various times from the 80s to the 2000s he was Co-Editor with Dennis Small, Warren Thomson and me (all three of us spoke at his Christchurch memorial in September 2013). I became sole Editor in 2003 until Warren Thomson rejoined as Co-Editor in 2011. As I said in the article announcing his editorial retirement: "He has set a very high standard of editorship and he takes the 'researcher' part of the title very seriously, bringing the rigorous standards of a professional scientist to bear upon it. Not to mention the punctuation pedantry of the practising pedagogue. Writers (including myself) and layout artists will breathe a sigh of relief that our sloppiness will now go unpunished, if not unremarked". He continued as a writer for *PR* (his last article was "US Bases In Okinawa: Japan's New Premier Challenges Obama" in *PR* 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr39-188.htm>). The massive anti-bases campaign waged by the Okinawan people was of particular interest to Bob and the subject of several articles by him over the years). He was wonderfully pigheaded and possessive about *PR*. On one memorable occasion at the end of the century he collected the master copy from our then Layout Editor Melanie Thomson to proofread and correct – and disappeared. He had been very ill when he painstakingly climbed up Melanie's vertiginous Cashmere drive. Things only got worse and he ended up in hospital, from where he rang to tell me not to worry, that he had the master copy and that he would get it proofread, corrected and thence on to me and the printers once he got out. I went to the hospital and got it off the silly old bugger.

### **Speaking Tours & Submissions**

ABC organised national speaking tours by two international experts – Mike Frost, from Canada, in 2001, and Cora Fabros, from the Philippines, in 2008. Bob was centrally involved in both of those. He and Barbara hosted Mike and his wife Carole in Christchurch, and Bob accompanied Mike for part of his tour (his report on the Frost tour is in *PR* 24, December 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/frost.htm>). In 2008 he accompanied Cora for her whole tour – his report on that is in *PR* 37, November 2008, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr37-169.htm>.

He wrote nearly all of ABC's submissions, which you can read on the ABC Website at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/submissions.html>. One of them was remarkably prescient, namely his 2001 submission to the Intelligence and Security Committee on the GCSB Act that was hastily and controversially replaced by the Government in 2013. Here are a couple of extracts: "Oversight of our intelligence agencies is a facade. With the best of intentions, no Government committee and no Inspector General could possibly oversee the inner workings of New Zealand's intelligence activities. Those activities are carried out in complete secret under the rules set by the National Security Agency (NSA) of the United States. Nobody outside the intelligence community, including so-called oversight personnel, have total access to the operational details of the GCS...Ineffective oversight leads to abuses. The worst abuse is likely to be domestic spying on our own citizens" (which is exactly what happened and what has been legalised by the new GCSB Act). Our submission's succinct recommendations were that that "the GCSB and its facilities do not operate in the interests of Aotearoa/New Zealand and should not be given legal status by the proposed Bill; and the GCSB and all its ties to overseas intelligence agencies should be terminated and the Waihopai and Tangimoana stations should be closed immediately by our Parliament". That remains our position today. Bob's full 2001 submission on behalf of ABC (it's very brief) can be read at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/gcsbsub.html>).

I've already mentioned the couple of occasions on which he and I appeared before Parliamentary Select

Committees. In 1996 Bob and Warren Thomson appeared before the Intelligence and Security Committee (which is a Committee of Government, not a Select Committee of Parliament), to speak to ABC's submission on the Intelligence and Security Agencies Bill (ABC was concerned not only about the GCSB but also the Security Intelligence Service [SIS], and remains so today). Bob's report on the hearing is in *PR* 8, March 1996, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/33726181/Peace-Researcher-Vol2-Issue08-Mar-1996>. He concluded: "All in all it was an interesting day. It isn't often that two hippy protesters get to spend a day in the presence of the Wellington power elite. We learned a lot. But did the Committee?"

He did innumerable media interviews and spoke at public meetings throughout the country (the last of which was in Auckland, just after the Domebusters' acquittal by the Wellington jury in 2010. Almost immediately after that his health collapsed spectacularly, putting him in hospital for several months and starting the steep downward decline that ended with his 2013 death). He was part of an NZ peace movement delegation to an international conference in Athens in the 80s; he took part in a 1992 mass action at the US nuclear test site in Nevada. "Base Deception" was not the only peace movement documentary with which he was involved – in the early 1980s he and I accompanied Vanguard Films up both Black Birch and Mt John (where the former US Air Force observatory had been the target of a very militant campaign in the 70s) when they were filming "Islands Of The Empire". His activities and achievements in ABC, not to mention the broader peace movement, are too numerous to list. He was a genuine (non-violent) warrior for peace. He abhorred violence so much, whether to humans or animals, that I'm aware of him having walked out of at least two major movies, one of them an Oscar winner (Becky and I witnessed that walkout, by chance). But I repeat - he was the face and voice and engine, indeed the soul, of the Anti-Bases Campaign.

### **CAFCA & Organiser Account**

Nor was ABC the only organisation with which Bob was actively involved. He was an active member of CAFCA from 1984 (when it was still CAFCA/NZ) until 2010 inclusive, doing things like regularly helping at *Watchdog* mailouts and being among the hardy few to attend the Annual General Meetings. He loved to attend the events to announce the winner/s of the annual Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand, most recently the Wellington one in 2010. He was in town for the Domebusters' trial, so he brought his Wellington resident son Graham along and afterwards the three of us went downtown for a coffee. It was a great night.

Bad health didn't stop his enjoyment of *Watchdog* – in 2010 I took his copy of the latest issue into Christchurch Hospital, where I was startled to be told that he could be found in "the boneyard" (medical humour for where patients got plaster fitted or removed). Even more startling was that it was staffed by uniformed Army medics, getting in some practice before their deployment to Afghanistan. In my 1992 "Dr Odd Base" profile I wrote: "In some CAFCA activities, such as protests at the 1989 Mont Pelerin Society regional conference in Christchurch, he has been extremely active" (see "Bludgers' Prizegiving: Mont Pelerin Society Conference Protest" in *Watchdog* 63, April 1990; <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-april-1990.html>).

From 1993-2010 Bob was in charge of the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income. So, basically, he was an extra member of the CAFCA Committee for all those years. He was my paymaster for that period and he made a very good job of it. Every year he presented the Organiser Account's financial report to CAFCA's AGM. He last did that in September 2010; just a fortnight after the first big quake had started the seismic sequence that was to drive him out of his home and out of Christchurch. It was also not long after he had been seriously ill and hospitalised for months, and could only walk and stand with the aid of a walking frame, and needed to use the disability ramp to get into the venue. That was to be the last of his annual Organiser Account's financial reports to be published in *Watchdog* (but it wasn't published in *Peace Researcher*, as there was a year between issues in 2010-11. That was my fault, as Editor). He never let ill health stop him getting my pay cheque to me, if at all humanly possible – on one occasion, when afflicted by a debilitating attack of Ménière's disease (a vicious inner ear condition which completely buggers your balance) he could drive just fine but could not stand or walk without difficulty. He drove to our place, then felt his way along the hall wall in order to stay upright, and then gave me my pay cheque. In 2010, when he spent months in Christchurch and Burwood Hospitals, I took the Organiser chequebook to him to get cheques signed. His replacement, Warren Brewer of the CAFCA Committee, set up a fortnightly automatic payment so that I am no longer dependent on getting my pay via cheque.

### **PSNA**

Bob was an active member of the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa (PSNA) from 2000-2010. I've already mentioned the several weeks he spent accompanying Filipina anti-bases and anti-nuclear activist Cora Fabros on her 2008 national speaking tour (although that was an ABC, not PSNA, project); and his last ever trip to Waihopai, in October 2010, in order to accompany senior Filipino political activists Luis Jalandoni and his wife Coni Ledesma, who were on a national speaking tour organised by PSNA. Whenever possible, Bob attended the Christchurch



meetings of Filipino activists that PSNA brought to NZ. Although he never went there, Bob was actively interested in the Philippines long before he joined PSNA in 2000. As a non-violent direct action activist he was inspired by how the Philippine people non-violently used People Power to get rid of the detested dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1986. As a veteran anti-bases campaigner he was particularly inspired by how the Philippine people got rid of the US bases in 1991 after decades of struggle (*PR* regularly ran articles about the Philippines). And his friendship to the Filipino people included the Filipinos that he came to know in Christchurch. He was a very dear friend to my wife Becky and to all her four sisters and their mother, whom he met when they stayed with us on various visits over the years, most recently in early 2010. He was particularly fond of our niece who lived with us for 5½ years (2005-11) while studying here. When she went home in January 2011 he was in Christchurch Hospital – she made a point of visiting him to say goodbye, as one of her last acts before leaving.

## **Environment, Buses & Dogs**

He summed it very succinctly in my “Dr Odd Base” profile: “Activism is where you find your soul mates”. That article went on to say: “Bob has not confined himself to the peace movement. I’ve had a long interest in environmental issues, starting in California. As a professional ecologist, I know the pillaging that goes on. We’re wreaking havoc. The place where I’m having most impact is at Lincoln as a teacher’. In recent years he’s worked with Barbara on the woodchipping campaign. They belong to Greenpeace and Forest and Bird. Most recently he was involved in Power for our Future, ‘focusing beyond Manapouri’. *Press* readers know him as a spokesperson for Buswatch, which was formed in response to the deregulation of Christchurch bus services. ‘It’s an environmental issue. Our cities are being destroyed by automobiles. I advocate anything that gets rid of automobiles’ (and, true to his principles, he takes two buses a day to get out to Lincoln”. But, in latter years, the decline in bus services and the inhospitable nature of midwinter bus transfers in Cathedral Square meant that he had to drive to work at Lincoln). He was no armchair environmentalist – for example, he was one of those who sat in front of logging trucks in one 1993 West Coast native forests protest. Bob was a grassroots member of the Green Party for years; and was also centrally involved in the Canterbury Environmental Trust, which built and ran the Environmental Education Centre in Craigieburn Forest Park, in the Canterbury high country. One of Bob’s long term colleagues from the Trust spoke at ABC’s Christchurch memorial for him.

One final quote from “Dr Odd Base”: “They also spend time at their bach and acre of land at Peel Forest (South Canterbury), where they are steadily planting native trees. They are foster parents for Dogwatch, and have fostered about 20 dogs over the years (the permanent canine population is four). There are two cats and an owl and a hawk. Barbara has a Department of Conservation permit to care for injured raptors (birds of prey), and they’ve cared for about a dozen birds over the years. These decidedly carnivorous dogs, cats and birds share the house with a human family of vegetarians”. Those two things – Peel Forest and dogs (but no more cats) - remained constant over the next 20 years. Bob and Barbara only sold their Peel Forest place at the beginning of 2010. ABC Committee members visited and/or stayed there several times; it was one of the most pleasant places where we held our annual strategy meetings, broken up by walks in the beautiful forest or by fun things like badminton on the big lawn (other places ABC has held strategy meetings have included Taylor’s Mistake and Little River, both on Banks Peninsula, and Waikawa Bay, near Picton. It was at the latter, in 1998, that we threw a surprise 60th birthday party for Bob, who had just had major surgery very recently. That was one of the social highlights of his time with ABC).

He was a passionate dog man, always had a house and/or his “dogmobile” full of them, and he and Barbara volunteered at Dogwatch for many years (I’m a cat man, not a dog man, and had the misfortune, on many occasions, of travelling in the dogmobile, sometimes complete with the huge greyhounds that he and Barbara re-homed in recent years, after those dogs had finished their racing careers). I remember Owen Wilkes asking me once: “Does he still have the house full of mad dogs?” The answer was yes, and when he and Barbara had to flee Christchurch immediately after the February 2011 quake, they took the one surviving dog with them (not a greyhound). So far as I know Barbara still has him with her in Wellington.

I have two personal anecdotes about Bob and dogs, both from very recent years. At one ABC Committee meeting at Robyn Dann’s house, Bob got a call from Barbara to say one of their greyhounds was missing. Bob immediately swung into action and told me that if I wanted a ride home, I’d have to go with him. So, off we went, at night, up deserted streets on Huntsbury Hill, where they lived. But I drew the line when Bob told me, in all seriousness, to stand in the middle of the road and shout out: “Here, Sweetie” (the bloody dog’s name). Fortunately Barbara informed him that Sweetie had rematerialised, before it became necessary for me to do so. The other story involved Robyn’s huge and enthusiastic dog, Cho, who loved Bob with, well, doglike devotion (by contrast she sat on me at meetings, which constituted a major risk to life and limb). In late 2010, after Bob had spent several months in hospital and could only walk with the aid of two sticks (but he could drive OK), he resumed attending ABC Committee meetings at Robyn’s. As he arrived at one, Cho was inside and was so excited at the sound of her old mate outside that she jumped straight through the closed window, glass and all, to get to him (she emerged

unscathed – no brain, no pain). When Robyn rang her insurance company, she told them this was probably the only claim in Christchurch in late 2010 not arising from an earthquake. Dennis Small, Bob's long time colleague and friend, brought the house down at ABC's September 2013 memorial by telling a story that arose from their mutual involvement in Dogwatch. Dennis tried to tame a traumatised dog that had been abused and for his troubles got bitten in a sensitive place. Bob insisted that he would help out on another such attempt, with the result that the dog lunged at him, bit him in the same sensitive place and put him in hospital (I'll stick with cats).

### **Many Years Of Serious Health Problems**

It is now necessary to deal with the subject of his health, which formed the untold back story to so much of the final third of his life. When I first met Bob 31 years ago he suffered from manageable problems such as asthma and migraines (I have some experience of both; firsthand in the case of the odd asthma attack, and second hand in the case of my former partner of 18 years, who regularly suffered crippling migraines – and still does, as far as I know). But, from the late 1990s onwards, Bob's health got dramatically and irreversibly worse. He had multiple problems, quite often at the same time. It started with the Ménière's disease (a vicious inner ear condition which completely buggers your balance) which I've already mentioned. The first time he suffered an attack of that it put him in hospital with what the doctors thought was a heart attack. He continued to suffer those attacks, and be hospitalised because of them, for the rest of his life. He also had an irregular heart beat problem, which also hospitalised him now and again. He was in hospital with pneumonia on more than one occasion. But the biggie, which ultimately killed him, was cancer. He was diagnosed with prostate cancer in 1998, aged 59 (he went straight to the emergency department of Christchurch Hospital after coming to an ABC meeting in absolute agony). He had major surgery that year but no other kind of cancer treatment. For the next 12 years he was living with all these health problems whilst still working at Lincoln University and being a central figure in everything that ABC was doing. As the years went by his energy levels fell and fell, and the number of pills he had to take grew and grew. Not that he took it quietly – he was a terrible hospital patient. I witnessed him one time threatening to throw a chair through a Christchurch Hospital window unless the staff got him some more effective pain relief. As a vegetarian (he defined himself as a "fishatarian") he got into all sorts of rows with the poor staff about the food.

In 2009 he knew that something was wrong, because one hip was really hurting him. When we shared a tent at the January 2010 Waihopai protest, he told me that would be the last time he would sleep on the ground, as it was too painful (and that turned out to be his last ever Waihopai protest). He spent a week and half in Wellington in March 2010 waiting, fruitlessly, to be called as an expert defence witness at the Domebusters' criminal trial. He had to keep pacing the District Court corridors to calm the pain in his hip. After they were acquitted, he had one more speaking gig, in Auckland, and that turned out to be that. Shortly after coming home, one of his dogs broke his arm (ripping his shoulder out of its socket) by suddenly taking off after something while Bob was holding the lead, pulling him over (as I said, I'll stick to cats). While he was recuperating from that he had an X ray on his hip and the verdict was bad – it had been eaten away by cancer that had sat there undiagnosed for 12 years (Bob was so pissed off by his GP that he promptly changed doctor) and there was a danger that something as mundane as walking could cause it to snap. He was ordered into Christchurch Hospital immediately for a hip replacement. He ended up spending several months in there and at Burwood Hospital. He was told that he would eventually walk again, with a slight limp and maybe needing a walking stick. That turned out to be wildly optimistic. Bob never walked again unaided. He got out of Burwood in midwinter 2010 (Warren Thomson and I took him home) and started the process of recovery. Although he couldn't walk unaided he could drive just fine and enjoyed the independence that gave him. He resumed attending ABC meetings, right up until the end of the year; as I've already mentioned, he made his last ever visit to Waihopai, in October 2010, driving himself there and back, unaccompanied, in order to join Filipino political activists who were visiting the base. He planned to take part in the January 2011 Waihopai protest and booked himself into a motel, as his days in tents were over. It wasn't to be – at the end of 2010 he was diagnosed with brain cancer (he told us that he could feel that something was not right in his head) and immediately sent back to Christchurch Hospital for brain surgery, to be followed by radiotherapy. He spent all of January 2011 in hospital, missing Waihopai.

### **Quakes Were Last Straw**

The final killer ingredient in this toxic brew was the 2010 and 2011 earthquakes – 12,000 of them (although Bob was gone long before they had basically run their course by the end of 2011) – we're still getting them, now and again, and will do for years. The first, and biggest, struck in September 2010 and started off the whole seismic catastrophe. Bob was at home slowly recovering from months in hospital and regaining limited mobility. The house was structurally damaged and continued getting more and more damaged as the thousands of aftershocks continued to strike at any time of the day or night. Bob hurriedly terminated one phone conversation with me as he'd been told to keep clear of his desk in case a disused brick chimney came crashing through the ceiling above it. The family wanted him to move to Wellington but he repeatedly told his ABC colleagues: "I've survived a 7.1 earthquake, so

why would I want to move to Wellington, which is on a major fault line?" But he also described himself to us as "traumatised" and I saw the evidence of that for myself. It was not as if he was unused to quakes – he came from California, after all – but the combination of very, very fragile health and relentless earthquakes was to prove too much for him.

In February 2011, following his brain surgery and weeks in hospital in January, he had a week of radiotherapy to the head. The family had been warned that there was a risk of brain damage (and it subsequently emerged that the treatment destroyed his short term memory, which caused all sorts of major problems). His daughter Andra came from California for several weeks to help Barbara look after him. He finished his week of radiotherapy on a Friday and Andra brought him straight to our place. It was the first time Becky and I had seen her this century and it was lovely to see Bob's smiling face, even though his mobility was strictly limited. To mark the occasion Becky took a group photo of all four of us on our dining room couch. None of us knew at the time that it was to be our last ever photo with Bob; the last time Becky ever saw him, and his last visit to our home, which he had visited countless times over nearly 30 years for meetings, mailouts, Waihopai workbees, dinners and parties. We trusted him so much that he permanently had a key to the door, in case he needed to access my office while we were away (and he had done so). It was as much his home as ours.

### **Fleeing Home & Christchurch For Good**

The killer quake struck the following Tuesday afternoon and that was the last straw for Bob. He never told me (or anybody) what happened; he told me: "I don't want to think about it"; it was too traumatic for him, and, I have no doubt, hastened his precipitous decline and death. For a first person account of what happened at the Leonard home that day I am indebted to an e-mail from Andra several weeks later, from Wellington (11/3/11). It is a terrifyingly vivid description of that quake in microcosm – what happened to one family in one house (a story repeated by hundreds of thousands of people in tens of thousands of houses and buildings). When the quake struck she was taking one of the dogs for a walk up Huntsbury Hill: "It was like there was a monster inside (the Earth) that wanted to get out...Then I looked towards the city centre and saw tendrils of grey dust wafting upwards. That's when I realised how destructive the quake had been..."

"When I got to the house, everything that could hit the floor had. Plants, books, shelves, lamps, knives, and dust all over the place. Dad had been standing in the kitchen preparing lunch. He grabbed onto the stove for balance and it kept him upright, but bounced a couple of feet out from the wall. He said he wasn't sure what was happening at first, he was just holding on for dear life. Barbara was in the front office working on the computer. She says she just closed the computer and waited for things to stop falling.

"When I walked in the front door, Dad was standing in the kitchen while Barbara was in the hallway trying to use a stick to shut off power to the house, since water was leaking from the ceiling through the electrical circuit box. Once we were sure the power was off, Dad sat back down in his armchair and Barbara and I tried to assess the actual damage. As you well know, we kept having aftershocks, so we decided to pack up some emergency supplies in case we needed to evacuate. After about an hour my dad was so upset by the continuing aftershocks that I suggested that he get in the car and I would drive it to the top of the driveway, where he could be in the open and feel safer. He agreed to that.

"Barbara and I continued to look for essential supplies and pile them in the driveway. The last thing she wanted was the safe full of photos in the flat. As we entered the doorway to the flat, the 12th aftershock hit, the one that was about 5.9. There was a huge crash as the brick chimneypiece in the kitchen came tumbling down across the room and hit the door we had just walked through. I was able to hold it open enough to squeeze back through into the living room. We didn't stop to see how much damage had been done in the kitchen – we just walked shakily out the front door. Graham later told us that some of the bricks had punched through the floor to the basement below. Good thing none of us was in the kitchen at that point.

"That was pretty much the point when we decided to leave Christchurch. The house was clearly uninhabitable and we needed to get my dad away to a place that wasn't continually shaking. He suggested we head south towards Lincoln and then start looking for a motel to stay in. So we loaded the dogs in the car, took one container of water, gave the rest to the neighbours and headed out. My dad hasn't wanted to discuss the earthquake with anybody. He says the experience comes back too vividly and he can't bear it. I think it was much more terrifying to be inside a building with everything falling and crashing. I am lucky that I was outside when it struck and didn't experience the initial devastation..."

Becky and I had no idea what had happened to Bob. We had no power, water, toilet or mobile phone for five days, but we had a working landline, so we tried ringing him, to no avail. The day after the quake we went to their house -



we had to park at the bottom of the hill and walk up, as the road was closed. There was a huge rip in it, as if it had been stabbed and slashed with a giant knife. We found the house wide open, in complete chaos and obviously abandoned. There was a big jolt while we were there, so we got out of it fast. I actually reported Bob missing to the Police – they rang me back days later to say they couldn't find him. By that stage Bob had rung me to say that the three of them were safe and well, and in a motel down south. A few days after the quake they came back to Christchurch and immediately headed on to Wellington. Bob never returned to Christchurch and never saw his home again. That was the end of his 29 years in Christchurch and very much the beginning of the end of his life.

## **Final Two Years**

Bob had always loved Wellington and had a great time whenever he had visited, primarily to see Graham and Lisa. But the cruel irony is that when he was actually living there, he was far too sick to enjoy what the city has to offer. His health just basically collapsed. Nor did he escape earthquakes, namely the big ones of July and August 2013 with their whole sequence of thousands of aftershocks (he told his family he thought they were “wimpy” by comparison to the Christchurch ones). He spent a lot of his final two years in hospital and ended up in the hospital wing of a rest home. We had some contact throughout that period – he missed my March 2011 60th birthday party, which he had planned to attend. So he rang to wish me happy birthday and to urge me: “Get out of that demolition zone and come up here!” (leaving town had never seriously crossed my mind and if I did want to escape earthquakes I wouldn't go to Wellington to live). I visited him three times, most recently in May 2013.

I'm not going to go into detail about his condition in his final two years, because he is entitled to privacy and dignity. But, I will say that his condition acted as a powerful motivating force on me. Every time I felt reluctant to go for my daily walk if the weather was inclement, I just thought “we take mobility for granted; poor old Bob can't go for a walk; so, note to self, use it or lose it”. And out I'd go. When Graham rang me in August 2013 to tell me that his father was dead, I didn't feel sad or upset, I didn't cry (although writing this has brought on some tears). No, I felt great relief that Bob was now freed from terrible suffering, and at peace. The fact of the matter is that the Bob that I knew and loved had already died a couple of years earlier. His family and friends were now free to remember him as he had been and to celebrate his remarkable life.

Throughout my nearly 45 years as a political activist I have been lucky enough to have had two very long, enduring and extremely productive partnerships with colleagues who are also very close friends; one each from ABC and CAFCA, namely Bob Leonard (for 30 years) and Bill Rosenberg (40+). Both of them were founders and leaders of their respective groups; both brilliant researchers, writers, speakers, strategists and activists; both with an absolute passion for their group and their issue. They had many similarities and things in common – they were each a member of the other's group; they were friends and colleagues; each had a PhD (my wife Becky unfailingly refers to them as “Dr Bob” and “Dr Bill”); for several years they both worked at Lincoln University and they jointly campaigned to preserve bus services to there; Bill had worked with Barbara in a private company in the 80s and was also a member with her that same decade of Computer Professionals for the Prevention of Accidental Nuclear War; both permanently moved to Wellington within two years of each other, although Bill's relocation was entirely voluntary and nothing to do with Christchurch earthquakes (which he missed in their entirety). In each case Bob and Bill's style perfectly complemented mine, which made for a very effective political double act. Sadly, my partnership with Bob has now come to an end (in reality it did so in 2010); the one with Bill is very much alive and well.

This is the longest obituary I've ever written and I make no apology for that. Bob is worth every syllable of it. As I've said, his story is also the story of ABC and its predecessors. And it's very much my story too, because I've been in ABC et al from the start. This is as much my autobiography as it is his obituary. Bob was not an uncritical colleague and friend, and that is just as it should be. It was only in 2013, when going through his papers which ABC rescued from his house that I came across the following from his file on the 2001 Mike Frost speaking tour (which I organised). Frost and I had had a disagreement about money, namely the old chestnut of who was going to pay for what. Bob e-mailed him (27/5/01) to pour oil on troubled waters: “This is just a personal message to you. I'm sure you know by now that Murray can be very blunt...Murray is a great guy and a brilliant worker. I've worked with him for nearly 20 years. But he sure can get up people's noses. I think you need to know that. Thanks for your patience and understanding. Please keep this message to yourself”. That worked. Frost replied to Bob, the same day: “Thanks for this, Bob. It clears up a lot of unpleasant feelings...Your email to me will go no further. I'm pretty good at keeping secrets!” And, indeed, I would never have found out about this piece of interpersonal diplomacy if not for the unique situation created by the quakes.

## **Part Of Each Other's Families**

Bob was a close friend not only of me but of my family, and we were like part of his family. He was a friend and colleague of my former partner Christine Bird, who was a founder and leader of both CAFCA/CAFCA and CDH,

and founder of ABC, until she permanently moved to Australia at the end of 1987. Reading through Bob's Harewood files has reminded of just what a leading role she played in the anti-bases campaigns of the 80s. She and Bob last met at the 2008 Christchurch event to announce the winner of the annual Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand. And Bob was particularly close to my wife Becky. They were colleagues – Becky attended ABC meetings throughout the 90s; she has been *Peace Researcher's* Layout Editor since the turn of the century; she has done all sorts of other things for ABC. And they were good friends. She told me that Bob was a "gentleman" and she was happy to be called "love" by him, because it was genuine and not used in the condescending sense that such words are by men to women. They really cared for each other – when Becky was sick a decade ago it was Bob and Barbara who came to the house with food (an enormous quantity of Chinese takeaways) because he said that they couldn't bear the thought of Becky having to rely on my cooking! One year in the 90s, when Becky was in the Philippines for Christmas, they were so concerned about me having to live on my own cooking that they kindly invited me to their place to share their vegetarian Christmas dinner. Throughout his final two years of increasingly dire health in Wellington Becky constantly urged me to ring and/or visit him. For his 74th, and final, birthday in 2012, she included a birthday card with the *Peace Researcher* we posted him. She was very upset when I told her of his death. She had to get to Manila for a family deadline in September 2013 – she delayed her departure by a couple of days, cutting that deadline very fine, so that she could participate in ABC's memorial for Bob.

We were particularly close throughout 2010, his last full year in Christchurch, and we spent a lot of time together, from his hospital wards to my local café (sadly, also a victim of the February 2011 quake). We talked about everything, including death – he was a scientist and had no doubt that "death marks the extinction of consciousness". That may be so but my memories of Bob, and those of innumerable other people, will never be extinguished. He was a great friend (who also cured me of any prejudice I may have had towards Americans), and someone who will be badly missed by all who knew him.

### **He Was A Great Believer That Life Must Go On**

And what better way than with new life. A few hours after Graham rang me to tell me that Bob had died I was texted by ABC Committee member Lynda Boyd to say that her sister Jenny (also a Committee member) had given birth to a daughter, her first child. So; the ABC Committee's first death and first birth, both on the same day. What a bloody day! Bob loved kids – one of the loveliest photos he ever e-mailed me (which I regret not keeping) was of him, the ecstatic granddad, holding a newborn grandkid in the US. He lived long enough to see Graham's first child, also a daughter, born a few months before his death. He would have loved to have seen Jenny's baby. Fly free, old friend. And if you turn out to be wrong about the extinction of consciousness, I'll see you again. I look forward to that. As always, we will have a lot to talk about and laugh about.

## **Tributes to Bob Leonard**

*An edited selection of unsolicited tributes to Bob sent to me in response to my message advising people of his death. MH.*

Many years ago when I was a boy, our family went for a long trip in a small Austin, into northern United States, across the Canadian border from Manitoba. As we passed through a small town called Warroad, not far from Bob Dylan's home town of Hibbing, Minnesota, we saw a huge statue of a bear in the main street. The bear was wearing a ranger's hat and a blue coat and was carrying a shovel. A message boomed out from the bear - named Smoky the Bear, with a public service message to be careful not to light fires in the state forests.

Bob always reminded of that bear. Very genial and bearing a warning about the dangers of the Cold War and subsequent unpeaceful activities. In later years when I knew him best, he was the most genial Uncle Sam you could imagine at the annual Waihopai protest camps. And being an expatriate American from that most democratic of states - California (they will vote on almost anything), he had both the knowledge and presence with his stature and bushy beard to carry it off.

That was not all there was to Bob. He was a respected scientist with a great grasp of military and surveillance topics and for conducting painstaking research. For many years he headed up Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood – opposing the operation of a US base on NZ soil. I saw him speaking at the gates of Harewood, a few times when I managed to pass through Christchurch, but didn't really have a long conversation with him until we were both on the ABC committee in the last few years....I was deeply saddened to hear of his passing, and felt deep regret he could not have been with us for much longer. The peace movement in NZ should be proud to count Bob as one of its own nuclear-free pioneers. I am certainly proud to call him a good friend.

**Doug Craig, former Peace Movement Aotearoa and ABC Committee member**

I would like to acknowledge the life long dedication of Bob to world peace and disarmament. He was a real hero who leaves the globe a better place for all of us to live in.

**Maurice Ward**

Bob was steadfast for us in the Waihopai Domebusters trial. Bob's affidavit supplied the answer to one of the few insightful questions asked by the Court of Appeal in the recent case.

**Mike Knowles, one of the defence lawyers for the Domebusters**

Farewell to the iconic Uncle Sam

**Richard Suggate**

Though we knew it was coming, its so sad about dear Bob. I kept seeing his lovely face this week. The last trip over that I did before the big earthquake, we had a good talk at the Roger Award event. It was one of the highlights of that trip. He spoke of overcoming his health problems, and his pleasure at reconnecting with his American family. I know you missed him when he left ChCh, and were saddened at his decline in Wellington. You both must miss him so much.

**Christine Bird, founder and former Committee member CAFCINZ/CAFCA, CDH & ABC**

A sincere and wonderful tribute to an inspirational social justice worker and deeply committed peace activist - thank you Murray. Bob's life and work will provide a model and hope for generations of those who seek a visionary approach to life and want to work for a just and peaceful world. I wish to join with all who mourn Bob's departure and offer my sincere condolences to his family and friends.

**Eileen Shewan, former Philippines Solidarity Committee & Ploughshares**

Murray, I offer you my heartfelt condolences as you mourn Bob's death. I acknowledge his activism in the cause of justice for people everywhere and was glad to join with him in demos, pickets and meetings. He'll keep urging you now to continue your work for a just world.

**Denis O'Connor, former CAFCINZ Committee**

I was fortunate to meet Bob about three years ago at Waihopai, when he was still "on deck" so to speak. A fine person and stalwart peace worker.

**Noeline Gannaway**

Hi Murray. Didn't know Bob that well, had occasional and engaging chats with him at your place and on demos but he was a true comrade to you and the progressive movement (and yes that C word will attract trawling interest from the spy networks I'm sure). You clearly had a great relationship both as activists and as friends. I feel your grief, passion and respect for the man in every one of your words. Well said mate.

**Paul Watson, Philippines Solidarity Committee**

Beautifully put, Murray. Smiling at the memories through the tears. Haven't seen him for so long but I get the privilege of remembering him healthy and well and active and kind and funny and stubborn - all the best bits. I think that's how he'd prefer it.

**Melanie Oakley, former ABC Committee and Peace Researcher Layout Editor**

This is very sad news....He was a great guy who made a wonderful contribution to the NZ Peace movement... deepest commiserations to Barbara and his family. Cheers Kevin

**Professor Kevin Clements, Director, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies University of Otago**

So sorry to hear this news. Thank you for sending it. I didn't know Bob Leonard but he sounded a very fine person and clearly will be very much missed. I would be grateful if you will convey our sympathy to his family.

**Lindis Percy, Coordinator, Campaign For The Accountability of American Bases (UK)**

They say there are approximately 20,000 USans living in NZ - residents, citizens, long term visitors - which is great if they are all like the ones I know in person or in cyberspace via email. Sorry I didn't know Bob Leonard personally but have read his postings over the years re ABC and submissions made on behalf of all in CAFCA and ABC. He will be sadly missed in the Peace and Justice arena and share your loss Murray as one of his friends. I have joked over the years about "wanting out of here" each time our Government does something really stupid but leaving the planet is a step too far for fellow activists whose talents will be sorely missed in what is turning out to be a never ending journey. RIP Bob Leonard.

**Claire Breen**

# Christchurch Memorial Meeting For Bob

Murray Horton

Bob didn't have a funeral; he didn't believe in them and had stopped attending them, decades ago. He died in Wellington in August, where his family organised an informal memorial gathering of family and friends in a Brooklyn bar within a week of his death. But, as he had lived nearly 30 years in Christchurch and this is where he was a high profile peace activist, and this is where the Anti-Bases Campaign is based, ABC decided to organise a memorial gathering for him. By unplanned coincidence it was held on September 4th, the third anniversary of the first and biggest of the catastrophic sequence of Christchurch earthquakes which uprooted Bob and Barbara from their Huntsbury Hill home and forced them to permanently move to Wellington.

Around 60-70 people braved truly appalling weather (a southerly storm) to attend, to share their memories of Bob, to celebrate his life and work, and to pay their respects. It was held in the Lounge of Knox Presbyterian Church, which was very appropriate – in 2005 Bob and I had organised and fronted a memorial gathering for Owen Wilkes in that Church's Hall. I was both the MC and keynote speaker, on behalf of ABC; the other main speakers were Bob's son, Graham (who came from Wellington along with his mother, Barbara, and his wife Lisa and their baby daughter Juliet); and Associate Professor in Soil Science Peter Almond, the head of Bob's old department at Lincoln University. Speakers from the floor included: Barbara; Warren Thomson, Lynda Boyd and Yani Johanson (present or past members of the ABC Committee); Dennis Small (Reefton), a long time former peace movement colleague of Bob's and former *Peace Researcher* Co-Editor with him; peace and/or ABC activists Kate Dewes (Christchurch), Maire Leadbeater (Auckland) and Dick Keller (Wellington). One of Bob's long term colleagues from the Canterbury Environmental Trust, which built and ran the Environmental Education Centre in Craigieburn Forest Park (in the Canterbury high country), also spoke.

## “Why Can't All Funerals Be Like This?”

We decorated the venue with a selection of ABC banners; our Waihopai spy base display; photos; a selection of *Peace Researcher* issues spanning decades; and we put Bob's Uncle Sam hat (rescued from his quake-battered and abandoned home) front and centre. Committee member Lynda Boyd put in many hours of work selecting and scanning photos of Bob that were continuously screened throughout the memorial; we also screened the 1994 documentary “Base Deception” about the US base at Christchurch Airport, with Bob as the presenter (this can be viewed at <http://www.historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.co.nz/2013/08/base-deception.html>). That was made by Sam Miller, so it was entirely appropriate that Sam volunteered to film the memorial, at the request of Bob's family in the US. The whole evening started with a wonderful meal, for which thanks are due to Committee members Lynda Boyd and Robyn Dann and my wife Becky (who delayed her departure to visit family in the Philippines by a couple of days, especially so that she could participate in the memorial. She and Bob were very fond of each other). It was not a sad occasion, quite the opposite – it was a night of memories, laughter, celebration and joy. As one attendee said to me: “Why can't all funerals be like this?”. Quite! And a special attendee was baby Hazel, the daughter born to ABC Committee member Jenny Boyd on the same day as Bob's death, just hours later. The ABC Committee had our first death and first birth on that same day in August.

Bob didn't have a funeral but his entire NZ family took his ashes to California in October, where nearly all of his American family gathered to scatter them at Lake Tahoe, a place very dear to Bob and where he had studied and worked for many years before moving to NZ. His daughter Andra e-mailed me (4/11/13): “The gathering in memory of our Dad was beautiful. All four of us kids and many of the grandchildren came, as well as my father's brother Jim and his wife, plus a few close friends from Tahoe days. We gathered lakeside to share memories. Graham spoke briefly and read a poem one of my Dad's old friends had written, and people spoke of their friendship with him. It was heartfelt and lovely. We climbed down on the boulders and took turns scattering the ashes. Then we headed back to South Tahoe and met for dinner at a little Mexican place called Margarita's Cafe that we all think my Dad would have loved. I think half the crew ordered chiles rellenos, as we all knew that that was Dad's favourite Mexican dish”.

For our part, ABC planted a native tree in his memory at the Whites Bay Department of Conservation camp, when we camped there during the January 2014 Waihopai spy base protest (we planted memorial trees for Owen Wilkes and Rod Donald at our previous DoC campsite during the 2006 Waihopai protest). And we have asked Lianne Dalziel, the Mayor of Christchurch the Peace City, for the City Council to approve a memorial park bench for Bob in a park with significance to him (as Mayor Garry Moore did for Owen Wilkes, in Beckenham Park, in 2007). The Council has approved that but won't pay for it (which it did for Owen's one). We'll keep you posted. But the best way to honour Bob's memory and continue his work of decades is to keep campaigning to close the Waihopai spy base.