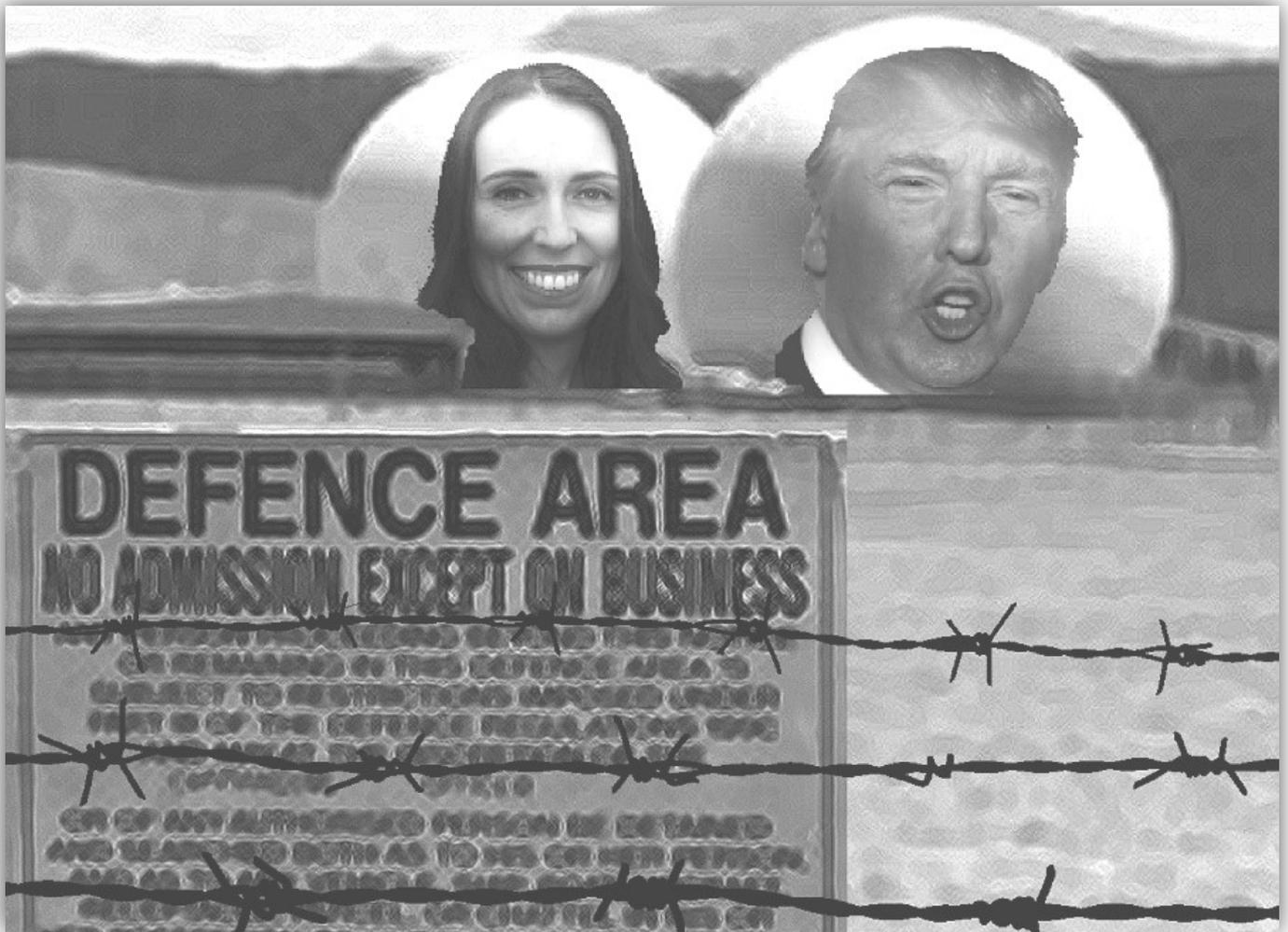


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NEW GOVERNMENT BUT SAME OLD BUSINESS AS USUAL NZ STILL LOYAL PAWN IN US EMPIRE

*In this issue: NZ Reality Check; Spies; Ready Reactionaries;
"The Coming War On China"; Australian Bases; Trumpism*

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NOT VERY GREAT EXPECTATIONS AT ALL

- Murray Horton

Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) congratulates the new Government on its electoral victory. Good riddance to the Tory bastards who have ruled the roost for nine long years (and who, on election night, looked set to do so for another three). But, I'm afraid, ABC has not very great expectations of this new Government in the areas of interest to us. Waihopai, Five Eyes, the active military/intelligence alliance with the US, membership of the US Empire, foreign policy or New Zealand's place in the Trumpian world – none of that was even mentioned in the election campaign by any of the parties (in stark contrast to the 2014 election, where the GCSB, Five Eyes and domestic spying were major issues).

Just as there is bipartisan consensus among National and Labour in support of the nuclear free policy, there is simultaneously bipartisan support for the Waihopai spy base and NZ's continued membership of Five Eyes. David Lange, the Labour Prime Minister who gets the credit for the nuclear free law, was the same PM who approved the building of Waihopai. Both things – nuclear free law and go-ahead for Waihopai – happened in the same year, 1987.

Years after he quit politics, in his quite extraordinary 1996 *Foreword* to Nicky Hager's "Secret Power" (still the definitive book on Waihopai and Five Eyes), Lange wrote: "But it was not until I read this book that I had any idea that we had been committed to an international integrated electronic network". Speaking of Nicky, he wrote: "an astonishing number of people have told him things that I, as Prime Minister in charge of the Intelligence services, was never told".

But Labour in Government has never done anything about Waihopai or Five Eyes. And this new Government looks set to continue the pattern. In a 2017 letter to an ABC member, Labour's then Leader, Andrew Little, wrote: "Labour supports our remaining in the network" i.e. Five Eyes. Andrew Little is the new Minister in Charge of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB, which runs Waihopai) and the Security Intelligence Service (SIS).

Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern is the Minister for National Security and Intelligence. As I wrote after the 2014 election: "As soon as the election was over, (then National PM John Key) was indecently keen to break with all precedent and get shot of the portfolios of Minister in Charge of the SIS and GCSB, which had always been held by the Prime Minister, regardless of whether National or Labour was in power. He bestowed them onto Chris Finlayson, whilst giving himself the newly created portfolio of Minister for National Security and Intelligence. Why did he dump responsibility for the two spy agencies?"

"Simple – they had been causing him grief during the Government's 2011-14 term and grief is bad for the image of smile and wave John, selfie John. What Key and his spin doctors desperately needed was plausible deniability, that favourite phrase of political criminals and spymasters going back to the 1970s' USA of Richard Nixon and the Watergate Scandal. 'Nothing to do with me, you'll have to ask the Minister in Charge of the SIS and GCSB'. He needs to be at arms length from the day to day business of the spies, to be insulated from the dirty deeds and grubby details". So, it is not a good sign that Ardern has automatically followed that very recent National precedent.

Winston Is This Government's AmBoy

As for Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Winston Pe-



Winston Peters with Condoleezza Rice.

ters - he already held the latter portfolio from 2005-08 under the last Labour government. So, we've already seen enough of him in action in that capacity to have absolutely negative expectations. Filipinos have just the word for him – AmBoy (America's Boy, which they use to describe various of their Presidents and political leaders. There is never any shortage of them in that country).

Upon being appointed by Ardern, he said that he had devoted his previous stint at Foreign Affairs to rebuilding NZ's relationship with the US. TV news illustrated this with a clip of him shaking hands with Condoleezza Rice, who was Secretary of State under President George W Bush. We tend to forget that, until Trump came along and lowered the bar to a whole new level, Dubya Bush was viewed as the absolute nadir of US Presidential ignorance, idiocy and warmongering (now he's wheeled out for public appearances as a kindly old elder statesman).

Bush gave the world the ongoing and seemingly never-ending wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, both of which have sucked in New Zealand as one of the minor accomplices in crime. We still have troops in both wars (I'm sorry, "trainers". I cut my teeth on the Vietnam War – in the early days, the US military presence was

described as consisting of "advisers". Today they would be called "consultants"). Bush gave the world the endless and global "war on terror" that has most recently seen American troops killed in Niger. This was the Administration with which Peters was proudly "rebuilding the relationship".

Don't just take our word for it. Here's a quote from a 2005 US Embassy cable (one of those leaked by Wikileaks and online at the ABC site at <http://liberation.typepad.com/files/welington-us-embassy-cables---bryce-edwards.pdf>. They're well worth reading, all 600+ pages of them). "We believe that Peters is genuinely interested in improving bilateral relations with the United States, and during his introductory meeting with Ambassador McCormick last week he made clear this was a priority. (FYI: Peters purposely made sure that Ambassador McCormick was the first Ambassador he met with as Foreign Minister)".

So, Winston should fit in just fine with Trump's America. Although it is worth noting that he actually visited North Korea, in 2007, in the days when the West saw wisdom in talking to, and engaging with, that country, rather than simply issuing blood-curdlingly bellicose threats of total annihilation. Trump could absent-mindedly lead the US and its little

mates into another Korean War – Australian PM Malcolm Turnbull has already said that Australia is "joined at the hip" with the US over Korea. That crisis will be Peters' first test. Let's see how much of an AmBoy he is this time around.

Break Ties With US Empire

ABC has some simple advice to the Ardern/Peters government: Close the Waihopai spy base, get out of Five Eyes, and pull the plug on the ANZUS-in-all-but-name military and intelligence alliance with Trump's increasingly dangerous and unhinged US. Get out of the American wars that we are already in, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan and definitely stay out of any new wars that Trump may try to drag us into, such as in Korea.

Finish the business started in the 1980s when NZ became nuclear free and break the remaining military and intelligence ties to the US. The Americans are very proud of having won their independence from the British Empire; it's time for us to do the same from the American Empire. We urge your new Government, one elected by people wanting change for the better, to declare that Aotearoa will become truly non-aligned and independent. To coin a phrase that I have heard a lot recently: Let's do this! ■

NZ READY REACTIONARY COUNTER- INSURGENCY

- Dennis Small

In October/November 2017 the NZ Defence Force (NZDF) conducted its biannual major military drill, Exercise Southern Katipo (17). It took place in the upper and upper/western half of the South Island. This brief article first sets out the scenario for this exercise. It basically just reproduces the gist of NZDF's own information. Then I make some comment on the exercise and its implications.

The war game scenario focuses on the (fictitious) Pacific Island state of Becara. There is some inconsistency in the public presentation of the scenario. For instance, a news report in May 2017 said that: "The exercise is based around a scenario requiring military intervention due to political instability in fictitious Pacific Island nations called Becara and Alpira where there is a dispute over offshore oil reserves. It is a continuation of the 2015 Southern Katipo war games that took place in the South Island" ("Top Of The South Military Exercise To Involve 2000 Soldiers", *Stuff.co.nz*, 2/5/17, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/nelson-mail/news/92115922/Top-of-the-south-military-exercise-to-involve-2000-soldiers>).

A NZDF notice on a shop window in the small West Coast township of Reefton (*where Dennis Small lives. Ed.*), however, described a quite different scenario. In this particular version, Alpira was not directly involved at all. There was a back-grounder in the NZDF notice poster on the history of Becara and its troubles (see below). The scenario might be adapted to the particular NZ locality, e.g. coastal or inland.

General Exercise Scenario

The NZDF Website gives the latest version of the general scenario in play. Exercise Southern Katipo 17 (SK17) ran from the first week of October until mid-November 2017. "This exercise is being held in Marlborough, Kaikoura, Tasman, Nelson



Soldiers disembarking, previous Exercise Southern Katipo (2015).

and Buller regions. Westport, Grey-mouth, Nelson Lakes, Kaikoura, Ward, and the Marlborough Sounds will become the troubled Becara region" ("Exercise Southern Katipo 2017 – NZDF", 11/9/17, <http://nzdf.mil.nz/operations/major-exercises/sk17.htm>).

NZDF explains that the exercise involves a scenario that requires the NZDF deploying a military contingent to lead a multinational Combined Joint Task Force that will help restore law and order in a fictional South West Pacific country called Becara. "Soldiers from Tonga, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Brunei, Malaysia, and Timor Leste will be taking part in the exercise, alongside NZ, with small contingents from Australia, Canada, USA, France, and Britain also taking part" (*ibid.*).

The NZDF is encouraging people to access its social media sites and get involved in role-playing during the exercise. It asserts that the "back-story" for the scenario draws on recent history. The scenario-makers maintain that "most of the events are a straightforward replication of incidents from the contemporary history of Africa, Asia, and Europe" ("NZDF Fighting Force Face New Battle Against Old Rivals", 15/8/17, <http://www.nzdf.mil.nz/news/media-releases/2017/20170815nzdf-fighting-force-face-new-battle-against-old-rivals.htm>).

Becara's "Development"

The NZDF "Reefton" back-grounder sets out the history and development of Becara. From 1970, former colonists Great Britain and NZ had helped Becara transition to self-rule. Yet soon after independence, the country split in 1971 into the two

republics of Alpira and Becara. From the 1980s into the 90s, Becara enjoyed a relatively prosperous economy. "Radical and highly controversial economic reforms adopted by the President opened Becara's industries to foreign investors and granted free and open access to its mineral and forestry industries. The reforms proved highly successful.

"Boom Days!"

The influx of multinational companies developed the nation's critical infrastructure (ports/air-fields/hospitals, etc.), and almost 60% of the nation's young male population were employed by the mining and forestry industries, encouraging significant migration to urban centres from the countryside. But by the early 1990s, the economy began to weaken. As the mineral and forestry resources were depleted, the profit margins of the foreign corporations reduced, and they began to scale down and withdraw non-core operations. *Unfortunately, the economic boom was now becoming a bust!* Among other problems, there had been indiscriminate neglect of the environment.

Unrest And Rebellion

In 2015 the majority Wesso (Westportian) ethnic group conducted mass protests, due to their anger about unemployment and what they saw as their disenfranchisement. They were led by extremist militia groups. The Wessos turned on their minority ethnic Havo cousins, blaming them for the economic crisis. But NZ intervened in the republic's internal affairs and stabilised the situation. Stability proved to be only paper-thin. The underlying issues that had sparked the social unrest remained unresolved. In 2016 in-

creased violence by Wesso radicals broke out on an unacceptable level.

One of the underlying problems relates to the conditions of many of the Havos. Traditionally, Havo land had been the source of most of Becara's agriculture. When many Havos moved to the urban areas in search of employment, their land was left fallow, forcing Becara to rely on imported foodstuffs. Another of Becara's problems, according to material distributed by the NZDF, is a lack of foreign investment.

Reefton On The Edge!

The township of Reefton marks the boundary of the "bad lands". Most of the population are Wessos, who have been influenced by radical ethnic politics. The Westportian People's Party (WWP) – a new extremist political party – has grown in strength locally and a pro-Wesso militia group now occupies the town. Large numbers of ethnic Havos were driven from the town as the members of this Wesso militia band arrived.

The NZDF enthusiastically invited Reefton locals to join in its war gaming. *You can play a Wesso!* In the NZDF's scenario:

- "You strongly support the Westportian People's Party and the Westportian Freedom Army, who you see as freedom fighters".
- "You'd rather the New Zealanders and their allies weren't getting involved and want them to leave".

"We want the 'bad guys' to be able to feel safe among the Reefton population. The ex-players will have to win you over and gain your trust. Be suspicious and reluctant to share information with them. In October, you will see our 'bad guys' setting themselves up. They will establish bases and defensive positions in and around Reefton. Some may conduct meetings at key locations with local role-players".

"From mid to late November, we expect large numbers of soldiers and vehicles to occupy areas around Reefton and clear the 'bad guys' out". Armed soldiers will be present, occupying key points around the town, or checkpoints. Some international aircraft might be flying in the area during November. As well, some "mid-scale" simulated fighting

is very likely nearby.

Predatory Posturing

Such training exercises as the one outlined above essentially comprise "Ready Reactionary" counter-insurgency operations driven by the so-called "5 Eyes" Anglo-American intelligence/covert action network, i.e., the US as the dominant partner, along with Britain, Australia, Canada, and NZ (for an update on our ready reactionaries, see: "Military Strategy, Trumpism, And State Terrorism", elsewhere in this issue. For background see my "NZ Ready Reactionaries Practise Repression", *Peace Researcher* 29, Special Issue, August 1991, <https://www.scribd.com/document/33725438/Peace-Researcher-Vol1-Issue29-Aug-1991>).

Putting aside for the moment my very critical line on the status of such exercises, it is fair and proper to indicate a possible spectrum on both the potential and scope for the conduct of military intervention in foreign lands. At one end of this spectrum, there could be intervention for genuinely humanitarian reasons. Contrastingly, at the other, the intervention could be in the traditional mould of Western, especially Anglo-American, forays to secure raw materials and markets, along with other geopolitical aims. The dominant "5 Eyes" rationale and related military exercises (whatever the public relations [PR] propaganda), are, in fact, clearly in this latter imperialist tradition (just as former North Atlantic Treaty Organisation [NATO] commander Sir James Eberle predicted years ago).

Exercise Southern Katipo 17 and its accompanying PR is very revealing. It ironically demonstrates how predatory Western corporate interests rip resources out of poor countries and severely disrupt and damage the socio-cultural conditions of these countries. The ready reactionary forces of the West are very much geared for self-interested intervention. Counter-insurgency is similarly geared. It has the repressive models exemplified by American death squad and torture operations ("Days Of Revolt: America's Death Squads", *YouTube*, 5/1/16, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TN6InT MWt7Q> – interview by Chris Hedges of the intrepid investigative journalist Allan Nairn).

Lots Of Contentious Issues

Take the recent history of one of the client states involved in this exercise, Timor Leste (formerly East Timor). In 1975, it was a victim of "5 Eyes" aggression, with the US-led backing for the Indonesian invasion. This invasion was intended to clean out the Leftwing Fretilin liberation movement. In the aftermath, Australia collaborated with Indonesia to exploit the offshore oil and gas resources ("Credibility Gap: Australia And The Timor Gap Treaty", Sasha Stepan, Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Development Dossier No. 28, 1990).

Later, Australia made another oil/gas deal with a newly independent Timor Leste. But Australia has grossly milked the deal, resulting in fractious disputes (*Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Timor). Today, following the depletion of the oil, Timor Leste is looking at options like increased coffee exports to boost its flagging economy (*The Nation*, TV3, 8/10/17).

The example of Timor Leste illustrates the challenges of small island nations in the wake of foreign military intervention. Another case study is provided by the intervention of the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) force in the ethnic conflicts of the Solomon Islands. In this intervention, the national security concerns of Australia and NZ have tended to come first. The solution imposed for stability has drawn to quite an extent on neo-liberal prescriptions. Yet: "It was partly neo-liberal strategies of resource extraction that sparked the conflict in the first place" ("A Post-Liberal Peace", Google Books <http://books.google.co.nz> > books).

NZ has also actually planned for "terrorist" retaliatory actions here in our own country, following interventions overseas. Savage invasion and repression in foreign lands can result in savage blowback as demonstrated by what has come out of Afghanistan, Iraq, and other countries (for background, see "NZ Terrorist State Holds Hostages: Freedom Fighters Attempt Rescue", in *Peace Researcher* 30 [First Series], December 1991, <https://www.scribd.com/document/33725443/Peace-Researcher-Vol1-Issue30-Dec-1991>).

(The anti-terrorist exercise that was the subject of that particular 1991

PR cover story was one which took place at sea. That these aquatic exercises are still regularly happening became public in October 2017 when a member of the Defence Force Special Operations Force died, as a result of an accidental fall, during a training exercise involving a container ship off the tip of the Coromandel Peninsula. Ed.).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were widespread peace movement protests against such war games as Exercise Southern Katipo (17). By cultivating volunteer participation, the NZDF exercises were (and are!) clearly designed to garner public support here for militarist "dirty work" and economic exploitation in poor countries, especially those afflicted with the "resource curse". Getting the NZ media embedded in the right mindset was (and is!) very much a related priority too.

Not only were peace movement protests levelled at the external repressive dimensions of these military exercises, but there was also concern about the obvious sinister domestic implications. The exercises were oriented to the potential for the internal suppression of so-called "dissidents" ("NZ Ready Reactionaries", op. cit.). These drills are now being boosted in the Trumpian era, against a backdrop of hard Right-wing political trends in recent years. Ironically, yet significantly enough, a role play protest in the West Coast town of Murchison apparently got out of hand with some "confused argy bargy" during the 2015 version of Exercise Southern Katipo ("Top Of The South Military Exercise", op. cit.).

To Conclude

We need to closely monitor and, where possible, protest these exercises and other such military drills. They represent both possible and probable threats to people overseas, and potentially within our very own land. The price of freedom is indeed eternal vigilance!

PS. I also refer readers to this excellent short piece by Barbara Creswell: "Why Are Martial Law Military Exercises Being Held In Local Communities?" (*The Daily Blog*, 19/10/17, <https://thedailyblog.co.nz/2017/10/19/guest-blog-barbara-creswell-why-are-martial-law-military-exercises-being-held-in-local-communities/>). ■

SPOOKY BITS

- Warren Thomson

US Spook Evades NZ Law

A US Embassy official, believed to be working with the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), evaded police charges after a serious criminal incident in which it is alleged that he had his nose broken and sustained a black eye. The incident occurred in Lower Hutt early on a Sunday morning in March 2017.

The man was protected by diplomatic immunity. The New Zealand Police asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) to waive immunity on 13 March so they could proceed with an investigation. But the US government refused to cooperate, and MFAT officials requested the diplomat leave New Zealand immediately.

TVNZ reported the US diplomat at the centre of the incident was Colin White, a technical attache who works at the US Embassy in Wellington alongside his wife. TVNZ reported White had received injuries to his face during the mysterious incident. It is believed White was involved in working alongside New Zealand's spy agency the GCSB, according to TVNZ. In which case MFAT may well have expedited the departure of White to avoid any unwelcome attention to the GCSB and its Big Brother (*Guardian*, 19/3/17).

High Court Rules Surveillance Illegal

The High Court has ruled a Government spy agency's entire surveillance operation against the Internet businessman Kim Dotcom and his associates was illegal. In a decision released in late August 2017, the High Court found the GCSB operation in 2011 fell outside the scope of its legislation at that time.

The ruling said: "The circumstances of the interceptions of communications are Top Secret, and it has not proved possible to plead to the allegations the plaintiffs have made without revealing information which

would jeopardise the national security of New Zealand. As a result, the GCSB is deemed to have admitted the allegations in the statement of claim which relate to the manner in which the interceptions were effected".

Grant Illingworth, the lawyer representing two of the defendants against extradition to the USA, said the court ruling brought the whole operation into doubt and showed the extent of the GCSB's abuse of power. "The GCSB has now admitted that the unlawfulness was not just dependent upon residency issues, it went further. The reason it went further was because it didn't have authorisation to carry out the kind of surveillance that it was carrying out under the legislation, as it was at that time" (Radio NZ Website, 25/8/17).

GCSB Investigating North Korean Hacking

Foreign Minister Gerry Brownlee says the GCSB is looking into claims that North Koreans could be hacking into New Zealand computer servers for backdoor access to the Internet. The claims about access have been made in a report by Recorded Future, a Massachusetts-based company that specialises in providing private companies with cyber-threat intelligence.

Its data demonstrated there were significant physical and virtual North Korean presences in several nations around the world where North Koreans were likely to be engaging in malicious cyber and criminal activities. "These nations include India, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nepal, Kenya, Mozambique and Indonesia".

The report also said that 10% of the activity observed during the time-frame involved China. Asked about whether the Government should be concerned about the level of China-supplied infrastructure in New Zealand's telecommunications systems, Brownlee said the same infrastructure was used throughout the world



Greenpeace NZ leader Russel Norman in sea in front of "Amazon Warrior".

"so I don't think that it is the problem that various conspiracists might immediately leap to". Pressed further about Australia's concerns about Huawei's infrastructure deals Brownlee said "I think it is too far gone... I don't think it is worth getting too strung up about that" (*NZ Herald*, 27/7/17).

GCSB Budget

This has been set at a whopping \$159,035,000 for financial year 2017/18. And based on previous years' budgets, we can expect it to cost taxpayers more than that. The 2016/17 GCSB budget was estimated to be \$119,683,000 but actually cost \$145,043,000.

Big Oil Spies On Greenpeace

Private investigators have been used by major oil corporations to spy on Greenpeace staff, volunteers and supporters on a daily basis over many years. Information leaked to the activist organisation revealed that Greenpeace employees and volunteers had been followed, photographed, and profiled by the unscrupulous investigation agency Thompson & Clark. These private dicks (in all shades of meaning) followed Greenpeace people to their homes, tailed them in their personal

time, and breached their privacy in what the organisation terms completely unacceptable ways.

Greenpeace says that the surveillance was verified by an investigations team of their own, and that their information indicates that it was foreign oil companies who are behind it; furthermore, they maintain that the private spying was carried out with the knowledge of the NZ government. Greenpeace NZ has gone to the High Court to stop Thompson & Clark Investigations Ltd (TCIL) from carrying out surveillance on its staff and volunteers (*Greenpeace* press release, 10/8/17).

The environmental group says the Auckland-based company was hired by oil companies Anadarko and Statoil. Anadarko has been actively exploring for gas and oil in New Zealand since 2008, primarily off the Canterbury and Taranaki coasts. The Norwegian State-owned oil company Statoil has been operating in New Zealand since 2013 and became the focus of protests by Greenpeace and iwi when it used the world's largest seismic blasting ship "Amazon Warrior" to search for deep sea oil earlier this year.

As of October 2017, Greenpeace NZ Executive Director Russel Norman was in court having been charged under New Zealand's

Crown Minerals Act, along with two others, for swimming in front of the deep-sea oil exploration ship "Amazon Warrior", which is searching for deep sea oil on behalf of Chevron and Statoil.

Norman, Greenpeace NZ, Sara Howell, a 25-year-old Greenpeace volunteer from Wales, and Gavin Mulvay, a kite maker from Ashburton, have been charged with interfering with the oil exploration ship "Amazon Warrior" under section 101b(1)(c) of the Crown Minerals Act, known as the Anadarko Amendment. This legislation, imposing exceptionally heavy penalties for anti-oil protest, was pushed through by the National government to reinforce its fossil fuels enterprises.

Private Dicks' Previous Skulduggery

In May 2007 the *Sunday Star-Times* revealed Thompson & Clark had been paying two students to infiltrate small environmental, peace and animal rights groups on behalf of State coal company Solid Energy and other clients. The students were paid to write reports on the campaigners' meetings and plans, and to set up systems redirecting internal group emails to the private investigators.

A 25-year-old Canterbury University

student confessed to the *Sunday Star-Times* (27/5/07) that Thompson & Clark paid him on behalf of Solid Energy to infiltrate Christchurch environment group Save Happy Valley. The group opposed plans for a new Government-run open-cast coal mine on the West Coast because of climate change and threats to a critically endangered indigenous snail.

The then Labour government told Solid Energy that using paid informants to infiltrate environment groups was "not acceptable" and that it had to stop. Although Solid Energy was adamant that it complied, the private dicks appeared to have defied the order. The *Sunday Star-Times* revealed that TCIL Director Gavin Clark had tried to recruit a Christchurch man to spy on the Save Happy Valley environment group after the Government had given strict instructions that such spying cease. The paper obtained copies of "restricted" TCIL reports on Save Happy Valley and other community groups (*Stuff* Website 31/1/09).

Stuff, a relatively conservative news source, said the TCIL reports "consist of unreferenced material from the Internet and rough summaries of open sources, interspersed with sarcastic comments about the community groups," and: "The reports give an insight into the mentality of the private investigators who market themselves as specialists in 'corporate intelligence' about protest groups and into the quality of their work".

"They are presented in the style of Police intelligence reports, with security and copyright warnings at the top and bottom of each page". The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was apparently paying \$1000 per month for "intelligence", which was often just regurgitated press releases and open source data.

Stuff continued: "The reports, titled 'National Extremism', show little evidence of the activist threats the title suggests. However, TCIL does its best to talk up the idea of extremism and threat, promoting the need for its own intelligence and security services". To emphasise the (Happy Valley) group as extreme and threatening, in one case they quote "Act Party Vice-President (and Rightwing conspiracy theorist) Trevor Loudon" as the source for connections between "militant anarchists" and the Happy Valley group.

On 1st August 2010, the Auckland private investigation firm was caught out after it attached a sophisticated tracking device to a political campaigner's car – but left the device visible from outside the vehicle. The *Sunday Star-Times* reported it was the third time in three years they had caught Thompson & Clark Investigations doing covert surveillance on political groups for corporate clients (see Nicky Hager's Website <http://www.nickyhager.info/> for more information on these and related matters).

PRs 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr34.pdf> and 35, December 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr35.pdf> ran extensive material on Thompson and Clark's private political spying. Specifically, see Mark Eden's "The Privatisation Of Spying, Part 2", in PR 35. Ed.

US Awards Contracts For Nuclear "Modernisation" Programmes

Lockheed Martin and Raytheon have been chosen to design and build the next generation of air-launched nuclear cruise missiles for the US military. Individual \$US900 million contracts have been provided to both companies to develop the new weapon, known as the Long Range Standoff weapon (LRSO). The Air Force is expected to order 1,000 of the missiles. The current estimated cost for the system is \$US10 billion.

The Pentagon has additionally recently awarded contracts to weapons companies Boeing and Northrup Grumman to begin work on a new land-based Intercontinental Ballistic Missile system. The total cost of "modernising" the US nuclear arsenal is expected to exceed \$US1 trillion over the next 30 years (Sanger and Broad, *New York Times*, 27/8/17).

US Conducts Additional Tests Of New B61-12 Nuclear Bomb

On August 8, 2017, the US Air Force conducted two flight tests of its new B61-12 nuclear bomb at the Tonopah Test Range in Nevada.

The test assemblies, which were dropped from an F-15E based at Nellis Air Force Base, evaluated the weapon's non-nuclear functions and the aircraft's capability to deliver the weapon.

The B61-12 is a new nuclear bomb that combines four previous variants of the B61. It introduces new military capabilities to the US arsenal, contributing to the nuclear arms race among the world's nine nuclear-armed nations (*National Nuclear Security Administration*, 28/8/17). The US has also carried out a number of tests of its anti-missile defence systems and other missile and nuclear related systems in the past year. Unsurprisingly, there is no talk about sanctions against Washington for its continued weapons development programmes.

Trump Sends More Troops To Make America Great Again

In spite of campaigning on the basis of bringing US troops back from their overseas adventures, Trump has announced that he is sending more troops, probably around 4,000, to Afghanistan, and there is no sign of his promised withdrawal.

Old Warmonger Gives A Different View

The *Huffington Post* (31/8/17) reported that mercenary, and probably war criminal, Erik Prince, has been pushing a different policy in Washington. Prince's five-point plan is for sending private contracted soldiers (read mercenaries employed by himself) including US and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) veterans, to be used alongside US Special Forces troops.

Prince was the founder of a private security company formerly called Blackwater, whose employees were accused of committing a number of crimes during the Iraq War, including the killing of 14 Iraqi civilians in Nisour Square, Baghdad, on September 16, 2007. The incident sparked numerous federal investigations, and Prince sold the company in 2010. For a detailed account of *Blackwater's numerous crimes in Iraq*, see "Mercenaries Inc: Private Armies Profit From America's Wars"

by Murray Horton, in Peace Researcher 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr39.pdf>. Ed.

The *Huffington Post* reports that Prince is now the chairman of Frontier Services Group, a logistics company based in the United Arab Emirates, and he is advocating a completely different solution in Afghanistan. "There are too many cooks," Prince wrote in a *Wall Street Journal* article, which outlined the financial waste (approximately \$US1 trillion) and the massive damage to US lives (around 2,000 deaths and 20,000 injuries) since the war began 16 years ago. Prince's views are popular with some inside the White House and on Capitol Hill, where he has been meeting with members of Congress.

Trump's Own Goal Gets Little Attention

A key element of Trump's attacks on Hillary Clinton was investigations into her use of a private email server to conduct State Department business. Much less publicity has been given to revelations that White House Chief of Staff John Kelly has been compromised by digital attackers, according to a new report from *Politico*. The breach was discovered after Kelly reported functional glitches to White House tech support over the American summer (*The Verge/NewsHub Website*, 6/10/17).

Notably, the compromised phone was Kelly's personal device, rather than the secure phone issued by the Government. The White House told

Politico that Kelly rarely used the device since joining the Administration, although even occasional use could have exposed sensitive Government information to attackers. Moreover, in the early days of Trump's Administration, Trump tweeted from a Galaxy S3, a model that had not received a software update in over a year and which was highly vulnerable to hacking.

Russian Meddling In US Presidential Election

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), National Security Agency (NSA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) have all concluded that the Kremlin played a covert role in Trump's 2016 election, with some key evidence provided by the dossier of a former officer with Britain's overseas spy agency, MI6. Christopher Steele's reports are being investigated seriously by federal and congressional investigators. Steele was an MI6 Russian expert who left the agency in 2009.

According to *Reuters*, investigations so far have "... identified Russian businessmen and others whom US intelligence analysts have concluded are Russian intelligence officers or working on behalf of the Russian government" (5/10/17). Ironically, Steele's dossier was compiled as a response to a request by Trump's Republican opponents to try and discredit him. Then, later, the ball was picked up by Trump's Democratic Party opposition. The *Guardian* (7/10/17) reported that the dossier apparently describes the Kremlin's cultivation over many years of

the man who now occupies the Oval Office – and the systematic collusion of Trump's associates with Moscow to help get him there.

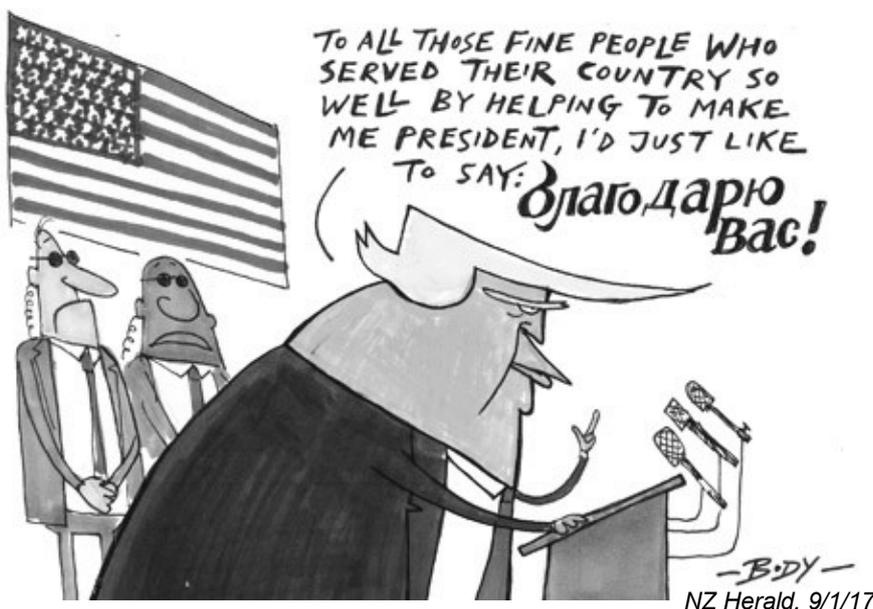
Recently, Facebook identified more than 2,000 advertisements paid for by a Russian linked company that were promoted during the election campaign. Many of those advertisements were specifically targeted on swing states, Michigan and Wisconsin, and many were calculated to emphasise controversial issues, and/or were racist or Islamophobic.

The *New York Times* has reported that hundreds and possibly thousands of Russian-linked fake accounts and bots on Facebook and Twitter were used to spread anti-Clinton stories and messages. Many fake messages on social media were spread by Eastern Europeans posing as Americans. *PR* notes that there is an element of humour (and hypocrisy) in this story of the CIA and their mates complaining about Russian manipulation of another country's politics; perhaps they are unhappy that the Russians have been more successful than themselves.

British Gun Merchants Profit From Nasty Regimes

UK arms manufacturers have exported almost £5 billion worth of weapons to countries that are judged to have repressive governments over the last two years. The biggest part of these dirty deals is a result of orders from Saudi Arabia, but many other countries with controversial human rights records like Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Venezuela and China have also been major buyers. The group, Campaign Against the Arms Trade, has found that, of the 49 countries that are classed as "not free" by Freedom House, an independent organisation that promotes democracy, 36 have bought British-made weapons under the current Tory government.

The Saudis have historically been a major buyer of British-made weapons. The rise in sales to other countries shows the policy of the Tory government to support the defence industry, which in the UK employs more than 55,000 people. The UK government has also been accused of negotiating trade deals to sell the United Arab Emirates cyber-surveil-



lance technology which the UAE government uses to spy on its citizens, and weaponry which critics allege has been used to commit war crimes in Yemen (*Guardian*, 10/9/17).

UK Attacks On Human Rights At Home

In the run up to the 2017 British election, Theresa May declared she is prepared to rip up human rights laws to impose new restrictions on terror suspects. The Prime Minister said she was looking at how to make it easier to deport foreign terror suspects and how to increase controls on extremists who are suspects but for whom authorities do not have enough evidence to prosecute them. Whatever happened to due process of law? Even worse, the Thatcher reincarnation was using this attack on civil rights as an attempt to get more votes by appealing to fear and prejudice. Her abysmal election result does indicate there is still some justice in the world (*Guardian*, 6/6/17).

UK Counter-Terror Laws Most Orwellian In Europe, Says Amnesty

Human rights group Amnesty International says Britain is leading a “race to the bottom” with measures that threaten rights and freedoms. Among the most sensitive work of the newly created Investigatory Powers Commissioner (IPC) will be operation of the “double-lock” system of authorisation of interception warrants introduced by a new act of Parliament. Under the scheme both a minister and an independent judge, known as a judicial commissioner, will have to approve surveillance warrants.

The role of the first Investigatory Powers Commissioner, Lord Justice Fulford, combines the work of three former oversight bodies and will provide judicial checks on some investigations. His office, the IPCO, will employ about 70 staff, including 15 serving and retired judges. Inspectors will check that the interception of phone calls, and the handling of agents, surveillance and powers permitting bulk collection of commu-

nications data are carried out within the law.

Among organisations overseen by the IPCO are the Government’s electronic spying agency Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), MI5, MI6 (the internal and external spy agencies, respectively), the National Crime Agency, all police forces, the Serious Fraud Office, HM Revenue and Customs, local authorities, prisons and government departments.

Human rights groups and MPs have questioned whether the judicial commissioners will be given sufficient access to secret information to make their role more than that of a rubber stamp. The new IPCO team includes inspectors, technical and legal advisers, and scientists on a technology advisory panel. The previous commissioners’ posts have been abolished. Operation of the new act remains highly controversial. The human rights group Liberty has launched a crowdfunded legal challenge to the “sweeping State spying powers” it contains (*Guardian*, 1/9/17).

Legal Case Against GCHQ Spying

The UK’s Investigatory Powers Tribunal (IPT) hears complaints about Government surveillance and the intelligence services. Some of its hearings are held behind closed doors (a common thread in Five Eyes administrations over recent years has been to remove any judicial hearings from public purview by setting up pseudo courts to avoid spooks “exposing themselves”). Privacy International (PI), along with

seven Internet service providers, argues that the computer network exploitation (CNE) carried out by the GCHQ breaches human rights.

Initially PI argued that since the 18th Century the common law has opposed the use of non-specific warrants. In February 2016, however, the IPT ruled that the legal regime under which warrants were issued for the agency to carry out hacking in the UK was compatible with the European Convention on Human Rights. The decision said that warrants do not need to be “defined by reference to named or identified individuals”.

Then PI launched a judicial review of the IPT’s decision in the High Court because there was, effectively, no right of appeal from the Tribunal. In February 2017 the High Court ruled in favour of GCHQ and the Foreign Office, rejecting the judicial review challenge. European courts have ruled the GCHQ surveillance illegal.

Currently, the legal battle continues before the Court of Appeal. In advance of the hearing, Scarlet Kim, a legal officer at PI, said: “The (IPT) unlawfully sanctioned the UK government’s use of sweeping powers to hack hundreds or thousands of people’s computers and phones with a single warrant. Rather than debate the necessity and proportionality of their expansive hacking powers, the Government is instead arguing that the UK courts should have no jurisdiction to review the legality of the tribunal’s decisions”, (*Guardian*, 5/10/17).

PI is running a crowd funding operation to pay for its legal work, and for the contingency that another loss in the courts will result in punitive legal



costs going against the organisation. In its appeal, PI argues: "Hacking actually makes us less safe because it compromises the technology that is increasingly embedded into the fabric of our lives. By hacking our devices, the Government is choosing to take advantage of security holes, which leaves us all more vulnerable to future cyber-attacks. By hacking, the Government has deliberately chosen to make our technology less secure than it can be" (*Guardian*, *ibid.*).

This key point in the PI case is a common critique made against spook operations that the enforced break down of encryption systems – in order to catch "terrorists" – in fact opens the door for hackers generally to exploit holes in computer systems (see "Former MI5 Boss Paddles Against The Tide", below).

Former MI5 Boss Paddles Against The Tide

Amber Rudd, the British Home Secretary, like much of the Five Eyes mafia, argued recently that Internet companies were not doing enough to tackle extremism online. In particular, she has attacked the use of encryption as a problem (for the spooks). But now a former head of MI5 has spoken out against curtailing use of encryption in messaging apps (*Guardian*, 11/8/17).

While encryption can protect data that it is vital to keep secret, it also frustrates efforts by law enforcement to eavesdrop on alleged terrorists, criminals and spies. Modern standards are generally considered unbreakable even by an attacker possessing a vast amount of computer power, which is why all the Five Eyes countries, including NZ, have passed, or tried to pass, legislation to enforce backdoor entry to most apps.

Now, Lord Evans, who retired from the security service in 2013, told BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme that he would not support a clamp-down on use of encryption. Acknowledging that use of encryption had hampered security agencies' efforts to access the content of communications between extremists, Evans added: "I'm not personally one of those who thinks we should weaken encryption because I think there is a parallel issue, which is

cybersecurity more broadly" (*Guardian*, 11/8/17). Evans also maintained that the threat of Islamist terrorism was likely to remain for the next 20-30 years.

Oz Spook Oversight Falling Behind

The Australian intelligence watchdog's staff of just 17 people has "not kept pace" with its growing workload in keeping a check on the nation's thousands of spies, a major intelligence review has found. The review has urged the Turnbull government to triple the Office of the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security to 50 staff, in particular to allow it to carry out more random spot checks on the agencies.

The review also recommended strengthening the role of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Intelligence and Security, most importantly by giving it the power to ask the Inspector General of Intelligence and Security to "conduct an inquiry into the legality and propriety of particular operational activities" (*Age*, 21/7/17).

But Labor MP and Committee Deputy Chair, Anthony Byrne, said the Committee should itself be able to scrutinise operations. "We have a system of intelligence oversight that mirrors the UK and US and yet we are the only committee that does not have the power to inquire into operational activities of the agencies," he said (*NZ Parliamentary oversight also lacks powers to itself investigate operations. Ed*).

Ho Hum: More Powers Wanted For Aussie Spooks

In another chapter of the endless demands of Aussie security organisations for more powers and less civil liberties, the latest review of the Australian intelligence community has called for "streamlining the way the Government authorises overseas spy agencies to collect intelligence on Australians". Currently a minister must give authorisation each time the agencies want to collect intelligence on any Australian individual abroad, but the review proposes allowing spooks to ask for a standing authorisation of up to six

months to gather intelligence on people associated with listed terrorist organisations such as Islamic State or al-Qaeda (*Age*, 19/7/17).

Lamely the review suggests there would be strict safeguards added. Apparently, the current system is too "cumbersome" for the "fast-moving threat environment" and the numbers of Australians involved with overseas terrorist organisations. As well as the Australian Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS, Australia's overseas spy agency) the change would also affect Australian Signals Directorate (Australia's electronic spy agency) and the Australian Geospatial Organisation – the spy outfit that studies satellite and other imagery.

Hollywood Becoming Reality?

A common movie theme of dastardly crims taking control of key national infrastructure may be closer to reality. On 18 July, 2017, the UK *Telegraph* reported that hackers may have compromised Britain's energy grid. The newspaper reported Britain's GCHQ warning that cyber-criminals are targeting the country's energy sector and that the spooks have said industrial control systems may have already been the victim of attacks by nation State hackers.

State-sponsored cyber-criminals may have hacked into systems, some possibly critical, run by engineering, industrial control and water companies, according to the *Telegraph*, commenting on a leaked report. GCHQ's National Cyber Security Centre also warned other sectors have also been affected in the series of attacks targeting Britain's national infrastructure.

The *Telegraph* is often the recipient of leaks from spook sources, and this story, no doubt, strengthens demands for greater funding. It also suggests, however that the counter-spooks are failing in their protection of cyber-security functions. The FBI warned earlier in 2017 that State-sponsored hackers, possibly backed by Russia, were targeting nuclear facilities in the US, after at least a dozen US power plants were successfully breached. Nuclear facilities controlled by hackers are probably more dangerous than under the control of the profit driven corporations who usually run them. ■

NEW ZEALAND: A REALITY CHECK

But Isn't It Nuclear-Free And Out Of ANZUS?

- Murray Horton

In September 2017 I was one of the speakers at the national conference, in Melbourne, of the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN, <http://www.ipan.org.au/#/>). There were around 200 participants from all around Australia, with speakers from Australia, the US, South Korea, the Philippines and Diego Garcia – and NZ. It was the first time that the Anti-Bases Campaign has taken part in such an Australian peace movement conference for decades (indeed it was my first visit to Melbourne since 1988. And that previous visit was on ABC business, too). This is a slightly edited version of my speech (which was originally written for an Australian audience). MH.

First, I need to set the scene. Viewed from Australia, New Zealand probably looks pretty good. For example, 2017 marks the 30th anniversary of the country having become nuclear free by law. Despite there having been several changes of Government in those three decades, and threats to reverse it flaring up occasionally, it has now become the status quo, accepted by all political parties and adhered to regardless of which major party is in Government. It has become part of the furniture, part of New Zealand's "brand" of being "clean, green and nuclear-free".

The nuclear free campaign last flared up in the mid 90s when our old mates the French, the same "ally" that murderously bombed the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland in the mid 80s, arrogantly resumed nuclear testing in the South Pacific. The grassroots NZ response was spontaneous and immediate, with mass actions on the streets and yet another peace squadron launched to join a long and honourable history of them. The French very quickly abandoned the whole thing and have never resumed Pacific testing.

A whole generation of young Kiwis has grown up knowing nothing else. As part of becoming nuclear free, New Zealand was unceremoniously

kicked out of ANZUS by the Reagan Administration, aided and abetted by Australia's Hawke government. Despite dire warnings in the 1980s, the sky did not fall. Earlier in 2017 I gave a speech at an Auckland university – afterwards, the young student journalist covering it thanked me, because she found what I said about ANZUS to be different to what she'd been taught in high school.

My point is that, in NZ, ANZUS is taught in school as history (so I'd better not assume that people know what I'm talking about: 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).

But wait, there's more. To give a couple of examples, the illegal 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq marked the first foreign war which New Zealand refused to join. And, right on Australia's doorstep, NZ played the key role in reaching a lasting peace settlement in Bougainville – under a National government, to boot. Looking back over the whole 70+ years of the US Empire, New Zealand has always been a much less gungho junior satellite than Australia – none of our Prime Ministers has relished being anointed as the "Deputy Sheriff" (as John Howard was by George Bush). The last time US Marines had a base in NZ was during WW2; we don't host a base of the sinister importance of Pine Gap.

To All Appearances, NZ Is A Bit Player

So, what's the problem? Because all is not as rosy as it might appear in this South Pacific Garden of Heavenly Peace. Let's start with the nuclear free law. It was not bestowed from on high by David Lange or any other politician but was the result of a truly magnificent grassroots campaign that lasted for years, involved the whole country and was a model

of its type to the rest of the world.

What tends to be forgotten is that the 1980s' Lange Labour government tried to have its cake and eat it i.e. by going nuclear free and staying in ANZUS. The Yanks were having none of that and kicked us out. Thank God - imagine being in ANZUS with Trump (Australians don't have to imagine – they are). And that same Labour government went to great lengths to assure our big brothers that we wouldn't spread "the Kiwi disease" to any other countries, let alone fellow bit players in the US Empire. And we haven't.

Wars, Warships, Bases

As for staying out of the 2003 Iraq War – well, the Helen Clark Labour government did later send so-called "non-combat" forces there, who ended up helping the illegal occupiers' combat forces (specifically, British troops in the Shi'ite south, around Basra). And the New Zealand military has been "training" the Iraqi military for the past several years, under the banner of "fighting ISIS". So, New Zealand is a current military participant in the Iraq War.

Do an online search using the key words "Mosul white phosphorus" and you'll be as surprised as I was to discover a New Zealand brigadier-general quoted, in June 2017, as confirming the use of that horrible stuff in the battle for Mosul. How come a New Zealand officer was speaking on behalf of the coalition forces fighting ISIS and what has defending the use of white phosphorus got to do with training the Iraqi military?

Despite being both nuclear free and out of ANZUS, NZ has continued to be a loyal junior partner to the US in American wars such as in Afghanistan (and NZ's role in that war has been under the spotlight in 2017, with Nicky Hager's new book "Hit & Run"* proving that our "heroic" Special Air Service [SAS] has the blood of innocents on its hands).

The New Zealand military has been



in Afghanistan since the start of the modern equivalent of the Hundred Years War and a handful remains there today (indeed, the Government, in August 2017, acceded to a US request to slightly increase that handful). NZ's past and present role in the war in Afghanistan has been the subject of major scrutiny by the mainstream media in 2017. *"Hit And Run" was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in Peace Researcher 53, June 2017, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr53.pdf>.*

In July 2017 700 NZ military personnel took part in the regular Talisman Sabre exercise in northern Queensland with US and Australian forces. That is a straight out ANZUS exercise, so what is "out of ANZUS" New Zealand doing in it? What's more, it is an exercise which rehearses war with China – New Zealand's biggest and most important trading partner. Also in 2017 an NZ frigate stepped in to fill the gap in US Navy ranks in Asian waters when a US warship was taken out in a collision with a container ship – that deployment was arguably illegal under NZ's nuclear-free law.

The fact of the matter is that NZ is a fully functioning, albeit junior, military and intelligence cog in the US Empire. Two agreements signed in recent years – the 2010 Wellington Declaration and the 2012 Washington Declaration – have formalised that ANZUS-in-all-but-name alliance. A huge release by Wikileaks* in 2010 of US documents about its relationship with NZ provided a very detailed account. The powers that be, both in NZ and the US, have been actively working to nullify those facts on the ground – NZ be-

ing nuclear free and out of ANZUS - to get around them, to subvert them, and to render them irrelevant. **These Wikileaks documents, all 613 pages of them, can be read online at <http://liberation.typepad.com/files/wellington-us-embassy-cables---bryce-edwards.pdf>.*

To test the waters (pun intended), in 2016 a US warship was sent to Auckland to be the centrepiece of the NZ Navy's 75th anniversary celebrations, a political propaganda role to soften up NZ public opinion by being the first US warship to visit NZ in more than 30 years. Its presence in NZ waters coincided with the biggest earthquake NZ has experienced in recent years and that was seized on as public relations gold. That warship bypassed Auckland and joined quake relief operations at Kaikoura.

And NZ has bases – hence the existence of the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC). Nothing on the scale of what they have in Aussie but bases nonetheless. For more than 60 years there has been a medium-level, multi-purpose US military transport base at Christchurch International Airport (which has the wonderfully evocative acronym of CIA). It is not, and never has been, a combat base, but it's worth noting that it is specifically exempt from the nuclear free law.

Its primary purpose is to service Antarctica but that has always covered many more directly military and intelligence functions. It used to be a key link in servicing the US bases in Australia, such as Pine Gap. Its outright military role is much less important now but recent research by

ABC has established that it still hosts US military flights that have nothing to do with Antarctica*. The US keeps it as a contingency asset. So, Christchurch, which is a self-proclaimed Peace City, located in nuclear free NZ, hosts a US base. * See my article "What Does 'Mother Of All Bombs', Dropped On Afghanistan, Have To Do With Christchurch Airport?" in PR 53, June 2017, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr53.pdf>.

Waihopai & Five Eyes

The other two bases are nominally "New Zealand" ones, operated by the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau. Of the two bases run by the GCSB, by far the most important is the Waihopai spy base (the other one is at Tangimoana). New Zealand has been a member of the Five Eyes secret intelligence gathering alliance since it was founded in the 1940s.

It is the smallest member, behind the US, UK, Canada and Australia but a member nonetheless. Former Prime Minister John Key described Five Eyes as "the club" and went on the record as saying that NZ's current military involvement in Iraq "is the price of the club". We are the most loyal of junior satellites in this vitally important covert intelligence alliance, the secret ANZUS best illustrated by the Waihopai spy base. Waihopai, and our very active membership of Five Eyes, are, by far, NZ's most important contributions to the US Empire – much more so than a handful of SAS soldiers in Afghanistan or NZ Army "trainers" in Iraq.

Just as there is bipartisan consensus among NZ's two major parties in support of the nuclear free policy, there is simultaneously bipartisan support for Waihopai and NZ's continued membership of Five Eyes. David Lange, the Labour Prime Minister who gets the credit for the nuclear free law, was the same PM who approved the building of Waihopai. Both things – nuclear free law and go-ahead for Waihopai – happened in the same year, 1987.

Years after he quit politics, in his quite extraordinary *Foreword* to Nicky's Hager's "Secret Power" (still the definitive book on Waihopai and Five Eyes), Lange wrote: "But it was not until I read this book that I had any idea that we had been commit-

ted to an international integrated electronic network". Speaking of Nicky, he wrote: "an astonishing number of people have told him things that I, as Prime Minister in charge of the Intelligence services, was never told".

But Labour in Government has never done anything about Waihopai or Five Eyes and has no plans to change that. In a 2017 letter to an ABC member, Labour's then Leader, Andrew Little, wrote: "Labour supports our remaining in the network" i.e Five Eyes. Waihopai, Five Eyes, the active military/intelligence alliance with the US, membership of the US Empire, foreign policy or New Zealand's place in the world – none of that was even mentioned in the 2017 election campaign by any of the parties. That is the reality check.

That may strike you as a lengthy scene setter but I'm not sure that anything much appears about New Zealand in the Australian mainstream media, other than trans-Tasman sporting rivalry, natural disasters (of which we have no shortage) and defamatory jokes involving sheep (which really do need to be updated now that dairy cows have supplanted sheep as NZ's dominant farm animals).

So, what have New Zealanders done about all of the above? Well we are, as I said, both nuclear free by law and out of ANZUS. That didn't happen by itself. The grassroots campaign to make NZ nuclear free was a magnificent effort and a model to the rest of the world. For the history of how that happened, I recommend that you read Maire Leadbeater's excellent book "Peace Power And Politics: How New Zealand Became Nuclear Free" (reviewed by Jeremy Agar in PR 47, August 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr47.pdf>).

But that was then and this is now. What have New Zealanders done in the 30 years since we became nuclear free? As one of my ABC Committee colleagues said to me recently: "It was so much easier to organise when we had bloody great nuclear warships sailing into the harbours of our main cities". I won't say that the NZ peace movement has rested on its laurels for three decades but it certainly operates at a much less intense level now.



Domebuster Peter Murnane (left), speaking, with Murray Horton, Waihopai protest, 2011.

Experts

But it still has, and has had, battles to fight, campaigns to wage and lessons to offer to the rest of the world. For example, the campaign that led to the World Court declaring the use of nuclear weapons to be illegal was born in, and directed from, little old Christchurch. That same strand of the NZ peace movement has been extremely busy with the very recent campaign that led to the United Nations (minus the nuclear powers) declaring nuclear weapons to be illegal and wanting them banned. But, by necessity, these are not mass or grassroots campaigns. They are campaigns by, and of, experts.

Having mentioned experts, I should stress that one of the great strengths of the grassroots NZ peace movement is that we have been able to call upon the globally renowned expertise of genuine grassroots researchers of unparalleled ability. I'll single out two, both of them well known to the Australian movement, namely the late Owen Wilkes* and the very much alive Nicky Hager. It has been my privilege to count both of them as friends and colleagues over a period of many decades. *PR 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr31.pdf>, was devoted to Owen Wilkes.

It must be noted that both Owen or Nicky were neither academics nor mainstream journalists – they were genuine citizen researchers and self-taught experts. Their contribution to the NZ movement, NZ society as a whole, and to the wider global community, has been immense. At ABC's most recent Waihopai spy base protest, in January 2017, Nicky

ran a workshop on how he researched his 1996 book "Secret Power" (about Waihopai and Five Eyes). It was absolutely fascinating, a classic of "good old Kiwi number 8 wire" methods of how to crack open the secret world of spies, spy bases and international spy networks.

Fighting The Spies

Which brings me to the subject of one very distinctive, maybe even unique, strand of the NZ peace and progressive movement – namely directly campaigning against the spies. There is a long history of this in NZ, but previous manifestations of it had focused on the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS). Much more recently there was a spontaneous grassroots mass campaign against the GCSB. This wasn't a campaign for which the Anti-Bases Campaign can take credit, it was organised by other people and it didn't focus on the Waihopai spy base.

It was all about domestic spying, from which the GCSB was prohibited by law. Nothing to do with "terrorism" or Muslims, it centred on the highly colourful Kim Dotcom to whom the Tory government had given residence as an "entrepreneur", and then discovered he was wanted by the US for breaching the copyright of the Hollywood movie and music transnational corporations. The full force of the NZ State was unleashed against him on behalf of the Yanks (for breach of copyright!). Long story short – he's still in NZ today, appealing extradition to the US (having outlasted John Key). The case revealed a can of worms of illegal domestic spying, of which he was only one example, albeit the most high profile.

Instead of punishing the criminals, the Government moved to retrospectively legalise the crime by changing the law to make domestic spying legal. Hey presto, next thing, there were mass protest marches of thousands of people in cities and towns right throughout the country. The Government hung tough, got the law change through by two votes (and has since toughened it even further), and the people and energy involved in that campaign completely dissipated.

That is the danger with spontaneous single-issue grassroots campaigns ("Kill The Bill", "Stop The War", etc); they tend to fizzle out once they have won or lost. But, for the duration of that campaign, the GCSB was the front and centre focus of New Zealand's politicians, mainstream media and public opinion. It carried right on to to be a major issue in the 2014 election campaign.

The Anti-Bases Campaign is a very specialised strand within the NZ peace and progressive movements. We focus heavily, although not exclusively, on the Waihopai spy base and, being gluttons for punishment, have campaigned against it for the full 30 years of its existence. As it is situated several hundred kms north of Christchurch, we've racked up a fair amount of travel over those decades. Waihopai protests have taken many and varied forms, from mass arrests to family-friendly activities.

Most spectacular was the penetration of the base and deflation of one of its domes by three Christian peace activists in 2008 – this wasn't an ABC activity but we supported it to the hilt, as a classic example of non-violent direct action. The Dome-busters faced criminal charges – and were acquitted by a jury (so the Government changed the law to stop anyone else using their defence). The Government then sued them personally for more than \$1 million and was winning that one in the courts, until it abruptly abandoned the case, having realised that it would simply subject the GCSB to further exposure and bad publicity. Not to mention making the Government a laughing stock.

ABC is a small but gallant band and our Waihopai protests are always small in number. But our greatest strength is the sheer pigheaded persistence of our campaign, which keeps attention focussed on that

spy base. Our protests attract people from all around the country and we've also had a few Aussies (and others) join us. The next one is in January 2018.

Waihopai protests attract people from other campaigns, because they can see the common links between issues. For example, in recent years, participants have included people from New Zealand's extremely successful campaign against the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). Whereas the campaign against the GCSB a few years back attracted a total of thousands of people on marches around the country, the more recent TPPA campaign - at its height - attracted a total of tens of thousands of people at a time onto the streets.

Building Links To Break Chains Of Empire

The New Zealand campaign was acknowledged as the biggest in the successful global campaign against the TPPA. It was, by far, the biggest and most successful grassroots mass campaign in NZ's recent history. Building links between campaigns and issues is important to us. Another current example is offering support to a campaign against NZ's burgeoning arms industry. An annual Weapons Expo, usually held in Wellington (but also once in Auckland), has been successfully blockaded by masses of people in recent years.

Campaigns learn from one another – one of the most successful strands of the historic nuclear free movement was to get local governments to declare themselves nuclear free areas (the driving person behind this campaign was the late Larry Ross, of Christchurch*). Likewise, the campaign against the TPPA featured a strand that very successfully lobbied local governments to come out against it. * *My obituary of Larry is in PR 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr44.pdf>.*

I am now involved in an embryonic campaign to take things a step further. I am the Organiser for two related but separate groups, namely ABC and the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA). CAFCA is the older and bigger of the two. CAFCA is currently taking the lead in setting up a new

campaign called the Aotearoa Independence Movement (AIM), with the goal of a non-aligned country based on policies of economic, military and political independence.

We see the advent of the Trumpocalypse in the US as providing a catalyst for New Zealanders to have this discussion and to decide to break the ties that continue to bind us to the US Empire (whilst not replacing them by jumping into anyone else's empire). AIM is in the early stages of movement-building and this whole area of progressive nationalism and national independence movements is one where NZ can learn from the Australian movement. AIM will be officially launched as part of the next Waihopai spy base protest, in January 2018. *You can read all about AIM at <http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/community/CAFCA/aotearoa-independence-movement.html>.*

So, what can the NZ peace movement offer by way of lessons? The ability to work on different levels, from the elite level of the World Court and UN to grassroots mass campaigns. You need to grow your own citizen researchers who can provide unassailable facts and analysis to back up the rhetoric. Tactics can cover the field from family friendly ones to mass marches to lobbying politicians to direct action such as putting small craft on the water in front of warships and deflating spy base domes.

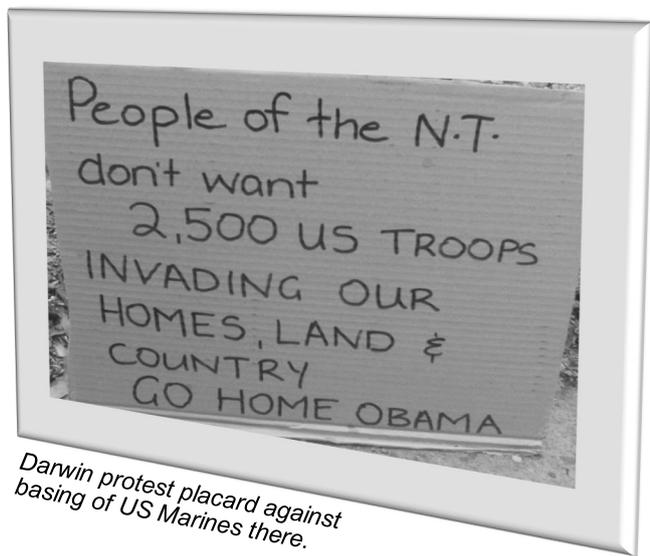
Pigheaded perseverance, stickability, don't take no for an answer. Both a sense of humour and perspective are vital, activities should be fun. Build links between campaigns, find the commonalities between issues. Work with fellow campaigners on the basis of what you can agree on, rather than on what you disagree on.

And, finally, trust the people. When the time is right, the most supposedly "conservative" populations will constitute an unstoppable force for progressive change. I've seen it in several big struggles, of which the nuclear free campaign is just one, historic, example. Here's another – Australia is currently getting itself all hot and bothered about gay marriage. That became the status quo in NZ several years ago, without a lot of fuss, and under a National government. Times change, things progress. ■

CORNERSTONES OF INSECURITY

10 Reasons US Military Bases Are A Bad Deal For Australia

- David Vine



Darwin protest placard against basing of US Marines there.

This is the summary of a talk by Associate Professor David Vine from the US, presented at the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network national conference in Melbourne in September 2017 (Murray Horton was the Anti-Bases Campaign's speaker). His full talk can be listened to on the IPAN Website at <http://saymay.be/ipan/conf2017audio/Assoc%20Prof%20David%20Vine%20-%20Global%20overview%202%20min.mp3>. His book "Island Of Shame", about Diego Garcia, was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in Peace Researcher 38, July 2009, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-bac-kissues/pr38.pdf>. Ed.

There is considerable evidence that far from being a cornerstone of security, US bases and the US military are cornerstones of insecurity for Australia and the Asia-Pacific region. Most dangerously, the growing US military presence in Australia and the region is helping to militarise East Asia; fuelling tensions; and discouraging diplomatic solutions to regional conflicts. In short, Australia's getting a bad deal in exchange for hosting US bases. Below are 10 main reasons:

Background: After maintaining bases in Australia for decades, the US has been increasing its military presence in the country since a 2011 agreement to base up to 2,500 US Marines in Darwin. The US military has increasingly used other bases for training, stationing aircraft, and growing communications and spying in Pine Gap. US officials have considered an expanded presence in Perth, Brisbane, and the Cocos Islands.

1. Implicated In US Wars: As an increasingly important node in US

warfighting, surveillance and espionage, Australia is involved in all US wars: Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Libya & beyond.

2. The US Military Is Not In Australia To Protect Australia: The growing US military presence is part of new US strategy to counter China, Russia and other rising powers by using military might to deepen US political and economic control over countries worldwide.

3. Australia's Military Is A De Facto Arm Of The US Military: An important part of this new US strategy is the functional incorporation of foreign militaries into the US military. Australia is a prime example.

4. Australia Remains A Client: US leaders hope to use deepening military ties to keep Australia as a client state, when the rationale for Cold War alliances has disappeared, and Australia could be more independent.

5. US Strategy Is Dangerous And Potentially A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: The US strategy is further militarising East Asia, fuelling tensions, and raising the risk of military clashes that could lead to a catastrophic war with China. Building up US forces is making war more likely, not less.

6. Australia Is A Target: US bases turn countries into a target for foreign powers and militants. Pine Gap and other Australian bases are almost certainly targets for Chinese and North Korean war planners.

7. US Bases Don't Create Healthy Economies: Research shows the benefits for local communities are modest. More than local businesses

and base employees, the biggest winners are likely Australian weapons manufacturers competing for US military contracts and the Australian military, hoping to get early access to advanced US weapons.

8. US Bases Inflict Social, Cultural, Political, Environmental Damage: US bases abroad have a record of harming local communities with: accidents; rape and other crimes; exploitative prostitution; displacement; environmental damage; and other damage. Australians should monitor impacts carefully.

9. A Trojan Horse: US bases are a seeming gift that has actually allowed deepening US influence over Australian policy. Bases provide US officials with a powerful tool to influence other governments' decisions.

10. Diversion Of Billions In Taxpayer Funds: US bases in Australia have wasted billions in Australian and US national wealth, which could have gone to education, transportation, housing, healthcare and other needs.

Alternatives: There's little reason for US troops to be in Australia permanently. US forces can deploy just as quickly or nearly as quickly from the US as bases abroad. Australia could maintain access agreements to allow US troops to use Australian bases in case of an imminent threat, peacekeeping, or disaster. We must demilitarise the Australia-US alliance from its military focus to stand "shoulder to shoulder" diplomatically, socially, economically. Until then, we'll all suffer the effects of this bad - potentially catastrophic - deal.

For further information:
www.basestation.us www.davidvine.net
vine@american.edu ■

PEACE IS UNION BUSINESS

- Warren Smith

Warren Smith is the Assistant National Secretary of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA). This is his speech to the Independent and Peaceful Australia Network (IPAN) national conference in Melbourne, in September 2017 (Murray Horton spoke on behalf of the Anti-Bases Campaign). The conference was held in an MUA building and the union and its members generously supported it both financially and in attending it. The MUA also announced that it will incorporate IPAN's work into its training programme for its delegates and organisers.

It was refreshing to, once again, be with an openly political union (something which has been sadly lacking in NZ for decades. Unions are nowhere to be seen in ABC's campaigns, or those of the wider NZ peace movement). Smith's speech so galvanised those attending the IPAN conference that one Aussie peace movement participant exclaimed to him: "Brother, I thought that I was listening to something from 1977, not 2017!". Ed.

Some question why our union would participate in this peace conference. There is a view that a union's obligations should be to look solely after its members' economic interests alone. There is no place for the union in politics some say, or more negatively, they say "no politics in the union". Ultimately this non-class position is rejected by our union. Unions are fundamentally political organisations. Class organisations. To remove unions, the largest working class organisations in Australia, from politics is to remove the working class from politics and cede the struggle to the employers. Further as class organisations unions must be engaged in the class struggle as it presents itself in the workplace and in society.

Peace Is A Class Struggle

Hence, we are here – we are here to stay in this area of work and we recognise that those forces of capital that drive the world to war are the same forces responsible for the on-going exploitation and attacks on

the standard of living of working class people across the planet. The ruling class drive to war ultimately kills working people, our homes, our cities, our environment and potentially kills all of our futures, especially with the current dark cloud of nuclear madness that hangs over us and threatens to murder millions of people.

War has always killed workers and the slaughter of one in eight Australian seafarers while at work during the Second World War is a frightening portrayal of the burden that workers and their families carry during war. That's why peace is union business. It will always be union business and in fact it needs to be the business of everyone as the current nature of corporate plunder through war must end as an unsustainable nightmare that threatens the existence of life on the planet.

The importance of this IPAN conference is seen through its breadth but its urgent task is to involve the broadest and widest masses of the community in the struggle against imperialist war and aggression. This is a big and urgent task. The MUA pledges to do its part as part of the organised labour movement in the building of a movement that can shake the foundations of this unjust profit driven system. The unfortunate reality for us all is that war and capitalism are intrinsically linked.

The severity of the current world situation is borne out of the ever-increasing domination and control over the world's wealth by a tiny number of people and their corporate interests. The escalation of the war threat is completely consistent with and part of the attacks on organised labour, on democratic rights, on our health and education systems and the privatisation of public assets. The common denominator is private profit. Even the nuclear arsenal of the US is in practice privatised and in the hands of huge corporations on cost-plus contracts with behaviours obscured and filtered through national security smokescreens.

So, unlimited profit drives a business model where killing 20 million

plus people and destroying the environment is acceptable and in many ways required; it is good business. If people find that unacceptable they should be part of the movement for change. It is required and vital as only people, active and organised, can make change. Previously, millions of people have marched against wars and nuclear weapons. It is unlikely their views have changed. They are just not yet re-organised. IPAN can become a vehicle to that end.

Currently the MUA and the entire trade union movement is at war and operating under massive political and industrial constraints. We are experiencing a war on workers driven by industrial laws that breach basic International Labour Organisation standards and deprive Australian workers of fundamental international rights, particularly the right to strike and prohibitions on secondary boycotts. We are confronted with so many struggles on so many fronts and long standing industrial agreements with over 25 years bargaining history can now be terminated and wages cut by up to 40% at a time of booming profits and the greatest disparity in wealth in Australia for around 70 years. Unions stand in the way of profits, that's why we are the enemy.

Natural Allies

The peace movement, although it ultimately strives for a peaceful world without nuclear weapons, is confronted with the same dilemma as the trade unions in that it also stands in the way of profit too. We are natural allies in a struggle against a system that puts the pursuit of profit before the requirements of the people. Most in our society are natural allies.

Australia should be a republic and, in my view, should be decoupled from the US military alliance. Australia should be independent and stand alone, but we have been drawn into an aggressive military alliance. An alliance that has never been used in our defence but has consistently drawn Australian troops into wars of imperialist aggression. Australian troops have died on the basis of a lie in Iraq, Afghanistan and Vietnam and don't forget our part in the Korean war, the basis for today's conflict on the Korean peninsula.

Further to that, the US spy bases make us a considerable threat and military target. They are littered all over the country. Our link to US military operations draws us inevitably into conflicts that are not in our interests. The insanely pro-business, racist, misogynist, US government of Donald Trump gives us the best opportunity to step away from an alliance driven by global corporate domination pursued through military means. We have a right and indeed an obligation to say that's not the sort of alliance we want or need if we are serious about our defence and security.

On 7 July 2017 an overwhelming majority of the world's nations adopted a landmark global agreement to ban nuclear weapons, known officially as the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. Subserving to the US as always, the Australian government boycotted the negotiations and refuses to sign the treaty. This flagrantly disregards community opinion. A Nielsen poll in April 2014 showed that 84% of Australians want the Government to join international efforts to ban nuclear weapons.

Australia's boycott will have grave implications. It calls into question our commitment to the United Na-

tions but also to the 1968 nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and makes advocacy in other areas less credible. Who will believe government claims to want peace and security if Australia actively undermines this historic effort to strengthen international law and give effect to the disarmament obligation written into the non-proliferation treaty.

Australia lends bases, ports and infrastructure for the United States nuclear war-fighting apparatus. In particular, Australia's integration with US missile defence programmes makes us complicit in what is arguably the most destabilising of US ambitions: the acquisition of a first-strike capacity. A movement for peace is and must also be a movement for justice. Our union's history is a history of struggle. We strive always to improve the wages and conditions of members but take that further and realise our role in the struggle for education, health, public housing and better community services is vital and that these things affect each and every worker.

We stand in solidarity with our Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples in their pursuit of a treaty, justice and land rights. We stand in solidarity with workers the world over recognising the global might of

our opponents. The struggle for peace is no different. We must build our movement here and link that to an international push against the drive to war.

Australia's defence budget is set to increase by approximately 6% in real terms in fiscal year 2017-18, rising to \$A34.7 billion. By 2025-26 it will be \$A58.7 billion. That's over 16 million dollars a day. Peace brings a social dividend. Increases in military spending are due to interoperability issues and the consequential requirement to purchase expensive military hardware so Australian equipment can co-exist with the US.

These funds should be legitimately directed to public housing, while thousands live on the streets. We could build schools and hospitals and not have the ever-intensifying threat of cuts to Medicare. Peace creates many more jobs with a positive social, human and environmental dividend. Peace and a focus on defence comes much cheaper than budgeting for military aggression. The peace movement embodies the sort of world we all want to live in and that's why peace is union business. ■



Pine Gap spy base protest, 2016.

THE COMING WAR ON CHINA A Film By John Pilger

In the aftermath of World War 2, which ended with the two atomic bombs on Japan, US power, whether military, economic or cultural, was unmatched, and the Government immediately exploited its advantage, embedding the power relationships which essentially still remain. As John Pilger shows, the stark truth of America's imperial reach is perhaps best exemplified by the appalling events at the Bikini Atoll in the north-west Pacific.

From 1946 until 1958 Bikini was the testing ground for US atomic bombs, its powerless inhabitants treated with contempt. Several times in this powerful indictment, islanders and its US sympathisers refer to the people of Bikini as "guinea pigs". It's not just that the US knew of the effects of radiation; they wanted to observe the effects on people. Yes, that's not too far removed from the Nazis and Josef Mengele's human experiments, which had only recently been stopped. Pilger gives a figure: he says that nuke testing around the Marshall Islands released poison equivalent to that of a Hiroshima-sized bomb being detonated every day for twelve years.

Throughout, Uncle Sam has posed as the benevolent nurturer, leading to some grotesque ironies. We're shown an abandoned bunker adorned with a notice: "Please leave this property as you found it. Thank you for your kindness and understanding".

Just three years after Bikini was introduced to its role as hellhole, Mao's communists took power in China. This ignited frenzy in Washington. Who lost China? Who was to blame? It wasn't long since that other godless Asian bully had bombed Pearl Harbour. Would Mao's millions invade Hawaii? California? At least,

as far as the US saw matters, a chastened Japan would be as unhappy as the US with China's new rulers. China needed to be stopped before it got in the way of US hegemony.

Surprisingly, Pilger does not go into this period of political and military panic, from which opportunistic warmongers hoped to exploit the mood and take down the new regime before it could establish itself. Instead we're given a brief summary of historic anti-Chinese racism, but fear of the "Yellow Peril", as it was known - in NZ too - was aimed at a domestic audience. It was about wages and immigration.

A century ago, and indeed until recently, China was desperately poor, chaotic, and with neither the thought nor the capacity to affect life beyond its borders. For policy elites in the West (but mainly in Britain) demonising Chinese culture helped force it into economic dependence, most inexcusably by forcing upon it opium addiction.

Unlike the situation now, the primitive methods of the past weren't based on worries, whether genuine or contrived, over Chinese military capability. It needs also to be remembered that in the immediate years after 1945 the obsessive threat as seen by American policy was the global threat of the (then) Soviet Union.

Neither does Pilger mention the war in Korea that followed China's revolution, when the People's Liberation Army intervened to repel the Americans - nominally, the United Nations - back to the middle of the peninsula where, as the daily news reminds us, North and South Korea remain staring at each other to this day. A renegade US commander had to be sacked because he was about to disregard orders from President Truman and take the fighting into China itself. A more disciplined look at the chances of the Americans and Chinese actually coming to blows would surely have considered this history.

More relevant to its stated theme - the likelihood of war in east Asia - is the film's glancing look at current US "defence" policy. To welcome the new millennium the US announced in 2000 its Vision For 2020, a sci-fi sounding policy called "Full Spectrum Dominance". As the

Department of Defence [sic] noted, no enemy in the foreseeable future will match US military power, so it will use "asymmetric" means to defend potential "vulnerabilities".

US Is The One Big Superpower

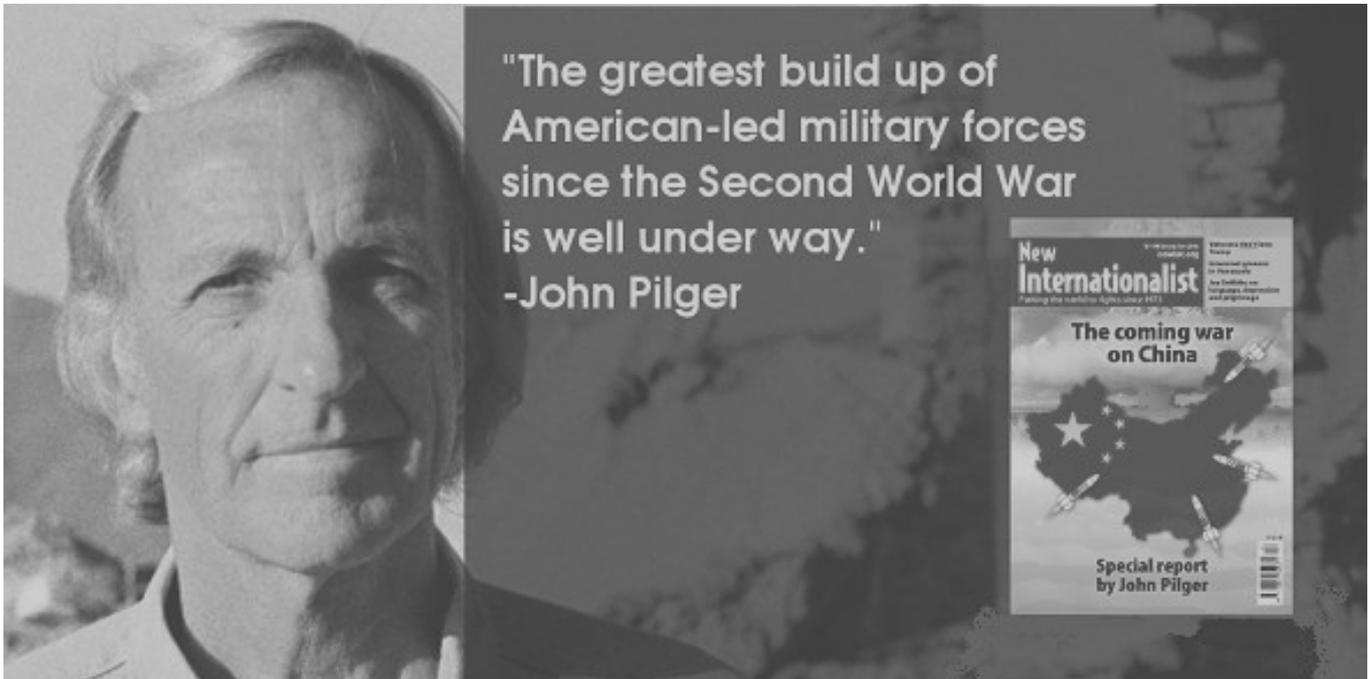
At least this is honest. The US is the one big superpower. For all its huge population and sizzling economy, China is militarily powerful only in comparison with its neighbours. Sino-American relations are not a repeat of the Cold War, when both sides based policy on Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). China poses no threat such as the Soviet Union was said to pose. The purpose of all the US bases is not to deter a real threat; it's to remind the world who's in charge.

When the communists entered Beijing after a long civil war, the peril to America became as much red as yellow and for decades after 1949 Washington warned of Mao Zedong's mischief. He was manipulating Malaya, forcing NZ into a defensive war. He was the real force behind the commies in Vietnam, fooling them into enabling his march into Australia and then NZ. He was threatening Taiwan. He was about to subvert Indonesia.

It was all fake news: none of the accusations was ever justified by the facts. Yet Mao enters the film only when a talking head tells us that some time before he won his civil war, Mao approached some American economists with the news that, if it were to succeed, his China would have to adopt capitalism. Could they give him some tips? Or so we're told by one of the often random commentators Pilger has selected.

What point is being made? The implication is that the failure of some unnamed US citizens to write back to the Great Helmsman explains why China never became capitalist after 1949, with the implication that, had they done so, Mao would not have written his Little Red Book and present misunderstandings need not have arisen. Just how is this surprising, eccentric and condescending opinion relevant?

Another commentator opines that US policy makers have "wilfully misunderstood" China as Beijing is driven to "matching America and that is unforgiveable". The US, that is,



needs an excuse to keep upping the ante and needs to overlook the more probable interpretation of China's goals as being defensive.

That's part of the story, but if the perennial debate is along the lines of conspiracy-or-cockup, another experienced US observer notes that, when responses to China were being formulated, the US Central Intelligence Agency had no Chinese-speaking agents. American ignorance of the rest of the world, even within intelligence circles, has been permanent. There are conspiracies no doubt but cock-ups are always around.

Pilger makes brief forays into the usual territory to ask about human rights, but it's probably because some audiences would expect it and he wants to show he's not anti-China. He's right not to linger. His main Chinese observer, who is necessarily politically correct on the matter, suggests that, unlike the US, his country is not capitalist. This is because in China capital is not allowed to be more powerful than the State, whereas in the US it is. What he should have said is that, yes of course China is capitalist, but it's not neo-liberal.

In a similar vein, Pilger feels obliged to ask if cheap labour - sweated by "migrants" - is exploited. The response, again, is perforce PC. Is dissent tolerated? His commentator goes vague. Wisely there are no diversions into Tibet or any of the usual topics that excite some West-

erners. Neither Washington nor Beijing is talking about good manners or morality.

Because Pilger's real motive is to convince us is that America is the world's villain, he wants to absolve China of any wrong. It would have been better to omit all references to internal Chinese affairs unless they were shown to help an understanding of why there might be a "war on China".

Anyway, the indications are that China is becoming more like a rich world place and the conversation could evolve into a tone less alarmist than it can tend to be. The Chinese government is steering the economy from crude and cheap exports to a more consumer driven society catering to a new middle class. That will require some liberalisation.

What about Tiananmen Square in 1989, when tanks rolled through the capital? The demonstrating students, it's suggested, were inspired by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and his "glasnost" (openness) policy, which co-existed with "perestroika" (restructuring). China reversed matters, opening up the economy without loosening State control, and thus the Party has survived.

One of the sharper insights comes from the Chinese observer, who suggests pithily that the US changes parties but not policies, while China changes policies but not the Party.

Western default responses to concepts like choice and democracy need to be seen in this light.

Pilger, who's Australian, asks why the US has not included some bases in Aussie, only to be told by a US government official that the missing bases are in fact (nominally) Australian. Had Five Eyes been mentioned - which it isn't - the same answer would have been given. We see Pilger and the Government hack in front of a map bristling hedgehog-like with pins identifying Yank bases. Yet, despite Pilger wanting to fill his map with quills, New Zealand is untouched. He could have included Waihopai and Tangimoana, Five Eyes enablers, and Harewood, from where the US military flies to Antarctica. They're all US bases (how Australian is that omission).

Pilger starts and ends with images of the Spratlies, the tiny islands which the Chinese military has appropriated, asserting that it's no big deal to have one or two offshore installations when the Yanks have surrounded China with multiple bases. Perhaps that's how China would see matters but Pilger doesn't point out that China's reach is outrageous and for its much smaller neighbours around the South China Sea, it's China that is the threatening superpower. There are two of them doing the tango, and in the island countries in an arc between Japan and Indonesia and on the mainland in Vietnam the posturing between China and the US could

have the perverse effect of making the US more welcome.

Distaste For American Policy

Pilger's theme is his distaste for American policy and he's done us a great service for many years by documenting why that is. In this context it means a sometimes misleading emphasis. In his section on Okinawa, for instance, we follow locals in their long resistance to their island's role as an outpost of American arrogance, with only cursory mention that it is their own Japanese government that allows it. And when we are given a primer on the background of anti-Chinese racism that informed earlier Western imperialism only scant mention is made of Britain's primary role in degrading Asia.

Despite its title this doco is not really an analysis of the likelihood of conflict between the US and China. It's really about why Pilger doesn't like US policy and here it's both powerful and important. But as history it's shaky, ignoring some key historical factors which shaped the earlier relationship between the US and China and he never makes a case for seeing a war now as likely. As one of Pilger's interviewees puts it, no two countries have ever been more inter-dependent. Through trade, in whatever form it takes, the prosperity of both is at stake. Any overt military action would mean the death of millions. If it went nuclear, that could be curtains for the planet.

The catch is that it could happen by accident or miscalculation, but that, too, is not Pilger's topic. We know now that on several occasions during the Cold War between the US and Russia, when the same logic held, nukes were on several occasions almost launched by accident. In some ways the present standoff is riskier. The Cold War was a simple duality. Now, there are wild cards in play - North Korea, for instance (which does not feature here). Then there's Taiwan, whose independence from mainland China is not recognised by Beijing. Could something spark from Hong Kong?

The permanent question remains: Why does the US keep adding more bases and bombs when they can't be used? One (American) possibility, expressed early in the piece, is to the effect that "we need an enemy for all this

money". The military hunger to swallow all resources and dictate policy will not be satisfied in the foreseeable future. For any president and senator appeasing the "defence" lobby is axiomatic.

An aspect of this played out when Trump launched his diatribes against the US National Football League (because many of the footballers are black). He knew that in the eyes of the "base" the word "patriotism" is equated with military salutes and jets flying over packed football stadiums. Trump wants the world to suffer from missile envy as they marvel at his potency, each erection costing \$US100,000,000. It could be as simple as that.

The usual explanation of the US buildup is that it's an aspect of Obama's "Pivot To Asia". The conventional wisdom always assumes that there is a logic to such trends, that if someone builds a stronger military they're going to get favourable trade deals, but why that is thought to be the case remains a mystery to us common folk. Pilger mentions Obama but – again – there's no analysis.

Film Is A Mixed Bag

Pilger himself would dismiss all the carping in this review and point out that his film was about the coming war "on China", not "with China". This compounds the problems because while his account of American policy is inconsistent and sketchy, of the two nouns in his title he has nothing to say. China does have policies about its relations with the world but we hear nothing about them. We don't need to assume that just because America is its enemy that China is OK. That's sentimental. ■

PRIVATE SECURITY IN AFRICA

From The Global Assemblage To The Everyday

edited by
Paul Higate and Mats Utas
Zed Books, London, 2017

"Within mainstream IR", we're reminded in the first paragraph of the

editor's introduction, "... state-building instigated by actors in the global North is invariably seen as the de facto panacea to failure and, consequently, sight of the global as one analytical field configured through myriad connections across time and space is lost". The average reader might find sentences of this ilk to be intimidating but they're all in this style, a style which assumes readers are familiar with the tics of academia.

When using acronyms the convention is to at first spell the phrase in full. The editor doesn't follow this because he imagines his only readers will be fellow academics who know what he's talking about. My guess is that "IR" is short for "international relations", but you shouldn't be asked to already have some nodding acquaintance with postmodern scholarship to read about African politics.

In the second paragraph we're invited to consider "the ubiquity of the G4S employee", and again it's assumed that the reader knows who a G4S employee is. I had to Google to find that there is a British-Danish corporation of that name which is a "leading global integrated security company". That's more likely to be the right G4S than the other one I found, which "in Australia and New Zealand specialises in the delivery of custodial management services for adult and youth justice".

In the fourth paragraph – all the paragraphs are very long – we get to the point, which is "assemblage theory", and again I had to Google. An assemblage can be "a collection or gathering of things or people", so theory about it could be lots of things. Wikipedia explains that "assemblage theory provides a bottom-up framework for analysing social complexity by emphasising fluidity, exchangeability, and multiple functionalities. Assemblage theory asserts that, within a body, the relationships of component parts are not stable and fixed; rather, they can be displaced and replaced within and among other bodies, thus approaching systems through relations of exteriority".

Higate perhaps endorses this explanation when he says that "assemblage thought can be eclectic, diverse and at times contested" (I bet). "That said, there are a number of commonly held perspec-

tives coalescing around the framework. And put succinctly these invoke the importance of materialist approaches, a focus on social interaction, creativity, deconstruction, relationism, nonlinearity, and a sensitivity to the processual and fluid (ibid.).”

That’s the author’s “ibid”, but he’s not quoting someone else, so what does it signify? He could have given an “ibid” to “processual”, a noun, the syntax suggests, but not one to be found in my dictionary.

As Clear As Mud

And we’re only on page three. Of the eleven contributors to this assemblage, five are cultural anthropologists and ethnologists, one is an expert on gender and security, and one is the editor of “Theory Talks”. On the cover is a photo of a security guard with a dog, an image which the title might lead the reader to expect. But the social theorists are more into their subtitle of an expansive “global assemblage”.

Three contributors at least include the phrase “international relations” within their notes as to their discipline and one lists his focus as “corruption”. Would this at least be accessible and relevant? The corruption chapter looks at Somalia, where the problem is “State collapse”, an assessment which matches the conventional wisdom’s talk of Somalia as a “failed state”. Clarity at last? No, even here we’re offered the same polysyllabic jargon as in the rest of the book when what we needed was an account of just why the country is a mess. Who’s doing what, where, when, how, why, and to whom? ■

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editors,

Dennis Small asserts (“We Must Strike First!: Pre-Emptying Warfare Strategy And Technology From Spinning Out Of Control”, *PR* 53, June 2017, p25, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr53.pdf>) that the US used biological weapons against North Korea during the (1950-53) Korean War.

He quotes a claim that the Americans “dropped insects and feathers infected with anthrax, cholera, encephalitis, and bubonic plague”. Such charges are incorrect, and were spread as part of an orchestrated Communist disinformation campaign. Though the US was developing bacteriological weapons at the time, they were not used in Korea.

See Milton Leitenberg, “New Russian Evidence On The Korean War Biological Warfare Allegations: Background And Analysis”, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 11 (1998), 185-87; Tom Buchanan, “The Courage Of Galileo: Joseph Needham And The ‘Germ Warfare’ Allegations In The Korean War”, *History* 86, Issue 284, (Oct 2001), 503-2; and Kathryn Weathersby, “Deceiving The Deceivers: Moscow, Beijing, Pyongyang, And The Allegations of Bacteriological Weapons Use In Korea”, *Cold War International History Project Bulletin* 11 (1998), 176-85.

Cheers,
Russell Campbell

DENNIS SMALL REPLIES

Biological warfare (BW) is old as antiquity. But in modern times, no nation has admitted to using it. With specific reference to charges against the US of BW in the Korean War, Russell Campbell claims that the “evidence” shows these charges to be just specious propaganda. It has been said that there has not been a more contentious and ongoing debate in military history. The source I quoted in my article is: Roots Action, an excellent and dedicated American Non-Government organisation (NGO) active on social justice, human rights, environmental, and peace issues (www.RootsAction.org). There is, in fact, plenty of evidence for their position.

To sum up my own view: (a) the presentation of the purported Russian evidence is very suspect; (b) there were widespread eyewitness accounts and documentation at the time (1950-3); (c) again, as the supposed command of a United Nations mission, the US has had a very strong motive to suppress the truth.

(See, e.g., “This Must Be The Place: How The US Waged Germ Warfare In The Korean War And Denied It Ever Since”, Dave Chaddock, 2013, <https://www.globalresearch.ca/how-the-u-s-waged-germ-warfare-in-the-korean-war-and-denied-it-ever-since/5487929>; “Biological Warfare In The Korean War: Allegations And Cover-Up”, *Socialism And Democracy*: Vol 31, No 1, Thomas Powell, 4/4/17, Taylor & Francis Online, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/08854300.2016.1265859>).

This correspondence is now closed. Ed. ■

MILITARY STRATEGY, TRUMPISM, AND STATE TERRORISM

- Dennis Small

“Were the Soviet Union to sink tomorrow under the waters of the ocean, the American military-industrial establishment would have to go on, substantially unchanged, until some other adversary could be invented. Anything else would be an unacceptable shock to the American economy” (George F. Kennan, American diplomat, strategist, and academic, “Top 25 Quotes By George Kennan” A-Z Quotes, http://www.azquotes.com/author/7889-George_F_Kennan).

“There is a scene in the ‘The Act Of Killing’ in which I accuse Adi Zulkadry of committing war crimes (as an executioner in 1965 during the 1965-70 Indonesian genocide). And he responded by accusing the West of hypocrisy, noting that the US slaughtered the native Americans. More to the point, the US and the UK helped engineer the Indonesian genocide, and for decades enthusiastically supported the military dictatorship that came to power through the slaughter” (“The Act Of Killing’ Has Helped Indonesia Reassess Its Past And Present”, Joshua Oppenheimer, Guardian, 25/2/14, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/feb/25/the-act-of-killing-indonesia-past-present-1965-genocide>).

“Thus, I would respectfully predict that future President will not only continue to be in the business of killing (per the drone programme, etc.), but will double down on it. And that the CIA will salute the Commander-In-Chief and be in the middle of it, without hesitation or resistance” (“Company Man: Thirty Years Of Controversy And Crisis In The CIA”, John Rizzo, Scribe Pubs., 2014, p300).

Professor Michel Chossudovsky considers that: “The ultimate (US) objective is world conquest under the cloak of ‘human rights’ and ‘Western democracy’” (“The Globalisation Of War: America’s ‘Long War’ Against Humanity”, Global Research, 2015).

In recent years, international relations between the major world powers have taken a marked turn for the worse. The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (BAS) has alerted us to the increasing dangers of nuclear war (“It Is Two And A Half Minutes To Midnight”, *Timeline, Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, <http://thebulletin.org/timeline>). From our viewpoint, the principal factor at work has been the determination of the US to try and maintain its hegemony in the face of rising resistance and competition from Russia and China in particular, and also what it labels “rogue states” like North Korea and Iran.

Capitalism must grow to survive but its very survival must inexorably and increasingly come into question, given the limits of a small planet. The future of the Anglo-American axis is conflicted as never before. Historically, it has plundered the Earth’s resources and exploited much of humankind both to gain and to maintain its hegemonic role. Now, in the greatest paradox of all, its promotion of global capitalism to ensure continued access to raw materials and markets is in the process of backfiring (“Western Globalist Crusade Continues To Backfire: Blundering Into The Valley Of Death”, *Peace Researcher* (PR) 49, June 2015, Dennis Small, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BwcB6Aysm_HHSFY1VDA0blc1ZU0/view?pli=1).

On the one hand, the Anglo-American axis depends on the growth of China in particular, along with other countries like India and Brazil; and, yet on the other hand, China and even some of these other countries are rapidly emerging rivals (“The Real BRICs* Bombshell”, *Asia Times*, 5/9/17, <http://www.atimes.com/article/real-brics-bombshell/>). *Global competition is hotting up and on track to explode! *BRICs – a grouping of Brazil, Russia, India and China. Ed.*

Capitalist Contradictions Run Amok!

As so many environmentalists have contended over many years, the West should have adopted a genuinely sustainable and cooperative approach to development, an approach rooted in the imperatives of the biosphere. It would involve sharing the Earth’s limited resources in the fairest and most sustainable way possible, while moving to embrace a steady state economy in balance with the planet’s long-term carrying capacity.

Given today’s tension-taut international situation, the immediate imperative has become doing our best to prevent a major conflict involving the big powers. Any such conflict, even if it was somehow contained for the moment, would represent a critical turning-point downhill into the abyss for everyone. The consequences worldwide of even a regional nuclear exchange could be enormously damaging (“The Growing Danger Of Nuclear War And What We Can Do About it”, Cornell University, 26/2/16, <http://www.cornell.edu/video/ira-helfand-growing-danger-nuclear-war>).

At the same time, we have to keep addressing the root causes of conflict. We have to keep campaigning even harder in pressing and agitating for more “sustainable development”. This particular term, like “sustainable” and “sustainability” in general, has been cynically purloined and perverted by the architects and the agents of neo-liberalism. We must reclaim them and assign them their proper probity and validity.

As a whole complex of climate change-aggravated weather events has recently demonstrated, global warming is fast proving a very angry beast indeed! Witness the devastating monsoon floods in South Asia, the wildfires across Europe and the North American Pacific coast (from Canada to California), and the deleterious impact on both Caribbean countries and the American states of Texas and Florida delivered by hurricanes Harvey, Irma, and Maria in the Mexican Gulf.

The very immediate impact of global warming is now right in our face (<https://thinkprogress.org/september-heat-wave-noaa-ca21143e97e1/>). Trumpism, however, brazenly tram-

ples over environmental concerns, including climate change. Denial and aggression are the psychological mechanisms fundamental to its version of raw unleashed capitalism.

We must, therefore, work together even harder in countering this syndrome. Concerted, cooperative international action to counter the rapidly mounting challenge of climate change is our best hope overall in helping create a better future. We can work together to dampen both the flames of global warming and warfare, in conjunction with all the other measures we have to take ("The Challenge Of Climate Wars: Countering Resource Conflict And Genocide", *PR* 46, December 2013, Dennis Small, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr46.pdf>).

Mobilising The Military Machine

In the first decade of this century, the ideological strands of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism came together, forged by the compounding crises of Western capitalism (see e.g., "Neo-liberalism: A Very Short Introduction", Manfred Steger & Ravi Roy, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp22-3; 45/6; & 121/2). Even before 9/11, the neo-liberal/neo-con militarist pattern was already firmly established in various critical aspects ("Neo-liberalism, Militarism & Armed Conflict", *Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order*, editorial introduction to special issue, vol. 27, no. 4, 2000: <https://www.socialjusticejournal.org/SJEdits/82Edit.html>). Pressurised bullying, in one form or another, as expressed in trade negotiations or foreign aid conditions, has long been standard practice.

In modern times, the momentum carried on (see e.g., "The Real Terror Network: Terrorism In Fact And Propaganda", Edward S. Herman, South End Press, 1982 & "State Terrorism And The United States: From Counterinsurgency To The War On Terrorism", Frederick Gareau, Clarity Press, 2004). In the 21st Century, State terrorism - both overt and covert - became the hallmark of a revamped foreign policy ("State Terrorism And Neo-liberalism: The North In The South", Ruth Blakeley, Taylor & Francis, 2009).

Publicly mentioning, let alone discussing, Western terrorism, is of course effectively **verboden (!)** by

the hegemonic conspiracy of silence prevailing in the general mainstream culture. The worst of the mainstream media, epitomised by the Murdoch empire (e.g., *Fox News*), actually exult in legitimising the narrative of Western State terrorism. They pitch this narrative suitably framed in appropriate Orwellian language.

This kind of hypocrisy is deeply and systematically ingrained in American foreign policy (see, e.g., "Killing Hope: US Military And CIA Interventions Since World War II", William Blum, Common Courage, 2003/14; for quick reference: "US Government Overthrows List", 21/8/17, <http://www.transcend.org/tms/2017/08/overthrowing-other-peoples-governments-the-master-list-2/>).

In the Western lexicon, constantly invading and militarily intervening in weaker countries is not terrorism. Western civilisation has ordained both the cult of war and political intervention (often violent), whether openly or covertly applied. "The reality is that for centuries Northern (Western "developed" or industrial) states have condoned and used terrorism, along with other forms of repression, against tens of thousands of citizens in the South (or 'Third World', comprising South America, Africa, and Asia)... It is the selective application of those definitions (of 'terrorism') that has led to State terrorism by liberal democratic states being greatly ignored (in both Western public discourse and academia)" ("State Terrorism And Neo-liberalism", op. cit., p2).

Indeed, it is estimated that: **"Between 50 and 55 million people have died around the world as a result of Western colonialism and neo-colonialism since the end of World War II (WWII)**. This relatively short period has arguably seen the greatest number of massacres in human history. Most of them were performed in the name of lofty slogans such as freedom and democracy" ("On Western Terrorism: From Hiroshima To Drone Warfare", Noam Chomsky & Andre Vltchek, Pluto Press, 2013, p1). Hundreds of millions of other victims have died due to more indirect causes, e.g., famine and disease, flowing from such Western interventions (ibid.).

Peddling The Propaganda Of Perceived Self-Interest

Sometimes the propaganda is

breath-taking in its malign audacity. Clearly, the claim of promoting democracy at the point of a gun as supposedly intended in Afghanistan and Iraq is Orwellian in the extreme. Grabbing oil, pushing geopolitical interests, and fostering Western exploitation, as spearheaded by American corporate business, comprised the obvious agenda of the blatantly illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003 (see Murray Horton's "Stop Thief!", *Foreign Control Watchdog* 102, May 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/02/06.htm>; & *British Journal of Criminology*, 1/3/07. "The Crimes Of Neo-liberal Rule In Occupied Iraq", <https://academic.oup.com/bjcr/article/47/2/177/519163/The-Crimes-of-Neo-Liberal-Rule-in-Occupied-Iraq>).

Yet the corporate media have dutifully and constantly parroted the lies about freedom and democracy, and still go on doing so, despite so many of the wheels quite openly rolling off this particular bandwagon. In recent times, the official narrative line has mostly been about rescuing ("*liberating*"!) Iraq from Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and fighting ISIS in Syria as well, although the latter aim has fallen somewhat into abeyance (see further comment below). Western hypocrisy and self-justification still reign supreme, whatever the headlines and rationale (e.g. "Trump: More War In Afghanistan", *Press*, 23/8/17). After all, this is surely our national security at stake, and in particular our very own skins and material interests!

However, President Trump's tumultuous, contradiction-ridden posturing is now unravelling much of the standard propaganda line about bringing freedom to the benighted barbarians, as well the other blessings conferred by the American killing machine. Trump's stance was made clear in his speech in late August 2017 on the new American strategy for Afghanistan, i.e., *new* according to Trump (<http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/21/trump-afghanistan-speech-text-241882>). Appeals to naked self-interest and the neo-fascist politics of "fear and loathing" have now come very much to the fore.

Beaming Out The Laser Of Destruction!

In America, God and Mammon have always been fused together ever since the Puritan founding fathers

thought that personal material success and wealth accumulation were the mark of God's favour, rather than the mark of the Beast and sinful covetousness. Hence the causal connection posited between Protestantism and capitalism. This thesis is still debated today. Then, again, there is the holy light of the exemplary beacon on the hill in America - so pre-eminently established in early European settler mythology - shining out its beam of enlightenment on the rest of humankind. This image (*corporate image?!*) has conveyed the sentiment of American self-serving interests right up to the present.

Consequently, in his speech, President Trump pays the traditional ritualised obeisance to the heavenly mandate of America's mission and "manifest destiny" to cleanse the world of evil. But gone, he says, is the pretence of "trying to rebuild countries in our own image, instead of pursuing our security interests above all other considerations" (ibid.). At last, it seems that the radically hawkish injunction of George Kennan, once the State Department's leading strategist and Cold War architect, is coming home to roost.

Kennan infamously declared of the US that: **"We should cease to talk about vague and unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of the living standards, and democratisation. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts. The less we are then hampered by idealistic slogans, the better"** ("Top 25 Quotes", op. cit.). *Enter President Donald Trump from stage right!*

The beam of enlightenment, at least as broadcast, is now fading quickly under Trump. Instead, the laser of destruction (*and self-immolation!*) is unashamedly taking over. President Trump's first speech to the United Nations General Assembly in September 2017 was a neo-fascist rant (see some relevant elaboration further below).

Quite a number of George Kennan's quotes suggest that Kennan's own nationalist "nativism" signifies him as an ideological godfather to Trump's particular brand of reactionary politics. Kennan's foreign policy doctrine was resolutely anti-immigrant, narrowly patriotic and

self-interested, and even racist in import. His quotes are well worth checking out in this regard (ibid.). He does have a few more humanely considered comments too.

Pushing Out Profitable Military Frontiers

If God and Mammon have been integral to American self-justification from the start of Puritan colonisation, one prominent American historian has tellingly contrasted the New England and Virginian traditions. Perry Miller has observed how chroniclers of the latter were proud not to be encumbered by any gratuitous genuflections to theology. He says that they were confident that "no such nonsense" supervened there ("Errand Into The Wilderness", Harper Torchbooks, 1956, p99). They were "confident that from the beginning only material ambitions of empire, profit, tobacco, and real estate occupied their pioneers" (ibid.).

From trampling over the world's wilderness areas to distant space probes, the US has led the continuous charge for material plunder and technological exuberance beyond the limits of our planetary boundaries. This includes the militarisation of the heavens.

But even Trump, as intimated above, in preaching naked self-interest in 2017, still has to cloak his motives at times in the tribalist fig leaf of resonantly religious language. He thus extolled the "total immortality" achieved by America's heroic warriors, which is very ironic in terms of the sad experiences of so many American veterans (e.g., "I Help Returning Soldiers Get Benefits: 5 Sad Realities", *Cracked.com*, 17/8/16, <http://www.cracked.com/personal-experiences-2330-i-help-returning-soldiers-get-benefits-5-sad-realities.html>).

Dealing Out Death

In laying out his "path forward in Afghanistan" and "South Asia", President Trump also appealed in halloved fashion to blatant "patriotism", flying the banner of "one nation under God" (<http://www.politico.com/story>, op. cit.). He is gearing up for another aggressive military "surge"-type strategy and freeing up constraints on ruthless action ("Trump's Afghan Plan 'Means More War'", *Press*, 24/8/17). Most naturally, the US - in Trump's very own words -

constitutes "a force for peace in the world" (<http://www.politico.com/story>, op. cit.). It is guided as ever, of course, by the heavenly hand of the Lord (ibid). *And, therefore, bless all the killer drone and bomber forces, along with the special forces' death squads on the ground! Amen!!*

In years gone by, counter-insurgency has applied technology in the form of sophisticated monitoring and tracking intelligence rather than actual death-dealing hardware. In recent decades, however, this intelligence work has regularly embraced lethal technology, including bombers and drone warfare (e.g., "Operation Dark Heart: Spycraft And Special Operations On The Front Lines Of Afghanistan", Lt. Col. Anthony Shaffer, Mainstream Publishing, 2010/12).

NZ intelligence operatives have taken part in such targeted killing as documented in Nicky Hager's "Other People's Wars: NZ in Afghanistan, Iraq And The War On Terror" (Craig Potton, 2011; reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *PR* 42, November 2011, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr42.pdf>). As well, the American National Security Agency (NSA) effectively controls our Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which helps out with some of the drone targeting of designated victims.

Camouflaging "Black Ops"

The book "Operation Dark Heart" (op. cit.) was a memoir by a former US intelligence officer, Anthony Shaffer, about a sojourn in Afghanistan during 2003. Almost 10,000 copies of the first run of the book were destroyed by the US Defense Department under the Obama Administration, citing reasons of national security ("Operation Dark Heart: Comparing The Censored Version With The Real Thing", *Huffington Post*, 29/10/09, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/09/29/operation-dark-heart-comp_n_744123.html). In the later redacted version of the book, popular redactions included "references to the NSA, the abbreviation SIGINT (signals intelligence), and comments like 'guys on phones were always great sources of intelligence'" (ibid.).

Other commonly enforced redactions applied to "mentions of the term TAREX or 'Target Exploitation', referring to intelligence collection

LEST WE FORGET WHO WE BELIEVE OURSELVES TO BE

*They shall not grow old,
as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them,
nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun
and in the morning,
We will remember them.*

FOR THE FALLEN
LAURENCE BINYON

MURDOCH 26/3/17

Sharon Murdoch, 26/3/17



FATIMA, AGED 3
DIED AUGUST, 2010,
KRAK KHUPAY DAD
VILLAGE,
AFGHANISTAN

gathered at a sensitive site, and all references to low-profile organisations such as the 'Air Force Special Activities Centre' and the 'Joint Special Operations Command' (JSOC), **as well as to foreign intelligence partners like New Zealand** (my emphasis) ("Behind The Censorship Of Operation Dark Heart", Federation of American Scientists, 29/9/10, https://fas.org/blogs/secret/2010/09/behind_the_censor/).

In August 2017 it was announced that: "NZ will send a further three non-combat troops to Afghanistan after a US request to boost its presence there" ("Additional Troops To Afghanistan", *Press*, 26/8/17). NZ governments have long been very willing in practice, as protected by secrecy and the collusion of the media, to supportively snuggle up to American State terrorism (see my "NZ Ready Reactionaries Practise Repression", *Peace Researcher* 29, Special Issue, August 1991, <https://www.scribd.com/document/33725438/Peace-Researcher-Vol1-Issue29-Aug-1991>).

Dancing With The Devil

Our armed forces have clearly been influenced in this direction, and the top command has proved to be both admiring and imitative. They have proved ever eager to cooperate in a lackey role with US-orchestrated strategy and tactics, and even in the worst sort of barbarism. Media pub-

lic relations (PR) is so often of assistance.

For example, *The Project* featured special guest Prime Minister Bill English one night (TV3, 18/9/17). At the end, English helpfully promoted the film "American Assassin", another in Hollywood's long catalogue of cheerleading propaganda for US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) death squad operations. Even a friendly reviewer acknowledges that this particular film has an "extraordinarily Trumpian worldview" (*Your Weekend*, 23/9/17).

Lt. Col. Shaffer himself has expressed concerns about the "coalition of the killing" and the "collateral damage". He says that: "The Predator (and Reaper, etc.) drone programme in its current focus is not bringing us closer to victory, and is helping to create a whole new generation of radicals who will likely turn to terrorism as a method of revenge" ("Operation Dark Heart", op. cit., p282). Oh dear! State terrorists constantly create other kinds of terrorists! Our murdering leaders constantly reap the whirlwind. *Who would have thought it humanly possible?!*

Dissent On Death Squad Ops

Not only have there been repeated mass protests in Pakistan against the illegal savagery of drone attacks, but opposition has been reg-

istered in the strongest terms in Afghanistan by the country's supposed leadership. Former Afghan President Hamid Karzai has again denounced the American war effort in his country ("Afghan War Effort 'A Failure' - President", *Press*, 24/8/17). He was hugely critical of the unwillingness of the US to listen to the voices and cries of the Afghan people (ibid.). Many thousands of Afghans have died because of the conflict in recent years. American counter-insurgency has, however, kept attacking the Afghan people (ibid.).

Karzai's protests are all the more poignant given that he was originally handpicked by the CIA. In the early 1980s, the US Embassy in Afghanistan selected him as a useful tool for their foreign policy goals ("Brand America: The Mother Of All Brands", Simon Anholt & Jeremy Hildreth, Cyanbooks, 2004, p85). But the savage arrogance and abuse of power is fundamental to US global hegemony.

Barack Obama's chum and former NZ Prime Minister, John Key, was an enthusiastic cheerleader for the drone programme, and callously sanguine about all the civilian casualties. He arranged with his crony Government mates to award himself a knighthood for this sort of thing. He could also count on the crony media to protect him at every step, just as this media covers for all the

Anglo-American dirty work, whether supposedly covert or not.

Portentous Clashes And Conflicts

According to President Trump, America faces “immense” security threats in Afghanistan and the broader region ([http://www.politico.com/story, op. cit.](http://www.politico.com/story,op.cit)). In both Afghanistan and Pakistan, US-designated terrorist organisations are at “the highest concentration in any region anywhere in the world” (ibid.). There is a theory, which seems to have at least some weight, alleging that the US is deliberately using, and even provoking, instability in Afghanistan.

The suspected American design is to cause Muslim jihadist problems for its rivals in the region, including major contenders on the global stage, i.e. Iran, Russia, and China (<https://libya360.wordpress.com/2017/09/22/why-is-the-usa-in-afghanistan/>). In the ultimate of ironies, Trump has also accused Pakistan of giving “safe haven to agents of chaos, violence, and terror” (ibid.). By far the highest concentration of such people are domiciled in the US. *But, hey, don't tell our mainstream media!*

The Trump Administration, for the moment, seems to have given ground in Syria to Assad's Russian-backed dominion. It has judged that the CIA programme of supposedly supporting “democratic” jihadists is a game not worth the candle, although no doubt certain covert operations are still in process there. Even the Establishment's “journal of record” seems to concur that the programme has proved to be a failure, and indeed counter-productive (“Behind The Sudden Death Of A \$US1 Billion Secret CIA War In Syria”, *New York Times*, 2/8/17, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/02/world/middleeast/cia-syria-rebel-arm-train-trump.html>). Russian intervention in Syria has, however, been a decisive factor in the US decision-making equation to back off.

In “resigning from the UN's independent Inquiry on Syria”, former war crimes prosecutor Carla Del Ponte roundly denounced the contending forces in the civil war (“War Crimes Inquiry In Syria Now 'Pointless'”, *Press*, 8/8/17). She said that: “In Syria, everyone is bad” (ibid.). The Assad regime has been “terrible”, and the opposition “is made up only of extremists and ter-

rorists” (ibid.).

Mind-Numbing Newspeak

Our US-indoctrinated zombie media were certainly quick to applaud Donald Trump's cruise missile splurge in Syria and the accompanying fireworks display. Most bizarrely on 7/4/17, both the two main TV channels here, i.e. TV1 and TV3, portrayed this particular attack as signifying the first time that the US had been involved in the Syrian civil war. It was as if all the US support for Syrian rebels, let alone the more recent bombing campaign, had never happened! TV1's US correspondent Rebecca Wright indeed stressed that this dramatic PR act of American firepower was a “stunning reversal!” (*1 News at 6pm*).

The next night, presenter Peter Williams even excitedly promoted the idea that Trump might be following Hillary Clinton's advice in “tackling” Putin, especially by strafing Russian airfields in Syria (*1 News at 6pm*, 8/4/17). *Oh joy! – at last such fun!* For TV1, and other media too, this was apparently a reversal from Trump's proclaimed “America First” policy. You see, he was now gallantly protecting “beautiful babies”! But another reversal soon jettisoned the airstrike strategy. No doubt, this came to the chagrin of Western warmongers, including the propagandistic proponents of purported humanitarian intervention.

Instead, the Trump Administration has hunkered down in Iraq, following the bloody capture of Mosul from ISIS. The fall of Mosul was certainly celebrated in corresponding fashion by TV1 (*1 News at 6pm*, 10/7/17). Its propagandistic spin was yet revealing enough. Presenter Simon Dallow, in commenting on a BBC item about the “liberation” of Mosul, explained that the American aerial assault had been directed at taking the city as quickly as possible. This trumpeted “liberation” had yet come at a terrible cost in civilian casualties, a fact tellingly emphasised by the BBC's Jonathan Beale (*naturally relayed to us all after the fact!*).

The American orchestrated air attacks had caused much of the tragic death and destruction. Beale remarked that many of the refugees had left loved ones buried under the rubble and, consequently, many will bear the scars for the rest of their lives. The BBC item showed a cou-

ple of survivors from the rubble. Similarly, an ITV report on TV3 that same night stressed the “terrible cost”, and the many civilian deaths in the siege of Mosul in “liberating” it from IS (*NewsHub Live at 6pm*, 10/7/17). Many civilians (*just “collateral damage”!*) had unfortunately been trapped in the siege of the city.

NZ Participation In State Terrorist War Crimes

While TVNZ recognised the US strategic priority, it studiously avoided any moral condemnation. Its failure is just another episode in TVNZ's long history of malign propaganda for American war crimes. The evidence relating to Mosul is stark and horrible enough (“At Any Cost: The Civilian Catastrophe In West Mosul, Iraq”, Amnesty International, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2017/07/at-any-cost-civilian-catastrophe-in-west-mosul-iraq/>; “Iraq And Allies Violated International Law In Mosul Battle, Amnesty”, Reuters, 11/7/17, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-iraq-civilians/iraq-and-allies-violated-international-law-in-mosul-battle-amnesty-idUSKBN19W0CR>).

US-backed Iraq's abuse of civilians and prisoners, including torture and summary executions, will make it easy for the next version of the extremist group to recruit fighters (“The Fall Of Mosul May Not Be The End Of ISIS But the Beginning Of ISIS 2.0”, Human Rights Watch, 19/7/17, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/07/19/fall-mosul-may-not-be-end-isis-beginning-isis-20>).

Iraqi and US-led coalition forces disregarded “respect for and commitment to the laws of war” (ibid.). Such flagrant abuse stems back to the 2003 invasion, as I shall note again later below. Most ironically, the US is inveighing against the alleged terrorist reach of Shiite Iran. Trump in his UN speech accused Iran of being a “murderous” regime. Yet the American invasion of Iraq has opened the door for far more Iranian influence! Obviously, in the case of the siege of Mosul, the commanding officers are guilty of committing war crimes or, at the very least, cavalierly and brutally violating human decency and humanitarian law.

Lamentably, one of these officers was a New Zealander – Brigadier Hugh McAslan (“Kiwi Commander In

Iraq Says Final Reckoning Against Islamic State Is Nearing An End”, *Stuff.co.nz*, 2/7/17, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/94170438/kiwi-com-mander-in-iraq-says-final-reckoning-against-isis-is-nearing-an-end>). McAslan held the grand title of “Deputy Commanding General of the Coalition Joint Force Land Component Command Iraq” during his stint in Iraq (ibid.). His boss was General Joe Martin, a US General and the Commander of the Joint Coalition Forces.

Complicity And Collaboration

Brigadier Hugh McAslan even defended the use of the chemical weapon white phosphorus in the coalition attack on Mosul (ibid.). Assad, of course, is strongly condemned for using such weapons. But McAslan assigned all blame for the deaths and suffering in the siege of Mosul to ISIS, defined as a most inhumane enemy. Thus, the same old self-serving justifications and war propaganda reign supreme.

In July 2017, NZ Foreign Minister Gerry Brownlee, who is certainly not bothered by any such sissy scruples, still saw fit to warn us against further ISIS jihadist blowback. His warning came in the context of “a meeting on foreign terrorist fighters and cross-border terrorism” held in Indonesia (“Gains Over ISIS In Iraq, Syria No Reason For Less Vigilance”, *Press*, 29/7/17). The meeting concerned was a “joint Australia-Indonesian hosted meeting” (ibid.).

Brownlee said that we have to keep up our vigilance “about the potential threat terrorism poses, including in our own backyard” (ibid.). At this meeting then, three tried and true co-conspirators in wholesale State terrorism got together to try and protect themselves against the retail terrorism of ISIS and affiliated groups. Not only did NZ participate in helping enforce the aftermath of the 2003 Iraq invasion but as a so-called “5 Eyes” member it was earlier complicit in the facilitation of the Indonesian genocide 1965-70, among other related war crimes. The most obvious way that NZ helped out in the case of the Indonesian genocide was by withdrawing its troop contingent from the Malaysian-Indonesian confrontation in October 1965.

At this time, the “Anglo” wing of the Anglo-American axis (i.e. Britain,

Australia, and NZ) had been engaged in military action against Indonesia. Britain and its client states passed the message on to the Indonesian Army generals - once these generals had started the good work of slaughtering communists and other internal enemies within Indonesia - that the Anglo forces would kindly assist by stepping aside (see my “Ghosts Of A Genocide: The CIA, Suharto And The Terrorist Culture”, which constituted the entire Special Issue of *Peace Researcher* 25, March 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr25.pdf>).

I once chatted with a Maori former NZSAS soldier who was a veteran of the Malaysia/Indonesia confrontation. He was obviously still haunted by some of his experiences. He told me how chilling it is what cruelty humans can do. Whatever happened in the confrontation, the Indonesian genocide amplified such cruelty on a truly intensive, systematic, and enormous scale.

Cheering (Silently) For Genocide

Nowadays, the NZ government is complicit in the Indonesia's ongoing slaughter in West Papua (“There's Genocide In Our Neighbourhood”, *Stuff.co.nz*, 15/8/16, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/stuff-nation/assignments/sha-re-your-news-and-views/15586651/Theres-genocide-in-our-neighbourhood>). Horrifically, it is estimated that more than 500,000 people have been killed there (about the figure sometimes given for the Indonesian genocide!).

I have seen only the Greens raise this hugely important and urgent human rights issue in Parliament. Given the collusion of most of our politicians and the mainstream media in suppressing information on this horror story in our region, it has been called a “silent genocide”. But then, besides the Indonesia genocide 1965-70, NZ also collaborated in the US-sponsored repression of East Timor (Timor Leste). Our record to date is very grim indeed.

Among other State terrorist actions, whether indirectly or directly perpetrated, NZ's role in Afghanistan is now proving to be quite controversial (for relevant documentation see: “Other People's Wars”, Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Publishing, 2011 & “Hit & Run: The New Zealand SAS In Afghanistan And The Meaning Of Honour”, Nicky Hager & Jon Stephenson, Potton & Burton, 2017 – reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *PR* 53, June 2017, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr53.pdf>). The “Hit & Run” study has led to a human rights legal action against the NZ government contesting its decision “not to hold an inquiry into a military operation that allegedly killed civilians in Afghanistan” (“Govt Faces Court On Afghan Operation”, *Press*, 19/8/17).

Besides the ground-breaking studies just referenced, there has also been some very good mainstream media investigative journalism of late, which hopefully denotes a big step forward in the scrutiny of NZ foreign policy (“The Valley: A *Stuff*



Circuit Special Investigation Into New Zealand's Role In Afghanistan" *Stuff.co.nz*, <https://interactives.stuff.co.nz/the-valley/>).

Executing State Terrorism

To recap here, State terrorist strategy and tactics have been long institutionalised as standard Western practice, with NZ deeply integrated into all of this ("New Zealand Ready Reactionaries", op. cit.). Death squad policy and practice - as most dramatically exemplified by drone strikes - are indeed now publicly institutionalised in the West, and widely accepted as a routine form of warfare. This military strategy is today being implemented all over the planet - most evidently throughout the Middle East, Central Asia (especially Afghanistan and Pakistan), much of Africa, South-East Asia, and parts of Latin America.

Former President Barack Obama, whose Indonesian stepfather was a Government employee during the genocide in Indonesia (1965-70), was a dedicated driver of US death squad operations overseas, both by drone and special forces. Obama's mother, incidentally, worked as a subsidised functionary for the American government during her time in Indonesia. The Indonesian phase of Obama's family history is pretty murky with strong charges levelled about his parents' complicity in the genocide. Most tellingly perhaps, in light of Barack Obama's later career, Obama himself has said that his stepfather gave him "a pretty hard-headed assessment of how the world works" (Barack Obama, *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama).

The Trump Administration has both eagerly embraced and intensified the strategy shaped by Obama & co. But jihadist terrorist attacks on Western countries are condemned as barbaric outrages. Double standards reign supreme. The Orwellian language and the reigning myth of righteous retaliatory "strike back" in self-defence, along with all the other official and media manipulations, function to systematically marginalise any dissenting voices. A constant cycle of violence has thus been created. Given the depredations of the Anglo-American axis, it is indeed quite remarkable that there is not even more "strike back" terrorism against the West. Aotearoa/NZ needs to act far more inde-

pendently and positively on the world stage.

One connection to Trump's approach to counter-insurgency is modelled (however unconsciously) on the Indonesian genocide (1965-70). This aspect relates to his injunction that you have to take out the families of the terrorists, including the "beautiful babies". During the Indonesian massacres, the perpetrators aimed to eliminate the family members of those targeted as much as possible ("Ghosts Of A Genocide" op. cit.).

They did not want to live with any potential threat for revenge and retaliation in the future (ibid.). The intrepid and brilliantly damning films by Joshua Oppenheimer - "The Act of Killing" (op. cit.) and "The Look of Silence" - convey the exuberantly gloating success of the death squad leaders today, and the fear that they still instil in their society.

Yet some close relatives of the victims of the genocide did manage in some way or another to survive. In "The Look of Silence", we follow "an optician (who) confronts the men who killed the brother that he never knew during the 1960s genocide" (e.g., *Vice Talks Film*, "Joshua Oppenheimer On 'The Look Of Silence'", *YouTube*, 24/7/15, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=USDrmwRrdAM>). "The Look of Silence" was screened on Maori TV on 18/4/17.

Doubling Down On The Death Squads

Even before the advent of President Trump, the worst of this murderous American tradition was even being officially, or at least semi-officially, extolled. For example, Rightwing strategist Max Boot openly and brazenly promotes the death squad strategy once applied by the CIA and "100 advisers from America's special forces" in El Salvador (quoted from his "War Made New" [2006] in "Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence: The Technologies That Are Transforming Them", ed. Benjamin Sutherland, *The Economist/Profile Books*, 2011, in concluding chapter 18 on "The Challenge Of Irregular Warfare", p. 279).

Boot is a very unpleasant neo-fascist (certainly in foreign policy) - a strategist who has keenly advocated

bombing Iran, and various other militarist assaults and incursions around the planet (e.g. www.thenation.com/articles/das-boot-unsinkable-warmonger). Most significantly, "Mad" Max Boot is a senior fellow at the very influential US Council on Foreign Relations - a key Establishment institution - and a regular correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and other such prominent publications.

The barbarism routinely preached by "Mad" Max in the American National Security State (NSS) and the wider Anglo-American axis is widely symptomatic of a broader cultural shift as the West, spearheaded by the US, confronts the rest (e.g. see "Brave New World Of The Endless Resource War" in *PR* 28, December 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr28.pdf>).

In recent years, the field of genocide studies and Western war criminality has generated some very important works, documenting past crimes and pointing out the dangers ahead (e.g. "Genocide, War Crimes & The West: History Of Complicity", ed. Adam Jones, Zed Books, 2004; "The Politics Of Genocide", Edward Herman & David Peterson, Monthly Review Press, 2011; "Capitalism: A Structural Genocide", Garry Leech, Zed Books, 2012; and "Genocide", ed. A. Dirk Moses, www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415493758/). Donald Trump unashamedly proclaims the moral validity and efficacy of torture, and asserts that he would use worse methods than just waterboarding. He has vowed to take the dirty war against ISIS to new extremes.

Dirty Work In Action

Anton La Guardia, bureau chief of the *Economist's* Brussels office comments on Boot's strategic advice to the effect that: "This approach has its own difficulties: America's reputation (my emphasis) was tarnished by Rightwing Salvadoran death squads" ("Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence", op. cit, 279). *Pity the poor victims!* But there is also plenty more irony and hypocrisy in what La Guardia then goes on to say here.

La Guardia asserts that "it was external political factors" that ended "the Marxist insurrection in El Salvador in 1992" (ibid.). These external factors included "the demise of the

Sandinistas in Nicaragua, partly caused by an American-backed insurgency" (ibid.). This "insurgency" was actually another application of American death squad strategy in the form of the murderous "Contras", again created and backed by the CIA, US special forces, and mercenaries. The Contras, as later exposed in the "Contragate" ("Iran-Contra Affair") revelations, were funded by National Security Council (NSC) and CIA gun-running and drug smuggling (e.g., <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/contras>). But such **Nazi**-style stuff is just grist to the US terrorist mill.

Barbarously Beating Back The "Barbarians"!?!

La Guardia goes on to approvingly quote "David Kilcullen, an Australian colonel and General Petraeus's main adviser on counter-insurgency, who has remarked that 'fighting insurgencies in other people's countries is hard'" ("Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence, op. cit.). Yep, imposing imperialism and foreign control can be tough alright, especially for the inhabitants concerned!

Of course, a basic strategy of General Petraeus in both Iraq and Afghanistan was the enhanced application of death squad methods, the so-called "Salvador option", that had even been publicly bruited and internationally aired earlier – certainly to some degree ("For Iraq: 'The Salvador Option' Becomes Reality" by Max Fuller: www.globalresearch.ca/articles/FUL506A.html).

Colonel James Steele, one of the "advisers" in El Salvador cited by "Mad" Max Boot, became a key figure in the conduct of death squad strategy and torture in Iraq, including under Petraeus ("The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism", Naomi Klein, Penguin, 2007, p367; "Revealed: Pentagon's Link To Iraqi Torture Centres", *Guardian*, 6/3/13, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/mar/06/pentagon-iraqi-torture-centres-link>; "James Steele: The Neo-cons' Favourite CIA Psychopath", 12/6/15, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uu059Pm9Ugo>).

Steele was actually US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld's "personal envoy to Iraq's Special [Shia] Police Commandos", overseeing death squad and torture "dirty work" (ibid.). Colonel Steele certainly

ly had form and outstanding field experience. As a special forces' counter-insurgency expert, he was already notorious for directing similar operations in El Salvador and in Nicaragua per the Contras. President Donald Trump is very likely to take such dirty work to new depths. Colonel David Kilcullen, another advocate and practitioner of death squad strategy, obviously worked closely with Steele & co. in effecting "The Surge" and related repression.

The US Ambassador to Iraq, John Negroponte, oversaw the systematic application of this murder and torture strategy, which was guaranteed to win corpses and fear rather than hearts and minds. Negroponte himself had coordinated the Contras, as well as the operation of local death squads when he was US Ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985.

Private Profit, Public Misery

It speaks volumes that the concluding chapter of the *Economist's* "Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence" is all about how Western forces can cope with "irregular warfare" in poorer parts of the world (op. cit.). In implementing such strategy, there is an increasing and calculated trend to the use of private armies, which can be both more flexible in tactics and less accountable on human rights.

"A hallmark of the violence practised by the West is an effort to delegate as much as possible to mercenaries or private security companies, or in the case of border control, to agencies operating in economically and politically dependent countries that are the source of likely immigration" [*Australia is blazing the way here!*] ("Climate Wars: Why People Will Be Killed In The 21st Century", Harald Welzer, Polity Press, 2012, p6). Western taxpayer monies fund a seemingly bottomless pit for private/public partnerships in the generation of violence and repression

PR Co-Editor Murray Horton has been on the track of this process of privatisation (see his "Mercenaries: A Peculiarly British Disease" in *PR* 30, March 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr30.pdf>; & "Mercenaries Inc.: Private Armies Profit From America's War", in *PR* 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr39.pdf>). Apparently, President Trump wants to privatise the

US-led war on Afghanistan as much as possible. Aotearoa/NZ is badly compromised by its membership of the Anglo-American "5 Eyes" intelligence/covert action grouping. Such ties of entanglement reach out from our nearest neighbour, as well as the US. Australia is America's most loyal satellite.

Amnesty International has condemned the Australian government for its "appalling and deeply inhumane treatment of asylum-seekers". Similarly, the UN has been strongly critical of Australia but Australia's Rightwing government has regularly brushed aside such charges with contemptuous disregard. At the same time, the Australian government is dedicated to boosting the number of refugees, with more salices into the Middle East as America's hired gun, employing both airpower and ground troops in the Iraqi/Syrian theatre, altogether some 600 personnel, plus logistical support.

The NSS In Action: Internal And External Dimensions

La Guardia's concluding section to the final chapter of the *Economist's* "Modern Warfare, Intelligence And Deterrence" contains more revealing insights into the Western capitalist/militarist mindset (op. cit.). This psychopathological mentality is surely most perverse. Let us quote again Australian Colonel David Kilcullen, a widely touted counter-insurgency "expert", as relayed by La Guardia: "'Running Baghdad is not like trying to police New York City; it's like the Iraqi police trying to run New York City'" [*a most revealing remark in more than one way!*] (ibid. p279)

La Guardia goes on to note that Kilcullen "says Indonesian forces successfully put down an insurrection by the Islamist Darul Islam movement in the 1950s and early 1960s, but could not quell the resistance to their annexation of East Timor" (op. cit., p279). Kilcullen, incidentally, got a doctorate for his research on military operations in Indonesia, including the period of the genocide.

He had paid special attention to Darul Islam and the later Indonesian occupation of East Timor (David Kilcullen, *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Kilcullen). La Guardia then proceeds to lament the inability of "Western forces in Iraq and Afghanistan" to win while

"the national (puppet) governments they seek to help are unable to stand up on their own" ("Modern Warfare, op. cit., p280). But President Trump has given up on any nation-building.

With reference to Indonesia, the legacy of Darul Islam (crushed by President Sukarno) manifested itself later in the early 21st Century with the emergence of Jemaah Islamiyah and the Bali bombings in 2002 ("The Next Attack: The Globalisation Of Jihad", Daniel Benjamin & Steven Simon, Hodder & Stoughton, 2005, p109). The potential and occasional incidence of such terrorism still continues to simmer away in Indonesia. Most ironically, Muslim extremists were encouraged to the fore by the Army during the Indonesian genocide 1965-70. So much then for Kilcullen's assessment! Blow back again!!

Colonel Kilcullen's remarks recorded above on policing New York and other cities are also highly ironic, given the widespread police brutality and racial violence in the US in recent years. Race relations controversy and protests boil away. Under Trump, domestic and foreign policy repression go hand in hand, signalled by his "restoration of surplus military equipment to local law enforcement agencies" ("Trump Prepares To Lift Limits On Gear For Police", *Press*, 29/8/17).

The Tragic Quagmire Of Iraq

In 2003 the Anglo-American axis plunged into the invasion of Iraq, on the pretext of a pack of lies and arti-

ficially contrived intelligence. Interestingly, even some Western commentators who apparently believe in the Anglo-American tale of commitment to the creation of democracy in Iraq, and the unfortunate failure of intelligence about weapons of mass destruction (WMD), can still acknowledge the ensuing criminality of the foreign occupiers, e.g., Dr Aaron Ralby in his "Atlas Of Military History: An Illustrated Global Survey Of Warfare From Antiquity To The Present Day" (Paragon, 2013, pp96/7). As Dr Ralby observes: "The initial successes were easily forgotten in the *quagmire* (my emphasis) that followed" (ibid., p97; note also Murray Horton's article cited below).

Human rights abuses like those at Abu Ghraib "instigated further resentment not just from Iraqis, but from much of the Middle East and indeed the world" ... Crimes of US private contractors, affiliated with an American company then known as Blackwater, also added to the list of wrongs committed by Western forces against the Iraqis (ibid.; see too "Blackwater: The Rise Of The World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army", Jeremy Scahill, Nation Books, 2007; & "Mercenaries", op. cit.). Blackwater came to be renamed a couple of times and is now known as Academi, an outfit still today very much a contracted unit of the American military-industrial complex. It currently has mercenaries active in the Ukraine, Yemen, and elsewhere.

For a detailed account of Blackwater's numerous crimes in Iraq, see "Mercenaries Inc: Private Armies Profit From America's Wars" by

Murray Horton, in Peace Researcher 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr39.pdf>. Ed.

Following the Anglo-American "shock and awe" invasion of Iraq and its immediate aftermath, Murray Horton so aptly forecast the future ("Full Speed Ahead Into The Quagmire: NZ Blunders Into Iraq", *PR* 28, December 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/pr-backissues/pr28.pdf>). Most ironically, and again so very tragically, the warmongering Vice President, Dick Cheney, had actually predicted back in 1994 that invading Iraq would create a "*quagmire*" ("Cheney '94: Invading Baghdad Would Create Quagmire – Youtube", 9/5/16, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6BEsZMvrq-l>).

Invasion would not be a rational decision because of the ensuing mess for the US to manage! The welfare of the actual inhabitants of Iraq, of course, were neither his concern in 1994, or in 2003, or since. To be sure, Cheney & co. have made plenty of money out of the misery, including the neo-liberal economic privatisation, that they have criminally inflicted on that country.

Roots Of Islamic State

Writing at the time of the so-called "Surge" in 2007, Peter Galbraith, a Senior Diplomatic Fellow at the Centre for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation and former US diplomat, researcher and reporter, has revealed in scathing terms the utter stupidity of the facile plans of the George W. Bush Administration ("The End Of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created A War Without End", Pocket Books, 2006/7). He aptly identified the root cause of the rise of ISIS. "All the Sunni Arab insurgents want the Americans gone, and for fairly obvious reasons. They are foreign invaders who overthrew a system that favoured the Sunni Arabs and they are Christians and Jews in a Muslim land" (ibid., p181).

Foreign invaders are destined to be resisted in one way or another ("IS Comes From Modern Reality, Not Seventh Century Theology", 14/8/17, <http://www.middleeasteye.net/columns/does-not-come-7th-century-theology-modern-reality-606767-635>). As a member of the "5 Eyes" club, NZ has, however, paid its dues and conformed to the gist of US demands



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and expectations, whatever the expressed reservations and feet-dragging on occasion ("Good Dog Johnny! Iraq War Is The Price Of Belonging To 'The Club'", *PR* 49, June 2015, Murray Horton, https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BwcB6Aysm_HHSFY1VDA0blc1ZU0/view?pli=1).

This was clearly demonstrated when, in early October 2015, PM John Key visited NZ troops in Camp Taji, Iraq, accompanied by a few select crony media personnel, including TV political editors Corin Dann (TVNZ), Patrick Gower (MediaWorks), and Fairfax Media Political Editor/Parliamentary bureau chief Tracy Watkins. These embedded reporters readily plugged into the American propaganda machine and the war on ISIS, as relayed by Key's delegation, in the usual grossly superficial, gung-ho fashion (for further comment see: "If Key's Visit To NZ Soldiers Wasn't Just Media Pap, Why Didn't He Criticise The Camp Taji Incompetence?", *Daily Blog*, 10/10/15, <https://thedailyblog.co.nz/2015/10/10/if-keys-visit-to-nz-soldiers-wasnt-just-media-pap-to-deflect-tpa-announcement-why-didnt-he-criticise-the-camp-taji-incompetence/>).

Iraqi Insurgency And The Rise Of ISIS

The mainstream media tell a simple tale about the rise of ISIS. While they acknowledge that it arose out of the aftermath of the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq, they play down any Anglo-American responsibility. They construe it as a more virulent form of Islamic fundamentalism emerging from the remnants of al Qaeda. The nasty jihadists are primarily to blame!

In fact, the rise of ISIS is a much more complex story, although the general theme of resistance to a Western invader certainly stands ("IS Comes From Modern Reality", op. cit.). Al Qaeda did not exist in Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Saddam's ruling clique and al Qaeda were deadly enemies. Yet the George W. Bush Administration successfully fused the two together in the minds of most of the American public. A deeply contrived geopolitical agenda for war had perverted intelligence information "about Iraq's alleged chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons programme and its links to al Qaeda ("The Politics Of Truth: Inside The Lies That Led To War And Betrayed My Wife's CIA

Identity", Joseph Wilson, Carroll & Graf, 2004, p6).

Administration spokesmen "persistently linked him (Saddam) and bin Laden, and this had a powerful effect on public opinion. Long after Saddam was overthrown, approximately 70% of Americans continued to believe that he had been involved in the 9/11 attacks" ("The Next Attack", op. cit., p171). It is insightful to get a recognition of ISIS in the field before it actually exploded on to the world scene.

With hindsight, there is a revealing reference in the book "Black Hearts: One Platoon's Descent Into Madness In Iraq's Triangle Of Death" (Harmony Books, 2010) by Jim Frederick, a contributing editor to *Time* magazine. He portrays "a band of brothers" in arms: the men of first platoon "Bravo company" from the so-called "Black Heart brigade", who "descend into a tail-spin of poor discipline, substance abuse, and brutality, during 12 bloody months mid-2006 to mid-2007" (ibid.).

This was during the "Surge", which drove many resistance fighters, including al Qaeda-affiliated jihadists, away from the Sunni Triangle in the northwest of the country and into Syria and elsewhere. As indicated, the "Surge", perversely enough, has been celebrated as a triumph of American counter-insurgency. Frederick has one reference to ISIS in his book, briefly mentioning how the al Qaeda-affiliated "Islamic State of Iraq" was taunting US forces over the Internet (ibid., p352).

So even at this early stage, ISIS was Internet-savvy after having been formed in late 2006. The origins of the fundamentalist Islamist organisation obviously owed a lot of inspiration from the model behaviour of the black-hearted "Bravo company", and all the others of their ilk. US troops had demonstrated the routine brutality so typical of American counter-insurgency and special forces' death squad operations ("Kill Everybody: American Soldier Exposes US Policy In Iraq", 26/4/07, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwwMF6biCJU>).

State Terrorism Spawns Terrorist Jihadism

Much of ISIS ideology, personnel, organisation and strategy came from elements of Saddam Hussein's

Baath Party-controlled Army. The Sunni guerrilla/terrorist resistance to the American invader and its Shiite allies has thus had a very motivated, tough, and experienced organisational core. Various top leaders of ISIS have been Sunnis from this background.

From any angle of analysis, as I have endeavoured to show in this article, the celebrated "Surge" proved to be just another pernicious element in the unfolding failure of the terrorist "War on Terror" in the Middle East ("This US Military Officer Explains Why America's Middle East Wars Have Been Utter Failures", 21/2/17, <https://www.thenation.com/article/a-us-military-officer-explains-why-americas-wars-in-the-middle-east-have-been-utter-failures/>). Among other things, it contributed greatly to the rise of ISIS. "What began as a Sunni-based insurgency to regain power morphed into a nationalist rebellion, and then into an Islamist struggle against Westerners" (ibid.).

But the exponents of evil are egregiously unrepentant. Retired General David Petraeus, the US commander in Iraq who directed the "Surge" in 2007/8, freely opines that: "American forces are set to stay in Afghanistan for decades after an increase in troop numbers" ("US 'Will Be Fighting Taliban For Decades'", *Press*, 29/8/17, article reproduced from the [Murdoch] *Times*). In the most Orwellian of terms, General Petraeus calls for this military commitment "to be *sustainable* [my emphasis]" (ibid.).

You see, apparently, the US has "significant national interests at stake" there. After his brutal butchery and the seeding of further mayhem and chaos in Iraq, General Petraeus moved on to be a commander of US and North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) troops in Afghanistan during 2010/11, and then, later again, Director of the CIA, until he had to resign in disgrace over a personal affair breaching security conditions.

The mainstream news item cited above yet gives General Petraeus the ritual Establishment praise about how to deal with armed opposition to the Anglo-American imperium (ibid.). It declared that: "Petraeus, who is credited with quelling a bloody insurgency in Iraq that followed the US-led invasion", wel-

comed Trump's waiving of constraints on US commanders imposed by the previous Obama Administration (ibid.). Western propaganda is pervasive.

Sectarianism And Militant Struggle

But the story "that David Petraeus's surge 'worked' is perhaps the greatest myth of all" ("This US Military Officer Explains...", op. cit.). This myth requires some further critical comment. Amidst the dirty work perpetrated by General Petraeus, he also took action to buy off the Sunni tribes in a strategy to dampen down the insurgency. As well, terrorist extremism against civilians by al Qaeda operatives proved counter-productive for the resistance cause, alienating a number of participants.

The "post-surge 'calm' was, however, no more than a tactical pause in an ongoing regional sectarian war" between the US-installed Shiite regime in Baghdad and the country's Sunni minority (ibid.). "No fundamental problems had been resolved in post-Saddam Iraq, including the nearly impossible task of integrating Sunni and Kurdish minorities into a coherent national whole" (ibid.).

We can sum up here. Firstly, much of the origins of ISIS lies in indigenous Sunni resistance to US imperialism – both in Iraq specifically, and the wider Middle East – and what was seen as sectarian Shiite repression of the Iraqi Sunni component of the national population. With the emergence of al Qaeda/ISIS in Iraq following the American invasion, anti-Shiite terrorism became wedded to classic guerrilla resistance. The parallel repression of Sunnis in Syria enabled the formation of a common cause and a common front when the Arab Spring burst on regional Muslim dictatorships and Assad cracked down savagely on peaceful protesters. In 2017, the US has ostensibly relinquished this particular fight.

But the problems mount across the region and beyond. For one thing, the effective balkanisation of Iraq implemented by the American invaders continued in September 2017 with a significantly overwhelming referendum vote for independence by the Kurdistan region located in the northeast of the country. The Iraqi Kurds consider this vote as the basis for negotiating secession.

In the meantime, General Petraeus sees the 16 year old long Afghan war, America's longest, as representing engagement "in a generational struggle" ("US Will Be Fighting Taliban"... op. cit). Most portentously, Petraeus "pointed to the presence of US forces in South Korea ever since the Korean war and in Europe during the Cold War" (ibid.). *Dig in boys (and girls) on the frontlines of the empire!*

Compounding Conflict

In various regions, decisions are being made according to US perceptions as to what skin it has in the game. In Eastern Europe, above all in the Ukraine, things have only got more complicated and difficult for everyone. Most significantly, tensions between the Russians and the US-orchestrated NATO alliance, following NATO's overthrow of a democratically elected government in the Ukraine in 2014, have further intensified during 2017. The Trump Administration continues to put more sanctions on Russia.

Russia's President Putin has made the accusation that "the US directed the months of mass protest that overthrew Yanukovich" in February 2014 ("Russia Was Ready For Crimea Nuclear Standoff: Putin", <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-03-15/russia-was-ready-for-crimea-nuclear-standoff-putin-says>).

This particular accusation is clearly accurate ("NATO's Action Plan In Ukraine Is Right Out Of 'Dr Strangelove'", John Pilger, *Guardian*, 17/4/14, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/apr/17/nato-ukraine-dr-strangelove-china-us>). American orchestration was so blatant that the US Secretary of State, John Kerry, even visited the protest site in Kiev post-coup to personally bless the violent subversion of Ukrainian democracy as spearheaded by fascist militants.

Covert US backing and funding for the Western subjugation of the Ukraine has been in process since the fall of the old Soviet Union in 1991. That both sides have been prepared to risk nuclear confrontation is chilling in the extreme, although the Russian posture has been clearly defensive given the threat to the country's very borders, including its Crimean military base ("Russia Was Ready"... op. cit; "NATO's Action Plan" ... ibid.).

Ukraine Stand-Off

Of course, the ruling class in the West continue to downplay, indeed disguise - thanks again to the mainstream media - their pivotal role in the creation of this specific situation, and the more general global crisis (for an overview analysis which puts the Ukrainian crisis in context see: "Militarism, Nationalism & The Crisis In Ukraine", in *War Times*, www.war-times.org/militarism-nationalism-and-crisis-ukraine). Once again, it is greatly evident that we need to mobilise internationally on an unprecedented scale and urgency in opposition and constructive responsive action to such provocations and interventions. Shining sunlight in dark places is essential.

As John Pilger has rightly observed, President Obama's suicidally stupid and "rapacious coup" in the Ukraine "ignited a civil war", of which the unfolding consequences have been predictably very dangerous ("NATO's Action Plan" ... op. cit.). The neo-fascist role in the coup has been very evident (e.g. *Ross Kemp - Extreme World*, Prime, 28/2/17). In September 2017, Russia conducted major military exercises with the potential enemy being clearly cast as a NATO invasion of the motherland. A subterranean struggle prevails in the Ukraine. It has been highlighted in 2017 with the spectacular sabotage of a couple of the regime's big munitions depots. During September, one exploded dramatically in central Ukraine.

Free Trade Geopolitics

US-driven market militarism was behind the political conflict in the Ukraine and the resulting debacle. A European Union-initiated free trade agreement (FTA) had been offered as bait to suck the Ukraine into the Western fold. To be sure: "The EU and Ukraine have provisionally applied their (so-called) Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) since 1 January 2016 ("Ukraine, Trade, European Commission, Countries And Regions", 22/2/17, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/ukraine/>).

Significantly: "The main Ukraine exports to the EU are raw materials (iron, steel, mining products, agricultural products), chemical products and machinery" (ibid.). In return, using a broad definition, the EU ex-



ports to the Ukraine mostly manufactured goods, including machinery and transport equipment, at a handsome surplus (ibid.).

For centuries, the economic growth and standard of living exacted by Western imperialism has relied on the plunder of the Earth's raw materials ("The Economics Of European Imperialism", Alan Hodgart, *The Foundations Of Modern History Series*, WW Norton & Co., 1977). US and EU penetration into Eastern Europe is in the same traditional vein. In the case of Ukraine, the propaganda stance of the West contrasts starkly with NATO's intervention in the former Yugoslavia where it powerfully backed breakaway ethnic groups within a disintegrating formerly communist country.

Both the interventions into Yugoslavia and the Ukraine reflect the neo-imperialist intrusion of the West into the former republics and states associated with the Soviet Union, adapting strategies and propaganda camouflage according to the situation and circumstances. America's ongoing attempt to dominate the Eurasian continent also embraces China in another perilously fraught confrontation, currently being aggravated by the Trump Administration. This American-led aggression has driven Russia and China closer together. The latter has adopted a stronger military stance, even while cooperating diplomatically on vari-

ous issues at the same time, e.g., the Korean nuclear stand-off.

Korean Confrontation

Yet the Korean crisis continues to deepen, and whether the Chinese application of the sanctions screw will pay off remains very moot indeed. At this stage, there seems to be no prospect of a peaceful negotiated resolution. The Trump Administration is firmly committed to the application of force in foreign affairs, wherever, whenever, and however it deems fit. Militarist posturing lamentably serves as a ready substitute for diplomacy, constructive cooperation, and peace-making. An increasingly desperate North Korean regime is a ticking time-bomb.

Trump has ramped up the political, military, and economic pressures on North Korea, which in turn has reacted ever so very predictably by stepping up its nuclear bomb testing and long-range missile experiments. The Korean regime has conducted such tests in an increasingly rash and provocative fashion. Two very bellicose and supreme narcissists are now locked in a perilous situation of nuclear brinkmanship. An act of bravado, a miscalculation, an accident, or some other bungling incident could precipitate us all towards the precipice.

While Australia remains America's loyal deputy in whatever war crimes

and dangerous antics that the US gets up to, Aotearoa/NZ still prides itself on a certain measure of independence, whatever the hue of the Government. While we might well agitate over the longer term against the reality of various deeply compromising ties to the American war machine, in the meantime we can also press harder for more immediate positive action for peace-making initiatives.

Beyond Wild Warmongering

To date, however, the NZ government has essentially gone along with the American approach towards North Korea, whatever reservations it might occasionally express. Foreign Affairs Minister Gerry Brownlee has been vehemently critical of the belligerence of the Kim Jong-un regime but indulgent of President Trump's reckless, provocative, and inconsistent rhetoric, let alone the constant and threateningly militarist posturing.

Donald Trump has even threatened, when speaking at the UN itself, to "totally destroy North Korea". The US has already done such a thing during the Korean War in the early 1950s, razing most of the country to the ground. At the UN too, jackbooted threats were made by President Trump against Iran and other nations. Iran has recently resorted to missile testing in reaction to this menacing behaviour.

Massey University Law Professor, Al Gillespie, is a NZ participant in the US-orchestrated UN process of increasing sanctions pressure on North Korea. He was asked by John Tamihere, a guest panellist on Radio New Zealand (RNZ), what would happen if Kim Jong-un were to call Trump's bluff (*The Panel with Jim Mora*, 20/9/17). Professor Gillespie had to acknowledge that millions of people might well die, perhaps even a billion or so! And Gillespie was presented as an expert on North Korea!!

Thankfully enough, there are eminently more rational options. John Gallagher points to the some significant peace-making alternatives that we have here in Aotearoa/NZ for helping improve the Korean nuclear crisis ("Korean Nuclear Standoff In Context Of International Rivalries: Can Nuclear-Free NZ Help Out?", *PR* 52, November 2016, https://drive.google.com/filed/0BwcB6Aysm_HHOW5iQWdHdHhaczQ/view).

The Angst Of Anglo-American Culture

State terrorism has been endemic to American culture right from the advent of wars on the Native American people. As emphasised, fundamental to the expansion of the Anglo-American experiment has been the constant motivation to push the limits imposed by frontiers, from earthly wilderness to cosmic space. The Hollywood fostered and media-disseminated "zombie" and "walking dead" culture in the West today was brilliantly foreshadowed by Sigmund Freud in his theory of the "death instinct" early in the 20th Century, along with his related insights into the human tendencies for self-destruction.

Any so-called "death instinct" may well be mythical when assessed in strictly biological terms but there are certainly dark impulses and energies we have to creatively suppress, sublimate, and positively redirect ("How To Read Freud", Josh Cohen, Granta Books, 2005, p103; "Freud For Beginners", Richard Appignanesi & Oscar Zarate, Icon Books, 1979/1992, p170). Freud linked together the "death instinct" with aggression, the latter a derivative of the former. A person's inner energy can take either a loving expression (Eros), or an aggressive and violently destructive form (Thanatos). Such violence can be self-destructive.

Confronting Thanatos

Most interestingly, critical theorist Herbert Marcuse, who drew heavily on both Freud and Marx, emphasised how in capitalist culture the spirit of Eros as it were, serves in a stultifying way to numb the minds of the masses. "Like other members of the Frankfurt school, indeed, he was deeply concerned with how (the capitalist 'culture industry') pre-fabricates experience and nullifies critical thinking" ("Critical Theory: A Very Short Introduction", Stephen Eric Bronner, Oxford University Press [OUP], 2011, p87). Commerce, consumerism, and superficial entertainment sadly trump creative art, and the capacity for constructive social change and meaningful participation.

A key aspect of Marcuse's Freudian style was how he portrayed the use of Eros (i.e. as sex rather than love) by capitalist culture as a form of repressive control - a kind of dumbing down. In a broader sense, Marcuse was one of the leading proponents of the "counter-culture", most dramatically in the 1960s. He wrote in opposition to the hegemony of the military-industrial complex and all its works, especially its various means of legitimation and repression (e.g., "Technology, War, And Fascism: Collected Papers", vol. I, Routledge, 1998).

One of Marcuse's most stringent critics takes him to task over his endorsement of Freud's theory of Thanatos. Alasdair Macintyre observes that: "Marcuse sees the death instinct at work in the destructiveness of modern technology, and more especially in that destructiveness which 'reveals time and again its origin in a drive which defies all usefulness. Beneath the manifold rational and rationalised motives for war against national and group enemies, for the destructive conquest of time, space and men, the deadly partner of Eros (i.e., Thanatos, the death-instinct) becomes manifest in the approval and participation of victims'" ("Marcuse", *Modern Masters* series, Fontana/Collins, 1970, p48).

Critical Analysis Of The Capacity For Self-Destruction

In his criticisms, Macintyre shows that he misunderstands Marcuse to some extent. While I can agree with Macintyre that Thanatos should be interpreted as a symbolic construct

and not a specific psychological mechanism as it were, the fact remains that in human culture, society, and so many individuals the darkness of destructiveness manifests itself so dramatically and pervasively. Why are the efforts for peace-making so pitiful in comparison with the enormous preparations for war, and actual eager embrace of wars (at least by those in a position of control)?! Militaries and militarisation are being promoted more than ever in the second decade of the 21st Century.

Alasdair Macintyre is also critical of what he interprets Marcuse as saying about the victims of modern war. Macintyre dismisses the idea of people both approving of and participating in their own destruction. But this sort of attitude is exactly what a tribalist commitment to nuclear weapons implies of a passive public content to let their leaders decide whether or not to press the button of self-destruction. They are mostly pliable and conformist enough to be herded along like lambs to the slaughter.

Moreover, Macintyre criticises Thanatos as representing a much too generalised explanation. "Equally, since Thanatos is supposed to be at work in all human destructiveness it cannot explain the particular character of any highly specific destructive phenomena such as those of modern war" (ibid., p50). But, again, besides the actual use of destructive technology in various theatres of conflict, we continue to live in the shadow of the nuclear bomb, with all the obscenely ludicrous expenditure and ongoing development of technology for the means of self-destruction. Crazily, too, the US leads the charge into the sterility of space while we trash the bountiful Earth. We surely have some very dark impulses to address, and try to see off.

Beyond Cultural Crisis - "Let's Do This!"

As we go deeper into the 21st Century, we need to affirm - and most especially, act pre-emptively in aid of - the principles of positive, cooperative living (i.e. Eros - Freud's life instinct). In doing so, we can help build the growing international movement against the trends to neo-fascism, militarism, violent conflict, and war. As Freud himself wrote: "The fateful question of the hu-

man species seems to me to be whether, and to what extent, the cultural process developed in it will succeed in mastering the de-rangements of communal life caused by the human instinct of aggression and self-destruction” (in his conclusion to “Civilisation And Its Discontents” [1929] in “Freud”, *Great Books Of The Western World*, vol. 54, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1952/1989, p802).

In an inspiringly idealistic approach, Max Harris challenges the often dark arts and games of politics with the values of “love” and positive engagement in order to benefit all of our society’s members (“The New Zealand Project”, Bridget Williams Books [BWB], 2017). He advocates a new model of “public democracy”. He expounds how what he calls “the NZ project democracy” can empower civic participation, and “might (even) contribute to a new model of ‘public democracy’ beyond social democracy, relevant to other countries” (ibid., p33).

Harris notes that: “NZ has become more closely aligned with the US since 1999” (ibid., p41). The rapprochement was started under the Labour government from 1999-2008; “and the US-NZ Wellington Agreement in 2010, followed by the Washington Declaration in 2012, have converted informal understandings into a strategic partnership” (ibid.). While these ties that bind do not constitute “a formal alliance”, they do, inevitably, mean closer military cooperation. And this has been clearly signalled by NZ participation in US war games – from American soil to its Pacific Ocean colony of Guam, and even the perilous Korean Peninsula.

GUAMEX And Beyond

In the case of Guam, NZ has recently reinforced its specialised role in the US war machine. The NZ Air Force took part in Exercise GUAM-EX, involving the US and Japan (<http://www.radionz.co.nz/news/national/336837/rnzaf-confirms-military-exercise-in-threatened-guam>, 10/8/17). Our aircraft participated in various anti-submarine warfare (ASW) scenarios.

The NZ government’s resolution to train and practice for the final show-down (*solution!?*) is indeed chilling to behold (“New Zealand’s Domsday Commitment: Anti-submarine

Warfare,” *PR* 6, First Series, 1984, <https://www.scribd.com/document/33723181/Peace-Researcher-Vol1-Issue06-1984>). Nowadays, the immediately targeted enemy vessels are most likely to be Chinese submarines, rather than Russian. Any large-scale conflict with China would however almost inevitably and swiftly drag in Russia as well.

In August 2016 there was an official notification that American aircraft and weapons firm Boeing would be equipping our ASW P-3K2 Orion maritime aircraft fleet with a new ASW acoustic processing system, providing “underwater intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance capability” (“New Zealand To Upgrade Anti-Submarine Warfare Capability”, *The Diplomat*, 30/8/16, <https://thediplomat.com/2016/08/new-zealand-to-upgrade-anti-submarine-warfare-capability/>).

Then, in April, 2017, we learnt that this particular programme was evidently due to go further with the actual purchase of four Boeing P-8A Poseidon maritime patrol planes from the US in order to replace some of the ageing NZ P-3 Orion fleet (“New Zealand Considers Purchasing New Boeing Military Aircraft From US”, *Stuff.co.nz*, 29/4/17, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/92045512/New-Zealand-considers-purchasing-new-Boeing-military-aircraft-from-US>).

Opposed to this geopolitical strategic immersion and its deeply compromising implications for our independence and sovereignty, Max Harris admirably affirms Aotearoa/NZ’s nuclear-free stand, a policy position to which the NZ government continues to give lip-service. Instead of conformity to US strategic doctrine, Harris advocates for an “ethically grounded, non-aligned, and creative” foreign policy - “an independent foreign policy” (“The New Zealand Project”, op. cit., p42). We concur wholeheartedly with this approach. What Harris enjoins also corresponds with what John Gallagher has long advocated in articulating a peace-making positive neutrality.

We Must Mass Mobilise For Peace

September 26th is the day chosen by the UN to be the International Day for the Total Elimination of Nuclear Weapons [Nuclear Abolition

Day] (“Unfold Zero - Sept 26: Reach High For A Nuclear-Weapon Free World”, www.unfoldzero.org). Ninety nine years on from the commemoration of World War One’s Armistice Day, 11 November, the need to ensure peace is more urgent than ever before (World Beyond War, 30/9/17, <http://worldbeyondwar.org/>).

Here in Aotearoa/NZ, Auckland Peace Action, a sister NGO to our own ABC, is campaigning vigorously against the arms trade and its NZ connections (Auckland Peace Action, “Working To End NZ Support For War And The Global Arms Trade”, <https://aucklandpeaceaction.wordpress.com>). We both can, and need to, revive the international peace movement on an even greater scale. We can do even more, both domestically and globally.

On a very positive note, the working relationship between the NZ peace movement and that in the US is growing, with the appointment here by a major American NGO of a country coordinator, Liz Remmerswaal Hughes (“World Beyond War In New Zealand”, www.WorldBeyondWar.org). We must foster more such links as fast as possible with international activist NGOs like World Beyond War. Many Americans want a totally different future to the one prescribed by the military-industrial complex. We desperately need mass movements of people marching, protesting, and striving for peace and disarmament in all kinds of ways round the planet.

Endnote: Thanks are due to John Gallagher for some very useful information from the Internet. John has an excellent international peace-making Website at: <http://www.village-connections.com/blog/>. ■

Editorial Note:

Most (but not all) of this issue was written before the October 2017 change of Government. Hence, the occasional references in the present tense to various Ministers from the former Government who are no longer in office.

CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT

Financial Report For Year Ended 31 March 2017

- James Ayers, Organiser Account Treasurer

Presented To Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa Annual General Meeting, 25/9/17

	2017	2016
Income		
Pledges	\$26,150.20	\$26,051.10
Donations	\$12,354.83	\$11,918.15
Interest	\$ 1,851.70	\$ 2,700.14
Other	\$ 0.00	\$ 0.00
Total Income	\$40,356.73	\$40,669.39
Expenditure		
Contractor	\$40,876.00	\$40,040.00
Phone	\$ 299.95	\$ 307.13
Internet	\$ 1,209.73	\$ 208.37
Printer	\$ 77.00	\$ 87.25
Other	\$ 13.00	\$ 0.00
	\$42,475.68	\$40,642.75
Cash Surplus (Deficit)	- \$ 2,118.95	\$ 26.64
Summary		
Opening Funds	\$28,271.14	\$28,271.14
Add surplus (deficit)	- \$ 2,118.95	\$ 26.64
Closing Total Funds	\$26,152.19	\$28,297.78
<i>Represented by</i>		
Term Deposit Kiwibank	\$22,187.25	\$21,437.24
Cheque Account Westpac	\$ 3,964.94	\$ 6,860.54
Total Organiser Account Funds	\$26,152.19	\$28,297.78

Notes

Pledger/donation income stable, although has fallen by approximately 10% since balance date
Contractor rate increased in line with Living Wage guidelines
Interest income fallen due to lower interest rates on term deposits
Internet expense up due to delay in 2016 Internet billing carried forward to 2017. ■

PEACE RESEARCHER WELCOMES YOUR FEEDBACK

Peace Researcher is published by the Anti-Bases Campaign. The Co-Editors are Murray Horton and Warren Thomson; the Layout Editor is Becky Horton. It covers a range of peace issues with emphasis on foreign military bases and intelligence topics. Contributed articles will be considered for publication based on subject matter and space requirements. We are particularly interested in reports of original research on peace topics in Aotearoa and the wider region of Australasia and the Pacific. We welcome your feedback and constructive suggestions on how we can improve.

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You can read *Peace Researcher* online at our website, www.converge.org.nz/abc ■



Peace Action Wellington protest during successful blockade of annual Weapons Conference, October 2017. Expelliarmus is Harry Potter's disarming spell.

PEACE MOVEMENT BLOCKADES WEAPONS EXPO

- Emma Cullen, Peace Action Wellington

In October 2017 the annual Weapons Expo was held at Wellington's Westpac Stadium, a venue chosen specifically by the organisers and police because they thought that it was impenetrable and that their business could continue unhindered. They were wrong. Despite extreme police violence, on Tuesday 10th October, activists for peace from all over the Pacific and Aotearoa came together to prevent arms dealers from entering the building, blocking all entrances.

The main entrance ramp was blocked by a banner secured to its balustrades which was literally holding up two climbers – meaning that police and security could not tamper with it without endangering the climbers, who were suspended on two lamp posts on Waterloo Quay. The climbers remained in place for

over eight hours, meaning that arms dealers and military types had to try to enter the stadium via side gates along an extremely busy thoroughfare, Waterloo Quay. Protesters blocked every single gate with their bodies and banners, ensuring that the Weapons Expo was disrupted for many hours.

Police supported the arms dealers by blocking Waterloo Quay many times over the day to allow them to drive in on chartered buses, some of which had been circling for hours. As buses approached, protesters blocked them with their bodies, lying in "starfish formation" on the road. Wellington police once more protected the interests of businesses, even deeply unethical businesses, at the expense of the right of ordinary people to protest peacefully.

Arrests; Complaint To Police

Over the course of the day, police officers kicked, punched, threw to the ground, strangled and sexually assaulted people taking action for peace. A police complaint will be lodged and if you have testimony or

video/photos that show police violence please send it to us: peace-wellington@riseup.net

Fifteen people were violently arrested, with six being released because the police could not leave the Westpac Stadium with the vehicle they were being held in. Nine others however were taken to the police station and charged with minor charges of "obstructing a public way" and "disorderly behaviour". The blockade ran for nearly ten hours, with delayed busloads of arms dealers and war profiteers arriving until after 4pm. A final dance party on the concourse outside the Westpac Stadium was a fitting way to celebrate an excellent day of action disrupting the business of war.

This is the third year in a row that the Weapons Expo has been severely disrupted and the arms trade has been shown to be unwelcome in our cities – together we will shut it down. We are so proud to have stood together for peace with people from all over Aotearoa and the Pacific – war starts at the Weapons Expo, but peace starts with us. ■

JOIN ABC AND GET PEACE RESEARCHER

Peace Researcher is the newsletter and journal of the Anti-Bases Campaign. If you would like to join ABC, please fill in the form below. All ABC members receive *Peace Researcher*. Membership is \$20 per year (ABC is not registered for GST). Cheques payable to ABC, Box 2258, Christchurch 8140, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Name	_____	Sub \$	20.00
Address	_____	Donation \$	_____
Ph/Mobile	_____	Total \$	_____
E-mail	_____		

Overseas subs: Australia \$NZ25; Rest of world \$NZ30. Donations welcome.

To pay online:

Our bank account name is ABC, account number 389000-0619007-00, and bank/branch address is Kiwibank, 7 Waterloo Quay, Wellington, New Zealand.

Please include your name and "Sub" as references so that we can identify your payment, and please e-mail abc@chch.planet.org.nz when the deposit has been made so that we know to look out for it. ■