

GOVERNMENT BRINGS IN GCSB BILL

And A Glossy Propaganda Booklet About Why Our Spies Are Good For Us

- **Murray Horton**

In May 2001 the Government finally introduced its long foreshadowed Bill to give legal existence to the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), our old friends who run the Waihopai spybase, and who have had no legislative basis at all since they sprang out of thin air, fully formed, in 1977. Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) has consistently attacked this bastard agency (the Security Intelligence Service – SIS – has had its own Act since 1969, one which underwent several amendments in the late 1990s to cover up the damage caused by the Aziz Choudry bungled break-in case). But much more respectable bodies than we, such as the Privacy Commissioner, have also expressed grave disquiet about the situation. Bruce Slane, the Commissioner, recommended that the Government not proceed with the Swain Bill on electronic spying (*see elsewhere in this issue. Ed.*) until the GCSB had been given legal status. It was the ABC's Bob Leonard who has, for years, pointed out to anyone who would listen that the GCSB is literally an outlaw, and the Government conceded as much, tying itself in knots by legalisms such as passing special laws to exempt the GCSB from the Crimes Act (which prohibits interception of other people's communications, except by authorised agencies – which the GCSB wasn't, because it didn't legally exist).

Let's be very clear about one thing – ABC wants the GCSB abolished, and its Waihopai and Tangimoana spybases closed down. But we are quite happy to celebrate small victories along the way to that noble goal. Hence we made the impending GCSB Bill the centrepiece of our Waihopai protest actions in January 2001, both in Blenheim and out at the base. We had a special Waihopai cake made and served up to the public to reinforce the point (*see Waihopai report elsewhere in this issue. Ed.*). There is something very satisfying about eating a spybase. And we believe that we have played quite a role in forcing the Government to introduce this Bill to legitimise its bastard agency. Critics of the GCSB's lawless status are explicitly acknowledged in the Bill itself, and the accompanying propaganda, as being amongst the reasons for the Bill's introduction.

We are fully aware that the Bill is aimed at cementing into existence (for perpetuity?) the GCSB, which becomes a fully fledged Government department (how's that for retro chic? For the past decade and a half, Governments have been destroying, not creating, departments). It was created by the stroke of an Executive pen; theoretically it could have been abolished by similar means. Now any such abolition will require an Act of Parliament. We continue our campaign to have it put to sleep (just like any other old dog) and congratulate the Greens on their continued call for the GCSB's abolition. They were the only party to vote against this Bill, at its first reading. At least one Parliamentary party has got the guts to state the obvious – we don't need or want this bastard agency, legitimised or not. The Greens urged people to make submissions to the Intelligence and Security Committee (which is most definitely not a Select Committee), whilst continuing to call for the abolition of that body as well.

The Bill is most interesting in what it doesn't say. The GCSB is henceforth required to get interception warrants, as the SIS has had to do for years. But only if the interception is going to be done by physically attaching the interception device to something. This neatly provides the escape clause, as neither the Waihopai nor Tangimoana spybases are physically attached to anything. Their spying is done from a distance, by intercepting electromagnetic radiation, and this accounts for the vast majority of the GCSB's work. The warrants are meaningless, as far as Waihopai goes. But the introduction of warrants and "computer access authorisations" is to permit the GCSB to hack into computers, as a prerequisite to its expanded electronic spying role laid out in the Swain Bill.

The Bill assures that the GCSB only spies on foreign communications – but that completely avoids the fact that "one leg" of many communications being spied upon will inevitably consist of New Zealand individuals or organisations. So it will be spying on New Zealanders, and always has been. Not that foreigners can breathe easy – in his speech on the Bill (8/5/01), Green Co-Leader, Rod Donald, stated that the GCSB would be spying on the diplomatic signals traffic between Berlin and the German Embassy in Wellington whilst the German President was in town that same day. The Greens wrote to Ambassadors urging their governments to make submissions against the Bill, as they will be amongst those being spied upon.

No New Zealand government has ever acknowledged the existence of the UKUSA Agreement, which divides up the world for purposes of electronic and signals intelligence gathering, between the relevant spy agencies of the five major Anglo-Saxon WWII Allies – the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This Bill is no different, in that it doesn't name the UKUSA Agreement. But it does say that: "The operation of the GCSB is directed solely by the New Zealand government. It is, however, a member of a longstanding collaborative international partnership for the exchange of foreign intelligence and the sharing of communications security technology" and spells out the constituent spy agencies, which we already know. Don't take too much notice of that stuff about it being under the sole control of New Zealand. When Nicky Hager and John Campbell (then of TV3's 20/20 current affairs programme)

sneaked into Waihopai and filmed into the main computer room, in 1996, it was virtually devoid of human life. It was and is on autopilot, simply downloading the stuff from the international civilian communications satellites upon which it spies, and flicking on the raw data automatically to Big Brother, at the US National Security Agency (incidentally Nicky has been back inside the base a couple of times since, with TV film crews, namely TV2's Mikey Havoc and Newsboy, but the spies have learned the hard way to do a better job of pulling their curtains at night). There are other minor points – the above mentioned legal exemption from the Crimes Act is repealed, as it is no longer necessary. And the GCSB will henceforth be formally subject to the Official Information Act – I can really see them releasing a whole lot of stuff (want a cushy job? Become the GCSB's freedom of information officer).

Propaganda Booklet

"Securing Our Nation's Safety: How New Zealand Manages Its Security And Intelligence Agencies" is the 44 page glossy Government booklet released at the same time as the GCSB Bill. Interestingly it is dated December 2000, but it was not released until May 2001. Obviously it is part of a propaganda offensive to ease the passage of the Bill and give our creepy, bumbling spies a warm, fuzzy image. It follows in the wake of the similar glossy booklet on the SIS, released in the late 1990s. This one covers all NZ civilian and military Intelligence agencies, briefly describes their structure and functions, and explains the bureaucratic links that bind them together.

We don't intend to go into great detail about it. It is a handout, and we encourage everyone to get one and read it for themselves. *It is available at all public libraries; it can be ordered from the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Box 55, Wellington; or it can be read and downloaded on line at www.dpmc.govt.nz* You can also be cheeky, like ABC's Warren Thomson who, when the SIS booklet was released, strolled into the Christchurch SIS office and asked for a copy. They gave it to him too.

TVNZ did a very brief item on it, buried away on its *Late Edition* and *Breakfast* news. Green Co-Leader, Rod Donald, and myself (on behalf of ABC) got a few seconds worth of soundbites between us. The reporter asked me if it told me anything I didn't already know. The answer was "not really, but it does show a photo of GCSB Director, Warren Tucker, for the first time". But we need to comment on a couple of things. Both the booklet and the GCSB Bill wax lyrical about the "oversight" of Intelligence agencies. *Peace Researcher* has written extensively about this for years, proving it conclusively to be a sham. The whole lot – the Intelligence and Security Committee, the Inspector General of Intelligence and Security, and the newly created Commissioner for Security Warrants – isn't worth a bucket of the old proverbial. They are there to rubber stamp what the agencies do; they are dependent on those very agencies to let them know what's going on; they are there as a public relations sop, to soothe very valid public concerns about those agencies. The report actually says that the fact that there are very few complaints to the Inspector General about the agencies, specifically the GCSB, proves that everybody is happy, there's nothing to complain about. ABC's Bob Leonard has tackled the Inspector General on this – how do you complain about a 100% covert agency such as the GCSB, when you don't know what it does, in order to complain about it? We're still waiting for an answer.

Sir Geoffrey's Nonsense On The Choudry Case

The booklet's most breathtaking nonsense is spouted by former Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, who is given a whole chapter. In recent years, Palmer has been wheeled out to testify that the various SIS Amendment Bills are vitally important to the nation's security and that as a former PM he has inside information about exactly how they are vital, but, of course, he couldn't possibly divulge it (why? Would he have to then kill us all? Or would we die laughing?). But the most intelligence-insulting stuff in the whole booklet is Palmer's bald assertion that Aziz Choudry's successful legal action against the SIS, resulting from its bungled break-in at his Christchurch home, proves that the system of oversight works (Palmer even gets the year of the break-in wrong. It was 1996, not 1997). He says that it proved that Intelligence agencies are subject to the law.

What it actually proved was that the oversight is a nonsense – Aziz went through the proper channels and the Inspector General concluded that "nothing unlawful" had occurred. On the contrary, the courts ruled that the SIS had no legal right to break into Aziz's house, and had never had any legal right to break into anyone's house or building. The Shipley National government fought the case tooth and nail, refusing to release masses of SIS material vital to Aziz's prosecution of the case, and, when the courts ruled that the SIS had no power of entry, changed the law to retrospectively legalise all such break-ins (whilst settling Aziz's case out of court). The Choudry case proved the exact opposite of what Palmer claims it did – that the SIS operated outside any law for decades, protected by secrecy, and unless you are lucky enough to stumble upon one of its operations in progress and have the tenacity and courage to pursue it through the courts to prove your point, you haven't got a show of holding them accountable.

Instead of Palmer, why didn't the Government solicit a chapter from another former Prime Minister, David Lange (a Labour colleague of both Palmer and present incumbent, Helen Clark)? He offered a radically different perspective

on NZ's Intelligence agencies in his *Foreword* to Nicky Hager's seminal 1996 book "Secret Power: New Zealand's Role In The International Spy Network". Lange wrote: "An astonishing number of people have told him things that I, as Prime Minister in charge of the Intelligence agencies, was never told...It is an outrage that I and other ministers were told so little". We know which ex-Prime Minister is more accurate.

Ironically the Government introduced the GCSB Bill into Parliament on the very same day that it announced the abolition of the Air Force's combat wing, the scrapping of the third frigate, and the biggest shake up of the NZ military for decades. In the *Listener* cover story on that, Clark defends her Government against charges of being bludgers upon our allies: "Moreover, right through the ANZUS row and since, she adds, New Zealand has continued to operate a major security alliance relationship [at Waihopai and elsewhere] with the Americans. Despite opposition from the Left of the Labour Party? 'Indeed'" (12/5/01; "War & Peace", Gordon Campbell).

This reinforces our conclusion that Waihopai and the whole subservient role of NZ's spy agencies to the interests of others is the calculated trade off with our Big Brothers, Australia and the US, for them tolerating our nuclear free policy, quitting ANZUS, and downsizing our military to one more suited to our own purposes. It is faulty reasoning – NZ's whole Intelligence infrastructure is as much a dated product of the Cold War as the Skyhawks that the Government is dumping. In the overt military field, we are quitting the pretence that we maintain armed forces ready and willing to fight America and Australia's wars, in the air, on the sea and on land. But in the covert intelligence field, we still loyally serve the same old colonial masters that we have done for the past half century. It is time for some major downsizing in our Intelligence agencies. Apart from anything else, think of the money to be saved. The Government refused to grant Community Services cards to 48,000 low paid workers because it would cost \$14 million. Well, the GCSB has an annual budget of \$20 million. If the obsolete Skyhawks can be scrapped to save money, so can a redundant spy agency. The eradication of poverty and other social ills will bring this country much more security than any number of satellite dishes spying on our neighbours on behalf of the US.

WAIHOPAI PROTEST 2001 – A CELEBRATION?

Bob Leonard

The Anti-Bases Campaign has yet to come up with a foolproof plan for an annual demonstration that will close Waihopai for good. So we usually make our pilgrimage to the base in order to protest, a negative activity by definition. But this year at our January 20 day of action in Blenheim we had a cake for a celebration of sorts. What's to celebrate?

A New GCSB Law

ABC and many other groups and individuals in NZ regard the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which operates the Waihopai and Tangimoana spy bases, as an outlaw agency - **outlaw** in the very real sense that the GCSB is not covered by its own law. ABC has complained loudly in various ways about this situation. A generous interpretation of ABC's impact in all this would be that the Government has been forced to write a GCSB Bill (*see elsewhere in this issue for details*). So we celebrated our small victory at Blenheim with a cake.

We're not at all sure the cake conveyed the message we intended (we forgot to put an explanatory sign in front of the cake in Seymour Square), but it was the focus of media attention, both print and TV, nevertheless. The cake was worthy of attention – in fact it was two delicious cakes, frosted in white and with the spherical shape of the two domes out at Waihopai, complete with a red cherry on top of each. (A few people saw something vaguely anatomical in the “domes”, but fortunately this perspective did not make national TV, although the cutting of the cakes did make the primetime *One News* on TVNZ.). ABC organisers offer our sincere thanks to the Hunnisett family of Blenheim for producing the cakes. They vastly exceeded our expectations. Quite frankly they were as beautiful as the real domes and far tastier. In a further touch of inspiration, the cakes were displayed on a mock paddock consisting of old news clippings about Waihopai actions, and all was surrounded by a miniature fence, which fortunately was not electrified.

Celebration was an unusual and positive aspect of this year's activities. Overall, the weekend was a pleasant one, as it was last year, with no confrontations with Police or spies. Despite the calm and quiet, ABC organisers feel it was time well spent because Waihopai 2001 was yet another step in the process of education about the GCSB. Since the January action more information has come out about the proposed GCSB Bill and the Government is even making a show of wanting people to know about the GCSB and all the wonderful things it does for Aotearoa.

Waihopai 2001 In A Nutshell

Once again ABC supporters were invited to camp on a property near the base, Pleiades Vineyard, with a generous supply of water despite the severe drought in Marlborough. Having driven past miles of burnt-out Wither Hills from the Awatere to Blenheim (burnt in the Christmas – New Year period) we all had great respect for the total fire ban that was in place. We set up camp on Friday afternoon and made plans for the following big day in Blenheim and at the base. During the night on Friday a few souls ventured down to the base to see the light show, or up the river for a cool dip, or both. Once again we were joined by intrepid Green MPs, Rod Donald and Keith Locke. Rod, being a fan of cold water at midnight, was the leader of the cool-dip expedition.

On Saturday morning an advance contingent from camp drove into central Blenheim to distribute information sheets about Waihopai and the day's activities to members of the public. At noon we put on our by-now traditional sausage (including vegetarian) sizzle in Seymour Square followed by dessert – the official cutting and rapid consumption of the dome-cakes. We were of course delighted that our low-key celebration attracted not only members of the public but reporters and cameras from both print and electronic media. In fact the cakes were such an attraction that a handsome photo of them made it into the *Marlborough Express* on the Friday.

There were at least two Americans in attendance at our activities on Saturday. Uncle Sam had flown to Christchurch on a US Air Force Starlifter and hitchhiked to Blenheim in time for lunch and to give a short but boring speech about the benefits of Waihopai to New Zealand. A second American showed up at camp in the morning and introduced himself as a local farmer and fan of the base. He also appeared at our picnic in the Square and put on a brief show of support for the base in the afternoon just down the road from our activities. But he disappeared before we could get a picture for *Peace Researcher* of his one-man demonstration.

By mid-afternoon our demo-cum-celebration had moved to the heavily fortified spybase itself in the Waihopai Valley. Unable to shake off Uncle Sam, we had to run the gauntlet of his passport-checking before we could venture down the access road to the front gates of Fort Waihopai. As usual, passports to enter the Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA^[1] were required for entry onto UKUSA territory - paddocks full of sheep, electric fences, razor wire, rotating

video cameras, satellite dishes, domes and police cars, nominally presided over by the amiable Kiwi Officer-in-Charge, Bruce Miller. Rod Donald had negotiated access to the front gate with Bill Clinton, in one of the lame-duck president's last major liberal actions before the crowning of George II in Washington (just coincidentally on the same calendar day as our action).

After 12 years of protest at Waihopai, walking down the several hundreds metres of asphalt to the front gate is a very familiar activity for some of us. Sometimes we are arrested in the act; sometimes we are cautiously welcomed by the authorities as long as we promise not to trash the place. The menacing, fortress-like feel of Fort Waihopai is almost comical to this protester. Everyone knows, and many have demonstrated, that the "defences" are a mere façade (albeit a bloody expensive one), easily breached if one is willing to pay the consequences of being caught in the act. On at least two occasions, television crews have been escorted, under cover of darkness, over, under, or through (few know for sure) the barriers and up to the windows of the top secret buildings. The cameras have filmed through gaps in the curtains (American spies please note this lax security, if that's what it is) the automated, computerised goings-on inside, all with an authoritative narrative by a NZ expert speaking quietly into the microphone. (You gotta wonder if it isn't all an inside job). It brings a smile to my face. Waihopai security – what a joke (except that it's all paid for with our tax dollars).

With UKUSA passports in hand, about 50 of us protesters, members of the public and media made it to the gates once again. Speeches were made, including another boring rant by Uncle Sam. We may be nuts (or Don Quixote), but we like to think that every protest at Waihopai, every word spoken against the GCSB and its ilk, every media report of our actions and objections against the fungal monstrosity in the peaceful Waihopai Valley, makes yet another crack in the façade of legitimacy that surrounds corrupt spying. We returned to the farm gate and our vehicles. Some walked back to camp about a kilometre down the road.

After a rest and delicious dinner at camp, and not wishing to waste an evening, we drove back into Blenheim for a video and free flowing discussion at the Community Trust Rooms in High Street. Twenty seven of us were primed for action by a couple of short video segments about Echelon (Waihopai's *raison d'être*) and about Mike Frost, ex-Canadian spy. Some of the discussion revolved around why in the world we would want to bring Frost to New Zealand on a speaking tour. And he is indeed coming (*see the flyer enclosed with this issue. Plus the review of his book "Spyworld". Ed.*) as we have managed to raise enough funds for his plane fare and some of his other expenses (more money is needed however). The Frost tour in October 2001 will be ABC's main activity on the anti-bases front over the next 12 months or so. The action at Waihopai this year ended by midday on Sunday, all serious discussion and debriefing having been wrapped up the night before. We will not be back in January 2002 unless some other branch of ABC (not Christchurch) organises the action.

SWAIN BILL New Powers For Electronic Spying

- Murray Horton

Peace Researcher has, for many years now, publicised the electronic spying of the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), principally via its civilian telecommunications satellite interception spybase at Waihopai (Marlborough). We have exposed New Zealand's role, via the GCSB, in the top secret UKUSA Agreement, which dates back to the late 1940s and which divides the world up, for intelligence gathering and sharing purposes, between the electronic spying agencies of the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and NZ (the US National Security Agency – NSA - is the dominant partner). We have publicised the groundbreaking research by the likes of Duncan Campbell and New Zealand's own Nicky Hager in unearthing Echelon, the code name for a project run through the civilian telecommunications satellite interception spybases of the UKUSA agencies, including Waihopai. Echelon searches the huge volumes of civilian e-mails, phone calls, faxes, etc, etc, to find "key words", which are then sent undigested to the NSA for its own purposes. This is the driftnet school of spying. *PR* has followed for years the revelations about the intelligence gathering methods of both the Security Intelligence Service (SIS), NZ's better known spy agency, and the Police, who play a largely unacknowledged role in political spying. We learned a lot about the bungling modus operandi of both the SISsies and the cops as a result of the cocked up 1996 break-in at the Christchurch home of activist, Aziz Choudry, and subsequent events and court cases. And we have written about the drive by American and British Intelligence agencies and police forces for yet greater spying powers against their own citizens, culminating in the truly draconian Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act, which came into effect in Tony Blair's Cool Britannia, in 2000.

All of this is now being taken an ominous step further in New Zealand. The legislation is in the public eye now, but it's been a decade being insidiously prepared by our foreign spymasters, our spies and cops, and the faceless officials keen to do their bidding. Once again the dirty work at the cross roads was uncovered by Nicky Hager, the Babyfaced Assassin of global researchers (Nicky can't help himself on this stuff. He's been telling us for years that he's finished with spies and spybases, that he's moved on to campaigning for native forests and exposing public relations transnationals, from writing "Secret Power" to writing "Secrets And Lies". And yet he still keeps digging up these particularly smelly old bones that the dirty dogs of the secret world have buried away). Nicky broke the story in the *Sunday Star Times* (29/10/00; "A Tangled Web"). He revealed that he had realised that something was up when reading the excellent British magazine, *Statewatch* (see below for details. Ed.). As a result, he had made a number of Official Information Act (OIA) requests, and had pieced together what was going on behind closed doors. Nicky obviously had better luck than we (Anti-Bases Campaign) did. Quite independently, in the 1990s, we read the same material in *Statewatch* and also sent in OIA requests to officials and Ministers in the previous unlamented National government. We got nowhere. All the more reason to congratulate Nicky.

The FBI Is Behind It All: A Parallel UKUSA Spy Network

What he discovered was this. The US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began campaigning for new surveillance laws in the US, in 1991. It published a 1992 report entitled "Law Enforcement Requirements For Surveillance Of Electronic Communications", which expressed concern that the explosion in new methods of telecommunications made spying harder than before. The FBI produced an updated version of these Requirements, in 1994, and they became the basis for new surveillance legislation signed into law by President Clinton that year. US civil liberties groups have fought that law ever since. Simultaneously, the FBI began pushing for other countries to adopt the 24 point Requirements, in the interests of standardised electronic spying systems (which greatly assists US Intelligence agencies and police forces). In 1993, the FBI organised an international meeting at its Quantico headquarters (near Washington DC) to promote the Requirements. Confidential European Union (EU) papers show that the meeting was attended by representatives of the 15 EU countries, plus Canada, Norway, Hong Kong, Australia and **New Zealand**. In 1995, the EU governments secretly agreed to adopt the Requirements without any reference to their national parliaments, something which has caused considerable controversy ever since.

The next move was a Memorandum of Understanding to extend the US-EU agreement to the non-EU countries. The group responsible for pushing this through is the bland sounding International Law Enforcement Telecommunications Seminar (ILETS). Founded by the FBI in 1993, its membership is the same 20 countries which first met in Quantico that year. **New Zealand** has been represented at ILETs meetings by Police and Intelligence agency staff (for example, in Canberra in 1995 and Ottawa in 1998). EU documents reveal that, by 1996, Australia and Canada had formally supported the International User Requirements (IUR - which are identical to the original FBI Requirements) and that Hong Kong and **New Zealand** were studying how to do likewise. NZ officials began work in 1997 on legislation to enforce the IUR. The outcome is the proposed legislation currently before Parliament. The Government has denied that there is any connection, but Assistant Police Commissioner Paul Fitzharris did

admit, in October 2000, that the “proposed legislative changes would bring New Zealand into conformity with most, if not all, of the International User Requirements” (ibid).

There is one central point to recognise in the international background to this – the core of ILETS is the five countries which comprise the UKUSA Agreement – the US, UK, Canada, Australia and **New Zealand**. What this system establishes is two parallel spying networks set up by these countries (or, rather, their Intelligence agencies) – Echelon, for international spying, primarily to benefit the US; and ILETS cooperation for coordinated domestic spying on the people within each member country. Once again, a US agency (the FBI) was the driving force behind it.

Mr Swain, You’re A Pain In The Brain

(Actually, we think that he’s a pain in a quite different part of the anatomy, but that doesn’t rhyme). In this country, the front man for this drive is Paul Swain, the Minister of Information Technology and Associate Minister of Justice. Back in July 2000 he announced that he’d instructed his officials to prepare a report on granting the Police extended powers to intercept e-mail (currently they can tap phones, authorised by a High Court warrant, but have no such powers with e-mail). Swain announced that he was in favour of giving the Police those extended powers, by way of an amendment to the Telecommunications Act, bringing NZ into line with the US and Britain. In fact Swain took it a lot further than that, and what emerged, in November 2000, has become popularly known as the Swain Bill.

Its actual title is the Crimes Amendment (No. 6) Bill. The Bill contains clauses outlawing, for the first time, computer hacking. Sounds laudable, doesn’t it? But a Supplementary Order Paper (SOP) to that Bill specifically exempts the Police, and the SIS and GCSB from its provisions. What does that mean?

It means that the Government is giving the Police, SIS and GCSB expanded powers to intercept and spy on New Zealanders’ electronic communications – our e-mail, in other words. A separate Bill, an amendment to the Telecommunications Act, will force Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to cooperate with the spying (this Part Two of the package has yet to be introduced into Parliament). In the usual procedure for governments wishing to sneak in controversial laws, particularly those concerning Intelligence agencies, the Bill and its SOP (number 85, to be exact) were rushed through over the summer holiday period – submissions closed in February 2001.

Governments always claim the worthiest possible motives for every new infringement on their citizens’ civil liberties. This package of Bills and the SOP is no different, being touted as necessary to fight cybercrime, drug dealing, paedophilia, you name it. “The innocent have nothing to fear”, is always the rallying cry. Paul Swain dismissed Nicky Hager’s revelations in the *Sunday Star Times*: “He goes after the big conspiracy theories, does old Nicky. I think it comes from reading too many spy novels” (*Press*, 30/10/00). Swain also promised a full public debate before any changes were made – that has been conspicuous by its absence (as usual, in matters of this nature).

And the Swain Bill is not enough for the Police – in February 2001, it was revealed that they lack the technical capacity to tap the Vodafone digital mobile phone network (cellphones with the prefix 021). Telecom (cellphones with the prefix 025) has modified its mobile network to make it interception capable. The Police, according to papers released under the Official Information Act, want a law to make all future phone networks interception capable (at the companies’ expense), but were hopeful that they could negotiate a settlement with Vodafone.

“A Wolf In Sheep’s Clothing”: Greens Oppose The Bill

In Parliament, the Greens were the only party to come out strongly against it. Keith Locke MP said, in a speech in the House (16/11/00):

“This Bill is a wolf in sheep’s clothing. The Minister put stress on the Bill as an anti-hacking measure and anti-interception measure and, of course, we support any bill opposed to hacking or interception. In fact, we asked the Minister to put such provisions in a separate Supplementary Order Paper. But those few clauses against hacking and interception amount to about only one page of this 12 page Bill. The rest of the clauses are a major assault on our privacy ... Mr Swain said this measure will enable agencies to catch criminals. No one is disputing that we might be able to catch a few more criminals through such interception. Surveillance cameras placed on every street in the country might catch more criminals, but we always have to ask ourselves what is the cost to our privacy. Do we really want to live in a surveillance society? Electronic interception is not just a question of modernising Police and security agencies’ powers beyond their present letter opening and telephone tapping, as has been made out. Computer interception is a whole different ball game.

“For example, the Carnivore system that the FBI uses allows for key word searches through vast amounts of e-mail. In Britain they have a system called RIP - very appropriate - where a kind of black box is attached to the servers of

Internet providers with the traffic being routed through to M15 (*internal security and Intelligence agency. Ed.*). There are several problems. The first problem is that the e-mails of many ordinary people will be intercepted by the system just because they accidentally use the wrong key word and their messages will be scrutinised. This has already happened with the Echelon system of which the Waihopai station near Blenheim is a part. Here e-mails and faxes passing through a specific satellite are intercepted through key word searches. Under this SOP the Government Communications Security Bureau, which runs Waihopai, will be allowed to increase its power, including surveillance within New Zealand and not just through that specific satellite. Supposedly, the Government Communications Security Bureau is allowed to spy only on foreigners - foreign people and foreign organisations. According to this Supplementary Order Paper though, if we look at the definition, organisations like Greenpeace or an international trade union federation would fit under this definition of a target. People can say, 'Well, dissenters aren't a target', but in New Zealand they already have been. The Security Intelligence Service did target anti-free trade activist, Aziz Choudry, and the Christchurch Police did recently target one of his colleagues, David Small. Both men later won compensation claims in the court against that surveillance. Internationally, the Echelon electronic interception system has been used to spy on Greenpeace.

"...we have already found police abusing their powers when it comes to computers. Just this week the Police Complaints Authority reported on a policeman who accessed a Police database for his own purposes - that is, to track down a tenant who owed him rent. Paul Swain talked about this being somehow compatible with e-commerce. In fact, the Echelon system has been criticised, most recently by an official French parliamentary inquiry, for being used for economic espionage against France by the United States and British multinationals. So this measure will undermine e-commerce and the trust that is necessary for that form of commerce. We also know that the Police do sometimes bow to the Government's will against the dissenters as they did when they moved on pro-Tibet protesters when the Chinese premier visited New Zealand last year (1999). There is great concern about this bill in the Internet community and they do not see there is any need for these measures. They are rightly worried about Police and security agency surveillance because the Internet is a hotbed of dissenting voices - free thinkers challenging orthodoxy, challenging Governments, and challenging the misuse of power. These cyber citizens say: 'Leave us alone. We're not criminals and you won't be able to use this system to effectively catch criminals. The people who will be caught will be us'. The people who are operating cyberspace, often with dissenting voices, want to be left alone.

"Criminals can easily avoid this sort of interception. They can use code words, they can use encryption devices, they can use temporary Hotmail addresses, they can use re-routers, and they can use unlisted mobile phones. Any criminal worth his salt will get around this system. The people who will be caught will be ordinary people. Earlier this year (2000) the New Zealand Press Association was told by Detective Sergeant Cam Stokes that he knew of no instances when a crime has been plotted using e-mail and said that criminals would be cautious about what they said online. This Bill is not driven by a real need to catch more criminals. It is driven by us listening particularly to the FBI, the British spooks, and our Aussie cousins who are telling the Police and security agencies what they are doing and that we should do it too.

"It is also a problem that the 'how' involved in this Bill is not being discussed along with it. The 'how', that is the methods that will be used to actually do this interception, will be contained in amendments to the Telecommunications Act, which will not come in until after this Bill has been passed. Until people can discuss the 'how' question, the use of the Carnivore system or the Regulation of Investigatory Powers (RIP) system, or whatever the New Zealand agencies are considering, one cannot really understand the danger to privacy involved. So by dividing this discussion into two, one now, and one later next year (2001), we will not have proper democratic discussion. This Bill involves a serious expansion of Police and security agency power. It is a real threat to all New Zealanders. It is not needed. The Green Party is against it. The Green Party will be campaigning on this issue... The Government must prove a case. If the Government wants to extend powers like this, and intrude on people's privacy, it has to advance a case. Where is the case that criminals are using these means to any significant extent that requires such draconian legislation that will so interfere with our privacy? We do not think it is needed. The Green Party will be opposing this bill.

"We are disappointed the Government did not accede to our request to do two things - firstly to divide the Supplementary Order Paper to separate the anti-hacking and the anti-interception element of it, that we wholeheartedly support, which increases our privacy. The Government should have separated those issues out from the other provision that seriously undermines our privacy - that is giving extra powers to the agencies. Secondly, the Government should have postponed any discussion of these extra interception powers until it has brought in the Telecommunications Amendment Act so that we know exactly how the Police and the security services intend to go about their business in this way. I hope the other parties in this House will support the Greens position. This is not just a Green Party issue. It goes right across the whole community - one can sense that. If one inhabits cyberspace at all, one can see that it is coming from people of different persuasions who do not want their privacy intruded on in

this way without any good reason, and the Government has not given a good reason yet”.

Give Them The Old One Two

Both Keith and Nicky have hit one particular nail on the head – the Government is bringing this insidious legislation in as a two part package. The Crimes Amendment Bill (No. 6) and its Supplementary Order Paper (No. 85) simply set the scene, and attempt to obfuscate the issue. The yet to be sighted Telecommunications Amendment Bill will follow it up with the proposed means to do this electronic spying, and the compulsion inflicted on Internet Service Providers (ISPs) to become unwilling collaborators in this covert State surveillance.

The Greens have been true to their word, and campaigned hard on the Swain Bill. For example, for the second consecutive year, both Keith and Party co-leader, Rod Donald MP, played an active role in the January 2001 Waihopai spybase protest (*see details elsewhere in this issue. Ed.*). Both used their speeches, in Blenheim and at the gates of the base, to launch a campaign of opposition to the Bill. Keith said: “We’re worried that ordinary people will be caught in this system if they use key words. The real criminals will be caught using traditional policing methods. Really, the purpose of these agencies run by the United States is to spy on people who are dissident to the agendas of the multinationals and of the nations who back them. It’s open season on protesters. But I think we all have the right to protest and we all the right to privacy. This system is betraying that” (*Press; 22/1/01; “MPs warn against bill: Interception move ‘open season on protesters’”*).

Mike Frost, Former Canadian Spy, Opposes The Bill

Opposition also came from overseas, from a man who used to spy for a living, spending over 30 years in Canadian Intelligence. As readers will know, ABC is bringing Mike Frost to New Zealand on a national speaking tour later this year (*see flyer enclosed with this issue. Ed.*). So we had been in touch with him, but not about domestic details such as the Swain Bill. He found out about that all by himself, and contacted us, unsolicited, to express his great alarm about it. “It scares the hell out of me” (e-mail to ABC; 27/11/00). We asked him to commit his thoughts to paper, and he duly obliged:

“As a Canadian who earned a living for 34 years in the world of electronic espionage and intelligence gathering I have a number of concerns regarding the ‘spook’ legislation proposed by Communications Minister Paul Swain. Without wishing to interfere with New Zealand’s domestic affairs I will try and explain how this legislation has the potential to impact on me as a Canadian citizen who just happens to be a retired spook.

“We all know that the Internet has no borders and does not discriminate between the bad guys and the good guys. Consequently, Canadian international communications, using the Internet and satellites as the methods of transmission, are just as easily intercepted by, for example, the New Zealand Defence Satellite Communications Unit, Blenheim (**Waihopai** for short), as are the international communications of New Zealand or any other country for that matter. Therefore, any new legislation in your country concerning the Internet has the potential to impact not only New Zealand but other countries as well.

“The Canadian government has a database that contains ‘personal information’ concerning its citizens. It is my opinion that the Government of New Zealand probably has a similar database, I mean why wouldn’t they? The Government of Canada will not acknowledge the existence of this database but I know it does exist because I used to provide input to it. By definition ‘personal information’ includes such things as: name, address, telephone number, age, family status, sex, sexual preference, occupation, medical and health records, dental records, assets, liabilities, income, payment records, driving records, credit card information and history, bank records, criminal records and so on. I think you get the point.

“Most American eavesdropping sites world-wide are equipped with sophisticated listening devices which make the interception of radio and satellite signals a rather simple task. The Waihopai site has been firmly entrenched in your country for years and it’s a safe bet that they have an extensive data base containing ‘personal information’ concerning many, many citizens of New Zealand. This database would probably be available in whole or in part to the government of New Zealand.

“The Cold War is over and priorities have changed. No longer do we have to worry about an arms race with the former Soviet Union. The emphasis has switched to the gathering of economic and industrial intelligence. (Apart from terrorist targets which always have been and always will be at the top of the priority list). The old method of collecting only what was needed has been replaced with a ‘collect it all now and sort later’ technology. With antennas now pointed inwards at ourselves, so to speak, it is inevitable that domestic, private and personal information can and will be intercepted, if not by design then at least by error. By collecting this type of information is

our right to privacy being violated? Are governments such as yours and mine guilty of breaking the law? From the spy base at Waihopai is the US guilty of breaking New Zealand law? I don't know, but if not **they are at least guilty of breaking the spirit of the law.**

"Are the citizens of New Zealand comfortable with that? Are they aware that the US, as the controlling authority of the five country (UKUSA - United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) **Echelon** espionage system, can and does routinely collect, on New Zealand soil no less, numerous New Zealand targets of which personal information is only one of many priorities?

"What should concern New Zealanders is that it is only after evaluating, assessing and in some cases editing, would the US make some, never all, of this information available to the Government of New Zealand.

"Do we, and by we I mean the member nations of the Echelon system, want to make it easier and legal for governments to invade our privacy at will?

"It has been claimed that the interception of personal information is necessary in order to assist law enforcement agencies in their quest to catch the bad guys. That may be so, but the scary part is that **there are no safety nets** in place to protect the innocent people that can and will inevitably fall through the cracks. The question begs to be asked - Is it OK for government agencies to **routinely invade the privacy of innocent people** in order to catch lawbreakers? This thorny question must be answered by the people, not by a handful of politicians.

"Clearly legislation has not been able to keep up with the rapid growth of wireless communications and electronic technology. Something must be done, but is giving governments and law enforcement agencies an unprecedented increase in invasive and intrusive powers the answer? I don't think so. What governments must be made to do is legislate strict guidelines as to what can and cannot be intercepted. We the citizens of the free world must be convinced that there is appropriate legislation in place to prevent innocent people from getting caught in the huge trawling net of electronic eavesdropping. To date that protective legislation does not exist. Indeed, the Canadian Minister of National Defense (responsible for our spy agency, the Communications Security Establishment) said some six years ago that we must just 'trust' our government when they say they would never, ever invade the privacy of innocent Canadians by intercepting their communications. **Well, I have worked at the coalface of Intelligence and I know that such a statement is pure hogwash.**

"I know for a fact that spy agencies in the US, the UK, and Canada (and possibly New Zealand and Australia) have either spied on, or have been given material resulting from spying on, the late Princess Diana, Prince Charles, the Pope, the late Mother Teresa, at least two Cabinet Ministers of the Thatcher Government and a former Canadian Prime Minister's wife just to name a few.

"If people such as these are not immune from being spied on where does that leave common folk such as you and me? A scary thought indeed" (ABC press release; 23/1/01; "Former Canadian Spy Criticises Swain Bill; New Electronic Spying Powers Ripe For Abuse").

Privacy Commissioner Not Happy About Bill

And opposition came from within the NZ Establishment. In late 2000 the Privacy Commissioner, Bruce Slane, presented the Government with his report on the Crimes Amendment Bill, and he was unsparing in his criticism:

"Plans to give Police and spy agencies the power to hack into computers and intercept electronic communications will lead to unprecedented snooping, the Privacy Commissioner has warned. In a report calling for limitations to be placed on law enforcement bodies, and greater accountability, Bruce Slane opposes the 'pernicious' practice of Police hacking into databases. He has recommended that if Police are allowed to hack into personal computers, they should need more than a search warrant...

"Mr Slane reported to the Government on the changes before Christmas, welcoming the clamp-down on unauthorised access to computer systems but questioning whether there would be enough controls on state agencies. 'It is easy to think of the interception of communications or the accessing of a computer as affecting only the target of Police interest,' he wrote. 'However ... many other people [are] affected by interceptions or computer-related searches. Trawling or browsing through a myriad of personal information [would be] authorised on an unprecedented scale. A single interception warrant can, for instance, authorise listening into hundreds of conversations involving scores of individuals beyond the targeted individuals'.

"The new law would clear the SIS to carry out a sting on a database once the agency had an interception warrant. Police would need only a search warrant. Mr Slane did not believe that a search warrant, issued by a justice of the peace, was strong enough. 'Search warrants are not designed for regulating covert investigations or surveillance,' he said. 'Hacking into a person's computer should be, if allowed at all, very much a last resort. 'Search warrants, unlike interception warrants, do not require the intrusive technique to be used only as a last resort'. Mr Slane said yesterday that the Police should have to obtain an interception warrant from a judge too. Hacking into a computer and intercepting electronic communications was far more intrusive than Police saying, 'We have got some evidence this guy's got stolen property'.

"The report also calls for the GCSB to be omitted from the exemption clauses until it becomes a statutory body like the SIS. Prime Minister Helen Clark has said the Bureau would be written into law this year. Mr Slane said it should not be given more rights until the public was aware of its accountability and powers. 'Unlike the SIS, any interceptions which may be carried out are not subject to a statutory warrant process. 'This will not be put right until the GCSB's establishment is set out in legislation'" (*New Zealand Herald*; 3/1/01; "Police snooping needs tight rein says report: Electronic surveillance by State agencies worries the Privacy Commissioner, who is calling for limitations on their powers"; Eugene Bingham).

ABC takes partial credit for this call by the Privacy Commissioner for the GCSB to be written into law. When he called for submissions, in the 1990s, on how NZ's Intelligence agencies should relate to the Privacy Act and its principles, the ABC's Bob Leonard put in valuable work with him stressing the (literally) lawless nature of the GCSB.

Bruce Slane's full report is well worth reading. "Crimes against personal privacy and crimes involving computers: Intercepting private communications and accessing computer systems without authorisation. Report by the Privacy Commissioner to the Minister of Justice on Supplementary Order Paper No 85 to the Crimes Amendment Bill (No. 6)", 13/12/00; which can be found in the "Reports and Submissions" section of the Privacy Commissioner's Webpage at <http://www.privacy.org.nz/slegisf.html>

ABC's Submission Against Bill

ABC was amongst those to make a submission to the Law and Order Select Committee. For the record, here it is:

Introductory statement:

"The Anti-Bases Campaign has opposed the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) and its Waihopai station actively since 1988, shortly after the construction of the base was announced. This submission deals with the provisions of the proposed Bill and SOP. But it should be read in the context of our total opposition to the very existence of the GCSB, its secretive intrusions into personal privacy and its close ties to the international Intelligence community under the UKUSA Agreement.

"1. GCSB's Powers Of Interception Should Be Cut, Not Expanded

"The interception powers of the GCSB should not be exempted from Section 216B of the Crimes Act. This Government 'agency' owes its existence to the Royal Prerogative, not to the actions of a representative Parliament. To expand its already extensive powers of electronic interception and consequent intrusion into personal privacy is totally unjustified. We understand that this Government intends to bring the GCSB under its own law later in 2001. The Government should not contemplate altering the powers of the agency until and unless that Bill has been duly debated and passed into law. Parliament as a whole has never had oversight over the GCSB or played any role in its creation. It is patently absurd and undemocratic now to ask Parliament to pass a law expanding its interception powers when the existing powers of the GCSB do not exist in written law.

"The GCSB's methods of interception and covert links to other international Intelligence organisations are known only to the extent that independent research has revealed them (see "Secret Power" by Nicky Hager, 1996). Proposed changes in the Telecommunications Act will presumably cover the expanded methods of interception that would be granted by the Crimes Amendment Bill. The cart is clearly before the horse in this legislative mess.

"We object to the current electronic interception powers of the GCSB, including recording of telephone conversations via satellite, for which no warrants are required from any minister or agency of government. That state of affairs would not be changed by the Crimes Amendment Bill, indeed, it is proposed to expand the scope of the agency's powers (using interception by as yet unknown methods), again with no reference to any need for interception warrants.

“We note that these concerns are reflected in a recommendation of the Privacy Commissioner in his report to the Minister of Justice on SOP 85 (January 2001):

‘As a prerequisite to granting an exemption for GCSB from the prohibition on use of listening devices, the Bureau should: (a) be placed on a statutory footing; and (b) be subject to a statutory warrant process for the undertaking of any intrusive activity, particularly where that activity would, if performed by any other person, constitute a breach of the law’.

“2. Foreign Vs Domestic Intelligence

“The GCSB flatly denies that it spies on New Zealanders by intercepting their phone, email and fax messages. But in 1997 when ABC accused the GCSB of listening in on Kiwis who happen to be on one end of an international communication, we met a roadblock. We asked the then GCSB director, Ray Parker, for a definition of ‘domestic intelligence’ but he refused to answer, invoking instead the infamous section 6(a) of the Official Information Act of 1982. He refused to answer on security grounds.

“Why does the GCSB insist that it engages only in the gathering of ‘foreign intelligence’ and then takes cover when confronted with the realistic conclusion that such intelligence gathering must involve spying on New Zealanders as well since they are often on one end of overseas communications? The reason is that the GCSB doesn’t want our citizens to know they are being spied upon at Waihopai. Now we have the Crimes Amendment Bill that would give similar powers of domestic spying to the GCSB [section 305ZFC(2)] by hacking into private computers. No warrant is required for the interception, only Prime Ministerial authorisation and consultation with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Trade and vague and sweeping ‘reasonable grounds to believe...’. It’s a blank cheque for GCSB personnel. Once a foreign organisation or foreign person has been ‘specified’ as a target for spying (possibly based on earlier interceptions by Waihopai) there are no time limits or any other restraints on the GCSB’s intrusion into the affairs of that organisation or person. And as with the interceptions at Waihopai, such covert computer access would inevitably involve the communications of New Zealand citizens with foreigners.

“3. Can The Spies Be Trusted To Follow The Rules?

“The simple answer is NO, we cannot trust anyone who has powers of covert interception at their command to follow rules unless they are being carefully scrutinised, and even then there is plenty of room for doubt. As the Privacy Commissioner emphasises in his detailed recommendations for ‘enhancing interception safeguards’:

‘...beyond the very limited (although important) involvement of the judiciary there is no independent scrutiny or audit of what actually occurs after the warrant is issued and it is desirable that this gap be filled if the public are to have [confidence] that State surveillance is always conducted according to law. (Note: the word ‘confidence’ was omitted from our draft of the SOP)’.

“The ABC believes the Commissioner’s concerns are well justified. The above quote from the Commissioner’s report was presented in the context of law enforcement agencies. But it applies equally to the authorisation by the Prime Minister of GCSB interception (warrants do not apply to the GCSB).

“The GCSB’s counterpart agency in Canada is the Communications Security Establishment (CSE). Testimony from a former long-serving officer of the CSE, Mike Frost, is highly relevant to the question of ‘trust’ of Intelligence agents.

‘...a lot of communications traffic goes through Ottawa – from Newfoundland to Vancouver. So many times, just for the heck of it, Frost and his colleagues would turn the equipment on and ‘listen in’, plain as day, on anything their electronic gear would catch. Nobody would question it. There was no watchdog. They just did whatever they felt like doing. ...they were intruding on the privacy of the people they were supposed to protect’ (from “Spyworld” by Mike Frost and Michel Gratton, Doubleday, 1994, pp. 21-22).

‘...the second part of CSE’s mandate [is] that ‘it deals with foreign intelligence; it allows CSE to intercept and process foreign communications between Canada and other countries....This part of the mandate takes up most of CSE’s resources and is more controversial because its intrusive nature has the potential for violation of the rights and freedoms of Canadians’ (Frost and Gratton, p. 34).

“The GCSB operates within the same Intelligence network^[1] as the CSE, in an atmosphere of maximum secrecy... We have every reason to believe that Mike Frost’s descriptions of the day-to-day spying activities in the CSE, without oversight, apply equally to the GCSB. To this day, no government within the UKUSA grouping has ever had any direct oversight role over the actions of its agents. Indeed, it is only in recent years that our elected representatives

even knew they existed thanks to a few dedicated researchers and ex-spies of conscience (like Frost) who spilled the beans.

“In 1998/99 New Zealand’s Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security reviewed the rules under which the GCSB conducts its spying. His report (dated 28 April 1999) contained several conclusions in which he approved of the Bureau’s rules and methods of operation, the value of its intelligence activities, its relations with other Intelligence partners, its protection of the privacy of New Zealanders and so on. That report and his *Annual Report* (22 December 1999) blandly assured New Zealanders that their private communications are not spied upon and that the NZ Government and the GCSB are entirely in control of the interception activities and all of the raw intelligence at Waihopai and Tangimoana. But he does not directly deny that the intelligence reporting systems at Waihopai are automated and directly linked to those of the UKUSA Intelligence partners. He cannot deny that because he is not privy to the inner workings of the system. Nor does he directly deny that the ‘foreign’ satellite communications of New Zealanders are spied upon for the simple reason that they are likely to involve foreigners on the other end of the line. He cannot deny it because such two-way communications, be they by telephone, fax or email, are by definition ‘foreign’ and thus fair game at Waihopai. He never mentions this simple fact in his report but goes on to conclude:

“I am sure that the GCSB operations have no adverse or improper impact on the privacy or personal security of New Zealand citizens. I am satisfied too, that our Intelligence partners are as concerned about the privacy and security of New Zealand citizens as their own’ (*Annual Report*, 1998/99, p. 10).

“Mike Frost’s first-hand revelations about domestic spying by the CSE were first published in 1994. The Inspector-General should have read his book.

“In short, we cannot trust the spies. To expand their powers of interception to computer hacking is totally unacceptable. Existing oversight by the Inspector-General is effectively a rubber stamp. Indeed, it is doubtful that any oversight could ever be effective given the impenetrable nature of the international Intelligence community of which the GCSB is a part.

“4. Summary

“The Anti-Bases Campaign supports measures contained in the Crimes Amendment Bill to make computer hacking illegal. But exemptions must not be given to the Intelligence agencies and the police. The exemptions should be removed from the Bill.

“Our submission has focused on the GCSB. But our concerns apply to the Security Intelligence Service and the Police as well. The ABC believes that increased powers of surveillance and interception would further erode the fundamental rights of all New Zealanders to engage in research, education and non-violent protest whether or not the Government agrees with them. Exercising these democratic rights must not lead to increased intrusions into privacy based on official suspicions of terrorist or criminal intent. Terrorists and criminals will find it easy to evade the prying eyes and ears of the spies and police. Innocent private citizens will not”.

Another excellent submission is that of GATT Watchdog, whose best known figure, Aziz Choudry, was the target of the legendary bungled 1996 break-in by the SIS. Not surprisingly, GATT Watchdog’s submission concentrates on the SIS, and on the less well known political intelligence gathering by the Police, which was brought to light in the successful damages claim against the Crown by David Small (who caught the spooks breaking into Aziz’s house, and who became the subsequent target for Police harassment). This nicely complements the ABC submission, which concentrates on the GCSB.

If you’d like a copy, contact GATT Watchdog at Box 1905, Christchurch. Ph (03) 3662803; fax (03) 3668035 e-mail: notoapec@clear.net.nz

This campaign still has some distance to run. Apart from the Parliamentary submission process, there have been public meetings and protest actions. Meetings have been held in Auckland and Christchurch, with Green MP Keith Locke speaking at both. Also in Christchurch, ABC organised a small but militant lunch time picket of the anonymous SIS office (hidden in a building at 70 Gloucester Street. It’s on the 3rd floor, the only one with no identifying markings, and curtains always drawn). This picket was well covered by local TV news. The mainstream media have picked up the story – the *Listener* ran a cover story on it (10/3/01; “I Spy”, Bruce Ansley), and TVNZ’s *Assignment* devoted a programme to it (5/4/01).

The Swain Bill (which is actually a package of measures) represents a dangerous escalation in the powers of both Intelligence agencies and the Police. As such, it is a major further assault on the civil liberties and privacy of all New

Zealanders. It follows on from the two 1990s SIS Amendment Acts which gave that agency increased powers, a broader mandate and retrospective legalisation of all its covert break-ins. It is part of the package which includes the GCSB Bill, introduced into Parliament in May 2001, accompanied by the glossy propaganda booklet "Securing Our Nation's Safety", which glorifies the role of Intelligence agencies in "safeguarding our democracy". The amendment to the Telecommunications Act is yet to come.

Nor are the spies waiting for the legal right to hack into your computer, including deleting or altering files to cover their tracks. Helen Clark, the Minister In Charge of the SIS, refused to confirm or deny that the SIS is already doing that (which has the potential for the SIS to covertly set up individuals or organisations by planting/deleting/altering material in their files: "For reasons of security I am not prepared to comment further" (*NZ Herald*, 16/5/01; "Law raises fears of SIS set-ups: Legislation on hacking might let spies do more than just look at your data", Vernon Small).

This story has still got a long way to go. We will keep you informed.

Britain: From Mad To Worse

Meanwhile, we need to note what is happening in Britain, whose highly draconian 2000 Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act (RIP – what an appropriate acronym) sets the model for what the Government wants in NZ. There, Internet Service Providers (ISPs) are being driven mad by techno-illiterate cops asking "stupid questions" (i.e. "What is a Hotmail account?") whilst trying to enforce the Act. As one ISP representative said: "At the moment, the big problem ISPs have with the Police is their stupid questions. After a while, it gets expensive and unproductive –it's a problem. It's always a problem, and it's a very serious problem. My children at primary school are better trained on the Internet than the local Police are". But the RIP Act doesn't go far enough for the secret British State. An August 2000 report, leaked to the media, revealed plans to force all phone companies and ISPs to record **all** forms of communications in and out of Britain – phone calls, mobile phone calls, faxes, e-mail, Websites and Internet activity – and store them physically in archives for at least seven years, to be accessed at will by a huge range of Government agencies, namely MI5, MI6, GCHQ (the three Intelligence agencies), Police, Customs and Immigration. The mind boggles and ISPs have already warned that if this comes to pass, they will relocate outside of the UK. Today Britain, tomorrow New Zealand? Not if we have anything to do with it.

Statewatch is the best publication on civil liberties in the UK and Europe. It can be contacted at Box 1516, London N16 0EW, UK. Ph (0044) 02088021882; fax (0044) 02088801727; e-mail: office@statewatch.org Website <http://www.statewatch.org>

[1] The other UKUSA agencies – US National Security Agency (NSA), UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), Canadian CSE, and the Australian Defence Signals Division (DSD).

THE COMPLEAT SPY: TRADECRAFT

This is an extract from Richard Tomlinson's book, "The Big Breach: From Top Secret To Maximum Security", which was extensively serialised in the UK Sunday Times, in January 2001. Tomlinson has been familiar to Peace Researcher readers for the past few years (see previous issues). He is the New Zealand-born former MI6 agent (MI6 is Britain's foreign spy agency) who got sacked, spat the dummy (he loved being a spy, and was pissed off at being sacked. There was no noble principle motivating him). To shut him up, he was imprisoned in Britain and then hounded, persecuted, injuncted, locked up, bashed up and kicked out of more countries (including the gutless land of his birth) than he'd had hot dinners. Eventually his book was published in Russia (where else?) and proved a great hit in Britain. He still continues to generate much current media coverage in NZ (for example, see Listener, 12/5/01; "007's lament: The spy who wants to come in from the cold", Mark Revington).

Tradecraft means the practical skills that enable a spy to communicate with an agent without arousing the suspicion of counterintelligence.

An intelligence officer cannot go to a clandestine meeting with an informer without first ensuring that he or she is not being followed. This "dry-cleaning" involves an innocuous cover activity such as a shopping trip on a planned route that contains "surveillance traps".

Another tradecraft technique, the "dead letter box", involves hiding a message to be picked up by the other party. On a training exercise, James Barking chose a high-level toilet cistern in the gents in the Mr Pickwick pub in Portsmouth. A former Army officer called Andy Mare, picking up the message, had to climb up on the toilet seat to reach it - causing the enraged gentleman in the next cubicle to call the police. Unable to explain the truth, Mare admitted to cottaging (*unknown UK slang, but the meaning seems clear. Ed.*). He was fortunate to be let off with a caution.

Secret Writing (SW) still plays a role in spying. There is a three-man joint *MI5/MI6 section known as TS/SW, which is responsible for research and training. The method now used ubiquitously by MI6 officers in the field is miraculously simple. Like many great inventions, it was discovered by accident. * MI5 - British internal spy agency.

The problem with early invisible inks was that the writer could not see what he had just written. The solution came in the mid-1980s, when a technician was developing a SW message written on the back of an envelope posted from Moscow.

As the technician swabbed it with developing fluid, the secret writing began to emerge. But other writing, in a different hand and mirror-written, also started to develop.

There was only one explanation. In the post box, the envelope must have pressed against another addressed with a commercial ink possessing the invisible chemical. If the pen responsible could be identified, it would be a simple and deniable SW implement that would allow an agent or officer to see what he was writing before taking an "offset" copy.

MI6 mounted a worldwide search. Every MI6 station was asked to buy every make of pen available. The magic pen turned out to be the Pentel Rollerball. This is now used routinely by MI6 officers.

Clandestine communication systems were the responsibility of TOS/AC (Technical and Operations Support, Agent Comms). Their gadgets are virtually indistinguishable from commercially available equipment.

Pettle recorders were particularly ingenious. Any normal audio cassette has two tracks running parallel to each other, one for each "side" of the cassette. Pettle recorders exploited the unused part of the magnetic tape between the two strips.

TOS/AC also demonstrated modified laptop computers. The removable floppy disks used in ordinary computers have a hidden space which is just big enough to hide a simple word-processing system and file retrieval system.

Watch Out For Garfield

We also learnt how to use SRAC (Short Range Agent Communication). The agent writes a message on a laptop

computer, then downloads it into the SRAC transmitter, the size of a cigarette packet. A receiver, usually in the British embassy, sends out a low-power interrogation signal that triggers the transmitter when the agent is close enough. For many years "Garfield the Cat" toys were popular with agents as their sucker feet allowed an agent to stick the transmitter on the side window of a car, giving a clear signal driving past the embassy.

The lecturers also taught us how to mount bugging operations, although this is not the job of the IB. TOS/AC has about 100 officers trained as locksmiths, clandestine entry specialists, sound engineers, electricians.

Dell, our chief trainer, gave us an exercise in which we had to imagine that the Irish Republican Army had acquired a safe house that was to be used to plan a bombing campaign. We had to draw up a detailed portfolio of the house, its layout, its occupants, their movements, then recommend how and when the house should be entered to place covert listening devices. Each of us was to reconnoitre a different house in Gosport owned by an innocent member of the public. "You can do whatever you want," said Dell. "Just don't get caught."

I borrowed a covert shoulder bag-mounted camera from the photographic laboratories and photographed my target, a medium-sized home in a small garden. A visit to Gosport Town Hall yielded a copy of the electoral roll, giving the names of the occupants. Posing as an architectural student, I looked at the plans of the house in the building regulations department and covertly photographed them.

The best place for the listening device would be in the kitchen, where the family socialised. But more detailed information was needed. One evening I jogged round to the house and found that it was empty. I climbed a fence and scuttled the few metres to the back of the house. There was silence, so I peered through the window and sketched the kitchen layout in a notebook. I noticed a key in the door. I turned it and pushed the door open. My intrusion was illegal, but in the euphoria of the *lonec* (*meaning unknown. Ed.*) it seemed justified. Dell rewarded my efforts with full marks.

Although the core activity of MI6 is agent running, its charter, known as the Order Book, requires it to maintain a capability to plan and mount Special Operations of a quasi-military nature. MI6 officers set the objectives of the operation and obtain clearance for it from the foreign secretary. Thereafter the operation is executed by specially trained officers and men from the three branches of the armed forces.

The RAF provides a small detachment of about 10 pilots known as the "S&D flight". They operate a Hercules C-130 transport aircraft and a Puma helicopter, are trained on many other military aircraft and also have commercial pilot's licences. The Army provides an Special Air Service (SAS) detachment called Revolutionary Warfare Wing, and the Navy provides a small detachment from its Special Boat Service (SBS). Both are known collectively within MI6 as the "Increment".

SAS and SBS personnel learn how to use improvised explosives and sabotage techniques and advanced VIP protection skills. They study guerrilla warfare organisation, and advanced insertion techniques are practised, including high-altitude parachuting from commercial aircraft or covert landings from submarines.

The SBS Increment also operates MI6's mini-submarine. This is about the length of two cars; the pilot and navigator sit astride the cylindrical forward hull. The rear half of the craft flattens into a passenger compartment to carry four persons, packed together like sardines. The mini-sub is used for infiltrating specialist agents into a hostile country and for exfiltrating compromised agents.

Another specialist cadre occasionally participates in operations. These 20 or so men and women, known collectively as UKN, encompass a diverse range of specialist skills. A small core who are on call full-time draw a modest salary from MI6. The rest work unpaid and take time off from their real jobs.

Their core skill is surveillance and countersurveillance. Other skills are diverse; one is an air-taxi pilot who is prepared to drop everything to help out in an MI6 operation. Another is a yachtmaster who provides his boat when required.

TROTTER TROTS OUT ROT The Strange Resurrection Of The SIS Break-In Case

- Murray Horton

The court cases brought by Aziz Choudry and David Small, arising out of the botched 1996 break-in at Aziz's Christchurch home by Security Intelligence Service (SIS) agents, were settled in 1999 and 2000 respectively. How very odd then that the whole business should have been resurrected in 2001, a propos of nothing. Or was it? In fact, the purported revelations were published at the same time as the major controversy over the Swain Bill, which gives the SIS, Police and Government Communications Security Bureau, increased powers of electronic spying against New Zealanders (*see elsewhere in this issue for ABC's submission on the Bill. Ed.*). They seemed aimed at lending legitimacy to the tawdry operations of the SIS.

Chris Trotter is the Establishment's tame Lefty. He is a regular columnist for the *Dominion* and the *Independent*. In the past, such as during the build up to the 1999 APEC Summit in Auckland, he has shown a tendency to shoot off at the mouth. But his latest effort is a beauty. Early in 2001 his regular *Independent* column was entitled "Perhaps The SIS Was Right To Burgle Choudry's House" (14/2/01). He later protested that the headline was not of his choosing, but proceeded to republish the article, under a different headline, in the *Political Review*, which he edits.

His thesis was simple. His research (consisting of a few Internet searches) had uncovered the fact that Aziz's house guest at the time of the break-in was Dr Alejandro Villamar, of Mexico; that GATT* Watchdog et al had never made this public; that Alejandro was the likely target of the SIS operation, not Aziz; and that he was the target because of his activities and connections in Mexico, which included those actively opposed to major NZ companies becoming involved in forestry projects in southern Mexico, including the state of Chiapas, the base for the Zapatistas' armed uprising. He stated that "opponents of globalisation are extremely naive if they think they can take on transnational capital without consequences" (letter to *Listener*, 24/3/01). * GATT = General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, now the World Trade Organisation (WTO), headed by our very own Mike Moore.

A Beat Up

This whole thing really is a beat up. GATT Watchdog responded that Alejandro Villamar was a featured speaker at the Trading With Our Lives conference, which was being held in opposition to the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) Trade Ministers' conference in 1996, both in Christchurch. Aziz was a principal organiser of Trading With Our Lives; he and Alejandro went on a speaking tour around the country immediately after that. Accordingly, Alejandro's presence in NZ was widely publicised to the media and public. Trotter stuck to his guns, saying that GATT Watchdog had never admitted that Alejandro was Aziz's house guest at the time of the break-in. Unfortunately for him we had, from Day One. GATT Watchdog has nothing to hide. Various publications, such as *Foreign Control Watchdog*, *Peace Researcher* and *The Big Picture* have all run articles stating that Alejandro was Aziz's house guest at the time and speculating on whether Alejandro was the target of the break-in.

Trotter went on to point out that the break-in took place a fortnight after the new SIS Amendment Act came into force, expanding the spy agency's powers to include targeting people who pose a threat to New Zealand's "international or economic wellbeing", and that Alejandro's activities and connections in Mexico, specifically those in opposition to major NZ companies trying to get into forestry projects in southern Mexico, provided exactly that justification for the SIS operation.

Unfortunately for him, there are more holes in his argument. Yes, the break-in did take place a mere fortnight after the law change, precisely proving our point that political activists would be targeted. But the evidence gathered in Aziz's case does not help Trotter's thesis – the SIS interception warrant, which authorised the break-in, was issued in 1995, way before the law was changed and before GATT Watchdog had heard of Alejandro Villamar, let alone invited him to NZ. So authorisation for the break-in was given under the old law, which did not include the expanded powers.

Trotter's claims did not go unnoticed in the wider world. Bruce Ansley, in his *Listener* cover story on the Swain Bill ("I Spy"; 10/3/01) wrote that (unlike Trotter) he had covered the 1996 Trading With Our Lives conference, and the APEC Trade Ministers' conference, and that Alejandro's presence was certainly no secret as far as the national and international media were concerned. That led to Trotter writing an aggrieved letter to the *Listener* (which has a much bigger circulation than the *Independent*). Likewise, Jane Kelsey wrote to the *Listener* punching holes in his beat up story (he replied to her, sticking to his guns).

The question of why Chris Trotter would publish this rubbish is more problematic. It's a very strange line for a

so-called “Lefty”, tame or otherwise, to take. It’s not a new line – back before Aziz’s case got to court, Helen Clark infuriated the then National government by telling *North and South* that Aziz was not the target of the SIS; it was his foreign house guest. Why Trotter is pushing his bigger thesis is even more peculiar - for a start, the “New Zealand” forestry companies concerned (the likes of Carter Holt Harvey and Fletcher Challenge) are actually foreign-owned, and thus transnational corporations (TNCs) that happen to be based in NZ. And is he saying that if you oppose the activities of TNCs, be it in NZ or Mexico, you can expect to be targeted by Intelligence agencies in covert operations? That, if you oppose the activities of “NZ” TNCs in Mexico, you can expect to be targeted in NZ? That’s pretty heavy stuff, especially as he goes to some length to justify it, and has republished it in several other fora, namely his own *Political Review* and in letters to the *Listener*.

Trotter’s story is shot full of factual holes, and presents a very, very dodgy political line in seemingly defending the “right” of Intelligence agencies to break the law (it’s worth reminding readers that the Court of Appeal ruled that the SIS had never had any right to break into Aziz’s house, or anybody else’s; that formed the basis of the out of court settlement by the National government) whilst acting in the interests of TNCs and in targeting the opponents of globalisation. You’d need to ask Trotter what is his justification for this – we can’t find any in the article. Even better, ask him about his timing – just as the Labour government’s Swain Bill is handing even greater electronic spying powers to the spooks and cops.

As the argument wound down, leaving him stubbornly tying himself in knots, it became clear that this particular Trotter has got a bad case of foot in mouth disease. The whole mysterious business has left a bad taste in our mouths.

PHILIPPINES US War Games Resume

- Murray Horton

The years 2000 and 01 have been tumultuous in Philippine politics. In late 2000, a massive scandal erupted with the revelation that President Joseph Estrada was the single biggest beneficiary of the country's illegal numbers racket, netting hundreds of millions of \$US in the process, enabling him to keep himself, his cronies and his multiple mistresses and children in the highest possible style. If you'd seen it in a B movie, you wouldn't have believed it. In short order, he was impeached and the trial started in December. It reached its anti-climax in January 2001, when the Senate (by a majority of one) refused to accept crucial prosecution evidence; the prosecution team walked out in disgust; and, as in 1986 when People Power overthrew the Marcos dictatorship, hundreds of thousands of people continuously rallied in Metro Manila and throughout the country; the military and police withdrew their crucial support from Estrada and he was forced from office (he never actually resigned, stating that he was merely taking a rest, while his Vice President, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, "temporarily" runs the country). But he was gone, and he lost two subsequent appeals to the Supreme Court asking for his Presidency back. 13-0 was the verdict each time. He had lasted a mere two years of his six year term, having blown the largest mandate ever given any elected Philippine President.

Worse was to come for him – for the first time ever in Philippine history a former President was arrested, imprisoned and charged with the capital crime of plunder (by contrast, none of the Marcos family, who stole billions and murdered, tortured and imprisoned thousands, has ever spent one minute in prison). This was all too much for him and his supporters, both inside and outside traditional political circles. Hundreds of thousands of them staged their own rallies in Metro Manila, calling for his release, and reinstatement. Whipped into a frenzy by reactionary politicians who date back to the Marcos martial law years, the mob attacked the Presidential Palace on May Day – in the ensuing riot, several were killed on both sides and major damage was done; President Macapagal-Arroyo declared a "state of rebellion"; rounded up large numbers of the lumpen proletariat who had been used as cannon fodder (being paid to attend rallies is so common in the Philippines that there's a Filipino word for it – *hakot*); and arrested some of the politicians behind it. Others went into hiding.

So it's been an action packed year, even by the volatile standards of Filipino politics (the May 2001 half term elections for Congress and local government featured an even higher than usual death toll from political assassinations and bombings). But one thing doesn't change – the US military is in the Philippines. Forced out by the 1991 Senate vote (including Senator Estrada) which terminated the century old bases treaty, the US military has had no bases in the Philippines since 1992. This was a major blow to the Pentagon. But it assiduously worked away at its former colony, under the Ramos and Estrada presidencies, finally getting the US/Philippines Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) ratified by the Senate in 1999 (under Estrada). This allowed it to frequently conduct large scale exercises in the Philippines at will, without having to bother with the expensive infrastructure of bases. As with its Status of Forces Agreements with Japan and South Korea, where it does still have many bases, the VFA offers virtual immunity to US servicemen accused of crimes in the Philippines.

Kids Killed: Money Buys Silence

Joint exercises started in 2000 and from the outset there were incidents. In March 2000, there were joint naval exercises; three US sailors were arrested and charged with bashing up a Cebu City taxi driver in a dispute over his fare. The case was dropped after the US paid the cabbie \$US5,000. A more deadly situation occurred in August 2000, also on Cebu. US Navy SEALs (Sea, Air, Land special forces) and their Philippine Navy counterparts held a secret exercise in the former Atlas Mine, at Toledo, in the island's interior. All went swimmingly for the Navy boys, but they left an unexploded rocket-launched grenade behind. Local kids found it, the thing blew up, killing two and injuring another. This was the first that relevant Filipino authorities even knew about the Flash Piston exercise. They filed homicide and injury charges against 39 US SEALs and Philippine Navy commandos. That did not go down well with the US military, which claimed immunity for its men. Once again, money solved the problem. In January 2001, the parents of the dead boys were a paid a total of 1.5 million pesos (divide by 50 for \$US) and duly asked the prosecutors to drop the charges.

Thirty four large, medium and small VFA joint exercises are scheduled for 2001. But it hasn't been a smooth ride. In January, 200 US Air Force personnel and five aircraft arrived at the former Clark Air Force Base to take part in the Teak Piston exercise with the Philippine Air Force. The exercise never got off the ground – literally. It coincided with the peak of the protests demanding Estrada's ouster. The US, in the final week of Clinton's Presidency, was hyper sensitive to any suggestion that its military was involved in Filipino politics, or providing any sort of an escape service for Estrada (in 1986, the USAF flew the Marcoses and their loot from their besieged Metro Manila palace to

Clark, then out of the country). The exercise was called off, the US military forces left, and it was rescheduled for January 2002. George Bush was sworn in the same weekend as Estrada was overthrown.

The next big exercise was Balikatan 2001, involving 1,700 US troops, from late April until mid May, and taking place over several provinces. The US tried to get the Philippines to accept the involvement of Thailand, Singapore, Australia and Canada, but the Philippines government balked, fearing diplomatic problems with China and Vietnam. It is wary about getting dragged into Bush's increasingly confrontational relationship with China.

Of course, in the good old days of the US bases, everybody's military got to play in the Philippines. Even little old NZ. Special Air Service troops practised counter-insurgency there (two were killed, in the 1981 crash of a US military aircraft, near Subic Bay Navy Base). In the 1980s, NZ Skyhawks used to practice bombing runs in the regular Cope Thunder exercises at the Crow Valley Bombing Range, near Clark. Now, of course, the RNZAF air combat wing is being consigned to redundancy and those geriatric Skyhawks are up for sale. Maybe the Philippines can buy them and practice bombing their own country. Although, knowing the Philippine military, any such planes will be used for real bombing.

It is unlikely that other countries' military forces will get back into the Philippines, but the Pentagon is working very hard to cement the US military back into its oldest colony and client. Every one of these exercises is met by large scale protests – the Filipino people fought for 100 years to get rid of the US military; they are not going to just sit idly by and allow them back into their country.

LOST IN SPACE Bush Launches Star Wars

- Murray Horton

The 2000 Presidential election left Florida in particular, and the US in general, as the laughingstock of the world. The insufferable American habit of lecturing other people about democratic elections will lack a certain credibility next time around. Of course, it brought to office none other than GI (Grinning Idiot) George, along with a phalanx of retreads from the Administrations of his father and Ronnie Reagan.

GI has two big ideas. The first is to cut taxes for his rich friends, (who lavishly bankrolled his campaign and are reaping the benefits as Bush puts exploitation and profits ahead of everything else, such as the environment). The second big idea is a rehash of Ronnie Reagan's Star Wars dream, now called the National Missile Defense (NMD). *PR* detailed it in # 22 (December 2000), so we refer you to that, rather than rehash it all here.

NMD involves huge amounts of money – more than \$US100 billion – and has the added burden of not actually working. The field trials of the missile interception systems (using a missile to hit an incoming one) have been unsuccessful. Unless the proposed nuclear umbrella can guarantee 100% protection from all incoming missiles, it is useless. To paraphrase the old saying, one nuclear missile can definitely ruin your day. The White House cannot articulate successfully just who might be firing these missiles at an increasingly paranoid and armed to the teeth US. "Rogue states", apparently. As soon as Bush was in office, he mounted the obligatory attack on Iraq, to prove that his was bigger than Clinton's or Saddam's. But there's no sign that Iraqi missiles will be heading towards the US anytime soon. In the last few months of Clinton's Administration, the half century of hostilities between the US and North Korea started to thaw out, following in the train of the peace initiatives of the two rival Korean states themselves. All that has been put on hold under Bush. But there's still no sign that Pyongyang will be attacking the US anytime soon.

The real enemy is, of course, China (it is described as a rival, not an enemy). Russia no longer poses a threat to the self proclaimed American role to be the world's sole superPower. But China won't follow the script. It humiliated Bush by forcing him to say sorry before it would release the crew of the captured US spy plane; the plane itself remains firmly in Chinese hands. China is prone to get very bellicose indeed about American involvement with Taiwan. There are two contradictory schools of thought about China in American ruling circles – one wants to demonise it as the enemy, possibly fight a real war with it and make plenty of money for the arms industry in the process; the other wants to be friendly to China because of the huge profits that US corporations stand to make there. Bush is offering reductions in the US nuclear arsenal, as a trade off for Star Wars, but is unlikely to get any takers from a deeply suspicious Russia and China. Instead, it is likely to lead to a new nuclear arms race.

NMD will abrogate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which is the cornerstone of all nuclear arms agreements in the following 30 years. It will involve a major expansion of detection and tracking systems in America's global chain of spybases, specifically Fylingdales and Menwith Hill, in Britain, and the massive Pine Gap base in Australia. It is the latter that drags us into it – Pine Gap is regularly serviced through the US military base at Christchurch Airport. So little old "nuclear free" New Zealand becomes part of the burgeoning Star Wars machine. Successive Australian governments since WWII have bent over backwards to accommodate the US military and spy agencies (remember "All the way with LBJ"?). The Howard Liberal government has committed itself to NMD; there is no reason to believe that anything will change if a Beazley Labor government is the result of the forthcoming general election. Pine Gap is crucial to American intelligence gathering worldwide; it has played a key role in every American war and military operation in the recent past. And it is shrouded in secrecy – three years ago the Australian Parliament set up the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties, for the sole purpose of scrutinising the extension of the Pine Gap treaty. It wanted assurances that Australia has some say in what Pine Gap is used for. The Australian Department of Defence brushed aside the committee's inquiries with vague platitudes; and its request to inspect the spy base was rejected (even though US legislators were able to do so and were provided classified briefings which were denied to the Australian committee).

Global Domination By, From, And Of, Space

NMD is just part of the American militarisation of space that has been gathering momentum since the Reagan years. The US Space Command has as its mission statement: "...dominating the space dimension of military operations to protect US interests and investments. Integrating Space Forces into warfighting capabilities across the full spectrum of conflict" (US Space Command, "Vision For 2020", 1996; quoted in *Covert Action Quarterly [CAQ]*, April-June 2001; "Space Corps: The dangerous business of making the heavens a war zone", Karl Grossman). General Joseph Ashy, then commander in chief of the US Space Command said, in 1996: "It's politically sensitive but it's going to

happen. Some people don't want to hear this and it sure isn't in vogue, but – absolutely – we're going to fight in space. We're going to fight from space and we're going to fight into space" (*Aviation Week & Space Technology*, 5/8/96; quoted in CAQ, *ibid*). "Master of Space" is the motto of the US Space Command. American triumphalism is breathtaking in its childlike naivety. The 1996 book "The Future Of War: Power, Technology & American World Domination in the 21st Century" by George and Meredith Friedman concludes: "Just as by the year 1500 it was apparent that the European experience of power would be its domination of the global seas, it does not take much to see that the American experience of power will rest on the domination of space...Just as Europe expanded war and its power to the global oceans, the United States is expanding war and its power into space ...Just as Europe shaped the world for half a millennium, so too the United States will shape the world for at least that length of time. For better or worse, America has seized hold of the future of war" (*ibid*).

Wow. This evangelistic rhetoric is right up there with the premature ejaculation that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the defeat of Communism signalled the end of history. It would be impressive if the colossus didn't have feet of clay. Quite apart from all the inherent weaknesses and failures in the proposed NMD, look at the reality of American military power projection. Within the very recent past, one of its most modern warships was crippled, in Aden – not by any "rogue" missile – but by suicide bombers with a small boat packed full of explosives. And the CIA contractors flying the Amazonian skies to stem the airborne flow of cocaine to the insatiable American market most recently mistakenly directed the Peruvian Air Force to shoot down a plane carrying US missionaries, killing a woman and her baby (one wonders how that rated in the Bible Belt, one of GI's core constituencies).

All empires develop grandiose delusions, building castles in the air, while all around them the Empire is quietly rotting away, not because of barbarian hordes or "rogue" States – but because of the inherent contradictions acquired in becoming an empire in the first place. NMD is a colossal waste of money and human resources, one which threatens the fabric of hard won agreements from the Cold War and will start a new arms race. It will drag US satellite States, such as Britain and Australia, along with it. Even little old NZ will get involved. Bush is determined to go back to the future, one of nuclear confrontation, massive arms spending, and the militarisation of the "last frontier". Global domination is a very old concept and one which carries within it the seeds of its proponent's own destruction. There's no reason to believe that the American Empire's grand folly will end any differently from those of all the other empires which have previously "conquered the world". Where are they now? They ended; history continued without them.

ECHELON

Nicky Hager's Testimony To European Parliament

In April 2001, Nicky Hager went to Brussels to testify to the European Parliament's Temporary Committee on Echelon, the code name for the massive electronic spying project operated by the intelligence agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ (at the Waihopai spybase).

Nicky has kindly supplied us with the transcript of his appearance. It is 18 pages long. As a transcript, it is essentially unedited, and contains typos and mistakes. But it is a gold mine of facts, analysis, opinions and recommendations by the world expert whose 1996 book "Secret Power" blew the cover on this whole operation. It also contains several pages of his answers to the committee's questions.

If you would like an electronic copy of this transcript, send us your e-mail address. It will be sent to you as a Word 97 attachment. If you would like a hard copy, send us your postal address and \$5 to cover copying and postage. Make cheques to: ABC, Box 2258, Christchurch.

NOT ON YOUR NELLY, THEY DON'T

This is an extract from a speech (8/5/01) in Parliament by Green Co-Leader, Rod Donald, on the introduction of the Government Communications Security Bureau Bill. Ed.

"One objective of the GCSB is to contribute to national security by providing foreign intelligence that the Government requires to protect and advance New Zealand's economic well being to the extent that it is affected by the actions or intentions of foreign organisations or persons.

* Does this mean that the GCSB has been or should be gathering information on the Singapore owned Dominion Breweries' intentions for the Monteiths brewery on the West Coast?

* Is the GCSB spying on Brierley's intentions in relation to Air New Zealand?

* Does the GCSB advise the Overseas Investment Commission against approving foreign investment which is likely to lead to asset stripping, company closures and job losses?

* In the interests of our international well being, did it advise against Tommy Suharto being allowed to buy the Lilybank station.

When we look at serious threats to our sovereignty, our international well being and our economic well being the GCSB have been an abject failure...".

OBITUARY ELSIE LOCKE

- Murray Horton

Elsie Locke, who died in April 2001, aged 88, was physically tiny but a person with enormous presence (a point made by all the headline writers of her numerous tributes and obituaries). She was multi-talented: a lifelong political activist, she was once a leading Communist Party figure and remained a socialist all her life. For decades she was a leader of the New Zealand peace movement, long before it achieved critical mass. She lived long enough to see her point of view become the nuclear free status quo in this country. She was an active feminist long before that word was known and a pakeha activist on Maori issues long before that became the norm. She was an indefatigable writer, of books, articles, radio talks and letters to the editor. Her children's books alone guarantee her immortality. She was a community activist, who devoted decades to improving the Avon Loop, her beloved central Christchurch home for nearly 60 years. A daily swimmer for decades, she led the fight to preserve and improve Centennial Pool, and keep it free of the curse of sponsorship (no Lancaster Park/Jade Stadium scenario there). She was the only living person to have a park named after her in Christchurch history. She won prizes, medals, awards, an honorary Doctorate of Literature from the University of Canterbury and a Distinguished Alumni Award from Auckland University.

Throughout all this, she placed her family (a bunch of talented political activists themselves) above all else, being a devoted mother and grandmother (not to mention a grandmother figure to her broader community). For several years, in her 80s, she put everything on hold to take full care of her late husband, Jack, who was stricken by a series of strokes. She was plain spoken, indeed she could be a crabby old bugger (I know). She lived simply, biking and walking everywhere, dying alone in the tiny little riverside cottage that had been the family home since 1944. Elsie had a fierce love of all things New Zealand, and only once went overseas, preferring to tramp in her beloved Kiwi bush. She had a love of art and culture, and ensured that her working class family got the same cultural riches as those of the middle class and rich. Right until the very end of her long, long life (I last saw her a month before she died), she had a razor sharp mind, and the keenest active interest in the world around her. Our last talk was at an Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) public meeting to protest the Government's law change to allow the spies and cops to tap New Zealanders' e-mail. Elsie was 88 and frail; computers were of no personal interest to her (her trusty old manual typewriter was a central prop at her funeral – along with her bike, togs and towel), but she turned up and sat in the front row to listen to her Green MP son, Keith, speak on the issue.

Elsie was a greatly valued friend and colleague for 30 years. She was a foundation member of CAFGINZ (now CAFCA) in 1975 and remained a member until her death. She was a big fan, writing in her book, "Peace People": "...CAFCA has retained its unique blend of research, education of itself and others, and action where appropriate, always with the aim of a truly independent New Zealand". She was involved in all its campaigns and fought some of her own with the very biggest and nastiest of the transnational corporations. I well remember her great pride, in the 1990s, when she got Telecom to drop its demand for payment, including years of arrears, for the outside bell that the former Post Office had installed, free of charge, so that the progressively deaf Elsie could hear the phone ring whilst she was in the garden (no impersonal answerphones for her). In the years that CAFGINZ was a peace group, campaigning on issues like the US military base at Christchurch Airport (the Harewood base is still there and still an issue), Elsie was in the thick of it. From the 1980s onwards, as those issues were taken up, firstly by the former Citizens for the Demilitarisation of Harewood, and now by the ABC, she remained actively involved. She was an ABC member throughout the 90s. She was too old and frail to come to any of the Waihopai spybase protests, but she did things like recommend books for us to review in *Peace Researcher*. ABC was honoured to be invited by the family to contribute a couple of our banners to join those displayed during her funeral. Peace was Elsie's driving passion. Melanie Thomson of the ABC (now in London) remembers Elsie, in her 80s, biking out to the University to speak to the student peace group. And she was very generous – from 1993 onwards she donated nearly \$1,000 to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income.

Elsie Violet Farrelly was born in 1912, the youngest of six children, and grew up in the tiny south Auckland town of Waiuku. Her repugnance towards war was inculcated in her when young. She grew up in the aftermath of World War 1, and saw first hand the horrors it had wrought. "...when visiting Warkworth I was taken to see a man whose face had been half shot away and who never went off his farm" (*Press*, 24/12/91; "Elsie Locke: anti-nuclear arms veteran", Ken Coates). Her mother, Ellen, told her that the war should never have happened and could have been avoided. Elsie left Waiuku when she was young, but never forsook it, often returning there throughout her long life, and, unusually for a pakeha of her generation, developing strong ties with the local Ngati Te Ata iwi. Her research was vital for its Treaty of Waitangi claim; she had a Maori godson, who spoke movingly of her at the funeral. The Maori Women's Welfare League made a special visit to Elsie's wake, to farewell her with songs and stories. In an age when it was common for working class kids, especially girls, to not go to high school, Elsie worked to put herself through Auckland University, graduating with an arts degree in 1933. This was, of course, in the depths

of the Depression, which made a profound impact on her. “One daughter, Auckland City Councillor, Maire Leadbeater, said the ‘watershed experience’ of Mrs Locke’s youth was watching 10,000 unemployed men march down Queen Street in 1932. From then on, her mother’s mission was ‘to be one with all who struggled and all who were oppressed’” (*Press*, 14/4/01; “Tiny, tireless crusader farewelled”, Christine Rush).

She married, became Elsie Freeman, had a son, and became a divorced solo mother, in the space of a few years. Divorce was regarded a shameful disgrace in those days; bringing up a child singlehanded in 1930s New Zealand was a very hard row to hoe for a woman (one I heard about firsthand from my late mother, who had to do the same with my older sister). Don, her eldest, has lived in England for more than 40 years – he flew back just in time to give a jetlagged speech at her funeral. In 1941, Elsie married Jack Locke, and moved to Christchurch. She told me that she’d never wanted to move here, and had only done so because Jack did. When the bicycling newcomer encountered snow in her first southern winter, she wondered what the hell she’d struck. In 1944 they moved into the Oxford Terrace cottage that was to be their home for the rest of their lives, and where they raised their children, Don, Keith, Maire and Alison (when Don spoke at the funeral, he made it clear that Jack was his Dad, as far as he was concerned).

Communist

Jack Locke was, of course, a leading member of the Communist Party of New Zealand (now the Socialist Workers Organisation) since 1936. He was the Christchurch branch chairman for decades; he was the CPNZ’s candidate in several general elections during the 1950s and 60s. He told me that he intended to die a Communist, and he did so, in 1996. Elsie was a leading Party activist, from the 1930s until 1956 (when, like so many others, she quit in disgust at the Soviet invasion of Hungary). She and Jack met through the Party; they moved to Christchurch because the Party posted Jack here. In the early 1970s, I was researching a (never written) MA thesis on the CPNZ and the broader Left in Christchurch between the two world wars. In the course of that research, I spent a lot of time in the Locke cottage, and in Jack’s old Army hut in the backyard, where he kept all his papers (including a big stash that he brought out of hiding for me). I got to read all the various Party newspapers of the 1920s and 30s, including the separate one for women (which Elsie edited), and I can vouch for Elsie’s leading role, especially in the 1930s. Remember, this was at the zenith of the Party’s influence, when it had a membership of thousands, and a much broader support base. Simultaneously, she was a leading feminist activist and writer, and was one of the founders of what is now the Family Planning Association. Decades after she left the CPNZ, she was still regarded as a dangerous Bolshevik. She only ever made one overseas trip, to a writers’ conference in Canada, in the 80s. It required a stopover in Hawaii. Because of her previous CPNZ membership, US authorities required that she be followed around the airport by an armed security guard – in case this elderly lady writer of children’s books should sneak out to foment revolution on Waikiki Beach.

Elsie didn’t like her CPNZ role to be highlighted (it was declared off limits for Ken Coates’ 1991 *Press* feature on her). Whenever I mentioned it, in articles or book reviews over the years, she’d ring up and protest that she wasn’t really a leading CPNZ figure for two decades, that it included time when she was raising children or was seriously ill in hospital. But she didn’t downplay her CPNZ role because of shame or anti-Communism. Not at all – the conclusion of our discussions was always that she didn’t like her CPNZ past highlighted “because it upsets Jack”. Having seen political differences (namely whether to vote National or Labour) cause rows between my own parents, I can only imagine the difficulty in overcoming a political difference of this magnitude. Jack remained a loyal Communist and CPNZ leader until his death; Elsie quit the Party in 1956. Yet they remained happily married for 55 years. Elsie told his funeral that the secret was that they agreed to disagree, and because of “good old fashioned love”. There was even symmetry in death – they both died aged 88 years and seven months (their ashes are buried together under a tree on the Avon River bank, in front of their home). Ironically, anti-Communism reared its ugly head when the *Press* published, between her death and her funeral, a vicious letter accusing her of being a Communist, a Stalinist, a tool of the Kremlin, and complicit in the genocide of 100 million people. This breathtakingly outlandish letter (I very much doubt they would publish anything similar if the subject was a newly deceased Prime Minister, Archbishop or All Black captain) touched off a volley of outraged letters in her defence, savaging the *Press* for its execrable insensitivity.

Throughout this period, Elsie was living as a traditional housewife and mother. One woman speaker at her funeral pointed out that when Jack retired and decided to become acquainted with the kitchen, he didn’t know what cooked rice looked like. They raised four children in their tiny gingerbread cottage that, until comparatively recently, had an outside toilet and a kitchen and bathroom described as “primitive”. They lived on Jack’s wage as a freezing worker; there was no car. Jack rode a scooter to and from the Belfast works; Elsie did everything by bike; the kids rode bikes or walked. There was a terrible period in the 1940s when she spent two years flat on her back in hospital, with TB (aggravated by it not having been diagnosed at first). The kids had to be farmed out around the country for lengthy periods. TB was a dreaded killer at that time (I lost an aunt to it then, at a tragically early age), but Elsie came

through it, with a very pragmatic attitude. As her son Don told her funeral: "It was a very difficult time for Mum, but she didn't waste it. She said it was an excellent time for reading and thinking about political and social issues" (*Press*, 14/4/01; "Tiny, tireless crusader farewelled", Christine Rush). Her kids were brought up to appreciate everything cultural and artistic, even those regarded as the preserve of the haute bourgeoisie. Maire told the funeral how the family scrimped to send her to ballet lessons, even though it was obvious that the tutu and pointe shoes were never going to be her work clothes. Whenever Maire came down from Auckland to visit, she and Elsie went to the opera or ballet or theatre. In recent years, we had run into them at venues such as the Court Theatre, the Town Hall, even the National Women's Prison (at a show put on by inmates during one Christchurch Arts Festival). Her kids were brought up to love the outdoors, and tramping was a favoured family holiday. Both she and Jack were lifelong atheists; theirs was a frank and unsentimental relationship. I remember Maire's horrified reaction as her aged parents calmly discussed euthanasia between themselves.

Peace Activist

After she left the Party, in 1956, Elsie plunged into life as a peace activist. It wasn't a new cause for her – she had been involved in peace issues all her life, such as the massive campaign against conscription in the late 1940s. Nuclear disarmament became her driving passion, and from 1957-70 she was an executive member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), of which she was a founder. She was so central to the peace movement from the 1950s to 70s that it was only appropriate that she wrote "Peace People", the definitive history of the NZ peace movement (up until 1975). She regarded nuclear weapons as constituting a worse evil than Hitler's crimes against humanity, and was immensely proud of New Zealand's nuclear free status, not to mention the decades of struggle to bring it about. But she was not a complete pacifist. "I have never said there are no circumstances in which you would not fight; for example, the Maori would have been a lot worse off if they had not resisted in the colonial wars" (*Press*, 24/12/91; "Elsie Locke: anti-nuclear arms veteran", Ken Coates). In the same article, she supported the right of people like Nicaraguans and Filipinos to wage armed struggle, for land and justice, but opposed New Zealand having been involved in the Korean and Vietnam Wars. "I don't like it when they're trained for jungle warfare. We haven't got any jungles to be warfaring in". And: "The Gulf War was about oil and if it had not been there, there wouldn't have been all that action" (*ibid*). She was interested in the struggle of all peoples for freedom, peace and justice. I well remember her coming to a late 1980s public meeting on Bougainville, despite the fact that she was awaiting a double knee replacement, needed two sticks to stand and walk, and had to crawl (fiercely unaided) into the vehicle taking her there. Peace activist Kate Dewes, in her eulogy, remembered Elsie grappling with Kate's teenage daughter to carry her favourite banner on the annual Hiroshima Day commemoration.

To the very end she was a peace activist and was honoured as such. In November 2000, both she and Maire (who followed in her mother's footsteps in the peace movement) received Peacebuilder Awards from the NZ commission of UNESCO. Throughout the 1970s, 80s and 90s she was involved in the anti-bases campaign (long before there was an Anti-Bases Campaign). That great 1980s documentary "Islands of the Empire" highlights a scene of Elsie, speaking from the back of a truck, asking protesters outside the US base at Harewood: "Where's your democracy?". Quite. As mentioned above, her very last public appearance (years after she'd told me she could no longer go out at night) was at an ABC public meeting in March this year, just weeks before she died. She was greeted there like our collective Nana, the veritable grand old lady of the peace movement.

Writer

As well as being a leading peace activist, the other major string to Elsie's bow was as a writer, primarily (but not exclusively) of children's books. All up, she wrote 20 books and was honoured as a writer (for example, she won the Katherine Mansfield Award for non-fiction in 1958, not to mention the honorary doctorate, etc). Her first novel "The Runaway Settlers" was published in 1965 and has been in continuous print longer than any other New Zealand children's book. The Mayor of Christchurch, Garry Moore, said in his eulogy that it was his kids' favourite book. Margaret Mahy, the doyenne of New Zealand children's writers, also spoke at the funeral and praised Elsie highly. Historian Len Richardson praised her writing about working class people such as shepherds and maids: "Elsie's voice was a persistent and gently insistent one...She pointed pathways which we could all follow" (*Press*, 14/4/01; "Tiny, tireless crusader farewelled", Christine Rush). Long before it was fashionable, she incorporated biculturalism as a central feature of her books. I can't comment on any of her children's books, because I've never read any of them (although I have seen a stage production of "The Runaway Settlers"). From memory, "Peace People" is the only one of Elsie's books that I've read – in fact I contributed to it, with research material and photos. Writing was vital to her – for more than 50 years she kept a room to herself in their tiny cottage, packing the kids off into other parts of the house. "Virginia Woolf said if you wanted to write, or for that matter make anything of yourself, you needed a room of your own and five hundred pounds a year. I never had the five hundred pounds but I made sure I always had a room" (*Listener*, 20/4/96; *Books*; "A bird in the hand", Bruce Ansley). To the great regret of her family, friends and colleagues, there is one book that she never wrote – her autobiography. Her fascinating life will have to

be written up by somebody else.

There were so many other areas of life into which she plunged. For instance, she and Jack were central figures in the Avon Loop community for more than 50 years, running recycling schemes, Avon River clean ups, and carnivals (complete with a visit from Elizabeth, the city's resident sea elephant, on one memorable occasion). She was a leading figure in the struggle between those wanting to "develop" the Loop and those wanting to retain its character, with some development. She was a founder of the Avon Loop Planning Association. As the central city became fashionable and gentrified, this neighbourhood of 19th Century workers' cottages became a model. She became intimately involved in the politics of the city – Garry Moore, in his eulogy, credited Elsie with getting him motivated into reviving his local residents' association, which led him onto the City Council and into the Mayorality. He also described councillors who crossed Elsie as "suicidal". Preserving her beloved Centennial Pool was her greatest local triumph, marked by the newly created neighbouring park being named after her. She was instrumental in restoring the environment of the Avon as it flows through the Loop, getting the banks replanted in natives, which have attracted back a great variety of native and exotic birds. Mind you, she wouldn't have been too pleased by being referred to as a "dear old lady in gumboots" in the *Press Weekender* feature that appeared after her death (5/5/01; *Gardening*).

Above all, Elsie was a fascinating human being. She was incredibly alive. When I first met her, she was nearly a decade older than what I am now, so I never knew her as young or even middle aged (it's fascinating to read about the youthful Elsie tackling the hidebound 1930s attitudes towards sex, in her activities as both a feminist and Communist). Mostly I knew her as old. But woe betide anyone who treated her as a little old lady. She didn't take kindly at all to offers of doors being opened or being helped into or out of cars. She was a loving grandmother but not a sickly sweet one – granddaughter Jessie Moss, in her eulogy, described her as a "scary Nana", who went to great lengths to protect her much prized grapes from rampaging kids. Apparently Jack was the soft touch. Another granddaughter told a wonderful story of accompanying Elsie to the supermarket, just weeks before her death. When the checkout person asked the usual inane "How are you today?", Elsie replied: "And why do YOU want to know?".

In the 90s, she dropped everything for several years to look after Jack, who was incapacitated by a series of strokes. I well remember turning up unannounced one day to find her helping him with his hand exercises, encouraging him to speak, and guiding him around the cottage on his walking frame with me following behind with his wheelchair (in case he fell). It was incredibly hard work, physically gruelling on a 80+ year old tiny woman who had had her own health problems (knee replacements, etc). At times, Jack had to go into hospital or a home, just to give her a break. In our very last conversation I asked her if it was difficult for her living alone. She replied immediately and directly: "Not as difficult as when I was looking after Jack". After he died (1996) she resumed her former life, of writing and peace activism, as much as her increasing frailty would allow. She went more and more deaf (which led to some funny stories from the grandkids at the funeral); she started having falls and heart turns (it was a heart attack that killed her). The last time I saw her she looked very tired. But by no means "ready to go". As her daughter Alison told the funeral: "She would have been cross if she knew, because she hadn't finished everything" (*Press*, 14/4/01; "Tiny, tireless crusader farewellled", Christine Rush).

She is gone but the Locke family (once described by Piggy Muldoon as the most "notorious Communist family in New Zealand") carries on her work. Both Keith and Maire are high profile activists. Keith started off as a leading figure in the Socialist Action League (which he described to the funeral as a "socialist sect"), moving on to the Alliance, and then to his present position as a Green list MP. Maire was the leading figure in Auckland CND for years, more recently was the face of the East Timor solidarity movement, and is currently an independent Auckland City Councillor. Keith and Maire have worked closely with both CAFCA and ABC in recent years on any number of campaigns and issues – to give only the most recent example, both were at this year's Waihopai spybase protest. Alison's teenage daughters, who told the funeral that they have inherited "the Locke spirit", are active in the local Young Greens. So Elsie, you were unique, but you've planted your seeds very well, starting from your own family and spreading out through the progressive movement and into the wider world.

Her son Don told the funeral that such a grand send off, in the Convention Centre, was ironic (she had made no specifications for her funeral, other than that we sing the old Wobbly classic "Joe Hill", because Jack had specified it for his funeral). "Mum cut through the nonsense – she didn't mess around with fancy words or irrelevancies" (ibid). Exactly. As Joe Hill himself said in the message to his own funeral, after he was shot by firing squad: "Don't mourn. Organise". So, Elsie, we remember you without sentiment but with much aroha, and a determination to follow your example. A person like you only comes along once in a lifetime – it was a privilege to know you.

OBITUARY SUMNER PEACE GROUP

- Murray Horton

The demise of the Sumner Peace Group, which decided to discontinue in February 2001, marks the end of an era. In the golden years of the New Zealand peace movement, the 1980s, every town and every suburb in all the cities had its own peace group. This was one of the major secrets of the success of that movement in getting New Zealand nuclear free. But Sumner carried on long after virtually everyone else had long since disbanded (there are now no other geographic peace groups in Christchurch; I personally am aware of only a handful in the country as a whole). Probably the reason that Sumner lasted so long was that its members lived in a compact physical area, with a strong sense of identity (I have a keen memory of attending a packed public meeting in Sumner, in the early 1990s, on an environmental/foreign control issue, and not being allowed to vote because I was one of those “from over the causeway”). That core group was also more stable and committed than most other peace groups; at its birth, in 1981, it could call on a number of people, already middle aged to elderly, with a long background of activism in political parties and a whole raft of social justice groups. The collective age of its membership was what led to its demise, one which has been charted in individual *Peace Researcher* obituaries, most recently for Mary McAlpine (see number 22. Ed.) and Dulcie Stocker (#19/20). Whole families were in the group and whole families have died – for example, both Peter Stocker and Bruce McAlpine predeceased their wives.

The Sumner Peace Group was a Christchurch institution throughout the 20 years of its life. Yet it was a most modest institution, never pushing itself forward. I never once attended one of its meetings, nor did I ever personally meet more than a few of its active members. It was an ABC member from 1993 until just before its demise, but our relationship went back much further than that. For more than the first decade of its life, the Stocker family was ABC’s point of contact with the Group. For many years, up until its demise, it pledged \$25 per month to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income (something which Dulcie Stocker also did individually). In fact, it had a much appreciated close relationship with us, contributing some quite superb desserts to various ABC fundraisers held throughout the 1990s. It donated money to ABC activities, such as Waihopai spybase protests.

And its members continued to be involved with all manner of other groups – Mary McAlpine, for example, was a tireless worker for Jim Anderton, the New Labour Party and the Alliance from the time he quit Labour in disgust. Corso could not have done its innumerable mailouts from that freezing bloody building in Barbadoes Street without the continued active involvement of the “little old ladies” of the Sumner Peace Group. Dulcie Stocker put her heart and soul into Corso, working as a volunteer nearly up until her death, and always making sure those mailouts were fed with her wonderful homemade bran muffins.

Upon being informed of the group’s demise, I asked Jean Stroud, its secretary, for some material for this obituary. Her reply was succinct and worth including in full:

“The Sumner Peace Group was formed in 1981 and disbanded in 2001. The group was largely a support for other activist groups. Among our activities were

- lobbying MPs on issues as they arose.
- donating money to a range of peace and justice organisations
- attending marches and demonstrations as a group.
- sharing concerns about peace and disarmament issues with a group of likeminded people (the fellowship was important to us).
- remaining focused on issues – sharing information.

“Jean Thompson ran our meetings for 20 years, in an efficient and friendly way. Others in the group were Marjorie Ockenden, Ferne Every, Eric Johnson, Ailsa Jackson, Dorothy Perkins, Eileen Witherford, Peter Mower, Alison Dalley, June Stroud and many others who are no longer with us”.

Modest to the end. Without groups and individuals such as them, the peace and social justice movements in this country could not have achieved half of what we have done. Many thanks for the years of anonymous but vital work. And enjoy your retirement. We’ll miss you.

**“SPYWORLD:
Inside The Canadian And American Intelligence Establishments”.**
By Mike Frost as told to Michel Gratton. Doubleday, Canada. 1994.

- **Bob Leonard**

from Peace Researcher 23, June 2001

Mike Frost, the primary author of “Spyworld” is coming to New Zealand in October 2001 for a two-week speaking tour. His book is not brand new, but it’s loaded with fascinating detail about electronic spying and is entertaining reading. A question often asked of ABC is why we are going to all this effort to bring an ex-spy, and an old one at that (he hasn’t actively spied since about 1990), all the way from retirement in Canada. Well, he’s not exactly retired – he just shifted from being a spy to telling about it, in detail, and why he chose to talk. In addition to reviewing the book, this article may clarify why we at ABC Central think a personal visit by Frost will be a unique and valuable experience for New Zealanders.

Mike Frost is not the first spy to spill the beans. McGehee, Agee, Wright, and Tomlinson are some of the more notable spies to have had pangs of conscience and gone public about their secret lives in recent years. But Frost’s is the only firsthand account (to our knowledge) of the inner workings of America’s National Security Agency (NSA) and its Canadian sibling agency just over the border, the Communications Security Establishment (CSE). Frost was an employee of the CSE for 19 years and spent plenty of time at NSA as well in training and liaison.

Some background is helpful: there are three other sibling agencies, Britain’s Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), Australia’s Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) and New Zealand’s Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB). Collectively, these five clubs operate the spy establishments organised since 1948 under the UKUSA agreement. GCSB spies have talked extensively (and anonymously) to Nicky Hager, revealing the vast amount of information incorporated in Nicky’s groundbreaking book “Secret Power”, published in 1996. But that still makes Nicky a “secondhand” reporter. Mike Frost is a firsthand reporter, and thus able to tell us about NSA-style spying with unique credibility. We are very fortunate he is willing to travel all this way to tell his story to New Zealanders. But it is important to recognise that he was never involved directly in the kind of satellite signals-interception that is done at Waihopai. Tangimoana is actually more up his alley; he is an expert on radio frequency interception. But he was directly involved in the use of some of the earliest “Oratory” computer systems developed by NSA for sifting through intercepted telephone calls for key words. Automated signals selection is at the heart of NSA’s “Echelon” system and the “Dictionary” operating at Waihopai.

“Spyworld” is a rich and readable account of Frost’s years with CSE and some of his early military-intelligence adventures with the Canadian Navy. This is an “as told to” book, not my favourite mode of storytelling. I would much rather Frost had written of his adventures and technical and moral challenges in the spy business in his own words, however awkwardly that might have been. But second author, Michel Gratton, an experienced columnist and former press secretary to a Canadian Prime Minister, was drafted to spice up the writing and make the book more marketable. This device does work well in much of the book, although some of the writing is unnecessarily melodramatic.

The intense and morally dubious life of a spy takes its toll on the personal lives of many in the business. Frost paid the price with alcoholism and the near destruction of his marriage. One way to recover, as this book clearly shows, is to regain control of your life and to question your actions as a spy – not an easy task when you’ve devoted your professional life to secrecy, including total exclusion of your family from the realities of your work. The key may have been Frost’s wife Carole, who stood by him through it all, and played a major role in his recovery. Mike Frost did believe in his work, and he still believes spying is an essential role of government in protecting a sovereign nation from the bad guys. But spying leads to excesses and it is here that Frost’s revelations are revealing and alarming.

Frost’s earliest spying was with the Canadian Navy doing radio signals interception in the remote reaches of the Canadian Arctic. The Soviets were the target and a spy in the 1960s could certainly believe fervently in his job, hate the Russians, and survive months of isolation from family and civilisation. Frost’s technical competence led to a rapid rise in responsibility and challenge. His first training session at the NSA in Fort Meade, Maryland, was in 1971, shortly after he moved from the Navy to employment in the CSE. The Canadian spy agency had existed since 1948 but was about to greatly expand its activities: NSA’s intimate paternal relationship with CSE was central to this expansion by providing CSE staff with training, advice and counsel, and high-tech equipment (on loan for indefinite periods). NSA ran the show and still does. And Mike Frost was a key player in the earliest days of CSE’s developing competency and global reach in spying. A big part of his work was “embassy-collection”. The US had long been involved in embassy -collection by the time the fledgling CSE and Mike Frost were recruited by NSA to become involved.

Pangs Of Conscience

It was in the development and testing of signals interception equipment that Frost developed pangs of conscience about what he and his mates were doing. "It was one thing to be fooling the 'enemy'. It was quite an eerie feeling, though, to be listening in on so many conversations between fellow Canadians. Being rabidly patriotic, he felt it was wrong. He saw the incredible potential for abuse in the power they held, and he didn't like it". This was "domestic" spying and Frost was uncomfortable with it.

The CSE expanded its international embassy-collection into several countries including some in Africa. The operation was code-named Pilgrim, after Frost's sailboat. The Oratory system, developed at NSA's technical development centre in College Park, Maryland, was incorporated into CSE's embassy-collection capabilities. "Mike Frost couldn't say enough about 'Oratory' or the [NSA] engineers who created it. Because for CSE, it was truly a godsend". Frost reports that "'Oratory' captured many communications between France and Ottawa relating to the question of separation.... When it comes to the CSE, the ultimate authority is the Prime Minister. In this case it was Pierre Trudeau, the separatists' nemesis". A CSE station in West Africa was very likely used to make the Ottawa-France intercepts.

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

Another quote from Frost is highly relevant to ABC's repeated allegations that our GCSB engages in domestic spying on New Zealanders: "The moral issue was raised, says Frost. We listened so routinely to private conversations we were not supposed to hear that I guess we had become immune to that kind of soul-searching. The other prime reason for going ahead eagerly was the total lack of danger. Who was going to catch us? The guys who did the catching were the ones asking us to do it".

Embassy collection even involves the Americans spying on the Canadians. In his many trips to College Park for NSA briefing, Frost learned of techniques for disguising antennas on the roofs of embassies. He and his colleagues quickly concluded that Canada was not immune to NSA spying. "The Americans don't care who they commit espionage against, on the principle that they may get something that's useful to their country. They routinely collect foreign intelligence against everybody".

Spying from embassies on host countries does have one security advantage for the spying country that Echelon-type spying does not: "...they [Ottawa] would never send 'Pilgrim' material directly to NSA without analysing it first". The intelligence gathered in a foreign embassy does not go down an automated "pipeline" to NSA as does the satellite interception intelligence gathered at Waihopai and its sibling stations.

"Spyworld" reveals much. But Mike Frost seems to have got away with it relatively unscathed in comparison to some of his counterparts like Philip Agee and Richard Tomlinson. He says he is harassed in various subtle and non-so-subtle ways – reminders that CSE and NSA would rather he would keep his mouth shut. But over ten years after his "retirement" he will travel to NZ for the first time to tell New Zealanders what our UKUSA partners have been up to for decades. Waihopai and our very own GCSB are an integral part of an international spy network, now extensively automated and beyond local control, and with the same operational freedom to spy on "everybody" as described by Frost. Our Government's recent glossy publication, "Securing our Nation's Safety", admits "...it does not answer the operational, or 'how', questions". Frost answers many of those questions in his book and tells how feeble and ineffectual is the so-called oversight of spying. The potential for abuse is immense and uncontrollable.

Mike Frost will not be here to tell us to close Waihopai. But maybe we'll learn enough from him about how the spies operate to make that decision for ourselves.

UNCOVERING THE WEST'S DIRTY WORK

(Review of the Millennium double issue of *Covert Action Quarterly*, no. 69, Spring/Summer 2000, an issue specially focused on "Global Recolonisation" and the corresponding spread of "hunger, war, eco-destruction")

- Dennis Small

In warning us not to let global market forces run roughshod over the poor, Nelson Mandela has this to say: "The shrinking of the globe . . . has made it even more incumbent upon us to become once more the keepers of our brothers and sisters no matter where they find themselves in the world. Poverty and social inequality remain features of most societies in the world" (*Press*, 30/9/00).

If you ever get the sneaky feeling that maybe, just perhaps, the Pentagon-CIA-World Bank-IMF-free press-GATT/WTO-World Economic Forum-Transnational Corporation-Business Roundtable-free trade-free market-capitalist enterprise system might not be too bad after all, you should always be able to revive your concerns by taking a look at its underside, at its "Hidden Agendas" to use the pithy phrase and book title of that inspirational journalist, John Pilger. There is something so horribly self-serving and hypocritical about it all, the sort of thing that *Covert Action Quarterly* (CAQ) specialises in regularly exposing. Indeed, the Millennium double issue on "**Global Recolonisation**" might be just the shot in the arm you need for renewing your participation in the international campaign for social justice and freedom - it sharpens one's sense of outrage.

Global Pillage And Plunder

First, some incisive quotes from the editorial: "As we enter the 21st Century, the New World Order continues to prevail with a lone superpower and its transnational corporations (TNCs) relentlessly seeking greater and greater hegemony and control over the peoples and resources of our planet. The consequences are unparalleled hunger, poverty and human suffering as the gaping chasm between the few wealthy and the destitute multitudes widens" (CAQ, p.2).

"As the TNCs and banks *merge* and *globalise*, in contrast, nations and peoples are fragmented by racism, xenophobia and religious and ethnic hatred - pitted against one another, often in bloody wars - to facilitate easier plunder, to distract people from recognising their common enemy, and to prevent them from uniting to confront this new world order onslaught" (p.2).

"Inevitably, in every corner of the globe people are resisting corporate globalisation, military domination and covert/overt intervention . . . As the 'Battle of Seattle' began to teach thousands who opposed the World Trade Organisation (WTO), unity and action are needed globally as well as locally. The response of the US purveyors of the New World order is ever greater military, covert and overt intervention under the rubric of human rights".

CAQ goes on to examine "imperial recolonisation" and its ramifications in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. This CAQ special issue also looks at repression within the heartland of the new imperialism, the US itself. There are articles on the Congo; Chechnya; Colombia & Ecuador; Iraq; Yugoslavia; India; Seattle and the WTO; hunger; climate change; America's class war; and more.

A particularly interesting article is the leading piece on "US Military and Corporate Recolonisation of Congo" (pp.4-13) by Ellen Ray, one of the magazine's co-founders. A very detailed and heavily documented account is given of the internecine regional politics and their foreign connections. The background to the current troubles stems to some considerable degree from the US Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) role in the overthrow and murder of the Congo's first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, in 1961. The Congo, which refers here to Zaire, has long been a mineral resource-rich region targeted by Western interests. Until 1997, central to its control by the West, had been the dictatorship of Mobutu Sese Seko. Finally in that year, rebel and allied forces under the leadership of the late Laurent Kabila drove Mobutu into exile. The main body of this Congolese "Liberation" army was in fact composed of Tutsi soldiers from the force which had earlier driven more than a million Hutus from Rwanda, many of whom had been guilty of the terrible massacres in 1994 of Tutsis and even moderate Hutus. Tutsi elements in Kabila's army took a similarly pitiless revenge on Hutu refugee camps in eastern Zaire.

Then the politics of the region reversed somewhat as it were and later in August 1998: "Ugandan and Rwandan regular troops invaded Congo with regrouped, well trained rebel forces, and began the war to overthrow Kabila that goes on to this day . . . (*Kabila himself, of course, was killed in January 2001 with his son, Joseph Kabila, succeeding him, Ed.*). Rwandans and Ugandans control most of the east of the country, and there has been a de facto partition, a gross violation of Congolese sovereignty" (p.4). The Rwandan Army is trained and supported by the US; and "vast segments of the Congolese infrastructure, particularly the mining companies have been taken over by

US and Western linked multinationals, working with the Rwandan and Ugandan rebels and governments" (p.4). While the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains under constant siege the ruthless exploitation of its people and resources continues. In some ways not much has changed since King Leopold II of Belgium savagely plundered the country during the period of the late 19th/early 20th Centuries.

As Ray well observes: "The Mobutu era began with ardent US support, financial and military. From 1965 to 1991, Zaire received more than \$US1.5 billion in US economic and military aid" (p.4). This was the typical pattern, of course, practised with so many other dictators - the Somozas, the Duvaliers, Trujillo, Marcos, Pinochet, Suharto, etc., etc., allowing wealth and resources to be ripped from their impoverished peoples to the US and other Western states. The trade-off has paid a most handsome return to the exploiters. It eventually resulted in the current globalisation of capitalist rapacity, most dramatically signalled by the 1995 inauguration of the WTO.

From the Congo To Colombia

Joseph Conrad's great novella "Heart of Darkness" served as the inspiration for the film "Apocalypse Now" on the Vietnam War. Some of its major themes are just as appropriate to the American/Western experience in its original setting of the Congo - the brutalising experience of imperialism and the corruptibility of human beings, all very *deja vu*. "Mobutu's corruption and brutality were ignored for thirty years. It was only when the plunder of Western-owned assets and the ruination of the country were nearly complete, when Mobutu's stolen billions had become a worldwide embarrassment, that the US began to seek an acceptable change" (p.5). Prominent among other such cases in the last couple of decades has been that of Marcos, Jean-Claude Duvalier and even Saddam Hussein (although so far he has survived his former ally's attempts to get rid of him), and presently the cynically calculated abandonment and scapegoating of Suharto (compare the current treatment of the Suharto regime by *Time* magazine, and other mainstream media, with that in the past).

Today, the US is using Rwandan and Ugandan forces for the creation of a "zone of influence" in East Africa. "The eastern provinces of Congo contain 80% of the world's reserves of cobalt, essential to defence and other high tech production. They also contain huge reserves of gold, diamonds and copper" (p.8). As a Western mining executive told a reporter, "sweeping his hand over a geological map of Congo, 'This is all money'" (CAQ, p.8 - quoting *International Herald Tribune*, 18/6/97). In the new era of globalisation old-fashioned imperialism is thriving! The big US-led push by the West to exploit African resources marks one more stage in an ongoing, painful saga over several centuries. On the dawn of the new Millennium, a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) approach has been dumped on Africa. More specifically, *de facto* "Balkanisation" (partition) of eastern Congo/Zaire has enabled mineral exploitation from protected enclaves. Meantime, other countries have been sucked into the conflict. For instance, the Mugabe government has committed a lot of Zimbabwe's resources to supporting Kabila's regime and Angola and Namibia are also backing it. Western media machine reports usually play up the angle of African competition while disguising the predatory Western role (e.g. TVNZ *One News* items on 18, 19 & 22/1/01). Similar items, including an editorial, appeared in the *Press* (20, 25 & 26/1/01: ironically the editorial [20th] was titled "The heart of darkness").

"The role played by the sale of natural resources in the region - its only real 'cash crop' - is a function of the overriding influence of the profit motive on Western, particularly US, policy" (CAQ, p.9). The Clinton Administration promoted "commercial diplomacy", or what is called "trade, not aid". On his 1998 visit to Africa, President Clinton appreciatively noted that returns on investment had so far averaged "an impressive 35%" (p.9 - quoting *World Policy Journal*, Summer 1998). In recent times, the politics of the warfare in eastern Congo has become very complicated and messy with even fighting between Ugandan and Rwandan troops as well as tribal conflicts. This region is yet another area of Africa and the world disastrously destabilised by superpower and neo-colonial interventions.

Like Africa, Latin America is also under renewed siege. An article on Colombia and Ecuador by Mark Cook, a long time reporter on Latin America, gives a range of insights into the situations and interconnections of these two countries (CAQ, pp.28-31). TV1, the NZ State television channel, regularly feeds us American "news" propaganda straight from the main corporate machines. In August 2000 an item on a Colombian drug bust glowingly highlighted US involvement to end the drug trade there just prior to Clinton's visit (TVNZ, *One News*, 28/8/00). But behind the drug-busting facade is the grim reality of US commitment to "Colombia's 40 year old civil war" (CAQ, p.28).

Murdering Human Rights

The US is dramatically expanding its intervention "in Colombia, a country whose military has the most monstrous human rights record of any in Latin America - a record consistent with US 'training'" (p.28). A package of \$US1.3 billion in mostly military aid has been approved "to help Colombia fight drugs and guerrillas" (*Press*, 31/8/00). While the Clinton Administration tried to pretend that the newly boosted funding is mostly to fight drugs, rather than

escalate Colombia's internal war . . . "its own allies - both the military and the death squads - are the biggest drug dealers in Colombia . . ." (CAQ, p.28). A major weapon against the revolutionary guerrilla movements is US support for the "'paramilitary' death squads which the US began training during the Bush Administration at the beginning of the 1990s and which, according to human rights groups and even State Department human rights reports, are responsible for the overwhelming majority of murders" (p.28).

Nowadays these paramilitaries are supposedly outlawed. But the death squads continue to prey on unarmed civilians and are routinely protected and assisted by the regular Colombian military. In July 2000, there was a rare media report of a massacre perpetrated by an "ultra-Rightist" death squad, clearly indicating the cooperative working links with the official military - yet another "sign of complicity between outlawed death squads and the military in a 'dirty war' against suspected Leftists" (*Press*, 12/7/00). This incident followed the Congressional approval of increased military aid. In covertly backing the paramilitaries the US is sticking to the practices it has employed so systematically in other Latin American countries like El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Argentina and Chile. It can rely on the mainstream "free press" to ignore or obscure the ultimate direction of such programmes from Washington.

Soon after Clinton left Colombia at the end of August 2000 the associated propaganda got a further burst across the world's media. For instance, a picture appeared in the *Press* (14/9/00) with the message, "Police destroy 90 cocaine operations", and showing "A United States-trained jungle commando . . ." crouching in an illegal coca plantation. According to the caption, anti-narcotics police had been wiping out peasant laboratories used to process coca leaves. A positive spin then on crushing more Third World resistance! Other picture items of this sort have appeared in the *Press* (20/11/00 & 17/2/01). On TVNZ's American-style *60 Minutes* an item presented similarly subtle propaganda (5/11/00). At the end of an apparently even-handed report which denounced murderous Marxist revolutionaries and even worse Rightwing paramilitaries came the propaganda message: we should give the government of President Pastrana (who featured prominently in interviews) all the help he needs.

Ripping Off The World's Resources

Neighbouring Ecuador is used for US military bases and operations, including reconnaissance aircraft flights over Colombia, but the Clinton Administration faced a crisis when a popular revolt in the former country threatened to topple the pro-US government. The Ecuadorian President's attempt to "dollarise" the economy, effectively abolishing the country's currency in favour of the US dollar, led to the uprising (NZ Prime Minister Helen Clark please take note). "Only rich Ecuadorians have any significant holdings in dollars, usually stashed abroad" (CAQ, p.29). In reaction, the US moved to offset the revolt and consequently a slightly adjusted regime "went on to announce ongoing efforts to dollarise, new plans to extract oil from the Ecuadorian Amazon, and more 'privatisation' to attract 'foreign investment'" (p.29).

After the derailment of the revolt in Ecuador: "Opponents charged that 'foreign investment' in the current economic circumstances (where a foreigner in Ecuador can live like a prince on five dollars a week) would amount to allowing foreigners to buy the country's resources for practically nothing and loot them, as has occurred throughout Latin America" (CAQ, p.29). Public opinion polls, despite the US-backed repression, "showed that 70 to 80% of the population dared . . . to express support for the revolt's demands" (p.29). As a surprisingly balanced *Press* editorial (5/3/01) noted, the indigenous people of Ecuador are stirring and require justice if Ecuador is to avoid serious internal strife in the future.

Throughout the 1990s, there was a deepening US military as well as economic commitment to certain strategic countries in Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere. "The worldwide deployment of US troops, including to previously neutral or Soviet-allied countries, began in 1991 under a law, Section 2011 of Title 10 of the US Code, allowing the US military to train foreign troops with no regard for human rights restrictions and little or no oversight from US civilian authorities" (p.30). All this is coupled with much public hype about the need to intervene in various countries for supposed humanitarian reasons, e.g. the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) war against Serbia over Kosovo. The rapid deployment capacity of ready reaction US forces is being updated with a requirement now for a force to deploy anywhere in the world within 90 hours (TVNZ, *One News*, 15/1/00). Strategy and armour are being adapted, updated and developed to deal with small wars around the globe. A strategic review by the new Bush Administration is likely to herald a more narrowly selective interventionist line.

Even the overt "humanitarian" stuff is transparently very selective, e.g. most notoriously the US was obstructionist about any intervention under UN auspices, or otherwise, to help the victims of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Indeed, the UN had ignored warnings about the coming slaughter in Rwanda and later the US and British governments had refused to call it "genocide", with the French being even more seriously compromised - by helping with roadblocks, training death squads, and allowing massacres behind French lines (TVNZ, *60 Minutes*, "The Crime

of Silence", 22/8/99). These days US Special Forces have been teaching Rwandan troops things like "rifle marksmanship" and "tactical skills". They also apparently facilitated the massacres of Hutu refugees in the eastern Congo/Zaire (CAQ, p15). In this post-Cold War New World Order, CIA critic John Stockwell, who, as an agent, once "ran massive, covert CIA operations in Africa", can perhaps shed some more light on American policy (see his "In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story", [WW Norton, 1978] on Angola). Interviewed in 1994, Stockwell was less critical of the CIA. In his view: "The world swarms with threats. He cites the case of **vastly over-populated Rwanda**, a country he once kept track of for the CIA" ("Cold Warriors Woo Generation X" by Steve Badrich, *Namebase Newslines*, no.6, July-Sept. 1994, p12).

If there are plenty of perceived threats, there are also plenty of perceived opportunities. The case of Chechnya is yet another case where the politics of oil, Western (again especially US) intervention, and civil/ethnic warfare intertwine. Chechnya, in southern Russia, has been the cockpit of a fierce power struggle following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. It has repeatedly tried to break away from the present Russian federation. Within Chechnya the driving force for nationalist independence is a Muslim fundamentalist movement. Russia has brutally tried to subjugate the intransigent state in two wars (the second still being fought). Whatever the rights and wrongs of this particular conflict and its messy politics (CAQ takes a pro-Russia position on this issue), a crucial factor is again Western penetration and manipulation of the region for resources, markets and influence - "part of a larger effort to displace Russian influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia" (CAQ, p.22, quoting William Pfaff in the *International Herald Tribune*, 28/2/00).

The Chechen war is only one of many in the whole Caucasus region involving both other parts of Russia and other states - from Karachay-Cherkess to Kyrgyzstan. Among the flood of Western economic and military intrusions there have been "US-NATO military operations in the Caspian Basin" (p.27). In that bastion of pro-American foreign policy, the *Christchurch Press* (part of the Murdoch empire and long cultivated with US Information Service trips for staff members, etc.), an editorial has opined that: "The US has been trying hard to bring stability to the region, necessary if a pipeline is to be constructed" [so that oil can be pumped out to the West - a point nicely fudged in the editorial!] (25/7/00). Moreover, "the growing importance of the region, and the investment the world has in its stability, mean that powerful outside support is now being deployed in the search for solutions" (ibid). How delicately put. Imperialism can always find the appropriate moral gloss however tortured the circumstances! It should be acknowledged however that even the *Press* has been gracious enough in recent years to allow the (very) occasional alternative article on things like foreign investment and free trade and seems to be somewhat uneasy about the new Bush Administration. As well, it can publish the (very) odd reasonable editorial like the one on Ecuador cited above.

Globalising Chaos

CAQ's articles on Chechnya by Karen Talbot (and partly by Ellen Ray) constitute another lengthy, detailed and heavily documented examination of regional politics and resource wars (pp.16-27). Talbot records that: "A consortium of 11 Western oil companies now controls more than 50% of all oil investments in the Caspian Basin - these include Atlantic Richfield, Chevron, Exxon-Mobil, Pennzoil, Phillips Petroleum, Texaco and British Petroleum-Amoco" (pp.22, 23). In this context, democracy is being uprooted almost as soon as it has been trying to take hold. It has become subject to grossly self-interested foreign influences. "On March 17, 1991, 75% of the Soviet people voted overwhelmingly to retain the USSR; nevertheless, within nine months, the Soviet Union was dissolved as Yeltsin took power" with Western support (p.22). This has a curious resonance with the national democratic election ignored by the Bolsheviks soon after the 1917 Revolution.

As in Africa, "Balkanisation" is being encouraged by the West because "divide and rule" enables extractive access to mineral wealth. As oil prices rise or become more volatile and the Middle East gets more unstable with potential violence on a hugely disruptive scale, the more attractive to the West become places like Ecuador and Chechnya where the level of violence is more manageable, or at least may seem so at this point in time. But it is the same old story: "more blood for oil". More generally, there are the related US goals of an oil-rich imperial arc through the Middle East reaching deep into southern area of the old Soviet Union, and the extension of a free trade/investment zone from Mexico through Central America into Colombia and beyond, also tapping into oil and other mineral wealth.

The emphasis in this review of the Spring/Summer 2000 issue of CAQ has been on globalisation and the spread of resource wars as politico-economic competition hots up worldwide. There are other important themes related to globalisation as a number of articles demonstrate but everywhere conflict over resources is central to this process. American economic success over the last decade or so owes an enormous amount to the unprecedented reach of its free trade/investment imperium.

You do not need to agree with some of the perspectives and interpretations expounded in this issue of CAQ to

appreciate its value. There is almost an ideological tendency at times to see the American Administration as the Great Satan a la Iranian fundamentalism. Life is a lot more complicated than this and all the political horrors of the 20th Century - totalitarianism and mass murder by both Right and Left extremists and the multitudinous episodes of "ethnic cleansing" and related strife - are stark testimony to the dangers within. But if you want to come to grips with global capitalism in its deeper dimensions then CAQ is always vital reading, providing us with a quite unique fund of knowledge, insight and awareness, and a real antidote to the mainstream media. A hearty thanks is ever due to the expert and courageous team who produce it.

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