

A Travesty Of Justice - The Case Of Ahmed Zaoui

by David Small

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Ahmed Zaoui, an Algerian Islamic politician, has been in custody since he was arrested upon arrival, in Auckland, in late 2002. He has never been charged or tried for any offence. He arrived on false papers, and claimed refugee status, which he has been granted by the appropriate official body. The Government chose to override that decision, citing the woebegotten Security Intelligence Service (SIS) as its preferred authority on the case. Zaoui is wanted by Algeria (site of a particularly murderous civil war, one where the West now backs the regime because it is fighting Islamic fundamentalists). For most of the 1990s Zaoui was shunted from exile to exile, in Europe and Africa. The Intelligence agencies of various European countries, principally France, plus the Algerians and NZ's more usual Intelligence allies, have all contributed to Zaoui remaining in prison in Auckland, and facing imminent deportation (with the very real prospect of death, should he be returned to Algeria, which has sentenced him to death in absentia).

Zaoui's plight has become a national cause celebre, and there is any number of appalling aspects to it (such as the racist and shoddy Immigration laws and procedures exposed for all to see). Peace Researcher has a longstanding interest in the SIS and the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, so we decided to concentrate on that aspect.

David Small is well known to PR readers because of his involvement in the case of Aziz Choudry (it was David who caught the SIS agents breaking into Aziz's Christchurch home, in 1996). David later won his own civil court case arising out of that. See PR 21, June 2000, "David Defeats Goliath". David has become heavily involved in the campaign to free Ahmed Zaoui. He has visited Zaoui in prison (they both speak French); attended the successful December 2003 Auckland High Court hearing; spoken in the media and at public meetings. We invited David to write us a lead article on the Zaoui case. He was so keen that he hand wrote it, whilst on a family holiday (special thanks to Leigh Cookson for typing it for us, also whilst on holiday).

We consider it appalling that Ahmed Zaoui has been imprisoned, most of it in solitary confinement and in maximum security, without charge or trial, and faces deportation and possible death, because of the cackhanded malice of New Zealand "Intelligence" (a contradiction in terms if there was ever one), backed up by the bumbling prejudices of the Inspector-General, and the gutlessness of a Government whose most senior Ministers put a higher premium on sucking up to our masters in the "War On Terror" and on a relationship with the Intelligence agencies from the likes of France (our "ally," which, in the 1980s, sent Intelligence agents to bomb the "Rainbow Warrior" in Auckland Harbour, killing a man in the process) than on the life and liberty of a Third World refugee. Shame on the lot of you. Ed.

Zaoui Put In Solitary On Scandalously Flimsy Grounds

One of the more disturbing details of the saga of Algerian refugee, Ahmed Zaoui, was his incarceration for ten months in Paremoro Maximum Security Prison in solitary confinement. He was placed and kept there on the strength of a report produced by the threat assessment unit of the Police. The Police gave three reasons for their recommendation. The first was an assertion that Mr Zaoui was a member of the Armed Islamic Group (whose acronym, in French, is GIA. French is the colonial language in Algeria); a claim whose sole source was a Website whose other outrageous theories include one about Queen Elizabeth being a big-time drug smuggler. The other two Police arguments were that Mr Zaoui might use lawful means to try to stay in New Zealand, and that he may generate support amongst the New Zealand public for his plight.

It is scandalous that these were seen as sufficient grounds – or any grounds at all – for keeping a person in solitary confinement in maximum security. But the two fears of the Police have been realised: Mr Zaoui has been finding lawful means to stay in the country and support for him is growing. In fact recently he received 100 letters in a single day from wellwishers.

Mr Zaoui's legal team who, contrary to claims about being on the gravy train, have only been paid for two weeks of their work of several months, succeeded in getting him out of solitary and transferred from Paremoro to the Auckland Remand Prison, and have got the Government on the back foot on several other matters as well. Deborah Manning and Richard McLeod, together with Queen's Counsel, Dr Rodney Harrison, have also just won a legal challenge to an interim ruling of the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, Laurie Greig. In December 2003, they persuaded the Auckland High Court that, in considering Mr Zaoui's appeal against the Security Risk Certificate that he was issued with by the Security Intelligence Service (SIS), the Inspector-General was wrong to refuse to consider human rights issues, and to refuse to release even a summary of the classified information that the SIS

relied on for the Security Risk Certificate (*the first such Certificate ever issued in NZ. This case was historic also because Zaoui's lawyers succeeded in making the SIS Director, Richard Woods, appear as a witness. Ed.*).

Granted Refugee Status

Initially depicted as some kind of Islamic terrorist caught by our vigilant intelligence organisations, the turning point in the public perception of Mr Zaoui came with the August 2003 decision of the Refugee Status Appeals Authority to accept his application for refugee status. The Authority's 223 page decision described Mr Zaoui's evidence in the following terms:

"In 11 days of questioning, the appellant's evidence has been internally consistent in every respect...On no occasion...did he give evidence inconsistent with what he had already said...His account is also consistent with information from reliable third parties...his evidence on the complex events spanning more than a decade is corroborated by this wealth of information from other sources in every material detail...The appellant has given approximately 50 hours of evidence. At no point has he prevaricated or hesitated. His answers have been spontaneous and non-contrived".

The Authority concluded that Mr Zaoui "has only ever been a member of the (Islamic Salvation Front; French acronym FIS); a political group and found "no serious reasons for considering he is a member, let alone the leader, of the GIA or... any armed group". It described Mr Zaoui as "an articulate, intelligent, committed and principled individual who, despite the hurdles placed before him over the last ten years, remains a passionate advocate for peace through democracy in Algeria".

The Authority was scathing in its comments on the material provided to it by the SIS.

"The (SIS's) chronology of the appellant...is mostly devoid of any citation of the sources relied on. Many of the entries consist solely of unsourced extracts from various news reports, with no attempt to excise opinion from fact...the SIS commentary on the FIS...is superficial and, to the extent that it reflects the official biases of the Algerian regime, contentious. Its attached chronology on the FIS is more interesting for its selective omissions than anything it says about the FIS...We were surprised at how limited (the SIS unclassified material) was and the questionable nature of some of the contents".

What made this judgement a turning point was that its findings turned the spotlight onto the SIS, its reasons for issuing a Security Risk Certificate against Mr Zaoui, and the sole avenue for appeal against the Certificate, the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security.

It is the role of the Inspector-General to determine whether the Certificate was properly issued. In doing so, he has privileged access to classified security information, significant powers, and wide discretion as to how to use them. The position of the Inspector-General was created in conjunction with the controversial 1996 Amendment to the SIS Act.

Inspector-General: A Record Of Incompetence & Prejudice

The Inspector-General's first case was one familiar to readers of *Peace Researcher*. He heard complaints from Aziz Choudry and me concerning events around the 1996 Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Trade Ministers' meeting in Christchurch: the SIS break-in to Mr Choudry's house; a hoax bomb that looked like a set-up; and questionable Police searches.

The Inspector-General, without confirming or denying any SIS involvement, concluded that no law had been broken. Subsequent court cases found that both the SIS and Police had acted illegally*. The latest court case is a further example of the Inspector-General getting the law wrong and erring on the side of secrecy, rather than accountability.

* *The best summary of the Choudry case can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/choudry.htm> Ed.*

Since then, the SIS has had its powers increased through amendments to the SIS Act and Immigration Act in 1999, the Terrorism Suppression Act (2002) and the Counter-Terrorism Act (2003) *. Through all this, the Inspector-General remains the only avenue for appeal against the SIS. **ABC's submissions on these latter two Acts, and similar legislation, can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/submissions.html> Ed.*

With such broad discretion, the views of the Inspector-General are very important. He revealed these in an interview with *Listener* writer, Gordon Campbell (29/11/03; "Watching The Watchers"), in which he expressed a lack of sympathy for asylum seekers, a cosy, rather than critical relationship with the SIS, and a willingness to rely on

uncorroborated hearsay as grounds for people being declared threats to national security. His remarks provoked an outcry and have led to Mr Zaoui's lawyers formally calling for Laurie Greig to be removed from deliberating on the appeal against the Security Risk Certificate that has been issued against Mr Zaoui.

In the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the US, there has been intense pressure on all countries to sign up to the "War On Terror". New Zealand has been an enthusiastic participant in this "war". The Prime Minister, Helen Clark (who is Minister in Charge of the SIS, a portfolio only ever held by the PM), and Immigration Minister, Lianne Dalziel, have consistently argued that, if New Zealand is to play its part, it cannot divulge any information that it receives from foreign Intelligence agencies.

However, given what we know about the SIS and the Inspector-General, what this almost certainly amounts to is the SIS uncritically accepting information from North American and European intelligence agencies, and Laurie Greig uncritically accepting the assurances of the SIS. In this globalised unaccountable world of "intelligence", New Zealand's role is to act on reports it is given from its more powerful counterparts, not to question or demand evidence of its reliability.

All of this leaves Mr Zaoui in a difficult predicament. The Security Risk Certificate he is appealing says not that he is a terrorist, but that his presence in New Zealand would endanger our national security. Any challenge to such broad, value-laden and imprecise grounds would be difficult, but it becomes impossible when one is forbidden from knowing anything about the accuser's evidence. This is a fundamental breach of natural justice and one that even other paid-up members of the "War On Terror", including Britain and Canada, do not rely on.

In Mr Zaoui's case it is compounded by what we know is a very low threshold that the SIS uses to give something the status of "classified security information". As anyone who has had dealings with the SIS knows, all you are likely to get out of them (if you are lucky) is copies of letters you have sent to them and maybe the odd newspaper clipping. In the Choudry case, one document, which had been classified but was eventually extracted from the SIS, was a photocopy of a section of a Christchurch street map. Expect similar absurdities now that aspects of the classified information on Mr Zaoui have to be released.

The Mysteriously Missing Tape

The suspicion of the low threshold for classified information was recently confirmed by the discovery (it could be said "by chance", but again experience shows that the more ends you tug at, the more incriminating evidence falls out) of a secret recording of a seven hour interview that the SIS and Police conducted with Mr Zaoui on his arrival in the country and without Mr Zaoui being advised of his right to have a lawyer present.

When the existence of the videotape was eventually discovered, the SIS made the preposterous claim that the picture was of poor quality and a large segment of the audio track was missing. It is incredible that an agency that went out of its way to arrange an interview at a time and place of its choosing with somebody it had been told from an overseas Intelligence agency (probably France) was a serious security risk, would mess up something as basic as recording and storing a videotape. In fact, it would have been astounding if the SIS had not immediately copied the tape and sent it to the agency that originally gave it the dirt on Mr Zaoui.

Three Key Issues

The missing sound story drew scorn from many people and even provoked a rebuke from the Prime Minister, which led within hours to the miraculous rediscovery of all of the sound. But the sound sideshow should not draw attention from three more serious issues.

The first of these is the making of the tape in the first place. When the SIS eventually admitted breaking into Mr Choudry's house (in 1996), their defence was that they thought they were legally entitled to do so. However, they could not possibly claim that they thought they were allowed to secretly record the interview with Mr Zaoui. This incident confirms what critics of the SIS have long argued; that the SIS acts as though it is above the law that it does whatever it thinks it can get away with regardless of the law.

The second is that the SIS is still refusing to release the tape to Mr Zaoui's lawyers on the grounds that it is classified information. It is absurd and unreasonable to deny the tape on these grounds to the person who was (obviously) present at the interview itself. It also further confirms the low threshold the SIS uses to give something the status of classified information.

The other serious concern about the tape is that the Inspector-General did not even know of its existence. The

person who is the only avenue of appeal against the SIS is being kept in the dark about relevant aspects of its operation.

As with most things involving the SIS, the more that is discovered about the Zaoui case, the more disturbing the picture that emerges. The Police fear the Mr Zaoui could find legal means to stay in New Zealand may yet be realised. And they were right to worry that his plight might attract the support of New Zealanders. On humanitarian grounds alone, Mr Zaoui is worthy of support. This case is also a clear demonstration of so much that is wrong with the murky world of "intelligence" and "security". It shows that the new laws are a travesty of justice, that the agencies responsible for applying them are not to be trusted, and that avenues for appeal are worthless.



Harewood Protester Convicted

by Murray Horton

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Despite the sheer scale of the anti-Iraq War protests throughout New Zealand in early 2003, there were very few arrests. One protester who was determined to be arrested, to force an issue, was Christchurch political activist, Daniel Rae. The US Air Force base at Christchurch Airport (commonly called Harewood) became a focal point of several anti-war protests. The 2003 Iraq War brought the Harewood base into the spotlight for the first time in years. The protests were peaceful and the Police response was restrained (if you want a contrast with 30 years ago, read the obituary of former Minister of Police, Mick Connelly, elsewhere in this issue, for an account of a very different State response to a 1973 Harewood protest).

Dan was the only person arrested at any of those Harewood demos (he was the first person arrested at a Harewood protest for nearly a decade). At a protest on the afternoon of Sunday March 23 (just after the US invaded Iraq), he climbed the fence into the US Air Force base and poured red paint onto the tarmac, to symbolise the blood of innocent Iraqis killed in that invasion (the killing hasn't stopped since, in fact it has escalated). He didn't go near any US military buildings, and basically he had to wait around to be picked up by airport security and handed over to the cops.

Dan appeared in court on October 17, 2003 to face a charge of wilful trespass. There was a well attended picket outside the District Court and the public gallery in the courtroom was full of his supporters. He represented himself. "...Rae told the court that he chose the area of tarmac used by aircraft for the United States Antarctic Programme because it was also used to transit military aircraft servicing Pine Gap in the Australian Outback, an Intelligence base which helped target sites in the Middle East. He described the war in Iraq, which had begun just a few days before, as an international crime. 'When international law has been breached, domestic citizens have the right to break national laws to prevent that crime from occurring'. Judge Noble replied: 'Even if you're right about that, how does climbing over a security fence and spreading paint on the tarmac prevent that crime from occurring?' Rae answered: 'I was attempting to highlight that New Zealand was complicit in breaking that international law by housing the United States military base at Harewood' " (*Press*, 18/10/03, "Paint protester prepared for jail", John Henzell).

Unsurprisingly, the judge rejected Dan's case that he was acting to prevent terrorism. "Judge Noble described Rae as articulate and intelligent in putting his case, which espoused a view on the war in Iraq shared by thousands of New Zealanders" (ibid). The judge convicted Dan and sentenced him to 100 hours community work. Dan replied that he refused to accept the court's jurisdiction, would refuse to perform the community work (or pay a fine) and was prepared to go to prison. Judge Noble described this as "arrant nonsense...I'm disappointed in you. I'd described you as an intelligent and articulate young man. If you want to present yourself as a martyr, you're entitled to do that" (ibid).

Dan Rae's Statement To The Court

Dan reports: "I only managed to present about one sixth of the statement but did get to say other stuff about Harewood and Pine Gap more generally" (e-mail to ABC, 17/12/03).

"Judge, over 50 years ago the US representative at the Nuremberg trials *, Robert Jackson stated, "To initiate a war of aggression ...is not only an international war crime, it is the supreme international crime differing only from other war crimes in that it contains within itself the accumulated evil of the whole". **The trials of leaders of Nazi Germany after the Allied victory in World War 2. Ed.*

"In March of this year (2003), shortly after the invasion of Iraq, I decided I couldn't sit idly by while war crimes were committed by the world's sole superpower, the world's largest terrorist state, the United States of America.

"A famous Czech dissident once said. "The struggle of people against power is the struggle of remembering against forgetting".

"Judge, on that day I refused to forget that the State is the single largest source of terrorism in the world today. I refused to forget that the regime in Iraq was installed and supported by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and successive American governments. I also refused to forget the devastation and suffering that the first Gulf War (in 1991) had caused. And finally I refused to forget that the United States foreign policy has always been driven by the essential need of the capitalist system to mobilise State violence to seize resources, plunder nations and exploit people for private profit.

"In light of that remembering I went out to the US Air Force base that we have here in Christchurch, at Harewood, to challenge and resist the latest colonial military crusade which we call war.

"For once, my own moral convictions were in line with that of the law. I refer here, Judge, to international law. Under international law it is a crime to engage in a war of aggression such as what was conducted against Iraq. Any use of force by a State must be regarded as unlawful if it is not subject to armed attack. This was clearly not the case in this situation. Iraq had made no threats against its neighbours, and certainly not the United States. It had no weapons of mass destruction and no connections with international terrorism.

Pine Gap

"Since the 1950s the New Zealand government has hosted a US Air Force base at Harewood and by doing so is complicit in all Western wars of aggression and war crimes under International law. Through Harewood, Galaxy and Starlifter planes travel en route to Pine Gap in Outback Australia, near Alice Springs. Pine Gap is a vital US military installation that plays an integral part in all Western wars in the Middle East and provides targeting information for the aerial bombardment of Iraqi cities and communities. Harewood, along with other New Zealand logistical support for the war, makes us by extension guilty of war crimes and engaged in mass murder - blood for oil.

"The invasion failed to meet any criteria of self-defence, under international law, and was an illegal act of State terrorism against the ordinary men, women and children of Iraq. For this act Bush, Blair, Howard and all the other Western leaders complicit in this illegal war, including Helen Clark, should be indicted for war crimes. They should be the ones standing here before you now if this really was a place of justice.

"So, Judge, on the day currently in question, when I decided to climb the fence and enter the US Air Force base at Harewood, I was attempting to highlight the legal system's inability to uphold international law and its failure to arrest those responsible for the real crime – the invasion of Iraq.

"Judge, I would also like to highlight the fact that this invasion was not an isolated criminal act, but rather part of systematic and repeated offences by the Western powers. From Nicaragua, to Bolivia, to Vietnam, Indonesia, Palestine, Panama, Colombia, Cambodia and so on, the leaders of the Western nations have repeatedly disregarded international law to engaged in wars of aggression for corporate profit that have brought untold suffering and misery to millions of people around the globe. The methods and weapons used to inflict this suffering and misery are also in clear breach of international law. The systematic and deliberate destruction of civilian infrastructure, the willful genocide that is the starvation of a country's basic needs by sanctions and the use of indiscriminate weapons such as fuel-air explosives, cluster bombs and depleted uranium are all by their very nature inhumane and against the Geneva Convention.

"Rather than accepting this situation I choose to take action to challenge my own Government and to refuse to be part of state sanctioned terror. By entering the US Air Force base at Harewood and pouring red paint on the runway I was attempting to highlight how the New Zealand government is complicit in these acts of international terrorism against international law. To not take that action and remain silent would be an apologist for State slaughter.

Trying To Prevent Terrorism

"Representing Big Business and its dream of a free trade deal with America, the New Zealand government is unwilling to end its complicity in war crimes such as the invasion of Iraq, therefore it is up to ordinary citizens such as myself to act. Judge, by doing so I was attempting to prevent an act of terrorism as defined by our own domestic law, in the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002. Section Five of that Act defines terrorism as the use or threat of an act that is, in full or in part- (i) to intimidate a population of any country; or (ii) to compel a lawful government or an international organisation, in any country, to do or abstain from doing any act - for the purpose of advancing an ideological, political or religious cause- in other words the illegal invasion of Iraq. Hence I was trying to prevent a terrorist act and New Zealand's role in that deed.

"Judge, the Act that I'm charged under, states that what I did was an act of trespass only if I didn't have a reasonable excuse to be on the runway. Since the war on Iraq was immoral, and illegal under international law as well as New Zealand's own Terrorism Suppression Act, then I had every excuse to enter the US Air Force base at Harewood and attempt to highlight and prevent New Zealand's involvement in this gross criminal act.

"Once again International law absolves my actions. The Nuremberg War Crime Tribunal stated in 1950 that "individuals have international duties which transcend the national obligations of obedience, therefore individual

citizens have the duty to violate domestic laws to prevent crimes against peace and humanity from occurring”.

“By doing that very thing I was actively refusing to cooperate or recognise an economic and military system that consigns millions of lives to poverty while the elite of the West get richer. A system whose definition of freedom is freedom for corporates to exploit people and plunder resources. When we live in societies as fundamentally unjust and undemocratic such as ours we have, I think, no choice but to take action to prevent slaughters caused by the system such as the war on the people of Iraq.

“Rather than accepting the State’s, and corporate media’s, attempts of fraud, lies and propropaganda to dehumanise and demonise the people of Iraq, I choose instead to recognise our common humanity, a common humanity that was expressed in the unity of grassroots action that saw the unprecented mobilisation of people in opposition to this act of Western State terrorism. If this opposition brings us before courts and we are charged as guilty then these courts are themselves criminal and fundamentally unjust and have no legitimate moral or political authority to pass judgement on my actions”.

US Embassy Complains, NZ Police Jump

by Bob Leonard

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If you send an e-mail or letter to the American Embassy in Wellington, you could be arrested by the New Zealand Police acting on a complaint from the Americans. Your missive would have to be “provocative” of course – perhaps critical of some aspect of US policy or actions. But it needn’t be threatening (*Peace Researcher* recommends against frightening Americans in any way, especially in airports. They are very edgy and completely lacking in a sense of humour).

The case of Bruce Hubbard, of Auckland, is appalling and alarming. Poor Bruce had the temerity to send an e-mail to the US Embassy in which he stated some rather negative but well-documented facts about American military actions and their consequences. After some difficulty in locating Bruce, the NZ Police arrested him on a charge of sending an offensive e-mail to the American Embassy. The alleged offence took place in March 2003 but no move was made against Hubbard until October 2003 when he was charged under the Telecommunications Act: “...he used a telephone for the purpose of disturbing, with the intention of offending the recipient”. (domestic e-mails travel via the phone lines).

Bruce believes the delay in action against him had to do with the passage of the Counter-Terrorism Act on 22 October 2003. The timing is indeed suspicious, but the fact is, he was charged under the Telecommunications Act, not the Counter-Terrorism Act. The reader may find all this law stuff rather confusing and that’s understandable. There has been a spate of legislation in Aotearoa/NZ relating to terrorism and arising from the events of 11/9/01. But some of that legislation has its roots in the early ‘90s. We refer you to *Peace Researchers* 23 through 27 for detailed analyses and submissions on all the relevant bills. What needs to be emphasised in the present case is the driving force behind all these so-called anti-terrorism laws. *You can read all our submissions online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/submissions.html>* *Back issues of Peace Researcher can also be read at www.converge.org.nz/abc* Ed.

These laws have seriously eroded the civil liberties of all New Zealanders, and Bruce Hubbard is one of the first to be caught up in this legal morass – legislation driven from overseas, according to Nicky Hager, a fact certainly borne out by *PR*’s own research. Nicky’s well-documented conclusion was reported in an article in the *New Zealand Herald* (4/4/03). Both Nicky and *PR* used Official Information Act requests to try to ferret out the involvement of our police and Security Intelligence Service (SIS) officers in meetings of the International Law Enforcement Telecommunications Seminar (ILETS), initiated by the American Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the mid-1990s. Nicky succeeded where we failed (we met with blanket denials). He stated in the *Herald* article: “Increasingly, in a re-run of Cold War thinking, the rationale for new security-surveillance moves is not to protect New Zealanders but because of the tenuous concern that New Zealand not be able to be used as a base for criminal or terrorist actions against the United States and other allies. In other words, New Zealanders’ civil rights are being reduced because of security fears in other countries”.

Not surprisingly, Associate Justice Minister Rick Barker said the claims were baseless because “...he did not know anything about ILETS”. It is indeed doubtful the Police and the SIS rushed to keep members of Parliament well informed of their secret meetings overseas, at taxpayer expense. We wonder if Barker changed his opinion when apprised of the Hager documents revealing “...years of liaison between New Zealand authorities and ILETS and other overseas groups, including the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO)”.

The Counter-Terrorism Act: Will It Apply To Bruce Hubbard?

Bruce has so far been charged under rather old (non-terrorism-inspired) provisions of the Telecommunications Act (thou shalt not threaten people over the phone), but other charges could follow. In his first court appearance he was remanded on bail, and was given an initial trespass order to stay beyond a radius of 250 km of the US Embassy (a typing error). But even the intended 250 metre ban would seem to signal that Bruce is deemed to be a physical threat to Fort Thorndon (aka, the US Embassy, in Wellington).

The shiny new Counter-Terrorism Act creates a whole gaggle of new offences as listed in a media release (1/4/03) by Justice Minister Phil Goff:

- improper use or possession of nuclear material;
- threatening to use such material;
- importing, acquiring or possessing radioactive material with the intention of causing injury;
- knowingly possessing, using, making, exporting or importing unmarked plastic explosives;
- contaminating food, crops, water or other products intended for human consumption (this one might be a good

- defence against genetically engineered food crops);
- infecting animals with disease with the intention of causing serious risk to an animal population or major damage to the national economy (GE crops again spring to mind);
- harbouring or concealing a person that [sic] intends to carry out a terrorist act or has already done so;
- threatening harm to persons or property;
- falsely communicating about danger to persons or property with the intent of disrupting commercial or government interests.

Just how Bruce Hubbard's e-mail might lead to a charge of an offence from the above list is hard to fathom. But if that were to happen and he were convicted, the penalties are stiff, both jail and fines. This is serious stuff, not only for Bruce, but for any New Zealander who writes, or protests, or strikes in any way that might invoke the sweeping provisions of the Counter-Terrorism Act and its companion law, the Terrorism Suppression Act, passed under urgency in October 2002.

When Green MP Keith Locke raised his lonely voice in Parliament to protest against the Counter-Terrorism Bill at the time of its second reading he was ridiculed as alarmist and soft on terrorism. The Bill was confusing in that it contained several provisions unrelated to terrorism that should have been contained in a separate bill. The Greens failed in attempts to get the Bill split into two bills.

In his speech Keith said: "Perhaps the most dangerous change is proposed new section 307A in clause 7 to be inserted in the Crimes Act that could lead to heavy penalties for people who threaten to engage informs of protest action that cause 'major economic loss to one or more persons'...This section 307A(2) provision is clearly a threat to the right of protest and free speech".

It is no coincidence or irony that Bruce Hubbard has been nailed by the NZ Police at the behest of the American government. If he is charged under one of the new anti-terrorism acts, there could be no clearer message that those acts are designed to stifle dissent, in New Zealand and in every other country where similar laws have been passed under pressure from the United States. If there is irony in any of this it is in the fact that the flag-waving American people have swallowed the Big Lie about Terrorism and the need for so-called Homeland Security and are themselves oppressed by the worst of the anti-terrorism laws, the USA Patriot Act.

Full Speed Ahead Into The Quagmire - NZ Blunders Into Iraq

by

Murray Horton

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Labour governments always seem to feel the need to be more militaristic than the Tories. Thus, we had a Government during WW2 led by men who had actively opposed conscription in WW1 (and been imprisoned, in some cases), supervising conscription and eager to prove themselves the most loyal allies of Mother England. In fact, due to time differences, New Zealand declared war on Germany before England did. The Prime Minister for most of that war, Peter Fraser, made sure that he visited NZ troops at the front. Today we have a Government headed by a Prime Minister who protested at NZ's involvement in the 1960s & 70s Vietnam War. Helen Clark is fast proving herself one of America and Britain's most loyal little allies in their dirty wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. She's done the visiting Our Boys at The Front routine, in both countries, before Bush did his clandestine Thanksgiving Day visit to a heavily guarded US military base at Baghdad Airport.

The Clark government deserves major credit for keeping New Zealand out of the 2003 Iraq War, despite considerable pressure from the US, British and Australian governments to join the illegal invasion and subsequent destruction and plunder. Clark was merely reflecting the overwhelming tide of NZ public opinion against the war and any involvement in it. But her actions and policies since the war was declared officially over (as everyone knows, it is anything but over; in fact it has hardly begun) have undone a lot of that good work.

New Zealand was one of those countries which wanted the war to be officially approved by the United Nations (it wasn't and the US/UK/Australia et al invaded anyway). Personally, I don't see that having UN approval for a preemptive invasion makes it any more acceptable, but that question is now academic. Following the victory by the Coalition the UN Security Council, to its discredit, accepted the "facts on the ground" and recognised the US as the occupying Power in Iraq. An international "reconstruction and humanitarian" programme was announced. Countries such as France and Germany, which had defied the US in the UN Security Council, and strenuously opposed the invasion, were prepared to help but not militarily.

NZ Is Part Of Occupation Force

New Zealand, however, which had also courageously defied the US, did make a military commitment to Iraq. 61 Army engineers were sent to the British-controlled zone at Basra to, officially, provide humanitarian help. That was the cover story until the indefatigable Nicky Hager uncovered leaked papers revealing that those engineers spend a substantial proportion of their time on occupation and security matters. They are performing tasks such as guarding the British military compound, repairing British combat boats and working inside the British headquarters. "Do not underestimate how important filling the staff officer positions is", a confidential New Zealand Defence memo says. 'It will not only give us a say in how our people are employed, it will give us high visibility on the ground and earn us huge gratitude from the Brits who are very strapped for staff officers'" (Stuff Website, 14/12/03; "Leaked papers suggest secret NZ role in Iraq", Anthony Hubbard). The Rules of Engagement for the NZ military contingent authorises them to use deadly force to defend themselves and other Coalition personnel, and to protect designated persons and property.

These revelations were angrily denied by the Government but led to the Greens and peace groups calling for the NZ troops to be withdrawn and replaced by a civilian reconstruction programme. Global Peace and Justice Auckland said: "Just as in Vietnam, New Zealanders are in a war of liberation, on the wrong side" (*Press*, 15/12/03; "Call to pull troops out", Jarrod Booker). Television New Zealand News reporters have visited NZ troops in both countries, but not even this public relations spin could disguise the fact that Our Boys in Basra are unpopular (not because they're New Zealanders, but simply because they're seen by Iraqis as part of the Western military forces occupying their country). Indeed they have to take elaborate measures to protect themselves, at all times.

"Our Boys" Not Welcomed As Liberators

"It was interesting then to see one very revealing report from Ewart Barnsley in Basra, a town that had been expected to welcome the Coalition troops. This report showed that security had become the priority of the NZ contingent there (*One News*, TVNZ, 12/11/03). Guns have to be at the ready at all times while vehicles need mesh screening to stop stones which are regularly thrown at the Kiwis. Basra in Iraq is obviously proving to be a far different posting in terms of local acceptance than the Kiwi experience of peacekeeping in East Timor" (*Foreign Control Watchdog* 104, December 2003, "Imperial Iagemaking", Dennis Small). The New Zealand media, both during the war and its aftermath, have faithfully pushed the US propaganda line.

To quote from Dennis Small's *Watchdog* article again: "When an NZ soldier was unfortunate enough to be caught in an ambush, TVNZ reporter Ewart Barnsley portrayed this soldier as the victim of a terrorist action when only engaged in trying to help rebuild a shattered country (*One News*, TVNZ, 29/10/03). The soldier was injured when 'an explosive device was detonated close to a three-vehicle convoy he was travelling in through Basra' (*Press*, 30/10/03). However, so far as this particular event is concerned, it could be considered from the point of view of an obviously considerable number of Iraqis as a classic guerrilla action against an invader come to help loot their country. TVNZ, in particular, is constantly imposing on us the American/British definition of the situation. As an example out of so many that could be cited, TVNZ political reporter Guyon Espiner commented in one recent news item that NZ is helping the US in the 'war on terror' in Afghanistan, and helping the US to 'rebuild Iraq'. While in Iraq, Barnsley's repeated theme was of the work in Basra and other places to 'rebuild Iraq': you cannot get a simpler and more benign 'soundbite' than that for the imposition of Western imperialism.

"So much of 'news' presentation, especially on TV, consists of simply quoting official sources. For instance, presenter Judy Bailey in introducing a TVNZ item about an Iraqi attack on a US Chinook helicopter, said that President Bush would not retreat from America's 'mission' in Iraq (*One News*, TVNZ, 3/10/03). While there was a shot of the people of Fallujah celebrating the downing of the helicopter, the official view was then presented of the Iraqi resistance to this illegal invasion: i.e. Saddam supporters, criminals, and foreign fighters (*ibid.*). Sometimes there is a variation on the Coalition's triad of foes, e.g. Saddamites (Baathists) and foreign *ihadists* again, but with al Qaeda-affiliated terrorists instead of just criminals. The idea of there being genuine freedom fighters among the diversity of Coalition foes is just too unsettling.

"Thus the imperialist project is standardly portrayed on TVNZ and other media as a selfless project to assist the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan. This is the kind of Orwellian crap we regularly get from such mainstream sources. Don't mention the oil and gas!..."

NZ Media Lies

One of the major lies propagated as justification for the invasion was that there was a working relationship between Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda terrorist group (actually they were mortal enemies). And what was the heading on each of the numerous pages of the Christchurch *Press* devoted to the Americans' capture of Saddam, on the day that it happened, in December 2003? "War On Terror". Hang on, isn't that a quite separate war, the one being waged, not very successfully in Afghanistan, against al Qaeda and the forces of the former Taliban government? Christchurch readers of their transnational-owned newspaper could be forgiven for concluding that it's all one and the same. After all, New Zealand has soldiers helping the US and Britain in both countries, so it must be the same war, musn't it?

The *Press* made no secret of its enthusiastic support for an invasion before, during and after the Iraq War, running regular bellicose editorials. It even made a fool of itself by running front page lead stories with screaming headlines, such as "Something Evil Happened Here" - about the discovery of the remains of hundreds of "Saddam's victims" (they turned out to be Iranian dead, from the 1980-88 Iran/Iraq War, awaiting repatriation) or the uncovering of chemical weapons facilities (which turned out to be innocuous). Thus is classic war propaganda disseminated around the world, along with the outright lies fabricated by Western Intelligence agencies. With the honourable exception of the *Listener*, specifically Gordon Campbell, the NZ media is only too happy to do its bit to spread the lies and bullshit. The depiction of the Iraqi Resistance as terrorists is standard throughout the New Zealand, and Western, media. Just as the Nazis referred to the French Resistance as terrorists during their occupation, and the British to the Americans as terrorists during the 18th Century War of Independence.

Hence there was much wringing of hands about the UN being a target of "terrorist" suicide bombers in Baghdad - but from an Iraqi perspective, why should they feel any gratitude towards an organisation that oversaw the sanctions regime (which lasted more than a decade and killed several hundred thousand of their most vulnerable citizens, particularly children), and authorised the US and Britain to bomb Iraq on a daily basis for all those years? What's "terroristic" about killing or wounding foreign troops, spies, bureaucrats, profiteers, etc., etc., occupying your country? If New Zealand was occupied by Iraqis, we would expect all true Kiwi patriots to be out there killing and maiming them. They would be proclaimed heroes, be given medals and enter folklore for centuries to come.

Clark Wants It Both Ways

So why is the Labour government so keen on sucking up to the Yanks? The best analysis comes from another Nicky Hager article, in the *New Zealand Herald* (5/8/03; "In defence it's not size that matters"):

"The real issues facing defence are seen in the two factions within the military. One group believes in the

peacekeeping role and, for instance, see their work in East Timor as a huge achievement. They would like to orient training and equipment more to these roles.

“The other group – represented publicly by the retired generals who periodically attack Helen Clark – see peacekeeping as an annoying distraction from their real task, which is to fight Korean, Vietnam and Iraq-type wars alongside their traditional allies. They were enthusiastic about joining the (2001/02) Afghanistan War, but see the present deployment to the Solomon Islands as an unnecessary strain on resources. To this second group, the overriding priority is being a loyal US ally like Australia.

“Helen Clark’s defence policy consists of trying to do both. She believes in using peacekeeping forces to try to reduce misery and harm in war-torn countries, but also wants to use the military to buy diplomatic and trade favours in Washington. This is where the defence critics have a point: trying to do both over-stretches our small military. The real defence debate we need, put bluntly, is whether New Zealanders want to be junior deputies in George Bush’s military strategies or be helping avoid wars, remove landmines and rebuild war-torn countries as New Zealand peacekeepers are currently doing in 13 countries.

“We cannot realistically do both, for a simple reason that many defence commentators seem unwilling to accept. That is, four million people will always have a much, much smaller military than countries of tens or hundreds of millions. When New Zealand tries to have Navy frigates, jet fighters, tanks and all – miniature versions of allied militaries – we end up with token forces, more for display than real effect. However, apart from the Skyhawks *, our politicians mostly shy away from making the hard decisions. * *The aircraft of the former strike wing of the Royal New Zealand Air Force. The strike wing was scrapped and the Skyhawks sold by the Government. Ed.*

“Unfortunately, these things don’t get debated because we’re distracted by the endless phony debate about underfunding and poor equipment. This non-debate means the public doesn’t realise how anachronistic our ‘traditional alliances’ are. For instance, who’s heard of BRITANZ? These are the regular British-Australia-NZ defence meetings about the defence of Singapore and Malaysia (under the Five Power Defence Arrangement). Most years this role takes more defence resources than peacekeeping (frigates, Orions [RNZAF surveillance aircraft], Army units, Special Air Service exercises...) yet it’s decades since Singapore or Malaysia needed our assistance. Nowadays BRITANZ is purely about helping Britain maintain military links with two old colonies. Why, please, is this a priority for our over-stretched military?

“In my opinion, the same goes for the US alliance. There are times, like in East Timor, when the New Zealand and US militaries should work together. But mostly it is very old WW2 thinking to suggest we have the same outlooks and interests.

“Yet Helen Clark is moving much closer to the US military than the last National government ever did (emphasis added. Ed.). Afghanistan was the biggest contribution to a US war since Vietnam (history will show what a mess we helped make there). Now we’re helping out the occupation in Iraq (while countries like Germany and France keep right out of it). Labour sent a useless ‘honour guard’ to hang around with the US troops in Korea (for the 50th anniversary of the conclusion of the 1950-53 Korean War) and approved a new US Air Force communications station in New Zealand (see PR 27 for details. It can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr27-79.htm#Bkmrk4> Ed.

“This month (August 2003) US Special Forces soldiers are part of a high mountain exercise (Exercise Cold Winter) in New Zealand for the first time in 18 years. It is the most dangerously militaristic US government for years, embarking on a new Cold War called the ‘war on terror’, yet Labour is frantically moving closer to it. The motives are cynical and never openly acknowledged...”

NZ War Profiteers

There are a number of possible reasons why Labour feels obliged to prove itself a more loyal US ally than the Tories. There is the constant shimmering mirage of a free trade agreement with the US, which is the Holy Grail for this most fervently pro-free trade Government. Whole forests have been cut down to supply the paper for the vast volume of mainstream media articles touting the wonders of this hallucination, but it’s never looked like happening and still doesn’t. So, *Peace Researcher* won’t devote any space to it, let alone analyse why it would be a very bad thing for New Zealand, until it remotely looks like happening. That should be round about the same time that the All Blacks win the Rugby World Cup.

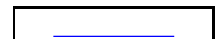
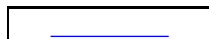
Then there is the desire to atone for the terrible offence caused by our nuclear free policy, put in place by the last Labour government. This is definitely a major irritant for the Americans. Rather than go over it all again here, I

simply refer you to Bob Leonard's article on the subject elsewhere in this issue. Mark Latham, the newly elected Leader of the Australian Labor Party, succinctly and accurately referred to the Prime Minister, John Howard, as an "arselicker" (in relation to the US). You might think that about Helen Clark, we couldn't possibly say it.

There are some good old grubby financial reasons for kissing Dubya where the Sun doesn't shine. This became plain when, in December 2003, the US announced a list of 63 countries eligible to bid for \$US18.6 billion worth of lucrative contracts in the American colony of Iraq. France, Germany, Canada and Belgium, all close US allies who actively opposed the war on Iraq, are excluded from the list. But New Zealand, which also opposed that war before the event, is on the list. That's the payoff for our supposedly strictly token post-war military presence in Iraq. Those major capitalist countries snubbed by the US won't take it lying down, as spelled out in a *Times* article reprinted in the *Press* (12/12/03; "Pentagon will rue the day"): "It is hard to overstate how much annoyance the move has caused among countries that may have opposed the war but have still worked hard at maintaining close relations with the United States..." . Indeed there has been talk of the US being charged with being in breach of World Trade Organisation rules. But New Zealand came out of it on the right side of the US (or should that be, the Right side?). Valerie Morse, of Peace Action Wellington, said: "The soldiers sent to Iraq are not there to help the Iraqi people but for the purposes of trade and reconstruction contracts and cosyng up to the US" (*Press*, 12/12/03; "NZ in pro-US listing", Tracy Watkins).

And you don't have to look far to find those war profiteers within New Zealand. "Fonterra already has lucrative contracts in Iraq under the UN Oil for Food programme, which could have been jeopardised if New Zealand had been listed under countries unsympathetic to the US coalition" (ibid.). Some NZ companies are forging new contracts directly with the US military in Iraq. For example, Christchurch company Steelbro NZ. In November 2003 it supplied a dozen container-moving sidelifers to a secret customer in Iraq. In December, it was reported that this customer wanted more of these \$250,000 units. Steelbro staff visited California "where they talked with the logistics company, which is procuring the units for an Iraqi firm understood to be contracted to the US Army. It is believed the sidelifers are being used by the US Army to move containers carrying supplies to various parts of Iraq" (*Press*, 6/12/03; "Hush-hush customer buys more", Paul Gorman).

So, in the war of occupation in Iraq, little old New Zealand is doing its bit to help out the old imperial master (Britain) and the current one (the US). Once again, it is a Labour government anxious to prove that it is a more loyal servant than the Tories. And riding on the coat tails of our handful of troops come the NZ war profiteers, keen to get some of the stolen property grabbed by the armed robbers, terrorists and mass murderers who have hijacked that country. The US lives by the adage "Crime pays"; minor accomplices like New Zealand get some of the crumbs. The New Zealand military must be withdrawn from Iraq immediately.



Current US Hegemony In Asia Pacific

by Bobby Tuazon

Peace Researcher 28 – December 2003

This is based on a paper bearing the same title that was first read in a Power Point presentation during a Workshop on Asia-Pacific, sponsored by Bayan and the International League for Peoples' Struggle, at the Conference on War and Globalisation on March 1, 2003, held at the School of Economics, University of the Philippines, Quezon City, Philippines. The conference was sponsored by IBON Foundation. Bobby Tuazon works at the Center for Anti-Imperialist Studies. It was written during the build up to the Iraq War.

Over the past two decades particularly after the fall of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European revisionist bloc of countries, the United States has waged wars and covert operations in many countries. Unlike during the 40-year Cold War when such actions had to contend with impediments arising from the Soviet veto power in the United Nations and by the existence of strong liberation movements, the recent years saw the United States displaying its unipolar power with arrogance and self-righteousness.

We have seen this, for instance, in its wars against Afghanistan and Iraq where President George Bush, the Pentagon and the State Department have time and again declared or hinted that they will not be bound by international law, by institutions like the United Nations, or by world public opinion including appeals by Pope John Paul II and the former South African President, Nelson Mandela, as they decided the fate of Iraq in the pretext of disarming Saddam Hussein's regime of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). *And as the whole world knows, not one single WND has been found in Iraq by the US and its fellow colonisers. Ed.*

To a growing number of people in the world today, however, it is clear who the greatest threat to international peace and security is. Eight out of ten Americans, according to a recent *Time* magazine poll, see the US as the world's greatest threat. Very distant second and third are North Korea and Iraq, respectively.

Many people, whether here at home or abroad, ask what really drove George Bush and other superhawks in their tenacity and arrogance to attack a nation of 26 million who continued to suffer the effects of the 1990-1991 Gulf War, years of economic sanctions and deprivation and continuous bombings despite fruitless calls from UN members to stop what appeared to be an insane war. A former Justice Minister of Germany likened Bush to Adolf Hitler. Nelson Mandela doubts that Bush can think coherently. These are of course remarks by leaders meant to warn the world about a cowboy and a Rambo gone berserk.

There is no question that the war on Iraq had another agenda to it, which is in relation to the control of oil and the perpetuation of American hegemony and world domination.

I will not dwell on the economics of the US war on Iraq and instead share some insights related to the greed of the Bush Administration to perpetuate American hegemony and world domination. First of all, the US war on Iraq, dubbed as the continuing "War On Terror," is part of a coherent world strategy that was conceived more than ten years ago.

Roots Of The Grand Strategy

The Bush regime's grand strategy for domination and hegemony of the world extends beyond the "War On Terror". This ambitious strategy can be traced in: the Defense Policy Guidance (DPG) of 1992 and the Project for a New American Century (PNAC), founded in 1997.

The DEFENSE POLICY GUIDANCE of 1992 is a top secret blueprint for world domination prepared by the Department of Defense (DoD), of then US President George Bush, Senior. Its vision is a world dominated by the unilateral use of US military power to ensure Pax Americana; to assert the US national interest; and prevent the rise of any possible power competitor for the future.

DPG particularly stresses that America will not be bound to its partners and to international laws and institutions while it stresses a more unilateral and pre-emptive role in attacking its perceived enemies (terrorist threats and confronting rogue states seeking weapons of mass destruction or WMDs).

The blueprint also says that a war on terrorism must be launched. This war to be launched by the American Empire must be seen as a façade and just a part of a bigger strategy of projecting US military power around the world, especially Eurasia, and cutting loose the multilateral bonds that have constrained Washington's freedom of action and power.

The PROJECT FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY (PNAC, 1997), on the other hand, envisions to consolidate and preserve Pax Americana through the 21st Century primarily by military power/hegemony and secondarily, by economic hegemony. In other words, to create a truly global empire by military force. "At no time in history has the international security order been as conducive to American interests and ideals. The challenge of this coming century is to preserve and enhance this 'American peace,'" its vision partly says.

In 2000, an election year in the United States, the men behind PNAC came up with a report, "Rebuilding America's Defenses - Strategy, Forces and Resources for a New Century". Its authors acknowledged that the paper was based on the 1992 DPG.

Four Core Missions

The "Rebuilding" report has Four Core Missions for US military forces:

- * Defend the American homeland;
- * Fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars;
- * Perform the "constabulary" duties associated with shaping the security environment in critical regions;
- * Transform US forces to exploit the "revolution in military affairs".

To carry out the Four Core Missions, the United States must:

- * Maintain nuclear strategic superiority globally;
- * Increase active-duty strength of today's force from 1.4 million to 1.6 million;
- * Reposition US forces by shifting permanently-based forces to Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia, and by changing naval deployment patterns to reflect growing US strategic interests in East Asia;
- * Modernise current US forces selectively (such as sending more attack submarines to Asia; more electronic support, helicopters and aircraft for the Marine Corps);
- * Develop and deploy global missile defences in order to provide a secure basis for US power projection around the world;
- * Control the new "international commons" of space and "cyberspace" and pave the way for the creation of a new military service - US Space Forces - with the mission of space control;
- * Exploit the "Revolution in Military Affairs" (RMA)
- * Increase defence spending gradually to a minimum level of 3.5% to 3.8% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), adding \$US15 billion to \$US20 billion to total defence spending annually.

Specifically, the PNAC project also advocates:

- * A much larger military presence spread over more of the globe, in addition to the roughly 140 nations in which US troops are already deployed;
- * The US needs more permanent military bases in the Middle East, Southeast Europe, Latin America and in Southeast Asia (where no such bases exist);
- * The US will consider developing biological weapons in decades to come;
- * Iraq is just the beginning, a pretence for a wider conflict (probably more "regime removals") in the Middle East;
- * In Iraq, according to PNAC co-chair Donald Rumsfeld, the US will establish permanent military bases in a post-war Iraq. "We will probably need a major concentration of forces in the Middle East over a long period of time...If we have force in Iraq, there will be no disruption in oil supplies".
- * Pinpoints Iraq, North Korea, Libya, Syria and Iran as "dangerous regimes".

The Brains Behind DPG & PNAC

DEFENSE POLICY GUIDANCE (1992):

- * Defense Secretary Dick Cheney (now Bush's Vice President)
- * Paul Wolfowitz (now US Deputy Secretary of Defense)
- * I Lewis Libby (now Dick Cheney's chief of staff)

PROJECT FOR A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY (1997) Founding Members:

- * Dick Cheney (now US Vice President)
- * Donald Rumsfeld (now Bush's Secretary of Defense)
- * Paul Wolfowitz (PNAC's ideologue, now Defense Deputy Secretary)

- * Condoleeza Rice (now Bush's National Security Adviser)
- * Zalmay Khalilzad (an Afghan Central Intelligence Agency [CIA] asset became senior director of the National Security Council; now Bush's special envoy in Kabul to follow up oil pipeline project)
- * Jeb Bush (brother of George and now Governor of Florida)
- * John Bolton (now Under Secretary of State)
- * Stephen Cambone (now head of Pentagon's Office of Program, Analysis and Evaluation)
- * Eliot Cohen & Devon Cross (now members of Defense Policy Board, which advises Rumsfeld)
- * Dov Zakheim (now Comptroller for the Defense Department)
- * Bruce Jackson (now with Lockheed Martin, a major defence contractor)
- * William Kristol (of the conservative *Weekly Standard* which is owned by Rupert Murdoch, owner of international media giant Fox News and a leading supporter of the war against Iraq)
- * Donald Kagan (also ideologue, now co-chairs PNAC)

Some of the DPG and PNAC men are old Asia hands, i.e., those who have advocated a more aggressive and militarily-oriented US hegemony in Asia including Southeast Asia. The men behind DPG and PNAC, led by Bush himself, lead the elite circle of 100 powerful men who occupy the top positions of the US government bringing with them their connections to the oil industry and the military-industrial complex.

PNAC, meanwhile, gave birth to the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, which funded anti-Saddam opposition and heir presumptive, Ahmed Chalabi (an Enron-like businessman wanted by Jordan for bank fraud).

For more on Chalabi, read Foreign Control Watchdog 102, May 2003; "Stop Thief: Sadly It's A Common Story. A Desperate Addict Turns To A Life Of Crime", by Murray Horton. It can be read at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/02/06.htm>. For more on Rupert Murdoch's support for the Iraq War, read Watchdog 103, August 2003; "Who Owns New Zealand's News Media? Can We Afford To Let Them Own Our News?", by Bill Rosenberg. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/03/07.htm> Ed.

PNAC is staffed by men linked to groups like Friends of the Democratic Center in Central America which backed the US's bloody covert operations in Nicaragua and El Salvador in the 1980s; and the Committee for the Present Danger, which during the 1980s under President Ronald Reagan pushed for a "winnable" nuclear war with the former Soviet Union.

Bush's Strategies And Doctrines

When George Bush took over as President of the United States in 2001, the DPG and PNAC became a reality. Translating the two blueprints for US global hegemony and domination in just two years of his presidency, Bush defined his government's military strategies and doctrines:

- * National Security Strategy (NSS, September 17, 2002)
- * Pre-Emptive Doctrine (June 2002, West Point speech)
- * Nuclear Posture Review (January 2002)
- * Quadrennial Defense Review of 2001 (September 30, 2001)
- * Theory of Less Casualties, New Weapons Technology and the Training of Surrogate Armies
- * Unilateralism and the Manipulation of Temporary Coalitions
- * Regime Change or Regime Removal

Basically, the Bush regime's world strategies and military doctrines assert American internationalism (spreading America's "democratic values" throughout the world) and unilateralism in which the United States will not be bound by international law and global institutions or by invocations of national sovereignty and territorial integrity; warn against potential competitors who intend to challenge American unipolar power; the acquisition of more bases and military stations beyond Western Europe and Northeast Asia; the right of the US to strike first against security threats (pre-emptive doctrine) under which the US is justified to use nuclear weapons; increase America's forward deployed forces and the conduct of more military trainings and joint war exercises.

America's Economic, Geopolitical And Military Interests In Asia Pacific

For more than a century, America has considered itself the dominant hegemonic Power in Asia Pacific, having conquered American Samoa, Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines and invaded China to repress the 1900 Boxer Rebellion; it has also fought three major wars in Asia Vietnam, Korea and the Pacific War of World War 2. US trade with Asia Pacific surpasses that with Europe, with more than \$US500 billion in trade and investment of more than \$US150 billion. About 400,000 US non-military citizens live and conduct business in the region.

Meanwhile, SOUTHEAST ASIA (population: 525 million) has a combined Gross National Product (GNP) of \$US700 billion and is America's fifth largest trading partner and \$US35 billion direct investment (1998) in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore; most of *Fortune's* Top 500 transnational corporations (TNCs) have significant interests in the region. There are vast oil and gas reserves in Indonesia and Brunei; as well as in Vietnam, Malaysia and the Philippines.

To the United States, furthermore, Southeast Asia is "a place of great geopolitical consequence" because it sits astride some of the world's most critical sea lanes. According to the Council on Foreign Relations which advises Bush, more than \$US1.3 trillion in merchandise trade passed through the Straits of Malacca and Lombok in 1999 (nearly half of the world trade) including crucial supplies from the Persian Gulf to Japan, South Korea and China. The South China Sea, particularly the Spratly and Paracel island groups, are believed to have significant oil reserves".

These sea lanes are a strategic part of the network of oil extraction, production and distribution which is being consolidated by the United States linking the Caspian and Gulf regions, Asian oil and natural gas fields and markets and the American mainland.

Bush Regime Strategic Thinkers/Advisers/Power Players Specialising In Asia Pacific

- * RAND Corporation (funded by Pentagon particularly US Air Force; formerly chaired by Donald Rumsfeld with Zalmay Khalilzad as senior consultant);
- * Council on Foreign Relations;
- * Center for Security Policy (which is also identified with Rumsfeld) - headed by Frank J Gaffney Junior with eight top chief executive officers [CEOs] from defence contractors on its board);
- * Carlyle Group (headed by Frank Carlucci, ex-Deputy Director of CIA and former Defense Secretary of Reagan; with former US President, George Bush Senior, and former Philippine President, Fidel Ramos, as Asian advisers). Carlyle is actually the US's 11th largest defence contractor with significant interests in Asia;
- * Heritage Foundation (official Rightwing think tank of the Republican Party)

In 2001, RAND came up with a report, "The United States and Asia: Toward a New US Strategy and Force Posture" (Lead Author: Zalmay Khalilzad). This report recommends shifting US forces toward the Philippines, Guam, Southeast Asia and other countries close to Taiwan.

A year earlier, this think tank in a report, "The Role of Southeast Asia in US Strategy Toward China," also stressed that China's emergence as a major regional power over the next 10-15 years could intensify US-China competition in Southeast Asia and increase the potential for armed conflict. "Economic growth in the region, which is important to the economic security of the US, depends on preserving American presence and influence in the region and unrestricted access to sea lanes," RAND said.

The COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, on the other hand, in a Memorandum to Bush in May 2001 ("The US and Southeast Asia: A Policy Agenda for the New Administration") argued for a more assertive US military stance in the region: "The (Bush) Administration should preserve a credible military presence and a viable regional training and support infrastructure" specifying "high-priority efforts" in the areas of "joint and combined military training exercises and individual and small group exchanges and training".

The HERITAGE FOUNDATION also said that the "war against terrorism" would ultimately be pursued in Southeast Asia with or without the express approval of local governments.

Again, PNAC envisions some specific operative plans for Asia Pacific:

- * In Asia, deploying more troops to beef up the presence of 100,000 US forces to address new challenges for the 21st Century;
- * Key to coping with the rise of China to great-power status is the increase in military strength in East Asia and Southeast Asia;
- * A heightened US military presence in Southeast Asia will provide the core around which a de facto military coalition (a la the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation [NATO]) will be formed;
- * Reduce the frequency of aircraft carrier presence in the Mediterranean and the Gulf while increasing US Navy presence in the Pacific;
- * For this reason, it is preferable, for strategic and operational reasons, to create a second major home port for a carrier battle group in the southern Pacific - in the Philippines or Australia;
- * Establish a network of "deployment bases" or "forward operating bases" to improve the ability to project force to outlying regions. Prepositioned materiel would speed the initial deployment and improve the sustainability of US

forces when deployed for training, joint training with the host nation, or operations in time of crisis. (e.g. the Military Logistics Supply Agreement, between the US and the Philippines).

The CARLYLE GROUP, which is worth \$US13.5 billion, a private empire which operates in the shadows of government, military and industry and spans three continents including Asia; owns companies making tanks, aircraft wings and other military hardware.

In the company are former US President George Bush Senior (head of the Asia advisory board); former British Prime Minister John Major; Frank Carlucci, who was President Reagan's Defense Secretary; former Philippines President Fidel Ramos (Asia advisory board); and other world leaders.

Carlyle has large investments and big acquisitions in South Korea, Taiwan and China. Carlyle has a \$US4 million infrastructure project in the southern Philippine island of Basilan, part of the joint US/Philippine military exercise, Balikatan 02-1.

Summary

At this point, let me summarise that most public declarations and policy statements made by the US government emphasise that the targets of America's current security objectives are to prevent the rise of a regional hegemonic Power like China, "regime change" in North Korea for possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), to wage war against "transnational terrorism" and insurgencies and other security threats.

But the secret reports, security strategies and doctrines of the US government that give emphasis on the use of military power reveal beyond reasonable doubt that the main objective is to consolidate and preserve US hegemony and domination in Asia Pacific and the whole world. The objective is to prolong Pax Americana through the 21st Century.

Current US Hegemonic Operations In Asia-Pacific

- * US maintains the largest military command here (US Pacific Command [PACOM]). PACOM interacts with the armed forces of 14 of Asia Pacific's 45 countries;
- * The number of US troops on land and afloat in the region has surpassed those forward deployed in Europe: 100,000 troops are based in Japan (60,000) and South Korea (37,000), with the rest in Guam, afloat or on various attachments.
- * US-Japan alliance - the lynchpin of US security in the region, with Japan playing an increasingly aggressive role;
- * Bilateral military alliances with Australia, Thailand and the Philippines; reinforced by access or basing agreements with Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka;
- * A stronger military partnership with Australia;
- * New strategic partnership with India and Pakistan;
- * Plan to reinstall its military bases in Southeast Asia (either in the Philippines, Vietnam, Australia, Indonesia or Singapore)
- * Laying the ground for a regional military alliance or treaty in the guise of fighting terrorism

The September 11, 2001 events, which ignited Bush's "war without borders" (or "Operation Enduring Freedom") were seized upon by Bush to reverse the decline of the US military presence in Asia Pacific and to aggressively assert US hegemonic interests. They:

- Opened the "second front" in Bush's "war without borders" using the Philippines as a template (or model) for greater military presence and power projection in the region. The Philippines will serve as the epicentre in the new US military strategy in the circumference of Asia Pacific.
- Increased military aid to Taiwan, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries; increased arms sales;
- Increased military training and funds to support these;
- Increased "forward deployed forces" and enhanced their capability through the deployment of Special Operations Forces, covert operations, war materiel and other equipment;
- Launched offensive moves against North Korea, hastened plan to build a missile defence system in the Korean Peninsula.

Conclusion

US hegemony in Asia Pacific is a reality and is the concrete expression of an American Empire that is undergoing consolidation with a vision that will last through the 21st Century.

I submit that the debate on whether there is really US imperialism or a global American Empire should now be put to rest. In the United States itself, there is a growing advocacy or acceptance even in many conservative circles, institutions, think tanks, universities and media that there is indeed an American Empire. The only distinction which they want the world to believe is that, unlike empires in past centuries, this American Empire is "benign" and "benevolent" and is performing a role which no other nation can in order to preserve "democracy and freedom" across the globe and resist threats posed by "evils," "rogue regimes" and forces of radicalism.

But this American Empire is something the American people themselves loathe simply because they also suffer under the rule of the US oligarchs and their freedoms and civil liberties continue to be threatened. It is an empire imposed upon the world by America's ruling regime on behalf of corporate giants, the military-industrial-media complex, oil oligarchs and other elite interests. It is an empire that is supported by Rightwing power players, militarists, free market ideologues, Jewish neo-conservatives, leaders of the Christian and Catholic Right and anti-socialists. Under Bush the military-industrial complex is no longer invisible - it has become the most visible, most articulate and most aggressive driving force behind America's wars for world hegemony and domination today.

In order to preserve the American Empire that will rule the world for as long as can be sustained, the strategists and politico-military leaders of this grand project are more and more relying on the use of military power precisely because America's economic power is on the decline. America's Rightwing leaders and militarists believe that economic impositions through the instruments of the Bretton Woods institutions (the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade-World Trade Organisation) no longer suffice to preserve American hegemony and domination of the world. With arrogance and self-righteousness, they believe that the American Empire cannot exist under current international law, ethical concepts, multilateralism and global institutions like the United Nations because of the constraints and impediments that these pose on America's will and action. To them, concepts of national sovereignty, territorial integrity, self-determination and dignity are just concepts best learned only in school. To them, the concept of Pax Americana should be asserted through unipolar military superiority, warlordism, aggression, moral absolutism and a global ideological offensive using US media oligopolies. Their ideological offensive centres on drumming up an apocalyptic conflict between "Good and Evil".

It is clear how this strategy is being applied in Asia Pacific and across the globe under the Bush Administration and I personally do not see any change coming even if Bush is no longer President of the United States. Using the pretext of "war against terrorism" and other so-called threats to the security of the region, the US government is increasingly and steadily deploying its forces, rebuilding its military bases, securing stronger and more reliable military alliances and security partnerships, gaining more access to ports, airfields and air spaces. But soon the combat missions that we now see in the Philippines, particularly in Mindanao, will be replicated throughout the Philippines, in Southeast Asia and other parts of the Asia Pacific. America's objective in Asia Pacific is to maintain a strong military power never seen before in the entire history of the region.

US military power in the region addresses the American Empire's strategic objectives to contain the rise of power competitors such as - but not limited to - China, and deter the growth of other threats to its hegemony including revolutionary movements and the rise of independent regimes.

Because Asia Pacific is a vast mass of land and sea territory with huge economic and geopolitical potentials, and because it is contiguous to the American mainland and its Pacific territories, this region remains of strategic interest to the United States. Without a strong power projection in Asia Pacific, America's drive for global hegemony and domination will be threatened.

To the peoples of Asia Pacific however the threat to their independence and security is and will always be US imperialism. So much blood has been spilled because of US imperialism, which has been asserting itself here for more than a century. The independence, sovereignty, freedom, self-determination and economic growth of many nations - including the possible reunification of countries divided by post-WW2 US intervention in the region - are always threatened because of US imperialism. Tensions and instabilities particularly in the Korean Peninsula, between China and Taiwan, and other hot spots in the region are heightened because of US interventionism.

But, just as the previous world wars led to the rise of independence and liberation movements throughout the world, the US "war on terrorism" has led to the reawakening of the peoples of Asia Pacific to the real threat to humanity. More and more peoples are standing up against US imperialism. Especially in Muslim countries, the "war against terrorism" is beginning to appear as a war against the world particularly against Muslims who oppose foreign domination. Today, the more US imperialism displays its arrogance and military power, the more resistance it will generate.

George Bush has declared a "war against terrorism" - a "war without borders" and without time limit. This, he said, is

America's "war of the century." Let us instead turn America's "war of the century" into the "Century's War Against US Imperialism".



These are the relevant extracts from Murray Horton's annual Organiser's Report, presented at the September 2003 Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa – CAFCA.

2003 Waihopai Protest

I am co-employed by the Anti-Bases Campaign, which takes up less of my time than CAFCA. The busiest part of my ABC work occurred in January 2003 when ABC held its first Waihopai spybase protest in two years. We'd taken a break the previous year to organise the national speaking tour by the former Canadian spy, Mike Frost (see my 2002 Report for details). ABC has been protesting at Waihopai since 1988 and I'd have to rate the 2003 effort as one of the most successful ever. By a coincidence of timing it happened during the huge global upsurge of protest against the impending American invasion of Iraq. So, for the first time ever, we held a specifically anti-war protest, in central Blenheim and at the base itself, stressing our key point that Waihopai is New Zealand's biggest and most important contribution to all of America's wars. It was phenomenally successful, drawing out 200+ locals on a march through what is a very conservative provincial city. We got the front page lead and the billboard in the local paper, the *Marlborough Express*, which went on to describe the march as the biggest in Blenheim since the 1981 Springbok Tour protests.

For the first time ever we had local speakers, both in town and at the base – I particularly want to single out John Craighead, the Marlborough District Councillor, who agreed to speak at our Blenheim rally, at very short notice (we invited him, a total stranger to us, after reading his earlier comments in the *Express*) and he made a major effort to get as many locals as possible out on the street with us. At even shorter notice, we were joined by Denis Doherty and Hannah Middleton, the two leading figures of the Australian Anti-Bases Campaign Coalition, who flew to New Zealand for just a few days, especially to join us at Waihopai. They both spoke and added a whole international dimension to the protest (they were amazed that we could get right up to the gate of "our" spybase – the huge US spybase at Pine Gap, near Alice Springs, is surrounded by kilometres of no-go areas and is guarded by a variety of police and security forces, who use violence against any protesters. Denis and Hannah were speechless – so were we actually – when the cops came to our camp as we were packing up and voluntarily undertook to dispose of our rubbish for us. Maybe they wanted to search it for vital information). People came from all around New Zealand to take part. Due to an unfortunate clash, Green MPs weren't able to join us. But plenty of flaxroots Greens were there, and the Alliance (which is now an extra-Parliamentary party) contributed a speaker from Auckland and plenty of participants. The Blenheim march really was unique – in the subsequent ferment of the Iraq War, peace groups sprang up in all sorts of provincial cities and small towns. But not in Blenheim.

My Waihopai work is primarily organisational, handling all aspects (right down to booking the Portaloos) and ensuring that it happens. In 2003, I had a much smaller media role than previously. My colleague, Bob Leonard, was the real hero at Waihopai. He performed so many roles that he could win an Olympic gold medal in the decathlon. There was his usual starring role as Uncle Sam, which he throws himself into with ferocious relish; he was a featured speaker and MC; he did a lot of media interviews (being driven mad in the process by one of those newfangled cellphones); he was our photographer; and he was the sole driver of our rental van, up and back, from Christchurch. All this, the day after he had a tooth pulled in emergency dental surgery and was told by his dentist to go nowhere and do nothing strenuous over the weekend! I shared a tent with Bob that weekend and witnessed how he suffered.

A Very Busy Time For ABC

My regular ABC work is as editor of *Peace Researcher*. It used to be a co-editorship but Bob resigned in 2002, after nearly 20 years as editor. So now I'm flying solo. I've made some changes (such as the printer) but otherwise I strive to maintain the high standard that Bob set. I can only commit to get out two issues a year (a far cry from *PR*'s original frequency) and even that is proving a struggle. It's a job that involves me doing much more actual writing than for *Foreign Control Watchdog* (the other publication that I edit). *PR* is a much smaller undertaking than *Watchdog*, with a smaller mailing list. The two publications used to have different emphases but there is much more overlap now, what with the Iraq War and the "war on terror". As with *Watchdog*, *PR* is online and Yani Johanson does an excellent job as ABC's Webmaster. Check out www.converge.org.nz/abc. Unlike the CAFCA/*Watchdog* sites, it has lots of photos.

The first few months of 2003 were the busiest for ABC in years. Bob presented our submissions to Select Committees on a couple of Bills (he did it by videolink and phone). These were two more in the package of repressive security laws being rushed through by the Government in the hysterical "war on terror" atmosphere that has prevailed since the September 11, 2001, atrocities in the US. I travelled to Wellington and spoke at a seminar organised by the Pacific

Institute of Resource Management (PIRM), which was a first for ABC. PIRM also invited Bob to write an article for its *Pacific Ecologist* magazine. In my 2002 *Report* I said that Bob and I had both made complaints to the Inspector General of Intelligence and Security about our well-founded belief that the Government Communications Security Bureau (the NZ spy agency which runs Waihopai) is spying on us. Bob's was rejected, in 2002; mine took nearly a year longer for the Inspector-General to remember where he put his rubber stamp. I am responsible for our international links, such as with anti-bases groups, and have been doing plenty of that (as the Bush Administration forges on, invading countries and building new US bases all over the place, there is a corresponding global anti-bases movement developing to oppose it). And I do the ABC's regular media work, such as it is.

ABC was involved in all the anti-war protests earlier this year, joining thousands of others on the streets of central Christchurch and at the US Air Force base at the airport, which had been neglected by the protest movement for years. Bob was our speaker on several occasions, both in town and at the base; we made special banners and I wrote a leaflet especially to distribute to those taking part. It was wonderful to see the rebirth of a major anti-war movement, both globally and in New Zealand (thanks George, you're our best recruiting sergeant), with a whole new generation of young people organising and energising it. That's the best thing to have happened in years.

CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT 2002-2003

Balance on 27/03/02 (cheque account) = \$2818.89
Balance on 31/03/03 3581.29

Difference 762.40

Expenses

Murray's pay \$17,743.40
Cash to Murray 200.00
Other cheques 219.50

Total: 18162.90

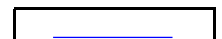
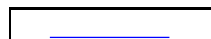
Income

One-off donations \$8,141.00 (44%)
Cash to MH 200.00
Pledges** 10,584.30 (56%)
Interest Nil

Total: 18,925.30

Difference between Expenses and Income = \$762.40 (change in statement balance above)

** 27 pledgers as of March 2003 with slight increase to 29 by August



BRAVE NEW WORLD OF THE ENDLESS RESOURCE WAR "FIGHTING FOR THE FUTURE: WILL AMERICA TRIUMPH?"

by Ralph Peters, Stackpole Books, 2001

"Sowing the seeds of military prowess in an anarchic international system has yielded a rising harvest of violence . . . Three quarters of all war deaths since the days of Julius Caesar have occurred in this century" (i.e. the 20th Century). Michael Renner, in "State of the World: 1993: A Worldwatch Institute Report on Progress Toward a Sustainable Society" by Lester R. Brown, et al., p139.

"History laughs at us all - the one economic analyst who would understand immediately what is happening in the world today would be a resurrected German 'content provider' named Marx". Ralph Peters in "Fighting for the Future", p155.

"Fighting for the Future" ("FF") is a book that could have so easily been first published soon after September 11, 2001. Significantly enough, it was originally published just a couple of years earlier, in 1999 - on the dawn of the 21st Century and the opening vista of what some strategists and pundits had come to view as the American Century. If you want to get a good idea of the direction in which American military doctrine has been openly moving - even before September 11 - then this is certainly a book to read. Indeed, one could say that reading it is highly enlightening about the international scene we have today.

The author of "Fighting for the Future" certainly feels that his thesis has been well vindicated by what happened on September 11. He makes this clear enough in his preface (post-September 11) for the paperback edition. For those of us, however, who hope for a better world and a better future, Ralph Peters' book affords a most damning and chilling insight into the American military mind at the cutting edge of 21st Century conflict. If we want to know who are the enemies of the future for humankind, then we really do need to appreciate just how much Peters and what he represents must be included among them, along with all the other advocates and/or perpetrators of ruthless violence. The grimmest prospect ahead is that of endlessly contending global networks of terror a la Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda versus the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)/Pentagon, a vicious circle of human destruction as in Israel/Palestine writ large across the planet. And, of course, this is exactly the future that President Bush and co. are working to create, and Peters has been one of the architects of this world vision.

Forwards Into The Future: Making War

- The 2003 war on Iraq;
- The collapse of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) talks at Cancun, in September 2003;
- The standoff between the US/UK/Australia triad and the United Nations (UN);
- The ructions over Zimbabwe.

These and a variety of other international conflicts indicate a deepening pattern of antagonisms between rich and poor, white and coloured across the planet. In Aotearoa/NZ, these have been highlighted in recent times with broadcaster Paul Holmes' remarks about UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, as a "very cheeky darkie", and the complaint of the Minister of Agriculture and Trade, Jim Sutton, that the developing countries, especially the African nations, are unable to deal with "complex issues" in trade negotiations. It was certainly symbolic that Paul Holmes' comments were made in connection with his reactionary views in support of the American takeover of Iraq. Even closer to home, the Government is struggling to resolve its dispute with Maori over the seabed and foreshore question. Meantime, the New Zealand First Party whips up racist antagonism to Third World immigrants. In the Pacific generally, resource conflicts along ethnic lines have been evident within countries from the Solomon Islands to Aceh and other parts of Indonesia.

At the root of so many conflicts is the issue of land and resources and how to use them. The actual substance of a conflict can vary according to whether the resources concerned take the more indirect form of economic transactions, or the actual natural assets on which these exchanges are ultimately founded. Very often these two dimensions are deeply intertwined, e.g. the allocation of fisheries and the benefits from their harvest. Antagonisms seem to be sharpening on the world stage. Sometimes such conflicts can be messily complicated and can have some very unpleasant high-profile protagonists locked in contention, e.g. the Bush/Blair/Howard triad, versus bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. While Mugabe may have some valid things to say about Western neo-colonialism, he

is a brutal, corrupt dictator; and so it goes . . . Externally imposed and internal injustices can operate in mutually interacting and reinforcing mode, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly. Divisions are compounded both between and within nations, and within regions. There is a planetary pattern of conflict simmering and erupting under the pressures of globalisation.

For some of us the age of terror and the resource war has come as no surprise. Quite a number of analysts have long predicted it, certain strategists even planned for it. Indeed, it can be said that in particular the US State Department, the Pentagon, and the CIA have worked to bring it on. More fundamentally, it is a logical product of the process of capitalist globalisation and the US happens to be its leading force: capitalist growth and corporate exploitation must inevitably impoverish and alienate a proportionately growing majority even as it enriches for a time an increasing number of people before limits are reached. One can adduce both economic reasons and, more profoundly, ecological reasons for this process.

In "Fighting for the Future", there is a sense in which Ralph Peters, a retired lieutenant colonel in the US Army, sees this clearly enough. Billed by *Newsweek* as "one of the best military minds of his generation" and "one of the most intellectually gifted American soldiers" (from "FF's" blurb), Peters certainly makes his assumptions plain right from the start. He begins his post-September 11 preface with an obviously approving quote from the psychologist William James - "*History is a bath of blood*" (ibid., p.vii). For Peters this is not simply a historical observation but the path to the future as well. In his opening page, Peters constructs his image of the al Qaeda-type enemy of the US in these terms: "They hate the perverted vision of America they have constructed for themselves, a vision that, above all, excuses their own failure and the failure of their culture. Attacking the predatory, corrupt, immoral America of their imaginations is the only purpose left to them" (ibid.). The key to defeating such enemies, "such human monsters", is strength of will in a fight to the death.

In this preface, Peters then goes on to attack a number of myths that he considers the US should put aside in the coming struggle. Instead of what he condemns as weak policies and tactics, Peters enjoins such maxims as: (a) kill the terrorists until "their remaining followers and the governments that succour them bend to our will in fear" (ibid., p.viii); (b) "Today, we must not succumb to false restraint in the application of our military power". This maxim can mean not worrying about "alienating civilian populations, [as] in the key countries that harbour terrorists, the populations already hate us, far more profoundly than Americans understand". For sure: "It is time for a new realism - not cruelty, but cold realism". And, never mind too much anyway about innocent civilians because, after all, "remember that we **terror-bombed** the Germans and Japanese on a colossal scale - and today they are our close allies" (ibid., pp.viii & ix); and, (c) ". . . whatever the scale [of an operation] we should apply overwhelming combat power relative to the projected need. Our raw power is a tremendous advantage . . ." (ibid., p.ix). These maxims and their implications have been applied in Iraq in 2003.

Terrorist Mirror Image

For Peters, the US has to go after the terrorists and not worry about provoking more attacks since the enemy are going to come after it "whether we fight back or not" (ibid.). It is time to take the initiative "and keep after them relentlessly and without compromise" (ibid.). Eventually, there will be far less terrorist attacks. In working towards his conclusion to the preface, Peters confronts what he calls "the most pernicious - and preposterous - myth of all, betraying both an ignorance of history and a shameful lack of faith in the American people" (ibid.). This is the myth that: "If we fight as brutally as our enemies fight, we will become as bad as them" (ibid.). Again, his answer is to remember the lessons of World War II as he understands them - respond to the current enemy as "we responded to Japanese and German savagery with **'indescribable brutality of our own'**" (ibid., pp. ix & x). The US and UK firebombed cities, burned soldiers to death with flamethrowers, and "ended the war by dropping atomic bombs" (ibid., p. x). However, the military came back "to liberal democracy" and the US was not corrupted, not brutalised.

Of course, the irony is that Peters himself is already obviously brutalised but is incapable of recognising it. The whole bloody imperialist history of American interventions in the Third World, overt and covert, is clearly something to be proud about for Peters. Or, at least, something to be hidden from public scrutiny wherever and whenever it becomes too embarrassing, as in the case of the Bush Administration's suppression of a highly revealing State Department report on US orchestration of the Indonesian massacres of 1965/66. (See PR 25, March 2002, *Special Issue: "Ghosts Of A Genocide. The CIA, Suharto And Terrorist Culture"*, by Dennis Small. Ed.). Peters is truly an extremist who advocates a hugely aggressive consolidation and extension of the imperium. But, as we now know, this is the goal of the Bush Administration itself, not just of some fringe militarist ideologues.

Like so many similar Rightwingers promulgating their views from a narrowly self-interested position, any moralising that Peters indulges in is not only readily transparent, it is also blatantly contradicted by the more evidently materialist reasons that he gives to try and persuade his readership. Peters is a modern warrior crusader against

the enemies of the empire, a crusader who expressly sees himself fighting on behalf of the world's besieged rich white minority - fighting for the winners against the masses of losers. But the latter will eventually come to like us despite everything if only we have the fortitude to kill and destroy enough of them! We can remake the world in our image . . . and, once again, Iraq in late 2003 can be seen as a model. American foreign policy has engendered "failed states" around the globe. Afghanistan and Iraq are only the latest examples.

"Freedom" means the success of US corporate triumphalism, facilitated globally by military power. Multi-culturalism is denounced along with "overcultivated Western consciences" (ibid., p32). Peters even uses the metaphor of the white man confronting the American Indian to illustrate the situation of the modern US soldier. The basic strategy, obviously being attempted in Iraq right now, is "the technique that General George Crook used against the Indians and that the US Army employed against the Moros * - cut them off from their sources of strength and pursue them relentlessly" (ibid., p65). As Peters describes "civilisation", the new code word for "imperialism": this condition "is impossible without collective alienation from those beyond its physical or spiritual frontiers . . ." (ibid., p51). * *Generic name for Filipino Muslims, concentrated in the south of the archipelago. Both the Moros, and the Christian majority, fought against the American invasion at the start of the 20th Century: 600,000 Filipinos were estimated to have died in action or in prison on the main island of Luzon alone; many American Indian tribes, of course, simply suffered genocide.*

At the end of his book, Peters poses what he sees as the "American Choice" - "Shall we dominate the Earth for the good of humankind? Or will we risk the enslavement of our country and our civilisation? Will we pursue asymmetrical weapons that allow us to eliminate the threat of weapons of mass destruction where that threat originates, in the human mind and soul? Or will we continue to insist that diplomatic niceties and the social prejudices of global elites (i.e. the UN, etc.) demand that we wait, decade after decade, for evil men to act first. Will we protect our own citizens? Or will we continue to defend the rights of monsters?" (ibid., p210). Here is the call to pre-emptive war.

Peters embraces the heart of darkness while denying it will contaminate us, at least certainly not Americans. The myth of American exceptionalism is exalted to new spiritual heights. He calls for absolute power while ignoring the old maxim that absolute power corrupts utterly. He is blind to his own barbarism while denouncing his enemies as "monsters". He wants more horrendous weapons in order to crush potential enemy threats. Yet, believe it or not, all this could herald in "something akin to a golden age - so long the stuff of myth - for humanity" (ibid.). By bloody violence, we may actually purge out violence from human nature - from the very same human nature to which Peters appeals to justify American violence. It would truly be a miracle.

Peters is entrapped in his own gory mythmaking. He even labels the "nationalism" which he so embraces as "secular fundamentalism". Perhaps the most ironic remarks in the whole book are his comments that: "The veneer of civilisation - so recent and fragile - is being stripped from much of the world. The old problems are today's problems- and tomorrow's. If we want to know 'Who is our enemy?' we must look within" (ibid., p175). Amen.

American Fascism

The American drive to fascism is evident enough in:

- the new national security state;
- in the advocacy and practice of reduced human rights, including torture, for its captives like those at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba;
- its continued cultivation of ever new and more powerful weapons of mass destruction (WMD);
- its newly expanded assassination and death squad-style operations worldwide, whether via proxy states such as Israel, or by trained personnel like the Colombian far Right militias;
- directly targeted killings as in Yemen from automated aerial assault, or death delivered by some other means;
- in the constant threats to attack and invade certain countries (Iran, Syria, North Korea, etc.);
- the subordination of all forms of international cooperation to suit the over-riding goal of terrorist posturing and domination (the so-called "War on Terror");
- the projection of power to grab key world resources like the Caspian Sea region's energy reserves and Iraqi oil;
- and all the efforts to generally cover any attempts at social justice while trampling on civilian populations; along with various other manifestations of evil.

To be sure, Peters constantly assaults the ethical restraints on the conduct of combat. These days the US Administration is refining its interrogation techniques both in practice and in terms of public acceptability. For a long time it has fostered torture under client regimes throughout Latin America, Eurasia and Africa. Currently, it uses such regimes as places where enemy suspects can be routinely interrogated with the help of torture to extract

information. Peters is keen to push the re-examination of "our concepts of the ethical and the legal" in warfare, occasionally using weasel words to dress up his import (ibid., p109). He runs at the mouth with newspeak and doublethink. Yet, even in his own language, he can often be openly contemptuous of the "West's pathetic, if endearing, concern for human life" (ibid., p38). Indeed, he sometimes revels in his image of "Man, the Killer" (ibid., see pp188-91 for his exultation of this aspect of his thesis).

He advocates that "the primary goal of any US war or intervention would be to eliminate the offending leadership, its supporting cliques, and their enabling infrastructure" (ibid., p109). This means targeted assassinations as with all the attempts to kill former Iraqi dictator, Saddam Hussein - as indeed specifically enjoined by Peters (ibid., p111). More covertly, and more sinisterly, it is code for death squad operations in low-intensity warfare situations, a long-refined and routine US strategy in Third World countries anyway. Peters' book is all about the need to kill more efficiently and effectively.

The most visible model of targeted killing today is that exemplified by Israeli state terror. US-backed Israel regularly carries out open assassinations - as well as more secret killings - of Palestinian leaders engaged in suicide bombings and other forms of violent resistance. There are many innocent civilian casualties as well. Planes and helicopters fire missiles into buildings or the streets of one of the most highly populated areas in the world. Some Israeli pilots have even refused participation in such operations. Torture is also still routine in Israel while the US has refused to sign international conventions against torture and cruel punishments. Terror feeds on terror in a continuous cycle. Meanwhile, the fundamental causes of the terror, the Israeli dispossession and repression of the Palestinians, only continues to intensify.

The Nature Of World Conflict: Neo-Marxist Struggle!

It is one of the great ironies of the new capitalist modernity that Rightwing militarist ideologues like Peters see world conflict in expressly neo-Marxist terms - at least in a basic sense, however crudely understood and portrayed. His neo-Marxism is of course really expressed in terms of Social Darwinism. Peters is explicitly and disarmingly frank: "Future wars and violent conflicts will be shaped by the inability of governments to function as effective systems of resource distribution and control, and by the failure of entire cultures to compete in the postmodern age. The worldwide polarisation of wealth, afflicting continents and countries, as well as individuals in all countries, will prove insurmountable, and social divisions will spark various forms of class warfare more brutal than anything imagined by Karl Marx. Post-state organisations, from criminal empires to the internationalising media, will rupture the integrity of the nation-state . . . In the end, the greatest challenge may be to our moral order" (ibid., p2). Examples of failed states are listed as the former Yugoslavia, North Korea, Congo/Zaire, and Liberia. Growing and spreading instability confronts the maintenance of American values, prosperity and power.

The challenge for the future is becoming more and more the ability to project American power effectively enough. This has to be done to achieve the necessary degree of order for the American Dream to survive. He poses the question: "What will our 21st Century world look like? For the successful, it will be an age of nontraditional empires. The US in particular, and the West in general, currently possesses a cultural and business empire that touches all parts of the globe. It is far more efficient and rewarding than any previous form of empire has been . . . As noncompetitive regions decline, wealth enclaves will emerge, primarily in the West-plus. The 'colonies' of the future will be controlled economically and 'medially', not politically, and will focus on resources and markets. The political and then the military arms of West-plus governments will become involved only when business encounters disadvantageous illegal behaviours or violence - today, the flag follows trade. West-plus governments will police physical and digital 'safe corridors' for resource extraction, general trade, and information ranching, but in failed countries and continents, the West-plus will be represented primarily by postmodern traders" (ibid., pp16/17). "Loser" cultures abroad, Peters avers, "will threaten our preferred order and the extraction of the wealth that pays for our homes" (ibid., p181).

The aim of all this is the protection of "our quality of life" with the focus on "financial interests and lifestyle protection" (ibid., p17). It will demand the "overarching mission of our military will . . ." (ibid.). While Peters can dismiss the proposition that America thrives by looting an "impoverished group or country or region" (ibid., p137), he openly preaches resource wars and declaims that: "The struggle to maintain access to critical resources will spark local and regional conflicts that will evolve into the most frequent conventional wars of the next century" - i.e. the 21st - (ibid., p8). Hence the war on Afghanistan and the resumption of the gas pipeline there, and the war on Iraq and the opening of this country to foreign pillage. As the greatest "have" nation the US will arouse the envy and hatred of the "have-nots" to ever greater levels (ibid., p140).

Grossly Unashamed Capitalist Barbarism

So here is grossly unashamed capitalist barbarism that even pretends at times to dress itself up with a moralising gloss. But, then, all throughout human history the men of blood and plunder have been great moralisers of their greed and slaughter. In the relatively modern era we have legions of examples - from the Spanish conquistadors to the slave traders and plantation owners, from the adherents of apartheid to the Nazis. No wonder the *Wall Street Journal* welcomes this sort of stuff as "Crackingly intelligent writing . . . classic" (ibid., see blurb). The *Chicago Sun Times* extolls Peters: "As lucidly literate as he is humanly insightful", while the *Washington Post* has declared that: "Few have been more provocative or more diligent in pursuit of large and difficult truths . . . a strong and clarifying case for radical policy review" (ibid.). Peters has featured on the CNN and NPR media networks. The book's blurb proudly proclaims that "the body of strategic thought in the work of Ralph Peters has already shaped our military's future".

Revealingly, the neo-Marxist struggle of the rich and poor is also seen by Peters as an internal one within America, as well as a struggle between the "West-plus" and the rest of the world which comprises "noncompetitive cultures, such as that of the Arabo-Persian Islam" (ibid., p135). Thus this noncompetitive culture, sidelined and alienated by the knowledge revolution and information empowerment of the winners of the world, includes "the rejectionist segment of our own population"; and, in fact: "The laid-off blue collar worker in America and the Taliban militiaman in Afghanistan are brothers in suffering" (ibid., pp135/6). But these people are certainly not human brothers to be assisted into a better state but rather inevitable "victims" to be further repressed. "The great class struggle of the 21st Century will be for access to data" and the US is on track to win the battle for wealth and power, i.e. in terms of success for its corporate elite (ibid., p155).

"Globalisation demands conformity to the practices of the global leaders, especially to those of the US. If you do not conform - or innovate - you lose. If you try to quit the game, you lose even more profoundly. The rules of international competition, whether in the economic, cultural, or conventional military field, grow ever more homogeneous (ibid., p152). This is freedom American style - the rule of the totalitarian market: ". . . globalisation means the imposition of uniform rules by the most powerful actors. They are fundamentally economic rules" (ibid., p170). This "invisible hand of the market" packs a very brutal fist as the wars on Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated. Peters is gleeful about the prospects: "Everybody is afraid of us", he gloats, just like the Iraqis in the 1991 Gulf War (ibid., p48).

However, there are always potentially dangerous enemies to be monitored. Although external foes will be the main US opponents, there will also be potential internal enemies. Such enemies will at times have to be physically crushed within America itself (p26). Indeed, his attitude to his own fellow Americans is so perverted that he even recommends that "many of our own blighted cities" with their ruined housing projects and industrial plants would be "nearly ideal for combat-in-cities training" since in a rapidly urbanising world the US needs to prepare much more for urban warfare (ibid., p81). This would serve handily to intimidate and socially discipline recalcitrant locals as well. There could be a positive interactive correspondence between application in the cities of Iraq and other foreign cities, and on the home security front.

So Peters embraces corporate globalisation and free trade with the recognition of their consequences, and thus the need to militarily enforce social injustice. The fascist national security state is therefore expressly articulated. As Peters so sweetly says of his own society's "losers": "These discarded citizens sense that their government is no longer about them, but only about the privileged" (ibid., p136). He is frank: "Our elites will be inclined to defend foreign elites, **even at the expense of our own population** (this is already the paradigm of US-Mexican and US-Saudi relations). Our future military expeditions will increasingly defend our foreign investments rather than defending against foreign invasions. And we will fight to subdue anarchy and the violent "isms" because disorder is bad for business. All this activity will focus on cities" (ibid., p94). One could well think that this is the stuff of satire but Peters is for real; and this is the trendy American military doctrine!

Into The Global Killing Fields?

Given the need for the US armed forces to keep the world safe for its economy and cultural assault, the big challenge for Peters (as we have already noted) is that humanity could get in the way. "Our potential national weakness will be the failure to maintain the moral and raw physical strength to thrust that bayonet into an enemy's heart" (ibid., p142). The US will have to "do a fair amount of killing" (ibid., p141). Peters is confident about the future to some extent as: "We are building an information-based military to do that killing" (ibid.). But he is always keen to remind his readers that being ruthless enough will be the essential mental and emotional requirement since: "Only the foolish will fight fair" (ibid., p143). He avows that the US "will win militarily whenever we have the guts for it" (ibid., p140).

Over its existence, *Peace Researcher (PR)* has traced the evolution of US military and covert action doctrine and

practice, and their interconnections. In a special issue in 1987, we documented in detail, often using information from NZ press reports, how the aggressive resource war strategy now so openly and boldly enunciated by Peters was already affecting, or rather perhaps infecting, the doctrine and training of the NZ military (*PR*, first series, no. 13, June 1987). "Fighting for the Future" is a graphic confirmation of the implications we drew in that particular *PR* special issue. Later, in March 2002, another special issue of *PR* (second series, no. 25), described the covert CIA operation which engineered mass slaughter in Indonesia in the mid-1960s, a massacre that the CIA itself in its own propaganda correctly described as one of the worst of the 20th Century. A recent *PR* issue has also highlighted the terrorist nature of the War on Terror and current US resource warfare strategy in the Middle East and Central Asia (*PR* 26, October 2002).

In the period between 1987 and 2002 the low-intensity warfare approach was mostly adapted in the case of the NZ forces for genuine peacekeeping purposes under UN auspices. This is how we want to keep it. And we do this by keeping out of ANZUS *. As the American Ambassador, Charles Swindells, has made very plain, the US wants us back fully into its WMD war machine. Furthermore, free trade/investment and war making are intimately interlinked as both Swindells and Ralph Peters make clear. Already, the Labour government has seriously compromised our independence with its commitment of the Special Air Service (SAS) in Afghanistan and other military involvements in Afghanistan and Iraq. * *ANZUS – The 1951 Australia, New Zealand, US military agreement. It formed the cornerstone of NZ's military and foreign policy until the 1980s, when NZ was unilaterally suspended from ANZUS, because of our nuclear free policy. We remain both suspended and nuclear free. Ed.*

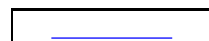
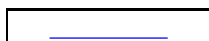
Many (most?) in the NZ armed forces still look to their inspiration from the US. They want to be in on the action with the American/British/Australian forces. The sort of doctrines and thinking as promoted by Ralph Peters in "Fighting for the Future" will have much appeal. It is easy in the present climate to predict the growth of this militarist ideology. Peters' book is a compilation of essays originally published in *Parameters*, the US Army War College quarterly, and in *Strategic Review*, a publication of the Strategic Studies Institute. A number of American military people are cited as heartily endorsing his views while he himself boasts of his essays that: "A range of military schools and universities [have] used them in their curricula, and they [have] gained an international following. The business community, too, found the strategic implications of interest. Most importantly, officers actually read them. The ideas inspired change" ("FF", p.xiii). Peters hopes that "they have served a good purpose and that they have done no harm" (*ibid.*).

What Peters expounds can fuse a range of related motivations - from a sense of racial/cultural superiority to ideas about how to safeguard our socio-economic quality of life. It exactly fits the perspective of those who readily identify with the West against the rest. A certain idealism seemed to have been developing about our peacekeeping work, e.g. regarding the recent operation to guard and help the East Timorese. Some of our military personnel have been doing very admirable things, e.g. dismantling landmines in various parts of the world. It would be hugely disturbing to see any reversion back to the resource war strategy. This strategy is literally a dead-end for humankind.

Defending Human Rights

In the early 21st Century, the worldwide debate over human rights has never been so extensive and vigorous. There is a lot of concern to see that these rights are protected as much as possible. There is also much suspicion, completely justified, over the support shown by the American intellectual establishment for purported humanitarian interventions. Ralph Peters, incidentally, does not bother pushing any humanitarian cover for American intervention, calling for military action only when significant interests are at stake and objectives well defined.

These days President Bush calls the US imperial occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq "liberation". While Peters warns of the dangers of "criminal" regimes, there is one in Washington, which is already well down the freeway of illegal warfare and threatening to destabilise international relations in general. It will only be through our joining hands with people in America, Britain, Australia, Iraq, Afghanistan, and all the other countries across the globe, in a new internationalism, that we will be able to eventually prevent further outrages, and create alternative paths to sustainable development and peace.



MICK CONNELLY & FRANK O'FLYNN

These two octogenarian former Labour Ministers (in separate governments – Connelly's Parliamentary career finished just as O'Flynn became a Minister) are relevant to the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) for quite distinct reasons.

Mick Connelly, who died in August 2003, aged 87, was a long serving Labour MP in Christchurch (1956-84) and held five portfolios in the 1972-75 Labour government, headed by Norman Kirk and then Bill Rowling. He was on the Right of the Labour Party (at a time when those Left/Right divisions actually meant something in the context of that Party). O'Flynn, who died in October 2003, aged 84, was a high profile lawyer who went into politics late in life, serving as a Wellington MP from 1972-87 (with one term in the wilderness) and held several portfolios in the 1984-87 Government headed by David Lange. That was the Government that gave us both Rogernomics and the nuclear free law. O'Flynn was probably somewhat to the Left in the Party of that era (certainly compared to the Rogernauts, who went on to found today's ACT Party). His career was cut short by a serious stroke, which forced his retirement and afflicted him for the rest of his life.

Since the commencement of the "War On Terror" and particularly during the 2003 Iraq War, there has been an upsurge in protests at the US military base at Christchurch Airport (commonly known as Harewood). Elsewhere in this issue there is an article dealing with the court case arising from the arrest of Christchurch activist, Dan Rae, at one of those Iraq War demos at Harewood. It is important that we know our history and understand that Harewood demos have a very long history and that the response of the State today is positively tame (even with all the security hysteria resulting from the September 11, 2001 atrocities in the US). That is the relevance of the late Mick Connelly.

1970s: Harewood Demo

I quote from my obituary of Chief Superintendent Gideon Tait, the notorious Christchurch District Police Commander in the 1970s (*Foreign Control Watchdog* 51, December 1985). "It may well be forgotten that the much vaunted Kirk Labour government was elected on a law and order platform, including the solemn promise to 'take the bikes off the bikies'. As second cousin to Mick Connelly, Minister of Police, and a fellow ideological dinosaur, Tait was just the man for the job.

"He (Tait) later wrote a book splendidly entitled 'Never Back Down', in which he said his two greatest achievements were the mass arrest of bikies in late 1973, under the new unlawful assembly law, and the tactics he adopted in dealing with the 1973 Harewood demo ...

"That demo saw a number of new Police tactics. People were arrested at Weedons (a Royal New Zealand Air Force [RNZAF] base south of Christchurch, part of the US military communications operation) under 100 year old unlawful assembly laws. The whole operation was massive (over 400 police) and heavily militarised. Police were flown into Christchurch on RNZAF planes and practised their tactics at King Edward Barracks (since demolished). RNZAF personnel were used in large numbers to guard Weedons. The Police stampeded the Labour City Council into declaring all the airport environs off limits to everyone except passengers. Public roads were blocked off, RNZAF helicopters were used to transport police and actively harass demonstrators (e.g. by deliberately drowning out speakers, hovering overhead). Those arrested were handcuffed for long periods of time and 'processed' on the spot. They were kept all weekend without bail. Tait whipped up media hysteria about a bomb being found, 'an extremely dangerous weapon'. When finally viewed the next year, it turned out to be a homemade smoke bomb.

"The systematic, coordinated use of Police violence was a feature that marked this demonstration off from those that went before (where Police violence was uncoordinated). Demonstrators were cleared from the road by police marching into them – the front row rhythmically kneed people in the balls, the next one punched them in their faces. All of them chanting 'Move, move'. Tait's own words, from his book '...100 police, all marching in close formation and chanting in rhythm. They were a formidable sight. Some of the demonstrators turned and fled. Those who did not move – voluntarily – were pushed back or fell over, trampled on if they did not move fast enough...I could see real terror on many of their faces". Owen Wilkes, the world renowned peace researcher and ABC founder, was left with a gashed face, personally inflicted by Tait.

It was Mick Connelly, the Minister of Police, who authorised the massive Police overkill at Harewood. This Police thuggery set the benchmark for what was to follow, during the 1981 Springbok Tour protests. The 1973 Harewood

demo was a seminal event in the creation of, firstly the Campaign Against Foreign Control In New Zealand (CAFCINZ, now CAFCA) a year or two later, and eventually the ABC, in the 1980s. Both groups arose out of the anti-Vietnam War and anti-bases movement of the early 1970s.

1980s: Nuclear Free Policy

Frank O'Flynn was a different kettle of fish. I hasten to add that neither he personally, nor that much overrated Lange government, were in any way supportive of the ABC. It was that Government that inflicted the Waihopai spybase on us, and O'Flynn himself referred disparagingly to "disaffected Americans", which we took as a dig at ABC founder and my longtime colleague, Bob Leonard. By continuing to point out the glaring loophole that Harewood constitutes in the nuclear free law, and by opposing Labour's "independent" spy base at Waihopai, ABC was seen as not being grateful to the Government that graciously bestowed the nuclear free policy on us (Lange is still dining out on it, nearly 20 years later) and not being on the team. We received one particularly blistering letter from Lange on the subject of Harewood.

O'Flynn was Minister of Defence during those turbulent first three years of the Lange government (he retired, on health grounds, before the second term, which saw Labour tear itself to bits. It took until 1999 before it was back in power). He was one of Lange's Ministers who took the most heat from the American and Australian bullies. They took great umbrage at little old New Zealand standing up for itself. When sheep jokes didn't work, completely unsubtle arm-twisting and threatening were resorted to, followed by dire warnings that the sky would fall in (it was still up there last time I looked), and, finally, expulsion from ANZUS (the 1951 Australia, New Zealand, and US military treaty. That expulsion remains the status quo today).

In 1985, O'Flynn met George Shultz, the US Secretary of State, in Kuala Lumpur. "I quite liked Shultz but after a photo opportunity at the beginning of our talks, he proceeded to deliver an oration in a monotone, lambasting New Zealand. After some thought, I decided to reply in kind. There was no meeting of minds at all. We got absolutely nowhere" (*Press, Obituary, 25/10/03*; "Wise but disenchanting Cabinet Minister"; Derek Round). O'Flynn was very proud of his role in developing the nuclear free policy, once describing it "as by far the brightest thing (the Government) had done" (*Press, 18/10/03*; "Former star of law and politics dies, aged 84"; Leah Haines).

O'Flynn paid a price within that Government. He was not trusted with Intelligence material. To quote from Nicky Hager's definitive 1996 book "Secret Power" (for which David Lange wrote the *Foreword*): "Some ministers are arbitrarily branded as unreliable. An example of this was the 1984-87 Minister of Defence, Frank O'Flynn, one of the few Ministers of Defence in New Zealand history who actively questioned the advice he was getting from his officials. He was indoctrinated (*meaning that he received the initial secret briefing from Intelligence bosses. Ed.*) by Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) Director, Colin Hanson, and then wondered why he never saw any secret Intelligence reports. GCSB staff say they were specifically instructed from above that he should not be given any signals intelligence. Later O'Flynn asked his Chief of Defence staff, Ewan Jamieson, 'Where's all this secret intelligence I'm supposed to see?'. Jamieson replied politely, 'It's in the briefings we give you'. No wonder O'Flynn concluded, in retirement: "I became a totally disenchanting member of Cabinet. The only position that gave me any satisfaction was as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs" (*Press, Obituary, 25/10/03*; "Wise but disenchanting Cabinet Minister"; Derek Round).

Two former Labour Ministers, both reflecting aspects of Labour's, and New Zealand's, torturous relationship with the US military and the American Empire. One authorised massive force by the State to protect an American military base in New Zealand; the other played an honourable role in implementing the nuclear free policy that enables New Zealanders to hold their heads a little higher in a world of cowards queuing up to lick the cowboy boots of the Emperor. For his troubles, O'Flynn was regarded as unreliable, a Minister not to be trusted by the spy agencies that exist solely to do the dirty work for their imperial masters. We're still waiting for a Labour government to break us free of the military and Intelligence ties that continue to bind us to Uncle Sam. I dare say that as long as Labour is headed by the likes of Helen Clark we'll be waiting a long time yet.

DEATH IN THE FAMILY

ABC expresses our condolences to **Geoff Morris** for the sudden death of his wife, **Jill**, in Christchurch, in September 2003. She was 52.

Although Geoff has never been an Anti-Bases Campaign member he has been an active ABC supporter since the 1980s, regularly turning out on protests in Christchurch and at the US base at the airport. He has travelled to Marlborough to take part in ABC protests at the Waihopai spybase in the 80s, 90s and 00s. For a decade before I

knew him as a fellow anti-bases activist, Geoff and I were Railways workmates (although never in the same actual workplace) and we were also involved in the Canterbury branch of the then National Union of Railwaymen. We finished up within three years of each other – he took voluntary severance, I was made redundant.

I knew Jill through Geoff and regularly met her at social occasions (such as parties at our place). She wasn't involved in his political activities during their 22 years of marriage. She was a lovely woman. Her death is a tragedy for him, her twins from her previous marriage, her grandchildren and the rest of her family and friends.

Nuclear Reactions

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 28 – December 2003

Peace Researcher would be remiss if we did not comment on the recent and continuing kerfuffle over our sacrosanct nuclear-ship ban. The ban is written into New Zealand law – the 1987 Nuclear-Free-Zone, Disarmament and Arms Control Act, with Clause 11 being the “vulnerable” point of recent attack by various folk of Rightwing persuasion. One might argue that the demise of the former National Party Leader, Bill English, was due in large part to his brash (pun intended) and bumbling suggestion that the Government should invite a US warship to visit our ports. His mistake was in trying to make an impossible distinction between non-nuclear and nuclear US warships.

Clause 11 of the Nuclear-Free Act prohibits entry of nuclear-powered warships into our internal waters (but not the outer Exclusive Economic Zone, or EEZ). The prohibition on nuclear weapons is covered in other clauses (including one that permits US military aircraft to transit Christchurch International Airport under the infamous “neither confirm nor deny” nuclear weapons policy). Over the years Clause 11 has been seized upon as the weakest point in the Act – a place to make a wee change that would please the US government, even just a tiny bit.

In fact, Clause 11 is not a minor matter, either in law or in the minds of New Zealanders. Back in the early ‘90s, the then National government commissioned a Special Committee of three “experts” to review the safety of nuclear-powered ships. Their highly biased 1992 report gave such ships the thumbs-up, but the Government dared not use it to remove Clause 11. They shelved the expensive report. And to this day the Nats claim to have no intention of dropping New Zealand’s anti-nuclear policy, although they are reviewing it. Just what that means in a party polling no higher than 30% and wracked by internal turmoil as I write this, is anybody’s guess.

It is worth commenting that eliminating Clause 11 would not change anything in our relationship with the US. The reason is simple: few US warships are nuclear powered and ALL significant US warships and submarines are nuclear-weapons-capable. Furthermore, they all operate under the “neither confirm nor deny” nuclear weapons policy which New Zealand simply will not accept (except for aircraft, see above). End of story.

Things nuclear do tend to generate considerable media interest, and that’s a good thing. Even a storm in a teacup, which the Clause 11 issue seems to be, will create headlines that are sure to fan the anti-nuclear fires in the vast majority of New Zealanders.

Nuclear-Powered Ships Are Not Safe

There is also the matter of the actual safety of nuclear-powered ships. They are not safe, either in port or on the high seas. Nuclear reactors are inherently prone to serious problems due to their complexity, the presence of highly radioactive fuels and wastes, and the inevitable deterioration of containment materials over time and under the relentless assault of radiation. Because nuclear-powered warships are controlled by the military we ordinary folk are almost completely insulated from the reality of operating them and the accidents and faults that are inevitable. The only ones we hear about are the ones that cannot be covered up.

For example, at a Virginia shipyard in the US, a fire broke out on a nuclear-powered submarine near the reactor, in August 2003. Four workers were injured. The USS *Florida* is 20 years old and is being re-outfitted and refuelled for up to 25 years of additional service. This was not a “nuclear” accident but it could easily have turned into one adjacent to the densely populated eastern seaboard. Nuclear-powered vessels are banned from New York harbour and many other US harbours for safety reasons.

British nuclear submarines have had a terrible time in recent years. You may remember the adventures of the HMS *Tireless*, which spent 12 months undergoing repairs in Gibraltar for a leaking coolant system. In May 2003, this same hapless sub struck a “free floating object” (a fishing boat perhaps?) and sustained minor damage somewhere in the north Atlantic. It hobbled into Faslane in Scotland for repairs. Of course the public is always reassured that “there were no implications for nuclear safety”. That is a veritable mantra of the nuclear industry, both military and civilian.

The *Tireless* incident was the third such underwater collision by a British nuclear submarine in three years. It turns out that trainee commanders were responsible for the subs, at the time of the accidents off the coast of Scotland. Some officers were court-martialled for their ill-fated attempts to manoeuvre the submarines. You have to sympathise a little. It can’t be easy driving a metal tube the length of a football field underwater with no windows.

We should remind ourselves, with pride, that when a tiny country like New Zealand gets up the nose of Uncle Sam,

as with our nuclear-ship ban, we must be doing something right. In a recent prepared speech to be delivered at Victoria University, US Ambassador Charles Swindells (accent on the last syllable) urged a re-examination of the nuclear ships issue, and warned that the US was not simply going to “get over it”. So much for that lucrative free-trade deal. (Swindells could not deliver his speech because of noisy anti-nuclear protesters.)

Readers please note that a highly readable and comprehensive report by Kate Dewes on “Challenges to New Zealand’s Nuclear Free Policy” appeared earlier this year in the journal *Pacific Ecologist* (Issue 5, Spring/Autumn 2003, pp25-29). We highly recommend this journal to our readers. It is published by the Pacific Institute of Resource Management in association with *The Ecologist* (UK). Contact: www.pirm.org.nz, Box 12125, Wellington, NZ.

