

WAIHOPAI 2006 – Long running Campaign Gets Second Wind

by Murray Horton

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ABC has been holding protests at the Waihopai spybase since 1988 and we're not about to stop doing so, despite the usual taunts of "You'll never close it down" and pointed references to clichés involving barn doors and bolted horses. Precisely the same sort of reactions have been hurled at every movement for social change in New Zealand's history – "women will never get the vote...this country will never go nuclear-free ...you'll never get smoking out of pubs", etc, etc. We'll keep doing it for as long as it takes, and the fact remains that ABC is the only group to organise protests at Waihopai. If we didn't do it, then it wouldn't get done. Despite recent media claims to the contrary, it is not an annual protest. In the early days we went there several times a year; by contrast, in the late 90s, there was a period of several years when we didn't go there at all. We were last there in 2004 (see PR 29, June 2004; "Waihopai 2004: The Protests Continue, With Some New Twists", Bob Leonard. It can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr29-97.html>). In 2005, we had a change of tactic and targeted both Wellington and the Government Communications Security Bureau's (GCSB) other spybase, namely Tangimoana (for details, see the Wellington & Tangimoana Spybase Protest subsection of my Organiser's Report, elsewhere in this issue). Following our assessment of that at the ABC committee's annual strategy meeting, we decided to return to Waihopai in January 2006.

Ever since we deliberately changed our tactics away from confrontation and mass arrests (1997 was the last time anyone was arrested at a Waihopai protest), our activities in Blenheim itself and at the base have been very similar from one year to the next – a rally in Seymour Square in central Blenheim, with speakers from ABC, leading Green MPs and representatives from other parties and organisations; followed by a march through town (almost always on the footpath as opposed to the street); a sausage sizzle open to the public back at Seymour Square; then out to the base where Bob Leonard metamorphoses into the highly photogenic Uncle Sam in order to inspect everyone's Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA passports as they cross the border onto foreign territory at the base; concluding with a march up to the heavily fortified inner gates and more speeches. There have been some variations – some years have featured a Best Dressed Spy Contest and/or a Spies Picnic at Seymour Square; we have also had video evenings and public meetings in Blenheim, with local, national and international speakers (we've had guests from both Australia and Britain over the years). To us, it sometimes feels very much like the same old same old but people never fail to respond positively to it. In short, it may be a formula, but it's one that's tried and proven. It works. In the years of mass arrests and confrontations out at the base, we tended to ignore Blenheim, and generated hostility as a result. Now our relationship with the local people and media is very positive.

With the notable exception of January 2003 – when John Craighead, a Marlborough District Councillor and prominent local Green really got stuck in to mobilising locals to come out and oppose the imminent invasion of Iraq, leading the Marlborough Express to call the resulting march by 250 people the biggest protest that the town had seen since the 1981 Springbok Tour – our activities have attracted around 50 or so people. We had no reason to believe that January 2006 would be any different. One completely unforeseen and tragic event changed that, namely the November 2005 death of Green Co-Leader, Rod Donald (see my obituary of him elsewhere in this issue).

Dedicated To Rod Donald's Memory

From the time he entered Parliament as an Alliance MP in Opposition Rod plunged into the campaign against the Waihopai spybase. He was elected in 1996; he paid his first visit to Waihopai during ABC's January 1997 protest. Indeed he later appeared as a defence witness during the Blenheim court case of the 20 people arrested but got short shrift from the reactionary local judge who wasn't going to have his courtroom turned into a "circus". Once the Greens stood on their own two feet in Parliament, and Keith Locke was elected (both happened in 1999), Rod and Keith became a standard feature of all subsequent Waihopai protest camps. In January 2000, the newly-elected Greens were flavour of the month and the media poured across from Wellington to cover it. The last Waihopai protest attended by both was in January 2004. And they didn't just parachute in either. Both spent the weekend in a tent like the rest of us, using Portaloos and doing their share of the food preparation. Rod was invaluable for his ability to attract the media to events like that, he really did have them wrapped around his little finger. And he was an excellent liaison man with the publicity shy base commanders, to get us legal access to the inner gate of the heavily fortified spybase. He plunged into all our activities – I remember him as compere for the Best Dressed Spy contest, held in Blenheim's central Seymour Square. He loaned us his family tent, he drove people around in his van (quite often having specially driven it from his family's annual holiday in Golden Bay) and he led the trips to the swimming hole further up the Waihopai Valley. He was disappointed that we didn't go to Waihopai in 2005 but he and Keith played a leading role at our activities that year in Wellington and at Tangimoana (Rod told me that it was his only

ever visit to that spybase).

Rod never missed a chance to put Waihopai in the spotlight – in August 2005, as part of its election campaign, the Greens toured Andrew Wilkie, an Australian former Intelligence analyst turned Iraq War whistleblower, author and Australian Green candidate (see Bob Leonard's review of Wilkie's book, "Axis Of Deceit", elsewhere in this issue). Rod accompanied him through the country, including to the inner gate of Waihopai (where he managed to wrangle a couple of muffins out of the base commander, having chided him about the lack of hospitality to an MP on previous visits). Indeed, Wilkie's tour was the reason for my only ever visit to Rod's home, to meet him, and we spent a very pleasant evening, viewing old tapes about Waihopai, among other things. At Wilkie's well attended Christchurch public meeting, Rod kept plugging the ABC and invited me to speak. He had every intention of coming to the January 2006 Waihopai protest. Days after his death I was asked to come into his Christchurch office, where his shellshocked secretary handed me the e-mail I'd sent inviting him to join us again. On it he'd written, "yes". And to my rather tongue in cheek query as to whether he would have come if he had been a Cabinet Minister (which was quite on the cards until Labour rejected the Greens and went with United Future and New Zealand First instead), he'd emphatically written "I sure as Hell would have come!". That would have been an interesting situation that sure as Hell would have infuriated Helen Clark and fascinated the media.

The Rod Factor Brought Them Out In Droves This Year

In gratitude to his years of work on the Waihopai campaign, ABC dedicated the January 2006 protest to Rod's memory. As master of ceremonies (MC) in Blenheim's Seymour Square, I started the proceedings with a minute's silence for him. In all our publicity in the final few months before the protest, we urged Green Party members, and all the other people who took part in the outpouring of grief after his death, to come to Waihopai as a practical way to honour his memory and continue his work. The Greens mounted a major publicity effort among their members and particular thanks are due to Rod's former Parliamentary Executive Secretary, Bronwen Summers (who has since resigned and left Wellington) and Rod's longtime friend and Banks Peninsula campaign manager, Christine Dann. The result was a significant increase of people at this year's protest, boosted by many Greens coming for the first time, including Party Leader, Jeanette Fitzsimons. Keith Locke MP came again, as he always has done since entering Parliament.

The local (Kaikoura) Greens, headed by their 2005 election candidate and ABC activist, Steffan Browning, organised a memorial planting of native trees at our campsite (they are also dedicated to Owen Wilkes, at ABC's request). The Party took it further and made a full weekend out of it by deciding to hold its annual Picnic for the Planet at our campsite, on the Sunday of the protest weekend, complete with bands, and Jeanette Fitzsimons delivered her annual State of the Planet Address there. This whole extravaganza was organised by Steffan Browning and Christine Dann (sadly, neither she nor her younger sister, ABC Treasurer, Robyn Dann, were able to attend any of the weekend's activities due to the sudden death of their mother only days beforehand).

This led to us hosting more than 50 people at our camp on the two nights we stayed there (usually we'd be lucky if we got 20 or 30). They came from as far north as Hokianga and as far south as Otago, plus quite a lot of foreigners temporarily resident in NZ. We had nearly 100 on the march through Blenheim and at the base. Apart from that wonderful 2003 turnout (the vast majority of whom were locals that we've never seen before or since), this was the biggest Waihopai protest crowd in many, many years. That could all be attributed to one thing – the Rod Factor. As an inveterate publicist and seizer of opportunities par excellence, he would have mightily approved. We know that he was with us in spirit.

New Camp Had To Be Found

There were some other changes this year too. For the first time this century we had to find a new place to camp, as our previous host, Olly Oliver (a sympathetic vineyard owner and producer of Big Balls, that strictly limited line of red wine inspired by the two spybase domes that dominate the outlook from his former Waihopai Valley home) had been defeated by years of consecutive frosts bugging his harvest and had sold up and gone. As there is no ABC in Blenheim (or anywhere other than Christchurch for that matter), we have to organise all logistics from afar. And finding a new campsite proved to be a difficult and time consuming exercise that took months. There proved to be some interesting politics involved. For example, the Waihopai Valley residents' association declined our request to camp on land adjacent to their community hall because they decided to put their relationship with the base first, particularly as it had put in some money for the hall's restoration in the past. A Blenheim church which had hosted our public meeting in the recent past declined our request to camp there marae style because "your reputation has preceded you, you have a reputation for publicity-seeking stunts" (that's the whole point actually).

Eventually, we settled on staying in a Department of Conservation camp (at Onamalutu) for the first time ever, which

meant that, also for the first time ever, we had to pay to camp. Even though DOC camps are considerably cheaper than commercial camping grounds, the nearly \$600 that we paid DOC to camp there for two nights constituted a significant percentage of our expenses and definitely contributed towards ABC incurring a small loss from the weekend's activities. That said, it is an absolutely beautiful spot, surrounded by magnificent native forest, with some lovely walks. The only downsides that I personally encountered were that, while it was very hot and sunny by day it proved to be extremely cold at night (I'd hate to camp there in winter) and it came complete with a nest of annoyingly persistent wasps. There is a great irony in it being the site of a grove of memorial native trees for Rod Donald, that most addicted of cellphone addicts – there is no cellphone coverage. This so alarmed some of the other addicts present that they drove to the closest place where they could use their mobiles. The much larger number of people camping with us brought with it the problem of feeding so many people with our usual limited resources. Particular thanks are due to ABC's youngest committee members, Frances Mountier and Lynda Boyd, who took on numerous practical tasks at very late notice when Robyn Dann had to withdraw due to the death of her mother just days beforehand. They mobilised a willing crew of volunteers from among the campers. And although there is no Blenheim ABC, none of this would have been possible without the very hands-on involvement over many months by both Steffan Browning and Phil Hunnisett, who undertook a multiplicity of tasks in their capacity as ABC's men in Blenheim. Heartfelt thanks to both of them (and to those who helped them).

Themes: Anti-War & Waihopai Deals NZ Into US Killing Machine

Taking a longer term perspective, there has been a change in emphasis. When we started out and throughout the 90s, the emphasis of the protests was that "Big Brother Is Watching Us" i.e. the threat posed to civil liberties by Waihopai and the GCSB. There was also emphasis on Waihopai's role in spying on our Asia/Pacific neighbours, such as those waging the life or death struggle for independence in East Timor against the genocidal Indonesian occupiers. Once George Bush became US President and went to war in Afghanistan, Iraq and anywhere else that took his fancy, the emphasis of the protests changed to being explicitly anti-war, stressing that Waihopai is New Zealand's main contribution to any and all US wars, present and future. It is a US spybase in all but name, and its 24/7 role in gathering intelligence for the US is much more important than any token commitment of NZ military forces to Afghanistan, Iraq, the Persian Gulf, etc. Waihopai compromises our hard won position of having broken the nuclear and military ties with the US; it is part of a half century old covert Intelligence-gathering network (the top secret UKUSA Agreement) which is a central player in the US war machine and which means that New Zealanders, knowingly or not, have the blood on our hands of the innocent victims of those wars, many of them victims of "faulty intelligence".

So, in 2006, our visual props dramatically symbolised death – we had 30 adults and kids in white face masks (representing the civilian dead of those wars), some crosses with "Iraq" and "Afghanistan" painted on them (thanks to the Christchurch Catholic Worker group) and some coffins (courtesy of Christchurch Save Animals From Exploitation). The leaflet we handed out to the Blenheim public was illustrated by a photo (which also features on our permanent Waihopai display) of Afghani villagers mourning their children killed by a US air strike arising from just such "faulty intelligence". All the speakers in Blenheim and at the base hammered this point – indeed, one of the strongest speeches was a spontaneous one made by one of the masked "dead" at the base gates, speaking on behalf of the innumerable all too real dead of those US wars. We also had a couple of new visual props this year, the brain child of Bob Leonard, namely a couple of large white balloons complete with red flashing lights on top (to represent the two huge white domes of the spybase with their aircraft warning lights on top). Unlike the real domes, these ones had "Close Waihopai Spy Base" emblazoned on them. And, also unlike the real domes (unfortunately) one of them disintegrated all by itself.

Lange Papers Reveal Historic Details Of GCSB Spying

There was another factor which led to the 2006 protest having an even higher profile than usual and that was the fortuitous coincidence of the Sunday Star-Times splashing some of the late David Lange's papers across its front pages the Sunday beforehand, including the inadvertently released GCSB's 1965-86 Annual Report. For details of this, see the subsections headed "Historic Lange Papers Reveal Who GCSB Was Spying on 20 Years Ago" and "Spying On The UN" in my article entitled "Illegal NSA Spying On Americans Exposed", elsewhere in this issue). That sensational revelation is still having major repercussions – for example, it has led to the GCSB Director, Warren Tucker, making the first ever lengthy public defence of his agency's work and denying claims arising from the Sunday Star-Times expose (basically amounting to "I can't tell you anything about what we do but trust me, it's all for your own good"). Tucker's statement, plus news stories and editorials about it, appeared in several papers on January 31st (my reply to it, on behalf of ABC, "Spy Alliance Must End", was published in the Press of February 9th and generated a lot of positive response from throughout NZ and overseas). The Sunday Star-Times story was basically too late to drum up any more participants for the protest but it certainly put the issue of GCSB spying smack into the public consciousness just days before Waihopai (ironic really, as that 20 year old report was detailing

who was being spied on from the GCSB's other, older Tangimoana spybase, which has a different function and uses a different method of spying. The report pre-dates Waihopai's existence or even the announcement that it was going to exist).

And the Sunday Star-Times story had political consequences: while the Government scrambled to find out if former Prime Minister Lange's papers contained any more secrets that he shouldn't have had, two of the smaller parties – the Greens and the Maori Party – called for an inquiry into what it had revealed and for the closure of Waihopai. Nothing new about this for the Greens, who have campaigned against Waihopai for nearly as long as ABC has. They have contributed two MPs, including one Leader, to every protest for many years. This year it was Jeanette and Keith instead of Rod and Keith. But the Maori Party is the new kid in Parliament, and is still feeling its feet on all sorts of issues that fall outside its core concerns. So it was gratifying to see that party, in the person of Hone Harawira MP, come out so strongly in the days before the protest. ABC invited him to join us and although he couldn't make the Saturday activities in Blenheim and at the base (he had a prior commitment to a hui in Wellington), he came to the Onamalutu camp for the Sunday activities. He told us that'd always wanted to join us but, living in Kaitaia, he hadn't been able to afford it in the past. The free domestic air travel that MPs get solved that problem this year, so we were very pleased to welcome him.

Protests In Blenheim & At The Base

The weekend's events themselves went very smoothly. On Saturday January 21st we started with a rally, in the blazing heat in Blenheim's Seymour Square. I was the MC and first speaker. I started proceedings with a minute's silence for Rod and, I must admit, it gave me goosebumps as I remembered his role as MC at the Best Dressed Spy contest at that very spot several years earlier. The crowd of nearly 100 then formed up, complete with banners, placards, masks, crosses, coffins and balloons, and set off on a footpath tour of central Blenheim. Our first stop was a little unusual, namely the Marlborough District Library. The reason was that it had refused to host our travelling display on the Waihopai spybase (unlike other public libraries), saying that the spies have no right of reply. For details of this, read the subsection headed "Waihopai Display" in my Organiser's Report elsewhere in this issue. This issue had generated media coverage of its own. As soon as the Library opened on the Saturday morning, ABC committee members, Bob Leonard and Yani Johanson, had set up the display outside it, so that Blenheim people could see for themselves what the fuss was about. We had hired a small truck (fortunately Phil Hunnisett has the necessary licence) to drive on ahead of our march and be used as a speaking platform at our various stops. So, outside the Library, I clambered aboard and used a megaphone to tell the marchers, library users, staff and the public about the censorship which prevented them from finding out what the sinister blot on their landscape actually does (at the conclusion of the weekend, the display was set up in a central Blenheim shop). We marched on, stopping at two other central Blenheim venues on a very busy summer's morning, where I spoke to the public. It became apparent that one thing that ABC had overlooked was chants – some hasty improvisation by our young firebrands, Frances Mountier and Lynda Boyd rectified that, revealing Francie to have a most impressive vocal stamina. We returned to Seymour Square where our two other speakers were Green MP, Keith Locke and John Minto of Global Peace and Justice Auckland. Bob Leonard had transformed into Uncle Sam (mystifying one participant, who thought that he was Colonel Sanders) and received a rowdy reception (someone actually threw something at him, I hope that it wasn't a fried chicken) when he made his standard speech telling us to bugger off.

After our well received sausage sizzle (which always features a choice of vegetarian sausages), we drove in convoy out to the base. Usually Uncle Sam welcomes us onto his territory (as mere mortal Bob Leonard, he had negotiated our access right onto base property, for one hour) but the current base commander wasn't going to be upstaged, and made a speech to all of us (a first) welcoming us on and telling us to behave. That's where the hospitality stopped – unlike Rod's last visit, there were no muffins. Everyone had their Undemocratic Republic of UKUSA passports inspected by Uncle Sam and stamped as we crossed the border, then we all formed up and marched down the road to the forbiddingly locked inner gates. It made for a striking sight in that sunscorched, bleak setting – the banners, placards, masks, coffins and crosses. Outside the gate I was again MC and opening speaker. The Green Leader, Jeanette Fitzsimons was the featured speaker. John Minto spoke again, and Steffan Browning spoke on behalf of Marlborough people opposed to the base. Then we had an open mike and several people spoke, either to the crowd or directly into the base (one, with a most impressive theatrical voice, exhorted them to abandon their jobs and march out, leaving the gates open). Speaker after speaker told of how Waihopai is part of the American killing machine and spies on our near neighbours – for example, veteran Auckland peace and justice activist, Maire Leadbeater, talked about the current dire situation in West Papua (Indonesia's "new" East Timor) and how Waihopai and the other stations in the network will be spying on independence activists there. As already mentioned, the most moving speech was made by one of the masked "dead". In 2004, it was at this point that a group of young Wellington anti-war activists had stripped naked and formed a peace sign on the boiling hot asphalt of the road. There was no such excitement this time, to the disappointment of at least one network TV cameraman who, upon arrival, asked me if there would be any naked women this year (I told him he'd have to make do with the male

participant who spent the entire weekend naked for reasons known only to himself and who attracted a number of complaints and an order from the Police to cover up in Blenheim, which he did, to the bare minimum. His bare arse formed the backdrop to a national TV interview with Keith Locke). Of course, Uncle Sam spoke again as well, telling us to bugger off (basically that's all he ever says when he speaks at Waihopai).

Excellent Media Coverage

Our Waihopai protests always get excellent local and national media coverage and this year was even better than most. There are a number of reasons for that – the issue is a major one with excellent visuals for newspaper photographers and TV cameramen; protests of any kind are a rarity in conservative, provincial Blenheim (by contrast, ABC's Easter 2005 activities in Wellington and at Tangimoana got virtually no coverage); the time of year – January – is the silly season and we are realistic enough to know that we get that coverage because there aren't the usual competing stories that obsess the media when Parliament and the Government are in business; the regular involvement of the Green Party, at the highest level, attracts those in the media who specialise in politics and Parliament; and the revelation of the GCSB historic spying details in the Sunday Star-Times days earlier had put the issue to the top of the national agenda. So, this year, we had two national TV networks – TVNZ and Maori TV (the latter's first time at Waihopai, although they couldn't find anyone to interview in te reo) – cover the whole range of activities in great detail, meaning that it merited a lengthy and prominently placed item on TVNZ's One News. There was extensive coverage on several radio networks. John Minto has only just started as a weekly Press columnist (producing apoplexy about "Communism" from several outraged correspondents to the Letters To The Editor) and he kicked things off days before the demo with a column headed "Spybase serves US interests" (16/1/06), which concluded: "Later this week I will be joining other New Zealanders in a protest at Waihopai to call for the base to be closed".

The Marlborough Express ran stories about it before, during and after the event, including a couple of frontpage leads (they love running big photos of Uncle Sam). In fact, the Express felt compelled to "balance" its extensive coverage of the protests by an editorial (23/1/06) entitled "Spy base here to stay". The other local paper, the Blenheim Sun, also ran several stories. The Christchurch Press has its own reporter, Dan Hutchinson, in Marlborough and he filed several stories. Indeed Steffan Browning has probably learned the hard way not to give the media any quotes to take out of context. In his speech at the base gate, Steffan said that he thought it was a "bit woeful" that more locals hadn't taken part. The Press (23/1/06) headlined this as "'Woeful' turnout in base protest" (it was anything but woeful, being at least twice the size of the usual turnout). Dan Hutchinson wrote a feature (Press, 20/1/06; "Their neighbours are spies"; also published in the same day's Dominion Post as "Mysterious valley of the golf balls") which emphasised that Blenheim and Waihopai locals didn't know and/or weren't bothered about what the spybase does. This rather misses the point that Waihopai is fundamentally a national, indeed an international, issue, not a local one. It's a conservative rural area (it's been a National stronghold for many years), so we're not surprised that we don't get a large local turnout (2003 was the wonderful exception to that rule). On the contrary, ABC is delighted that we get a small but vital band of locals who, year after year, join with their compatriots from one end of the country to the other in protesting at the spybase and calling for its closure. And media coverage this year, which got inextricably mixed in with the revelations arising from the Lange papers, routinely spelled out what the base does for US Intelligence, and matter of factly referred to the UKUSA Agreement (whose existence has never been confirmed by any member government or agency) without prefacing it with "alleged" or "so-called". Indeed, in his unprecedented public statement defending the GCSB its Director, Warren Tucker, confirmed the Agreement in all but name.

Memorial Treeplanting For Owen Wilkes

Usually the Waihopai protests finish on the Saturday and all that happens on the Sunday is that we pack up the camp, maybe have a debriefing and then go our separate ways. Because of the Rod Factor, 2006 was different. Sunday January 22nd was a day of activities at Onamalutu – the memorial native tree planting for Rod and Owen Wilkes; music; the Picnic for the Planet and Jeanette Fitzsimons' annual State of the Planet Address. These were very well attended and were also subject to extensive national and local media coverage. As they were organised by the Greens and not ABC, Peace Researcher is not the appropriate place in which to report them, the Greens have their own outlets in which to do that. But there was one activity on the Sunday morning which was ABC's doing and that was the memorial treeplanting for Owen Wilkes (anyone wishing to remind themselves about Owen Wilkes or his connection to ABC and the national and global peace movements can refresh their memories by reading PR 31, October 2005, the Special Issue devoted exclusively to him. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>).

The treeplanting was conducted in typical blazing Marlborough sunshine and a wind strong enough to blow away the speakers' gazebo at one point. The treeplanting organiser, Steffan Browning, had done himself proud and

assembled anything up to 20 trees to be planted. It was started with a Maori blessing, music and featured MPs from two parties (Greens and Maori). I spoke about Owen and highlighted the reasons why his memorial should be in Marlborough, namely three former or present bases. I first met him when the Christchurch Progressive Youth Movement (of which he was proud to be an honorary member) was planning the January 1971 protest at the top secret (and long gone) US Air Force Project Longbank at RNZAF Base Woodbourne/Blenheim Airport. From the early 80s to the mid 90s, he was a leading figure in the campaign to expose the former US Naval Observatory atop Black Birch. Indeed I have recently watched a borrowed 1989 TVNZ documentary about Black Birch, in which Owen figured prominently. And, of course, he was in the campaign against Waihopai from the outset, in 1987. It is also highly appropriate that he be permanently memorialised in a DOC reserve, as he spent years working as a DOC archaeologist (in Waikato) after retiring from the peace movement.

I had assumed that my brief speech would be it as far as Owen was concerned, that as it was organised by the Greens, the rest would be about Rod. I was very pleasantly surprised as speaker after speaker got up to talk at length about both Owen and Rod – Jeanette Fitzsimons, Bronwen Summers, Keith Locke, Richard Suggate and Maire Leadbeater among them. They very much got equal billing. While the musician played on and the sun blazed, dozens of people pitched in to plant the trees. I found it all very moving. And it's a beautiful permanent setting for such an appropriate memorial for these two Cantabrians who, although they never met and were of different generations, both lived the green life (in Owen's case) and the green and Green life (in Rod's case). If you're in Marlborough, visit their trees at Onamalutu. Unfortunately, DOC won't agree to a permanent plaque, but you can contact Steffan Browning at greeny25@xtra.co.nz or 021 725655 for directions on how to find them.

We'll Be Back

After listening to Jeanette's State of the Planet Address, ABC set out on the long drive home to Christchurch. It had been an extremely successful protest, one of the best ever, and due to the unique mix of events (the celebration which arose from the tragedy of Rod's death) an unforgettable weekend. Rod certainly would have been right in his element. We did him proud, and we ensured that the spybase remains firmly fixed in the national consciousness. The longrunning campaign to have it closed has gained its second wind, it is more relevant than ever. As we live in ever more dangerous times (all aboard for the next war on – whom? Iran? Hamas?), this spybase is more important than ever to the US war machine, it is more compromising than ever to "nuclear free and independent" New Zealand. Waihopai is a blot on the national landscape that must be removed. We'll be back.



ILLEGAL NSA SPYING ON AMERICANS EXPOSED

by Murray

Horton

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The US National Security Agency (NSA) is the world's biggest Intelligence agency, much bigger than the better known Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). It is the Big Daddy of all the Big Brothers. Its role is signals intelligence (SIGINT) and electronic intelligence (ELINT). It is the spider at the centre of the web that is the super-secret UKUSA Agreement, by which it and the junior agencies in the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau – GCSB) divide up the world for collecting SIGINT and ELINT. The most notorious of the various projects for doing this kind of spying is the one codenamed Echelon, by which billions of key words are data mined and analysed by banks of computers, using the Dictionary programme, at the NSA's HQ at Fort Meade, Maryland (which boasts the world's biggest and fastest super-computer). To collect this mindboggling amount of data requires a global network of spybases – that is where little old New Zealand comes into the picture, with the secret Waihopai spybase which intercepts regional civilian communications transmitted by satellite. Basically Waihopai and its sister bases around the world simply download the stolen communications and forward them on to the NSA unprocessed (Echelon is far from the only such spying programme. For example, there is another one codenamed Tempest).

Unlike the CIA, which specialises in human intelligence (HUMINT) the NSA likes to stay in the shadows. But, in December 2005, it found itself thrust into the spotlight by the revelation that, since 2002, it has been clandestinely and illegally spying on Americans in the US. Because of the massive and systematic abuses of power by the NSA, CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) which came to light during the 1968-74 Presidency of Richard Nixon, such no-warrant domestic spying has been expressly prohibited by law since 1978. The *New York Times* expose (16/12/05) revealed that President Bush issued a secret Executive Order in 2002 to allow the NSA to "eavesdrop without a warrant on phone conversations, e-mail and other electronic communications, even when at least one party to the exchange was in the US – the circumstance that would ordinarily trigger the warrant requirement" (*Time*, 9/1/06; "The Spying Controversy: Has Bush Gone Too Far?"; Richard Lacayo). It turns out that the *New York Times* had sat on the story for a year and only published it on the day of a key Congressional vote on Bush's controversial PATRIOT Act, a cornerstone of the legislative dictatorship that the US has been rapidly turning into in the paranoid hysteria following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington DC. The vote was lost and Bush and his cronies in government and the media bitterly assailed those who had exposed the secret NSA spying – Bush had unsuccessfully summonsed both the Editor and publisher of the *Times* to the White House to urge them not to print the story. He and his mates came out swinging, saying that the US is at war and that the ends (national security) justifies the means.

The 1978 Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) created the secret, 11 member FISA court whose job it is to hear NSA requests for warrants. It is basically a rubber stamp for the spies. "According to the Justice Department, from 1979 to 2004 the court approved 18,724 wiretaps and denied only three, all in 2003" (*Time*, *ibid*). And, in cases which the NSA deems urgent, it is allowed to spy without a warrant as long as it applies for one within 72 hours (these warrants are only needed for spying on Americans; none are required for spying on foreigners). But apparently Bush and the NSA have decided that even the figleaf of the totally compliant FISA court is an unnecessary hindrance to the smooth functioning of the police State. It is, of course, all part of the same post-September 11 pattern that has seen "enemy combatants" held indefinitely and incommunicado, without legal redress, at the US military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba; the systematic use of torture there and in US prisons in Iraq; kidnapping of alleged "terrorists" (many of whom turn out to be innocent) and their "rendition" by the CIA to third party countries for torture or even murder, quite often in a newly created network of secret CIA prisons in countries ranging from Afghanistan to Eastern Europe (the latter having gone from Soviet puppets in the old Cold War days to American arselickers in the Brave New World of One Superpower). And it is part of the pattern that is glorified in US propaganda such as Fox TV's series "24" (recently on primetime on TV3) which glorifies US secret agents who use any methods, routinely including torture, to save the US from demonic, foreign terrorists (Muslims have replaced Communists as the bogeymen of popular entertainment, although the latest series of "24" combined the two by having both Muslims and Chinese as the villains).

Foreign Civilians Are Victims; US Peace Activists Are Targets

OK, but aren't any methods acceptable in the "War On Terror"? Sadly, many of the victims of this war without end aren't terrorists but innocent civilians, including kids. And that's down to one thing – faulty intelligence, specifically faulty SIGINT and ELINT. As Bush and his underlings, such as Vice President Cheney and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld, have proclaimed intelligence to be the key factor in this war, it is a central failing. To give only the most recent example – in January 2006 (not for the first time), Western media wet its pants at the reported killing of

Ayman al-Zawahiri, Osama bin Laden's second-in-command in al Qaeda, in a US air strike (by CIA missiles launched from an unmanned Predator drone) in a region of Pakistan near the Afghan border. But he was not among the 22 people killed, which included five women and five children. So they just became more "collateral damage", not to mention the political fallout in Pakistan, a key US ally in its war (al Zawahiri popped up in a subsequent videotape to taunt the Americans for having missed him, again). And this is far from an isolated occurrence of such fatally faulty intelligence. There have been numerous civilian deaths in Afghanistan in such cases – in 2003, a number of kids were killed by a US airstrike triggered by one of them picking up and turning on the satellite phone of a wanted Taliban figure. The signal was intercepted and those kids' fates were sealed. The US military, be it in Afghanistan or Iraq, or in any of its other war zones, has a history of shooting first and thinking about it later. That's the way to win friends and influence people.

But these are foreigners, killed in "hot zones", the unfortunate innocent victims in all wars, so the cynical justification goes. Well, let's look at who else the NSA is spying on in the "War On Terror". Funnily enough, it turns out to be the usual suspects – US peaceniks, at home in the US. Just as in the 1960s and 70s. NSA documents released as part of a US court case revealed that it closely monitored the activities of the Pledge of Resistance-Baltimore, a Quaker-linked peace group which has conducted peaceful, arrestable actions at the NSA HQ as part of its activities against the war in Iraq. It was extremely detailed surveillance, including recording all the licence plate numbers of all those attending a protest; reports were filed every 15 minutes on the day of one protest. The inflation of the group's balloons and the contents of their signs were all duly noted. Among the security forces mobilised to deal with the protesters included the NSA's Weapons of Mass Destruction Rapid Response Team. The mind boggles. Anyone familiar with the COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) of the FBI in the 1960s and 70s will recognise some of the tactics employed. One of the Baltimore Pledgers described a March 2003 demonstration in downtown Baltimore where "a provocateur (whom we had identified at our planning meeting the night before) joined us. We'd never seen him before ...during the die-in at the Federal courthouse, he was taunting the police in a violent manner. We had to quiet him down, he then disappeared and we never saw him again – and, of course, he wasn't arrested with the other 49 of us" (Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space, 12/1/06; "National Security Agency mounted massive spy op on Baltimore peace group, documents show", quoting *Raw Story*).

This illegal domestic spying is a subject of great concern to Americans from all sides of the political spectrum. Mark Levin, a former chief of staff to a senior member of the 1980s' Reagan Republican Administration, wrote in a December 2005 blog post to the Rightwing *National Review Online*: "Under the Echelon program, the NSA and certain foreign intelligence agencies throw an extremely wide net over virtually all electronic communications world-wide. There are no warrants. No probable cause requirements. No FISA court. And information is intercepted that is communicated solely between US citizens within the US, which may not be the purpose of the program but, nonetheless, is a consequence of the program" (*truthout* Investigative Report, 9/1/06; "The NSA Spy Engine: Echelon", Jason Leopold"). The American people are waking up to the fact that an already existing monster has been rendered even more monstrous in the hysterical aftermath of September 11, creating a super-monster which will inflict tremendous damage on their own society.

Historic Lange Papers Reveal Who GCSB Was Spying On 20 Years Ago

A very rare insight into exactly who it was that the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB, the NSA's junior partner agency in the UKUSA Agreement) was spying on two decades ago was inadvertently revealed when Archives New Zealand, with full Cabinet permission, agreed to release some of the papers of the 1984-89 Labour Prime Minister, the late David Lange (see my obituary of him elsewhere in this issue). This was released to the *Sunday Star-Times* and the intrepid Nicky Hager. Elsewhere in this issue there is an article detailing how several NZ conmen, for reasons known only to themselves, very successfully set up that paper and Nicky into writing a completely bogus series of 2004 articles purporting to be the confessions of NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS) contractors who had systematically spied on a wide range of Maori organisations and individuals. There was no such problem this time, the paper and Nicky stumbled across a goldmine in the box of Lange's papers (which, reassuringly for us mere mortals, included stuff such as chequebook stubs and demanding letters from Inland Revenue). It also included a top secret GCSB *Annual Report* for 1985-86. This was one of only 16 copies and should have been returned by Lange once he'd read it. It wasn't, and nobody noticed for the next 20 years, when it suddenly was made public.

The GCSB report detailed the pressure and less than subtle threats from the US towards New Zealand during the nuclear-free rupture between the two countries. More fascinatingly, it also lists precisely who it was that the GCSB was spying on 20 years. This bombshell burst in the media the week before ABC's January 2006 protest at the Waihopai spybase (and, no, we knew nothing about it in advance either) and journalists tended to muddle the two things up, as if Waihopai had been the means of doing that spying. It is important to realise that this covers a period before Waihopai was announced, let alone built and operational – the report is detailing spying carried out by the

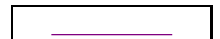
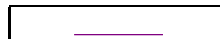
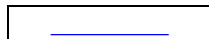
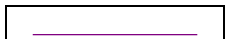
GCSB's other, older, spybase, namely Tangimoana, in the lower North Island. This involves a different method of spying and concentrates on intercepting things such as ships' radio traffic. Be that as it may, the report still provided a fascinating insight into who NZ was spying on, irrespective of which spybase or method of SIGINT and or ELINT was used.

This was during the Cold War, which during those Reagan years, looked very likely to lurch into a very hot nuclear war. So some of the targets were entirely predictable and don't exist any more – the Soviet Union and East Germany. But there were plenty more listed, some of them in the former Second World of that time (the Communist Bloc) such as North Korea and Vietnam. Others definitely raised eyebrows, even 20 years later – NZ's Pacific Island neighbours, France (a major Pacific colonial presence and one which had just bombed the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland Harbour), Japan and the Philippines (this was when the looming overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship was a major concern of the US). Some targets surprised by their extreme distance from New Zealand – Egypt and Argentina (in the wake of the 1982 Falklands War, during which the Muldoon government actively backed Margaret Thatcher's Britain, the GCSB listened in to Argentine Navy communications on behalf of British Intelligence).

Spying On The UN

And, the most embarrassing revelation of them all – that 20 years ago, the GCSB was intercepting United Nations diplomatic communications. This is the proof of what a loyal lapdog it has been for its NSA master for decades. The US has always targeted the UN, seeing it as suspect and a hindrance to US interests – in the buildup to the 2003 invasion of Iraq, when the UN refused to rubberstamp this crime, the NSA was exposed by its own insiders to be systematically spying on the UN itself and key opposing or wavering member countries of the all-important Security Council. In the whistleblowing 2004 book "Axis Of Deceit" by Andrew Wilkie (see Bob Leonard's review of it elsewhere in this issue), the former Australian Intelligence analyst turned author and Green candidate wrote: "The UN was monitored and assessed with almost as much vigour as Iraq itself....There was a deliberate and official campaign to eavesdrop on the most sensitive UN communications during the lead-up to the war".

This spying on major international agencies seen as being a nuisance by the US is ongoing. In 2004 it was revealed that the NSA had been regularly spying on Mohamed El Baradei, the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, as part of an American campaign to get rid of him and have him replaced by Alexander Downer, the Foreign Minister of Australia, that most loyal of American satellites. It didn't work – both men remain in their present jobs and, for good measure, El Baradei and his agency were awarded the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize. These are the sorts of "enemies" that the US spies on and which it gets its junior partners, such as the GCSB, to spy on for it. In light of the revelations in the Lange papers, both the Greens and the Maori Party called for an inquiry into the GCSB. ABC says that doesn't go far enough – the GCSB should be abolished and its two spybases closed forthwith.



JAPANESE DELEGATION VISITS HAREWOOD AND WAIHOPAI WITH ABC

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

The Japanese port of Kobe was officially declared nuclear-free on March 18, 1975. It is to this day the only nuclear-free harbour in Japan. This is a major reason why a delegation of peace activists from Kobe chose to visit nuclear-free New Zealand in November 2005. They were hosted by veteran anti-nuclear activist Barney Richards of the New Zealand Peace Foundation. Murray Horton and I had the pleasure of meeting them and discussing our foreign bases (rather minor by Japanese standards) over a period of three days.

Readers of Peace Researcher will be well aware that Japan, and especially Okinawa (see article elsewhere in this issue), is festooned with American military installations, effectively a foreign occupation forced upon Japan since the close of World War II. But Kobe has remained free of nuclear-armed American warships because the harbour is controlled by a strongly anti-nuclear mayor and local body with the full support of local citizens. Kobe has successfully resisted increasing pressures from central government to allow nuclear ship porting.

Harewood

On the morning of Monday November 21 Murray and I met the delegation in a Christchurch City Council meeting room. This was an opportunity to exchange views and experiences on nuclear free issues and US bases on foreign territory. Nobue Kugimiya was an adept interpreter. We received an embarrassing abundance of written material and gifts from the delegates. We were caught without even an extra copy of the latest Peace Researcher to give them (but a file copy did disappear, to a good home we hope). The emphasis in our presentation was a brief history of the presence of thousands of US troops in New Zealand during WWII, the background to our anti-nuclear movement and 1987 nuclear free legislation, and the American air base, so-called Operation Deep Freeze, entrenched since the mid-'50s at Christchurch Airport.

The meeting was followed by lunch and conversation at a central city restaurant and then a bus trip to Harewood (Christchurch Airport) to view activities there and explain the military/intelligence activities of the US Navy and Air Force over the years. At that time of year there is usually plenty of Antarctic business going on. There were several Hercules on the tarmac including one with skis from the New York Air National Guard (NYANG – see separate article on US military flights elsewhere in this issue). Another was an Aussie Hercules, business unknown. No visit to Harewood is complete without a bit of inclement weather. It rained, but not before we had a fair walking tour around the perimeter fences.

(Note: on a November 16 reconnaissance trip we watched a large US Air Force C-17 Globemaster warm up its engines outside the big hangar and then taxi for departure. This plane was possibly a Channel Flight en route to/from Australia on military/intelligence business since it was probably too late in the Antarctic flying season for these planes to be able to land on the ice at the US Antarctic base at McMurdo Sound). To complete the afternoon the delegation visited the home of veteran anti-nuclear activist, Kate Dewes, to gain her perspective on nuclear-free Aotearoa.

Waihopai

Tuesday started early and traumatically. I was to be the Waihopai guide and accompany the Japanese party on the TranzCoastal train. But I missed the train departure to Picton by five minutes due to an incorrect time provided by some unknown travel agent. Not to be deterred I returned home and drove my car to Waihopai, arriving with about 30 minutes to spare in order meet the delegation at 3 p.m. at the farm gate (the outer gate to the base, from the public road). Cell phones do have their uses as I was able to inform the delegation that all was not lost and that I would be waiting for them at Waihopai (over the years I have slightly moderated my attitude toward mobile phones. I no longer have the urge to smash mine, and have even been known to successfully complete a call or two).

I discovered that the farm gate blocking the road to the base is now automated and can be operated by remote control by the spies. There is even a two-way speaker box near the gate to keep the rabble a good 500 metres away from the base while they are being told to buzz off. But having made prior arrangements by fax, we were greeted by the new base commander, Chris Farrow, a veteran of years with the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB). We were permitted to have a wee march down the access road and gather at the high-security (inner) gate for about an hour of discussion of base functions and relevant issues. The commander had retreated into the bowels of the base and not another living soul was seen inside the security fence during our visit.

The weather at Waihopai is rarely clement (it varies among blazing heat, intense cold, gusty wind, and rain, often within a short period). On this day the cold wind finally penetrated our defences and we retreated back to our vehicles for a spot of tasting at a nearby winery with the inspired name of Spy Valley. (Bob is too modest. This international visit to Waihopai did not go unnoticed and was the subject of a prominent story in the Marlborough Express – mainly due to the sterling work of ABC's Steffan Browning, of Blenheim. Whilst at the inner gate of the spybase, Bob also got partway through an interview with a local radio station before his much maligned cellphone died on him. Ed).

World War II Memories

Our accommodation was in Picton and a good time and valuable exchange of information was had by all, especially at a nearby pizza parlour where we dined. I was dazzled by the confusion of constant digital camera flashes, impromptu interviews on video camera (Ellen Thomas, the sole American among the Japanese delegation, videoed just about everything), bilingual conversation and lashings of pasta, pizza and salad flying about the long table. Later that evening I was invited to join the delegation in one of the hotel rooms to drink wine, eat chocolate (from a nearby chocolate house) and to discuss why I became a peace person. My aversion to war goes way back to my early childhood and the horrors of experiencing a Japanese "air-raid" at Long Beach, California during World War II. My memory got some of the details wrong after 60 years but Southern California was indeed attacked briefly in 1942 (for an interesting account of the "Battle of Los Angeles" see www.militarymuseum.org/LAWWII.html).

I departed for Christchurch in the morning having made some wonderful new friends and learned far more from them than they did from me I'm sure. Such international contacts are invaluable, especially with the Japanese people who are struggling to free their country from the oppression of the American military machine.

The Delegation:

Mr Shushi Kajimoto Leader, General Secretary of Hyogo Council against Nuclear Weapons

Ms Junko Hiramatsu, New Japan Women's Association

Ms Yuna Konishi, Japan Communist Party

Ms Mayumi Morikawa, Municipal Workers Union

Ms Yasuko Wakiyama, Hyogo (Prefecture) Council against Nuclear Weapons

Ms Nobue Kugimiya, New Japan Women's Association (Interpreter)

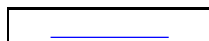
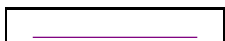
Ms Ellen Thomas, Proposition One Committee (USA)

Mr Shosuke Onishi anti-nuclear activist

Mr Koji Awakaku, Former Kobe City Councillor

Mr Kozo Kaneda, delegation photographer

Mr Barney Richards, New Zealand host



OKINAWANS CONTINUE MASSIVE PROTESTS AGAINST US BASE

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

The anti-bases protests continue in Okinawa. A New Zealander witnessed the campaign there firsthand in November 2005. David Tutty, who works for the Catholic Church's Justice and Peace Office in Auckland, wrote to ABC recently and said the sit-in at Henoko on the eastern side of the island was up to 536 days at the time of his visit. David had visited Japan for ten days with an international delegation of Catholic peace and justice workers to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the US atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

We reported on the Okinawa bases situation in our March 2005 issue giving detail on the protest actions at Henoko (see PR 30, March 2005; "Okinawa: It's Not Only In Iraq That US Military Occupation Faces Massive Resistance", Bob Leonard. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-113.html>. Ed.). In the intervening year the situation has not improved as the people of Okinawa struggle to prevent the destructive relocation of a huge American Marine helicopter base from the old Futenma base further south. The plan of the Japanese government and the American military was to move the Futenma base to ease the noise and danger of accidents in adjacent Ginowan City. But the move was to be offshore in Henoko Bay. The construction would severely impact on the unique ecosystems of the bay. Protests by local people were immediate and sustained; they succeeded in forcing another alternative basing plan to be considered. But this one is no better. It would be built as part of an existing military base, Camp Schwab, with the 1.8 kilometre long landing strip crossing a point of land and impacting on both Henoko Bay and the smaller Oura Bay. And it would still disrupt the lives of the residents of the village of Henoko and neighbouring Nago City.

The Grandmothers of Henoko have been a resistance force to be reckoned with for several years. With members as old as 90, the Grandmothers have staged sit-ins at government offices, occupied strategic Henoko beach fronts for hundreds of days, and held long hunger strikes. They have even used rowboats and employed diving tactics for many weeks to block exploratory drilling operations essential to building the giant offshore heliport.

The lack of any net gain for the people of Okinawa with the shifting of bases and US Marines results from the fact that this tiny island is effectively a Japanese colony. The US is not about to give up its hard-won (World War II) right to use this strategically placed island as a base to police the hot spots of the western Pacific and nearby mainland Asia. Agreements on bases are made between the Japanese and American governments with no negotiation with the Okinawans themselves.

Protests against the bases include strong political opposition by local bodies in Okinawa. The latest, in November 2005, was the adoption of a resolution opposing the Camp Schwab site by the Nago City Assembly. Nago would effectively be receiving the noise and dangers formerly visited for years upon Ginowan City. And Ginowan City residents continue to protest, nine years after an agreement was reached to move the helicopter base out of the city. One of their recent actions was to paint a 42-metre-long message on the roof of the City Hall: "Don't fly over our city. US helos out now!".

Trying To Lessen The Resistance

The Japanese government makes token efforts to lessen the resistance of Okinawans to the basing agreements. Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs (it's telling that Okinawa seems to be considered "foreign" by Japan), Taro Aso, visited Okinawa in November 2005 to try to convince locals to "lighten up" their resistance to a realignment report (issued by Japan and the US on October 29) containing plans for the disastrous Camp Schwab relocation softened with the carrot of transferring 7,000 US Marines from Okinawa to Guam and mainland Japan over a period of six years. This shift of troops would lead to the closure or partial closure of three small bases. Details are due in a report scheduled for March 2006, again with no participation by Okinawans. Minister Aso's pleas were met with stiffening local opposition, and for good reason. The troop relocations, which would be a significant proportion of the roughly 18,000 US military personnel on the island, amount to extortion: if locals succeed in blocking the base at Henoko/Camp Schwab and "...the Futenma relocation is not implemented...the reduction of Marines will not be carried out as agreed". These are the words of the appropriately-named Richard Lawless, US Defense Deputy Undersecretary for Asian and Pacific Affairs, in an interview with Japan Times in early November 2005.

The extortion throws down the gauntlet to the people of Okinawa. If they don't back off on their protest actions they will get essentially no improvement in the bases situation in the foreseeable future. The locals are effectively damned if they do and damned if they don't. We expect them to continue their protests unabated and we wish them every success. Unfortunately, the new Camp Schwab location will make protesting much more difficult because it is

an existing military base with tight security both on land and on the sea. The Japanese Coast Guard will have the job of keeping determined protesters away from an official US military sea zone. It's our guess that the size of that "zone" will be rather arbitrary – whatever the Japanese government and American military think it will take to discourage the courageous protesters.



THE US AIR FORCE AT CHRISTCHURCH AIRPORT – LATEST FLIGHT DATA

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

Christchurch International Airport Ltd (CIAL in the suburb of Harewood) continues to function as a military “contingency asset” for the American government. Although the frequency of military/intelligence flights at Harewood Airport has decreased dramatically in recent years, the big military transport planes still come, and in large numbers during the peak of activities in the Antarctic (August through February).

Most flights in summer are on genuine Antarctic business according to monthly flight data received from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). But once or twice a month a transport plane stops at our airport on its way to or from Australia. These flights are listed separately in the flight data sheets as per advanced schedule. Dedicated supply flights for the Antarctic are not formally scheduled and are recorded sequentially on separate sheets as and when they occur.

ABC has compiled a reasonably complete record of American military flights at Harewood for over 15 years. The table shows annual summary data for two categories of flights involving three types of large jet aircraft: Starlifters (C-141), Galaxies (C-5), and Globemasters (C-17). The Antarctic category includes flights that are dedicated to serving the Antarctic research programmes with no direct involvement in military/intelligence business. Nor does the category include flights by NYANG (New York Air National Guard) ski-Hercules (C-130) which are always Ice-dedicated flights as far as we can determine. The “military” category covers what the US Air Force terms the “Channel flights” (see footnote 1).

Flight-Year Totals For C-141, C-5 And C-17 Aircraft				
Flight Year	Antarctic	Military	Yr total	Percent Military
1990-91	32	86	118	72.9
1991-92	71	97	168	57.7
1992-93	38	85	123	69.1
1993-94	47	63	110	57.3
1994-95	33	58	91	63.7
1995-96	28	79	107	73.8
1996-97	31	78	109	71.6
1998-99	63	37	100	37.0
1999-00	48	27	75	36.0
2000-01	112	13	125	10.4
2001-02	129	13	142	9.2
2002-03	73	13	86	15.1 (see footnote 3)
2003-04	66	16	82	19.5
2004-05	90	6	96	6.3
Totals	898	737	1635	45.1

The right-hand column in the table (% military) shows the sharp drop in military Channel flights that began late in flight-year 1998-99. The US Air Force has not responded to letters asking for the reasons for this drop, but it seems clear that the final closure of the major US Air Force Intelligence base at Nurrungar (see footnote 2) in South Australia on October 12, 1999 made many flights redundant. Only the huge American Intelligence base at Pine Gap continues to be served by Channel flights. Pine Gap requires less than a fifth of the flight numbers that took place prior to the closure of Nurrungar. The drop in flight frequency is welcome, but the fact remains that Operation Deep Freeze and the Antarctic Agreement still provide a convenient cover for American military/intelligence business. And that business violates New Zealand’s nuclear-free law since every plane is covered by the infamous “neither-confirm-nor-deny” nuclear weapons policy.

Changing Types Of Aircraft

Starlifters were for many years the workhorses of the Air Force's Air Mobility Command (formerly the Military Airlift Command). But they finally became obsolete and have been retired from service. The last Starlifter Channel Flight at Christchurch Airport was in September 2004, and the last Ice support flight was at the close of the Antarctic season in March 2005. Their replacement is the C-17 Globemaster III which made its first appearance at Harewood in January 1998 serving Deep Freeze. The following year the frequency of Globemaster flights increased for Ice support but the first Channel Flight Globemaster did not appear until September 2004.

The huge C-5 Galaxy aircraft were used occasionally for both military and Ice flights. But they have not appeared in the data records since July 2002. The Globemaster has a larger capacity than the Starlifter, flies faster and is more efficient. But alas they are just as noisy - far louder even than a Boeing 747 jumbo jet. City bylaws on noise abatement don't seem to apply to the US Air Force.

Every once in a while our airport is visited by smaller American military aircraft. Some of these almost certainly carry dignitaries such as high-ranking military officers or politicians on official visits. They may be conferring with our military or Government, or they may be on junkets to McMurdo base in the Antarctic. The C-32A is a military version of the Boeing 757-200 and is used to transport VIPs. Smaller Gulfstream jets have also been acquired by the Air Force. Gulfstream III business jets are modified by the Air Force for special mission support and electronic surveillance and appear in the flight data as C-20A aircraft. The Gulfstream Aerospace is used for technical and logistical support and is designated as C-37A.

And even Learjets appear in our flight records as C-21As. Eighty four of these classy twin-engine planes were acquired in 1984 and are used by the USAF for operational support including cargo and passengers and medical evacuations. All of the Learjets are assigned to the Air Mobility command.

Footnote 1 - Operation Deep Freeze at Christchurch Airport is a "contingency asset" for the US Air Force because its aircraft have an annually-renewed "blanket" clearance for passage through New Zealand with no questions asked by the Government. Due to this clearance and the continued presence of the Antarctic Support Program functioning for 50 years as a cover, the US military can effectively use the airport in any way and at any time it sees fit, including for military/intelligence business – the so-called Channel flights serving Pine Gap, and other important US bases in the past, in Australia.

Footnote 2 - For information on the Nurrungar base see articles in *PR 18*, pp.12-13, and *PR 19/20*, pp.20-21.

Footnote 3 - Data for the three final flight years (June 2002 – May 2005) is incomplete due to missing data. The data has been requested from MFAT but had not arrived in time for this article.



CAMPAIGNING TO END THE ARMS RACE AT “OUR PLACE”

by Kane O’Connell

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

For two days in mid October 2005 Te Papa Tongarewa: The Museum of New Zealand flung open its doors to the New Zealand Defence Industry Association (NZDIA), so that it could hold its annual conference. This was the third year in a row that it had met at Te Papa and the third year in a row that there had been a campaign and protests against it.

Peace Action Wellington (PAW) mounted a vigorous and visible Wellington-based campaign in the months leading up to the conference. The goals of the campaign were to raise the public’s awareness about Te Papa’s collusion with the Defence Industry Association and demand through mass support that Te Papa cancel its contract with the defence industry. The public support for the campaign culminated into a number of protest actions during the weapons conference, one that led to 20 peace activists being arrested on the conference’s first day (18th October).

Why Campaign Against The NZDIA Conference Being Held At Te Papa?

It is widely known that members of the NZDIA include some of the most militarist and deadly companies operating in (and out of) New Zealand. Goodness, the majority of companies operating in the capitalist world aren’t as explicit about the death and destruction that they inflict upon the working class and the environment. Weapons companies can aptly be titled war profiteers because they exist to make money from the bloodshed and violence that is war. The United Nations reports that six million children were injured in the last decade due to war. Whenever ammunition or a weapon is used, it is money in the bank for these companies.

The NZDIA was formed in 1993. Its Website states that the NZDIA is “an industry organisation with a strong commercial focus. Members benefit from the organisation through networking, finding common interests and ways to develop commercial opportunities and being involved in joint export initiatives”.

There are currently 37 companies that make up the NZDIA. The companies are involved in the manufacture of a wide variety of military-related hardware, producing components used in conventional weapons and support systems. Some companies are subsidiaries of transnational corporations involved in the nuclear weapons industry overseas. The NZDIA website boasts that the New Zealand Defence Force and the Ministry of Defence are active supporters and participants in NZDIA activities. The Website states that its “Industry Liaison Managers” work closely with New Zealand companies to “promote commercial opportunities in the supply of products and services”.

The work of these companies needs full exposure, and all attempts must be made to stop them from being provided with the space to sell and discuss their wares. Moreover, for weapons manufacturers to be engaged in their dirty work at the publicly funded national museum is not only a shame on the current Labour-led Government and Te Papa management, but also anathema to the cultural and historical work of this museum.

In section 8c of the Museum of New Zealand Act 1992, it states that “a museum has the responsibility to ensure that it is a source of pride for all New Zealanders”. However, the question raised by Wellington peace activists was: how can Te Papa be a source of pride when it allows a weapons conference to take place on site, while it also profits from an industry that relies on and gains from human and social destruction?

Providing members of the weapons industry with a space to confer isn’t the only way the State assists them. The Government, through Trade and Enterprise New Zealand, has poured large amounts of public money into the weapons industry. In 2003, Flexisolutions was awarded \$100,000 to develop the jungle-sweeper grenade. A Trade and Enterprise New Zealand media release (18/10/04) revealed the extent of the State’s interest when Trade and Enterprise trade development consultant, Kathleen Moore, stated that “opportunities

abound for New Zealand companies able to meet US demands for defence and Homeland Security products and services”.

In 2005, it was revealed that the Auckland-based company, Rakon, also financially assisted by Trade and Enterprise New Zealand and the winner of the 2005 Trade and Enterprise Export Award, was possibly manufacturing quartz crystals for the US company, Rockwell Collins, to use at the heart of global positioning systems (GPS) in smart bombs. A document recovered by Peace Action Wellington in 2005 revealed that delegates to the 2003 weapons conference included representatives from General Dynamics and Lockheed Martin, two of the world’s largest manufacturers of arms including ballistic missiles. Delegates from Halliburton, Sikorsky Helicopters and the US Army were also present.

MAS Zengrange (formerly Marine Air Systems), in Lower Hutt, is a member and manufactures, according to the Network Opposed to Weapons and Related Production (NO WARP), weapons firing control systems and communication systems for mortar and artillery batteries, remote detonation systems, devices for remote initiation of explosives and pyrotechnics for battlefield “inoculation” exercises, and armed forces command and control systems. Part of the British-based Hall and Watts Defence Group, other products produced by MAS Zengrange include the Morfire hand-held IBM-compatible battlefield computer, the Bullseye aerial bombing scoring systems and MAS Burst Radio modems for military high frequency (HF), very high frequency (VHF) and ultra high frequency (UHF) radios to connect battlefield computer systems. Ordnance Development Limited, based in Wanganui, is also a member of the NZDIA. According to the NO WARP Website, it manufactures special purpose ammunition, training ammunition and Anti-Material ammunition. It also supplies a range of ammunition to "several military forces worldwide" including tracer, armour piercing and incendiary bullets and shells.

One final nasty, though sadly not the end of a rather long list, is Osmar International Ltd, based in Auckland. The NO WARP Website reports that it manufactures shoot-to-kill laser training equipment that includes equipment for use in urban training centres, infantry weapons effects simulators, shoulder launched anti-tank weapons simulators and land mine effects simulators. Having exported more than 60,000 simulators to 15 countries, there are also reports that it has sold more than 9,000 simulators to the Indonesian armed forces. In early 2005 there were questions raised about Osmar’s export of material to the Israeli Ministry of Defence, in light of having been turned down for an export licence.

The vicious nature of weapons companies operating in New Zealand has been well researched and documented. For further material on the various weapons companies operating in New Zealand, usually members of the NZDIA, go to: www.converge.org.nz/pma/nowarp.htm. For further material on the Te Papa campaign, go to www.paw.randomstatic.net/.

The Campaign

Mid 2005 saw Peace Action Wellington launch into the campaign to halt the weapons industry conference from being held at Te Papa Tongarewa. This also included exposing the work of companies likely to attend the conference and calling for the Government to end all support for a weapons industry. Although the conference didn’t take place until October, mobilising public support and putting early pressure on Te Papa was crucial if the contract with the weapons industry was to be cancelled.

For a number of weekends prior to the conference, Wellington peace activists set up stalls on the Te Papa forecourt (and through central Wellington). This often brought about frequent battles with Te Papa management and security, including one activist being served with a trespass notice and many others threatened. A community dinner to raise awareness of the campaign in Wellington was also held. Besides an intense poster and sticker campaign across the city, material at stalls included a detailed campaign leaflet, other literature, badges, a banner to sign, a petition to Te Papa management and an open letter to Helen Clark.

The letter to Clark was in her capacity as the Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage, as Te Papa is a Crown entity. There is a need to highlight that the Government is far from a neutral player when collusion with the

weapons and defence industry is concerned. As it was election season, Marian Hobbs, the then Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control, received a number of questions at candidate meetings in her Wellington Central electorate. However, she was clearly irritated by any questions and was quick to fob off and dismiss those raising the issue.

Between 10am-1pm on Thursday September 1st PAW called for a call-in/fax-in day, encouraging people to ring and fax Te Papa to make it clear that it must not be used as a marketplace for weapons manufacturers. In all the correspondence received from Te Papa management, namely from the Chief Executive, Dr Seddon Bennington, the response went something like this:”..... I acknowledge the viewpoint you have expressed, and understand the sensitivities around these issues. Te Papa is, however, required to generate part of its operating budget through sponsorship, commercial activities, and other charges for museum-experiences, which contribute to the Museum’s sustainability. Te Papa’s functions/conference business is one of the commercial activities that support the delivery of the Museum’s services.....” and on it went. In other words, Te Papa is basically claiming it has no choice but to enter into contracts with outfits like the defence industry and take its money, which is gained from war profiteering, in order to fund the work of the museum. Sadly, it’s quite clearly a case of blood on Te Papa’s hands!

Te Papa turned a blind eye to the many complaints received from the community, whether they were emails, faxes, phone calls, or letters, and failed to meet the demands of PAW’s campaign. The weapons conference went ahead on 18/19th October and Te Papa put income and profit from the warmongers ahead of cancelling the contract. As planned, lively protest action organised by PAW took place during the weapons conference.

Mass Arrests

The first day of conference, a Tuesday, saw a group of about 70 marching in the midday sun from Civic Square to the Te Papa forecourt. Despite being confronted on arrival by a large number of the usual Wellington “baton-wielding protester-bashing” cops and fences to isolate demonstrators from the main entrance, a large number of protesters made a quick dash and began to form a “sit in” line just outside the main door. Although the police tackled and forced some protesters to the ground temporarily, they failed to intercept the majority of those making a dash for the door and were quickly forced to regroup to form a line between the main door and sit-in.

A focal part of the protest contingent was the “falling in” of the Aotearoa Revolutionary Clown Army (ARCA). This group spent the day “clowning around” and making fun of both the conference attendees and the police (including a very embarrassed Mayor Kerry Prendergast at one stage) by lining up with them, marching around behind them, as well as riding bikes, blowing whistles and throwing water balloons. The sit-in lasted for several hours, and chants of “No arms race at our place”, “Arms trade, Death trade” and “Warmongers, warmongers, Out! Out! Out!” could be heard from afar.

Late in the afternoon, as protesters were considering departing en masse, the police randomly arrested a protester from behind for trespass and dragged her to an awaiting paddy wagon in Te Papa’s underground carpark. Naturally this didn’t go down well with other activists, resulting in a good old fashioned stand off with the police. Before long, a second protester was picked off and arrested for trespass, resulting in the brutal arrest of a third, caught up in the resulting scuffle. Another protester was rather seriously injured after being punched and knocked to the concrete by an angry police mob.

With three comrades sitting in the paddy wagon, it seemed as though the next move would be to the Wellington Police Station to play a supporting role for those arrested. However, while tensions were high, around the side of Te Papa the Army was attempting to bring an armoured vehicle onto the forecourt and then onto the road. Nevertheless, to let the weapons industry and Te Papa know what we thought of their Army vehicles, protesters immediately formed yet another sit-in line, forcing the vehicle back in behind closed doors and behind a police line. What followed was yet again another typical display by the police, where they used brutal and unmitigated force in picking off protester after protester, arresting, handcuffing and then shunting them into the paddy wagon until there were no more protesters left occupying the sit-in. In

the eyes of the State, once the demonstrators were removed, the military could get on with its “work”. Oh, the irony of such a situation when you think about who ends up in the cells and courts.

By day’s end, 20 peace activists sat in the cells of the Wellington Police Station. Most were discharged after being arrested for breach of the peace; however seven continued to have charges against them for trespass, obstruction, or assault. On release, the arrested activists were greeted by others who had waited outside the Police Station in solidarity.

Giving Delegates & Minister The Message

However, the action wasn’t about to end there. The next day involved a very early morning wake up call for those conference delegates staying at the nearby Museum and Duxton Hotels. Early that evening another vocal protest, which included an orchestra of noise making instruments, was staged outside the Duxton Hotel. This was the venue for the conference dinner or what the weapons industry had labelled its Defence Industry Committee of New Zealand Awards Dinner. The police presence was again high and prevented protesters from getting close to the hotel entrance.

When the Crown car of the then Minister of Defence, Mark Burton, pulled into the entrance of the multi-storied Duxton Hotel carpark, a number of protesters ran off after it. As the car circled slowly to the top of the car park, protesters followed (it was a tough workout), chanting and venting their anger at the Minister for supporting the warmongers. While the Ministerial car and protesters were positioned in a stand-off for several minutes at the top of the car park, a large number of “quick marching” coppers were heard and seen nearing from a rear upper level. One look at this angry mob and protesters made quick use of lifts and stairwells to the ground floor, eventually departing the hotel collectively.

Of the seven activists who were arrested and had charges laid against them, three have had their charges dropped (two just prior to this article going to print), one appeared in court just before Christmas and had his case dismissed, while another appeared in early February. That case is ongoing, while another two activists are still to appear in court in late February. The two activists who had their trespass charges dropped by the Police as late as the week of February 3rd-10th did so because one was arrested after three hours of being identified as a trespasser and in the other trespass case the Police could not prove that she had been warned, and would embarrass themselves yet again by bringing such ridiculous charges to court. Peace Action Wellington, along with other peace and activist groups, remains committed to exposing the militaristic warmongering and profiteering of the weapons industry, its support from Government and organisations like Te Papa who legitimise its work by providing them with a platform to engage in their dirty work.

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SENSATIONAL STORY OF SYSTEMATIC SIS SPYING ON MAORI WAS A HOAX

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

In PR 30, March 2005 (the last regular issue, as 31 was a Special Issue devoted to the late Owen Wilkes), we ran a lengthy article by me entitled: "SIS Up To Its Old Tricks". It can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-109.html>. A lot of (but by no means all of) it consisted of reporting on a series of three November 2004 Sunday Star Times articles, written by Anthony Hubbard and Nicky Hager. These reported, in considerable length and detail, claims that the NZ Security Intelligence Service (SIS), using contractors rather than its actual agents, conducted a systematic spying operation against a wide range of Maori organisations and individuals. The primary sources were three anonymous agents/contractors, whose e-mailed interviews were reproduced at length. ABC was one of 17 Christchurch-based organisations to call for an independent public inquiry. That didn't happen, and was never likely to, but Paul Neazor, the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, decided to investigate a claim by Tariana Turia, former Labour Cabinet Minister and current Co-Leader of the Maori Party, that her former Ministerial house had been bugged.

The Minister in Charge of the SIS is always the Prime Minister. Helen Clark usually refuses all comment on "security matters", continuing the bipartisan policy of all New Zealand governments in the nearly 50 years of the SIS' existence. But, unusually, in this case she commented, indeed she came out swinging, denying the claims in their entirety, saying that she is responsible for signing all SIS bugging warrants and that she had never signed any warrants to spy on the groups specified in the articles. She described the claims as "laughable" and said she had been assured by Richard Woods, the SIS Director, that they were a "work of fiction" (Sunday Star Times, 21/11/04, "Citizens targeted by SIS"). Accordingly, she announced that the Inspector-General would hold an inquiry into all of the claims. That's where things were at as of PR 30.

In April 2005, the Inspector-General's report was released (although more than half of it was classified for security reasons, as it dealt with operational details of the SIS). Neazor concluded that the entire thing was a fabrication, a hoax perpetrated on the Sunday Star Times by three named individuals – Jack Sanders (also known as Thomas Stubbs), Gerald Thorns and Steven Buttell. He also concluded that none of them had any connection to the SIS or any other Government department. Clark was triumphant, and demanded an apology from both the newspaper and the Scoop Website (which had also run the stories). An apology of sorts was issued by the Sunday Star Times' editor, Cate Brett (well known to Christchurch readers as a previous senior journalist with first the Christchurch Star and then the Press; she is also well known to middle-aged Christchurch political activists from her previous life as a fellow activist in groups such as the former Halt All Racist Tours [HART] and Corso).

The official response, in contrast to when the SIS has got something to hide, was unusually swift and comprehensive. No rebuttal was made to Neazor's report and the whole story died then and there, so it is obvious that it was, in fact, bullshit. Peace Researcher will take it on the chin and admit that we were hoaxed, albeit in good company and at second or even third hand.

So who were these hoaxers? Of the three, most is publicly known about Sanders/Stubbs, a notorious fantasist. Ironically, he was a Labour Party candidate (unsuccessfully) in the 1990 election (the one where the 1984-90 Rogernomics government was dealt a landslide defeat by National). Since then he has lived in Asia, where he has been involved in various improbable schemes, such as setting up Nauru's Embassy in China and claiming that it was to be a conduit for smuggling North Korean defectors to the West (none were ever smuggled and Nauru, which is currently one of the most desperately bankrupt countries on Earth, has closed its embassies in both China and the US, the latter having been run by a Sanders associate). He and his mates are obviously very plausible fellows.

The more pressing question is why. There is no suggestion that these conmen got any money out of the Sunday Star Times. It's only the women's magazines that pay for stories. As none of them have offered any explanation (or been heard from at all), we can only guess at their motives. Perhaps they get off on misleading people and making fools of them with meticulously detailed fabrications. Race is a highly sensitive hot button issue in New Zealand, never more so than during the tumultuous years of 2004 and 05, with the foreshore and seashore issue causing a significant number of Maori to split from Labour and form the Maori Party, which now holds four of the seven Maori seats. National, under Don Brash, came within a whisker of becoming the Government at the 2005 election, campaigning on two issues – tax cuts and "ending special treatment for Maori". So a lot of mischief can be made by stirring up the race issue in this country. I am reminded of the "Maori Loans Affair" that erupted during the 1984-90 Labour government – that genuinely did involve an Intelligence agency, namely the US Central Intelligence Agency, and it was a sophisticated, covert, foreign Intelligence operation aimed at destabilising the nuclear free NZ government by using a very sensitive issue, namely race.

A Classic Set Up

Personally, I think these guys ran a classic agent provocateur operation aimed at damaging the credibility of opponents of both the SIS and the Government. Whether they ran it off their own bat, or sanctioned by the SIS (with “plausible deniability”, of course) we’re not likely to know unless one of them decides to spill the beans. Let’s just look at who won and who lost in this – the SIS and the Government come out smelling of roses, the victims of baseless allegations. On the other hand, the Sunday Star Times, which has regularly exposed all sorts of covert State shenanigans, ranging from what the Special Air Service (SAS) got up to while fighting America’s “War On Terror” in Afghanistan to revelations about the activities of the SIS, is discredited and less likely to run this sort of story again. More importantly, it damaged the credibility of Nicky Hager, a world expert on the secret State and an author/journalist/researcher who has consistently embarrassed both National and Labour governments for years. Many of those Sunday Star Times exposes were written and/or researched by Nicky. This operation was aimed at killing two birds with one stone, by shutting him out of a regular outlet in the mainstream media. It was payback time for Helen Clark, who has always held Nicky’s 2002 bombshell book “Seeds Of Distrust: The Story Of A GE Cover-Up” (Jeremy Agar’s review of which can be read in Foreign Control Watchdog 101, December 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/01/08.htm>), which led to the Corngate scandal, responsible for Labour missing its one and only chance for single party rule in that year’s election. Don’t just take my word for it. The Press editorial on the subject of the fabricated SIS/Maori story (13/4/05; “Fog And Facts”) said: “Perhaps Clark will content herself with the knowledge that Leftwing agitator, Nicky Hager, he of Corngate fame and a freelance member of the paper’s investigative team, has suffered an embarrassing blow to his reputation”.

Relax Nicky, you win some, you lose some. And you have been paid the ultimate backhanded compliment by being set up. It proves that you are regarded as a danger, someone who can’t be ignored, someone who must be discredited. I speak from experience of the set up, wearing my other hat. In the early 1980s, CAFGINZ (as it was known then) came into possession of, and got maximum media mileage out of, a large number of absolutely fascinating documents from within Comalco’s Australian head office. They incriminatingly detailed how that transnational corporation went to extraordinary lengths, including using leading political and business figures from several other countries, to pressurise and intimidate the NZ Government headed by Sir Robert Muldoon into backing down from its demand that Comalco pay several hundred percent more for the electricity for its Tiwai Point aluminium smelter (to his credit, Muldoon didn’t). In the aftermath of that, we (and several other organisations) received a bundle of equally explosive documents, claiming that a transnational corporation was secretly planning to conduct environmentally damaging mining activity in a national park, on Maori land. We never went public with them, because it became apparent that they were bullshit (and, from memory, they were exposed as such in a media outlet, which independently obtained them). It was an obvious attempt to set us up and discredit us. It didn’t work and it didn’t stop us breaking any number of perfectly genuine such stories when they’ve come our way.

It is regrettable that the Sunday Star Times, Scoop and Nicky Hager (not to mention Peace Researcher) were taken in by this, but it’s hardly the end of the world. There are still plenty of genuine SIS scandals to get our teeth into, such as the ongoing and unresolved case of Ahmed Zaoui. 2006 marks the tenth anniversary of the bungled SIS break-in at the home of former Christchurch political activist, Aziz Choudry, and everything that resulted from that landmark case (you can refresh your memory at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/choudry.htm>). A decade on, there are still fundamental questions to be answered about that ill-fated SIS operation – like, why were they trying to break in and who was the actual target or targets? This is an organisation that still operates an absurd and anachronistic culture of secrecy, stretching back to its very beginning and before. The Press (19/2/05; “A matter of record”, Sarah Boyd) reproduced a Dominion Post feature subtitled: “A Wellington man is battling to have the SIS open 50-year-old files on an incident that blighted several careers”. The Wellingtonian in question is Hugh Price and he is waging a dogged campaign to secure the release of SIS files concerning him and colleagues from the 1950s (some of the files date back before the SIS to its predecessor, the Police’s Special Branch). The SIS is an organisation that continues to have the full confidence of the Government, to the tune of \$21 million in the 2005/06 financial year, then \$29 million in 2006/07 (the increase being explained by its moving into a new Wellington headquarters in the new Defence HQ).

The “spying on Maori” story may have been a hoax but ABC stands by our demand for an independent public inquiry into the SIS. There are plenty of other reasons to justify it. That should be merely the first step in the process of cleaning up, and if necessary, abolishing this most obnoxious of spy agencies.

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ISRAEL APOLOGISES TO NZ FOR BUNGLED MOSSAD PASSPORTS

OPERATION by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

PR 30 (March 2005) ran a lengthy article by me entitled “Mossad Spies Imprisoned In New Zealand: Our Passports Valued For Use By Israeli Covert Killers” (it can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-111.html>). To briefly recap – in 2004, New Zealand authorities became aware of a covert operation mounted by Israel’s external Intelligence agency, Mossad, to secure NZ passports (which are keenly sought after by those who seek hasslefree entry to most countries. Mossad has a long track record of using fraudulently obtained passports of friendly countries, such as Canada, for its agents to commit crimes, including several murders, in countries throughout the world). The spy ring consisted of at least three Mossad agents working from Australia (it later emerged that Australia secretly expelled an Israeli diplomat as a result of this scandal in NZ) and one New Zealand Jew. The ringleader, a Mossad agent, and the New Zealander got away to Israel. The two other Mossad agents, Eli Cara and Uriel Kelman, were arrested in the act of accepting delivery of a fraudulently obtained NZ passport. They duly pleaded guilty to a single charge and served three months of a six month sentence before being deported back to Israel. They were also each ordered to make a \$50,000 payment to the Cerebral Palsy Association, as they had sought the passport in the name of an NZ cerebral palsy sufferer.

To give the Government full credit, Helen Clark hit the roof and imposed a series of punitive measures on Israel that fell just short of breaking diplomatic relations. It was made publicly plain that these measures would stay in place until Israel apologised. That is where things were at as of PR 30. The Government wasn’t kidding – in March 2005, Israel expressed surprise that a reserves general was refused entry into NZ to speak at a fundraising campaign organised by the local Jewish community. Phil Goff, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, reiterated that all such visa requests would be refused until Israel apologised. It also emerged that month that Israel’s Ministry of Defence was the only client of an NZ manufacturer of military equipment to have been vetoed by the Government (see Kane O’Connell’s “Campaigning To End The Arms Trade At ‘Our Place’”, elsewhere in this issue, for further details on the NZ arms industry).

Israel Had Previously & Fraudulently Obtained Other NZ Passports

The pressure paid off. In June 2005, Israel apologised and the sanctions were lifted. This followed months of diplomatic wrangling about the wording of the apology and in the end Israel did not confirm that the two men were agents, merely referring to them as citizens. Helen Clark correctly said: “It is clear that the Israeli government will not apologise for criminal activity by just any citizens. There was a reason to apologise for the actions of these two citizens” (Press, 27/6/05; “Sanctions lifted after Israel apologises for passport incident”). Israel provided no explanation as to what the NZ passports were going to be used for. Clark said that an international arrest warrant had been issued for the New Zealander, Tony Resnick (now safely in Israel) and she also revealed that other NZ passports had previously been obtained by Israeli agents. The Government had decided not to pursue them, as they had now all been detected and all relevant passports had been cancelled.

The Government had the support of the public and media throughout this whole squalid affair. To quote from a Press editorial (28/6/05; “Humiliating apology”): “However humiliating it might be, for a beleaguered nation which requires international goodwill, it was an apology that had to be made...The New Zealand government was correct to take a hardline stance over the passport fraud...While it is positive that the relationship with Israel has been patched up, the apology does not quite mark the end of this passport affair. Two other participants are still at large and there are unanswered questions over the intended use of other New Zealand passports which were obtained by Israeli Intelligence agents and have now been cancelled...(It is) a successful, if protracted, foreign policy success for the Government”. The editorial also drew the obvious parallel with the 1985 fatal bombing of the Rainbow Warrior by France, the only other “friendly nation” Intelligence operation on NZ soil to end in criminal charges and imprisonment for the couple of agents who were caught. The French and Israeli spybosses both exhibited the same arrogance and contempt towards New Zealand - and the governments of both paid the price for their complacent stupidity.

In fact, stupidity seems to be a hallmark of Mossad. A February 2005 article by Nicky Hager in the Sunday Star Times (cited in Israel’s Haaretz, 27/2/05; “Israeli jailed in New Zealand headed Cyprus spy ring”) revealed that Kara, one of the two agents imprisoned in NZ, had sent two Mossad agents to Cyprus in a 1998 operation which resulted in them being arrested and serving nine months of a three year prison term. Kara’s friendship with a senior Mossad official got him posted to Australia, from where he worked on the illfated NZ passports operation. Apparently, after his return to Israel from a New Zealand prison, he decided to leave the world of Intelligence and took a job with the credit card transnational, Visa. Probably a good career move, I’d say.

Compared To Vanunu, Mossad's Bunglers Have Got Nothing To Complain About

Cara and Kelman have got nothing to complain about. They could have got five years – they served three months. Compare that with the way Israel treats its own “spies”. The most famous case is that of Mordechai Vanunu, the man who blew the whistle on Israel's nuclear arsenal. You can read about his case at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr29-102.html#whistle> (PR 29; June 2004; “Israeli Nuclear Whistleblower Free: Mordechai Vanunu Unbowed, Defiant”, Murray Horton). He served a full 18 year prison sentence, with not a day remitted; and most of that was in solitary confinement. He was reluctantly released under stringent conditions, including not being allowed to talk to the foreign media, or go abroad. He remains under constant surveillance and harassment. In November 2004 he was re-arrested on suspicion of revealing more classified information, and of violating his terms of release, namely by defying the restrictions and doing high profile international media interviews. “I cannot shut up, I must have freedom of speech” (Press, 13/11/04; “Vanunu denies spilling new secrets”, Reuters). Vanunu, via an e-mail to Green MP, Keith Locke, said that he wanted NZ citizenship so that he could get out of Israel. The Government was not prepared to entertain that idea, calling it “an empty political gesture” on the grounds that he was not allowed to leave Israel anyway (Press, 29/3/05; “Vanunu wants NZ passport”). In January 2006, he appeared in court on 21 charges of speaking with foreigners. So, what's good for the goose is definitely not good for the gander as far as Israel is concerned. Hopefully, the humiliation of two of its agents being publicly identified, fined, imprisoned and deported, not to mention having to publicly apologise for the bungled operation, might cause Israel to think twice before deciding to again try and involve NZ in its murderous covert operations.

Besides, Mossad has found another willing helper – in January 2006, the Jerusalem Post reported that once New Zealand no longer became a source of fake passports, the German Intelligence agency Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND) stepped in to ensure a steady supply of fake German passports to enable Mossad to place agents in Middle Eastern countries. Let's see if they get away with it this time. The Post said: “During the 90s, Mossad agents often used passports from Canada and New Zealand when travelling in enemy territory, but once the practice became widely known, they stopped” (Press, 19/1/06, “Germany' helped agents”). So the killings will go on.



ORGANISER'S REPORT

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

These are the relevant extracts from Murray Horton's annual CAFCA/ABC Organiser's Report, presented at the September 2005 Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa. The much longer full report can be read in Foreign Control Watchdog 110, December 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/10/08.html>

Wellington & Tangimoana Spybase Protest

I am co-employed by the Anti-Bases Campaign which, averaged out over a year, takes up less of my time than CAFCA. The busiest part of my ABC work occurred at Easter 2005 when we spent a couple of action packed days in Wellington and at the Tangimoana spybase. I'm not sure that the latter has ever been mentioned in my annual Report before. It is the lesser known of the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau's (GCSB) two "New Zealand" spybases – Waihopai is more recent, better known and much more important. Tangimoana is part of the same UKUSA Agreement network of spybases. The 1940s' UKUSA Agreement is New Zealand's most important, and secret, international intelligence agreement. It divides the world up for signals and electronic intelligence gathering purposes, between the relevant agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ. For details on Tangimoana, check it out at the Other Bases page of the ABC Website at www.converge.org.nz/abc. ABC had last been in Tangimoana and Wellington in the context of our 1990 Touching The Bases Tour, which spanned both islands (see PR 28 [First Series], February 1991; "Linking, Learning And Levitation: A Report On The Anti-Bases Campaign's Touching The Bases Tour", by "a witness"). At Easter 2005, as we marched away from the spybase, Green Co-Leader, the late Rod Donald, told me that it was the first time that he'd ever been there – and, sadly, it was to be the last.

Organising an activity in the capital city is a very different task from organising one in a remote Marlborough valley (which is where Waihopai is located). Our former ABC committee colleague, Kane O'Connell, who now lives in Wellington, was our local organiser and he handled all the logistical stuff that I normally do when I'm organising Waihopai. There was still drama though – just prior to our arrival, Wellington Airport was closed by fog for several consecutive days and we had to draw up contingency plans for what would happen if we couldn't fly up from Christchurch. Fortunately, it didn't come to that. On the morning of Easter Saturday, we held a seminar about spies and spybases, at which the speakers were world renowned researcher, Nicky Hager; Green MP, Keith Locke, and ABC's Bob Leonard (I was the chairperson). The only glitch was that we found ourselves double booked with a brass band who wanted the room for a rehearsal so, as we took a slightly earlier than scheduled lunch, we were serenaded (bombed actually) by a brass band in full flight and at very close proximity. That afternoon, we travelled on a chartered Wellington City bus (ironically, from Stagecoach, one of the nastiest of the TNCs in the transport sector), driven by a local peace activist, for a wonderful Tour of Secret Wellington, all scripted by Nicky Hager (I had last taken part in one of those during the 1993 Peace Power and Politics Conference). That took us to places such as the GCSB offices; we held a picket outside Defence HQ (which also houses the head office of the Security Intelligence Service); and we caused great consternation among the security personnel at the fortified US Embassy when we turned up there unannounced. It was the most fascinating couple of hours that you're ever likely to spend in Wellington. On the Sunday, we once again boarded our chartered Stagecoach bus and drove the 150+ kms north to the Tangimoana spybase. The cops were waiting for us, complete with dogs, and although they wouldn't let us drive in, we were able to march up to the base (which, unlike Waihopai, is not visible from the road) and hold a rally there. This made it onto that night's TV3 News, plus I did media interviews with Radio NZ and Sunday papers.

We adjudged the weekend a great success except for one significant factor – the number of people taking part was very small, with actual Wellingtonians being almost entirely absent. More people from Christchurch took part than Wellingtonians and others came from as far away as Auckland. We can only speculate as to why that was (it certainly wasn't from lack of publicity or hard work by Kane O'Connell and his local helpers). More's the pity. All we can say to the absent locals is that they missed a fascinating weekend of action and information in their own backyard. Because of the disappointing local response, this was the first ABC activity to run at a noticeable loss, primarily because of the cost of hiring a bus for what turned out to be a small number of people. But ABC makes provision for this contingency, and it made no difference to our financial position.

Waihopai Display

The Waihopai spybase remains our main focus. We went back there in January 2006 – see the report elsewhere in this issue - for another one of our regular national protests (we've been doing so since 1988). The other aspect of

our campaign to close the Waihopai spybase is information. So, one major project in 2004/05 was to update our mobile display about it. This dated from the late 1990s and had been originally created by Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Wellington. ABC's main role then was to send it around the country. This time we took responsibility for a full makeover. It had sat, unused, in Wellington storage for several years. We got it back; I raised \$1,500 (from the Cathy Pelly Trust) to get it redesigned and then Bob Leonard and I spent a lot of time rewriting all the text and choosing illustrations. Once that was done, it went to our graphic designer, Linda Barnes of Fullmoon Design, to lay it out. She did an excellent job, and essentially at mates' rates. The whole process from fundraising to fruition took many months, far longer than we expected, but it was well worth the wait. The display is now a very professional, informative, colourful and eye-catching. We are not keeping it to ourselves, it is to be shared with the nation. We have secured local organisers in cities from Dunedin to Whangarei, with it being displayed at all sorts of events and in a variety of different venues.

This seemingly harmless display has the power to inspire controversy. The public library in Blenheim wouldn't have it, because it is "one sided and the base has no right of reply" (we'd be delighted if the spybosses would say anything about what Waihopai actually does). The media covered this story. Last time it toured, in the late 90s, a complaint from the then base commander got it withdrawn from that same library. So, in January 2006, we took it to Blenheim with us and set it up outside the library as part of our weekend of protest. When we went home, the display stayed in a central Blenheim shop.

The GCSB has made sure that it has curried favour in Marlborough. When we approached the Waihopai Valley Residents Association to ask for January 2006 camping rights in the grounds of their community hall, we were told no, as the base had previously donated to the hall's restoration and they didn't want to offend the spies; local vineyards also declined, for similar reasons, namely that they didn't want to get offside with the base or, tellingly, their American customers..

Owen Wilkes

ABC's other major activity in 2005 arose spontaneously from the tragedy of Owen Wilkes' suicide. I hadn't planned on going to his funeral, but did, making a flying visit to Hamilton for a few hours (and had to bludge a lift to Auckland Airport in order to get home on the same day). Once there, I hadn't planned to speak but, egged on by an ex-partner of Owen's sitting next to me, I did. ABC has always talked about doing something on July 4th, which we long ago renamed Independence From America Day, but we hadn't actually done anything to mark that occasion for many years. I suggested it as the entirely appropriate date for a Christchurch memorial meeting for Owen and the thing just took off from there, acquiring a life of its own. ABC and CAFCA worked together on it (Owen was a founder of both), with ABC doing the bulk of the donkey work. More than 100 people turned up on a midwinter Christchurch night, many of them having come from far away. Bob was the master of ceremonies, I was the keynote speaker. I spent a lot of time researching and writing that speech, which became my obituary of him, in both Watchdog and Peace Researcher. Writing it put me back in touch with people that I hadn't seen or heard for many decades, such as Owen's friends and colleagues from his time in Norway (in the 70s). And it introduced to me to a whole raft of other people, throughout the country and around the world, people for whom Owen was a major figure in their lives and work. My research unearthed the fact that I had a lot of material both about and by Owen, both personal and political, written material and photos. So, I played a major role in preparing the magnificent display on his life and work that Ann Currie (a former committee member of both ABC and CAFCA) designed for the night. She, Bob and I spent a Saturday morning putting it all together.

The memorial has been reported in both Watchdog and Peace Researcher. It brought together a fascinating array of people from past and present, the speakers were excellent, a special video of Owen from the seminal 80s documentary "Islands Of The Empire" was specially put together for the occasion by Vanguard Films; it was a deeply moving and satisfying way to say goodbye to Owen from his Christchurch friends and colleagues, and it was very memorable political event in its own right (appropriately it marked the first outing of the updated Waihopai display). Owen's death attracted major mainstream media coverage, and I was interviewed by both the Listener and the Press for their obituaries of him. The latter even gave free, unsolicited publicity for the memorial meeting (not once but twice), helping to boost numbers on the night. For a number of weeks, my life consisted of a very intense, concentrated dose of Owen Wilkes, often in the most sensitive personal aspects of his life – I had to break the news to his ex-wife; I was dealing with his current partner; I re-established contact with another partner, for the first time since the 80s; yet another one shouted me lunch at a rather nice restaurant so that we could talk about him and she could "achieve closure". It was a full on time. And it carried over into 2006. The January protest at Waihopai featured the planting of native trees, at our Department of Conservation campsite, in memory of both Owen and Rod Donald. The initiative for this came from local Greens, to honour Rod, and they were happy to accept our suggestion to include Owen (see the "Memorial Treeplanting For Owen Wilkes" subsection of my "Waihopai 2006" article elsewhere in this issue).

International Links

ABC's work has an ongoing international context. Andrew Wilkie is an Australian former Intelligence analyst turned whistleblowing author and Green candidate. The (NZ) Greens toured him through NZ as part of their election campaign. The late Rod Donald took him to the inner gate of Waihopai; in Christchurch, the ABC committee was invited to Rod's home (my first visit there) to meet Wilkie and swap notes. At his well attended Christchurch public meeting, Rod invited me to speak from the floor, we took along the Waihopai display and distributed leaflets advertising the 2006 Waihopai protest. In November 2005, a party of Japanese peace activists came through NZ, hosted by the NZ Peace Council. They had played a role in the closure of a US base in Japan and were eager to make contact with us. Bob and I met them, showed them around the US military base at Christchurch Airport (Harewood), and Bob accompanied them up to Marlborough, where he was their guide at Waihopai, getting excellent local media coverage in the process (see Bob's article on the Japanese peace delegation's visit and his review of Andrew Wilkie's book, "Axis Of Deceit", elsewhere in this issue). Mass protests against the disastrous US war of occupation in Iraq have virtually stopped, but there was one in March 2005, to commemorate the second anniversary of the invasion. It featured a central city die-in. ABC was there.

Peace Researcher

My regular ABC work is as editor of Peace Researcher. I can only commit to get out two issues a year (a far cry from PR's original frequency) and even that is a struggle. As it is, one of those was a special issue entirely devoted to Owen Wilkes (who was actually the inspiration for PR, back in the early 1980s, long before my time with it). This was our first special issue in three years (Watchdog doesn't do special issues, it doesn't have to because of its sheer size. At 28 pages, the special PR on Owen was less than half the length of an average Watchdog). I enjoy writing for PR, as it allows me to get back to the subject matters on which I cut my teeth as a political activist more than 35 years ago – war, imperialism, Intelligence agencies, et al. I have built up a stable of regular writers for PR – myself and Bob Leonard, of course; David Small has been following the Zaoui case for years now; both Joe Hendren and Jeremy Agar of Watchdog also write for PR on different subjects (it enables Jeremy to review books and films that we don't cover in Watchdog). Each issue goes online, and we owe a debt of thanks to ABC's Webmaster, Yani Johanson, who finds time to do that (and the full range of other activities involved in being an ABC committee member) amidst his life as a very busy grassroots local body politician.

My wife Becky is the layout editor (of the hard copy edition) and she does an extremely professional job. PR is the best looking, best illustrated that it ever has been. But there will be a forced change in its appearance (the form is undecided yet) coming up sometime in 2006. This has been brought about by the untimely death of Ray Butterfield, at the tragically early age of 57 (he died of a heart attack). Ray had been the PR printer for many years. When I became the sole charge Editor in 2003 (previously Bob and I were co-editors), I transferred the printing to the same outfit which does Watchdog. But it can't do colour printing, so Ray continued to do the two tone PR covers (exactly as Watchdog's original one man printer continues to do the coloured covers for that). Once our finite supply of those run out this year, we will have to redesign the cover (or find somebody else to print it). That's the disadvantage of using a solo printer.

And PR definitely has the bragging rights over Watchdog, in that it can truthfully claim to have inspired a film. In PR 27 (August 2003) I wrote a brief obituary of the Christian Pacifist Society and offered readers a copy of a much longer article from a 1974 issue of the University of Canterbury student newspaper, *Canta* (which I edited that year), all about the World War 2 Labour government's treatment of conscientious objectors and other dissidents. This attracted the interest of wellknown Wellington documentary maker, Russell Campbell of Vanguard Films (my friendship with Russell and relationship with Vanguard dates back to the early 80s). He duly made "Sedition", a fascinating 140 minute documentary on exactly that subject. It premiered in the 2005 International Film Festival and I had the privilege of being invited to introduce Russell at one of its Christchurch screenings. Since then it has won a prize at the prestigious annual Media Peace Awards (see Jeremy Agar's review of it elsewhere in this issue).

So ABC is alive and well. We continue to attract (and lose) young people onto our committee. In 2004 we lost Kane O'Connell to Wellington (but he has since become ABC's man in the capital). In 2005 we lost Claire Dann (off indefinitely on her Big OE) but gained Lynda Boyd and Frances Mountier. People (usually despairing middle aged ones) sometimes ask me: "Where are the young people coming through who will carry on your work"? Look no further than the ABC committee – Lynda, a union official, is in her early 20s, and Frances, a student, is only just 18 (her enthusiastic idealism and preparedness to get herself arrested on a regular basis remind me of myself at that age). The disadvantage is that young people tend to go elsewhere in the country for work or overseas on their Big OE, but that just means that we have to keep a keen eye out for likely replacements....

Technological Glitches

For the first time this century, CAFCA bought a new computer (which is also used for ABC work) and switched from dial up Internet to broadband (high speed Internet). All of these things cause “teething troubles”, a mild term which covers a multitude of sins. To give some examples – installing desktop publishing software bugged up e-mail access for a week; transferring all my data from the old to the new computer resulted in my having to painstakingly rebuild several of my electronic mail lists (the CAFCA one alone consists of several hundred addresses); and Bill Rosenberg, who is our resident computer whiz, really had to work hard to come up with a (cumbersome but workable) solution to the problem of getting our new computer to talk to our original printer, a very old dot matrix, that we keep solely to print the sticky labels with which we address your Peace Researchers.

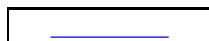
Sometimes these problems are not of our doing at all. Conversion to broadband led to electronic mailouts to the numerous e-lists that I deal with suddenly becoming several hundred times slower than under the old dial up regime. This is current, as of writing, and is caused by our outward e-mail now going through a different server, namely Telecom’s Jetstream one in Auckland, which imposes a strict limit on the number of e-mail addresses that it will process at any one time. We await the solution (we’ve tried one alternative but that came with limitations of its own). And several months ago, I wondered why the volume of e-mail I receive daily had dropped to a trickle, with not even newsletters from MPs getting through. An inquiry to our Internet Service Provider (ISP) revealed that nearly 1,000 e-mails to us had been automatically blocked as spam. I had to spend an inordinate amount of time apologising to people for not responding to their weeks-old e-mails and, tediously, having to set up an increasingly long Friends list at the ISP’s Website, so that mail from those senders would no longer be blocked. I have had to continue doing that on a regular basis, as senders automatically blocked as spammers have ranged from ABC members to my wife...

Organiser Account In Very Good Shape

I have been the Organiser for 14 years now, which is an extremely long time for a job funded entirely by the regular pledges and donations of CAFCA and ABC members and supporters. It is remarkable and I didn’t envisage it holding out this long when I embarked on it as a 40 year old redundant Railways labourer, back in 1991. Once again, I take the opportunity to thank you for your generosity. This continuing financial support is a most gratifying vote of confidence in the work that we, and I, do.

Unlike in my 2004 Report, the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income, rates only passing mention this time. In 2004 it hit its lowest ever point, we went into crisis mode and mounted a Special Appeal, which was a major project in its own right. The response was astonishing, bringing in more than \$10,000 in donations (they were coming in for months afterwards) and dramatically bumping up the number of regular pledgers from less than 30 to 50 (even I was surprised when Bob Leonard reported that number to the 2005 CAFCA AGM, as I hadn’t realised that it had gone so high). That Account is now much more sustainable, with pledges and donations enabling my hourly pay rate to have been increased thrice in the past two years, to its present \$11 and the bulk of the money having been wrenched out of Westpac’s transnational grasp and put on term deposit with Kiwibank.

Not only has it been able to afford another pay rise for me, in 2006, but the Organiser Account has doubled the amount for which it reimburses me for monthly expenses. For many years now it has been reimbursing me for our phone rental; now it pays nearly all of our monthly broadband charge as well. It has been running so long (since 1991) and so successfully that it is seen as a model by other organisations wanting to free themselves from the tyranny of having to raise an income for their worker or workers.



CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT 2004/05

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

Balance on 31/3/04	7,659.50
Balance on 31/3/05	5,506.30
Net change	-2,153.20
Term deposit	+8,000.00
Adjusted net	+5,846.80

Expenses	
Murray's pay	20,828.57
Cash to MH (pocketed)	140.00
Other chqs	191.70
TOTAL	21,160.27

Income		
One-off donations (includes cash to MH)	9,070.00	(33.6%)
Pledges	17,910.93	(66.4%)
Interest	26.14	
TOTAL	27,007.07	

Difference between Total expenses and Total Income is \$5,846.80, which is the increase in the cheque account balance over the fiscal year (including \$8,000 in term deposit).

50 pledgers as of August 2005 statement (close to \$30/mo average per pledge).

BOOK REVIEW: “AXIS OF DECEIT”

by Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

“AXIS OF DECEIT”

Andrew Wilkie. Black Inc. Agenda. Melbourne. 2004.

The Axis of Deceit of the title, in case you hadn't already guessed is America, Britain and Australia. If you haven't made up your mind yet about whether the invasion of Iraq was a good idea, Andrew Wilkie's book might help you decide. Until March 2003 Wilkie was an intelligence officer with Australia's Office of National Assessments (ONA) handling sensitive documents and writing secret reports on a wide variety of topics related to Iraq. By late 2002 his conscience had got the better of him and he made the decision, as he puts it, to “betray my Government”. How he prepared for the big day of “betrayal” is a fascinating account in the first chapter, “Taking A Stand”. Very few spies have the guts to blow the whistle and this chapter makes it clear just why that is. Expecting immediate and severe consequences, Wilkie prepared well for his final day with ONA in Canberra. Perhaps most important was making as big a media splash as possible with his resignation. He insists that his motivation was not politically based, but of course the political impact on the Howard government was big.

A very tense and nervous Wilkie walked out on the intelligence business just nine days before the invasion of Iraq on March 20, 2003. The gathering media in front of the ONA building, which it shares with the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO), caused sirens to go off throughout the building and a total shutdown to prevent identification of ASIO agents entering and leaving. Wilkie had to call his media contacts and get them to retreat so he could leave the building (without incident as it happened). The evening news bulletins informed Australia of what he had done and why. His phone rang non-stop for days thereafter.

In a totally predictable attempt to discredit Wilkie and diminish his impact, the Director-General of ONA, Australia's top intelligence officer, quickly issued a statement that played down Wilkie's access to intelligence materials on Iraq. He was able to counter that statement effectively in his first national TV interview only a couple of hours after he left ONA. He was in fact privy to a vast array of top secret documents relevant to Iraq and the build-up to war and had recently written an important internal ONA report on the humanitarian implications of a war on Iraq. His careful analysis for that assignment had played a key role in his decision to quit. He was convinced that an invasion would be a disaster for all concerned, not least the Iraqis themselves.

There was no way his resignation was going to allow him to stay politically neutral. The first political party to contact him was the Greens who wanted him to speak at a rally in front of Parliament about the reasons for his principled actions. He reluctantly agreed. The rally was timed to coincide with a major speech to the Press Club, inside Parliament, by Prime Minister John Howard. Howard was making a desperate attempt to convince the media and the nation that Australia's participation in the imminent invasion was righteous. He was less than convincing and critical media reports followed along with primetime coverage of the protest outside Parliament. “On balance it wasn't a good day for the Government”, concluded Wilkie.

Very Readable

Andrew Wilkie is a good writer and this is a very readable book. Following on the riveting opening chapter he devotes a chapter (“Life On The Inside”) to details of his background, which included service as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Australian Army and brief secondment to ONA, a year with Raytheon Corporation, and finally a permanent position with ONA as a senior analyst working on a broad range of issues including Kosovo, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, Afghanistan and Iraq. He also describes what it is like to work inside Australia's lead intelligence agency, involving extensive international travel and dealings with officers in the intelligence agencies of the US (Central Intelligence Agency) and Britain (MI6) and Australia's Secret Intelligence Service (ASIS) (see footnote 1). The following chapter (“The World Of Intelligence”) is a revealing description of the intelligence community within which the ONA and other agencies in the brotherhood operate. Big Brother is of course the US with its Central Intelligence Agency. The other major players are Britain and Canada (see footnote 2) with New Zealand doing its part via signals intelligence (i.e., Waihopai and Tangimoana; see articles elsewhere in this issue).

The chapter “An Unnecessary War” gets down to brass tacks and lays out the story of deceit that is the primary theme of the book. This and the next chapter, “The Big Lie”, should convince any doubter that attacking Iraq was certain to lead to disaster, but was bound to happen, given a US government motivated by oil and “the US's determination to safeguard and enhance its global ideological, economic and military hegemony” (p64). Most of the stories of deceit will be very familiar to an informed reader; some important examples: “...that Iraq still has chemical and biological weapons and that Iraq wants to develop nuclear weapons” (John Howard, February 4, 2003); Colin

Powell's "avalanche of allegations against Iraq" (address to UN Security Council, February 5, 2003); Bush, Blair and Howard "playing up the risk of WMD [weapons of mass destruction] terrorism but neglecting to point out that the likelihood of such an attack was low" (p85); assertions that Iraq was trying to buy thousands of aluminium tubes for use in uranium-enrichment for nuclear weapons (p91); and the Joe Wilson/Valerie Plame saga surrounding fictionalised reports and a litany of lies about Iraq's alleged attempts to buy uranium from Niger in Africa (p96).

As an ONA senior analyst with access to masses of documentation from all the countries involved, Wilkie was well-placed to conclude that: "Most often the deceit lay in the way Washington, London and Canberra deliberately skewed the truth by taking the ambiguity out of the issue. Key intelligence assessment qualifications were frequently dropped and much more definite words put in their place, even though such embellishments had not been offered to the governments by their intelligence agencies" (p81).

Of course the deceit continued after the invasion and it had become obvious even to Bush and his cronies that events were going terribly wrong ("The Blame Game"). Wilkie pulls no punches: "By late 2003, however, there was no possibility that Bush, Blair and Howard were unaware of the true situation in Iraq or that they were in some form of understandable denial. No, they were well aware of the fix they were in, but decided to deal with it with more prevarications, fabrications, distortions and exaggerations. Lies beget lies, as they say" (p111). Wilkie lays it all out in detail in this chapter on "blame" and then moves to a lengthy discussion of what he rather gently titles "Public Disservice", in part an account of the important role that public protest played, and continues to play, in affecting the actions of governments. He expresses a surprising degree of optimism: "But at least the protesters forced their governments into the position where they were exposed for what they really are – arrogant, unaccountable and imperious. This is a vital achievement and a wake-up call to all of us that we must work even harder to mend our ailing democracies and punish at the polls those who betray our trust" (p149).

What About "Intelligence Failures"?

Make no mistake. Wilkie was in the thick of the intelligence business and he's not about to blame the war on Iraq on intelligence failures. This chapter starts with the statement: "The US, UK and Australian intelligence communities are not responsible for the Iraq fiasco". Knowing what I do from reading this book and many other sources, I would have to agree with Wilkie. The blame for the invasion lies squarely with the political leaders. But what does this say about the spy business in general? The vast array of intelligence agencies across the globe is funded by billions of dollars of taxpayer money, to spy on literally everything and everybody, whether friend or foe. But to what end if their political "masters" ultimately pursue their own agendas, and use intelligence data and analysis selectively simply to further those agendas? This reviewer can't think of a more compelling argument that spying is useless, counterproductive, dangerous, and a mind-boggling waste of money. Andrew Wilkie may not have intended to make this argument, but he does a good job of it.

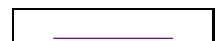
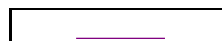
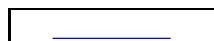
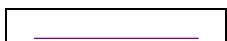
Wilkie has certainly had a change of heart since leaving ONA. He has been a Green Party candidate for the Bennelong seat in the Australian Parliament, the seat occupied by John Howard. Our own Greens invited him to come to New Zealand on a speaking tour in August 2005. He spoke in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch to large and receptive audiences. Members of the Anti-Bases Campaign had the opportunity to meet Andrew and to discuss his book and New Zealand's involvement in the spy business at Waihopai and Tangimoana, and the US military/intelligence support base at Christchurch Airport.

Andrew Wilkie is to be commended for his courageous rejection of a promising career in the ONA because of the duplicity of the Howard government in joining Bush's coalition of the willing. But he didn't just resign. He stepped into the political arena and challenged Howard on his own electoral territory. And he wrote this excellent book. Read it – it will heighten your sense of outrage over the tragedy in Iraq. And that's good.

Footnotes:

(1) Not to be confused with ASIO, which is Australia's equivalent of New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service. In theory these spies do not work outside the borders of their own countries.

(2) See *Peace Researchers* 12 (March 1997), 16 (August 1998), 23 (June 2001) and 24 (December 2001) for articles on Canada's Communications Security Establishment.



REVIEWS: “SEDITION”, “TAU TE MAURI”, “EYES OF FIRE”

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

“SEDITION: The Suppression Of Dissent In World War 11 New Zealand”

A Film By Russell Campbell, 2005

“TAU TE MAURI: Breath Of Peace”

A Film By Kathleen Gallagher, 2005

“EYES OF FIRE: The Last Voyage Of The Rainbow Warrior”

David Robie, Memorial Edition, Asia-Pacific Network, Auckland, 2005 (1986)

These two films and one book are covered by the one review. Ed

One reason there are so few TV documentaries these days is that filmmakers assume we all have attention deficit disorder. As soon as we're asked to reflect, we'll press the remote. So goes the same conventional wisdom that serves up idiot snatches of music at sports events, thus driving away its former audiences. The success of feature-length films like “Fahrenheit 9/11” and “Super Size Me” * is a reminder that just as it is cricket lovers who watch cricket, it is film-lovers who watch films. If they make them, we will come. * Jeremy's reviews of both these films can be read in Foreign Control Watchdog 107, December 2004, online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/07/11.html>. Ed.

“Sedition's” director, Russell Campbell, is clearly a dedicated man. Had the term not become trendily glib, we could say the film was passionate. Campbell has something to say, and it's our good fortune that he's sufficiently committed to his topic to give his characters the space to tell their stories. There's no distracting gimmickry to annoy his likely audience.

“Sedition” is the history of New Zealand peace activism during World War 11. More accurately, it is a discussion of the Labour government's reaction to it. There were two broad streams of anti-war feeling. Pacifists, opposed to violence, were often religious in inspiration. Political opposition was influenced by a Communist take on imperialism. Prominent in the documentary are activists who saw themselves as Christian socialists, a position which did much to bridge the potential gap between the two camps.

NZ brought in conscription in June 1940, earlier than other comparable countries. “Defaulters” cleared land or were given hard labour, whereas their counterparts in the immediately threatened UK were allowed more pleasant, and useful, farm work. Censorship in NZ was tighter too. The Minister of Finance (and future Labour Prime Minister) Walter Nash said he wanted camp conditions to be worse than what the worst criminals might expect.

Rough Justice

After the December 1941 Japanese attack on the US Navy base at Pearl Harbour (Hawaii) there was fear of a Japanese invasion, but the rough justice pre-dates this. When the “sedition” was being defined, the NZ government had less reason to panic than the British, so why was it so harsh? The impression of the interviewees, and of historian David Grant, whose commentary frames the narrative, is of a Labour government buckling to Rightist pressure.

Perhaps the prime motive for Government repression was not military at all. It was more a political sally against radicalism. This interpretation squares with what we know of the response of successive governments to the crises that shaped the periods leading up to and away from the 20th Century's two world wars. During the labour disputes of 1913 and during the waterfront lockout of 1951, civil liberties were again brushed aside.

Not until May 31, 1946 were the last dissenters let out of the camps, and the public servants among them were not back in their old jobs. What justification could have been offered for this post-war hounding of principled New Zealanders? The film suggests that the activists earned sympathy on free speech grounds but criticism for not pitching in when “equality of sacrifice” was expected. Grant observes that the prevailing mood was inspired by an ethic that held that we should all “do our bit”.

After the June 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, strains tested the unity of pacifists, for whom nothing had changed, and Communists, for whom everything had. The latter wanted to enlist. The shifting emotions must have

confused the public, for whom such doctrinal disputes were a mystery. That was not the only apparent contradiction. Because their faith denounced a State's authority to wage war, Jehovah's Witnesses were officially reviled, as were Social Crediters, who objected to the war because of the way it was being financed. This placed two inherently conservative - and authoritarian - organisations in the same camp as their free-thinking opponents.

Odd Bedfellows

With all these odd bedfellows it's no wonder appeals against war service were a random affair. 3,000 appealed, mostly unsuccessfully. Some were excused war service, based on conscience. Quakerism, for instance, had always been known to embrace pacifism as a central tenet, so Quakers were not thought criminal. The functionaries who did the investigating didn't have much to go on. We know that people with German names were interned, even if they were anti-fascist refugees or Jews, so it's unlikely that distinctions would have been made between any locals regarded as being "trouble makers". The conformist attitude would have been that religious dissenters were oddballs, political dissenters were dangers, and a combination of the religious and political should be quarantined from polite society. The difference between acceptable and unacceptable opinion was often decided by whim or prejudice.

Unfortunately, this policy of deciding people's fates by whim or prejudice has continued on as a dominant force in NZ society for a good long time since WW11. See Jeremy's review of "I Almost Forgot About The Moon: The Disinformation Campaign Against Ahmed Zaoui", in Peace Researcher 30, March 2005, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-106.html>. Ed

Peter Fraser, Prime Minister from 1940, had himself been jailed for "sedition" during World War 1, so his dedication to tormenting his latter-day counterparts raises obvious questions. Two trite interpretations are available to explain the Frasers of the world. It is usually said that the young man is a rebel and the old man is a conservative. Or it is said that power corrupts.

A third possibility, a facesaver, is that Fraser shared a common view within progressive circles that World War 1 was imperialist slaughter while World War 11 was legitimate self-defence against fascist aggression. There is, however, no reason to think that Fraser had shifted philosophically. Or morally. There is a familiar problem when religion is said to be the instigator of social behaviour. Quakers and Christian socialists derive their faith from the same source as do the Destiny Church's Bishop Brian Tamaki and the Exclusive Brethren. A sceptical observation - an observation that is so self-evident that we don't usually bother to spell it out - might be that people interpret their holy books to match what they already think. Humanist Christians lay down their arms; conservative Christians go marching as to war. Fraser acted as though to ensure that his wife Janet's declaration that there were "no pacifists in Labour" was not just a prayer.

While Fraser's early anti-war stance is generally said to have been a religious impulse, no-one says that of his latter pro-war stance. This might be because liberal historians allow humanist Christians a leeway that is denied other beliefs. We would do well to beware of taking religious stereotypes literally, and applying them after the fact as a substitute for analysis. "Sedition" is certainly thorough, and it is not a reference to Grant's effective commentary to suggest that some might find it long, at 140 minutes.

In a first for Peace Researcher, we can truthfully claim to have inspired this film. A couple of years ago (number 27, August 2003) I wrote a brief obituary of the Christian Pacifist Society and offered readers a copy of a much longer article from a 1974 issue of the University of Canterbury student newspaper, *Canta* (which I edited that year), all about the World War 11 Government's treatment of conscientious objectors and other dissidents. This attracted the interest of wellknown Wellington documentary maker, Russell Campbell, and he duly made "Sedition". It premiered in the 2005 International Film Festival and I had the privilege of being invited to introduce Russell at one of its Christchurch screenings. Since then it has won a prize at the prestigious annual Media Peace Awards. Ed.

Not Afraid Of Talking Heads

A tribute to the New Zealand peace movement, "Breath Of Peace" consists of interviews with eight "peace people". Like Campbell, Kathleen Gallagher isn't afraid of talking heads. On the contrary, the entire content is close-ups of the subjects being interviewed. This intent of this indifference to distracting gimmick is welcome. Gallagher knows that whatever she might do in the name of attracting that mythical mass audience, crowds of teenagers aren't going to roll up to see Kiwi peace activists. She's playing to a known, and small, audience who want content. That's fair enough. But does she take this honesty too far? Some might think that the unrelieved nature of the interviews was a bit too Methodist - Presbyterian even.

The only variety is provided by rather long linking shots of New Zealand birds and sea mammals. Their connection to the topic was elusive, made clear to me only through the film's pamphlet. The device was more literary metaphor than visual image. These criticisms are minor quibbles. When eight coherent people are allowed to talk directly to us, we appreciate the way the director has got out of the way and let us listen, unmediated.

Gallagher's self-effacing technique, her refusal to editorialise, means that there's none of the sectarian divisiveness that can frustrate progressive causes. In this context we can applaud the kotukus (white herons), dolphins and whales as symbols of the unity of political and environmental motives for which the New Zealand Left is noted.

The Rainbow Warrior Bombing Made Lange's Reputation

The easy cliché has it that Fraser's Presbyterianism was dour and Scottish. Methodism, its sister faith, long had the reputation of being all dull hypocrisy. Observing official Methodism's support for a reactionary British government during the war against Napoleon's France, the essayist William Hazlitt (1778-1830) remarked that "Methodism absolves the understanding from the rules of reasoning, and the conscience from the restraints of morality". That catches the spirit of Methodism's NZ leadership a century later, but not the few World War 11 Methodist pacifists who rebelled. And it couldn't be less like David Lange.

Many of Lange's obituaries* made mention of his Methodist background, as though that helped explain his anti-nuclear stance. Does it? Although Lange's nominal religion - and its place in daily life - was similar to Fraser's Presbyterianism and Lange was also a Labour PM of NZ, the two men seem like opposites. Lange, it now seems, is likely to be defined in the national memory by the nuclear issue. Because of it, he became internationally known in a way that is inconceivable for Fraser to have been. This was not only because of Lange's very different personality. The circumstances during the fourth Labour government's tenure after 1984 were absolutely different from the first Labour government's tenure after 1935. * See elsewhere in this issue for my obituary of David Lange. Bucking the trend, there is no mention in it of Methodism. Ed.

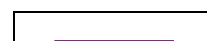
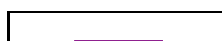
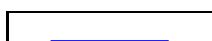
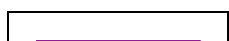
In the 1930s and 1940s NZ was threatened by totalitarian and genocidal maniacs. Contention within the country was over how to respond to the evil or, in some cases, whether the democracies were themselves imperfect. French nuclear testing in the Pacific was impossible to like, but we weren't expecting a Gallic invasion. No-one could have anticipated a French terrorist attack. 20 years ago some people were saying that a newly elected socialist government in France would be a responsible global citizen. But "socialism", like Methodism, is a broad church. To suppose that the late President Francois Mitterand might have listened to the peaceniks is to ignore the pathology of the French elites.

French Neurosis

French public opinion backed militarism because it was a response to domestic neurosis. From Gaullists on the Right to its then large Communist Party, France was almost unanimously of the view that a nuclear deterrent was needed. Against? A Red Army that had crossed Germany without a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) response? A joint US-UK sortie across the Channel? Equally and self-evidently as false was the pretence that bomb-testing was safe. As the world seldom refrained from asking, why then not test somewhere handier like the Bois de Boulogne (in Paris)? In the peculiar conceit of French imperialism all the overseas colonies are French. Parts of Polynesia were - and still are - said to be as much a part of France as ... the Bois de Boulogne.

For so many reasons French nuclearism in the Pacific was at once absurd and abhorrent. As an issue for Greenpeace, it combined outrage over militarism, environmental degradation and repression of colonial societies. Greenpeace protesters came from a variety of countries, their projects were aimed at a variety of governments, and, most importantly, their causes included crises - like whaling, sealing, and acid rain - that had evoked a wide public indignation.

So when the Rainbow Warrior was sunk in Auckland Harbour, in 1985, the French State had many enemies, and no friends (at least none who wanted to be publicly identified). The attack has a huge local legacy, and while we're still assessing the final fallout, some conclusions can be drawn. David Lange's reputation was created, and his Government was granted a generous honeymoon. The tone of the NZ progressive movement, with its now characteristic fusion of themes, was confirmed. In 1985 the country was again crying "sabotage", but this time we were united against the bad guys. And we won. David Robie, a journalist on Greenpeace jaunts, tells the story well.



BOOK REVIEW: “WITH DISTANCE COMES PERSPECTIVE”

by Jeremy Agar

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

**“WITH DISTANCE COMES PERSPECTIVE: Essays On Politics, Security And International Affairs”
Paul G Buchanan, DPG Press, Auckland, 2005. \$29.95**

Paul Buchanan is a former US foreign and intelligence policy insider, now at the University of Auckland. The list of organisations where he has worked, and countries where he has taught, is long. As few issues to do with NZ's relationships with the outside world do not involve the Americans, and their views of us, Buchanan's background alone means he is worth listening to. Buchanan, however, offers something more than the conventional US wisdom. For a start, he is keen to establish himself as a local – “good on ya mate” he tells a friend in the dedication. He's also quite happy to say that his former mentors are making a mess of things.

In fact, in Buchanan's eyes, Washington is the capital of a “culturally vacant, economically stagnant, and politically bankrupt superpower”. If non-Americans say things like that, it's written off as the envy of a beheader of a very tall poppy. For Buchanan, as his title indicates, it's a matter of seeing more clearly now that he's some distance away from his former home. The book is a compilation of Buchanan's articles, mostly to do with the Ahmed Zaoui* affair or the war in Iraq. Like all daily journalism, the material is dated in places, or the moment has passed. It's also something of a risk. Critics can find predictions that haven't been borne out and take cheap shots. The power elites, those on whom Buchanan is commenting, never allow themselves to be so exposed. * For background on the Zaoui affair, read “Ahmed Zaoui: New Zealand's Very Own Political Prisoner”, by David Small, in Peace Researcher 30, March 2005. It can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-107.html> Ed.

Buchanan's judgements mostly stand up. Several times, for instance, he comments on the apparent lack of progress of a free trade deal, the central theme in current NZ-US relations. In US government circles - and therefore within the circles of local tall poppy admirers - the default setting is stuck. If only NZ were to put aside its quirky anti-nuclear nonsense, it is said, then the US would be able to open its markets and we'd all be happy consumers for ever after. Once Buchanan remarks that this notion has “some credibility”, but several times he makes the more plausible assessment that NZ nuclear policy makes no difference to our trade prospects.

Hoary Old Chestnut

US trade policy does not take note of minor irrelevancies in minor countries. In this context two remarks come to mind, both mentioned by Buchanan. The first is the characterisation by former Secretary of State, Colin Powell, of NZ and the US as “very, very close friends”. This means that we're trying harder, but we're not “allies”, we're not quite good little girls and boys, and we're not “allies” because of the nuclear issue.

Thank goodness, some would say. So what, others might think. Buchanan's second maxim - and this is a really hoary old chestnut - is that nations don't have friends, they have interests. If something looks good to you, you do it. There's no reason to believe that the US (or any other state) acts on the basis of anything other than the dictates of pragmatism and the opportunities of power. Domestic US politics, and its influential protectionist agriculture lobby, is one reason the trade negotiations go nowhere. All power to American farmers, if that's what's keeping the talks on hold. The teacher's pet, Australia, got a free trade deal which does nothing at all to displease US lobbies and nothing at all to help Australia.

Another reason NZ hasn't got anywhere might well be that when the little boy in the back row comes panting for approval, the schoolyard bully feels compelled to withhold it. Discussing Iraq, Buchanan writes that US policy “requires it to compel even its allies and friends to openly acknowledge its global authority”. Power must not only be obeyed, it must be seen to be obeyed. An aspect of the inexorable logic of power is that it doesn't necessarily mean what it says. The NZ Right might be naive, but at least some of them are not naive enough to really think that US Congressmen are waiting for a different attitude to the generation of energy or the propulsion of warships from the government of New Zealand.

Neither - to take the other two strands in this tangled knot of dishonesty - do they really think that the Kyoto Protocol is undesirable and impractical because two countries, the US and Australia, haven't signed up. Nor do they really think that NZ rates of taxation must be too high because another country, Australia again, has lower rates. Apologists for Bushite America say these things because they want NZ policy to move to the Right. They don't say them because they're relevant, and in the case of Australian tax policy, they don't say them because they're true. When the Australians were seen as less fervent in their adherence to neo-liberal economic orthodoxy the NZ Right

derided them for being “wet”.

The job of propagandists is to get people to accept their authority. Detail doesn't matter any more than accuracy. That's why they try different lines. Whatever it takes. And the reason that these people want us to ape foreign governments is not because they think these policies are necessarily any good. It's to establish subservience. Buchanan remarks that the State Department's policy that it will “neither confirm nor deny” belongs to the Cold War. He asks why “State” persists with that approach. The question should be rhetorical. While there were security aspects that loaned themselves to official inscrutability, a bully superpower will never willingly divulge. The motive is not military so much as strategic. As a keen student of Machiavelli, Buchanan should appreciate that it's a principle of power to play hard to get (Niccolo Machiavelli, 1469-1527, whose principal book “The Prince” is the classic textbook of “whatever it takes” Ed.

Nor do pro-Bushite critics really believe that NZ should “pull its weight” by buying all sorts of fighter jets for the Air Force. The implication is that NZ should strive for an independent deterrent, a goal which, in the real world, no-one has ever thought to be either possible or desirable. All defence and foreign policy has assumed interdependence. Like the other cheap shots aimed at attempts to establish a truly sovereign NZ, the pretence that we should spend a whole lot of money on what would be a redundant strike capacity does not have the motive it claims. It is part of the permanent drive to make sure NZ policy is set offshore.

Still Looking Out At The World Through A State Department Window

In his introduction Buchanan points out that he's changed his mind about some things. Let's hope that the Israeli spies episode* is one of them. At the time Buchanan chided Helen Clark for publicly outing the Mossad agents who entered the country on fake NZ passports. He argues that Israel is an ally, and that Clark was currying favour with its enemies to drum up prospects of trade with Islamic countries. This is one case in which distance obscures the view. Although he is consistent and coherent in his articles on the Ahmed Zaoui affair, denouncing the NZ government's willingness to be manipulated by foreign spy agencies, Buchanan writes of Israel as though he's still looking out at the world through a State Department window. *For the details of this, read “Israel Apologises To NZ For Bungled Mossad Passports Operation”, by Murray Horton. It's in the “Updates” article elsewhere in this issue. Ed.

The error is compounded by the observation that the Prime Minister, Helen Clark, was in the grip of an obsession to take over as Secretary-General of the United Nations. This folklore has been spun by the same spin doctors who want NZ to abandon its attempts to be independent. The UN invites criticism, but that is not why domestic pro-Bush and pro-Howard propagandists slag the UN or why they link the UN to the Clark government. The more important reason, the strategic motive, is that only the UN has the potential to rival the US as a legitimate source of global power.

Although there are few such overt inconsistencies in his analysis, there's always an ambivalence in Buchanan's comments. He can point out what's wrong with the Bush-Blair-Howard axis, but he seems to be not ready to imagine an alternative. It's not clear whether he's accepting the fact of the status quo - as we all have to - or whether he aspires to no more than asking it to exercise its power more politely. Buchanan supposes that those unhappy with our ties to the US military are exercised by matters nuclear. He considers that “only die-hard anti-American and anti-war protestors” would oppose visits by conventionally powered and armed US warships. As he introduces terms like “imperialism” and “capitalism” into his own critique of US policy, Buchanan begs as many questions as he answers. When you talk of imperialism you talk of systemic relationships. By definition, an imperial power exercises military policy as an aspect of economic policy.

When we obsess about Colin Powell's musings about whether we are a “friend” or an “ally” we're not caring about one foreign person's opinion of a country he might not have thought about, and we're not talking culture or sport. We're not asking tourists if they enjoyed the Milford Track. We're talking imperial dependence. Imperialism is like pregnancy. You're either an imperialist or you're not an imperialist. You can't be a little bit imperialist. Readers might be surprised that Buchanan, whose journalistic sallies against the excesses of power are no different from other, non-American critics, is not, himself, “anti-American”. This is a throwaway insult, coined to discredit robust analysis of the way American power is projected. The term assumes certain systemic facts. Otherwise - and it's a reason why “die-hard” critiques are routinely dismissed - so-called anti-Americans sound like whingers. Bigots even.

Perspective Shows That It's All Big Picture Stuff

A distinction has to be made between the big picture, to do with strategic interests, and the little picture, as viewed by daily journalism. Strategically, US interests assume an imperial need; tactically, like anyone else, Americans can

be nice guys. Buchanan needs to be clear when he's talking strategy and when he's talking tactics. Everything he says about official NZ compliance with US strategic interests (for instance in the Zaoui case) assumes he's upset by a deference to an imperial master. So isn't this a case of "die-hard anti-Americanism"?

Without this perspective we don't know if we're looking at a detail or a panorama. Locking up Zaoui can be dismissed as a lapse, the fault of ill-trained staff; or the Rainbow Warrior could be said to have been sunk by a couple of inexperienced French agents in Auckland Harbour, in 1985 (see Jeremy's review, above, of David Robie's "Eyes Of Fire". Ed.); or - one of the more frequent such constructions - the American destruction of Vietnam during the 1960s and 70s' war could be regretted, briefly, as a "mistake". In these examples, once the immediate issue is resolved, there wouldn't be much else to say.

When he looks inward to his adopted country, Buchanan's view is uncluttered. He makes sharp criticisms of Wellington's "opportunism and expediency" and its "culture of impunity". He charges the Clark government with a policy of replacing representative democracy with what he dubs "delegative democracy". It's stimulating and timely stuff. He says of his former country that in the US "political society is increasingly divorced from civil society", the result being that the power elites have earned "mass contempt". Buchanan has sketched a series of portraits of what happens when government policy assumes certain permanent interests. As we step back to gain perspective, we can see that it's all big picture stuff. Whether we're friends or allies, NZ is as dispensable as an enemy. So is everyone else.



Obituary: ROD DONALD

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

This is not one that I ever expected to write. It seems unnatural to be writing an obituary for somebody six years younger than myself. And somebody, as in Rod's case, so energetic, so young in all things, so full of life and so much larger than life. So I can only join the overwhelming chorus of those expressing shock and disbelief at his untimely sudden death in November 2005. 2005 was one hell of a year and I seemed to go to more funerals than usual, not to mention writing more obituaries. For the second time in just a few months, I need to start at the end by addressing the question of the person's death. In Owen Wilkes' case, it was suicide and many, many thousands of shocked people wanted to know why. The cause of Rod's death at 48 was a complete mystery at first, and I bet I wasn't alone in initially suspecting some connection to his grotesquely overused cellphone that seemed surgically attached to his ear. But it was finally diagnosed as a routine old virus that, when the person's immune system is run down, secretly attacks their heart with sometimes fatal results and no warning. Hindsight being a wonderful thing, looking back I could see the warning signs. I saw quite a lot of Rod in 2005, in all sorts of circumstances, and he regularly looked buggered, falling asleep at meetings for example (and, no, not just because our meetings are boring). I last saw him, although not to speak to, at a fundraising walk/run around Hagley Park the weekend before the new Government was announced (which saw Labour contemptuously discard the Greens in favour of New Zealand First and United Future). He was stripped to shorts (he did the run), looked hot and bothered and had his cellphone glued to his ear.

Apparently, in the last couple of weeks of his life, he got quite ill (we now know that was the fatal virus) but he wouldn't take any time off or slow down. Ironically, for such a Sensitive New Age Guy, it was this old fashioned Kiwi bloke approach to his own health that may well have contributed to his own demise, coming on top of countless years of high octane life and work that must have taken their toll on his body and immune system. One of the standing jokes at our place was the memory of Rod's repeated cellphone calls to me one January day in the buildup to that year's protest at the Waihopai spybase. He was "on holiday" with his family in Golden Bay but work just kept rolling along. At his semi-State funeral at Christchurch Cathedral, one of his daughters told how he carefully chose that Golden Bay spot for their annual holiday precisely because it had cellphone cover.

There is an extra dimension to this which may have sealed his fate. Rod's greatest achievement was that he could rightfully claim to be the father of the Mixed Member Proportional voting system (MMP). But MMP's weakness is that although it certainly delivers a Parliament, it doesn't deliver a Government, or not the one that people, such as me and Becky, thought that they were voting for (namely a Labour/Green coalition). Rod and the Greens were the biggest casualties of the electoral system that he had bequeathed to the nation. Nor was this the first time they had been shafted by Labour. It happened when they first entered Parliament as an independent party, in 1999 – Labour chose to stitch up a deal with the Alliance, which duly fell to bits and led to the 2002 election being called early. That time around, Labour and the Greens had a hissy fit over Corngate and a coalition was off the agenda (for its part, the Alliance vanished from Parliament). In 2005, it was all lovey dovey between Labour and the Greens, so much so that the Greens ran a feeble campaign consisting largely of asking voters to vote for them to let them support Labour. Voters decided to cut out the middle man in a tight election and voted for Labour directly, with the result that the Greens dropped three MPs (the first election since 1999 when they hadn't increased their numbers) and their party vote dropped perilously close to the oblivion of less of 5%. For its part, Labour thanked them for all their hard work by dumping them and reinforcing the point that as long as it is in office (or, at least, has Helen Clark as Prime Minister) it will never include the Greens in a coalition.

Rod ran around like the proverbial bluearsed fly in the weeks after the September 2005 election, engaged in endless negotiations with Labour (he came to the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa [CAFCFA] Annual General Meeting during that period but spent most of it outside, talking on his cellphone). And the end result? A big fat nothing, apart from some tokenism such as him being given the Buy New Zealand Made campaign to keep him busy. The question of whether to work with Labour inside or outside of Government has been a constant debate within the Greens and this time around the Party committed itself to wanting in. It is no secret that Rod was busting his guts to be a Cabinet Minister (I used to tease him that he'd get Minister of Racing; funnily enough, his nemesis Winston Peters has that now). In those exhausting and surreal weeks of negotiations, he and the Greens did some unwise things, none more so than their "secret" meeting with Big Business leaders, which was gleefully exposed by the media, in an unsuccessful attempt to convince the transnational corporations and local capitalists that they had nothing to fear from a coalition including the Greens. All for nought. Although he didn't publicly show it, that must have been a crushing disappointment for Rod, plus the realisation that he was never likely to get into Cabinet. At the Christchurch funeral, the Australian Green Senator, Bob Brown, said that Rod had told him that he didn't want to die wondering whether he would have made a good Minister. Well, I'm afraid, he did.

Forever One Of Us, Not One Of Them

Just to increase the pressure on him to bursting point, the Greens were made the target of a hysterical election year smear campaign, ranging from the overt (Big Business) to the bizarrely covert (the Exclusive Brethren). As the only party in Parliament to the Left of Labour since the Alliance left the building (and not too much of a Leftwing party at that), the Greens became the bogeyman (that'd better be the bogeyperson to be PC, I suppose) for all the Rightwing forces in the country, from the 80s' retro Rogernauts to the flat Earth Biblebashers. Interestingly, these same forces did not similarly demonise the Maori Party. After all, its new MPs and senior Party officials include bona fide "Maori radicals", who are usually good for frightening the children. Why not? The answer may lie in that party's rather alarming flirtation with National in the post-election negotiations. Heavy petting was in evidence, but it became a case of coalition interruptus.

Speaking at the Wellington memorial meeting: "Author Nicky Hager said Donald did not deserve the strain he was forced to live under at the fringe of mainstream politics. A constant barrage of insults from political foes about being 'nutty', having 'loony ideas' or being a 'crank' took their toll. 'I'm sure I wasn't the only person to be struck by the hypocrisy of some of the kinds of words spoken about Rod by other politicians after he died'. Now was a good time for politicians to pause and reconsider their treatment of non-mainstream MPs, he said" (Press, 22/11/05; "Donald's mates lament attacks", Haydon Dewes). In her deeply moving speech at the funeral, his partner, Nicola Shirlaw, surprised the nation by revealing that Rod, the consummate political animal, was in despair throughout 2005 at the state of NZ politics and came within an ace of chucking it all in and heading off to another, now never to be known, career. She said that what rekindled the fire in his belly were the lunatic policies and actions of the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe and he threw himself into the unsuccessful campaign to stop the NZ cricket team from touring there in 2005. Rod was a hero to the Zimbabwean exile community in this country and they played a leading role at his funeral. Just weeks before the election I found myself sitting next to him at the premiere of the NZ peace movement documentary "Tau Te Mauri: Breath Of Peace" (see Jeremy Agar's review of it elsewhere in this issue). Poor Rod had to suffer the torture of turning off his cellphone for an hour and a half; he talked on it until the lights went out. Afterwards I teased him that if the polls were correct, Don Brash's National would win. He didn't see that as a laughing matter at all and indicated that if it came to pass, he'd quit politics. A close colleague of mine told me that she last had an indepth discussion with Rod in early 2004 and described him as "despondent" about the political situation. All of this would have contributed to getting him down to the extent that a common or garden virus was able to kill him.

And would he have been a good Minister? We'll never know now, nor would we if he'd still been alive. Personally, I think that Labour did the Greens a backhanded favour by shitting on them. I think that calculated insult of refusing to have them as a coalition partner has, ironically, guaranteed the Greens' survival as a Parliamentary party, indeed as a political party. The record for junior coalition partners under MMP is not encouraging. They become the lightning rod for everything perceived to be wrong with whatever Government is in power, a perception happily encouraged by the major partner in the interests of its own survival. Look at what happened with New Zealand First during its 1996-98 coalition with National or the Alliance with Labour from 1999-02. And if Rod had become a Minister, he would have been labelled the "loony" one, and undergone the pillorying currently being borne (disastrously) by Winston Peters as Minister of Foreign Affairs. If there's any justice in the world, similar pillorying will be inflicted on the Minister most responsible for keeping the Greens out of government, namely the odious Peter Dunne (whose name should more appropriately be pronounced dunny). I reckon the Greens are better off out of it. If and when this ramshackle coalition of strange bedfellows falls to bits, the Greens will come out of it smelling of roses. And it gives them vital time to rebuild their seriously eroded support base which saw no particular reason to vote for them rather than Labour in 2005. As for Rod, the national wave of aroha that swept the country after his death means that his memory remains unsullied by the inevitable disappointments and disasters that would have come with a Cabinet post. Rest assured mate, it wouldn't have been worth it. And it means that you forever remain one of us, not one of them.

Rod literally was one of us. He'd been an ABC member since the late 1990s and a CAFCA member for a similar period. He regularly attended CAFCA Annual General Meetings, making him the only MP (not to mention Party Co-Leader) to do so. In both cases, his active involvement predated his formal membership by years. He donated to CAFCA and contributed more than \$800 to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income. He regularly said that he must become a regular pledger to it and asked for the automatic payment forms to be sent to him. But despite the truly heroic efforts of his Parliamentary Executive Secretary, Bronwen Summers, he never got around to filling them in and activating it. This sent him off on a self-inflicted guilt trip every time he saw me.

By contrast with Owen Wilkes, Rod and I were never personal friends, mates or close colleagues. I knew nothing about Rod's family or great chunks of his life, most of which I learned from the media. It wasn't until after his death that I knew he was an only child, which must make it devastating for his elderly parents. He'd been to our place a few times (usually to personally sell us tickets for local Green fundraising movie nights. The significance of that is

that I am not, and never have been a member of the Greens or any other political party. That didn't bother Rod). I'd only ever been to his family home once, and that was as recently as August 2005. We'd both been Christchurch-based political activists for 30 years, but we only ever spoke together to a public meeting once, and that was as recently as February 2005 (in Napier). Again, by contrast with Owen, there was no shared background of madcap adventures from decades ago. I can think of only one trip away together before he started regularly coming to the Waihopai spybase protests – a 1980 trip (an extremely uncomfortable one in a van) to Dunedin to take part in activities opposing the proposed transnational aluminium smelter at Aramoana, at the entrance to Otago Harbour (one campaign that was 100% successful). He was a crucial few years younger than me and basically we mixed in different circles, with very different views on whether to work inside or outside of the political system.

A Precocious, Prodigious Talent

Be that as it may, Rod and I went back 30 years together as fellow political activists in Christchurch. On numerous occasions, including in the months before he died, he regaled me and anyone else around with a story of him inviting me to speak at his private boys' high school, St Andrews College, and the impression that I made, as the longhaired and bearded leader of the notorious Progressive Youth Movement, complete with Army greatcoat (the garment that so got up the nose of the powers that be in those fevered days of Vietnam War and Anzac Day protests). No matter how many times he told that story, I have no memory of it, so I just had to take his word for it (but I do have a crystal clear memory of an identical visit to Christchurch Boys High School, where the Deputy Principal stormed into the packed assembly hall like the Fifth Horseman of the Apocalypse and loudly demanded to know who had invited me. Told that it was one of the prefects, he retreated in confusion). I think Rod treasured his mental picture of me as the longhaired, bearded protester of his adolescence and seemed almost offended when I ditched both hair and beard three years ago. He struggled to recognise me, to the extent of walking past me in the street, and always commented on my extreme makeover as a shorthaired, cleanshaven, middleaged man.

Rod was a precocious talent. His first protest action was as a 12 year old – he picketed his school's football team from the sideline, protesting his exclusion on the grounds that he was too fat (he made sure that he was never fat again). He plunged into environmental activism as a St Andrews schoolboy in the early 1970s (it didn't affect his school career, where he finished as Head Prefect). He opted to not go on to university, on the grounds that there was too much to do. He joined the former Values Party and biked to Nelson to become campaign manager for its local candidate (Gwen Struik, who remains a veteran Green, peace and anti-bases activist to this day). He did a stint on a Nelson organic farm and then returned to Christchurch where he was a founding member of Ecology Action, specialising in recycling. At 18 he was manager of the newly founded Christchurch Environment Centre. Veteran environmentalist, Janet Holm, described him as "full of fire and vigour". But Rod had a penchant for treading on toes, too (it goes with the territory). "Their relationship became strained as Holm thought Donald 'became fixated on his own power and influence. He acted on his own bat, seeking publicity'. Holm tried to sack him but he used the group's constitution to prevent this. When Donald sought a City Council job in recycling and asked Holm for a testimonial, she wrote that he was 'extremely bright and able and well organised but does only what he wants'. She said he was 'impossible to control'. To her amazement, he got the job. Also to her amazement, they remained good friends. 'He was always nice, always innovative and on the go' (Press, 12/11/05; "Fire And Flair", Mike Crean).

Rod was the Christchurch City Council's recycling publicity officer in 1978-79. In the late 70s he was best known in Christchurch as the leader of the Loopies i.e the group of "hippies" who moved into the inner city Avon Loop and set up an alternative community there (which was a very 70s thing to do. In many respects, Rod remained a 70s guy all his life, as evidenced by his love for the Pink Floyd music which featured so prominently at his funeral). This put him at odds not only with the developers who wanted to "develop" the Loop but the formidable Elsie Locke, a renowned author and peace activist for many decades. She headed a group of longterm residents who wanted a different kind of development from that proposed by both the businessmen and the hippies (her son, Keith, became one of Rod's closest colleagues as a fellow Green MP). Rod's most enduring legacy from that period is Piko Wholefoods, which is still going strong. Piko led to him becoming involved with Trade Aid, after joining a volunteer committee. In 1981 he plunged into the maelstrom of the protests against the Springbok Tour, being the subject of a TV current affairs profile on anti-tour protestors. In the early 80s he worked for the Tenants Protection Association. It was there that he met his life partner, Nicola Shirlaw. They had three daughters, whose ages range from 13 to 21, and upon whom he absolutely doted (I regularly came upon him biking or walking around town with one or more of them in tow. He loved those kids). He moved on to become national publicity officer for the Youth Hostels Association, and spent the years 1986-90 in Wellington as public affairs manager for Volunteer Service Abroad.

Rod returned to Christchurch in 1990 to become the NZ manager of Trade Aid Importers, the job he held until he entered Parliament in 1996. Trade Aid's co-founder, Vi Cottrell, said that he "brought absolute passion to the job. He was totally committed. He thought about it all the time. We used to joke that when he went on holiday it was a progression from one Trade Aid shop to another...He was a great strategic thinker. He modernised Trade Aid.

Without him, it would have gone down the tube” (Press, 12/11/05; “Fire And Flair”, Mike Crean). This was the period of closest contact between CAFCA and Trade Aid. Rod invited me to the Christchurch national office to speak to the staff; at one point Trade Aid paid for more than a dozen of its shops to stock Foreign Control Watchdog (sadly that didn't last). Later, as an MP, Rod paid for several copies of Watchdog to be made available in his various offices.

MMP: His Greatest Legacy

Since 1989 Rod had been a high profile public figure as national spokesman for the Electoral Reform Commission. This really is his greatest legacy – he threw himself heart and soul into the successful campaign to force a binding referendum to change the voting system from the totally distorted and discredited First Past the Post to MMP. To win that battle, he had to overcome entrenched opposition from the media and leading MPs from both traditional major parties (plenty of whom are still in Parliament today, ironically having survived because of the system they opposed). The “citizens” campaign to retain the old system was lavishly funded by Big Business (which had done very nicely out of it, especially during the Rogernomics years of crony capitalism in the 80s), and headed by Telecom's Peter Shirtcliffe. This was a once in a lifetime opportunity to change the voting system and it ended in victory at the 1993 referendum and Rod entering Parliament as a new MP after the first MMP election in 1996. He continued to campaign, rather less successfully, to get the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system adopted for local body elections.

Parliamentary politics seemed the logical next step. Those who branded him a careerist expected it to be with Labour. And indeed he had been a member of that party from 1982-88 “when he quit because he didn't like the party's direction and because it reneged on the electoral referendum” (Listener, 9/4/94; “Gunning For The Greens”, Bruce Ansley). Instead Rod chose the Greens and didn't muck around, going straight to the top as Co-Leader. He was refreshingly honest. “Donald likes power. ‘I'm very keen on it. I don't see why anyone should shy away from it” (ibid).

That 12 year old Listener profile contains some fascinating insights into both Rod and the Greens. “...But there was a more pressing reason for Donald to turn away from Labour: he is suspicious of the Party's relationship with unions. ‘I don't believe in the whole business of the unions affiliating to the Labour Party and holding card votes. Unions have a very important role, but I look for a third alternative, a co-operative model. To some extent unions depend on the continuation of the capitalist system, whereas worker ownership is a completely different path, which doesn't mean the end of unions. I've found it frustrating that unions have opposed the cooperative model because they think it threatens their own future, whereas it's the best way workers can break their shackles’. Shades of the anarchism that Donald entertained when he lived above the health foods cooperative he started? ‘I still feel quite comfortable with anarchy, in principle. It's about people taking responsibility for their own lives and being conscious of the needs of other people. But I'm a realist. And a pragmatist” (ibid). Views such as those were definitely bound to cause problems with the old Labourites and unionists who comprised New Labour, the core party of the Alliance. At that stage, Rod was all in favour of the Greens staying within the Alliance. “Why walk away from a coalition where you've already had a significant influence on policy, and then have to form another coalition?” (ibid).

The Greens lasted one term (1996-99) within the Alliance. Shortly before the 1999 election, when they'd taken the gamble to fly solo, I asked Rod why they had left. He replied: “Two words. Jim Anderton”. The gamble nearly didn't pay off – on election night 1999, when Labour came to power, the Greens had missed out, both in their only electorate hope (Coromandel) and in the party vote. They had to endure an agonising wait in limbo until special votes delivered them both Coromandel (which Co-Leader, Jeanette Fitzsimons, held for one term) and enough party votes to get into Parliament under their own banner (but, by that time, Labour had stitched up a coalition with the Alliance). Then they were thrust into the spotlight of massive media attention as the funky new party (a slot most recently occupied by the Maori Party). Ironically Rod, once the young lion, was now one of the party's senior statesmen, while the media was transfixed by his younger colleagues, such as Nandor Tanczos. Probably their best chance of getting into Government was in 2002, with Labour unchallenged by an astonishingly feeble National Party campaign. But Corngate definitely stuffed that up and Labour and the Greens went bitterly head to head on a key point of difference, namely genetic engineering. Clark chose United Future and the Greens stayed out in the cold. By the time of the 2005 election, the Greens had ensured that there would be no nasty spats but it was one election too late – National had revved up the “what's in it for me?” tax cuts issue which set the agenda for the whole campaign, backed up by good old fashioned racism (greed and racism, the old firm). Labour hung on by the skin of Helen Clark's particularly unattractive teeth and decided that the Greens (who had offered voters no obvious reason to vote for them as opposed to Labour) were dispensable. The rest, as they say, is history (actually it is current reality).

CAFCA's Key Contact In Parliament

It was during Rod's years as an MP, i.e. the past decade, that he had the closest relationship with both CAFCA and

ABC. Unlike so many others who have become MPs with parties such as Labour and the Alliance, Rod never turned his back on the progressive movement from whence he came. On the contrary, he thrived in his dual role as both MP and extra-Parliamentary activist. He never sold out, and he never forgot where he came from. Starting with CAFCA, that period spanned his leading role in our unsuccessful campaign to stop Westpac taking over TrustBank and went right through to the most recent campaign, namely the 2003-05 one against what is now the new Overseas Investment Act. CAFCA is not affiliated to any party, we're an independent organisation, and reserve the right to criticise all of them, including the Greens (and have done so). But it's no secret that we had an extremely good working relationship with the Greens, meaning with Rod. Once they stood on their own two feet in Parliament, it only got stronger. Shortly after that election I went to Wellington and briefed the Green caucus (I started by stating that I was an Alliance voter – by a simple process of elimination, I became a first time Green voter in 2005). Once the Alliance was gone, the Greens were the only game in town for us. Rod was on the Finance and Expenditure Select Committee and persuaded it to inquire into the workings of the Overseas Investment Commission (OIC). He further persuaded the Labour and New Zealand First MPs on it to agree to recommendations for changing the OIC and tightening up its processes – the Government opted to ignore its own Party's MPs. During the campaign on the Overseas Investment Bill, Rod initiated a Greens petition to stop foreigners being able to buy rural land in NZ and organised public meetings up and down the country on the issue of foreign control (such as the February 2005 one at Napier at which I also spoke). He was always eager to be personally helpful. On one trip to Wellington, he invited me to Parliament and personally took me around the Press Gallery (where he was part of the furniture), introduced me to every journalist and put in a plug for CAFCA with every one of them.

A glimpse at the Greens' foreign investment policy for the 2005 election shows it to have been heavily influenced by CAFCA, and that was entirely attributable to Rod constantly picking our brains on the subject. Rod worked his charm on both sides of the argument – after his death I received a lot of messages. The most surprising one came from Steven Dawe, the former Chief Executive Officer of the OIC, who is now with the International Monetary Fund in the US. In the more than a decade that he and I had been communicating, on behalf of CAFCA and the OIC, we had never exchanged a personal message. But he e-mailed me, expressing genuine sorrow at Rod's death and asking me to pass that on to his family. I'll give the man full credit for that.

Rod was indefatigable and at times I felt like an on-call researcher for him. He rang me once as he laboured up an East Coast hill to join Maori occupying Young Nick's Head in protest at it being sold to an American; he rang me as he was driving to Comalco's Tiwai Point smelter for a tour as a guest of the company, and wanted a fast briefing on everything to do with Comalco. Another time he rang, from Australia, minutes before he was due to do a Radio NZ national interview on the whole subject of foreign control and wanted some tips. I loved the breathtaking cheek of the fellow. Some of these calls were on sensitive subjects. It's less than a year ago that he rang asking my advice on whether the Greens should vote for the Overseas Investment Bill because one of the amendments arising from its Select Committee stage was attractive to the Party and they were tempted by half a loaf being better than none. Fortunately, Rod and the Party saw sense and retained their credibility by voting against the Bill. I doubt that he ever read a Watchdog or a Peace Researcher (he was neither a reader nor a writer), but he had an exceptionally good intuitive grasp of the subject and all its details. He was a wonderful contact to have in Parliament and ensured that we received a steady flow of material and information. He really is a great loss to CAFCA, possibly irreplaceable.

Throughout his whole time in Parliament, he was the Greens' spokesperson on trade and he ensured that the Party fought all the multitude of free trade agreements being foisted upon the NZ people by both National and Labour. He fought equally hard on the issues of foreign control and free trade. In the latter campaign, I'm basically a foot soldier, so his close working relationships were with colleagues such as Bill Rosenberg and Leigh Cookson.

A Regular Happy Camper At Waihopai

Rod's relationship with ABC was much more hands on and sociable. From the time he entered Parliament as an Alliance MP in Opposition he plunged into the campaign against the Waihopai spybase. He was elected in 1996; he paid his first visit to Waihopai during ABC's January 1997 protest (the last time anyone was arrested there; tactics have been changed in recent years). Indeed he later appeared as a defence witness during the Blenheim court case of the 20 people arrested but got short shrift from the reactionary local judge who wasn't going to have his courtroom turned into a "circus". That first time, Rod came with new Labour MP, Marian Hobbs. We're reliably informed that she got her head bitten off by Helen Clark, who so terrified Marian that she has never contacted ABC again, never been near Waihopai again and never mentioned the subject again (even when she was Minister of Disarmament), preferring to stick to platitudes and bask in the glow of New Zealand being nuclear free.

Once the Greens stood on their own two feet in Parliament, and Keith Locke was elected (both happened in 1999), Rod and Keith became a standard feature of all subsequent Waihopai protest camps. In January 2000, the newly-elected Greens were flavour of the month and the media poured across from Wellington to cover it. The last

Waihopai protest attended by both was in January 2004. And they didn't just parachute in either. Both spent the weekend in a tent like the rest of us, using Portaloos and doing their share of the food preparation. Rod was invaluable for his ability to attract the media to events like that, he really did have them wrapped around his little finger. And he was an excellent liaison man with the publicity shy base commanders, to get us legal access to the inner gate of the heavily fortified spybase. He plunged into all our activities – I remember him as compere for a Best Dressed Spy contest, held in Blenheim's central Seymour Square. He loaned us his family tent, he drove people around in his van (quite often having specially driven it from his family's annual holiday in Golden Bay), and he led the trips to the swimming hole further up the Waihopai Valley. ABC didn't go to Waihopai in 2005, instead we went to the other "New Zealand" spybase, at Tangimoana on the North Island's lower west coast. Rod and Keith played a leading role – Rod told me that it was the only time he'd ever been there.

Rod never missed a chance to put Waihopai in the spotlight – in August 2005, as part of its election campaign, the Greens toured Andrew Wilkie, an Australian former Intelligence analyst turned Iraq War whistleblower, author and Australian Green candidate. Rod accompanied him through the country, including to the inner gate of Waihopai (where he managed to wrangle a couple of muffins out of the base commander, having chided him about the lack of hospitality to an MP on previous visits). Indeed, Wilkie's tour was the reason for my only ever visit to Rod's home, to meet him, and we spent a very pleasant evening. At Wilkie's well attended Christchurch public meeting, Rod kept plugging the ABC and invited me to speak. He had every intention of joining ABC again at the January 2006 Waihopai protest. Days after his death I was asked to come into his Christchurch office, where his shellshocked secretary handed me the e-mail I'd sent him inviting him to join us again. On it he'd written, "yes". And to my rather tongue in cheek query as to whether he would have come if he had been a Cabinet Minister, he'd emphatically written "I sure as Hell would have come!". That would have been an interesting situation that sure as Hell would have infuriated Clark and fascinated the media. Sometimes the latter reported the Waihopai protests (and the 2005 Tangimoana one) as if they'd been organised by the Greens, with no mention of ABC. We grinned and bore it, because we knew that without Rod's unique charm and media savvy, they probably wouldn't have given it any coverage at all, or definitely not as much. Rod was a bona fide celebrity and one of the few personalities among our otherwise grey and boring politicians.

In gratitude to his years of work on the Waihopai campaign, ABC dedicated the January 2006 protest to his memory. As master of ceremonies in Blenheim's Seymour Square, I started the proceedings with a minute's silence. The Greens organised a memorial planting of native trees at our campsite (they are also dedicated to Owen Wilkes, at ABC's request). We urged Green Party members, and all the other people who took part in the outpouring of grief after his death, to come to Waihopai as a practical way to honour his memory and continue his work. The Party responded by holding its annual Picnic for the Planet at our campsite, on the Sunday of the protest weekend, complete with bands, and Party Leader Jeanette Fitzsimons delivered her annual State of the Planet Address there. The Greens mounted a major publicity effort among their members and there was a significant increase of people at this year's protest, boosted by many Greens coming for the first time. That could all be attributed to one thing – the Rod Factor. As an inveterate publicist and seizer of opportunities par excellence, he would have mightily approved. We know that he was with us in spirit. See the lead story in this issue for details of the January 2006 Waihopai protest.

An Added Dimension

In all the issues with which we worked with Rod, his angle (and that of the Greens) was not necessarily the same as ours. I'll give an example from each campaign. CAFCA had reservations about the Greens' petition to ban foreigners buying NZ land, because we considered that they hadn't thought through the implications – forests are land (huge amounts of it); to build a hotel, a supermarket or a cellphone tower requires land. You follow that one through to its logical conclusion and it becomes quite close to a blanket ban on foreign investment. Fine by us, but I'm not sure that's what the Greens intended. On the trade issue, some of the Greens' opposition to the proposed free trade agreement with China is simply good old fashioned Chinabashing, the sort of stuff that I grew up with as a kid in the 1950s and 60s. And on Waihopai, Rod had a bee in his bonnet about whether the spybase and the agency that runs it (the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau) provided "value for money". That's a slippery slope, as was his call for an inquiry into the base. We've experienced inquiries before, which completely whitewash their subject and set it in concrete. But none of that mattered in the bigger picture, because it brought an added dimension to all those issues and campaigns.

After Rod's death, ABC is confident that the Greens will continue to support us on Waihopai (Keith Locke will ensure that). But CAFCA is not so sure about whether the Party will continue to campaign so hard on the foreign control issue – that was very much Rod's baby. It needs to be emphasised that the Greens are fundamentally a middle class party, they are not, at heart, a Leftwing party (Rod's views on unions and a "third way", cited above, are revealing). There is a definite Rightwing in the Party and a constant tension between those two contending points of

view. CAFCA learned this for itself a few years ago after the Party, on Rod's say so, approved the inclusion of nomination forms for the annual Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand with a Party mailout. I was subsequently stunned to be told by the person in charge of that she didn't agree with the decision or the Roger Award itself, which she considered to be too "negative", and that she thought that we should be encouraging the transnationals by having an award for the best behaved of them rather than the worst of them. She concluded by telling me that she didn't know one single woman in the Greens who disagreed with her (a quick poll of Green women that I knew proved that assertion to be false). Fortunately she didn't have veto power and the mailout went ahead. We've always had plenty of Roger nominations from flaxroots Green members as a result of those mailouts. So, from CAFCA's point of view, we have to wait and see whether we'll still have that close working relationship that we enjoyed under Rod's leadership and, indeed, whether the Greens will continue to give any emphasis to that issue.

We've All Lost Someone Unique

Rod himself had plenty of faults. In her funeral eulogy, his partner, Nicola Shirlaw, citing her privilege as his life partner, said that he could be "profoundly irritating" (Becky picked up on that and noted it for her eulogy at my funeral). He certainly hurt people, trod on toes and made enemies. One former colleague so despised him that he avoided attending any functions that Rod was likely to be at, including important CAFCA ones. Rod had been criticised as an egotist, self-publicist, careerist, opportunist, and all sorts of other things involving arrogance, attention-seeking, ambition and the desire for power. Not to mention being a walking, talking advertisement for cellphone transnationals. There is truth in all of the above. But fundamentally, so what? It goes with the territory, and those faults were far outweighed by his innumerable good points. Actually, I recognised a lot of myself in Rod, both good and bad. I never had a bad experience with him and have only positive memories from the three decades that I knew him. He was a true original and a person of quite unique energy and commitment (which, ironically, may have contributed to his sudden death). He was a genius at networking and as an organiser and motivator. Whatever he committed to do, he did fully and did it himself (it never ceased to amaze me that an MP, not to mention a Party Co-Leader, would personally come to the house to sell us – non-members - tickets for fundraising movies). He led a campaign that gifted the country a whole new voting system, and he personified the Greens for the decade that he co-led the party. If there is one word that summed up Rod, it was charisma. He had it in buckets. The Party is bigger than one man, with an excellent Leader in Jeanette Fitzsimons (now flying solo) and it will survive his death (the same couldn't be said for several of the other small parties). But it remains to be seen what direction it will take, and it will be a very different style of leadership and public presence. Politics, the progressive movement, and the nation as a whole, have all lost someone unique.



Obituary: DAVID LANGE

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

Ever since David Lange's death, in August 2005, much has been written about his life and personality. I can't add anything to that, because I never met the man, never spoke to him, never had any dealings with him, and don't remember ever setting eyes on him. As one of the few Labour Prime Ministers to have served more than one term and the leading figure in a pivotal period of change in New Zealand's history, he will be judged by the legacy of the Government that he led for more than five years. And found seriously wanting.

Just as National elevated Piggy Muldoon to its leadership to counteract Labour's charismatic Norm Kirk in the 1970s, so Labour, in the early 80s, dumped the thoroughly inoffensive and ineffective Bill Rowling (see my obituary of him in Watchdog 81, April 1996) and replaced him with the Kirkesque Lange to counteract Muldoon. Some very effective myths have become established as facts since the Rogernomics "revolution" (read "coup"). One of them is that "we couldn't go on like that...NZ was like a Polish shipyard". This was used to justify "There Is No Alternative", the Big Lie of the 1980s – Labour copied that from Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

Let's Refresh Our Memories About Muldoon, To Better Evaluate Lange

To quote from my obituary of Piggy (Watchdog 71, November 1992): "...I won't waste readers' time itemising the umpteen reasons why Muldoon, his political style and his policies were a disaster for New Zealanders. You all know them. But, from a CAFCA perspective, there were good reasons to praise some of his policies. Forget all this nonsense about labelling him a 'socialist'. His version was more akin to 'national socialism'. No, Muldoon was a reactionary nationalist (and by way of contrast, we define ourselves as progressive nationalists). He genuinely believed he was advancing the interests of ordinary New Zealanders; his boorish racism struck a responsive chord with many dinkum Kiwis (and I freely admit that I laughed at his riposte that New Zealanders who moved to Australia 'raised the IQ in both countries'). He was lambasted in the media for ignoring the yuppie smartarses in Treasury. Well, we've had plenty of experience of the alternative, since then. And I'm prepared to believe that he was truly horrified at the mass unemployment started by his policies (he wanted it kept manageable).

"He'll be rightly condemned for a number of landmark catastrophes. The (1981) Springbok Tour; the pharaonic Think Big projects and resulting debt; the Mussoliniesque capitalism of the wage/price freeze; nuclear warships. But in his first term (1975-78) he actually pursued a number of policies that put him on our side. His insistence on a \$10 per barrel levy on Great South Basin oil finds drove Hunt Petroleum back to Texas. He was the only NZ politician ever to tackle the Japanese, in the famous "fish for beef" battle, And while he fought his fellow yakuza, the gutless Bill Rowling ran around wringing his hands about this being no way to behave to a major trading partner.

"And, most notably, he grabbed Comalco by the balls, and showed a singular reluctance to let go. They tried all their usual public and private pressure tactics, but Piggy hung on, finally forcing them to accept a power price increase of 350% (but not the 650% originally demanded). He spoke their language (total bloody-mindedness) and remains the only man to have made them blink (in comparison, they wiped the floor with Douglas, Prebble and Co in the 80s. The Rogernauts got rogered). And, yet again, Bill Rowling ran around saying this was no way to treat a major trading partner.

"...Of course, Muldoon didn't continue his confrontational policy with multinationals and the gangsters who dictate trade policies. In his final two terms, he became entirely a creature of international lending agencies, oil companies, and even more so, Uncle Sam (who proved his undoing..."

To bring it right up to current issues of concern to CAFCA: when Michael Cullen was championing what is now the 2005 Overseas Investment Act (see any issue of Watchdog from 2003-05 inclusive for details), he justified the virtual removal of any official oversight of transnational corporate takeovers by saying that no such transaction had been refused by the Overseas Investment Commission since the days of the Muldoon government. Muldoon actually partially vetoed Australian corporate investment in NZ, as a bargaining chip to attempt to secure greater access for NZ businesses into Australia. Such a thing would be unheard of today, and the merest suggestion of it would send shudders through the ranks of the politically correct (or should that be the political elect?) in Parliament, officialdom, business and the media. There'd be a run on the stock market, God forbid, capital flight and no end of other horrors. It is quite likely that the sky would fall.

To conclude, from my 1992 obituary: "The great weakness of the massive opposition to Muldoon was that it demonised him and it personalised the whole issue. People truly believed that if Piggy skewered himself on his little curly tail, then all would be well in Godzone again. They voted for Lange in 84, precisely because he wasn't

Muldoon, and instead they got Roger Douglas (no danger of personalising the issue there – Douglas didn't have a personality to start with)...". I wasn't even in the country during the crisis before, during and after the 1984 snap election. I watched NZ election night from the TV lounge of a youth hostel in Glasgow, which was a suitably surreal experience. When I went away for three months rail travel around Europe (a busman's holiday for a railway worker), Muldoon was Prime Minister; I came back to the Brave New World of David Lange and Roger Douglas.

Twin Legacy: Rogernomics & Nuclear Free NZ

For CAFCA's view of each, I can do no better than quote from Watchdog 51, December 1985, from an article by Anon (nothing in Watchdog was attributed to anyone in those far off days) prosaically entitled: "Labour Party Conference Pickets".

"CAFCINZ (as we were then. MH) took upon itself the task of organising pickets of the Labour Party's annual National Conference, held this year (1985) in the Christchurch Town Hall. We chose two themes and held a picket on each – Labour's economic policies and Labour's defence policies. The tone of the latter was to congratulate Labour on its nuclear free proclamation and to urge them to make changes in its defence policy, primarily by getting New Zealand out of ANZUS*. The tone of the former was not congratulatory at all but strongly critical of Labour's laissez faire capitalist policy. *The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand's defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia. NZ remains consigned to outer darkness, but thus far the world has not ended and our erstwhile Big Brother is the only country in the world going around invading other people's countries. Perhaps we need a treaty to protect us from America. MH.

"The guidelines for both pickets were: they were not demonstrations and they were not to be abusive. We saw no point in alienating rank and file delegates.... We tossed a coin, picking Saturday morning for the economics one and Sunday morning for defence. By pure coincidence, the former coincided with the Goods and Services Tax debate, the latter with the foreign policy one. So we looked more clued up than we were. About 20 people took part in each picket, from CAFCINZ and other bodies (including at least one conference delegate).

"The main banner for the economics picket read – "Free Market For The Rich – Charity For The Poor?" Tom Scott (the journalist and cartoonist. MH) so liked one placard ("Douglas – A Tory In Fiscal Drag?") that he pinched it for his (Christchurch) Star column... This picket was obviously hitting a raw nerve with many – a Cabinet Minister called us SUP*. We were also called National/PSA**/the poor (who are always with us) and the rich! A well dressed Polynesian woman specially came out of the foyer to loudly declaim: "What a load of shit"... *SUP=Socialist Unity Party, which was aligned with the former Soviet Union, and was influential in unions at that time. The bete noire of National, Labour and union Rightwingers, and the media. ** PSA= NZ Public Service Association. This is now such a craven proponent of "partnership" with employers and an apologist for Labour that it would probably sue anyone who mentioned it in the same breath as CAFCA. MH.

"The defence picket had a markedly different atmosphere. One delegate thanked us for being 'friendly troops', saying they'd been unfriendly the day before. He was taken aback when told they were the same troops. By judicious use of a truly vast banner, nobody could slip in the doors behind us (at least one Finance Minister did during the economics picket) and all were herded through our lines, rather in the manner of a sheepdog trial. Those who have seen Lange basking in the limelight of American TV may be interested to know that he personally refused to accept the leaflet being distributed to all going in...

"To those delegates who say we have no right to criticise Labour without joining the Party and working from within, we say – bullshit. Labour is the Government now, it must take the credit and blame for its policies, which affect all New Zealanders, not just Party members. Nor do we subscribe to the theory that says democracy consists of one vote* every three years, accepting or rejecting the entire package. We reserve the right to say we do/don't like individual policies and will continue to do so. On foreign policy, Labour is doing a good job (as far as it goes). Its economic policies are a disaster". * Obviously this pre-dated MMP. MH.

(The above is fascinating for a number of reasons. 20 years ago CAFCINZ routinely organised pickets and protests. CAFCA doesn't – whenever we appear in the media now, we are described as a "lobby group". 20 years ago CAFCINZ was very active on defence and foreign policy issues. CAFCA isn't, although the invasion of Iraq has led us back in that anti-war, anti-imperialist direction. And, 20 years ago, CAFCINZ was prepared to publicly congratulate Labour about one of its policies. The next time CAFCA, and ABC, took part in a protest at a Labour Party conference in Christchurch – 2003 – we certainly didn't congratulate them about anything, including their foreign policy).

Disastrous Economic Policies

Nothing in the past 20 years has altered our conclusion that the economic policies of the 1984-90 Labour government were a disaster. In fact, they still are a disaster, because every Government since (including the present one, which has lurched even further to the Right as a result of the 2005 election) has adhered to them, albeit with some refinements and tinkering. Lange, of course, was the Prime Minister who, when he belatedly realised the full extent of the madness of the mad bastards who comprised his Cabinet, famously called for a tea break. He was swept aside – vampires drink blood for sustenance, not tea. He baled out in 1989, becoming an irrelevancy for the rest of his political career (which went on way beyond there being any apparent point to it) and the bloodsuckers careered on in the runaway train of Rogernomics, firstly under Geoffrey Palmer (whom my late father immortalised as “the bellowing cold fish”) and then, for a matter of weeks, Mad Mike Moore.

Lange attempted to rewrite history by distancing himself from the economic and social legacy of his Government. So, as we said 20 years ago – bullshit. One of our members once wrote to the Press saying that, if one was to believe him, his time as PM was spent bound and gagged in the basement of the Beehive while others ruled in his name. There is plenty of evidence of his explicitly backing Roger Douglas and Rogernomics, basically along the lines of “where Roger goes, I go”. The best way to refresh your memory on this is to view Alister Barry’s excellent 2002 documentary “In A Land Of Plenty: The Story Of Unemployment In New Zealand”. To quote from my review of it (Watchdog 100, August 2002, which can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/00/07.htm>): “My favourite segment is Lange suggesting that redundant freezing workers should move to where the jobs are, which are always elsewhere” (“In A Land Of Plenty” is available for hire from CAFCA, Box 2258, Christchurch, cafca@chch.planet.org.nz. Rental costs \$10, including postage, for one week).

I personally experienced those economic and social policies. During that period (from 1976-91 inclusive, to be precise) I was a Railways labourer, and a union activist and officeholder for some of it. So I personally witnessed the upheaval and deliberate imposition of mass unemployment that afflicted that industry, as it did so many others. Mass unemployment that led to many adverse consequences, including death, in that industry. Being a union official in those years was like following an elephant around with a shovel, just constantly cleaning up the shit. I’d never personally had any illusions about, or affiliations to, Labour but the sense of betrayal among workers, who had seen Labour as their party, was palpable. In 1984, my union, the then National Union of Railwaymen, gave \$40,000 to Labour to help it get elected. Within a very few years, it had disaffiliated from the Party (the union itself did not survive what Labour did to the Railways). All of this was fronted by the Minister of Railways, Richard Prebble (whose obituary I eagerly look forward to writing). In 1984 he led a march of several thousand Railways workers and their families through Christchurch as part of the union’s and Labour’s nationwide “Save Rail” campaign. Well, Prebble did save rail – he saved it for the Yanks to whom the next National government sold it for a song and they proceeded to asset strip it to such an extent that it became a national disgrace and a danger to the few remaining railway workers, its own passengers and the general public. Prebble did his job so well that there is no longer any such Cabinet portfolio as Minister of Railways. Thank you Richard, thank you David. What added insult to injury is that Labour came into office in 1984 saying one thing and then turned around and did the exact opposite. That led to such a profound sense of betrayal right across the spectrum of New Zealand society that MMP is one of its direct results.

He Happened To Be The Right Man In The Right Place At The Right Time

And I was personally and simultaneously part of the other part of Lange’s legacy, namely the drive to make New Zealand nuclear free. He, of course, got all the kudos for this, and has come to personify that policy (his famous joke during the Oxford Union debate, telling an earnest young questioner that he could smell the uranium on the callow youth’s breath, was replayed endlessly on TV following his death). Rather like his contemporary Mikhail Gorbachev, leader of the former Soviet Union, Lange is considerably more famous and admired outside his own country than in it. He deserves full credit for standing up to Reagan’s America and the Australian Labor government led by the aptly named Bob Hawke (the latter came to power promising an inquiry into ANZUS. It was duly held and pronounced ANZUS to be the best thing for Australia since they started putting beer into cans. End of discussion). But Lange simply happened to be in the right place at the right time to surf the popular wave of overwhelming public opinion that demanded New Zealand be nuclear free. He hadn’t put himself on the line during any of the amazingly courageous waterborne protests that had hampered and stopped US nuclear warships and submarines in the preceding years. Some leading Labour figures did – I’m thinking of Phil Amos, a Minister in the 1970s’ Labour government, who was arrested and fined for sailing his yacht into the path of one of those vessels (he was no longer a Minister or an MP when he did so). But not Lange. What made New Zealand nuclear free and out of ANZUS was much more the blundering heavyhandedness of the American and Australian bullies than any visionary leadership by Lange. American pigheadedness has kept their nuclear warships out of NZ waters for 20 years now; it was the US which threw NZ out of ANZUS, rather than Lange leading us out. Whatever, the fact is that nuclear free NZ out

of ANZUS is now the status quo, indeed a sacred cow, which even National is loath to touch, despite its occasional ideological twitchings in the direction of Uncle Sam. For that, all New Zealanders, and the world, can be truly grateful. But it is a vast oversimplification to present it as the work of one man. It would have been political suicide for him to have added that to the list of broken promises, betrayals and lies that characterised his government.

I can attest that this foreign bullying backfired from the experience of my own family. My late father (my obituary of him can be read in Watchdog 108, April 2005; online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/08/09.htm>) was no supporter of either Labour or David Lange. He voted National at every election from 1960 until 1996 inclusive and routinely referred to Lange as "that fat bastard". But he was outraged by the attempts by Reagan and Hawke to bully NZ back into line. The old man's view was summed up as: "I didn't vote for this Government or this nuclear free policy, but it is the democratically expressed wish of the New Zealand people, so outsiders must accept that and respect our decision". What swung it for many ordinary, conservative Kiwis was when the amazingly arrogant and stupid French murderously bombed the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour in 1985. And there was not one single peep of condemnation of this act of international State terrorism from our "allies", namely Reagan's America and Margaret Thatcher's Britain.

Lange played the nuclear free policy like a violin. It was presented as the carrot to keep the fundamentally middle class peace movement quiescent while Labour wrought havoc upon its traditional supporters in the working class and trade union movement. I well remember the tensions with friends in the peace movement who urged us not to rock the boat and jeopardise the re-election of Labour in 1987. It tends to be forgotten that Lange strung out and strung out the introduction of the long promised nuclear free law right throughout his first term (1984-87). That 1987 election was fought entirely on foreign policy (hard to imagine today. Labour did try it in the 2005 campaign, in a halfpice sort of way, but soon ditched that in favour of the bribes/tax cuts/what's in it for me themes which dominated and sidetracked the latest campaign). Looking back at the 1987 campaign, the overriding impression is one of apocalyptic hysteria from National and the various covert pro-US, pro-nuclear, Rightwing groups* which campaigned to defeat Labour and reverse the nuclear free policy (the Exclusive Brethren played an equivalent role in the 2005 election). And the US tried to subvert and overthrow Lange using all the old tricks in the handbook of its Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). There was the textbook "Maori Loans Affair", which targeted Koro Wetere, the Minister of Maori Affairs, and which TVNZ, in one of its finest hours, tracked back to the CIA office in Hawaii. It was a deadringer re-run of the "Loans Affair" scam which played such a major role in overthrowing the Australian Labor government headed by Gough Whitlam in 1975. There was also the mysterious "Soviet submarine" allegedly spotted in the waters around the Cook Islands (NZ is responsible for the Cooks' defence and foreign policies). Lange finally dismissed the speculation with one of his famous one liners, saying that the Air Force may have spotted a "flatulent whale". * For a sample, read the section headed "Apparently, It Was All A Communist Plot", in my obituary of Owen Wilkes, in Peace Researcher 31, October 2005, Special Issue. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr31-119.html> .

Labour won that election with an increased majority, which is very unusual for a sitting Government – a sign of the times was that the true blue Tory seat of Fendalton (now Ilam), in Christchurch, came within a couple of hundred votes of being won for Labour by leading peace campaigner, the late Neil Cherry* (Labour also nearly won the Tory bastion of Remuera, in Auckland). They must have thanked their lucky stars that the election was over and won by the time of the October 1987 global stock market meltdown. No stock market melted down into a bigger pile of smelly gunk than the NZ one, dominated by the crooks, cowboy capitalists and get rich quick cronies of Douglas and co. From that point on, National knew that it only had to continue drawing breath to win the 1990 election. It pragmatically reversed its position on the nuclear free law, guaranteeing its survival, and waited for power to fall into its lap so that it could continue Roger Douglas' unfinished business (which has never been finished, according to the Rogernauts). * Kate Dewes' obituary of Neil Cherry can be read in Peace Researcher 27, August 2003; <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr27-78.htm#bkmrk2> .

Nobody should be under any illusions that Lange's government was some sort of pacifist outfit. Bob Jones has claimed, with some justification, that his personal political vehicle, the former New Zealand Party (created out of Bob's hatred of Muldoon), handed the 1984 election to Labour by securing a very respectable 12% of the vote (under MMP that would have made it a major player in Parliament, quite likely a coalition partner; under First Past The Post it got nothing). And what was one of the major policies of that Party? Not merely a nuclear free NZ, but a military free Pacific – not on any namby pamby Lefty grounds, but because Bob thought that the military was a waste of money. So 12% of Kiwis voted for that. By contrast, Lange was adamant that he didn't want to do anything to spread "The New Zealand Disease" to the Pacific or anywhere else in the world (Roger Douglas and co had no such qualms about infecting the rest of the world with their virulent strain of the Kiwi bird flu). It was Lange's government that committed New Zealand to the cripplingly expensive Anzac frigates, despite overwhelming public opposition. They were painfully keen not to be seen as soft on defence.

A Gaping Hole In The Nuclear Free Law

It's called Harewood, the US military base at Christchurch Airport. For details about what Harewood does, check out the ABC Website, specifically <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/otherbases.html>. It's been there for more than 50 years, the only US military base situated in a city anywhere in Australasia. US Air Force planes fly in and out on a very regular basis, under exactly the same neither confirm nor deny policy that has seen US Navy vessels stay out of New Zealand since 1984. Because that base officially exists to provide logistic support for peaceful scientific work in Antarctica, it is exempt from the nuclear free law. The Americans recognise the value of having a base, their only one, in New Zealand. Even when the 1980s ANZUS Row was at its height, and the US was punishing NZ by excluding our military from exercises and cutting us off from US intelligence, the Reagan Administration never suggested relocating that base elsewhere. We tackled Lange about the stark inconsistency of hosting a US military base, which operates under exactly the same doctrine that spelled the end to warship visits and took the NZ out of ANZUS, but he was adamant, scathing in fact, that there was nothing wrong with Harewood (as an aside, its presence at Christchurch Airport makes a mockery out of the City Council's self-congratulatory declaration of Christchurch as a nuclear free "peace city"). He was always disparaging about those who demanded that he attend to the unfinished business (there's that phrase again) and break the remaining ties to the US military by chucking Uncle Sam out of Christchurch. He has his supporters in the peace movement – just a few months ago I was told by a veteran nationally known peace activist that keeping the bases here (Harewood and the spybases) was the trade-off necessary for the US to "allow" NZ to be nuclear free.

Waihopai: Lange's Gift To The American Empire

That constitutes New Zealand's single most important contribution to any and all American wars, much more so than a token military presence in Iraq or Afghanistan. Waihopai is the real deal, effectively a US spybase operating on New Zealand soil under a New Zealand flag, staffed by New Zealanders and paid for by you and me, the New Zealand taxpayer. It was Waihopai that led to the birth of the Anti-Bases Campaign and details about it can be found on the ABC's Website at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/waihopai.html>.

As with Rogernomics, Lange subsequently claimed that he was conned and duped about Waihopai (he must have been a very gullible fellow). Indeed, in a 1994 letter to a Palmerston North correspondent, he wrote: "There are no foreign intelligence installations in New Zealand" (3/3/94). He spelled it out explicitly in his quite extraordinary Foreword to Nicky Hager's seminal 1996 book, "Secret Power: New Zealand's Role In The International Spy Network". It was astonishing that a former Prime Minister (whose portfolio automatically includes NZ's Intelligence agencies) would agree to write the Foreword to such an explosive book; what he said in it is equally astonishing. It is worth reproducing in full (it's not long and is vintage Lange).

"Once upon a time, life was easy for the Intelligence community. Michael Joseph Savage made a mark in the sands of history with his 'where Britain stands we stand'. It was only right that we saw the world through British eyes and, when Britain retreated, only sensible that we should go all the way with LBJ* as an Australian Prime Minister (in whose honour a swimming pool in Melbourne was named) once declared. The Cold War kept us in line and on line. *US President Lyndon Baines Johnson and Australian Prime Minister, Harold Holt, both from the 1960s. Ed.

"In the mid 1980s we bucked the system. We may have been ahead of our time on matters nuclear, but we were out of step with what was called the 'Western Alliance'. It took a break with the United States and Britain to make the people of New Zealand aware that we were part of an international Intelligence organisation which had its roots in a different world order and which could command compliance from us while withholding from us the benefits of others' intelligence.

"Life at the time was full of unpleasant surprises. State-sponsored terrorism * was a crime against humanity as long as it wasn't being practiced by the allies, when it was studiously ignored. In the national interest it became necessary to say 'ouch' and frown and bear certain reprisals of our Intelligence partners. We even went to the length of building a satellite station at Waihopai. But it was not until I read this book that I had any idea that we had been committed to an international integrated electronic network. *The 1985 French bombing of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland Harbour and the resounding silence from our 'allies', Reagan's America and Thatcher's Britain. Ed.

"It was with some apprehension that I learned that Nicky Hager was researching the activity of our Intelligence community. He has long been a pain in the Establishment's neck. Unfortunately for the Establishment, he is engaging, thorough, unthreatening, with a dangerously disingenuous appearance, and an astonishing number of people have told him things that I, as Prime Minister in charge of the Intelligence services, was never told.

“There are also many things with which I am familiar. I couldn’t tell him which was which. Nor can I tell you. But it is an outrage that I and other ministers were told so little, and this raises the question of to whom those concerned saw themselves ultimately responsible. It also raises the question as to why we persist with the old order of things. New Zealand doesn’t have much in common with Major’s Britain and probably less with Blair’s Britain. Are we philosophically in tune with Clinton’s USA? Is he? Does all of that prejudice our new orientation to Asia?”

“There will be two responses to this book. One will be to take the easy course of dumping on Hager. He is quite small and can easily be dumped on. The other will be to challenge the existing assumptions and to have a rational debate on security and intelligence. I have always enjoyed taking the easier course but we may have been the poorer for it”.

I can’t imagine anything similar being written by any other NZ Prime Minister, certainly not Helen Clark, that most fervent champion of the secret State of the Intelligence agencies. But when Lange wrote it he had been out of Prime Ministerial office for years and it reeks of guilt, outrage, and regret at opportunities lost. I’ll give the man full credit for his honesty and courage in saying what he said, but what a pity he didn’t do anything about it when he had the opportunity and the power to do so. The man whose name is synonymous with nuclear free New Zealand, the man lauded for giving us an independent foreign policy, is the same man who gifted a vital spybase to the American war machine. No wonder he felt guilty.

Of course, Lange has had a posthumous last laugh on the spies of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which runs Waihopai. In January 2006, the Sunday Star-Times published an article by the very same Nicky Hager, revealing that a box of Lange’s papers from Archives New Zealand (and approved for release by Cabinet) inadvertently contained the GCSB’s 1985/86 Annual Report, which he shouldn’t have kept. For details of this, see the subsections headed “Historic Lange Papers Reveal Who GCSB Was Spying on 20 Years Ago” and “Spying On The UN” in my article entitled “Illegal NSA Spying On Americans Exposed”, elsewhere in this issue. That sensational revelation is still having major repercussions – for example, it led to the GCSB Director, Warren Tucker, making the first ever lengthy public defence of his agency’s work (Press, 31/1/06) and denying claims arising from the Sunday Star-Times expose (basically amounting to “I can’t tell you anything about what we do but trust me, it’s all for your own good”). The Sunday Star-Times story appeared just days before the 2006 protest at the Waihopai spybase and it certainly helped to put the issue of GCSB spying smack into the public consciousness (ironic really, as that 20 year old report was detailing who was being spied on from the GCSB’s other, older Tangimoana spybase, which has a different function and uses a different method of spying. The report pre-dates Waihopai’s existence or even the announcement that it was going to exist). The news media quoted that very same ten year old Lange Foreword reproduced above, to re-emphasise his point that he was misled by the spooks (in his statement, Tucker denied that, saying that Lange was kept fully informed by the GCSB’s then Director).

The Damage Is Ongoing

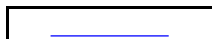
Of course, some good things came out of that Labour government. Putting aside the CAFCA and ABC critiques of it and speaking personally, there were things like the landmark extension of the powers of the Waitangi Tribunal to consider historic Maori land claims; the legalising of homosexuality; the ending of sporting ties with the vile apartheid regime of South Africa, just to give a few examples. I had some admiration for Lange, but never particularly warmed to him. Basically, I considered him shallow and easily bored by what is actually required to run a country (when the going got too tough, he buggered off out of it and left others to try and clean up the mess). I pitied him in his long pointless life as a post-PM backbencher; thought that he had found his natural home as a post-politics stand up comedian (exactly as Muldoon did; they would have made a great double act if they’d gone on tour together); and was greatly saddened by his very long terminal illness. It got so bad that death, even at such a young age, must have been a great relief to him.

But, as with all Prime Ministers, Lange will be judged on his legacy. And that is one of immense damage to huge numbers of New Zealanders and to the country as a whole, a legacy from which we have yet to emerge (it certainly won’t happen under this Labour government). Does that mean that I am advocating “turning back the clock?” Of course not. But, putting aside any discussion of socialism (which remains my preference), there was plenty that could have been done within the framework of capitalism which could have avoided the extremes of either Muldoonism or Rogernomics. Not only was the baby chucked out with the bathwater, it was then kicked to death and sold off to be rendered down into soap (all while we were being told how good it was that we now have so much greater choice of cheaper soaps). He was the front man for a crime against his own people and his own country. That’s yet another David Lange one liner, but this one is no laughing matter. Too many people got hurt and the damage is ongoing.

There Really Is Such A Thing As A Free Drink

There is one thing that I can (indirectly) thank David Lange for. In 1988, I was on a west-east train crossing Australia (for details of what I'd been doing in Western Australia, read the section headed "Australian Adventures: Liberated Trophy & A Jandal Held Hostage", in my obituary of Owen Wilkes, in Peace Researcher 31, Special Issue, October 2005, which can be read online at www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr31-119.html . We were in the middle of the Nullarbor Plain. The train was stopped by a derailment at Cook, a flyspeck which bills itself as "The Queen City of the Nullarbor". There's not much to do at Cook – one billboard touted its hospital with the winning slogan: "If You're Crook, Come To Cook". I was and I did and the bloody hospital was shut. Never mind, stronger medicine was available close to hand. The train crew sportingly invited all the stranded passengers to join them in the pub. We did and it was one hell of a party.

There was a TV in the bar, which happened to be showing the news during the hubbub. Now, Australian media very rarely ever feature anything about NZ (if there was a cataclysmic disaster here, it would be reported as "Remote Offshore Islands Sink Without Trace, No Aussies Missing"). But this news bulletin actually featured an All Blacks/Wallabies test, and a report on Lange having to temporarily step down as PM to undergo surgery for heart trouble. To me, the former was more important than the latter, but I asked the Nullarbores behind the bar if they knew any more details. They didn't but were intrigued as to why anyone would be interested. They reached the obvious conclusion and asked: "Are you a Kiwi?" I replied that not only was I a Kiwi, I was a Kiwi railway worker. This led to a conference among the bar staff and the announcement: "A free drink for the Kiwi railwayman. But only one, mind". I made it a double whisky (for strictly medicinal purposes, of course – it anaesthetised me until I could get to a doctor several thousand kilometres down the track). Thank you, David Lange, here's to you, that was one shout that I did enjoy.



Obituary: SUE TAYLOR

by Kate Dewes

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

Sue Taylor had been a member of ABC for several years. But she was much more than that. Ever since I became a political activist in Christchurch more than 35 years ago, Sue had been a constant fixture at every activity, public meeting, seminar, lecture, WEA course, etc, that I've ever been to. She was involved in everything and I only witnessed a fraction of her involvement with innumerable groups in all sorts of issues, from the peace movement to prison reform, from adult education to helping migrants adjust. She was a grassroots stalwart of the Labour Party through all those years (which led to her copping plenty of flak from her colleagues in the progressive movement) and she was never afraid to get up and give her opinion, whether on the big picture issues or on the strictly personal (after losing a huge amount of weight, she became vocal in advocating diet to anyone she could buttonhole on the subject). She had an enormous hunger for knowledge, and used to ring me up now and again with questions. After her death tributes came from as far away as Canada from somebody with whom she constantly corresponded on a range of subjects. I never knew Sue personally, and learned more about her life from her funeral than in the preceding 35 years – who would have thought that she had been both a party animal and a spectacular public nudist in her youth? All of that rounded out the picture of the devoted mother and grandmother and tireless movement person. It is people like Sue who are the glue which really holds things together in any organisation or campaign. (ed. Murray Horton.)

Sue Taylor died on November 30th, 2005, aged 73, after being knocked off her bike returning home from a Workers Education Association (WEA) meeting. She was well known in Christchurch peace and justice circles as a tireless volunteer with a wide range of groups. I first met Sue in October 1981 when we organised a national meeting at Living Springs (at the head of Lyttelton Harbour) to establish what is now Peace Movement Aotearoa. She became a stalwart of the local peace movement, attending meetings and helping with mailouts for the Peace Collective, the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee, Peace Forum, Campaign Against Nuclear Tests, Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa, ABC and, more recently, Peace Action Network. At our monthly Peace Forum meetings in the early 1980s, when there were representatives of up to 40 local groups, Sue was the contact for the "Soviet Myth Threat Explosion Group" which aimed to spread information on the former Soviet Union and its role in the armaments race.

But it was in the last ten years that she felt she had come "home" in the peace movement when she joined the local branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). She began writing letters to the paper and had many published in the Press. She was furious when the Editor told her recently that they wouldn't publish any more which were critical of the invasion of Iraq.

As a member of WILPF and Amnesty International she wrote regularly to Patsy and Gordon Dale in Ireland from 1996-2002. Patsy was being beaten and harassed by a suspected MI5-sponsored operative (thug) for speaking out to the media about how her son had been born deformed after her husband was exposed to nuclear radiation while serving in a British Polaris nuclear submarine. According to Patsy, Sue's letters kept her alive during a very tough time.

In a recent interview with Ruth Greenaway, as part of the oral archives project for Christchurch Peace City, she said she first became a peacemaker when she had to read the lines "A Christian must be a pacifist" from George Bernard Shaw's play "Major Barbara" when she was at high school. As a devout Christian at the time she looked around for a local group to join and couldn't find one, so she and two others, including a local chaplain, joined the Anglican Pacifists Fellowship based in London. The chaplain invited her home in the holidays and tried to convince her to become a nun.

When she returned from Wellington to Christchurch in the early 1970s she became very involved in the protest movement as a member of the Committee on Vietnam. This led to anti-Springbok tour and anti-nuclear activities. She worked closely with Quakers Muriel and John Morrison, and leading peacemakers Elsie Locke and Larry Ross.

One of her protests during the Vietnam War was when she supported her doctor brother-in-law in his 40 day fast in a caravan against the war. She said: "He was skinny and I was fat – so I went on a 35 day fast and lost 2 ½ stone". She was very angry that the resulting media coverage was about the fast and not about the war. She was clear about her role in the movement: "I don't think I've ever been a leader in the peace movement – when I fasted I was big news, but I wasn't a leader. I'm a backroom person. I just have to keep working and trying and exposing. I see that as my role to find the truth and expose it".

"Sue Represented All That Is Good About The Progressive Edge Of Politics"

As Christchurch Central's Labour MP, Tim Barnett, said at her funeral: "Sue represented all that is good about the progressive edge of politics. Her beliefs were passionate, her energy incredible, her style inclusive. She delighted in testing the patience and intellectual rigour of institutions – and sometimes of elected politicians – and did it, quite properly, to ensure that they really were serving the people and ideas for whom they were there.

"To talk of Sue is to track through values, integrity and the challenge of fresh thinking. And the shape of her life remained constant through 60 years of activism. For her the challenges of the age were her personal mantra. Sex equality, race equality, anti-nuclearism, universal human rights, New Zealand identity, the great moral discussions of our time, the contemporary debate on the purpose of imprisonment, the emerging discussion on obesity – these were Sue's bread and butter. If an issue had a grassroots, Sue was there with the water to help it grow. If the issue was causing controversy, Sue was there to fuel the debate, with that endearing, almost child-like innocence - a very effective disguise which other strongly conviction-driven political activists could well learn from.

"Sue treated boundaries as lines inviting her to step across. As Labour values adapted over time to encompass liberation messages, so Sue was marching ahead, inviting more to come on board. The things which mattered to her were personal freedom, devotion to community, absence of prejudice, an ability to get on with one's life. She understood much earlier than many that the voluntary sector was the best way to get powerful messages out and to support those needing a helping hand. Sure enough, on the day she died she was at the Workers Education Association and Pasifika Education and Employment Training Organisation (PEETO), giving her all as a volunteer as ever. The value of constancy was so important to her. Sue had an integrity, combined with a driven rigour, which could be unnerving. She carried out countless acts of personal, selfless kindness. Indeed Sue lived her values".

As she told Ruth: "It (her life) has been a lovely journey. All along you find people who will lend things and share things with you - if you ask somebody, most people are supportive, whether they are peace people or not". She loved attending the celebration of the 20th anniversary of Christchurch becoming the first nuclear free city. It gave her "a deep sense of satisfaction that you had taken a step forward – a wonderful feeling". When asked if she would keep on with her current involvement and activities in the future, Sue replied "Yes, and one day the prisons will change and one day we'll have a party because peace and justice will be all over the world!".

Sue will be sorely missed at our WILPF and other community meetings - taking minutes, driving others to meetings, quietly but efficiently cleaning up the cups, offering to do many of the tasks, and speaking out forthrightly about what she believed in. We will miss her constant presence at the lantern ceremony on Hiroshima Day, in August. This year we will place a lantern on the Avon River in her memory, along with some for other great peace people who have died recently - Rod Donald, Owen Wilkes, Sonja Davies - to name a few. Sue, we'll also have little parties to celebrate all those little steps towards peace and justice which we have achieved together over many years.

DEATHS IN THE FAMILY

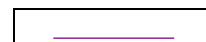
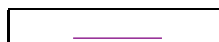
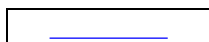
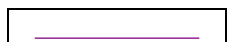
by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

ABC expresses our condolences to Christine and Robyn Dann, who are both members (Robyn has been our Treasurer and a committee member for several years) for the death of their mother, Rose Dann, who died in Christchurch in January 2006, aged 84. This is an extract from Christine's eulogy at her mother's funeral: "Mum's caring for us was part of a wider ethic of care that she brought to life in general. She couldn't abide injustice, meanness, cruelty or violence of any kind, to humans or to animals and she almost always spoke up when she saw it happening, or even protested against it". Christine added: "A good example for her daughters and granddaughters!" The latter are Claire Dann, formerly of the ABC committee and now on her Big OE, and nine year old Aleks Dann, Robyn's daughter, who is ABC's youngest activist.

ABC expresses our condolences to Philip Vincent of the Riverside Community, an invaluable help to us at many Waihopai protests, for the death of his father, Ralph Vincent, who committed suicide in Nelson, in April 2005, aged 86. Ralph was a high profile, passionate advocate of voluntary euthanasia and the several months of police investigation of him following the 2002 death of his extremely ill wife, Vicky (no charges were ever laid), only made him more determined and outspoken on the issue. He was seriously ill himself and chose the time and method of his own death.

And ABC expresses our condolences to Marty Braithwaite, Peace Researcher's layout editor for several years in the 90s, on the recent death of his father Jack Braithwaite, who died in Napier in December 2005, aged 80, after a short but unsuccessful battle against cancer. Marty wrote: "Originally from a Dunedin family well-known in local body politics, Jack spent the last 40 years in Napier, where he became prominent in, and a life member of, the service organisation, Lions. He was, in his last real outing, part of the Braithwaite family contingent to Parliament in August 2005 to receive the war medals for his namesake uncle, recently pardoned after being executed by the British for mutiny in the First World War".



ANZ: IRAQ WAR PROFITEER

by Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 32 – March 2006

War profiteers are among the most despicable of the various players that have enthusiastically thrown themselves into the bloodfilled swamp that is the illegal American-led invasion and occupation of Iraq. There's no shortage of them and a very good introduction can be read in the cover story of Foreign Control Watchdog 103, August 2003 ("War Profiteers: Corporate Beneficiaries Of The US War On Iraq", Bill Rosenberg. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/03/01.htm>). It's an issue that needs regular updating – for example, see PR 29, June 2004 ("Christchurch Firm Profits From US War In Iraq", Murray Horton. This can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr29-100.html#Profits>).

On September 1, 2003 (a few months after the invasion), the Australian-owned ANZ, one of the Big Four Australian banks that dominate the NZ banking sector, announced that it was part of the Trade Bank of Iraq – a grouping of international banks led by US behemoth, JP Morgan Chase – created by the illegal Occupation Forces. The Iraq Trade Bank was set up to "facilitate international trade as part of Iraq's reconstruction". And hasn't that "reconstruction" been a howling success – the general consensus among Iraqis is that, in terms of the essentials of life, infrastructure, employment and security, they were better off under the murderous dictator, Saddam Hussein. Iraqi civilian deaths since they were "liberated" are estimated at anything up to 100,000 (the Americans deliberately do not count them, preferring to obsessively focus on the slowly but steadily increasing number of American soldiers killed there – now at 2,000+. Bear in mind that there are tens of thousands of American and other foreign mercenaries serving in this most privatised of wars. Their deaths are not counted either, so the numbers killed on "our" side are deliberately kept artificially low, for expedient political reasons).

In reality, the finance consortium encourages the importation of cheap products from the West (such as dairy products from NZ), flooding the Iraqi market and making Iraq dependent on outside business to the detriment of its own economy. Iraqi unemployment is around 70% because the economy is being restructured in a manner that benefits transnational corporations and certainly not the people of Iraq. For an example of the utter savagery of this restructuring at gunpoint, see Watchdog 107, December 2004 ("Iraq's New Patent Law: A Declaration Of War Against Farmers", GRAIN and Focus on the Global South. It can be read online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/07/09.htm> . Follow the links in that to articles on the subject in earlier Watchdogs). The war profiteers hide behind the tanks and helicopters, the prisons, torture chambers and killing grounds, to make money out of this act of armed robbery and mass murder. They work to systematically "restructure" Iraq so that its lifeblood is sucked dry, to their benefit and the great detriment of the Iraqi people. They are parasites and beneath contempt.

Protests

Naturally, this has not gone unnoticed or unopposed. A trans-Tasman campaign against ANZ the war profiteer was launched. In Auckland, a March 2005 protest (organised by Global Peace and Justice Auckland) to mark the second anniversary of the invasion led to at least 100 people demonstrating at the city's main ANZ branch, in Queen Street. The police broke up the protest in a heavy handed and provocative fashion, arrested four people and used highly dangerous choke holds. Things descended into farce when five more people were arrested at the Auckland District Court when they tried to attend the case of one of those arrested. They were charged with trespass – when they appeared, in June 2005, common sense prevailed and the judge dismissed the charges against all five when the prosecution's key witness, the court manager, failed to reveal any reason for the arrests. Cases are still outstanding against some of the four arrested at the original March 2005 protest. More recently, as part of an October 2005 Day of Action, the ANZ's automatic cash machines in Wellington were festooned by stickers bearing slogans such as "ANZ: Making Profit From Iraqi Misery" and "ANZ: Profiting From Iraqi Blood". The pressure needs to be kept on this transnational vampire to get its fangs out of the neck of the Iraqi people.

