

# THE COVERT STATE MUST NOT BE SEVERELY EMBARRASSED! PART 1

## Government Sues Domebusters & Changes Law To Rule Out Their Defence

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Murray Horton

Since 2008 *Peace Researcher* has covered, in great detail, the wonderful saga of the Waihopai Domebusters aka Adrian Leason, Father Peter Murnane and Sam Land, the three Ploughshares activists who, on April 30, 2008, deflated the giant radome covering (and concealing) one of the satellite interception dishes at the Waihopai spybase in Marlborough. From Day One the Anti-Bases Campaign has actively supported these three brave men, particularly during their eight day jury trial in the Wellington District Court in March 2010, which resulted in their acquittal on all charges. We continue to support them and we're proud that all three of them are ABC members (indeed, one was a Committee member during the several months he spent in Christchurch a few years back); all three of them, plus large numbers of their families and supporters, have taken part in our Waihopai protests; Peter Murnane was the featured speaker at our latest one, in January 2011, attracting considerable media attention in the process (not to mention becoming the focal point of a small counter-protest by pro-base locals).

### Successful Claim Of Right Defence

Two of their three grounds of defence in their March 2010 trial were ruled inadmissible but the third one – claim of right – was allowed. To quote from the summing up by Judge SM Harrop: "This case has obviously drawn attention to some very large controversial and emotive issues on the international stage. I want to emphasise that, although you're entitled to take all of the evidence into account that you've heard, you must only do so in a way that's relevant to issues you have to decide...Some examples of questions you are not being asked to determine or answer, either in the course of your deliberations or delivering of verdicts, and by which you mustn't be distracted, are: Is it a good thing or a bad thing that the Waihopai Communication Base exists in New Zealand? Is the level of Government oversight on behalf of the New Zealand public effective and appropriate? Is, or was, the war in Iraq lawful or a good thing or a bad thing? Is torture, rendition and the use of depleted uranium justified in the 'War on Terror'? How many points out of ten should we give the United States government for its conduct in relation to the war in Iraq? Now, I could go on, but I trust those examples emphasise my point.

"...You need to bear in mind however, in considering your decision, whether the belief was actually held that it need not be based on reasonable grounds as I have mentioned. However, if you find, having considered all the evidence that there were reasonable grounds for the particular accused you're considering to believe the actions were lawful, or would be excused as justified on some legal basis, then you should take those into account in determining whether or not the belief in lawfulness was actually held by that accused. Now the definition of claim of right in our Crimes Act requires that the accused believes that the act is lawful. It is not, therefore, enough for an accused to believe that the action may be held lawful, that it ought to be held lawful, or that *he hopes or expects* it will be held lawful. There must be a belief that, if prosecuted, the accused would be acquitted..."

"...Some of you may be thinking to yourselves, well, if we don't find these accused guilty then it's going to provide some sort of licence for anarchy and others may think they can go out and damage property, then turn around and say, well, we thought it was lawful, we've got a good excuse and we shouldn't be convicted. You must not think in that kind of way. Your sole concern is with this case, nothing beyond it. You mustn't be influenced by anything beyond the evidence you've heard and you must concern yourself only with the questions that I've directed you to consider. So, in short, if you're not satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the Crown has excluded claim of right, then you must acquit. It's your duty to do so in that event and you mustn't shy away from that duty for some extraneous reason such as the one I've mentioned..."

That was the crux of the case – the Domebusters believed that they had a claim of right, as defined by the Crimes Act; they believed that their actions were lawful and that they should therefore be acquitted. All three of them made that point repeatedly in their evidence. The jury only took two hours to accept the defence case and acquit all three of them of all charges. It was a triumph of common sense. In fact, the only thing that the Domebusters are guilty of is taking Christianity seriously and living their faith, rather than just going to Mass once a week (or at Easter and Christmas). Uproar ensued, led by the deliberately uninformed mainstream media (which had only covered the first and final days of an eight day trial, thus missing the entire defence evidence).

### No Appeal Possible

Only a couple of weeks later, in early April 2010, the Solicitor-General was forced to publicly state the obvious and declare that the Crown would not, indeed could not, appeal the verdict, as there was nothing legally wrong with the defence case, the judge's summing up or the jury's verdict. But he said that the Government would look into whether the claim of right law needed to be reviewed and would also consider making a civil damages claim against Adrian, Peter and Sam for the damage they had inflicted on the dome. ABC responded with a press release ("Cost Of Damage To Waihopai Dome Is Peanuts Compared To Hundreds Of Millions Of Taxpayers' Dollars Wasted On Spybase", 8/4/10).

"Sanity has briefly broken out with the Government's announcement that the Crown will not, indeed cannot, appeal the acquittal of the Waihopai Domebusters. This simply recognises the reality that the jury, judge and defence got it right and that the verdict was the only one possible. But the Government has to save face, not only with those in New Zealand baying for the Domebusters' blood, but also with the shadowy big brothers of the American-led spybase network who will be both angry and humiliated by both the hilarious dome deflation at this 'high security' base, and by the total acquittal of the three guys who did it. So the Government is looking at changing the law to rule out that particular defence in similar circumstances (the typical reaction of the schoolyard bully – if you lose the game, change the rules). And it is considering suing the Domebusters for the damage they inflicted on the dome. Quite apart from the fact that this vindictive and desperate action will be akin to getting blood out of a stone, it is a financial sideshow.

"The real question to be considered here is why have hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars been wasted on this spybase in the 23 years since it was announced? The GCSB budget for the year ending June 09 (the latest available) was \$49.368 million\*. The Government always refuses to say what is the cost of actually running Waihopai, but it obviously consumes a great chunk of the GCSB's annual budget. Indeed the (then) Director, Sir Bruce Ferguson, says: 'Significant investment occurred in particular at the Bureau's satellite facility at Waihopai' in the GCSB's 2008/09 *Annual Report* (grandiosely subtitled 'Mastery of Cyberspace for the Security of New Zealand'; rather ironic coming from the same outfit that couldn't ensure its own security from three guys with sickles and bolt cutters). \*See Warren Thomson's article, below, for the latest GCSB budget figures. Ed.

"And the figures get worse. By examining the annual budgets for the GCSB during the 23 years of the base's life (and budgets were not published for years on end in some periods), we arrive at an educated guess that well over \$500 million has been spent on the GCSB during that time, with a great chunk of that obviously going to the Waihopai spy base. What a bloody waste of money. Half a billion dollars would do some serious good in terms of health, education and social services, instead of being wasted on an outfit running what is, in all but name, an outpost of US intelligence being paid for by NZ taxpayers. This is the real financial damage inflicted by Waihopai. Hey Uncle Sam, when are you going to reimburse us the half a billion we've given you? If the Government is so keen to recover the costs of the Domebusters' damage, send the bill to the Yanks – it's their base, and they have plenty of money for wars and spying.

"There is one innocent victim in all of this – the neighbouring farmer whose fence was cut by the Domebusters to gain access to the spybase. He has invoiced them for the \$200 and they have said they will pay it. Good on them for acknowledging that he shouldn't be left out of pocket simply because he is saddled with a spybase for a neighbour. But as for the rest of it, the Government is digging itself into a bigger hole and should simply cut its losses and walk away from what has become a total debacle for itself, our spies and their foreign big brothers. And if the Government really wants to save face with the people who actually pay the bills for Waihopai, it should shut the place down immediately".

### **Don't Like The Verdict? Just Change The Law**

The announcement that there would be no appeal, but a possible law review and a civil damages suit, set off another media frenzy accompanied by "revelations" of how much money and assets the three Domebusters have (answer: not much. My favourite was a TVNZ News reporter asking Adi Leason to empty his wallet and turn out his pockets to show how much he had on him, when interviewed whilst working on his farm. I would have told her to piss off but he obliged, proving that he had bugger all wealth upon his person). Throughout the whole firestorm of outrage by the media, politicians and sections of the public, the Domebusters remained staunch. They said that they would welcome being sued as another court case would keep the public spotlight firmly fixed on the Waihopai spybase. And the fact is that this case has generated the greatest amount of media coverage, political comment and public awareness ever about the issue.

So that's where things stood when *PR* last reported this case. But, in fairly short order, the State set out to prove that there is no limit to its vindictiveness or willingness to make a fool of itself, particularly when the covert State has

been so severely embarrassed. The Government did go ahead with the review of the law and in November 2010 the claim of right defence which the Domebusters had successfully used was ruled out when its definition was changed in the Crimes Act. From now on defendants will have to satisfy a property right test to invoke the claim of right defence, but will not be able to use a reasonableness test – meaning that defendants will have to prove that they own or possess the property in question. Justice Minister Simon Power said: “Adding a property right criterion means the defence will be available only to defendants who believed they have a proprietary or possessory right in the property involved. As the law stands, defendants charged with certain property offences can use the defence if they genuinely believe their actions are lawful. But it’s clear the defence was not intended to be used to excuse people who take or damage property who are not claiming a personal property right, as in the Waihopai case” (NZ Herald, 4/11/10, “Test added to ‘claim of right’ defence”, Derek Cheng). Keith Locke, the Green MP and veteran Waihopai activist, pointed out the obvious, namely that it was dangerous to change the law because the Government disagreed with a court verdict.

Nor was the now abolished claim of right defence some obscure or recent legal technicality. Amidst the bellows of media and political rage immediately following the Domebusters’ acquittal, there were some voices of sanity. For example, the Queen’s Counsel who regularly dispenses legal advice on National Radio’s *Nine To Noon* pointed out that, every day in the courts, the Police invoke the claim of right to justify actions that they had believed to be lawful, and that the courts invariably upheld those claims. Indeed, he said that the Police are the biggest beneficiaries of that law. Furthermore, that the defence of “the greater good” had been unapologetically cited by none other than former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, in his January 2010 testimony to the Chilcot Public Inquiry into Britain’s role in the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Blair said that he acknowledged that the US/UK invasion did not have United Nations’ approval and that it had killed a lot of innocent civilians – but that he considered it justified by the greater good of overthrowing Saddam Hussein, and that he would do it again if the circumstances warranted. As the NZ QC told the radio audience, if it’s good enough for Tony Blair to claim that defence, surely it’s good enough for the Domebusters? So a major plank of the law, dating back centuries, has been scrapped because the covert State and its political mouthpieces didn’t get the verdict it expected, and because that verdict set a precedent too horrifying to be contemplated or allowed by the powers that be. So, if the law doesn’t serve the interest of those in power, well, the obvious answer is to change the law, isn’t it?

### **Pies And Beer Cost Money, You Know**

The second prong of the covert State’s revenge was to file a \$1,229,289.32 civil damages claim against the three Domebusters personally. And there was no limit to the pettiness. “The bulk of the cost of the repairs was for the deflated ‘teflon-impregnated glass fibre enclosure’ or ‘radome’. The cost to produce, complete and install one of those, including \$24,612.05 in ‘additional charges-delays’ was \$1,144,774.41. But the Crown is also seeking \$54 for the cost of hiring coffee mugs, \$256.38 for the cost of beer and juice for radome staff, another \$62.93 for savouries for those staff, and \$30.38 for pies and other drinks. There was also several hundred dollars being sought for tool and safety gear hire, while hire costs for a large and small crane came to \$81,438. The Crown is seeking to have the costs split equally between the three men....” (NZPA, 8/10/10, “Costs of beer and pies sought after spy base attack”). ABC semi-seriously discussed having a stunt involving delivering (possibly with some velocity) pies and/or beer to the Waihopai spybase or maybe to the GCSB’s gleaming new Wellington headquarters. Jeez, we nearly felt sorry enough for the hard up spies to have a whip around if they’re struggling to pay for pies and beer.

There are some interesting nuggets to be gleaned from the GCSB’s statement of claim (contained in an affidavit sworn at the Wellington High Court, 30/9/10, by Deputy Director Hugh Wolfensohn). For instance, it includes an e-mail (7/5/08) from Steve Donaldson, the Waihopai Station Engineer, to the French company which manufactured the dome, describing the immediate aftermath of the April 30th, 2008, deflation. “We were faced [by] a dilemma. The radome was draped across the antenna that was not in its stowed position, consequently the full weight of the radome (5.5-6 ton) was exerting pressure on the dish in a manner [sic] that it was not designed to bear. Further, a deflated radome acts like a sail and we do experience wind most days of the year, consequently it meant 5.5-6 tons being driven by wind on a structure that was never designed to bear that load. We concluded that, in a matter of hours, we potentially faced serious and very expensive structural failure or damage to the Satellite Dish due to inclement weather. In conclusion, it was our opinion it was highly likely that the radome was beyond repair and we faced a serious risk of significant and therefore expensive antenna failure or damage. We therefore made the decision to remove the radome using destructive means which we have done...”. This admission by the spies gives full weight to the Domebusters, in their evidence at trial, disputing that theirs was a symbolic action only. They said that deflating the dome had caused real damage to the base and stopped its operations, however temporarily.

### **GCSB Admits Domes Not There To Keep Dishes From Going Rusty**

And in Wolfensohn’s actual affidavit (subsection “Damage assessment by GCSB Waihopai staff”, paragraph 26) he

states what ABC et al have always said (which is the bleeding obvious, actually) but which the GCSB has always publicly denied: "In addition, with the antenna exposed, the satellite against which it was targeted at any one time could be identified accurately by a well-informed observer, which would compromise operational security". In the immediate aftermath of the 2008 deflation, Bruce Ferguson, the then GCSB Director, had some success in peddling the nonsense that the function of the domes is to keep the dishes weatherproof. After a few days of this the media obviously thought: "Wait a minute, our TV network has got a bloody great satellite dish on the roof of our Auckland HQ and it doesn't need a dome over it to stop it going rusty. And, come to think of it, what about the hundreds of thousands of Sky TV dishes on houses throughout the country. None of them seem to require little white domes to enable them to function properly". The function of the domes is one of the things that instantly identifies Waihopai as a spybase (the Government has never attempted a cover story for it). They are there purely and simply to conceal from public and media view the direction in which the dish is pointing, from which can be deduced what satellites are being spied upon. Wolfensohn's affidavit marks the GCSB's official confirmation of that fact. That satellite dish being involuntarily exposed for several months did enable "a well-informed observer" (namely Nicky Hager, who literally wrote the book on the GCSB and Waihopai – "Secret Power", 1996) to work out which satellites it was targeting on a given day (in July 2009 – see Nicky's article "What Does Waihopai Spy On? Asian Civilian Telecommunications Satellites, For Starters", in PR 40, July 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-195.htm>).

A March 2011 date was set for the civil damages claim hearing, in the Wellington High Court. However Mother Earth intervened, as she has been doing continuously in Christchurch since September 2010. Adi Leason is represented, as he was in the March 2010 criminal trial, by Christchurch lawyer Mike Knowles. The catastrophic February 22nd 2011 earthquake brought down the ceiling of Mike's office onto his head and destroyed the beautiful, historic old Canterbury Provincial Chambers in which it was located (that remains, ruined, inside the cordoned Christchurch central city). Mike was lucky to escape serious injury or death but emerged from the rubble unscathed. He was able to secure an adjournment of the hearing on the perfectly reasonable grounds that he, along with the rest of Christchurch's population, was confronted with massive disruption to his life and work (he couldn't access his files, including for this case) caused by a natural disaster unprecedented in New Zealand's recorded history. Not only was his workplace destroyed but, like tens of thousands of others, his home was also damaged, meaning that he and his wife had to move out for several weeks while it was repaired and Mike had to run his law practice from a motel (he's now working from home, as are many of his Christchurch legal colleagues).

The new date for the hearing was set for one day in August 2011 and this one went ahead. The Attorney-General, on behalf of the GCSB, was seeking a summary judgment, meaning that the court would accept that the facts of the case were not in dispute and that, having avoided any trial or substantive evidence having to be presented, the court could confine itself solely to deciding if the State was entitled to be awarded damages against the Domebusters. The covert State had learnt from the humiliating defeat it had suffered in the criminal trial – there would be no jury, no evidence about what the GCSB or Waihopai does (the defence introduced plenty of that in the criminal trial; the prosecution avoided the subject and the GCSB conspicuously stayed away from the whole event); as far as the prosecution was concerned this would be solely to determine that the Domebusters were liable for damages. Once again the court was packed with supporters of the Domebusters, who had spent the previous week in Wellington solidarity activities, including fasting.

### **"Ye Are Many - They Are Few"**

Unlike the criminal trial the defendants were under no legal obligation to attend and one of them, Sam Land, didn't, being too busy with work on his family's farm in Hokianga. And also unlike the criminal trial ABC was not present at the civil hearing or actively involved with these solidarity activities. See the subsection "A Week Of Solidarity In the Streets Of Wellington" in my article "Vindicated! Waihopai Domebusters Acquitted Of All Charges", in PR 40, July 2010 <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-198.htm> for a detailed account of that solidarity campaign during the criminal trial, including ABC's role in it. Once again, this civil court case was a national media event.

The defence lawyers based their case on defence of another (carrying out an action to save life) and *ex turpi causa non oritur actio* (Latin for "from a dishonourable cause an action does not arise", also known as "the illegality defence". In this case, no-one can sue if they are operating from a dishonest foundation). "In their submissions, the defence lawyers raised questions about the legality of the existence and operation of the Waihopai spy base, including the fact that it apparently didn't have resource consent and is operating in breach of local government regulations. As well, evidence was presented about the appalling level of human suffering caused by bombing and missile attacks based on 'evidence' from 'signals intelligence' (such as the communications intercepted at the base), which have resulted in countless civilian casualties, particularly in the US government-led wars on the people of Iraq and Afghanistan. It was a very powerful recital of all that is harmful about war, the reliance on 'signals intelligence' for targeting, and the New Zealand government's complicity in both" (e-mail from Peace Movement Aotearoa, 8/8/11).

Domebuster Peter Murnane reported: "The Prosecutor approached his conclusion by saying: If individuals can destroy property because they think the owner might be doing harm, or Government property because they disagree with its policy, then this is the door to anarchy! - or words to that effect. Mike Knowles (who had warning of this line of attack) came up with the poem by Shelley, *The Mask of Anarchy*\*, written when troops of the Crown massacred 40-50 women and children outside Manchester for some peaceful protest. Mike echoed Shelley in pointing out that sometimes it is the Crown (read US govt.) which is guilty of anarchy, and that this is what we were protesting about" (e-mail, 13/8/11). \*Percy Bysshe Shelley, the great Romantic poet, wrote "*The Mask of Anarchy*" in response to the 1819 Peterloo Massacre, near Manchester. It includes the lines:

"Last came Anarchy: he rode  
On a white horse, splashed with blood;  
He was pale even to the lips,  
Like Death in the Apocalypse.

"And he wore a kingly crown;  
And in his grasp a sceptre shone;  
On his brow this mark I saw -  
'I AM GOD, AND KING, AND LAW'"

*The poem concludes:*

"Rise like Lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number -  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep had fallen on you -  
Ye are many - they are few".

### **Judge Rules For Covert State**

I'm told that Mike Knowles quoted the poem in court with gusto, whereupon Associate Judge David Gendall rolled his eyes – and reserved his decision. When that 15 page decision was delivered on September 1st, it was a complete victory for the covert State. Gendall said that "although he accepted that the defendants were motivated by genuine beliefs, they were effectively inviting the court to exonerate vigilante action. 'At one level this might be seen simply as a mask for anarchy (*the judge doesn't seem to have quite got the point of Shelley's poem, nor got the title right. Ed.*). The notion that the court might exonerate vigilante action is highly problematic. To take this approach, as I see it, would inevitably lead to unacceptable precedents being set in a range of areas'. These precedents could include fluoride-causing cancer protesters destroying a city's water supply with impunity or anti-war protesters destroying New Zealand defence force bases or neighbours burning down a house next door on the suspicion it was a 'tinnie house' and thus affecting the lives of children" (Press, 1/9/11, "Waihopai three to appeal", Shane Cowlshaw).

Adi Leason put out a press release on behalf of the Domebusters (1/9/11; "GCSB awarded judgement against Waihopai 3 without full hearing"): "In response to the announcement Otaki school teacher Adrian Leason said 'Judge Gendall was always going to be under pressure to avoid a full hearing. Clearly the judge has worked hard on his ruling, however early indications suggest that he is in error on several crucial points of law... Mr Leason also expressed disappointment that the GCSB was awarded judgment without having to front up to a full court process. The latest hearing was notable for the absence of any GCSB representatives. Judge Gendall's decision cuts short the legal process by awarding summary judgment to the GSCB without a court considering the defence's arguments, many of which implicate the spybase in human rights abuses and war atrocities as part of the US wars in Iraq in Afghanistan. Mr Leason noted the GCSB's consistent stance of 'neither confirming nor denying', saying 'few people would want to know every detail of the GCSB's operations, however some level of transparency and accountability is not an unreasonable request given the highly controversial nature of electronic intelligence gathering and its key role in the US-led 'War on Terror'".

"The decision to seek summary judgment rather than proceeding to a trial is an understandable compromise between the Government's embarrassment at last year's acquittal and the GCSB's reluctance to be subject to any kind of public scrutiny. It is a novel measure to seek an alternative route to punishment through the civil courts. Documents unveiled by whistleblower Website Wikileaks recently revealed that after the 2006 acquittal of the Irish 'Pitstop Ploughshares' who disarmed a US war plane at the Shannon Airport in the early days of the Iraq war, US officials contemplated suing the peacemakers for damages. US Ambassador to Ireland James Kenny wrote to then US Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, in the wake of the acquittal assuring her of Irish government's loyalty to

US war efforts 'in the face of public criticism', and suggesting a civil suit or similar measure 'to convey [US] dissatisfaction with the Shannon Five verdict'; but evidently it was not considered worthwhile..."

## Domebusters To Appeal

So what happens now? That decision is not the end of the matter, by any means. The State has won a summary judgment allowing it to seek damages without recourse to a trial. There has to be another hearing, at a date to be set, to determine the amount of those damages. The Attorney-General has announced that the State is seeking the full amount, plus costs. But before that can happen there is the Domebusters' appeal of the summary judgement. In October 2011 their lawyers filed an appeal to the Court of Appeal and said it is not likely to be heard before March 2012. The Domebusters have repeatedly made it clear that they won't pay a cent of any damages (even if they had the money to do so, which they don't); ABC has another Waihopai protest in January 2012; and, of course, the spy base continues doing its ugly work as part of the US-led global warfighting machine. The saga continues.

*You can follow the whole story through Peace Researcher. For a very detailed account of their action and its immediate aftermath, see my article "Pop Goes The Spybase! Waihopai Domebusters Severely Embarrass The Covert State" in Peace Researcher 36, August 2008, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr36-165.html>. For coverage of the September 2008 depositions hearing in the Blenheim District Court, see PR 37, November 2008, "Waihopai Domebusters: The Police Present Their Case" by Bob Leonard, court reporter for Peace Researcher; <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr37-168.htm> and "ABC In Blenheim In Solidarity With Domebusters", by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr37-168a.htm>. Their March 2010 jury trial and acquittal in the Wellington District Court was the subject of several articles in PR 40, July 2010: "Vindicated! Waihopai Domebusters Acquitted Of All Charges", by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-198.htm>; "Come Help Us, Stop War, Stop More Killing': Domebusters' Defence Lawyer's Closing Address", by Mike Knowles <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-196.htm>; and "Domebusters' Trial Suppressed Evidence: Bob Leonard's 'Inadmissible' Defence Affidavit", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-192b.htm>.*

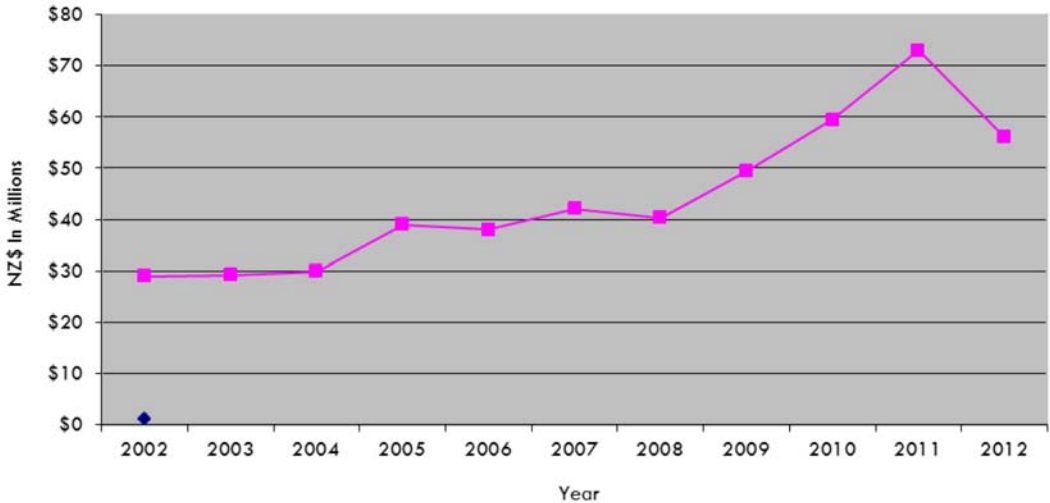
To contact the Domebusters go to <http://ploughshares.org.nz/>

-Warren Thomson

There has been plenty of criticism, occasionally vitriolic, of the "Waihopai Three" relating to the damage to the mushroom at Waihopai. The authorities, in a bitter reaction to the 2010 Wellington jury's decision to declare the Domebusters not guilty, sued the three men for \$1,229,289.32. This is a tidy sum, and the punitively-minded accountants included even the costs of pies and beer for repair workers. For the three defendants, this is a very large sum. When we consider the price New Zealanders pay for the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), however, the costs of the damage were definitely small beer.

Over the last ten years, taxpayers have paid out more than \$440 million for the declared GCSB budget. It is likely that there are other hidden costs associated with its clandestine activities. The dome repair cost, as presented by the GCSB, represents only 2.07% of the 2010 budget, or about 3.5% of the money spent on the new Wellington headquarters. We should also note the alarming trends for the GCSB budget to grow significantly each year. Even allowing for extra expenditures to cover the new headquarters, the overall direction of the annual budget is clear. What is not clear is how many New Zealanders know about this expenditure, and how many New Zealanders would support it if they did.

Sums are in millions of dollars. Ed.



\*In 2000-2001, GCSB's budget was approximately \$20 million. In response to the "terrorism threat" Labour Prime Minister Helen Clark put around \$13 million extra into the spook departments, namely the GCSB, Security Intelligence Service (SIS) and the then External Assessments Bureau.



# THE COVERT STATE MUST NOT BE SEVERELY EMBARRASSED! PART 2

## Government Drops Charges Versus "Terrorists" & Changes Law To Legalise Illegality

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Murray Horton

*Do you reckon there might be a pattern emerging here?*

*Peace Researcher 35* (December 2007) had on its cover photos of Ahmed Zaoui and Tame Iti, with the headlines "‘Terrorism’ Hysteria: Who’s Next?" The lead article, written by me, was entitled "A Bad Case Of ‘Terrorism’ Hysteria" (<http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-156.html>). Ahmed Zaoui has, fortunately, been released from his several years of Kafkaesque nightmare and is now a free man. He has gone from being New Zealand’s best known "Islamic terrorist" and political prisoner to simply being the man who sells kebabs and falafels from his poetry-festooned food caravan in central Palmerston North (which was the setting for my only ever meeting with him, in early 2011. My favourite among his poems is entitled "What Is Algerian For Rugby?").

So Zaoui has gone from New Zealand’s Most Wanted list. But Tame Iti, the perennial scary tattooed Maori, is still there. Why? Because he and three others still face serious charges arising from the October 2007 "Urewera terrorism raids", when hundreds of heavily armed cops kitted out like black ninjas terrorised the tiny Urewera village of Ruatoki, plus raided houses and arrested Maori and pakeha activists in other cities such as Auckland and Wellington. And, of course, the dragnet extended as far as the Christchurch activists of the then environmentalist group, the Save Happy Valley Campaign. The cops tried to get into the home of Campaign spokesperson Frances Mountier and she had the nous to tell them to buggar off as they didn’t have a search warrant. That did affect Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) directly as Francie was, at that time, a valued member of our Committee. She is a very determined and successful non-violent direct action specialist, with the criminal record to prove it, and a very articulate and effective campaigner. But not a bloody "terrorist" by any stretch of the imagination! In fact, she went on to a very "respectable" Wellington job working for a Green MP at Parliament. People were still being arrested and charged months later. All up, 18 people were arrested.

### Terrorism Law Came A Gutser At First Attempt

This spectacular attack by the State was intended to lay the first ever charges under the 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act. Instead it came an inglorious gutser and never made it to court when the Solicitor General declared it "incoherent" and basically unworkable in relation to alleged domestic terrorism. ABC was happy to join the chorus of those (such as unflappable Green MP, Keith Locke) who could say "we told you so". Back in 2001 ABC was among those who made submissions opposing this law, which was rushed through in the American-led global panic after the terrorist atrocities of September 11 that year. A central point we made was that the Act would suppress dissent, not terrorism. You can read our full submission online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/abcterr.htm>.

So, what was the Government’s reaction to this stinging rebuff by its own top legal official? Did it have a rethink? No, within hours of the Solicitor General’s decision, it rammed through Parliament, with the backing of all parties except the Greens, Maori Party and Act, the Terrorism Suppression Amendment Act which simply makes a bad law worse (in 2007 ABC made a submission opposing that one as well. See *Peace Researcher 34*, July 2007, "Another Bloody Terror Submission", by Bob Leonard, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-149.html>). If the medicine doesn’t work, then double the dose. It’s just a pity if the patient dies in the process. This was to set the pattern for what happened with this case in 2011. All of this is chronicled in Errol Wright and Abi King-Jones’ excellent documentary "Operation 8", which was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *PR 41* (July 2011, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr41/pr41-007.htm>). The film recently screened in primetime on Maori TV, and DVDs of it can be bought from the makers at <http://www.cutcutcut.com/Operation8.html#> ).

### Charges Dropped Against 13 Defendants; Four To Stand Trial

And that was where things were at the last time *PR* covered this case, four years ago. That’s not to say that there has been nothing happening – quite the opposite, in fact – but it no longer involved anti-terrorism laws (which had been ABC’s main interest in the case), just common or garden criminal charges; all the legal manoeuvrings have taken place behind closed doors (as did some of the Domebusters’ case); nothing has been resolved yet, as still no



trial has taken place and we know no more about what the defendants are supposed to have done than any other member of the public (beyond vague allegations of “training camps” in the Ureweras. Training for what? Probably not for the 2011 Rugby World Cup). There have been all manner of court hearings and appeals, all in secret, and finally, in September 2011, something did happen. The Supreme Court ruled that the Police had knowingly used illegal video surveillance on private Urewera land to gather evidence against the purported terrorists. This bombshell ruling that the evidence was inadmissible left the cops no choice but to withdraw all charges against 13 of the remaining 17 defendants (the 18th has died).

But, despite the Supreme Court ruling that the video evidence was gathered illegally, it gave permission for the most serious charges - including participating in an organised criminal group - to stand against the remaining four defendants, including Tame Iti. This particular charge wasn't laid until a year after their arrests and after the depositions hearing on the original Arms Act charges. The Supreme Court ruled that the evidence against those four could not have been gathered any other way. Following the September 2011 dismissal of the charges against the 13, the Crown lodged an amended indictment against the remaining four, specifying that the objectives of the “organised criminal group” were one or more of: murder, arson, intentional damage, endangering transport, wounding with intent, aggravated wounding, discharging a firearm, using a firearm against a law enforcement officer, or kidnapping. Despite such heavy duty allegations, it's worth noting that everyone is on bail and has been since the use of the terrorism law was ruled out in 2007. The trial of those four will take place in February 2012. The State has backed off from its original insistence on a trial by a judge alone, so this will now be a jury trial (which was the key feature in the Domebusters' acquittal at their criminal trial).

### **Hasty Law Change To Legalise Police Video Surveillance**

Once again the covert State was thrown into consternation by a court decision not going its way. There was a propaganda offensive launched at the highest level, including from the Prime Minister, that Police video surveillance on private property being ruled inadmissible as evidence endangered dozens of investigations throughout the country against big time criminals such as drug dealers and manufacturers, not to mention a number of trials in progress. So the Government did what it knows how to do best in such situations and rushed through an amendment retrospectively legalising this illegality (it is intended as a stopgap law until the highly controversial Search and Surveillance Bill becomes law, a process that has been dragging on now for several years). But that hasty legalisation doesn't apply to the 13 defendants who have had the charges against them dropped. They're free.

The October 2007 Police raids are part of a pattern of the covert State targeting political activists whom it perceives as representing a threat. In this case the threat seems to have been more imaginary than real. According to “evidence” selectively leaked to the media back in 2007 one of these Urewera “terrorist training camps” took place just the weekend before the Monday raids. So why didn't they just bust it and catch everyone redhanded? What a field day the media would have had with that. But, no, they had to put on the show of Monday dawn raids throughout the country, with a complete lockdown of Ruatoki in Tuhoe country, traumatising innocent people and kids in the process. Why? Because they can. This was an exercise in muscle flexing and mass intimidation by State forces, a forceful demonstration of “we're the boss and don't you forget it”; a further illustration of the militarisation of the Police (who are not called the Police Force for nothing) which behave in such situations like an occupying army. They dressed, looked and acted like their military counterparts in Iraq, Afghanistan or Palestine, or their Police counterparts in the US where heavily armed cops routinely behave like an occupying army towards their own people. They were supposedly looking for terrorists – as many commentators pointed out, the Police were the only ones looking and acting like terrorists that day. Because that's what they were – State terrorists. Four years later it is the Police and the shadowy institutions of the covert State who have egg on their faces.

### **Catapulting Buses & Cows Onto George Bush's Head**

And what was the calibre of all this “evidence” so painstakingly but illegally gathered? “Here's a snippet of a discussion about an intercepted communication which featured in ‘Operation 8’, the film about the raids which has screened around the country. It's between (Solicitor General) Collins, Law Commission Deputy President Warren Young and High Court judge Justice Randerson during a contempt of court case which followed publication by Fairfax newspapers of some of the suppressed material. Young: ‘They certainly talked about the possibility of killing people, assassinating the Prime Minister, taking action against George Bush, but those were expressed in extravagant and vague language. There was no evidence of any planning at all’. Collins: ‘There is reference made to talk of assassinating President Bush. How was that to be achieved in the minds of those whose conversations were being intercepted?’ Young: ‘As I recall, by catapulting a bus on to George Bush's head’. Justice Randerson: ‘By catapulting a bus on to George Bush's head?’ Collins: ‘And another instance was catapulting a cow on to his ...’ Randerson: ‘Just pause.’” (*New Zealand Herald*, 10/9/11, “The Oddball Revolutionaries”, Catherine Masters and Geoff Cumming, [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1&objectid=10750645](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=10750645)). So that's how these

bloody terrorists were going to do it! It's so obvious, why didn't I think of that? It's also worth noting that President Bush never did come to NZ, so any such discussion involving the catapulting of buses and/or cows onto his head was even more of a hallucinatory one than it first appears, if possible.

ABC knows some of these people. The most high profile among the 13 to have charges dropped is well known Wellington activist, Valerie Morse. Valerie has regularly joined our Waihopai spybase protests, most recently in January 2011. On one occasion last decade she and friends held one of her famous nude protests on the boiling hot asphalt outside the spybase gate. Of the four to stand trial, we also know Urs Signer, who was a Wellington activist (he also came to Waihopai with us once) and now lives in rural Taranaki. Wearing my Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa hat I had extensive dealing with Urs throughout 2010 because he was our Taranaki organiser for a national speaking tour by two leading Philippine political activists. And I've known Tame Iti for nearly 40 years, starting from when he lived in Christchurch in the early 1970s. I don't know him at all personally but from my dealings with him I find the very notion of him being described as a "terrorist" to be laughable. To be sure, a provocateur, a showman (he'd probably prefer to be called a performance artist), a bloody nuisance to a lot of people, with highly questionable views on subjects like Fijian coups, but terrorist, no way. He's always depicted in the media as this scary tattooed Maori radical (a godsend to scaremongers who face the problem of a dearth of scary bearded Muslim radicals in NZ) but what sort of "terrorist" has such an extremely high public profile, let alone attract attention for the various "offensive" public stunts of the sort that Tame has regularly pulled? I don't recall Osama bin Laden venturing within shooting distance of his enemies and giving them a brown eye. Speaking as a South Island pakeha activist of the sort possibly expected to be given a hard time by "Maori radicals", I can honestly say, using very old fashioned language, that in all the decades I've known him, Tame has always been the perfect gentleman.

### **COINTELPRO Model To Criminalise Dissent As "Terrorist Conspiracy"**

I can't remember a previous New Zealand case of such a disparate group of people, both Maori and pakeha, being rounded up in a political dragnet on allegations of being involved in a terrorist conspiracy. But there are plenty of precedents in the legal history of our Big Brother, and it looks like NZ's cops have been reading their American history books. Think of the famous 1960s' trial of the Chicago Seven (originally the Chicago Eight) on various charges, including conspiracy, arising from the protests at the 1968 Democrat Convention in Chicago. This trial lumped together the most unlikely collection of leaders of the anti-Vietnam War protest movement and the black liberation movement and accused them of all conspiring together to create mayhem.

And that's not the only discredited American precedent that NZ's cops followed in this case. In the 1960s and 70s the US Federal Bureau of Investigation and local police forces ran COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program) which targeted the full spectrum of political activists, black and white, using spies, informers, bugs, illegally planted evidence, harassment, trumped up charges, court cases which dragged on for years, false imprisonment and, in several cases of leading black activists, outright murder. The central feature was that the covert State didn't care whether it won or lost its cases against these enemies of the State, the aim was to neutralise them, either by murdering them; frightening them off by intimidation and/or harassment; imprisoning them or by tying them up in court proceedings for years.

This current case in NZ, which has dragged on for years already and been carelessly profligate with taxpayers' money, hasn't included any Police murders (although I have no doubt it would have if those amped up black ninjas in Ruatoki in 2007 had been given any excuse to use their weapons) but it follows the book in almost every other aspect. That's why this case is so important, because it represents a blatant attempt by the covert State to criminalise dissent, to smear a whole hodge podge of political activists as "terrorists" who are all involved in a nebulous "conspiracy" which requires a massive militarised response from our more and more routinely militarised and armed Police. It sets a dangerous precedent, which is why the campaign against it, for four years so far, is so very important.

To contact the October 15th solidarity campaign go to: <http://www.october15thsolidarity.info>

- Warren Thomson

The following articles show that very occasionally, spook agencies (or more precisely the British defence intelligence people) do something that *Peace Researcher* could support; however, the recent activities of Western intelligence agencies indicate even more how the spies lack proper control, and how critical it is that something is done to rein in the covert operations of these organisations.

## **The Good, The Bad, And The Muddly**

It has always been apparent that Bush and Blair, for whatever reasons, manipulated their respective countries into war in Iraq, and bear a huge proportion of the blame for the death and destruction that has followed, and continues, nearly nine years on. ABC consistently attacks the intelligence services of the Western powers, and calls for them to be reined in, if not abolished. But there is an occasional light in the murky business the spooks generate. "Newly released documents reveal the full extent to which defence intelligence experts fought – with limited success – to prevent Blair's Labour government exaggerating the September 2002 dossier on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction." (*Guardian*, 20/5/11).

In early May 2011, a senior defence intelligence officer told the UK's Chilcot Inquiry into the Iraq conflict that the dossier was intended to make a case for war and intelligence had been exaggerated to make this case. The *Guardian* reported that the released documents supported these claims and longstanding allegations that the dossier was hardened up against the wishes of the intelligence community. Although experts thought it unlikely for Iraq to develop a nuclear weapon by obtaining fissile material from abroad, the DIS was asked to produce an estimate of how long it would take Iran to manufacture a weapon in this eventuality. Apparently the Defence Intelligence Service produced an estimate of "at least two years" (*Guardian*, *ibid.*) and Cabinet officials demanded this be changed. Subsequent redrafts reduced it, first to "within two years" and then "one to two years". The final figure was therefore finally mangled into line with a claim Bush made in a speech to the UN that Iraq could obtain a nuclear weapon "within a year". So the British "military intelligence" did make some effort to ensure that Blair's warmongering was not completely unopposed. But the fact that they did not succeed brings up some rather alarming questions about how often, and how much, intelligence is manipulated to support political bigotry.

## **But Then Again....The Bad**

The BBC reported in June 2011 that historic papers released by Government archives confirm MI5 *did* spy on Harold Wilson when he was Labour Prime Minister in the 1960s and 70s, an allegation dismissed for many years as conspiracy theory. Numbers of documents were kept in a file under the pseudonym "Worthington". They show that Wilson was bugged, although subsequently this was totally denied. The focus of the surveillance was apparently on his contacts – the spies were particularly looking for any Eastern European contacts (reported on BBC TV – *History Channel*, 3/6/11)

## **The Muddly: A Dangerous Line Between Spying And Political Repression**

MI5 was closely involved in tracking down riot organisers during and after the August 2011 London riots, according to several reports. The British domestic spy agency was asked to assist in identifying rioters. The security service MI5 and the electronic interception agency Government Communications Head Quarters (GCHQ) were asked by the Government to join the hunt for people who organised the riots. The agencies, tasked in the so-called "war on terror" with catching potential bombers inspired by al-Qaeda, were used to crack encrypted messages – especially on BlackBerry Messenger – to help the Police (*Guardian*, 15/8/11).

A key difficulty for law enforcers was cracking the high level of encryption on the BBM system. BBM is a PIN\*-protected instant message system that is only accessible to BlackBerry users. MI5 and GCHQ were instrumental in this effort to stymie any further organisation of disturbances. The move represents a potentially dangerous extrapolation of spook activity as officially MI5 is supposed to ensure UK national security and deal with terrorist threats, weapons of mass destruction, and espionage, not involve itself with civil (political?) disorder. \*PIN – *personal identification number*. Ed.

GCHQ's computers and listening devices can pick up audio messages and BBM communications. MI5 and the Police can identify the owners with the help of mobile companies and Internet service providers. The agencies can

intercept electronic and phone messages, identify where they have been sent from and their destination. MI5 intercepts communications though officially can only do so with warrants signed by ministers. It seeks technical help from GCHQ. The agencies can operate by statutory authority "in support of the prevention or detection of serious crime". But this seriously muddles the line between national security and intervention in social unrest and activism.

Apparently, unlike Twitter or Facebook, many BBM messages are untraceable by the authorities. And unlike Facebook, friends are connected either by individual PIN numbers or a registered email address. So BlackBerry Messenger is more secure than almost all other social networks. Scotland Yard claimed to have stopped attacks by rioters on sites across London before they had been due to take place after MI5/GCHQ managed to "break into" encrypted social messaging sites, the *Guardian* reported (16 /8/11).

### **What "Rigorous Oversight"?**

Given the above, what should we make of statements in 2009 that: "GCHQ is not developing technology to enable the monitoring of all Internet use and phone calls in Britain, or to target everyone in the UK. Similarly, GCHQ has no ambitions, expectations or plans for a database or databases to store centrally all communications data in Britain". It seems likely that it does not need any such databases as it already has the capacity to track dissenters. GCHQ claimed in 2009 it was "subject to rigorous Parliamentary and judicial oversight" and that the interception of information would be allowed only in cases of national security, safeguarding economic wellbeing and the prevention and detection of serious crime. "Interception for other purposes is not lawful and we do not do it ... GCHQ only acts when it is necessary and proportionate to do so; GCHQ does not spy at will," it said. (*Guardian*, 4/5/09). It seems to the Editors of Peace Researcher that interpretation of what is "serious crime" and what is "proportionate" are matters of dire importance and must never be a conduit for the involvement of secret spook activities into civil society. We note that there is little evidence of "rigorous Parliamentary and judicial oversight" where GCHQ is concerned (see following articles).

### **More Evidence That The Politicians Do Not Know What The Spooks Get Up To**

Present and former UK Ministers are distancing themselves from the way MI6\* helped to "render" two Libyan dissidents to Gaddafi's secret services in 2004 at a time the Blair government was cuddling up to the former Libyan dictator. Libyan rebels' Tripoli military commander Abdel Hakim Belhaj is threatening to sue MI6 and the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for the imprisonment and torture he suffered with the agencies' complicity. Tony Blair has denied knowledge of MI6 "rendering" of dissidents to Gaddafi's Libya, which means he is either lying or he did not know what his spooks were doing. \* *MI6 is Britain's external spy agency; MI5 is its internal security and spy agency.* Ed.

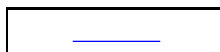
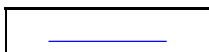
On 5 September, 2011, the day after newspapers quoted extensively from documents found in Libyan secret police offices, Jack Straw, the Labour government's Foreign Secretary at the time, stated: "*No foreign secretary can know all the details of what intelligence agencies are doing at any one time*". What happened to "rigorous Parliamentary and judicial oversight"? Straw told the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee in December 2005: "*Unless we all start to believe in conspiracy theories and that the officials are lying, that I am lying, and that behind this there is some kind of secret State in league with some dark forces in the US ... there is simply no truth in claims that the UK has been involved in rendition*". The lesson is, once again, no one can place any faith in the assurances of Ministers that spook agencies are properly under the control of democratic process (based on an article in the *Guardian*, 11/9/11).

### **Dirty Business In Paris**

More worrying evidence about the capacity of Western intelligence agencies to interfere with domestic political process comes from France where President Nicolas Sarkozy has been accused of dirty dealings after the newspaper *Le Monde* said it had proof that the French secret services had spied on one of its journalists to uncover his sources. The British *Daily Mail*, (2/9/11) and other media sources report France's largest newspaper *Le Monde* has accused the French government of being at the centre of a phone-hacking scandal aimed at stopping the dissemination of information damaging to Sarkozy and his party.

*Le Monde* said secret agents working for Nicolas Sarkozy had intercepted the mobile phone records of Gerard Davet, the paper's chief investigative reporter. Davet was spied on because he had been uncovering details of the so-called Bettencourt Affair, in which France's richest woman is accused of handing over envelopes stuffed with cash to the Head of State in return for future tax breaks. The authorities got mobile phone operator Orange to hand over detailed records related to Davet's mobile. These included voicemail, calls made and received, and even details of his whereabouts, which could be worked out using the phone's satellite navigation technology. *Le Monde*

claims an investigative judge has uncovered documents proving the scandal. Once again, the potential for spooks to meddle in domestic political and or social proceedings is starkly illustrated.



# THE BOUGAINVILLE PEACE-BROKING EXPERIENCE REVISITED

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Maire Leadbeater

*Maire is the spokesperson for the Indonesia Human Rights Committee, Auckland, and author of "Negligent Neighbour: New Zealand's Complicity in the Invasion and Occupation of Timor-Leste", Craig Potton Publishing, 2006 (reviewed by Jeremy Agar in Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141b.html>). A substantial part of this material was presented at the February 2011 "Comprehending West Papua Conference" Sydney Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies. The full paper will shortly be available with other conference papers on their website: [http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace\\_conflict](http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict) Ed.*

After more than two decades of forced closure the extremely valuable Panguna mine in Bougainville is again on the agenda. The proven reserves are said to be valued at over \$A50 billion and the mine is believed to be potentially one of the world's largest producers of both copper and gold. Peter Taylor, Chief Executive of Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL) visited the island in May 2011 for talks with the President of the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG), John Momis, who supports reopening the mine. But he was not able to visit the site of the mine itself as it remains heavily guarded by the local landowners. The Mekamui landowners stood apart from the peace negotiations which led to the establishment of the ABG.

BCL is owned (53.58%) by Rio Tinto Limited, and the Papua New Guinea (PNG) government has a 19.06% share in the company. These days BCL maintains an office in PNG and an up-to-date Website but its mining activities have been on hold since it was forced to abandon the Panguna mine and evacuate its personnel in May 1989. In the United States a class action law suit seeks damages from Rio Tinto for its role in war crimes and environmental damage. BCL and its parent Rio Tinto may be taking on more than they bargained for, given a recent scandal exposing the extent to which they were complicit in the decade-long war on the island. In June 2011, the Australian TV network SBS' Dateline current affairs programme revealed a ten year old affidavit signed by Sir Michael Somare, PNG's Prime Minister until June 2011, who was in Opposition in 2001. Sir Michael said that "BCL was directly involved in the military operations on Bougainville... it supplied helicopters, which were used as gunships, the pilots, troop transportation, fuel and troop barracks. It knew bloodshed was likely to occur because it instructed the Government of PNG to reopen the mine 'by whatever means necessary'." (1)

Bougainville's tragic decade of war with Papua New Guinea began with militant landowner action, including the blowing up of electrical supply lines. BCL had refused to attend to landowner grievances or to offer compensation to the hundreds of people forced off their land, or for the poisoning and destruction of the forest and waterways. Like the Freeport McMoran mine in West Papua (the Indonesian-occupied half of the island of New Guinea), in which Rio Tinto is a joint venture stakeholder, Panguna operated as an open cast gold and copper mine and vast quantities of tailings were deposited in the river system. (2) "For villagers the technology of helicopters, drills, 105 tonne trucks and bulldozers ravaging their luxuriously verdant mountains was terrifying. There were also some 10,000 construction workers, nearly all male, mostly alien and seemingly, menacing. A billion tonnes of ore was eventually to be processed; the crater left would be four sq kms: the Jaba River would be polluted for 50 years". (3)

Before 1989 the giant Panguna mine was the source of some 17% of the PNG Government's internal revenue and 36 % of gross export earnings. (4) PNG deployed riot police and later the military. Francis Ona, and his landowner supporters formed the BRA (Bougainville Revolutionary Army) and began a struggle for independence. The mine was not the only factor; many Bougainvilleans saw themselves as part of the Solomons archipelago and resented their incorporation into Papua New Guinea in 1975. The people had a strong sense of being ethnically distinct.

As the young Bougainvillean heroine of Lloyd Jones' novel, "Mister Pip", expresses it: "According to Port Moresby we are one country. According to us we are as black as the night. The [PNG] soldiers looked like people leached up out of the red earth. That's why they were known as redskins". (5) In January 1990 Australian citizens were evacuated and PNG proceeded to close down all services, banks, health facilities and schools. A tight blockade was imposed. The people could not access humanitarian assistance or medicine. Education ground to a standstill. At least 8,000 people, or more than 5% of the population, died in just under a decade of war from violence or disease. (6) The community was wrenched into warring factions:

"Guerrilla warfare establishes separate groups that can coalesce or split up according to ever-changing circumstances; they can change sides almost overnight. Families found themselves in need and had to choose

sides just to survive... Those who tried to remain neutral during the war... found they were victims of either the PNG occupation forces or the PNG blockade.... thousands of people found themselves herded into 'care centres'. The alternative was to accept life on the run or to retreat into the mountains behind the blockade". (7) In 1997 and 1998 New Zealand hosted peace talks for the parties to the conflict in Bougainville. Since these talks were instrumental in ending a horrific war it is understandable that New Zealand has gained a good reputation as a peace broker. Unfortunately, we have been resting on our laurels ever since, and our peace broker reputation is often overstated.

## **Bougainville Peace Talks In New Zealand**

New Zealand hosted a series of off-site talks, bringing together the parties involved in the conflict on the island of Bougainville. The talks came at a time when there was a 'widespread consensus in Bougainville that violent conflict between Bougainvilleans was destructive and had to end.'(8) The record shows that the key New Zealand players were motivated by humanitarian concern, but New Zealand was not neutral (9) and it did not move until it had a green light from the big players, Australia and Papua New Guinea. The New Zealand initiative brought about first stage of the peace negotiations, and the agenda was essentially limited to building trust and ending hostilities.

## **The Talks**

On July 5, 1997 New Zealand brought more than 70 Bougainville leaders, including many women, together at the Burnham military camp near Christchurch. Revolutionary leader Francis Ona (President of the self-declared BIG or Bougainville Interim Government) and his close supporters refused to take part, but BIG Vice President Joseph Kabui did participate as did other BRA leaders. The processes used in the meeting were quite eclectic; the use of Maori kawa or protocol blended with Bougainvillean ceremony helped to break barriers between opposing sides. The New Zealand facilitation was intentionally unobtrusive. John Hayes likened this to the style of a "mosquito". "Make an intervention and then withdraw, leaving ownership of the process with the parties". (10)

Initially, New Zealand Defence personnel positioned themselves between the factions to prevent any possible violence, but none took place. Women set the precedent for their men by openly reconciling with their sisters from opposing factions. The delegates were taken on various tourism jaunts including to shopping malls "to show them what they had been missing out on for 10 years".(11) During a traditional venting session, called "tarout", the parties let it all out in unrestrained emotional outpourings. The process did not run according to any textbook on conflict resolution, but it did offer the participants a secure environment and the luxury of time. Somehow in the depths of a South Island winter a "Melanesian way" was fostered – allowing the bitterness of the past to be expressed without restraint.

The "Burnham Declaration" signed at the conclusion of the talks was a breakthrough and paved the way for the second Burnham talks in October 1997. At these talks the Bougainville leaders met with PNG leaders, Australian and Solomon Island representatives. An unarmed Truce Monitoring Group (TMG) under New Zealand command was dispatched in December 1997. Progress was further cemented in January 1998 at Lincoln University where leaders of other Pacific countries participated in the meeting. A permanent ceasefire agreement was signed.

These negotiations did not address the two fundamental catalysts of the conflict: the future of the Panguna mine or the political status of Bougainville. However, by 2002 PNG had passed laws implementing the Bougainville peace agreement based on acceptance of a deferred referendum on independence within 10-15 years and the "highest possible autonomy" in the interim. After the Lincoln meeting the negotiations increasingly involved other players: Australia, the United Nations, and fellow Melanesian nations, Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. The 2002 agreement was a compromise proposed by Australia's Foreign Minister Downer. (12) A key element of the compromise was Bougainville's acceptance that the referendum would not be binding but subject to the ultimate authority of the PNG Parliament. It is conceivable that the people of Bougainville might vote for independence only to have the PNG Parliament reject their choice.

## **New Zealand's Role Pre-Peace Talks**

Moses Havini, Bougainville's international representative during the conflict, once described the war in Bougainville as "Australia's proxy war". (13) Australia has major economic interests in Papua New Guinea and in the mid-1990s was contributing over \$A300 million to PNG in aid. Australia increased the level of its defence support during the war and Australian supplied helicopters flown by Australian and New Zealand mercenary pilots flew strafing missions. Shockingly, the helicopters were also used to drop BRA suspects into the sea, and to conduct raids on suspected militants within the Solomon Islands. New Zealand's pilots came in for official criticism (14) but there was no formal investigation of their potential involvement in war crimes.



Bougainville solidarity activists in New Zealand in the early 1990s were appalled at the Government's complacency and refusal to risk upsetting the Papua New Guinea government. The New Zealand government told us that it would undertake "quiet diplomacy"(15) but saw the problems as an "internal matter for the Papua New Guinea government to resolve".(16) PNG officers continued to come to New Zealand to take part in training courses and exchange visits and in 1994 at the time of a visit from PNG Prime Minister Paias Wingti a Status of Forces Agreement was concluded. New Zealand sent humanitarian aid but our Government simply accepted PNG's assurances that the aid was being widely distributed when other information indicated that the aid only went to the areas under full PNG control.(17)

It therefore came as a surprise to me to learn several years after the fact that Foreign Minister Don McKinnon had visited Bougainville in 1993 (18) He was moved: "by the vacant stares on people's faces" and the sight of "a generation of young people who had received no education of any kind, except on how to clean M16s (rifles) and how to shelter from mortar shells..." He said that this experience led him to the view that New Zealand "had a responsibility as a neighbour and a friend, to try to do something to better prepare these people for the next millennium"(19)

Prior to 1997 this concern did not translate into strong regional leadership, or persistent human rights advocacy. In 1993 Prime Minister Jim Bolger called on Papua New Guinea to make a Bougainville "position statement".(20) He was unsuccessful and Bougainville was not referred to in Forum communiqués until 1997.(21) New Zealand assisted with logistics for some of the earlier failed attempts at peace processes,(22) but maintained the position that it was "willing to help" with mediation but only if asked.(23)

John Hayes, New Zealand's High Commissioner in Papua New Guinea in the early 1990s, did however, take a close personal interest in Bougainville, and took advantage of the occasions when he could visit the island in the company of PNG government representatives such as the Bougainvillean MPs. He believes that these visits helped to develop his relationships with key players on both sides of the conflict.(24) Fortunately for the people of Bougainville, there were many "doves" within PNG civil society and government circles. These parliamentarians, church leaders, and officials were behind many negotiation endeavours. There were also many internal attempts at reconciliation between Bougainville's opposing factions.(25) According to Hilary Charlesworth and her colleagues at Australian National University there were as many as 11 attempts (26) at peace processes, which, while they failed in the short term, helped to lay the ground for ultimate success in a negotiated end to the conflict.

### **Mercenaries The Last Straw**

The 1996 Papua New Guinea offensive "Operation High Speed 11" ended badly for PNG, with ten soldiers killed and others taken prisoner. A small determined guerrilla resistance showed no signs of backing down in the face of the greater military might of Papua New Guinea. Frustrated, the Papua New Guinea Prime Minister, Sir Julius Chan, secretly contracted Sandline International, a notorious firm of mercenaries to "render the BRA militarily ineffective and repossess the Panguna Mine". (27)

In February 1997, journalist Mary-Louise O'Callaghan broke this story in the Australian (28) setting off a train of dramatic events. PNG was plunged into constitutional crisis when the Commander of the Defence Forces called for the resignation of Prime Minister Chan and took it upon himself to terminate the Sandline contract. Chan was voted out of office not long after. The debacle had an upside - it strengthened the momentum for a negotiated end to the conflict. But Australia was seen as too closely aligned with the Papua New Guinea government and military to be able to serve as a mediator.

Australia's interests did not end with its economic interests in the Panguna mine. There was the Australia-Papua-New Guinea-Indonesia nexus to consider.(29) Papua New Guinea had recently strengthened its Jakarta ties and hardened its stance towards the independence movement in West Papua. For Australia this was a welcome move and in line with its own support for Jakarta against the threat of "separatism". From their perspective, Bougainville breaking free of Papua New Guinea would set a dangerous regional precedent. (30)

So, there was a perception that New Zealand, unlike Australia, could be impartial as it did not have such significant conflicts of interests. Foreign Minister Don McKinnon decided that the time was propitious for a New Zealand initiative. Unlike their Australian counterparts, New Zealand politicians and officials were not constrained by a policy banning direct contact with BRA representatives. Don McKinnon personally made contact with Martin Miriori, Bougainville Interim Government "ambassador" at The Hague, not long before the Sandline crisis.(31)

By 1997 John Hayes had returned from overseas postings to a position as Senior Official for Pacific Island Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, so he was well positioned to play a key role. John Hayes and Don

McKinnon were both personally involved in the covert negotiations with Bougainville leaders and other key players that preceded the talks.<sup>(32)</sup> Today John Hayes is a National Party MP and he is more than happy to share his Papua New Guinea and Bougainville experiences and insights. He had some unusual strategies and was able to build on the good relations he enjoyed with key figures such as the PNG Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Bill Dihm. John Hayes relates that their friendship was cemented in 1989 during a two day sail on the Marlborough Sounds – in the middle of winter with the temperature dropping to around 7 degrees. <sup>33</sup> John Hayes confronted personal danger in Bougainville - his helicopter was fired on when he attempted to meet with Francis Ona and his team. But he became resourceful in finding ways to gain cooperation, using humour and sometimes even what he called “reverse black magic” or “puri puri” – his whalebone tiki *Te Amokura* which he told people would harm “anyone who harms me”.<sup>(34)</sup>

### **New Zealand’s Bolder Approach**

Media comment at the time suggested that New Zealand’s bolder approach caused some tensions in the trans-Tasman bilateral relations.<sup>(35)</sup> Australia and New Zealand have traditional, if unofficial, spheres of influence in the Pacific, based on their former colonial roles. So New Zealand could be seen to be encroaching on Australia’s “patch” in the south west Pacific, and some Australian resentment was to be expected. However, other evidence suggests that the rift was not fundamental or long lasting. New Zealand always kept Australia informed. The two Foreign Ministers, Don McKinnon and Alexander Downer, are said to have collaborated closely. Downer, like McKinnon, was affected by his personal experiences in Bougainville – he later recounted being moved by an accidental encounter with Bougainvillean women from both sides of the conflict who were conducting a joint peace march.<sup>(36)</sup>

Some Bougainville leaders were alert to the possibility that New Zealand might have a hidden agenda or be too susceptible to Australian influence. Reuben Siara, an advisor to the late Francis Ona, feared that the process had strengthened Australia’s hand “Perhaps the people did accept New Zealand more easily than Australia but to me it didn’t make any real difference...New Zealand had to get involved at the outset to open the door for Australia..”<sup>(37)</sup> Siara believes his view was confirmed when New Zealand passed over the command of the peacekeeping forces to Australia in May 1998.

Siara wrote this before the 2002 agreement on a deferred referendum. Was this the best outcome that could be achieved for Bougainville? Would Bougainville have achieved more if they had begun negotiations with an alternative and more genuinely neutral mediator than New Zealand? On the other hand it is probable that Papua New Guinea and Australia would not have agreed to join a peace process with an alternative neutral mediator. Of course, these questions are nearly impossible to answer in retrospect.

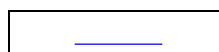
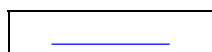
### **Time For NZ Peace-Broking In West Papua**

Civil society leaders in Bougainville continue to express concern about localised armed conflict in the south of the island and the many weapons which remain in the community could also fuel a wider conflict. President Momis believes the lack of employment for young men is a driver for ongoing conflict and he wants the region and PNG to continue to support development and reconstruction. Will the reopening of the mine help or hinder ongoing reconstruction and community reconciliation? Clearly New Zealand did not discharge its responsibilities to assist peace and development with its role in peace talks 14 years ago. On the other hand, however one evaluates those talks, I have no doubt that Bougainville’s Melanesian neighbours in West Papua would like New Zealand to take on a similar peace-broking role if it could begin a process that would end their 48 year long “hidden war” with Indonesia.

### **Endnotes**

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# MILITARY SPENDING: OUT OF CONTROL

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Warren Thomson

*All sums in \$US unless otherwise stated. Ed.*

## WORLD MILITARY SPENDING

World military spending reached \$1.6 trillion in 2010 according to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) data.

World military expenditure in 2010 is estimated to have been \$1,630 billion, an increase of 1.3% in real terms. The region with the largest increase in military spending was South America, with a 5.8% increase, reaching a total of \$63.3 billion, according to data published in April 2011 by SIPRI. In Europe, where military spending fell by 2.8%, governments began to address soaring budget deficits, having previously enacted stimulus packages in 2009. Cuts were particularly substantial in the smaller, more vulnerable economies of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as those with particular budget difficulties such as Greece.

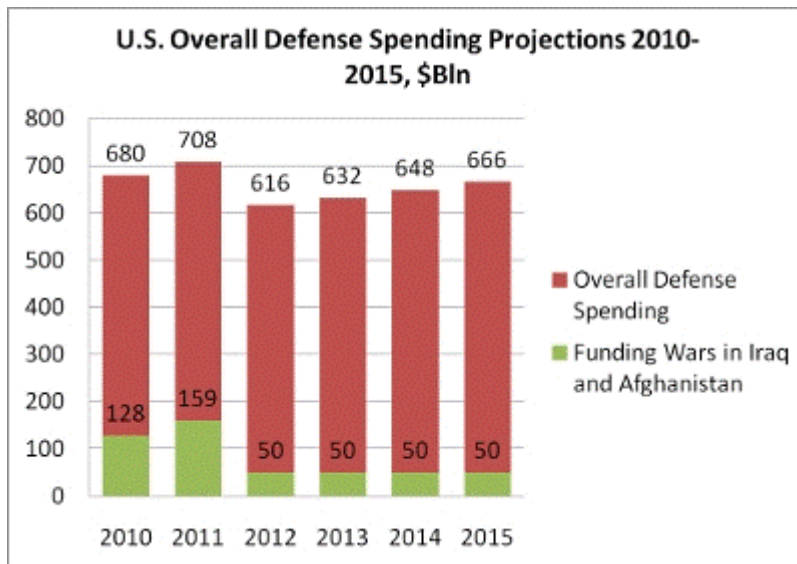
[www.sipri.org](http://www.sipri.org)

## The United States: A Bankrupt Nation Spending Trillions On War

While Obama and the Republicans do battle over US economic policy, with the mad hatters of the wild Right Tea Party casting a disturbing shadow over the debate, military spending goes on more or less as usual. US “defence” expenditures supporting the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are simply stunning. “By the end of fiscal year 2012, the total for both conflicts will be \$1.26 trillion — \$797.3 billion in Iraq and \$459.8 billion in Afghanistan”, according to published accounts (*Seattle Times*, 1/6/11). The cost of these two wars makes up nearly 10% of the current American Government’s \$14 trillion debt burden.

For the fiscal year (FY) 2012, Obama wanted \$553 billion to spend on guns and gadgets for the Department of Defense. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) reports this was “only” \$4 billion more than the \$548.9 billion requested in FY 2011, and \$20 billion more than the \$533.7 billion requested in FY 2010. However, the total defence spending plan is actually for \$881 billion, when Homeland Security, Veterans Affairs, Nuclear Administration and some related State Department programmes are included. Operations in Afghanistan and Iraq are also funded outside the Department of Defense base budget, to the tune of \$118 billion. The \$118 billion for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq is less than the FY 2011 budget of \$159 billion.

The OMB reports that the defence budget reflects “continued investment in national security priorities such as cybersecurity, satellites, and nuclear security. The budget focuses on buying military equipment, including \$2.2 billion in the nuclear weapons complex. It emphasises weapons research and cyber-security”. Nothing about killing and mutilation then! (See OMB, FY 2012 Budget, reported on About.Com [www.about.com](http://www.about.com)). About 20% of the US Government budget goes on Defense, compared with 10% on the Medicaid, Medicare and Social Security programmes that Republicans have been trying to squeeze (*the welfare programmes mentioned, however, are forecast to rapidly increase in cost over the next 20 years. Ed.*). Perhaps we should be grateful that the rate of increase in US military spending slowed in 2010 - to 2.8% compared to an annual average increase of 7.4% between 2001 and 2009. But the global increase in military spending in 2010 was almost entirely down to the United States, which accounted for \$19.6 billion of the \$20.6 billion global increase.



**“US Overall Defense Spending Projections 2010-2015” from *Defense Market Research and Analysis*, 17/1/10**

“The USA has increased its military spending by 81% since 2001, and now accounts for 43% of the global total, six times its nearest rival China. At 4.8% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), US military spending in 2010 represents the largest economic burden outside the Middle East”, states Dr Sam Perlo-Freeman, Head of the SIPRI Military Expenditure Project. SIPRI reports that, in Europe, military spending fell by 2.8% in 2010, as governments began to address soaring budget deficits. Cuts were particularly substantial in the smaller, more vulnerable economies of Central and Eastern Europe, as well as those with particular budget difficulties such as Greece. In Asia, even though most economies did not experience a recession, economic growth slowed down in 2009 while military spending continued to rise rapidly. Thus, the slower increase of 1.4% in military spending in 2010 partly readjusts growth in military spending to economic growth rates. The Chinese government, for example, explicitly linked its smaller increase in 2010 to China’s weaker economic performance in 2009.

### **Ignorance About Defence Spending**

Analyst Winslow T Wheeler (*Defense Monitor*, Vol. XL, June 2011) writes that polling from Pew and Gallup reveals the US public has major public misconceptions about their country’s defence spending. 58% of Americans know that Pentagon spending is larger than any other nation, but almost none know it is up to seven times that of China. Most had no idea the military budget is larger than Federal spending for education, Medicare or interest on the debt. While the USA has spent more than \$1.3 trillion for Iraq and Afghanistan since 2001 (in inflation-adjusted 2011 dollars), it also added another trillion dollars to the parts of the defence budget that the Pentagon tells us is not for the wars - the so-called “base” budget. Worse, according to Wheeler, is the fact that the Pentagon can’t track its own inventory, financial transactions, or even what it has paid out to contractors and received in return.

### **Big Spending – Big Profits**

*The role of business corporations feeding at the trough*

### **US Lobbying**

*New Internationalist* has reported that “the arms industry spent a staggering \$101,907,368 on lobbying the US government in 2010” (Vol. 439, January/February 2011, <http://www.newint.org/issues/2011/01/01/>). The Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org/](http://www.opensecrets.org/), accessed 26/5/11) reports that the defence aerospace industries alone spent over \$63 million dollars persuading Washington’s decision makers to buy their products. Over 400 lobbyists are registered as working for the defence industry, and, according to NI, three quarters of them formerly worked inside the Government. These corporate and legal lobbying firms, working to influence US arms export guidelines and legislation, stand to gain directly from governmental policy decisions and are viewed by some as the fourth wing of the federal Government.

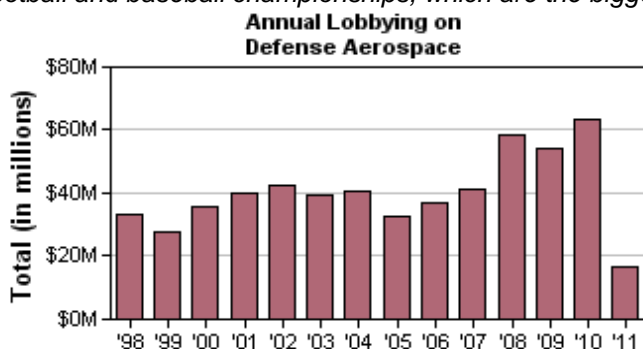
The principal clients of the lobbyists are the weapons industry - usually the corporate leadership, but occasionally also labour organisations employed in weapons manufacturing - and foreign governments seeking US arms or



military aid. The stakes are high: weapons export decisions can result in anything from hundreds of millions to billions of dollars of profit annually for the arms corporations, high paying jobs for workers, and prestige and military benefits for foreign governments. So these concerns pull out all the stops to shape weapons trade policy, expending millions of dollars in political campaign contributions, employing large in-house lobbying staffs and hiring the best public relations help available.

The US Air Force's hi-tech frontline fighter - the F-22 Raptor - illustrates the importance and the absurdity of the lobbying syndrome. Designed in Burbank, California, and built in Marietta, Georgia, this machine won the final go-ahead from Congress in 1991, thanks in part to a lobbying campaign by the plane's manufacturer, Lockheed Martin Corp. (then Lockheed Corp.) and its' near 1,100 subcontractors in 44 states. It is the most expensive fighter jet ever built. Yet the F-22 Raptor has never seen a day of combat, and its future is clouded by a Government safety investigation that has grounded the jet for months. Now, while other US warplanes pummel "targets", the F-22 has sat silently throughout battles in Afghanistan. It has gone unused in Iraq. There has been no call for it in the conflict above Libya (*Los Angeles Times*, 11/8/11).

Another example of high pressure lobbies is in the small arms industry, as the US Army is looking to introduce a new standard killing rifle. Richard Lardner (*USA Today*, 31/5/11) reports that Colt, which makes the current M4 weapon, has employed Roger Smith a former Deputy Assistant Navy Secretary-turned-lobbyist, to be the company's voice in Washington DC. His fee is \$120,000 a year. Smith was a former staffer on the House Armed Services Committee and responsible for oversight of Army weapons programmes. Lardner describes the upcoming contest of lobbyists as "a contest that is the Super Bowl and World Series\* rolled into one for the small arms industry". The *USA Today* article states that Remington Arms and other gunmakers already had lobbyists in place long before the Army announced it wanted a better combat rifle, and that Remington has spent nearly \$500,000 on lobbyists over the last two years in a push to get more of its weapons into the hands of US troops, according to lobbying records filed with Congress. Belgian-owned FNMI hires a lobby group with a roster of retired military officers who "provide strategic guidance and access" to the leadership at the Defense Department and other federal agencies. FN Herstal pays the firm \$120,000 a year, according to disclosure records (ibid). *\*The annual American football and baseball championships, which are the biggest sporting events in the US. Ed*



"Annual Lobbying on Defense Aerospace" from Website Opensecrets.org retrieved 26/5/11. Article from Center for Responsive Politics.

### **Lobbyists In The European Union - Corporate Interest Groups In An EU Military-Industrial Complex**

While the existence of an American "military-industrial complex" has been recognised since as far back as President Eisenhower in the 1950s, much less attention is given to a similar phenomenon emerging in Europe. According to researcher Malte Luhmann, recent decades have seen the emergence of a powerful military-industrial complex in the European Union (EU), comprising of a common foreign and security policy (CFSP), an armaments agency coordinating arms procurement throughout Europe (European Defence Agency), and a powerful arms industry including four of the ten largest arms-producing companies in the world (*Spectrezone*, 18/1/11).

The state of the European military and security politics has been described by some as a situation in which the armament industry and its allies in the European bureaucracy have seized control, evoking the term "military-industrial complex" as a description. Luhmann says militarisation of the EU has been progressing at a fast pace during the past 20 years. Today military institutions in the EU, common arms procurement projects, growing integration of the arms industry, and extensive cooperation among military forces have become a reality. Examples that Luhman gives are the employment of European space assets for military purposes in the framework of the Global Monitoring for Environment and Security (GMES) and the Galileo global navigation satellite system projects and the creation of a European security research programme as part of the Seventh Framework Program for Research and Technological Development (FP7), funded with €1.4 billion from 2007 to 2013.

In June 2011, the European Space Agency (ESA) and the European Defence Agency (EDA) signed an agreement on closer cooperation. The organisations hope closer ties can help them avoid duplication and reduce the cost of space activity in areas such as satellite remote-sensing and communications. ESA is looking to build a radar system that will scan low-Earth orbits to detect hazardous debris objects. But European armed forces also have an intelligence interest in knowing what is moving overhead - for example, other countries' spy satellites - and the line between funding of civilian and military purposes becomes very blurred (see BBC Website, Science Correspondent Jonathan Amos, 22/6/11). David Cronin, who describes himself as a "campaigning journalist" says that arms traders are seeking to convince the European Union that publicly funded scientific research grants should help develop weapons for future wars. In a series of secret discussions, Brussels officials and representatives of the arms industry are examining if the EU's multi-billion euro "framework programme" for research that can be used for projects of a military nature (Website, 17/12/10).

Some of the ethics of those lobbying on behalf of the weapons profiteers give little cause for confidence. In 2010 the German weapons lobbyist Karlheinz Schreiber was sentenced to eight years in prison for evading income tax on millions of euros. Schreiber was the key figure in one of the longest and most spectacular corruption scandals in German post-war history. According to the liberal German newspaper *Süddeutsche Zeitung* "Schreiber's questionable reputation [is due to] his tendency to see himself as above the law, as the string-puller in the puppet theatre of politics, with pathetic civil servants dangling from his fingers" (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 6/5/10).

UK Minister Gerald Howarth is described as having "shameful links to the arms industry" by the *New Statesman* (George Eaton, 23/2/11). At the beginning of 2011, Howarth, who is Minister for International Security Strategy at the UK Ministry of Defence, attended an arms fair in Abu Dhabi at which 100 British companies sold "crowd control" weapons including tear gas, rubber bullets and stun grenades. The *New Statesman* notes a number of instances of the Tory's dalliances with the arms trade and criticises British government backing for selling equipment to repressive regimes. The SIPRI table below shows the world's biggest weapons sellers in 2008; in terms of European countries, the United Kingdom's BAE topped the table for that year, and the Netherlands, Italy and France had corporations listed in the top ten.

#### **World's Top 10 Arms Companies, 2008**



Rank	Company	Country	Military Sales (\$m)	Total Sales (\$m)	Military as % of Total Sales
1	BAE Systems	UK	\$32,420	\$34,086	95
2	Lockheed Martin	US	\$29,880	\$42,731	70
3	Boeing	US	\$29,200	\$60,909	48
4	Northrup Grumman	US	\$26,090	\$33,887	77
5	General Dynamics	US	\$22,780	\$29,300	78
6	Raytheon	US	\$21,030	\$23,174	91
7	EADS	Netherlands	\$17,900	\$53,346	28
8	Finmeccanica	Italy	\$13,240	\$25,037	53
9	L-3 Comms	US	\$12,160	\$14,901	82
10	Thales	France	\$10,760	\$18,543	58

Source: SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)

A report in the *Guardian* (Richard Norton-Taylor, 20/2/11) lists Lockheed Martin as the world's leading company in terms of arms sales, valued at \$33.43 billion in 2009. The US company was followed closely by Britain's BAE Systems, with sales valued at \$33.25 billion. BAE came ahead of four US companies – Boeing, Northrop Grumman, General Dynamics and Raytheon. BAE was by far the biggest west European arms-producing company, followed by the transnational company, EADS, and Italy-based Finmeccanica.

The report says that BAE, which has shed 15,000 jobs over the past two years, is being hit by cuts in the US and UK defence budgets, and that the company warned that sales of weapons and armoured vehicles – generated mostly in the US – would be lower than it had previously anticipated in 2011, after falling 25% year on year. This probably explains why the company spent nearly \$3.5 million lobbying in the USA in 2010 (*New Internationalist*, *ibid.*). The *Guardian* report also confirms the growing political-corporate links of Europe's military-industrial cancer: Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, who played a central role in pressing the UK Serious Fraud Office to drop its investigation into BAE bribery in the al-Yamamah Saudi arms deal, has been hired by the defence group (see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Yamamah\\_arms\\_deal#Corruption\\_allegations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Yamamah_arms_deal#Corruption_allegations)).

## British Banks' Investment In Weapons Production

Anti-war protestors in the UK have been holding demonstrations outside major banks, to highlight the investments of British financial institutions in the arms trade.. They cite a report by War on Want, *Banking on Bloodshed* which, in 2008, highlighted UK high street banks' complicity in the arms trade and exposed the extent to which the five main British high street banks are funding this violent trade. Protests have been aimed at showing that, by directly financing weapons production, these banks are complicit in the havoc and destruction caused by the ongoing international expansion of ever more deadly weaponry. *Banking on Bloodshed* revealed that:

- Barclays held, the largest amount of shares in the global arms sector, with £7.3 billion invested, and ranked amongst the top ten largest investors in US arms companies. The bank was a principal banker for three arms companies: VT Group, Cobham and Meggitt.
- HSBC held shares in the global arms industry totalling £450.6 million, was a main banker for two arms companies (BAE Systems and Meggitt), and loaned companies in the arms sector £27.1 billion over ten years.
- The Royal Bank of Scotland (at least before it became the UK's biggest Government bailout case) supported four arms companies: BAE Systems, Rolls Royce, Babcock and Ultra Electronic. It has been ranked as the world's leading creditor to the arms sector.
- Lloyds TSB held shares in the UK arms sector totalling £717.5 million, and was a part of 40 syndicated loans to the arms sector between 1998 and 2008. Halifax Bank of Scotland held shares in the UK arms sector totalling £483.4 million, serving as principal banker to two arms companies: Babcock and Chemring.
- Most of these high street banks were violating their own corporate social responsibility (CSR) statements. All the banks, with the exception of Halifax, also had investments in companies that produce cluster munitions and depleted uranium munitions.

### NZ's Superannuation Fund Accused Of Investment In Arms Production

In August 2011, NZ Green Party Co-Leader Russel Norman released a list of 18 companies in which the NZ Superannuation Fund had shares but in which the world's largest sovereign fund (in Norway) refuses to invest, for ethical reasons. The 18 companies include Boeing and BAE Systems (rejected because of their production of nuclear arms or nuclear weapon delivery systems); Dongfeng Motor Group (for weapons sales to Burma); Wal Mart (for human rights violations); and Rio Tinto (for environmental damage). Norman claimed this was not the first time the Fund had been caught out over ethical investment issues (Stuff Website, 2/8/11). Boeing and BAE are amongst the top three weapons producers in the world. BAE has also been the centre of serious bribery allegations in the past (see article above).

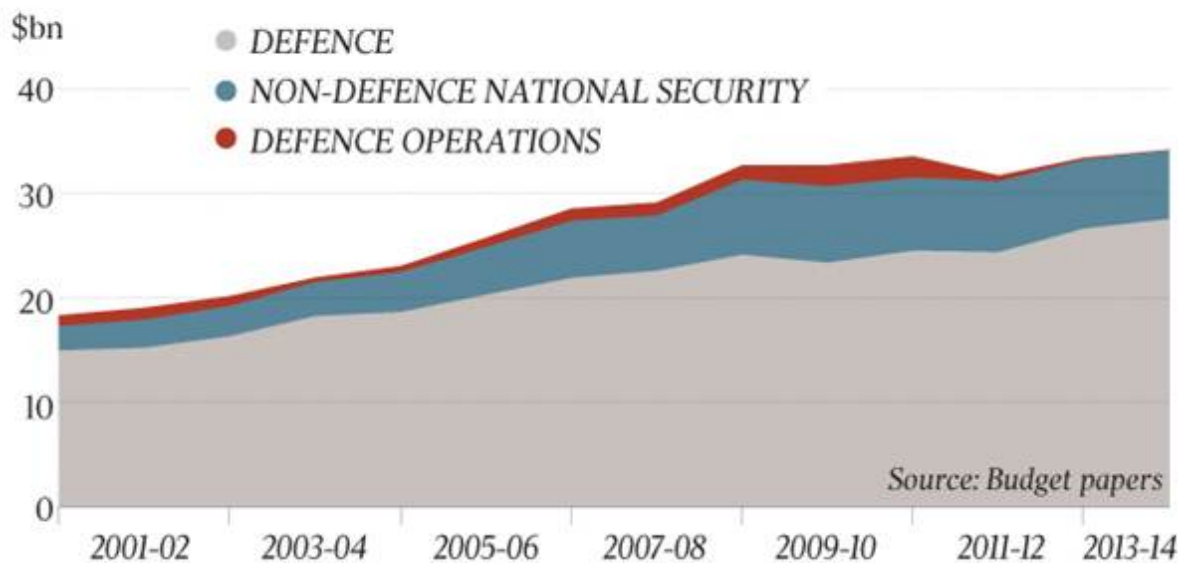
# AUSTRALIA'S MILITARY - GROWING POWER, GROWING AMBITION

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Warren Thomson

In 2011 Australia will spend \$A30 billion on defence and national security. Over the next five years it will upgrade its forces and increase its killing power and its capability in "force projection" yet there seems to be little general knowledge in this country of our neighbour's military expansionism. Rightwing newspapers such as The Australian have chosen to focus on "cuts" to the 2011-2012 budget from "unwelcome savings caused by major military projects lagging behind schedule", but the over-riding story is the massive expenditure on new generations of killing machines. This article reports Canberra's recent developments and planned defence expenditure.

## NATIONAL SECURITY EXPENDITURE



Canberra controls powerful naval force and has incipient delusions of grandeur. As of June 2010, the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) had 13,669 permanent full time personnel, 218 gap year personnel, and 4,822 reserve personnel. Like the Australian Army, the Navy has ambitious expansion plans. Future procurement plans include 12 submarines, eight new frigates, and a host of other ancillary vessels. The RAN needs 2,000 recruits, including 700 apprentices, to crew the next generation of warships, such as the air warfare destroyers/frigates, which will enter service in the next decade.

Australia currently has six submarines that are about to be upgraded with state of the art heavyweight torpedoes. In 2010 both major Australian political parties agreed to go ahead with the plan to acquire 12 new submarines at a cost of about \$A36 billion. They (the war machines, not the politicians) are to go into operation sometime after 2020, and mostly built in Australia. Our militarily ambitious [imperialist?] neighbours have a State-owned submarine construction corporation. We can perhaps be thankful that nuke subs were ruled out because of "political sensitivity" (a back-handed compliment to the peace movement?) and lack of "regulatory infrastructure".

In 2008, Andrew Davis, a Director at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, stated: "The building of next generation submarines by Australian defence industries – to supplement the RAN's existing Collins class boats – could prove to be *inefficient as well as overly expensive...*" (*Jane's Ships*; "Review of Australian Submarine Build Strategy Needed"; 1/2/08; emphasis added). He supported the expansionism – perhaps his criticisms being just a Rightwinger's paean to private enterprise. But what will the end cost of these vessels really be? The RAN (or more accurately the Australian taxpayers) will also fork out a large amount to acquire three Hobart Class destroyers utilising the US Aegis air and surface combat management system (we should be relieved that any combat entered into will be "managed" instead of bloodily fought). The ships are due to be completed early 2015 to 2017.

The Navy has plans for several other major projects that are not only expensive but are also intended to increase Australia's capacity to facilitate its use of armed muscle in other parts of the world. Current helicopters will be replaced with 24 Naval Combat Helicopters and in the next three years the Navy will acquire two Canberra class helicopter landing amphibious ships; these will be the largest RAN warships ever commissioned, and go with six

new heavy landing craft. The four Adelaide class guided missile frigates will be upgraded with enhanced weapons and electronics. Dr Mark Thomson, an Australian military analyst, said recent budget “cuts” (read “delayed payments”) and delays would be a setback for the plan outlined in the 2009 Defence White Paper to re-equip the Australian Defence Force with potent [!] new warships, submarines and aircraft (*The Australian*, 11/5/11).

The Australian Navy
– Larger Vessels Currently In Service
8 Anzac Class (anti-submarine/anti-aircraft) Frigates – the type used by the NZ Navy.
4 Adelaide Class Frigates – older models of the above.
14 Armidale Patrol Boats – used for coastal defence and border/fishery surveillance.
6 Minehunters
6 Collins Class submarines – anti-shipping and ‘intelligence’ operations.
There are also a number of large logistics vessels

### Current RAAF Frontline Aircraft

Australia joined the international Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) programme in 2002 and is expected to acquire around 100 aircraft to replace its Hornets and F-111s from 2012. The JSF, the Lockheed Martin F-35 Lightning II, is being developed as a fifth generation, long-range stealth aircraft, a multi-role fighter (read “kills in a wide variety of ways”) for the US and UK armed forces and allies. The Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) is “economising” by choosing the F-35 rather than the more exotic F-22. We should also note the F-22 Raptor doesn’t easily carry out ground attack roles, so clearly opting for the F-35 involves planning to sock it to other countries rather than utilise the aircraft strictly for air defence.

The final cost to the RAAF for its new jets is unclear. According to Wikipedia, in February 2011, the Pentagon put a price of \$US207.6 million for each of its first 32 F-35 aircraft to be acquired in Financial Year 2012. In January 2011 US Defense Secretary Robert Gates expressed the Pentagon’s frustration with the skyrocketing costs of the F-35 programme. “Some private analysts, such as Richard Aboulafia, of the Teal Group state that the whole F-35 programme is becoming a money pit” (Wikipedia; retrieved 24/7/11). In 2010 the RAAF introduced two new squadrons of up to date aircraft. According to the RAAF, new F/A-18F Super Hornets “will give Australia an upgraded air combat capability for both air-to-air and air-to-ground missions until the full introduction into service of the F-35 Lightning II Joint Strike Fighter (JSF)” [RAAF Website, retrieved 20/7/11]. 24 Super Hornets replaced the somewhat decrepit F-111s at Number 1 and 6 Squadrons at RAAF Base Amberley in 2010.

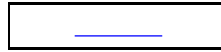
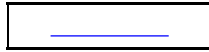
The standard RAAF F/A-18 Hornet, still operated by three squadrons and a training squadron, is a multi-role fighter designed for both air-to-air and air-to-ground missions. It is capable of air interception, air combat, close air support of ground troops, and interdiction of enemy supply lines including shipping. The RAAF has two squadrons of Hawk 127s, primarily used for initial or lead-in fighter training to prepare aircrew for operational conversion to the F/A-18 Hornet fighter. There is also a number of AP-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft and C-17A Globemaster heavy transport aircraft.

### Australia’s Land Forces

In 2009 the Australian Army had approximately 44,892 personnel; just under 29,000 of these were regulars and there were about 17,000 part-time reservists. The regular numbers are expected to expand to over 30,000 by 2016. In addition there were another 12,000 members of a stand-by reserve. The raising of two new infantry battalions ready for overseas deployment in 2010, reportedly cost \$A10 billion. Former Prime Minister John Howard cited the causes for expansion as the threat of unstable, possibly terrorist-harboursing states in Australia’s immediate region. It is quite difficult to imagine exactly what threats were referred to. Presumably the current Government intends to commit more Australian troops to overseas deployments in support of Washington’s great international anti-terrorism war. Wikipedia has reported that low morale in the Army, a high desire to leave the armed forces for civilian careers amongst serving soldiers, low unemployment figures for school leavers and university graduates, as well as general opposition for Australian soldiers serving in Iraq have resulted in the Army falling short of its recruiting expectations.

This lack of enthusiasm amongst young Aussie men for getting blown up in Afghanistan is probably behind the Australian government decision to put Australian women in harm’s way. Uniformed (uninformed?) sheilas are set to fight in combat forces after a decision in 2011 to accelerate their access to frontline units (*New Zealand Herald*,

28/9/11; "Women Will Now Fight On Australia's Frontline", Greg Ansley, [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/greg-ansley/news/article.cfm?a\\_id=35&objectid=10754818](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/greg-ansley/news/article.cfm?a_id=35&objectid=10754818)). The move would allow Australian women into all combat units, including Special Forces such as the Special Air Service (SAS). It would bring Australia into line with other nations allowing women into combat roles, including New Zealand, Israel, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, South Korea and Scandinavian countries.



# MORE MEDIA WARMONGERING

## Signs Of Things To Come

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Dennis Small

*This is the second and final part of Dennis' article. Part 1 was published in PR 41, July 2011, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/41/pr41-006.htm>. It was decided to publish it over two issues because of its sheer length. Dennis sent us the whole article in December 2010. Therefore, it is no fault of his that it has taken so long to see the light of day or that many of the references are no more recent than 2010. They were right up to the minute when he sent us the article! In September 2011 Dennis added a lengthy postscript to bring it up to date. Ed.*

### **Foxes Versus The Lions**

Italian social theorist Vilfredo Pareto postulated a theory of circulation of elites, of so-called "foxes" and "lions". The foxes use cunning or compromise and diplomacy, whereas the lions rely more on force. Seeing society ultimately founded in violence by the "lions" (e.g. as in the American Revolution), Pareto then saw it settling down mostly under the rule of the foxes ("The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology", ed. G. Marshall, 1994, p146). In modern American history, the Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton Administrations could be characterised as the "foxes", and the Reagan, Bush I and Bush II Administrations as the lions, at least so far as foreign policy is concerned.

The current Obama Administration is another example of rule largely by the foxes, although the distinction between lions and foxes appears to be blurring as time goes on. A graphic case in point is Obama's lion-like surge in Afghanistan to blitz the Taliban. Meanwhile, another very hardline "lion" government seems to be impending. "Lion" here is a euphemism for very Rightwing policy and practice. To date, lion-like strategies have been projected mainly overseas, but an American patriotism preoccupied with domestic security and the crushing of any Leftwing dissent looms as an imminently real danger.

### **The US And The New World Disorder**

In commenting on American prospects, one of Professor Colin Gray's mates, Jeremy Black, a Professor of History at Exeter University, says: "Alarmist talk of a police state both in the USA and the UK failed to take sufficient note" that any strong actions taken as at "Guantanamo Bay were for use against combatants" ("War and the New Disorder in the 21st Century", Continuum, 2004, p61). Black actually gives a pretty confused projection of his own into the future at this point. Whereas he foresees a grim outlook for Europe, he bizarrely seems to be considerably more optimistic about American society for an assortment of reasons that fail to stack up when examined closely.

Black notes that: "The strong influence of American models elsewhere owes a lot to the impact of the media", and are linked to the export of "American economic policies" (ibid.). Yet, while Europe is likely to suffer economically, the US will somehow apparently remain viable. This is set within a possible situation of the collapse of "capitalist economic growth" at the global level, certainly "in most of the Western world outside the USA" (ibid, p62)! All this is in turn again seen in a global situation of the possible "rise of far Right political parties", as has already been happening "in modern Austria, Australia, France, Germany and Italy, which adopt an adversarial language, analysis and platform, defining and focusing on enemies within and abroad, especially immigrants" (ibid, p63). Moreover, as Black also pertinently notes with regard to Europe: "In the 1930s the crisis of the capitalist model helped produce a new authoritarianism in the shape of Nazi Germany", and other internationally related problems connected with the Great Depression (ibid, p62).

Overall, given his own Rightwing bias, Black misreads the potential nature of American society for radical change under unprecedented stress. He sees democracy as widespread and pervasive. His optimism is misjudged and misplaced. Along with the Tea Party & co., the US has a plethora of white racist militia groups, millions of fundamentalist, Armageddon-oriented Christians, and such-like groupings. The Tea Party movement and similar groups might well appeal to the American tradition of: "Suspicion of a standing (permanent) governmental threat to rights and liberties", something that is "central to American public culture" (ibid, p60). But they are not agitating in opposition to the ominous trend to more repressive legislation such as the Patriot Act, and the formation of the national security state – *far from it!* These phenomena fit in fact with much of their authoritarian political agenda. It is just a question of who exactly is in power. Incidental to this observation, it was interesting to once see a TV shot of a Tea Party demonstration with an activist holding a placard proclaiming that: "Dissent is a higher form of Patriotism"!

### **Double-Speak And Mythmongering**

To return to the very revealing individual case of Paul Wolfowitz, mythmaking about Wolfowitz's supposed

democratic commitment apparently stems a lot from his own political claims, despite glaring contradictions with so much of both what he has said and done. For instance, James Mann, who was for many years a diplomatic correspondent and the foreign affairs columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, wrote “Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush’s War Cabinet”, a book which incorporates such contradictions (Penguin, 2004). In his book, Mann profiles in depth Cheney, Rice, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz, Colin Powell, and Richard Armitage. He contributes to the myth about Wolfowitz in a context in which the so-called “Vulcans” are described as linking their ideals to military power as their guiding principle. The Vulcans rejected accommodation in international relations, including détente and UN peacemaking, in favour of the rule of force, strongly advocating a very expansive view of how much power the US has and should have, i.e. a version of *neo-fascism*.

The Zionist Wolfowitz was recognised as the most hawkish of the Vulcans – their “intellectual high priest” - and the chief architect of the war on Iraq (e.g. *Sunday Times* profile article: reproduced in the *Press*, 25/4/07). But various conservative opinion-makers, including ex-Leftist Christopher Hitchens, have also portrayed Wolfowitz as a person with genuine compassion! Obviously, much of this image-making was calculated to try and counter a “pantomime villain stereotype” and the appearance of a “fire-breathing ideologue” (ibid.). The Orwellian principle of simply proclaiming commitment to humane ideals while violating them in practice at every turn seems to have thus become deeply ingrained in the psyche of much of the mainstream media.

### **Mainstreaming Hardline Militarism**

Yet even some sympathetic commentators acknowledge that Wolfowitz had “hardline views”, fervently believing “that sophisticated arms technology was the key to American supremacy” (ibid.). Evidently then, all the victims of the US invasion of Iraq were so much “collateral damage” in aid of his compassionate humanitarian and democratic ideals! “Bleeding heart” Wolfowitz has helped to make plenty of other people bleed for his ideals. He was most willing to sacrifice multitudes on the bloody altar of his version of freedom - standard American practice of course! Ironically, Wolfowitz’s past and hypocrisy caught up with him at the World Bank, that bastion of American free market policy, when he was ignominiously tipped out from its head position for blatant corruption.

These considerations applying to Wolfowitz are most important because so much of the mainstream media, after the failure to find weapons of mass destruction (WMD), went on to try and justify the 2003 invasion of Iraq as a well-meaning attempt to establish democracy there. They endorsed the ultimate absurdity of imposing democracy by armed force – *at the point of a gun!* So we got a concerted, extremist effort by the mainstream media to try and dumb us all down, to persuade us of President Bush’s “fight for freedom” as proclaimed by TVNZ and other agents of disinformation and propaganda. “Neo-cons” were pictured as militant, idealist democratic crusaders (*Washington Post* article on “myths” about the “neo-cons” in the *Press*, 23/2/08). Blatant resource imperialism has got a most bizarre and contorted whitewash from its media minders - and this still goes on.

Revealingly enough, the argument is put by some that while President “Bush became the leading neo-con in his own Administration”, it also came about that “Cheney and Rumsfeld used Wolfowitz and other neo-cons to provide an intellectual patina of justification for war against Iraq” (ibid.). Whatever the definition of who exactly is a “neo-con”, this particular role in the Bush Administration expressed the shifting fortunes of groups within the wider American foreign policy power structure.

### **Media Makes War**

The big lie about the alleged danger of Iraq’s WMD, and supporting lies about purported terrorist links, etc. promulgated by the Anglo-American axis was glaringly obvious in the lead-up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq to any open-minded scrutiny. Hence the outraged, critical response by informed analysts and observers prior to the invasion. Lamentably, this desperate call for humanity and justice was very deliberately and cynically buried by the major mainstream media in a torrent of warmongering.

As described in Part 1 of this article, the framework and direction for this had already been set by Wolfowitz’s Office of Special Plans (OSP) and its crony-media manipulators. Former US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) Director, George Tenet, has accused the Bush Administration of wrongly pushing for war with Iraq over alleged WMD (“At the Centre of the Storm”, HarperCollins, 2007). Yet Tenet himself was notoriously guilty of using the phrase “slam dunk” to express his certainty about Saddam Hussein’s possession of WMD (*Sunday Star Times*, 29/4/07). Wolfowitz’s fiendish manipulation had worked in pressuring the CIA to conform to “neo-con” expectations, “to provide an intellectual patina of justification for war against Iraq”. Team B’s reincarnation had scored a spectacularly ominous success.

(Team B was explained in Part 1 of this article. Here is the relevant paragraph. Ed. In fact, Wolfowitz’s militarist and



anti-democratic roots lie very deep. Most pertinently to his role in the OSP perversion of intelligence was that in 1976 he had been officially appointed a member of “an alternative team from outside the intelligence agencies to appraise the official estimates of Soviet [Union] capabilities and intentions” [“Peddlers of Crisis: The Committee on the Present Danger and the Politics of Containment” by Jerry Sanders, *Pluto Press*, p198]. This team, which came to be known as “the Team B panel”, was composed of “hawkish”, Rightwing ideologues [ibid, p199]. The panel became notorious for its propaganda in grossly overestimating and promoting the Soviet threat. It strongly accused the CIA of underestimating Soviet strength and intentions. Team B even enthusiastically promoted the strategy of nuclear war-fighting for the US [ibid, p285]).

Furthermore, despite all the damning revelations since of how the war was generated on a platform of propaganda, these media still refer to “mistakes”, and how the US and Britain “wrongly suspected [Hussein’s regime] of harbouring WMD” (from a *Times* article, reproduced in the *Press*, 19/10/10). For them, the operating Orwellian principle as ever is how best to employ the “Weapons of Mass Deception”! To repeat, emphasise, and elaborate on a key point: the evil that this artificially contrived media war has done is incalculable, given the huge cost in human life, injury and suffering; the spawning of wider destabilising conflict; instigation of more anti-Western terrorism; alienation of so many people around the world from what is still good in the West; diversion of attention from the rapidly mounting problems of world poverty, environmental decline; etc, etc. Much of the mainstream media in Aotearoa/NZ, including TVNZ, have plenty of blood on their hands. But this has never bothered them: they are more than willing to support State terrorism, and cover up or justify such practices.

### **Democracy And Human Rights In Decline**

The particular dimension of mass society theory, which I am expounding, also relates to the continuing capacity of Western governments to create a terror alert virtually at whim. For the most part we may assume, as in the case of recent alerts in Europe, that the authorities are genuinely concerned in their warnings. But, clearly, the scope for political manipulation is now more or less pretty well endless. Ultimately, the major intelligence and security agencies remain democratically unaccountable and impervious to any proper scrutiny. Every Western citizen is thus continually subject to the uncertainty and vulnerability generated by the “War on Terror”, even though this particular slogan has now lapsed with the advent of the Obama Administration.

With due respect to Avaaz, which continues to do marvellous work, and which I regularly and actively support, Obama is indeed a “terrorist”, not the terrorist of American far Right paranoid imagination but rather a typical American Presidential State terrorist. From “Predator” drone attacks on militants in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, etc., to other overt and covert operations against America’s enemies, State terrorism is riding high in the hands of the Obama Administration. Besides blitzing (“shellacking” as Obama called his 2010 term election results!) Afghanistan and much of northern Pakistan, Nobel Peace Prize winner President Barack Obama and his fellow State terrorists like Secretary of State Hillary Clinton have actually stepped up similar operations in various parts of the world. From Somalia to the Philippines, the US is expanding its war on Third World rebellion. Obama quickly affirmed his credentials for Presidency soon after his inauguration. He celebrated with a flurry of murderous, macho Predator missile attacks on poor people in northern Pakistan. In fact, he has displayed definite signs of developing into an enthusiastic serial killer.

### **Activist Crony-Media!**

The second relevant dimension of mass society theory pertains to the increasing activism of some media operating influential networks like Fox News and Clear Channel in the US. These media have moved openly to the stage of direct social intervention for very Rightwing, even neo-fascist agendas. They are deliberately fostering social movements that affirm and promote far Rightwing values and attitudes. Again, I have presented some description and analysis of relevant episodes of this dimension.

Meantime, more and more repressive legislation, inspired by the US Patriot Act and associated legislation, is being implemented in Western societies, including Aotearoa/NZ, viz. the current Terrorism Suppression Act, and the proposed new Search & Surveillance Bill that allows installation of listening devices into our homes. In Aotearoa/NZ, the President of the Law Society, Jonathan Temm, has described “the partial removal of the right to silence under [these] proposed laws” as due to “a trend to Rightwing populism” (*Sunday Star Times*, 14/11/10). The ongoing “erosion of civil liberties reflected” - in his words - “a general shift in our law-making to the Right” (ibid.). So a corresponding climate is being created on a number of fronts that is conducive for reactionary and militarist media manipulation.

Clearly, as well, the two dimensions of mass society theory that I have identified overlap markedly on the US scene, and are likely to do so more in the future in other Western countries. One dimension relates to militarist manipulation

while the other relates to the general promotion of Rightwing politics. One of the most recent prominent examples of reactionary media-generated activism was the very large Rightwing march in Washington on August 28th 2010, starring Glenn Beck, who was then one of the best known faces of Fox News [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glenn\\_Beck](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glenn_Beck). As a very well-known media personality in the US, Beck was to the fore in organising a series of Rallies for America in 2003 in support of the invasion of Iraq. The later big Washington rally in August 2010 at the Lincoln Memorial was billed as a "Restoring Honour" march, and imitated that led by Martin Luther King in 1963 - the famous civil rights March on Washington. Although a niece of King's was one of the keynote speakers at the "Restoring Honour" rally, the participants were overwhelmingly white and conservative. Critics accused the rally of trying to turn King's values upside down, and it was widely seen as an attack on "liberal" values (i.e. "liberal" in the "progressive" sense).

### **Bloody Patriotism!**

In stark contrast to Martin Luther King, Glenn Beck's dream for America derives much of its inspiration from the legacy of the far Right John Birch Society (ibid.). Beck has constantly criticised what he calls "progressivism" and its alleged threat to US society (ibid.). Moreover, according to Beck, President Obama, Al Gore, George Soros, and others belong to "Crime Inc", which constitutes "a clandestine conspiracy to take over and transform America" (ibid.). "God" and "Patriotism" were major themes at the "Restoring Honour" rally, along with the celebration of American "heroes" and heritage. The Tea Party movement was a big supporter, organiser and participant. Beck has backed the Tea Party since its inception, "mainly due to similar views on limited government" (ibid.).

Most significantly, along with Beck, another co-sponsor of the rally was the Special Operations Warrior Foundation. This is a tax-exempt, non-profit organisation which was founded in 1980 in the wake of the debacle to rescue American hostages following the fall of the Shah and the US' client regime in Iran. It was set up to provide college scholarships and educational counselling to the surviving children of Special Operations personnel killed in training accidents or operational missions. The rally raised funds for this particular organisation, which can also be considered to have a role as a support group helping to legitimise American-sponsored "death squad" activities. Here then we have a very cleverly designed body that obviously has a number of political purposes with public appeal – both charitable and militarist together!

Hardline, Rightwing elements in the American foreign policy Establishment have long been aiming to make US-sponsored death squad activities in the Third World more publicly acceptable. During the past decade, an ideal weapon in both such physical and psychological warfare - including the domestic home front as well with regard to the latter dimension - has proved to be the Predator drone and its Hellfire missiles. Again, it has long been the Pentagon's intention to hit anywhere on the globe at a moment's notice. The practice of cowardly warfare at a safe distance has been a big ongoing preoccupation for American military strategy. The more selectively targeted, lightweight drone weapon is thus a welcome successor to the clumsier Cruise missile. Long-term, the holy grail of imperial slaughter is some space-based weaponry to strike at will in a more tumultuous world, damaged already to a large extent by destructive depredations and interventions by Anglo-American imperial forces.

### **Responding Positively**

In the US, as previously mentioned, the Democratic Party got a mauling from a Tea Party-driven resurgence by the Republican Party in the 2010 mid-term elections. However, many Americans are still resisting the Rightwing tide. At the end of October 2010, a "Rally to Restore Sanity and/or Fear" headed by a comedy TV personality team led by Jon Stewart, drew tens of thousands to the National Mall in Washington (*Press*, 1/11/10). To some extent then, there has been a positive activist media-initiated response to counter reactionary militarist-inclined politics. This was a reply to what one participant called "a very radical minority that controlled the dialogue of our politics", and against manufactured news in general (ibid.). Stewart himself "denounced cable news depictions of a country riven with animosity", and "made an impassioned defence of American unity" (ibid.). In a critical comment on "corporate-funded public relations packages" presented as "genuine stories" on American TV networks, *Sunday Star Times* columnist Finlay MacDonald has noted how Stewart hosts *The Daily Show* in which he very cleverly satirises the "official news" (*Sunday Star Times*, 4/6/06).

Unless Americans can come together a lot more positively and progressively in dealing with both their socio-economic and international problems, then most assuredly "a very radical minority" will continue to propel efforts to unify the country by the imposition of authoritarian domestic control, and warmongering projections overseas. Given that in so many ways the US is really a pseudo-democracy with the Democrats and Republicans only playing musical chairs, real progressivism must eventually find its feet at a much more grassroots level to be truly effective. To date, unfortunately, the Tea Party movement and other Rightwing groups have usurped this ground. Meantime, "Republican politicians . . . have stepped up their rhetoric on Iran, demanding that US President Barack Obama

make more direct threats to use military force against the country" (*Press*, 18/11/10). They have also been stalling a vital nuclear arms control treaty with Russia. In the past couple of decades, there have been American interventions, or American-backed interventions – overt and/or covert - in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Algeria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Yemen, Somalia - the list goes on and on . . .

### **Neo-Fascist Foreign Policy**

In terms of foreign policy, the Western crony-media emphasis is very much directed against what is seen as the ever growing threat of Islamic radicalism. Consequently, in recent years, both in the US and Europe, as well as appendages like NZ, the "War on Terror" has expanded de facto into the so-called "clash of civilisations" expounded by Samuel Huntingdon and others. Humankind has got into global culture wars. Basically, this has all come about because Western civilisation is in practice a predatory, modernising "crusade" of continuous material consumption, dependent on oil and other fossil fuels, along with other mineral resources (and also renewable resources), and so needs to constantly extend its capitalist global reach into the East, and the Third World in general, a process already hallowed by centuries of exploitation.

In one of those many American foreign policy Freudian slips, President George W Bush actually used the word "crusade" with reference to the new wave of US imperialism. Maintenance of the increasing inequalities within Western society also critically depends on this predatory process of globalisation. Hence, the US-led imperial push into Central Asia, using Afghanistan as a springboard. In turn, this has initiated another round of the "Great Game", now involving various Western states, Russia, and China. At the 1992 Earth Summit, President George HW Bush proclaimed: "The American way of life is not negotiable". Years later, as Thomas Wheeler remarks: "Despite all the warnings that we are headed for an ecological and environmental perfect storm, many Americans are oblivious to the flashing red light on the earth's fuel gauge" (<http://baltimorechronicle.com/080304ThomasWheeler.shtml>).

### **Resource War Bites Close To Home**

Here in Aotearoa/NZ, incidentally, a prominent economist regularly compares our economy to the performance of a motorcar! (viz Robin Clements in the *Press's Mainland Monitor*). Meantime, the NZ government, inspired by transnational corporate economic growth and free trade fantasies as articulated in Treasury's neo-liberal, abstract models of reality, looks to cut taxes further for the well-off, while cutting benefits for those lower in the socio-economic pyramid (e.g. *Press*, 25/11/10).

Thomas Wheeler continues in regard to Bush I's quote cited above: "That way of life requires a highly disproportionate use of the world's nonrenewable resources. While only containing 4% of the world's population, the US consumes 25% of the world's oil" (op. cit.). Suburban living epitomises this lifestyle. Wheeler thus identifies the critical crux of the global free market: the US has growing resource dependence – especially for energy - *on other countries*. As Bush II also later observed: "America is addicted to oil".

### **American Exceptionalism**

Professor Jeremy Black backs American "benign" neo-imperialism ("War and the New Disorder in the 21st Century, op. cit, pp. 167-69). He also puts the situation like this: "Standing up for the USA strikes a chord with American public opinion, but other states standing up for themselves, especially if in different terms, do not win American understanding, with the exception of Israel which is seen by an influential section of American opinion, almost as an extension of the USA. In addition, American attitudes will be affected by a determination to see as normal an economic world that enables the USA to use its research skills, technological capability, investment capital, operational economic control and purchasing power to gain a very disproportionate share, in aggregate, and even more in per capita terms, of global resources" (ibid, pp81/2). Professor Black surely knows how to try and hang on to his affluent lifestyle! He has that deep Western Rightwing commitment to the value of global injustice.

Europe, too, is increasingly dependent on overseas resources. So are the so-called "emerging economies" like China and India, let alone even tiny NZ. All industrial, "developed" countries, along with any aspirant "developing" country, share the same converging eventual crisis. In his study of war and the new world disorder, Black continually recognises that globalism and economic growth bring their own problems, with "economic globalisation" not only leading to keener competition for natural resources, but also proving "unpopular, resisted and subject to serious internal strains" (ibid, e.g. pp71-73).

### **Blowback And Backfire**

Communism, and indeed any form of socialism – democratic or otherwise - failed to take root in the Muslim world.

Any signs of Leftwing agitation were an anathema to the older colonial powers and later US imperial ambitions anyway. Instead, resistance against Western control and intervention has increasingly come from within the wells of the native culture, reaching back to the fundamental roots of faith, or at least its modern, aggressively politicised interpretations (see e.g. "Taliban: The True Story of the World's Most Feared Guerrilla Fighters" by James Fergusson, Bantam/Random House, 2010). Most ironically again, of course, the Anglo-American axis has suffered a very bad case of blowback. America's earlier selective encouragement of Islamist sentiment, especially in Afghanistan and Pakistan, backfired with the Taliban's support for bin Laden and al Qaeda, although this support may have been more about money than ideology (ibid; *Sunday Star Times*, 14/11/10). Afghanistan has in fact suffered more than 30 years of warfare, being first cynically and brutally used by the West in its attempt to undermine Soviet Communism; and then later, to try and stem the tide of Muslim fundamentalism, and continuing resistance to foreign control.

In the last resort, the imposition of Anglo-American imperial rule over Afghanistan is crucial for greater control of Central Asia, just as the usurpation of Iraq is crucial for control of the Middle East. The massive oil and gas resources constitute the grand prize (see "The Prize", Daniel Yergin, The Free Press, 1991, 2009, for an American Pulitzer Prize winning perspective). But, imperial over-reach is bleeding money, resources, mana, human life, rights and decency. Yet again, Western culture - especially as expressed and reflected in the mass media - has so often proved to be counterproductive. The advent of al Jazeera television network based in Qatar has incisively pointed up the biases and limitations of foreign media in these regions and beyond. During the height of the 2003-initiated assault on Iraq, real war and media war merged dramatically on a number of occasions for al Jazeera given the W. Bush Administration's calculated physical as well as verbal attacks. TV journalist Tayek Ayoub was killed in April 2003 when American missile fire hit the al Jazeera office there, also wounding a colleague ([www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tareq\\_Ayyoub](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tareq_Ayyoub)). After this convenient "accident" or "mistake", Bush & co. apparently wanted to take out al Jazeera altogether in Qatar. While this did not happen, the Administration's threat still had impact as a psychological warfare ploy with the network being fearful of further attacks (e.g. *Sunday Star Times*, 27/11/05).

### **West's Resource War On The World's Poor**

American foreign policy strategists have long known that the best way to promote the defence of the current Western lifestyle in the face of growing populations, declining resources and ecosystems, mounting inequalities, etc. was to induce in its mass populace the sense of siege, of a constant state of threat. Critical to this enterprise has been a systematic propaganda programme to paint its enemies as barbarous people who want to destroy civilised life as we know it. This means permanent war a la the bleak vision of Orwell's "1984".

At home, the US national security State has of late been continually galvanised by repeated terror alerts and anti-Muslim expressions of feeling as in the furore over the proposed mosque near so-called "Ground Zero" (former Twin Towers site) in New York, a pastor's proposal to burn copies of the Koran, and similar such episodes. More and more, too, poverty-stricken countries like Afghanistan, Yemen, and Somalia are seen simply as areas of looming menace for affluent Westerners. So the West feels under siege from the poor, hungry and, let us add, the oppressed. Certainly, to a degree, it is now the target of both innocent desperate, would-be immigrants and some terrorists, even of the home-grown variety. What a number of influential American strategists and politicians have long worked to create has finally come about: a situation where so many US citizens (and other Westerners) have come to see their country's resource war on the world's poor people as a "War on Terror".

So any perceived militant threat to the interests of the American power elite has come to be defined in the terms of "terrorism". Since so many academics in the West are ready and eager to identify themselves with the values, material interests, and goals of this elite, and the subservient and aligned governments (including NZ) that express them (however disguised at times this motivation might be!), "anti-terrorism" has become the battle-cry for the academics that help define it as our destiny. As terrorism specialist Richard Jackson observes, the field of terrorism studies is "unbalanced, politically biased and limited in its focus" ("An Argument for Terrorism", *Perspectives on Terrorism: a Journal of the Terrorism Research Initiative*, vol. II, issue 2, 2008: [www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php](http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php)). [1]

### **The Farce Of Politically Correct Terrorism**

It is hugely revealing that the US State Department explicitly avoids any reference to "State terrorism" in its definition of "Terrorism". In noting the enormous bias in the usual working Western definition of "terrorism", Jackson says that, "the terrorism label is applied solely to non-state groups opposed to Western interests" (ibid.). So Leftwing groups get "an inordinate amount of attention in terrorism studies literature" whereas, on the other hand, "Rightwing groups like the [Nicaraguan] Contras, anti-Castro groups, US and South African supported movements in Angola and

Mozambique, various Afghan factions, numerous Latin American death squads, and today a number of Iraqi death squads, have remained *scandalously* [my emphasis] understudied" (ibid.).

State terrorism, at least Western State terrorism, has been virtually ignored. This huge academic and governmental bias has naturally been reflected in the Western mass media. Overall, it is the ideological expression of powerful, vested capitalist interests. For a relevant detailed case study see my "Ghosts of a Genocide: The CIA, Suharto and the Terrorist Culture" (*Peace Researcher* 25, March 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr25intr.htm>). It includes the role of the *Press* in helping suppress the truth from the NZ public).

### **NZ's State Terrorist Commitment**

As an appendage of the Anglo-American imperial axis, NZ assiduously conforms to the prevailing "terrorist" prescription. The National government is content in ignoring the grim toll of Western victims of the "War on Terror". Meanwhile, our Special Air Service (SAS) is closely involved in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's (NATO) Afghanistan counter-insurgency programme. Revelations from the American book, "Operation Dark Heart" (aptly named indeed!), have indicated how some of our intelligence personnel have probably been implicated in targeted killings. This book by a former US "black ops" leader, Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Shaffer, has been so revealing that the Pentagon tried to destroy the first print run, and has heavily censored the second printing (St. Martin's Press, 2010; [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Dark\\_Heart](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Dark_Heart)).

As well, in obedience to American mandate, the NZ government continues to proscribe more of the world's poor. A recent (2010) example was the addition to the NZ government's list of "international terrorist" organisations of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its New People's Army. Prime Minister John Key claimed that these organisations "indiscriminately kill civilians". Not only do Key and his Government obviously not care about the civilian victims of Western terrorism, but the Filipino organisations now listed have long gone to great pains to avoid civilian casualties. In contrast, CIA and Filipino government-sponsored terrorism in the Philippines against civilian Leftwing and human rights advocates is established practice. In the Anglo-American war on the world's poor, truth is consistently a casualty. Institutionalised hypocrisy is very deeply ingrained. Besides ideological contortions, the social psychology of officially sanctioned counter-insurgency and anti-terrorism accommodates all sorts of behavioural contradictions.

### **A Near Conspiracy Of Silence – Now Starting To Go Badly Awry!**

"The greatest triumphs of propaganda have been accomplished, not by doing something, but by refraining from doing", Aldous Huxley observed long ago ("Target Iraq", op. cit, p46). "Great is truth, but still greater, from a practical point of view, is silence about truth" (ibid.). Overwhelmingly, deafeningly, this silence prevails over the victims of Western terrorism when real political interests are at stake. In 2010, Wikileaks released large volumes of Pentagon military documents giving unprecedented, formerly secret official information and insights on the West's wars on Afghanistan and Iraq. Yet, very few media have given this material the coverage it so obviously demands in light of some devastating revelations on blunders, cover-ups, propaganda, and cold-blooded murder. I have seen no NZ examples at all, other than cursory mention, or instead articles critical of the messenger. The grim reality is thus again largely screened from public view. Systematic dissimulation rules as ever! This has been further reinforced with an obvious US Administration orchestrated cyberwar on the Wikileaks Website, following the release of previously hidden communications of US diplomats and politicians.

While the mainstream media has buried its skeletons and fresh corpses from sight as much as possible, it has directed attention instead on to the messenger, namely Wikileaks founder, Julian Assange. He is now under undisguised harassment from virtually the whole Western Establishment, including his native Australia. Assange has more or less been officially proscribed as the West's domestic Public Enemy Number One. Wanted by Interpol, under US pressure, for alleged sex crimes, Assange is even actually subject to death threats from the more openly neo-fascist elements within the ruling power structure. Professor Tim Flanagan, who is another of the former advisers of Canadian Conservative PM Stephen Harper, has publicly called for Assange to be assassinated. Thoughtfully enough, Flanagan suggested the use of a drone. Flanagan was Harper's campaign manager for his 2003 election. Flanagan's call echoes that for Assange's execution from some American Republican Party sources (*Press*, 3/12/10). Assange is the "traitor" that we have to hate, with all the crony-media baying for his blood.

### **Death To Dissent!**

So bring the death squads home now as well since we have finally got some academics and politicians to sanction it all! This sort of stuff could soon even become politically correct, just as in "1984". Former Alaska governor, Tea Party heroine and former Vice-Presidential candidate, Sarah Palin, has likened Assange to bin Laden and al Qaeda



terrorists, and called for him to be hunted down. Assange rightly fears an Obama death squad. Despite all the desperate efforts at damage control, the capitalist mask is continuing to peel off piece by piece, bit by bit, and globally at that!

Wikileaks' campaign is fitting payback for the horrendous, cynical manipulation of intelligence by the "neo-con" GW Bush Administration and their crony-media mates, which continues to cause further mayhem in the Middle East. It is most ironic, too, to note how American imperial predation has suffered such revelations from dissemination via the Internet with its origins in US defence research projects. Yet again, Big Brother has multiple heads. For instance, star activist-writer Arundhati Roy is facing charges of sedition for being critical of unjust policy and practices by India in regard to the hotly disputed state of Kashmir. Real Leftwing dissent will become more difficult in some supposedly democratic societies.

## **Mainstream Functioning**

Over the years there have been occasional reports and articles critical of Western militarist abuses in the NZ mainstream media, at least when these have become embarrassingly evident. Yet the overwhelming context of such abuses presents them as the result of mistakes, accidents, over-enthusiasm, lapses of judgement, aberrations, and so on, certainly not as the inevitable symptoms of a systematically malevolent foreign policy. For some excellent reality checks on grossly biased, mass media reporting, see Murray Horton's "The Terrorist 'War on Terror'" in *Peace Researcher* 26 (October 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-63.htm>); and Bob Leonard's "Domebusters' Trial Suppressed Evidence" in PR 40, July 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-192b.htm>). One of the major social functions of the mainstream media, including State television, is to actually hide much of the truth. Besides NZ participation in US wars, another issue that illustrates this ideological, protective function of the mainstream mass media for the prevailing political power structure is the subject of "free trade". The silence of this media on NZ's "free trade" role in helping undermine food security, especially in poor countries, is similarly deafening. In fact, there has never actually been any proper democratic discussion on the deeper implications of free trade for Aotearoa/NZ itself.

Some media, however, are consistently better in the public dissemination of news and information than others on international issues relating to Aotearoa/NZ. For several decades, the Sunday Star Times (including previous versions), despite changes of both ownership and editorship, has been the most fair-minded and balanced mainstream newspaper, especially on Aotearoa/NZ's independence and human rights issues. For instance, the treatment of prisoners in Afghanistan by our SAS has elicited its continuing concern (e.g. editorial, 18/3/07: "It's time we spoke out against US abuses"). The newspaper is still firmly Western-biased. And the Listener (owned by APN, part of Tony O'Reilly's transnational media empire) changed editors in recent years and dramatically changed editorial direction to now be mostly a superficial, corporate-oriented publication.

## **NATO State Terrorist Death Squads In Afghanistan**

In mid-2010, Britain's Guardian in a highly unusual media article posed the headline question: "What Is Death Squad Task Force 373?" ([www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jul/25/task-force-373-secret-afghanistan-taliban](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/jul/25/task-force-373-secret-afghanistan-taliban)). To refer to such a Western agency in these terms is most surprising indeed. The Guardian article revealed that the US-led NATO coalition has been using an undisclosed "black" unit of Special Forces, Task Force (TF) 373, to hunt down top insurgent targets (ibid.). It is certainly very enlightening to look in some detail at the sort of information that most of the mainstream media deliberately choose not to tell their publics.

For death squad TF373, standard American State terrorist procedure has been implemented. The centrepiece is the list of designated victims, a political method that goes back to Roman times at least. The big difference is that the NATO death list, as other such death squad lists, has been drawn up secretly. As well, an important rider in this particular case is that a number of people on NATO's list have been eligible for murder or capture. Obviously, Predator drone attacks have pre-programmed murderous intent, whereas Special Forces on the ground may have the option of securing their target alive. Apparently, quite a number of targets were captured alive – probably to be tortured for further information. More than 2,000 senior Taliban figures have been on the NATO target list. There were other reports of similar secret missions, obviously related to TF373. For instance: "A squad of Special Boat Service commandos known as Task Force 42 hunted down targets on a 'kill or capture' list of more than 2,000 Taliban commanders" (*Press*, 2/8/10). The notorious methods of the Operation Phoenix death squads from the Vietnam War era of the 1960s are being systematically implemented in Afghanistan, and this has in fact been done ever since the immediate aftermath of 9/11. During his December 2010 trip to Afghanistan, President Barack Obama congratulated his troops for targeting the enemies' leaders. Death squad operations go on.

## **Dirty Work! - Job Of Killer Elite Special Forces**

Obama and his crony-media crew are carrying on brazenly with the relatively new American strategy of making dirty work as publicly acceptable as possible. The Guardian gives some chilling case studies. Overall, besides its targeted victims, TF373 “has also killed civilian men, women, and children, and even Afghan police officers who have strayed into its path” (op. cit; more quotes below in this section). These targeted killings have come under what is labelled “the joint prioritised effects list”, or “JPEL”.

In one incident, on the night of 11 June 2007 in a valley near Jalalabad, the unit shot up in the dark a group of Afghan police officers, killing seven of them and wounding four – and all because someone shone a torch on the unit! They even called in an AC-130 gunship when a firefight developed. The NATO coalition force covered up this incident. Later that same week, on 17 June 2007, TF373 launched another mission in Paktika province. They fired rockets into a village and killed seven children. On this occasion, the coalition owned up to the deaths but blamed the Taliban for holding the children. Yet there was no evidence that any Taliban had actually done this. The unit just fired the rockets unprovoked into a madrassa (Islamic school) where there were in fact no Taliban present at all. Knowledge of the use of rockets was suppressed, as of course was TF373’s involvement. In another incident where there were alleged civilian casualties of F-15 bombings: “A large number of local nationals were on site during the investigation displaying a hostile attitude so the investigation team did not continue sorting through the site”.

To be sure: “The concealment of TK373’s role is a constant theme”. These killers certainly need constant protection. But “TF373 continued to engage in highly destructive attacks”. Other such incidents brought more civilian dead, including children. There was indeed a string of repeated episodes of misinformation and cover-ups. JPEL has clearly got very high status within the NATO force operations, with a “joint targeting working group”. Over 2,000 targets had been killed or captured by October 2009. Apparently, the American death squad operatives of TF373 hail from the 7th Special Forces Group stationed at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

### **An Orwellian Orchestration By TVNZ**

Raymond Williams has observed that: “. . . what has really survived from “1984” is Orwell’s understanding of propaganda and thought control. There have been changes of style and technology but certain basic methods of the oligarchy – endlessly repeated slogans, displacement of one kind of news by another, the regular institution of hate figures – are still clearly recognisable” (“Orwell”, Fontana, 1984, p120). The demonisation of bin Laden and al Qaeda, the “War on Terror” slogan, along with slogans like “Operation Enduring Freedom” and “Operation Iraqi Freedom”, and other propagandistic psychological warfare techniques a la “1984” have been rife since 9/11 in the mainstream media. Saddam Hussein’s regime in Iraq, a former American ally for its war with Iran, was later recast as the prime enemy state. All this has happened in an international situation where US-led Western State terrorism is presented as acceptable and justifiable by the mainstream media. The “terrorist” branding, naturally, only applies to our enemies.

In particular on the NZ scene, Uncle Sam has long been the organ grinder for TVNZ on war, and much else. As the monkey, TVNZ has faithfully followed its master’s line in presenting these imperial wars - in former newsreader Richard Long’s immortal words - as President Bush’s “fight for freedom”! Long was referring here specifically to the war on Iraq initiated in 2003. These wars were all part of the endless “War on Terror”, according to the definition of international affairs as proclaimed by Washington. Then along came the Obama Administration and dropped the “War on Terror” slogan as counter-productive. For a while, momentum for its usage carried on in TVNZ presentations until the broadcaster got the strings to its puppet-master sorted. So while the terrorist “War on Terror” goes on in practice, the news has been redefined in line with what President Barack Obama’s Administration wants to project on foreign policy. This was highlighted with the visit in November 2010 of the Administration’s Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, to Aotearoa/NZ.

### **TVNZ And Creating Opportunities for Clinton**

The National government and TVNZ were certainly on song together for Clinton’s visit. There was some political game-playing just before Clinton’s arrival with news of an impending important announcement, and Key in a posturing ploy of ignorance. So the Wellington Declaration came to formally proclaim renewed ties between the US and NZ in a suitably expectant atmosphere. The public release of the Defence White Paper setting out the country’s strategic policy for the next 25 years was strategically timed to coincide with the visit and reinforce the American connection.

As usual, TVNZ was at its fawning best for the rich and powerful. Political Reporter Guyon Espiner asked Clinton a couple of questions geared to TVNZ’s underlying militarist agenda (One, 6 pm News, 5/11/10). One question was whether Clinton would welcome American nuclear ship visits here since these ships are supposedly now only



nuclear powered (as opposed to nuclear armed). Didn't she find our position rather odd? Clinton indicated in diplomatic fashion that she would welcome change to readmit American warships. Yet, in reality of course, change would also mean the reassignment of nuclear weapons to American warships in a time of crisis and foreign control of our ports. Espiner's second leading question was whether Clinton wanted our troops to remain in Afghanistan? Again, she was diplomatic but very welcoming of NZ's continued participation with a flattering remark about how "professional" our SAS soldiers are. Closeup then followed with a detailed clip on Espiner's interview with Clinton, again signalling the end of 25 years "stand-off".

So TVNZ's coverage of Clinton's visit, in tandem with so much of the mainstream media, endorsed this visit as a resounding success and a turning-point in US-NZ relations. There would now be more training and co-operation with the US, along with joint exercises. There were even rapturous endorsements from several impressionable students for Clinton's speech delivered to a specially invited audience at the Christchurch Town Hall, while Peter Townsend of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, another invitee, appropriately expressed the warm desire for closer relations with the US. It was indeed "a meeting that exceeded expectations"!

### **Marginalising The Critics And Pushing Nuclear Participation**

With the portrayal of a protest against Clinton's visit, TVNZ also seized the opportunity to again try and further marginalise the local opponents of Anglo-American aggression (One, 6pm News, 4/11/10). The relatively small number of protesters outside Parliament, branded simplistically and misleadingly as "anti-American", was an aspect emphasised in TVNZ's coverage – less presence than the security staff! Well, of course, Nobel Peace Prize winner Obama is viewed in a positive way by many people around the world for withdrawing combat troops from Iraq; imposing constraints on the possible use of nuclear weapons; trying to reduce the numbers of nuclear weapons, and curb proliferation; engaging in more dialogue with the Muslim world; etc. Similarly, the Clintons come across for many as having a much better image than the "neo-con" GW Bush Administration.

The views of a couple of the protesters were selectively presented in "sound-bites" on TV1. One protester gave voice to a 9/11 conspiracy viewpoint, while the other indicated capitalism was the problem. In the latter case, TVNZ is well aware that the conditioning of most New Zealanders would very likely prompt them to dismiss this view in stereotyped fashion, however true it might ultimately be. Its reporters were correspondingly careful not to solicit articulate statements from the Peace Action Wellington organisers and speakers at their protest against US and NZ war crimes. Thus TVNZ smugly put forward the overall viewpoint of the protesters that the US was responsible for the deaths and ensuing mayhem in Afghanistan and Iraq within a deliberately marginalised context. Obviously, not only were such views opposed to that of TVNZ, but by implication, contrary to those of all right-thinking New Zealanders.

### **Militarist Psychological Warfare**

In sum, during Hillary Clinton's visit, TVNZ demonstrated again how it has been the principal organ of Anglo-American war propaganda in Aotearoa/NZ. Clinton's visit was warmly welcomed as the vital signal of "relations thawing at long last". TVNZ's propaganda techniques and psychological warfare methods have been honed to a high level with many years of practice. The militarist trend that Harry Evison\* identified on TVNZ, among other media, continued throughout 2010. Besides the war "docudramas", *The Pacific* and the evocatively named *Generation Kill*, there has been a continual parade of TV war memories, stories and commemorations. Clearly, the underlying agenda of TVNZ, whatever the occasional "puffery" and token "fair and balanced" reporting à la the Fox News trademark, is to help forge closer ties with the US resource war and killing machine and so undermine our nuclear free status. And, hold on too, President Obama himself may even be reviving the "War on Terror" slogan – spoken in his visit to Afghanistan (One, 6pm News, 4/12/10). \*From Part 1 of Dennis' article: Prominent Christchurch historian, social commentator, and World War 2 veteran, Harry Evison, drew attention to this in a letter to the editor of the *Press* (24/4/10). He observed that: "The present spate of American movies portraying war as heroic, and the extraordinary surge of attention to wars of all kinds, seem to be conditioning people for another world war, like 1914 all over again" (ibid.).

### **Joining The Downward Spiral?**

As we have seen there is another swing to the hard Right in the US. Critical boundaries for human rights have already been crossed by "neo-con" Administrations in making torture and death squad operations more acceptable to the American public. As an imperial appendage, NZ will become further subject to this process of the erosion of any standards of proper human decency. Bob Rigg, a former chairperson of the National Consultative Committee on Disarmament, has well pointed out the dangers of making military interventions in other countries (*Press*, 11/11/10). "If our Government adopts such decisions in secret (as our law allows), it is almost certainly guided principally by

classified 'intelligence' provided by the US, either directly or through NATO. We know from experience that such intelligence can be manipulated to predetermine decisions fulfilling the US agenda. If key NZ defence and security advisers have been part of NATO (and US) planning and training, the probability is maximised that they will be compliant where NATO and the US are concerned" (ibid.). Rigg called for better democracy by provision of the opportunities for Parliament and the general public "to debate the merits of proposed foreign interventions" (ibid.).

**In the emerging Social Darwinist era of global resource wars, Aotearoa/NZ needs to assert a policy of "positive neutrality" with peacemaking initiatives for the future as much as possible. Potential flashpoints are increasing around the globe – from the Middle East to the Korean Peninsula, and from the Venezuelan/Colombian border to the China Sea. We either commit ourselves to the civilised values underpinning human rights, genuine democracy, and respect for other forms of life; or we join the culture of death and embrace its horrors. The choice is ours.**

## Postscript: 2011

### Countering The Capitalist Culture Of Death

**"There is no more effective recruiter for al Qaeda than the status quo of American foreign policy" (Michael Scheuer, former CIA agent who led the bin Laden CIA team during the 1990s, *Press*, 28/5/11).**

A lot of relevant things have happened since the above article was written. Prominent among them was the killing on 2nd May 2011 of Osama bin Laden, the US's most wanted terrorist (the video games are available and the Hollywood film is on the way!). What was so noteworthy here was how the US proudly broadcast this particular death squad operation to the rest of the world.

### Sexing Up The Death Squads

One of the major themes of my 2010 article (above, and Part 1 in *PR* 41, July 2011) is that American strategists have long been working to make their death squad operations publicly acceptable, above all to the American people, and more generally, to publics in the wider Western world. The biggest systematic mass murder orchestrated by the CIA and the rest of the Anglo-American interventionary apparatus was the genocide of Communists, Leftists, Chinese minority group members, and other groups in Indonesia following the 1965 Suharto coup. Possibly well over a million people were slaughtered. This remains a classic case of Western duplicity and dirty work, which still relies on the mainstream media to this day to cover up the bloody work done there.

Of course, the ongoing media cover-up also applies to so much of American-backed butchery in Latin America and elsewhere. The continuities run on today in Afghanistan and other places. To a large degree, the US has applied what is called the "El Salvador" option to its 2003 war and the ongoing repression in Iraq. James Steele had been "chief US adviser to several El Salvadoran Army battalions accused of being death squads. More recently, he had been a Vice-President at Enron [the notoriously corrupt energy company which imploded so dramatically] and had originally gone to Iraq as an energy consultant" ("The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism" by Naomi Klein, Penguin, 2007, p367). Subsequently, Steele became the US chief security adviser in Iraq where he fostered torture and death squad practice according to normal Pentagon/CIA prescription and "best practice".

During the 1960s, the relatively small but deadly Phoenix murder programme had been implemented in South Vietnam. Ironically, revelations about the Phoenix programme were to prove more embarrassing for the US government than the Indonesian takeover. In comparison, more effective secrecy and comprehensive propaganda account for the success of the Indonesian genocide operation in the mid to late 1960s. But a critical factor in America's embarrassment over Phoenix proved to be the direct participation of American agents in death squad operations. Ever since, the challenge in the carefully calculated "War on Terror" has been to try and openly legitimise such killings. Targeted killings against proscribed "terrorists" are certainly easier to justify to the Western public than open genocide. Drone attacks and night raids on militant suspects in Pakistan and Afghanistan continue despite protests from the respective governments and their peoples. For the most part, Western callousness and indifference prevail. An American investigative TV "Frontline" documentary also shows how very counter-productive this terroristic strategy is for winning 'hearts and minds' in Afghanistan ("Operation Afghanistan - Kill/Capture", SBS1, 11/10/11).

"Collateral damage" still remains a problem for media management and public relations. But American Administrations can now consistently rely on a climate of fear to reinforce the traditional collaboration of the capitalist mainstream media for this propaganda purpose. NZ media give lots of glamorising hype to any SAS efforts in Afghanistan to rescue hostages in crisis response situations. But nasty night raids by NATO Special Forces are

successfully covered up except in the very odd case as exemplified by the killing of security guards during a botched SAS Kabul operation. In conjunction with American forces, a SAS revenge attack completely wiped out a band of guerrillas, who had earlier conducted a fatal ambush on an NZ Army patrol. This slaughter was enthusiastically applauded by the militarist "War on Terror" and "Clash of Civilisations" ideologue, Dr. Ron Smith of Waikato University (TV1, 6pm News, 21/4/11).

### **Publicly Promoting The New Barbarism**

In the case of the hated Osama bin Laden, the US had the golden opportunity to publicly perform a death squad operation with plenty of media hype, both to intimidate its opponents and to help legitimise such killings. The Obama Administration obviously felt that this could succeed despite the typical ugly aspects involved: a secretive night time, home invasion raid with the inevitable collateral damage including women casualties and traumatised children, in order to gun down in cold blood an ageing, unarmed, probably sick man, whom they did not want to capture. And remember in this particular show case the American Administration went to great lengths to minimise collateral damage as much as possible. It was yet another of the endless American violations of international law, happily rationalised by the media as usual.

For Joanne Black, Acting Editor of the New Zealand Listener, "the assassination of al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden has been hugely symbolic, even liberating" for the US (Listener, 16/7/11, p5). Black asserts this in the context of making a case for staying on in Afghanistan. The very Rightwing, pro-American military Black is also appreciative of our SAS role in "killing people". Much of the NZ media was similarly celebratory over bin Laden's killing in the best bloodthirsty fashion. On the commemoration of 9/11, Tim Wilson, TVNZ's Voice of America, echoed Black's sentiments about the symbolic value of the bloody deed for Americans (TV7, News, 11/9/11). Yet this latest 9/11 commemoration featured the paranoia of a new terror alert as usual, once again reinforcing public commitment to the national security State and perception of its enemies.

### **The West Against the Rest?**

Along with plenty of routine disinformation and propaganda, the bin Laden death squad raid has thus been hyped up as a heroic, glorious deed in characteristic US bullshit fashion. And it certainly worked for the majority of the NZ mainstream media who are deeply committed to the terroristic resource war on the world's poor, in conjunction with the economic imperialism of free trade in food, etc. Even the code word for the death squad's target, "Geronimo", was in continuity with the long tradition of American racist State terrorism.

In this vein, too, the NZ government is dedicated in its support for such terrorism; and our SAS is active within this strategy against the Taliban, who hail directly from the once lauded fundamentalist Islamist "resistance fighters" against Soviet imperialism. Taliban ruthlessness is now opposed by many of the very same people who once so heartily endorsed it. As in Iraq, American-led invasion has led to further "balkanisation" of Afghanistan along ethnic lines, ensuring that nationalist Pashtuns will fervently oppose foreign occupation, and the same applies in Pakistan as well (e.g., see Anatol Lieven's "Pakistan: A Hard Country"). Their fight for freedom from foreign oppression will go on. The Anglo-American imperialists always insist on digging more deep holes for themselves around the planet.

In his ruthlessness as to ends and means, bin Laden aptly calculated on sucking in Western forces and slowly bleeding them to death in the Middle East maelstrom and beyond. His strategy is confirmed as to its effectiveness by former CIA bin Laden specialist, Michael Scheuer (TV3, Nightline, 6/9/11, interviewed in item on the aftermath of 9/11). Scheuer considers that bin Laden's strategy is working since it has drawn the US into a long-term war which the US has difficulty in sustaining (ibid.). In fact, by its very nature such resource imperialism is ultimately self-destructive (see Professor Michael Klare's "Blood and Oil: The Dangers and Consequences of America's Growing Petroleum Dependency"; "The Empire is Eating Itself" by Ralph Nader, 3/9/11, <http://readersupportednews.org/opinion2/275-42/7290-focus-the-empire-is-eating-itself>).

In these times, a considerable number of the world's poorest countries - from Afghanistan to Somalia - are principally portrayed as potential or active threats to Western imperialist interests. Meanwhile, China is viewed as the rising power on course to contest American global dominance. For instance, the American Establishment/propaganda magazine Time puts a crucial dimension of the growing Chinese challenge in these terms: "Tensions are rising between China and other states over the South China Sea, thought to hold rich oil and gas deposits" (22/8/11, p28). Parallels and corresponding processes abound.

### **Globalising Conflict**

It is significant that the political entrenchment of Murdoch-backed Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper is

closely linked to the militarisation of Canada and increasing international competition for the Arctic's oil and gas resources ("Harper Steers Canada Hard to Right", Sunday Star Times, 8/5/11). Harper's Conservative government is making a "huge purchase of fighter jets from Lockheed Martin" and embarking on "massive military shipbuilding" (ibid.). Drawing its core support from the "Evangelist Christian Right", the Conservatives are implementing a tough law and order programme (ibid.). "What happens now is the full-scale Americanisation of Canada" (ibid.). Global capitalism and militarism are intimately integrated, with the militarist dimension inevitably gaining in prominence as time goes on.

Western hypocrisy on democracy and freedom was again enormously exposed with the onset of the so-called "Arab Spring" and the movement for democracy across North Africa and much of the Middle East. Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Yemen, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and other Western-backed repressive, torture-oriented regimes either crumbled under people power; or, as in most cases, elicited angry bouts of protest action before repression took a firmer hold. In some cases there was a show of face-saving concessions.

Payback and blowback take many forms. Even though Western media attention has focused on the brutal crackdowns and rebellions in Libya and Syria, and NATO's response in the former case, the tangled politics involved in such countries make outcomes highly uncertain and problematic. Tellingly enough, the CIA used both Syria and Libya for the "extraordinary rendition" and torture of suspected jihadist prisoners, as even acknowledged now by some Western media. In Libya's case, such collaboration related to "lucrative oil contracts" (*Press*, 12/9/11). The big lie worked for the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In fact, there has been a massive, orchestrated litany of lies. But its ramifications will work out in a multitude of unsettling ways to come. Again, too, more Western power is being sucked and drained in the widening maelstrom.

### **Murdoch's Momentary Burp?**

In Britain, politicians once in thrall to the Murdoch empire ungratefully turned on their former master as the phone-hacking scandal deepened. Andy Coulson, former News of the World Editor, is actually under arrest for his alleged part in the phone-hacking practice. As British PM David Cameron's former Director of Communications as well, Coulson's record and current plight have helped expose the extent of Murdoch's pervasive political influence. Overall, the scandal's fallout is a big setback for News Corp and its pernicious role but Murdoch and co still wield great power. Unfortunately, there may be little permanent damage to News Corp given the workings of global capital.

A recent example of the media mogul's power in action was the campaign by the Murdoch press in Australia (he owns 70% of the press there) against meaningful legislation by the Labour government to control carbon emissions. It has drawn the response of a Parliamentary Inquiry. Unfortunately, there are plenty of other malevolent mainstream media ready to fill any gaps. Among further items of interest connected with Murdoch's empire was the resignation of Glenn Beck from Fox News. Beck was an obvious loose cannon anyway. In the US, the toxic, media-cultivated Tea Party movement brought the Obama Administration into crisis mode over payment of the country's debt, even helping trigger panic on global financial markets. As capitalist globalisation implodes worldwide, we will have to try and counter lots of irrationality. Western capitalism is certainly reaping what it sows.

### **More NZ Connections**

Its divisive processes take various local forms. The Australian-based Fairfax Media empire has engaged in active social engineering in Aotearoa/NZ with its promotion of the so-called NZ Business Hall of Fame and all its implicit Social Darwinism. As well, the trend to corporatised news continues with the formation of its Fairfax NZ News (FNZN) outfit, following the demise of the independent NZ Press Association (NZPA) – a demise in which Fairfax played a major role. More specifically, a significant step in the further legitimisation of the militarisation of NZ society was signalled by the appointment, as our Governor-General, of former Defence Force Chief and SAS member, Lieutenant General Sir Jerry Mateparae, who still has some big ethical questions hanging over him from the controversy over the treatment and torture of Afghan prisoners, and other activities in Afghanistan (e.g., see the critical Sunday Star Times article by Anthony Hubbard, 13/3/11). The reactionary *Press* considers Mateparae's posting "perfect" (*Press*, 10/3/11)..

Being also our former "top spy" when briefly the Director of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB, which operates the Waihopai spybase), Mateparae illustrates in the course of his career the increasingly close linkage between the military and intelligence surveillance institutions, signalling the mindset of the national security State. Inspired by Nicky Hager's new investigative book, "Other People's Wars: NZ In Afghanistan, Iraq And The War on Terror" (reviewed by Jeremy Agar elsewhere in this issue), Rod Oram also raises pertinent questions about the implications for our democracy of Mateparae's appointment (Sunday Star Times, 11/9/11; see also

Sunday Star Times, 4/9/11, for excellent coverage of some of Nicky's revelations). However, like the political Establishment, much of the media has downplayed the book's findings despite the extensive official documentation used. After all, their job is to suppress the truth and discussion as much as possible.

### **Militarisation And Public Relations Spin**

There are plenty of other aspects of militarisation to monitor (for background, see Special Issue of Peace Researcher, number 29 [first series], August 1991, "Ready Reactionaries Practise Repression", <http://historicalpeaceresearcher.blogspot.com/2010/06/peace-researcher-vo1-issue29-aug-1991.html>). On the Left, we need to keep very alert to the unravelling of globalisation. International events, and so domestic events, could move suddenly and quickly. US public relations firm Hill & Knowlton contributed Victoria ('Torie') Clarke to the Pentagon's war on Iraq. Recently, we also learned that Hill & Knowlton were paid by the NZ government to get PM John Key's comedy turn on the David Letterman show during his 2009 visit to America, another revealing indicator of the prevailing colonial mindset (TV1, 6pm News, 1/8/11). Also very revealing was publicity about a "jihadist" threat that Letterman had received for his antics in celebrating the "drone strike in Pakistan" killing al Qaeda leader Ilyas Kashmiri, as well as bin Laden's death (*Press*, 19/8/11). Political murder and death squad operations get the full entertainment treatment these days in the US from the nation's media minders as they deliberately cultivate the zeitgeist of the neo-fascist security State. Political manipulation, mass media, show business and militarism go hand in hand in typical American fashion. Spinning the web of death is fundamental to imperial reach, even more when this reach is in decline.

### **Cultivating The Culture Of Death**

Since the mainstream American media are pervaded with such attitudes, values and behavioural aspects, these will increasingly impact on public standards in Aotearoa/NZ. Sadly enough, the "Death Squads for Dummies" approach is working! The offensive TV antics of Paul Henry, appealing for quite a number of people here, herald a new cultural wave geared to benefit ruling rich and powerful capitalist interests. All this, of course, both reflects and expresses the wider American culture. A casual review of American TV shows we had on our own TV channels during mid-2011 is both indicative and evocative, e.g. *The Walking Dead* (apocalyptic survivalism); *Sons of Anarchy* (gang warfare); *NCIS* (terrorism); *Justified* (killer lawman); and *Survivor* (survivalism). Their cumulative message suggests the "survival of the fittest" syndrome, whatever the exact meaning put on the interpretation of "fittest". Another regular message is: revenge is good.

In the American context, such TV programming, associated with all the other related cultural trends and media input, is conducive to the inculcation of competitive Social Darwinist and neo-fascist attitudes. The black liberationist Eldridge Cleaver\* ably identified the social psychological undercurrent that has now become so salient. "In a culture that secretly subscribes to the piratical ethic of 'every man for himself' – the Social Darwinism of 'survival of the fittest' being far from dead, manifesting itself in our rat race political system of competing parties, in our dog-eat-dog economic system of profit and loss, and in our adversary system of justice wherein truth is secondary to the skill and connections of the advocate – the logical culmination of this ethic, on a person-to-person level, is that the weak are seen as the natural and just prey of the strong" ("Soul on Ice", Panther, 1970, p85). Hence the special penchant of American Administrations for regularly savaging some of the world's most vulnerable and poorest peoples. *\*Ironically, the "black liberationist" Eldridge Cleaver (who died in 1998) later transformed into both a born again Christian and an enthusiastic Republican Party activist and unsuccessful candidate. Ed.*

A recent trend proving highly popular in the US is the spectator sport of video-wargaming. "The matches are broadcast on the Internet, and include commentary by pundits who say things like, 'It's a drone genocide! Flaming drone carcasses all over the place!'" (*Press*, 27/5/11). This new trend "has the US in its grip" (ibid.). The "crowds are apt to go crazy" when a player does something especially tricky, "such as dropping a nuclear bomb" (ibid.). Millions of people participate. Apparently, "the craze has its roots in South Korea" (ibid.). As America's prime strategic, foreign nuclear war fighting platform – and one intermittently on the brink – the South Korean source for this craze seems understandable enough. NZ has an annual "Armageddon" celebration and related sub-culture with lots of vibes receptive to this sort of thing.

Given the connection with the computerised targeting of real-life Predator drones, the culture of death is obviously growing. Already a multitude of videogames help reinforce American and allied commitment to the US's endless war on its enemies. A whole generation of youth is being indoctrinated in this sort of mindset and accompanying role models. Even fashion in clothes and cosmetics is currently following a military-look trend. Evidently, the "1986 hit movie 'Top Gun' [starring Tom Cruise] was the template for a US military alliance with Tinseltown" [Hollywood] (*Sunday Star Times*, 4/9/11). From this particular alliance stems "an entertainment culture rigged to produce dozens of blockbusters glorifying the military" (ibid.).

Emblematic of the recent darker trend is the British directed revenge and survivalist film, "Hanna", about a teenage girl assassin who has been trained by her former CIA father. TV adverts for the film portrayed her cutting throats. For TVNZ film reviewer Darren Bevan, "Hanna is effortlessly cool and stylish" (*Press*, 1/9/11), while Your Weekend reviewer James Croot sees the film as "cool and gritty" (10/9/11). Killing is good and cool! Perhaps we have to look as well at human evolutionary psychology and Freud's "death instinct" to help understand this cultural trend in the phase of late capitalism. Even at a much more restrained level, the state of siege mentality is widely at work. A very popular set of novels for Australian and NZ teenagers is John Marsden's "Tomorrow, When the War Began" series about a band of teenagers and their resistance to armed invaders. Marsden is an Australian school principal.

### **More Foreign Political Manipulations**

Wikileaks\* exposed some of the workings of US influence within Aotearoa/NZ. Most interesting were revelations about US-sponsored trips and the influence that the sponsors felt had been achieved. The Green Party leadership (see the *Press*, 2/5/11) and journalists like TVNZ's Political Reporter Guyon Espiner were among key US targets. In the mid-1980s, the anti-subversion group Nuclear Free Kiwis monitored the efforts of the US Information Service in sponsoring such trips and other related activities. We reported our findings in NZ Monthly Review and the first series of Peace Researcher. *\*The Wikileaks cables from the US Embassy in New Zealand, all 613 pages of them, can be read on the ABC Website at <http://liberation.typepad.com/files/wellington-us-embassy-cables---bryce-edwards.pdf>. Ed.*

This went hand in hand with our monitoring and exposing of various attempts at CIA subversive activity here. So it was enlightening to learn from an informed source that the CIA maintains an office in Auckland, as has been the case in the past (*Press*, 23/7/11). During the 1980s' standoff between Aotearoa/NZ and the US, a former Deputy Director of the CIA, Dr Ray Cline, tried to set up a so-called "ANZUS\* think-tank" in our country. We responded with a couple of special editions of the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee's newsletter/magazine, Nuclear Free. One morning, Dr Cline was interviewed in the US on NZ radio in response to the first special Cline "alert" edition of Nuclear Free. Defending himself, Cline said that the magazine's authors must suffer from paranoiac fantasies! *\*ANZUS=the 1951 Australia, New Zealand, United States Treaty. NZ was expelled from it in the 1980s as "punishment" for our nuclear free policy. It continues, under the same name, but minus NZ, as the cornerstone of the Australian/American military alliance. Ed.*

### **Ratcheting Up The Resource War**

Well, we beat off the think-tank as originally proposed by Dr Ray Cline with the help of this sort of publicity and some independent journalism. Cline, incidentally, was a sinister neo-fascist who was responsible in the latter phase of his life for CIA-backed liaison with the murderous Khmer Rouge in Cambodia on the one hand; and, on the other hand, for helping set up the death squads, which still operate in the Philippines. Significantly, David Petraeus - the former Commander of American and allied forces in Iraq and Afghanistan and now the new Director of the CIA - is warmly praised by Time flunkey journo Joe Klein for his "brilliant career" in honing death squad operations (*Time*, op. cit, p11). Death squad dirty work gets full mainstream media endorsement these days when cleverly spun in terms of warfare. There have been "more than 2000 high -time Special Forces missions similar to the one that killed Osama bin Laden in the past 12 months" (*Press*, 12/8/11).

Since 9/11, the US military's Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) has killed more "jihadist" enemies than the CIA <http://readersupportednews.org/news-section2/323-95/7284-the-vast-and-expansive-us-secret-army>: "Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State" by Dana Priest & William Arkin, Washington Post, 2/9/11). The highly secretive JSOC has grown tenfold, conducting lethal raids in Afghanistan, Iraq, Algeria, Iran, Malaysia, Mali, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Somalia, and Syria, among other countries. The Navy Sea Air and Land Special Forces (SEALs) who killed bin Laden are part of this force. An inside informed estimate is that JSOC "only ever [gets] about 50%" of its targets accurately identified. However, JSOC apparently considers "this rate a good one". As a result, the authors of the study on the rise of the secret American security State cited above, consider "that the counterproductive effects, still unfolding, are difficult to calculate". The warnings of the Brandt Commission and other august authorities in the past about a coming war between the rich and poor have been tragically confirmed.

### **Militarising Society**

So Petraeus is now the new head of the CIA, the world's biggest terrorist organisation. Yet he is seen by the news agencies in general as "admired" for his all dirty work to date (*Press*, 23/6/11). Today, psychotic-type State terrorists in the tradition of Cline's ilk - i.e. Petraeus and his Army Command predecessor, Stanley McChrystal, a chief



architect of JSOC's current operations - are openly celebrated American and Western heroes. After all, they're protecting our mostly white skins in the great Social Darwinist struggle for planetary control à la the film "Avatar", aren't they? State terrorism is thus reaching new heights of public endorsement in the West. In another Time article (its cover story), Joe Klein looks lovingly at what Petraeus believes is "the next great generation of American leaders", drawn from the veterans of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq ("The New Greatest Generation", 29/8/11, pp20-27, quote, p27). Klein calls Petraeus the "spiritual father" of this coming leadership (ibid, p23).

These war vets (principally a hand-picked select few interviewed by Klein) are seen as bringing home the values needed by American society: "crisp decision-making, rigour, optimism, entrepreneurial creativity, a larger sense of purpose and real patriotism" (ibid, p22). While the image-conscious Klein opposes this "real patriotism" to any "self-righteous flag waving", he makes clear in the course of his article that this vet outlook is "conservative", closely interested in politics, and critical of people who complain of a lack of entitlements. Committed to the American tradition of "individual accountability", this clearly "self-righteous flag waving" vet outlook is also obviously oriented to big business mythology. Education in the Harvard Business School goes hand in hand with service in the US Marines.

Klein's piece is obvious propaganda. Klein himself was once an "embedded" journalist in Afghanistan. Such "embedding" has become a critical dimension of the Pentagon's media management. It is clearly paying off further down the track with journalists like Klein helping in the militarisation of American society, the consolidation of the national security State, and support for State terrorism. Petraeus takes over as CIA director "at a time when the line between the American spy agency and the military has become increasingly blurred" (*Press*, 8/9/11). Petraeus for President one day perhaps? – i.e., after fulsome and regular praise for his leadership of the murderous CIA!

### **Fostering Lies**

In NZ, Cline's original ANZUS think-tank proposal was carried on, of course, in various other ways. Informally, the most important legacy of the proposal was the perceived need to nurture and grow the network of Rightwing, American-aligned academics in NZ, enthusiasts for "counter-insurgency" operations and militarist bonding. One major aspect of this is the forging of closer links between this network and the media wherever possible, above all the medium of television. We have seen this connection illustrated again in recent times with particular reference to our military presence in Afghanistan.

For sure, killing or torturing people in poor countries (or applying rendition) in defence of the "developed" way of life has reached new levels of appreciation. As ever, as we have already noted, some New Zealanders are keen to be deeply implicated in the American killing machine. Always to the fore among this constituency is that long-time American foreign policy asset of the *Press*, the staunch protector and propagandist for US State terrorism and predatory social injustice over many years. So a *Press* editorial roundly denounces "fringe radicals" for opposition to the Western war on Afghanistan (22/8/11).

It is certainly a major function of the *Press* and such corporate media to constantly try and marginalise those who expose both their hypocrisy and the "oppressive horrors" of the State terrorism that they would legitimise. The *Press* has proved vicious in its propaganda for the wars on Afghanistan and Iraq, and for other American militarist, neo-fascist interventions. It has always backed both political and economic imperialism. So the editorial staff spout more cynical, self-serving crap about "just causes" and defending "freedoms", denying of course any connection with "oil and regional influence" and the preservation of their affluent lifestyle. They continually whitewash or just simply ignore the collateral damage. They obviously believe in "The Age of Stupid" and Murdoch-style dumbing down of their readers!

The eminent, internationally recognised American scholar, the late Professor Chalmers Johnson, emerged in recent years as a damning critic of American imperialism in his magnificent trilogy: "Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire", (Little, Brown & Co, 2000); "The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic", (Verso, 2004); and "Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic" (Henry Holt/Scribe, 2006/7). As Professor Johnson, former CIA consultant and member of the militarist Reaganite Committee on the Present Danger, has observed, many of the organs of our "free press" have become "Pravda-like mouthpieces" [Pravda was the former Soviet Union's lead newspaper] ("Nemesis", p19).

### **Nemesis!**

In "Nemesis", Professor Johnson clinically documents a catalogue of crimes against human rights and related political matters that the *Press* and other mainstream media work so hard to screen from the public. Quoting noted historian EH Carr, Chalmers Johnson observes that: "The English-speaking peoples are past masters in the art of



concealing their selfish national interests in the guise of the general good . . . This kind of hypocrisy is a special and characteristic peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon mind" ("Nemesis", p54). A new barbarism is in the offing and indeed, as we have shown, already operating in certain spheres.

Pertinently enough here, it is worth recording the fact that the CIA invented the term "blowback" about what eventually followed the Agency-engineered, Anglo-American 1953 overthrow of the elected government of Premier Mohammed Mosaddegh in Iran (Operation "Ajax") when this particular government tried to nationalise the country's oil assets ("Nemesis", p.2). Again, all this nicely epitomises the US's and the *Press*' ideas of "freedom" and "social justice" in action, while the consequences still roll on for everybody (see *Press* editorial, 22/8/11).

The so-called "Carter Doctrine" formulated after the 1979 Iranian revolution – and named after President Jimmy Carter – explicitly allocates Middle East oil resources to American military control. Created in 1980, JSOC's first mission was the abortive attempt to rescue the American hostages held in Tehran. The American government went on to back Iraq in its war against Iran, boosting the slaughter as much it could, and then caused the death of some half a million children in Iraq due to United Nations-imposed sanctions. Later, the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 was a stepping-stone to the prime target of Iraq (planned before 9/11), with its huge oil reserves, and the establishment of more strategic bases in the region.

### **Realpolitik Bites Back**

Even in his role as "international peace envoy for the Middle East", the war criminal and former British PM Tony Blair is brazenly calling for more regime change, namely "in Iran and Syria" (*Press*, 10/9/11). Indeed: "He suggests the West must be ready to use force against Iran if it pursues its nuclear ambitions" (ibid.). He talks about the potential of Iran to "destabilise the region very, very badly" (ibid.). Blair, President GW Bush & co. have, of course, themselves been hugely responsible for destabilising the Middle East. But Blair goes on to blame Iran for the failure of the Anglo-American axis to stabilise both Iraq and Afghanistan. Iran is blamed for its backing for "terrorism" (ibid.). Blair's imperial arrogance is as breathtaking as his stupidity and lies. The neo-cons have fallen into bin Laden's trap, severely crippling the American economy ([www.atimes.com/atimes/global\\_economy/mi10dj02.html](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/global_economy/mi10dj02.html)).

War criminal Blair, with his usual awesome hypocrisy, also refers to the so-called "narrative" which "jihadists" adhere to, i.e. the story of Western imperialism, which Blair implies is untrue (ibid.). However, Blair is careful to project this "narrative" as only applying to religion and the "clash of civilisations", which Blair & co. have again done so much to foster, although of course he puts the blame on the Islamists for this. He is however obliged to acknowledge that many people ascribe both to the "narrative and the ideology that prompted the extremism" (ibid.). As a foremost exemplar of Western neo-fascist imperialism, war criminal Blair could also be considered a prize idiot, all under the cover of defending the "open society". Blair is caught in the tortured contortions of his own evil-doing. History has a habit of repeating. Back in 1953 Britain froze Iran's sterling funds and banned the export "of essential raw materials to Iran to create economic trouble for Premier Mohammed Mosaddegh" so he would resign. It was an important shot fired in the Anglo-American "Operation Ajax" to destabilize the Mosaddegh government to grab Iran's oil resources.

To be sure, the *Press*' sanctimonious realpolitik is hilariously self-satirical. It criticises so-called "fringe radicals habitually suspicious of the US" and its intentions, when these intentions and corresponding actions are now so well documented, despite the constant efforts of the *Press* & co try to cover them up as much as possible (*Press*, 22/8/11). The *Press* is certainly a Pravda-like mouthpiece on foreign policy. Yet, even it lets the occasional revealing article or insight slip past the editorial oversight.

### **Angst And Agony Of The Anglo-American Killing Machine**

All the expert warnings about the folly of invading Afghanistan (and later Iraq) have been only too well vindicated, with the US falling into the same imperial trap that the Carter Administration's National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, once deliberately set for the Soviet Union. History can indeed repeat itself with horrendous consequences. We get endlessly recycled stories and commemorations about the victims of 9/11, especially each September. But, horrible as this atrocity was, the total number of victims (sanctified in a roll-call of names) of this terrorist deed stands a relative handful in comparison with the hundreds of thousands of casualties (overwhelmingly nameless) and wrecked societies meted out by the Anglo-American killing machine.

As a matter of openly proclaimed and unashamed policy, American Administrations and the Pentagon do not bother to count the civilian casualties of their depredations. The reasons are obvious. Taking their cue from this, the Western mainstream media largely ignore the ever mounting toll of the victims of such State terrorism while keeping close track of any Western casualties. The sickening racism here could not be more blatantly chilling in its implications. The continual propagandistic recycling of 9/11 is of course designed to continually refuel public

motivation for the “War on Terror” and reinforce the consolidation of the national security State. TV1 lavishly pumps this sort of propaganda to us.

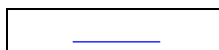
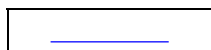
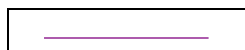
### **Towards Positive Neutrality**

As the great confrontation between the US and China shapes up further into the 21st Century, Aotearoa/NZ is strategically placed to be a leading peacemaking agency, a neutral intermediary cooperating with other peacemaking agencies around the planet, working to try and channel big power energies into the ongoing development of positive alternatives for the future. Militarist strategists like Professor Colin Gray see war between the US and China as inevitable. So we need to work much harder in contesting the bloody future being programmed for us. Our constant challenge to the warmongering mainstream media should be a major focus.

Over the years, peace activist John Gallagher has been a leading grassroots promoter of constructive alternatives with his articulation of positive neutrality for Aotearoa/NZ via the NZ Nuclear Free (Peacemaking) Committee and other groups. In fact, there is now an informed tradition of such efforts. Back in 1987, Warren Thomson, June Gregg & Doug Craig of the Defence Alternatives Studies Group (DASG) put forward a range of constructive considerations, some of which are still very relevant (see their “Old Myths or New Options?: The NZ Security Debate after the Nuclear Ships Ban”). Among suggested “strategies for the future” is a proposal for a “Wellington Initiative”, which can be seen as a fitting alternative counter-option to the new official militarist one between NZ and the US (ibid, p81). The DASG proposal advocates positive peacemaking efforts in the Pacific region in order to reduce tensions and help chart better directions. In 2011, it stands just as valid and urgent (*and two of the three authors are still very active in the peace movement. Both Warren and Doug are ABC Committee members, albeit from Nelson in Doug’s case; and Warren is the Co-Editor of Peace Researcher. Ed.*).

### **Endnote**

[1] Richard Jackson, Reader in International Politics, Aberystwyth University, got his PhD. from the University of Canterbury, NZ. He is the founding editor of the journal, Critical Studies on Terror.



- Jeremy Agar

## "OTHER PEOPLE'S WARS" by Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, 2011, \$44.99

### Shoot The Messenger

When "Other People's Wars" came out, almost before we knew what the book was about, we were offered the Prime Minister's view, which was that Hager had "no evidence" for his critique, but that whinging was "business as normal for Nicky Hager". The PM wouldn't open the book because "I don't have time to read fiction". If Key did read fiction he might become a more rounded person, but, within his self-imposed limits, he could have a look at this book because it's non-fiction. It's brilliantly, relentlessly true. It is essential reading. Would the main electoral alternative to the Key view of the world allow us to consider the central issue to do with our presence internationally? No. Leader of the Opposition Phil Goff was equally as kneejerkingly contemptuous as Key. What a waste.

The book's launch came two days into Jerry Mateparae's new gig as Governor General. The former Chief of the New Zealand Army chimed in with his opinion that Hager's criticism of troops' work in Afghanistan "doesn't sit with being a New Zealander". The former Major General elaborated with a series of the sort of empty platitudes long favoured by military types. He had "every confidence" in the "young men and women" who were enduring "trying circumstances... in that troubled land". This sort of stuff was doubtless all very soothing to those who wanted to be soothed, but it didn't address the questions that Hager raised, and it's no reason to call Hager "abhorrent". Chief of Defence Force Air Vice Marshall Sir Bruce Ferguson waded in with all the "to my knowledge" and "to my certain knowledge" disclaimers that are always offered by public figures on the defensive. He knew nothing and saw nothing.

Since then more responsible comment has established that Hager's charges are irrefutable, in that they are buttressed by a painstaking, detailed - and fascinating - series of footnotes. Media coverage has discussed some of the central aspects: that Americans, almost certainly Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agents, were "invariably present" at the New Zealand base in Afghanistan; that NZ took part in American operations; that NZ had an agent in Pakistan. The one thing a writer of Hager's reputation and integrity would never do is leave gaps for the yahoos to exploit. He's careful with sources.

Besides, the attacks on Hager happened to coincide with the fall of Gaddafi's Tripoli, and the discovery of files documenting that the American CIA, the British MI6, Italy, France, Germany and Greece had long been up to the sort of tricks that Hager was discussing. In one neat juxtaposition the Press ran adjacent stories, the first of which, from 2004, told of British complicity in delivering a rebel leader to Gaddafi's torture chambers. The headline below, based on current expediencies, referred to Gaddafi as a rat in a tunnel. This from the outfits now claiming purity and consistency.

The moral flexibility that affairs of State require trapped denigrators like Goff and US bureaucrats into logical confusion. There were repeated instances of official denials that anything wrong had happened in Iraq or Afghanistan; (the outraged gambit) clashing with remarks that a bending of the rules was "not a surprise" as, in war, you "often work with" dicey types (the realpolitik gambit). Hager was being simultaneously attacked as a devious liar and a naive simpleton. Had the politicians opened the book, they would have done themselves a favour, but that would have meant allowing themselves to consider new perspectives, and this is not to be expected from ambitious conformists. In a crisis our leaders' default position is to present themselves as Muldoonist bullies. If only they would play the ball and not the man, but they can't play the ball because if they did, they'd lose. So, while official denials were inevitable, they could have been presented with more grace.

### Impeccable Inside Sources

As with "The Hollow Men"\*Hager's vital sources were dissidents from within the Wellington bureaucracies, who spoke very much off the record. The opinions they offered are consistent with mainstream views of other articulate and informed New Zealanders, and as such, are convincing. In January, 2011 Defence chief Lieutenant-General Rhys Jones made one such statement when he suggested that 'the military can never win'. In Afghanistan. That the

State apparatus hosts traditional conservatives and liberals, and that they would have to stay mum, is a given. Also unsurprising is the evidence of the extent to which New Zealand soldiers distrusted, and even despised, their American counterparts. \* *Nicky Hager's "The Hollow Men" was reviewed by Jeremy in Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141a.html>. Ed.*

The Government had good reason to want to shut down discussion. The biggest heresy, in their eyes, would have been Hager's demonstration that Army leaders were undermining the Labour government of the day, but this, too, is what you'd expect. Commanders are given to holding very Rightwing views about world affairs and their opposition to policies like withdrawing from the ANZUS Treaty (with the US and Australia) and becoming nuclear free has surely always been assumed by most who know how New Zealand works. Even in America, where the politics have always been resolutely in favour of military muscle, there have been tensions between commanders in the field and the Commander in Chief. There was General MacArthur, in the 1950-53 Korean War, who defied President Truman, and, more relevantly, President Obama had to sideline a belligerent commander in Iraq.

When spies and secret services get up to their tricks they don't tell the civilians to whom they're accountable. It's standard practice to allow Presidents and Prime Ministers "deniability", the idea being that if you don't know something then you don't have to lie about it. It's well known that the State Department will "neither confirm nor deny" what it sees as State secrets. So when our leaders say they know nothing of the misdemeanours Hager analyses they'll be telling the truth. But it's not the whole truth and nothing but the truth. For that we have to follow Hager's story, which repeatedly shows that uncovering the whole truth would be a threat to the Government's spin on events. The Ministry of Defence worked to suppress bad news. In one instance that Hager cites it blanked out passages about how things weren't working out on the grounds that if the citizens of New Zealand had accurate information about life in Afghanistan it would be bad for "the security and defence of New Zealand". This is not discretion about operational details of the sort that is justifiably evoked whenever citizens query Special Air Service (SAS) activities. It's the sort of censorship that normally marks dictatorships. In a 2009 review the Government deleted two key sentences, which read: "The situation in Afghanistan is fragile, probably more so than at any time since 2001. Security has been steadily deteriorating..."

Very occasionally contrarian opinions surface in leading media. "The people of England", complained a London Times editorial, "will not be dazzled by the glare of brilliant actions when they lead to no useful consequences; and what is the consequence here? We have hitherto done nothing except place an incapable tyrant, hated by his people, upon a throne...in which he can only maintain himself with the aid of British arms...". Reacting to the same British invasion of Afghanistan, a politician complained that the foray was "unnecessary, unwise and most unjust". This sounds contemporary but the year was 1842, and the Victorian critics were validated to an extent that would not now be possible, as not long afterwards, 16,000 British soldiers lay dead, ambushed as they marched along a deep valley floor near the Khyber Pass.

The Army had been dispatched to counter a scare that the Russians were about to march over the mountains into India. If there's something that everyone thinks they know about Afghanistan it's that twice both the Brits and the Russians have had a rough time. Then it's said that it's impossible for outsiders to win a war there. A marvellous aspect of "Other People's Wars" is that not once in 439 dense pages does Hager repeat this bit of trite conventional wisdom. He's not about to trot out unexamined folklore. He does mention an armchair military theorist who prattles on about a 2,400 years history of turbulence in Afghanistan, but that's in the context of showing the man's mindset. Hager, always on topic, doesn't go after easy targets. His narrative, however, allows us to reflect that just because something's happened a couple of times (over 150 years, not 2,400 years) it doesn't mean it'll happen again. For a start, the deployment of Western troops and the relative balance of technology today bears no relationship to the chaos of 1842. This point is worth making: Hager is always specific and always bases himself on empirical facts. There are some obvious permanent aspects - like its corruption, tribalism and geography - which makes an invasion of Afghanistan an unlikely prospect, but serious analysis demands that these be established, not assumed.

In fact in 1842 the Russians weren't coming (is every war based on misapprehensions about other people's intentions?) Hager uses this as a lead into an interview with a US foreign service man who outlines the several similarities between the current mess in Afghanistan and the rape of Vietnam 50 years ago, a conflict that comes to mind because it too was said to be about repelling Russians - but they weren't coming then either. In both cases, the invasions failed (or will fail) because the insurgents had safe sanctuary, because the locals resented decades of imperial aggression, because a north-south civil war subverted the hope for a united pro-Western colonial state, because offensive US troop behaviour inspired guerrilla resistance, because the regimes installed by the West had no legitimacy and little reach beyond the capitals, and because corrupt warlords had their own agenda.

If strategy was dreadful, so too were tactics. In both cases US sorties into the hinterlands were doomed to fail. In Vietnam the futility was called "search and destroy"; in Afghanistan it was tagged "clearing operations". Hager's

source is describing both scenarios when he comments that the idea was “to find easily replaced weapons or clear a tiny, arbitrarily chosen patch of worthless ground for a short period, and then turn it over to indigenous security forces who can’t hold it, and then go do it again somewhere else.... chasing illiterate teenage boys with guns around the countryside [and] answering the enemies’ prayers by blowing up compounds with air strikes to martyr more of the teenage boys”.

That’s seven obvious parallels, none of which can have been apparent to the war planners in Washington and London. But, suggested Hager’s interviewee, there’s one crucial difference. Unlike Vietnam, Afghanistan is “not one insurgency but several connected ones”, making it even more likely than in Nam that the invasion will fail. You suspect that Hager himself might have already discerned these patterns, and sought out a sympathetic source to say them, such is the width and seriousness of his approach.

### **Getting NZ Back Into America’s Good Books**

But perhaps the derring-do in Afghanistan will not ultimately prove to be the most important influence on NZ. Hager has untangled the way in which the ground wars have served as a pretext for high-tech surveillance to be developed so that NZ is brought back into the US fold. America has what it calls “Tier One Special Operations Forces”. The five lucky ones in the team are the US, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. What else does this quintet have in common? Yes, they’re the Echelon partners (*Echelon is the code name for the programme operated by the five nation spy network that systematically listens in to civilian telecommunications sent by satellite. Echelon involves searching for keywords in the oceans of electronic chatter. New Zealand is the junior partner in the super-secret UKUSA Agreement, whereby the electronic spy agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand divide up the world for electronic spying purposes. The biggest Big Brother is the US National Security Agency. There is a global network of electronic spybases. The one in New Zealand – effectively a US spybase, albeit one manned by, and paid for, by New Zealanders - is at Waihopai, in Marlborough, and is operated by the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau, which is NZ’s biggest spy agency. It was the subject of Nicky Hager’s groundbreaking first book, “Secret Power”, published in 1996. Ed.*)

“SIGINT (signals intelligence) operations were defined by [the] response to the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, and the consequent heightened demands for those services”, a confidential source reveals. Here the link between the “war on terror” and the stuff that goes on at Waihopai is explicit. And in 2004 a secret Wikileaks cable home from the US Ambassador asked for an additional man to “advance US interests in New Zealand by improving liaison and cooperation on vital signals intelligence matters. This is an area where the US and New Zealand already work closely and profitably, and continuing to build and expand that relationship clearly stands to benefit both countries. This is especially true in the post-September 11 environment, where NZ SIGINT capabilities significantly enhance our common efforts to combat terrorism in the region and the world”.

Obviously no word of these machinations could be allowed into the public domain and the US was taking no chances. Hager was told that the Ambassador paid a visit to the Editor of the *Dominion Post* to ask him not to run Robert Fisk, a British columnist who has been scathing about US policy. To his credit, the Editor refused to comply. Poor Helen Clark (Labour Prime Minister 1999-08). It can’t be doubted that her opposition to NZ’s involvement in the wars was deeply felt but the pressures were intense. In 2007 a secret US cable reported that Clark was “willing to address targets of marginal benefit to New Zealand that could do her political harm if made public”.

### **SAS & SIS**

One way that all the belligerents, whether overt or half-hearted, could muster support for what was hopefully called “peacekeeping” and “nation building” in Afghanistan was to tell good news stories. There haven’t been many, but the Special Air Service (SAS) has long been a favourite of the media, who have created a romance around it, a mood which grew ecstatic when Willie Apiata was awarded the Victoria Cross for his bravery in Afghanistan. In reality, the SAS has a grubby history. It was formed in 1955 by the UK to repress nationalists in Malaya. It then went to Indonesia and Vietnam, where it helped in the killing of millions of Indonesians and Vietnamese to make Asia safe for corrupt dictatorships. The British and New Zealand people were told that the mass murder was needed for the sake of freedom and honour, but the wars were waged to protect the profits of transnational corporations. SAS mystique is enabled by the secret squirrel silence that means we don’t know what it is doing, let alone why.

New Zealand’s secret State has been well looked after. Hager shows that in 2004, when the Government was trimming core domestic services, the lads of the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) got a big funding increase. In the tortuous words of the spooks, the spend-up was all about an “expansion of the Service’s technical operational capability in areas including interception operations conducted under a warrant, secure operational communications and photographic capacity”. As part of “doubling the Service’s counter-terrorist capability” a security liaison officer

was based in Washington. All this was to counter the “threat of international terrorism” and the “perception” of it.

Back in the real world New Zealanders had not felt threatened by international terrorism either side of 2004, and since we have found out that Osama bin Laden was not hiding out in the Ureweras after all, we’ve been vindicated. That’s where “perceptions” come in handy for the spymasters, who need to justify their existence. They perceived the dangerously Arab-looking Ahmed Zaoui to be a terrorist threat. People are free to perceive whatever they feel like, and the NZ spies have not lacked for dupes. When Paul Henry perceived Zaoui, he didn’t like the sight. “I don’t care if we shoot him and send him out in a dog food can”, was the response of the (then) TV host, a man who doesn’t care for people with moustaches. Officialdom eschews overtly bigoted language, but not necessarily the attitudes that inspire it. Hager lists nine nasty groups to which, in the eyes of an Immigration official, Zaoui belonged. In the real world he belonged to none of them.

Hager relates other misadventures as the SIS harassed Tamils, Iraqis and Iranians, citizens of places with whom NZ has no issues. They’re American obsessions, but, in the Wikileaks words of the US Embassy, New Zealand “must give to get”. The gist of American attitudes is revealed by a State Department official (the US version of Foreign Affairs) who lectured a willing NZ counterpart that the NZ government needed “to find more opportunities to say ‘yes’, particularly on high-profile issues of importance to the US government”. Another Wikileaks embassy cable referred to New Zealand’s decision to “sit out” the Iraq invasion, phrasing which suggests that the junior partners weren’t “pulling their weight”. Sometimes the tone has been outrightly aggressive, as when a US official noted that “we must be careful not to allow ourselves to be painted by the Clark government as bullies telling Kiwis how to spend their tax dollars.... We believe the message themes outlined above will reduce the Clark government’s wiggle room on whether it prefers to work with us and Australia in the region, or against us”.

### **“First Worlders” & “Other Worlders”**

“Or against us”. How anachronistic can you get? This is the mindset of the 1950s, the era when America launched its Cold War and the then Secretary of State notoriously declaimed that “you (that is, the whole world) are either for us or against us”. Even now, after 60 years of arrogant folly, the Yanks still want the universe to fall in behind. There’s a tellingly snide reference to New Zealand’s “multilateralism”, the policy, that is, of charting an independent foreign policy and striving to have good relations with other countries in our region. The State Department is not at all keen on the United Nations and peacekeepers and all that malarkey and the Clark Government’s interest in the Pacific and Timor-Leste were seen as irresponsible diversions from its US-imposed function as a host of nuclear armed ships and an unquestioning junior partner in ANZUS.

Bush’s Ambassador to NZ at the time was a certain Charles Swindells, who, in a pattern beloved by Republicans, was being rewarded for his multi-million dollar donations to the Bush election campaign. Swindells’ views of the little country down under were clear. There are two types of New Zealanders. A precious few lived in the “first world”, where the US was a cherished ally and defended all that is good and right. Then there was the ignorant majority, who lived in the “other world”. They “viewed the US with suspicion or hostility”. Other worlders included “most politicians, media, academics and much of the public”.

Other worlders hold an “internationalist” perspective, another coded reference to the Clark Government’s respect for the United Nations and its attempt to forge a foreign policy that is guided from New Zealand and based on our own strategic interests. The relevance of the division between the two worlds goes beyond the obvious reference to the war on Iraq. It’s another reversion to Cold War rhetoric, which speaks of the world beyond the US and its closest allies as a sullen, threatening horde of aliens and ingrates.

The local Establishment seems to have consistently prostrated itself to earn brownie points. Hager cites an NZ Defence official whose plea to his American mentor to “help us get out of the hole we have dug for ourselves” is effectively insubordination, a disavowal of his Government’s instructions, an attitude that - if it occurred in the USA - would get him fired in disgrace. When Ferguson chewed the fat with a US military leader he was ‘[p]articularly critical of the Labour Government’s unwillingness to think creatively about how to restore the trust and credibility New Zealand has lost by Labour’s handling of the anti-nuclear dispute... and of National’s unwillingness to address directly the need to resolve the anti-nuclear dispute’. Cue Don Brash.

Reacting to the Gulf War, Simon Power, National’s defence spokesman, proclaimed that “where Britain, the United States and Australia go, we go”. You sometimes wonder if National Ministers know any of their country’s history, so Power might or might not have known that he was pastiching Michael Joseph Savage’s statement that “where Britain goes, we go”. Let’s assume he did know. It wasn’t a good idea. It means that Power felt the country’s appetite to join Bush in Iraq and Afghanistan would be as keen as it had been to join the fight against Hitler. It means that the person who was guiding the future Government’s defence policy thinks that New Zealanders’

relationship with the Mother Country hasn't changed in 70 years. It means that he thinks that the Second World War and the Gulf War were morally and strategically equivalent. Reaching for Churchillian grandeur, the defence spokesman had grasped bathos. As Karl Marx observed, historical events often occur for the first time as tragedy, and for the second time as farce.

At the centre of power in Wellington was a man called Maarten Wevers. The chief of the Prime Minister's Department and a former top man in Foreign Affairs, he represented orthodoxy. As such he pleaded with a US official to deter Venezuela and Cuba, who "are now coming into the Pacific". Venezuela and Cuba of course are the bad guys, but shouldn't people in Wevers' position touch base with reality? Neither Venezuela nor Cuba has ever had any military presence in the Pacific. Neither country has either the motive or the capability to conquer the Pacific, and if they did, would not the USA, which has a certain history with Venezuela and Cuba, know about it? Would the USA need NZ's leadership to forge a new Caribbean policy? A partial explanation for this absurdity is found in Wevers' reminder that Venezuela and Cuba were behaving just as had "the Russians in the past". This suggestion would be baffling unless we know that 30 years ago Foreign Affairs became obsessed with a non-existent Soviet threat to the Pacific. Wevers was being nostalgic for the simpler good old days of a bipolarly disordered world when his Department could invent justifications for the American war on common sense.

The military like to express themselves in a Latinate language that sometimes resembles English. As part of something called "interoperability", the military established a "quadri", short for "Quadripartite Working Groups", or QWG's. You know without being told who's in the quartet. They're the US, the UK, Canada and Australia. Who's not a quadri, but would be if a fifth member was admitted? Again we don't need to be told. NZ isn't formally in the club but we're allowed to tag along. The quadris are the Echelon partners minus the errand boy. NZ's ambiguous status says it all. We're part of, and not part of, "the war on terror", according to a need for deniability that's convenient for all five quins. 2003, when the quadris' conference was held in Wellington, might have been when we passed a halfway step of being allowed back into the warmongers' camp.

### **Power Struggle In Military Leadership**

Throughout the decade of American wars there was a big, and mostly unpublicised, increase in NZ's military spending as the Government splurged on toys which are of no use to the country, but plenty of use for the global "war on terror". Hager highlights the buying of electronic equipment for six Orion planes for a cool \$500 million. A favourite way to waste money was propaganda. In 2010/11 the Defence Force Communications budget was \$2,731,675, up from around \$1.5 million two years earlier (*Sunday Star Times*, 11/9/11). Defence officials learned the art of "media product vetting" as the department frittered over \$16 million with advertisers Saatchi and Saatchi on what is called promotion. That's something in addition to advertising, which claimed a further \$4.2 million.

This followed a power struggle within the armed services. Hager makes sense of the otherwise inscrutable media slighting of the Army chief, who was due to take over as head of the three services. He was successfully undermined by the Navy and Air Force. According to Hager's account, the reason was that the latter were more into the high-tech spying stuff, whereas the Army was associated with NZ's peacekeeping roles that so displeased the usual suspects. Incredibly, by 2010, the NZ Air Force could boast five squadrons, 207 squadron leaders, 66 wing commanders and 19 group captains. That adds up to one officer for every three other ranks. The flyers seem to be keen to emulate their counterparts from old movies, given to cliches like how strike planes help them to "punch above their weight". New Zealanders, said Ferguson, "aren't in the habit of cutting and running when the going gets tough". The self-congratulation was frequently combined with cringe. A New Zealand Air Force envoy expressed "surprise and privilege" to having been met off the plane in Guam by a US military man. Air Chief John Hamilton found it "heartening to be so readily accepted" by the Royal Air Force on a trip to England that cost taxpayers \$250,000.

Politicians were equally ready to demean themselves. The sequence that led to the second Iraq war is almost comic in its predictability. In 2002 British PM Tony Blair was summoned to George Bush's Texas ranch, where the two great men posed for rugged outdoorsy photo ops and agreed that 9/11 had given them the opportunity to take out Saddam Hussein. Shortly thereafter the Queen Mother died, and the Commonwealth leaders - including Canada's Jean Chretien, Australia's John Howard, and Helen Clark - attended her funeral. A source identified as a senior NZ official relates what happened next:

"Blair pulled aside Helen and Howard and Chretien, and said: 'The Americans are going to war. We will have to go with them. Are you with us?' This is when he claimed he hadn't made up his mind. Straight away, 'little Johnny the lapdog [Howard] says: 'I'll be with you, Tony', but 'Helen and Chretien were aghast. They said: 'No, you can't'. Clark immediately took the position that 'you can't do anything that doesn't have UN backing' and Chretien agreed with that. She came away from that meeting shaking her head..."



The imperial dreamer who led the 16,000 British soldiers over the Khyber Pass to slaughter was a man called Lord Auckland. In the city named after him Khyber Pass Road records a vision that no Aucklanders would now endorse. The pre-eminent 19th Century schemer of British adventurism was Lord Palmerston, a man whose name is synonymous with what came to be called gunboat diplomacy. So our forebears named two places after him. And of course our capital commemorates the arch-reactionary who defeated Napoleon. In his conclusion Hager reminds us of this swagger as he argues that NZ elites have always had a choice between committing the country to a puppy dog slaving after imperial folly or steering an independent course. With the partial exception of the Clark Government, which tried to resist the blandishments, they've almost always ignored public opinion, which, as now, has been consistently sceptical. They keep on making the wrong choice (the 1930s Savage Labour Government is another that flirted with a made in New Zealand foreign policy, but was reproved by the UK and fell into line).

## **Key Snuggles Up To Uncle Sam**

The Key Government is taking us the wrong way as fast as it dares. One typical response can be seen in its' New Zealand Defence Review. It might be expected that a Government thinking about how to defend the country from foreign invaders would draw upon experts from fields like science, weaponry, history and diplomacy, but the three men chosen to look into the matter for Key were Simon Murdoch, Martyn Dunne and Rob McLeod. Let's look at their resumes. Murdoch, a former foreign affairs official, was a graduate of a US university whose postings had been to Washington and London. This detail can be taken two ways. A critic wanting to disparage Hager's research might want to say that he is drawing unfounded or gratuitous implications or that he is (a favourite gambit) inventing a conspiracy (we won't say "reader" because people like John Key boast of how they can diss a book without reading it). Hager has so much factual information that he can't spell out every nuance. He expects an honest and objective reader who would know that recent NZ history has been marked by graduates who returned from American universities - think Geoffrey Palmer or Graham Scott, Secretary to the Rogernomic Treasury - with a neo-liberal reforming zeal. They would appreciate that staffers sent to quadri capitals were likely to be the most politically correct. Dunne had been in charge of war on terror deployments and the subsequent public relations misinformation. McLeod is Chair of the New Zealand Business Roundtable.

In a previous era the appointment of three people to advise the Government on a topic with which they had no specialist knowledge would have been astonishing. Imagine say, Britain in 1940 - in the days that Simon Power might or might not have been remembering - with the Luftwaffe overhead and the Wehrmacht across the Channel - and the Government reaches to ... a stockbroker and a public relations firm to tell it where to put its guns. In our postmodern days it passes unnoticed because we know it's fake. Defence policy is made in Washington. For domestic purposes, the Key Government is interested only in what things cost and who's going to pay for them and Rogernome McLeod will give them their right answer.

Hager has a seemingly unerring ability to select the telling detail and the apposite quotation. Here's Deputy PM Bill English, when in the Opposition, speaking at an Anzac Day service in 2003: "In the past we have not shirked our responsibilities. [U]ntil now, we have never been fair-weather friends. I am ashamed to say that is what we are becoming under our current Government... Does anyone doubt that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction?... Does anyone doubt that Saddam Hussein has sheltered and aided international terrorist groups?...". The disloyal tone is pure US Embassy. And of course the assertions are notoriously and fatally wrong.

From a Hager confidant we learn that the Labour leadership was against joining the invasion of Iraq - with one significant exception, that being Mike Moore, the Labour person most closely identified with pushing his country into the embrace of the global transnationals. Moore is a former Prime Minister who became boss of the World Trade Organisation and is now NZ's Ambassador to the US. In perhaps the most significant of all the Embassy cables, Wikileaks has revealed that Mark Sinclair, New Zealand's Free Trade Agreement (FTA) negotiator, advised a US agriculture official that in NZ there existed "a public perception that getting into the United States will be an 'el Dorado' for New Zealand's commercial sector. However, the reality is quite different, since the United States is already quite open to New Zealand trade and investment. He underscored that New Zealand needs to manage expectations in this regard".

While it's true that many in New Zealand's ruling classes have a naive hope that "free trade" deals with America will make them rich, the same can't be said for Peace Researcher readers, who will know that FTA negotiations like the current Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) will help no section of the economy. Look back at some recent issues and it should be clear that the TPPA has the potential to be disastrous. So why pursue a deal which our own negotiator knows will be a dud? This is where the link between neo-liberal foreign and economic policies can be seen to be two sides of the same (American) coin. The business and political elites want to tie us to American corporations in the same way that they want to tie us to American wars.

## Nothing To Do With Safety Of NZ

What other conclusion is possible? Those who push extreme “free market” economics and those who want to serve as outriders in US invasions have common interests. That much has long been apparent. The value of Hager’s research, and the reason the Prime Minister was so quick to dismiss it, is that he has documented that they are literally the same people. It’s a small country. You could say that Hager has shown us a smoking gun. In both economic and foreign policy the same small cabal has foisted policies which were deeply unpopular with most New Zealanders. In both cases the cabal argued that they had a wisdom that eluded the rest of us. They are seeking global deregulation, by which they mean the ability of transnational corporations and the governments they dominate to act as they please. We’ve seen the results. Economically it gave us the great financial meltdown. In the Gulf it gave us the Bush-Howard-Blair fiasco in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Ten years ago, when bin Laden and his mates were at liberty to scheme, it made sense to destroy the State apparatus that sponsored the terrorism, and those who criticise America for doing so might ask themselves if it was realistic in the circumstances to expect restraint. But that had been achieved before the New Zealanders arrived. Bin Laden had already left Afghanistan, which means that the justification for the whole exercise has always been false. All sorts of motives are in play, but none of them are to do with the safety of New Zealand. Other people’s wars. Other people’s names. Other people’s thoughts. Other people’s needs. Other people’s lies. Other centuries’ values.

# **“A HISTORY OF THE WORLD SINCE 9/11**

by **Dominic Streatfeild, Atlantic Books, London, 2011**

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

“We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity”. That was the response of a regular commentator on Fox Television in the US, a network owned by Rupert Murdoch, to the events of September 11, 2001. With Fox and its mates providing daily misinformation, the American heartland was mad as hell and wasn't going to take it any more. Dominic Streatfeild tells the story of a murder, a crime that would otherwise have been ignored, even locally. A high school dropout with all the usual money, woman and job worries wanted to get even with Osama bin Laden, but, unlike the US Army, he couldn't invade their countries because he was stuck in a cleaning job in Texas, he didn't think about their religion, and he had no idea what countries he had in mind or who lived in them. Inevitably a racist, the cleaner couldn't resolve his frustrations, but he knew he hated Arabs. On a bad day he shot dead a stranger, an immigrant from India. Close enough.

Streatfeild's title is about events like this, mundane acts of desperation that originated in the collapse of the Twin Towers. When alienated men are deprived of education or hope by a Foxite culture of guns and lies, random violence is inevitable. It's a stimulating approach. There are plenty of top-down histories, each with their own take on military strategy or international relations. Streatfeild's more original interest is in investigating the connections between grand policy and the lives of apparently uninvolved people. Corrupt leaders pollute the lives of citizens by bringing about all sorts of careless and unremarked pathologies.

## **“Boat People Threw Babies Into Sea”: A Lie**

That's Chapter 1. Then we go to Australia, where John Howard's Liberal government was facing likely defeat in an election called for November 10, 2001. Seven miles from Australian territorial waters at Christmas Island a boatload of asylum seekers approached. They'd left Indonesia in September. On the 12th - 9/11 plus a day - the Solicitor-General declared his resolve to “protect Australia from the sort of people who did what happened in New York yesterday”. An influential talkback radio man asked: “How many of these people are sleepers?” (a sleeper is a terrorist or spy who waits, undetected, in the host country). The Defence Minister chimed in with the thought that the boatload could be “a pipeline for terrorists to come in and use your country as a staging post for terrorist activities”. It might all have been scripted by Fox's Aussie boss.

Just before the voting, Prime Minister Howard told the country that “there's something incompatible between somebody who claims to be a refugee and somebody who would throw their own child into the sea.... I don't want in Australia people who would throw their own children into the sea”. Fair comment, John, it might be thought, throwing children into the sea isn't nice. But that's not what happened. The refugees had sabotaged their boat to thwart the Navy's order to turn around. In the ensuing panic aboard, they held up babies to show imminent danger. In the end the asylum boat sank and sailors (who behaved honourably throughout the episode) recued all. But a hasty phone call to the Minister's office, mentioning “children” and “overboard” in Canberra was misheard.

In the three days between the misunderstanding and the Navy's docking at Christmas Island and realising the mistake, no information was available to correct the Government's version of events. The Liberals were gaining in the polls, so when proof was given that no children had been thrown overboard, the PM and his senior Ministers denied the truth. Photographs were released to the press with captions and dates altered so that the original mistaken account seemed to be accurate. Governments often mislead with half truths. This was the creation of a flat lie. Uncontroversially, because other matters were to the fore, all the refugees eventually got to Australia anyway, but Howard got his new term and his “Pacific Solution” is still roughing the waters. Without 9/11, it wouldn't have happened this way, but Streatfeild suggests another link. The Christmas Island nonsense had a precedent ten years earlier when the US sent Haitian refugees to Guantanamo Bay in Cuba, where the 9/11 lot now languish.

Streatfeild's energetic interviewing allowed him to glean from a staffer for then Labour leader Kim Beazley that Beazley had reacted to 9/11 with “there goes the election”. He claims that it was clear almost immediately, which was two days before the poll, that Howard was lying, but that Beazley didn't think opinion would swing his way. True or false, it was the Liberals' issue. Labour could have won if the topic had been asylum seekers or if it had been 9/11, but not with both together. If true (memories involving one's own good judgement can be elusive) it's an interesting insight into the importance of timing and perceptions.

## **Saddam Hussein's WMD: A Lie**

The boat saga coarsened sensitivities. There's a second story involving the manipulations of the Australian government and how it abused its own citizens to grease the gears of the American war machine. The essential lie of post-9/11 schemings, Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD), the weapons that never were, are the topic of Streatfeild's central chapter, the most intriguing of them all. An Iraqi professor answered a cryptic ad on his university notice board. It turned out to be the Iraqi government needing advice about a rocket project. The professor said they should contract a metals expert. Next, a businessman in Sydney spotted an Internet ad from a Jordanian company needing aluminium tubes. His Australian company indicated interest and got the contract, but the e-mails between Australia and Jordan had been intercepted by the National Security Agency in the USA. Suspicious, they briefed the Minister of Defence in Australia. A man from the Ministry paid a visit to the aluminium manufacturer. His mission: Find out if a company in Sydney was part of a secret plot to build nuclear weapons for Saddam Hussein.

It wasn't, and there was no doubt that the company was acting in good faith. It immediately cooperated, providing full specifications and specimens. From these it became clear that the tubes were for a known weapons system and could not have been designed for a nuke or a new WMD. Scientists, the UN inspectors and the US Department of Energy were certain. Everyone agreed there was no problem - apart from the US spy agency and the US government. Vice President Cheney said there was "absolute certainty" that the tubes were evidence of WMDs and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency misinformed his own Secretary of State, Colin Powell, to ensure Powell, who could not be trusted to lie, kept on message. War hysteria was brewing.

Streatfeild points out that when Alexander Downer, the Australian Foreign Minister, subsequently referred to "a little gem of intelligence we passed" to the US to make the case for going to war he was alluding to this incident. To fan the flames Bush and Cheney gave interviews, spreading panic, quoting the September 8, 2002 New York Times (NYT) where a headline shouted: "US Says Hussein Intensifies Quest For A-Bomb Part" (this has been a recurring practice in Washington. Powerful insiders leak rumour, innuendo or - as here - lies to the NYT so that they can quote themselves the next day to justify whatever schemes they're hatching). Streatfeild found lots of people angry that they'd been manipulated or cowed into complicity. From his research he gained the impression that they never thought their governments would brazenly lie, not when the truth was available and would soon be revealed. A common factor was that everyone assumed someone else knew something they didn't. This was going in Canberra at the same time as the saga of the overboard babies.

### **Looting Of Iraq A Deliberate Strategy**

A chapter on the invasion that followed reads as grim comedy. The American war plan was for a swift attack that would topple Saddam in short order. Not many troops would be needed. Then it was just a matter of declaring Iraq to be a democracy and awarding contracts to the neo-liberals. Don't sweat the small stuff. Like most writers on this topic, Streatfeild sees what happened next -looting on a massive scale - as negligence, but it could well have been a deliberate strategy, a tactic to shake out Baathists and make the country dependent on the US. Of 23 Government ministries, 22 were ransacked, the exception being the one you'd expect if the US did have a plan. While the State's institutions were ignored and the country's museums and galleries were robbed, the Ministry of Oil was guarded.

Certainly the invaders were arrogant. Hubris gets you every time. By not bothering to understand the history and culture of Iraq, American leaders were able to believe that, as one top gun put it, the Yanks would be greeted in Baghdad as the boys had been in Paris in 1944. Another official knew that "when we cross that border into Iraq they're going to throw flowers at us". Other agents of the US government, the people looking for bin Laden and the weapons inspectors, warned Dubya that there'd be trouble ahead, but the Bushites didn't want to know.

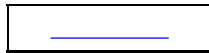
Close to Baghdad Saddam had built a huge weapons complex. 14,000 staff worked in 1100 buildings on a 36 square kilometre site. While Saddam's statue toppled in the capital and the Commander in Chief stood on an aircraft carrier to declare his mission accomplished, Iraq's arsenal lay unprotected. So al-Qaeda made itself at home there. First they befriended local farmers around the complex, paying good money for explosives. Once established at the base, they killed locals so they could have a free run. One US observer estimates that 98% of al-Qaeda's firepower came from Saddam's arsenal. All the time the US was around. Streatfeild says that at one point soldiers stood on a nearby bridge looking down at the activity.

Officialdom measures looting in "phases". In Somalia, where tar was stripped from roads for fuel, concrete walls were smashed to get the steel rebar inside to melt down, and every accessible door and roof was stolen, the chaos reached Phase 4. The looting in Iraq was Phase 6. Patterns keep repeating. This was election time Stateside so the lies came thick and fast. When John Kerry raised questions about security in Iraq, Fox TV, Bush and Cheney, serial liars, got audiences to boo their Democratic opponent as a coward who was undermining the troops.

## Book Deserves Wide Audience

Another common but inevitable factor in all the mess is that nothing worked out as intended. Other chapters deal with rendition and what happens when you kidnap the wrong man. In this case US liars had to out-lie the governments of Germany and Macedonia. Then there's the wedding party in Afghanistan which the US strafed in error. The most intricate series of misunderstandings traces the way US Middle East policy subverted a highly successful vaccination programme. Scourges like polio and smallpox had been on the brink of global eradication, with the governments of countries like Pakistan and outfits like the Taliban insisting on inoculating their children. Streatfeild describes why epidemics now endanger whole continents, and why Islamic opinion, formerly rational, came to express the view that it was better for their babies to die as "martyrs" than give them a simple injection.

Streatfeild has a command of narrative that's unusual in writers dealing with heavy topics, which is a reason that political books aren't widely read. This one has a sure sense of the big picture but it's written like a thriller. It's not often that global politics are presented with such immediacy and yet with such a wide understanding. The chapters range around the world, describing what might seem unconnected events. They're not. Streatfeild lets his stories speak for themselves, his light touch permitting us to join the dots. When we join them, we see that the history of the world since 9/11 is a history of what happens when evil governments lie. His book deserves a wider audience than it's likely to enjoy.



# OBITUARY

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

## **PATRICIA MORRISON** **October 29 1921 – August 30 2011**

**- Kate Dewes**

*Patricia Morrison was a member of the Anti-Bases Campaign for just the last couple of years of her very long and extraordinarily productive life. We were one of the myriad of peace and social justice groups that she wanted to support and we are grateful that she did. She was someone who was at every public meeting, lecture, course and seminar that was going, more often than not travelling by taxi to and from her inner city Council flat (tragically, she was never able to go back to it after the February 22nd earthquake). She kept up this punishing schedule despite old age and deteriorating health (she had the rather alarming habit of fainting during meetings and slumping to the floor because of a medical condition. The only time I ever visited her flat was when Becky and I took her home a few years ago after one such episode at a nearby book launch). She was an absolute stalwart of the Christchurch progressive movement for decades and one who always sought me out for a chat whenever we were at something together (I last saw her at a 2010 Christmas party). More than that, she was a donor for years to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account which provides my income. She truly lived the life well spent and I feel privileged to have known her. Murray Horton*

Early in 2011 our Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) group met together to catch up and plan the upcoming annual Hiroshima and Nagasaki Lantern ceremony. The smiling faces that day masked the depths of devastation we have all experienced since the earthquakes started over a year ago. Some, including Patricia, lost their homes and we all knew people who had died. Dear Patricia, despite the trauma and the shift into a rest home, did not dwell on it. However this must have been an extremely tough and lonely final phase of her life as she struggled to adjust - especially finding it difficult to attend the myriad of meetings which she often walked to in her beloved inner city community. She died in Princess Margaret Hospital a few months before her 90th birthday.

WILPF was one of Patricia's favourite groups in her later years, where she gained strength from other women on issues of peace, justice and human rights which were dear to her heart. In 2010 she was made a life member. Although I have known Pat for many years, I had no idea of the depth and breadth of her work until I read an interview she had done with Ruth Greenaway in January 2001. She was a diminutive, self-effacing, humble woman who achieved amazing things as a leader promoting issues for women and families all over the world.

### **Lifelong Peace Activist**

She was a financial supporter of our Disarmament and Security Centre, the Peace Foundation, the Campaign Against Foreign Control in Aotearoa (CAFCA) and the Anti Bases Campaign (ABC) to name a few of the over 70 groups she supported. In 2002 when Christchurch celebrated the 20th anniversary as the first Nuclear Weapons-Free City and became the first Peace City, Patricia was one of the inaugural recipients of the Mayor's Peace Awards. The citation recognised her leading role in the United Nations Association organising Model UN Assemblies for schools in Canterbury, the annual Lincoln Efford Memorial and John Grocott Peace Lectures. She was also awarded the Queen's Service Medal for her work.

Patricia was the eldest child of six children. Her father was a lawyer in Dunedin and then Christchurch. She told Ruth that her passion for history, international peace and human rights began with the Principal of Somerfield Primary who taught her history from the age of six. They became good friends and he suggested competitions and essay topics for her to pursue. My garage peace archives contained the following inscription from one of the books given to the peace collection years ago. "New Zealand No More War Movement First Prize Senior Division Awarded to Patricia Morrison for the Ensom Peace Essay Competition". It was signed by Norman Bell who was the Chair of the NMWM in 1933. Patricia was only 11 years old! This Prize is still being run annually at Canterbury University. "The subject of the essay is set in order to enable candidates to advocate a constructive policy for the promotion and preservation of international peace and goodwill".

While studying History at Canterbury during World War Two, she became involved in international issues through the Student Christian Movement (SCM) where the students and lecturers discussed pacifism and war. She was the Women's Vice President and corresponded regularly with the SCM overseas and the World movement in Geneva. She then became a member of the Students' Association Executive working closely with students. Secretly she always wanted to do international work, admitting in later life that "I've gone from one thing to another and the opportunities have kept opening up".

She became the secretary to the Committee of the International Students Service involved in bringing Jewish students who had fled to NZ from Germany or Austria to the University and helped integrate them into it. She became active in the Oxford University branch in Britain when she was studying history there on a three year scholarship in 1946. From this base she attended their international conferences and was elected to their international committee. In 1948 she went to work in their international office in Geneva responsible for nine field workers helping find work for people displaced during the war. Her secondary school French was sufficient for her to carry out a very responsible and demanding job in Geneva. Based here for two years, she attended conferences in Burma, France, Indonesia, Denmark and Sweden.

### **A True Internationalist**

When she returned to New Zealand while working as the NZ SCM School Secretary she became very involved with the different churches which were members of the National Council of Churches where she was frequently asked to speak to women's and youth groups. Later when she was working with the World Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Geneva she had many amazing experiences in countries all over the world. She told Ruth about how she helped support refugee families from the Tokelau Islands and other countries to settle in New Zealand; and her work with the Women's International Ecumenical Liaison Group which included Orthodox Catholic and Protestant women.

She travelled alone to dangerous countries to meet with fledgling YWCA groups including 12 in Africa: Liberia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Madagascar, Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), Ethiopia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and others. She hoped her father didn't know what she was doing or she might have been told to give it up and come home. Our intrepid Pat went to Russia, the Pacific Islands, all of the Caribbean States, most of Europe, Canada and the States, and "spent a great deal of time always in going to India and Pakistan, Hong Kong and Thailand". She developed close working relationships with Muslim and Hindu women in Africa and Asia. She always made a point of listening to the needs of the local women and enabling them to meet the needs of their communities.

She told Ruth: "In Tanzania, women were taught the tie dye process... they made clothing and... ended up having quite a big shop in which they sold garments. I got some beautiful dresses there and their person who was in charge - who designed and cut etc - became the head of a fashion firm in another country, through her experience in the YWCA. In Ghana one of the people helped set up a bakery and then she herself branched out into a big firm of her own. In Uganda the YWCA established the only training centre for kindergartens in the country. The YWCA also helped the villagers - they dug fish ponds and provided the fish and the stock so that people could make money from what they grew and they also had pigs and goats". This would have been at the forefront of sustainable economic aid for women all over the world.

She was involved with a leading women's organisation which was pushing the boundaries everywhere on a wide range of issues. One example was when the US branch of the YWCA 30 years ago protested against the possession of guns. Their vociferous opposition resulted in them losing their funding, and male colleagues resigning from their advisory boards. But they stuck to their principles, which she admired. She admitted that she would often "take the flak" when she supported the younger women in YWCA who were trying to do things differently - like training social workers from all different ethnicities and faiths.

She was an active member of the Workers' Education Association (WEA) in Christchurch during the 1940s when she was at university. Daniela Bagozzi told the following anecdote at her funeral in September 2011. "In those days Karl Popper, the famous philosopher was lecturing at Canterbury. Because of timetable clashes, Pat couldn't attend and when she heard that Popper was giving lectures at the WEA she went along, with a school friend (and they were two of only three women in a crowd of about 40 men). Dr Popper gave them a ride home each week and Patricia always remembered how once in the car he would ask them "and what did you think of the lecture?" which meant they had to pay special attention and be ready to discuss."

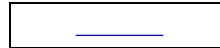
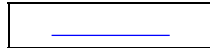
### **A Very Active "Retirement"**

In 1987 she joined a group called "Friday Foraging" which ran weekly coach trips into the country and all over Canterbury and it wasn't long before Patricia was busy organising courses and finding speakers on all kinds of topics. She served as WEA's President from 1992 to late 1996, and on various committees including the History and Programme Committees where she advocated for the more "thinking" courses - especially peace and international affairs. Daniela recalls that "even as increasing age and deafness made it harder for her to follow discussions she still made a contribution, she still knew what the important topics were and would make sure her views were heard. She was a good reminder to all of us that retirement doesn't mean becoming bored or inactive, that superannuation



is also for supporting good. She was never too old or frail not to go to a protest or a meeting, never too old of frail to cease being interested in all topics”.

In his Press obituary (“Lifelong work in pursuit of peace and justice”, 24/9/11), Mike Crean cited a letter to the Editor in May 2011 which reminded the rebuilders of Christchurch to consult “Evolution of a City” by JP Morrison which explains the problems Christchurch faces with a web of underground streams. This was Patricia’s MA thesis, published in 1948, and it was the first true history of Christchurch up to 1903 (*the J stood for Jean. Patricia preferred to use her middle name. Ed.*). I’m sure if Patricia had been able to master the computer and email in her later years, she would have been flooded with emails and hundreds of friends on Facebook. These would have been from people all over the world with whom she had lost touch over the years, but who loved her and valued her friendship. They would have included leaders from key organisations in the UN based in Geneva and New York, the World Council of Churches etc and former students, women and ordinary families she helped support in resettlement in safer homes here, or nurtured into new careers in their home countries.



# CAFCA/ABC ORGANISER ACCOUNT 2010/11

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

Balance at April 1st 2010	2,234.46
Balance at March 31st 2011	5,261.23
<b>Difference</b>	<b>+3,026.77</b>

<b>Expenses</b>		<b>Income</b>	
Wages	30,000.00	Donations	7,124.40
Printing	255.90	Pledges	22,916.20
Phone	527.28	Interest	326.75
Internet	479.40	Other	(a b ) 7,000.00
Other	(b ) 3,078.00		
	<b>34,340.58</b>		<b>37,367.35</b>

## Notes

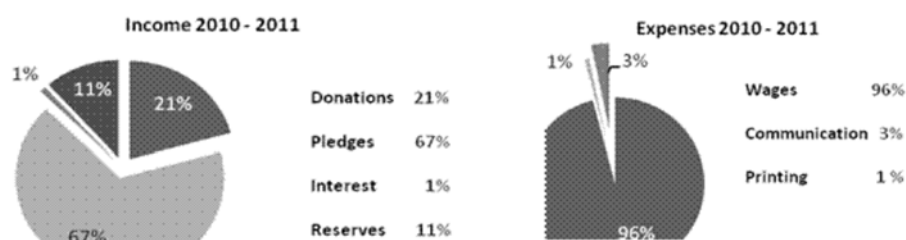
a) Includes \$4,000 call on reserves from term deposit

b) Includes \$3,000 loan from CAFCA & ABC(1,500 each)

**Number of pledgers at** 59

April 9th:

**Term Deposit:** \$11, 127.55 Currently invested at matures November 17th 2011  
3.90%,



## Income by pledge and donation: 3 years

	08-09	09-10	10 - 11
# pledges	51	50	59
% income;pledges	81.6	78.1	67
%income;donations	18.4	21.1	21

Warren Brewer, Organiser Treasurer, 26/9/11

*Update. The Organiser Account term deposit was reinvested upon maturity in November, plus an additional \$5,000, making the total \$16, 127.55. It is invested for 12 months at 4.5%. Ed.*

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# NEW TREASURER FOR ORGANISER ACCOUNT

## Warren Brewer Replaces Bob Leonard

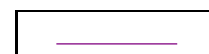
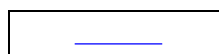
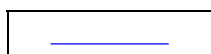
Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Murray Horton

The financial report of the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account is presented at the Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA). Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) does not have an AGM. The following is from the Minutes of CAFCA's 2011 AGM, held on September 26th. "Jeremy Agar moved, from the chair, a motion of thanks to Bob Leonard, who had been the Treasurer of the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account since the mid 1990s and who had presented its annual report at every AGM up to and including 2010. Sadly, the February 22nd earthquake meant that Bob and his wife Barbara had to immediately evacuate their severely damaged home and permanently move to Wellington. The motion was passed unanimously. CAFCA Committee member Warren Brewer stepped in and replaced Bob as Treasurer of the Account, which pays Murray Horton....

"Warren Brewer moved a motion for an immediate \$1 per hour pay increase for Murray, taking his pay to \$16 per hour, to be accompanied by a broader publicity campaign to attract more donors and pledgers. This was passed unanimously. The meeting passed a vote of thanks for Warren, who took over as Treasurer of the Organiser Account in unprecedented circumstances and who was hampered by a lack of basic data (rendered inaccessible by earthquake damage and Bob Leonard's abrupt departure). Warren has had to spend a considerable amount of time on Organiser Account business, getting signatories replaced (Bob Leonard was not the only one who left Christchurch\*) and reconstructing data. He accepted nomination as Organiser Account Treasurer and was duly elected". \*ABC has also lost Doug Craig from its Committee, and as a signatory for the Organiser Account. Doug, like Bob, had to become an earthquake refugee. In his case he has permanently moved to Nelson but, unlike Bob, remains a "distance" member of the ABC Committee.

I would just like to reiterate my personal thanks to Bob, who was a close friend and colleague for the best part of 30 years. Not only was he my oldest and closest ABC and *Peace Researcher* colleague but, as Organiser Treasurer, he was also my paymaster from 1993-2011 inclusive (the change to Warren Brewer means that the Organiser Account goes from being an agenda item at every ABC Committee meeting to now being one at every CAFCA Committee meeting). These are not the circumstances under which Becky and I, and the CAFCA and ABC committees, and all of his Christchurch friends and colleagues wanted to say goodbye to Bob. But I console myself with the memory that in 2010, which turned out to be Bob's last year in Christchurch, we became even closer friends than ever and spent a lot of time socialising. Prescient, as it turned out. That's why I chose the photo that illustrates this article in the hard copy edition – it was taken in our home, when Bob visited Becky and me with his daughter Andra (who was over from the States). It was taken on February 18th. Just four days later the February 22nd earthquake changed everything for Bob (and Barbara). With the 20/20 vision of hindsight, that's how I want to remember the decades that we spent together – as close friends, relaxed, smiling and happy.



# BIGGEST EVER DONATION TO THE ORGANISER

## Thank You, Ron Resnick

Peace Researcher 42 – November 2011

- Murray Horton

Ron Resnick of Nelson, who died in October 2010, aged 63, was never an ABC member but he was a CAFCA member, and regular donor, from 1998 until his death, and for many years he had also been a regular pledger to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income. Indeed his last payment to that was made the day before he died. You can read the obituaries of him by me and Ted Howard in *Watchdog* 125, December 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/25/12.htm>. Ron had suffered lifelong bad health but his death was still sudden – he was an active and vocal member and a regular correspondent; we had been exchanging e-mails on CAFCA business just weeks before he died, with no hint from him that anything was amiss.

Now we have learned that Ron's generosity has extended beyond the grave. When I was trawling back through our e-mail correspondence after his death, I was startled to find the following in a May 2009 message from him: "...I've got no children and have just done my Will and left Murray's salary account and CAFCA heaps of money..." . To be perfectly honest, I didn't take any notice of that at the time and forgot about it. Nor was I expecting him to die 18 months later. But it turns out that he was deadly serious. As a result, CAFCA and the Organiser Account have each received half of a bequest totalling **\$18,701.20**. It's a very precise sum, which I assume is a percentage of his estate. The individual sums, let alone the total bequest, are easily the single biggest donations ever received by either CAFCA or the Organiser Account. On behalf of both myself and CAFCA, I am deeply touched that Ron elected to include me and us in his will. Although he was never an ABC member, his bequest is of immeasurable help to me in doing my work as the ABC Organiser. Ron, wherever you are, many thanks indeed; you can rest assured that, in both cases, the money will be put to good use. The obituary by Ted Howard, a friend of Ron's, referred to his "smug knowing grin". Well you're entitled to have it now, Ron, because you've taken our breath away by this act of posthumous generosity.

