

Three Cheers For The Domebusters Who Kicked Waihopai In The Ball!

Peace Researcher 47 – August 2014

- Murray Horton

Victories are few and far between in this game and tend to be hard won. That's why they deserve to be celebrated when they do occur. Anti-Bases Campaign made sure that we celebrated the total victory of the Waihopai Domebusters – Adrian Leason, Peter Murnane and Sam Land. Three Christian peace activists whose 2008 dome deflation operation owed more to the Three Stooges than al Qaeda have totally defeated the covert State, namely the GCSB (NZ Government Communications Security Bureau) and its NSA (US National Security Agency) overlords. They were acquitted by a Wellington jury of all criminal charges in a March 2010 trial. And then, in February 2014, the Government admitted defeat and voluntarily withdrew its' petty and vindictive \$1.2 million civil damages suit against the three of them personally. Guess that means that the GCSB will have to pay itself for the pies and drinks consumed by the workers who erected the replacement dome (and which were included in the damages claim).

As to any suggestion that the Domebusters "got away with it": nonsense! After deflating the dome they waited a full 30 minutes before any of the "top secret super secure" spy base's security personnel showed up. They were fully prepared to take the consequences of their actions. What the covert State was not expecting was that they would use a defence that saw them acquitted, not on a legal technicality, but because a jury of ordinary New Zealanders (what politicians used to be fond of calling "right thinking New Zealanders") could see who were the real criminals in this case – and it wasn't the Domebusters. This stinging defeat in the criminal court stuck in the throat of the covert State so much that it changed the law so that defence could never again be available. That's democracy, eh – if you don't get the result you like, change the law (for a detailed account of the criminal trial, see my article "Vindicated! Waihopai Domebusters Acquitted Of All Charges", in *Peace Researcher* 40, July 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-198.htm>).

Why Did The Covert State Throw In The Towel?

After their acquittal in the criminal trial in 2010 there was much outraged bellowing from politicians and media commentators. But after the covert State meekly and totally surrendered in 2014 (announcing the decision immediately before a long weekend [Waitangi Day weekend], a favourite time to dump unpalatable news) there was barely a whimper. Why? Where were the media commentators demanding to know why the covert State had thrown in the towel? The only reason given was that it was unlikely that it actually would have got \$1.20 from the Domebusters, let alone \$1.2 million. Really? That had been glaringly obvious from Day One. As our Aussie mates would say, Blind Freddie could see that.

I think it was that, since 2010, public opinion in New Zealand has swung dramatically against the GCSB and, globally, against the NSA, in light of the revelations of massive systematic criminality both here and around the world, exposed by both the Dotcom case and the Edward Snowden revelations. The powers that be suddenly decided that not only were they on a hiding to nothing in regard to getting any money (or pies or drinks); their very vindictiveness was only succeeding in turning an unwelcome spotlight onto the spies. In short, they wanted to kill the story and get the GCSB out of the headlines and back under its rock.

What did Barack and his BFF (best friend forever) John talk about during their much hyped round of golf in Hawaii in January 2014? Key says that he told Obama that there had been no Snowden revelations about NZ as per yet but that he expected some this (election) year. And sure enough, in May the media were full of new revelations about GCSB criminality on behalf of the NSA, courtesy of Glenn Greenwald's explosive new book "No Place To Hide" (Greenwald is the American journalist acting as Edward Snowden's conduit to the global media).

Maybe the golfing buddies decided that, as if the Dotcom fiasco is not bad enough, that the Domebusters' case was becoming a bad look and that the eager to please caddy was advised to cut his losses and shut it down. Whatever the reason, the Domebusters won three times over – they made the base a laughing stock by getting right into it and deflating the dome; they were acquitted in the criminal trial; and they have walked away unscathed from the million dollar damages claim. Three strikes and you're out, covert State. And right throughout the whole six year process they succeeded in showing who the real criminals are in this story – the GCSB and its NSA overlords. At ABC's latest Waihopai protest, in January 2014, Adi Leason addressed the cops guarding the spy base and challenged them to stop protecting the criminals who operate the place.

When they were acquitted in 2010 the late Bob Leonard and I from ABC had a celebratory drink with Christchurch defence lawyers Mike Knowles and Moana Cole. Bob had made a major contribution to the defence with an affidavit – he patiently waited through all eight days of the trial but was prevented from taking the stand because the Crown objected that he wasn't really an "expert" witness. But they couldn't stop his affidavit forming a key part of the defence evidence, both at the criminal trial and at the hearings that were held over the civil damages claim (Bob's affidavit can also be read in *PR* 40, July 2010, "Domebusters' Trial Suppressed Evidence: Bob Leonard's 'Inadmissible' Defence Affidavit", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr40-192b.htm>). My role was more modest but maybe crucial – I provided the affidavit that persuaded a judge to transfer the criminal trial to Wellington on the grounds that the Domebusters wouldn't get a fair trial in Blenheim.

And ABC certainly wasn't going to let this latest victory pass by without a celebration. The saddest thing was that Bob died in August 2013 and wasn't here to savour the total victory. 14,000 earthquakes (give or take a few) since 2010 meant that we had to go a bit further to the pub this time but (one February Friday night) nearly all of the ABC Committee, with spouses, gathered with Mike Knowles to celebrate. We drank a toast to absent friends, of whom Bob Leonard was first and foremost. Obviously we toasted Adi, Peter and Sam, for their incredible bravery in doing what they did, their willingness to face prison and financial ruin (not to mention electrocution from cutting the spy base's electric fence to get in), and their unflinching adherence to principle all the way through. Theirs was a model textbook example of nonviolent direct action.

"Ye Are Many – They Are Few"

And we drank a toast to Mike Knowles, the lawyer who defeated the covert State and who was paid the ultimate backhanded compliment – they changed the law so that he can't do that again. They gravely underestimated this man who eschews mobile phones, credit cards and computers, preferring to use instead the vintage typewriter which his wife has christened "Dickens". They underestimated a man who, in the course of working on this case, survived the collapse of the ceiling of his 19th Century office during the February 2011 killer quake and then helped dig some of Christchurch's best known lawyers and other professionals out of the rubble of the historic Provincial Chambers. I was delighted to persuade him to recite in the pub an excerpt from the Percy Bysshe Shelley poem that he recited in court, complete with accompanying gestures:

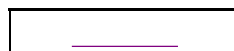
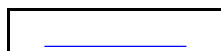
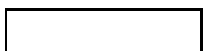
"Last came Anarchy: he rode
On a white horse, splashed with blood;
He was pale even to the lips,
Like Death in the Apocalypse.

"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".

Mike concluded by telling us: "At which point the judge rolled his eyes". Good on you Mike, you bloody old ham. A lawyer who uses a typewriter, prefers to ride a bike and who recites 19th Century Romantic poems in court – the covert State didn't stand a chance.



Waihopai Spy Base Protest 2014

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The Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) held our regular protest at the Waihopai spy base in January 2014 and it was the best attended for several years, and also got the best media coverage in years. Of course, since we were last there (in January 2013) there had been the massive revelations of illegal spying on New Zealanders by the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which runs Waihopai, and a mass protest movement against the GCSB. Globally, there had been the explosive revelations by former US National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden, revealing a mindboggling programme of systematic NSA spying on just about everyone, and including how the GCSB and Waihopai fit into this.

To quote from our press release announcing the 2014 protest: “2013 was the year where it was conclusively proven that the GCSB & Waihopai have been illegally spying on New Zealanders for years (as ABC has said since the spy base was first announced in 1987). So what did the Government do? It passed laws (the GCSB & TICS Acts) to legalise the crime. And 2013 was the year that, thanks to Edward Snowden, it was conclusively proven that the US National Security Agency (NSA – the GCSB’s boss) has been, and still is, spying on everyone everywhere.

“So this is ABC’s theme this time – in addition to our longstanding assertion that Waihopai is NZ’s key contribution to America’s global spying machine. Waihopai is a US spy base in all but name, operating on NZ soil, a vital outpost of the American Empire. Simultaneously, the US is pushing for a Free Trade Agreement, via the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (which the US wants to be concluded ASAP this year) as NZ’s ‘reward’ for having supplied our troops as cannon fodder in Afghanistan, and for hosting the Waihopai spy base.

“The GCSB has been given nearly three quarters of a billion dollars of taxpayers’ money in the past quarter of a century. The 2013/14 budget is \$59 million, plus another \$35 million was recently spent on new GCSB headquarters in Wellington. It is a criminal waste of taxpayers’ money. Waihopai’s operations are exempt from the Privacy Act, Crimes Act and Official Information Act, and MPs are specifically prohibited from investigating activities of the GCSB. Waihopai does not operate in the national interest of New Zealand. In all but name it is a foreign spy base on NZ soil, paid for with hundreds of millions of our tax dollars; it spies on New Zealanders; and involves us in America’s global spying machine. Waihopai must be closed” (ABC press release, 15/1/14: “Waihopai & The GCSB Spy On New Zealanders; NSA Spies On Everyone”).

Blenheim Public Meeting

The 2013 protest had deliberately focused exclusively on the base itself, with no activity in Blenheim. In 2014 we decided to revert to our previous practice, namely to hold activities at both. Rather than a rally or a march or a stall at the local market, we decided to hold an old school public meeting. The point of difference was that, rather than at night, we held it on the Saturday morning before going out to the base. The reasons for the timing were partly experimental (to see if it would work) but mainly pragmatic – our Department of Conservation camp has a summer night curfew and it is a hassle if our vehicles are locked out of the camp. The original plan was to bill this Blenheim meeting as a continuation of the extremely successful Auckland public meetings in 2013 against the GCSB Bill (now Act). They had attracted crowds of thousands and major media coverage. So we invited several of the big name speakers who had spoken in Auckland – but, for a variety of reasons, none of them could come. So, we settled on the usual suspects who have been speaking at Waihopai protests and Blenheim rallies for years – local Green MP and veteran ABC activist, Steffan Browning; John Minto of Global Peace and Justice Auckland; and ABC’s very own Warren Thomson. It was a well attended meeting; the venue was packed (meaning that the Saturday morning experiment was a success) and all three spoke very well. Some of the very good Powerpoint which Warren created to accompany his speech is on the ABC Website at “Spies, Lies And Ties: New Zealand And The Big Brothers” <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/SpiesLiesTies.html>.

After the public meeting we went out to the base, where about 70 people held a protest rally at the outer gate. In 2013 we had decided to give the cops something to do and a number of us had hopped the outer fence, intending to present a letter to the base commander. This had led to what the media called a “scuffle”, although no one was arrested. In 2014 we decided to stay outside the fence, contenting ourselves to hand a letter to the cops to hand to the base commander. There were speeches by several people including John Minto, Steffan Browning MP, Domebuster Adi Leason, Maire Leadbeater and myself, among others. The inimitable Alice Leney was once again Uncle Sam on a classic American motorbike (one which he’d gone to the US to buy in 2013 and then rode it across the States; he rode it to Waihopai and back from his home at the top of the Coromandel Peninsula). And for the first

time since he succeeded the late Bob Leonard as Uncle Sam, Alice was able to wear Bob's Uncle Sam hat, which is far superior to the one we'd had to hire for the previous several years. ABC had managed to rescue that hat from Bob's quake bugged and abandoned house when we went into it in February 2013 to get out as many of his files, etc, as we could. That hat now hangs on the back of my office door, giving me a constant reminder of Bob.

Very Good Media Coverage

As I've already mentioned, the 2014 protest at the spy base got the best media coverage in years, particularly from TVNZ (you can view the news clip at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XGKTj5G_aAc. It not only reported on the protest but put it into the context of the bigger picture, both in NZ and globally, tying together Waihopai, Edward Snowden, Kim Dotcom, et al). "Green Party MP Steffan Browning said that the mood was far more confident this year following the Kim Dot Com (sic) and Edward Snowden sagas, which revealed illegal spying on New Zealanders and global spying by America's National Intelligence (sic) Agency....Anti-Bases Campaign leader Murray Horton said that their allegations of spying on New Zealanders by Government had been vindicated. ...'It took Government 25 years to admit that the GCSB [Government Communications Security Bureau] have been illegally spying on New Zealanders, but they have finally done it. Ironically it's actually unfortunate that we have been vindicated because of the implications that has', he said. In his speech Mr Horton thanked the role that Kim Dotcom played and made special mention of American Edward Snowden for his part in revealing the global spying activities of the US. 'By having this base here we are a part of that and we are opening ourselves up to making the same enemies as the Americans'... Veteran political protester John Minto said that the base was a threat to New Zealand as it ties the country to the US and its spying actions. German working tourists Elena Breit, Max Herre and Alex Kamper were among the protesters, having made a special trip to be at the demonstration. 'This [spying] is a big deal in Germany. We want to see bases like this closed too', Mr Kamper said" (*Marlborough Express*, 26/1/14, "Thanks Kim Dotcom", Sven Herselman, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/9651129/Thanks-Kim-Dotcom>).

"...Year after year at Blenheim's not-so-secret spy base they converge to little effect. But this time protestors say they're vindicated after the Government was last year forced to pass the GCSB Bill to legalise its illegal spying on dozens of Kiwis. And it was revealed that US intelligence has eyes here too. 'Every email, every phone call, every surfing of the Internet which New Zealanders do is automatically collected by the National Security Agency in the US using this base as the portal', says Mana Party Co-Vice President John Minto. This year's protest comes as the US Justice Department offers Snowden a dubious olive branch – come back from asylum in Russia and we'll talk with your lawyers, but you must plead guilty. 'That's a disgrace,' says Mr Minto. 'I think what we have to see is that Edward Snowden has done the whole world and especially the people of New Zealand an enormous service'... 'Theoretically, with the GCSB Bill it is done with a warrant and the like', says Green Party MP Steffan Browning. 'They've operated illegally in the past. They've a culture of total integration into the NSA. Are they going to do anything different?'" (3 News, 25/1/14, "Waihopai Protesters: Snowden Did World 'An Enormous Service'", http://www.3news.co.nz/Waihopai-protesters-Snowden-did-world-an-enormous_service/tabid/1607/articleID/329731/Default.aspx).

Adi Leason's participation, along with several of his kids and friends, was particularly propitious. It was less than two weeks later that the Government announced that it was completely withdrawing its \$1.2 million civil suit against him and his two fellow Domebusters, Peter Murnane and Sam Land (see my article about this elsewhere in this issue). Adi actually knew about this at the time of the Waihopai protest – he told me about it there, in confidence – but it was not yet finalised and official. What a total victory and a complete vindication of ABC's position that the real criminals at Waihopai are the GCSB and NSA, not the likes of the Domebusters.

Complaints Against Police Upheld

One bit of unfinished business from the January 2013 Waihopai protest was resolved in August 2013. During the "scuffle" with the cops, when some of us hopped the outer fence to try and present a letter to the base commander, "(one) cop just lost it and snatched the letter which was being brandished aloft, screwed it up and threw it onto the road (this led to an official complaint being lodged by John Minto. John also complained about that officer having a Taser on his belt during a protest, which the Police are not supposed to do)", to quote from my 2013 *PR* report on that protest. The Police rejected John's complaints (which were backed up by witness statements from Warren Thomson and Steffan Browning). So John appealed to the Independent Police Conduct Authority, which rejected one and referred the other one back to the Marlborough Police Area Commander. Somewhat to John's astonishment, both of his complaints were upheld by the Area Commander.

"Mr Minto said yesterday he had made several complaints about Police in 30 years of protesting, but this was the first time one had ever been upheld, and two were upheld at once. 'I'm very surprised, it's good... It's a good result; I'm pleased with the outcome'. Mr Feltham (the Area Commander) said in his letter that Police had breached policy

by wearing Tasers at a protest and that they had not acted to the standard Police should. Mr Minto said the Independent Police Complaints Authority had initially taken the Police's version to the letter and dismissed the complaint, while referring the Taser complaint to Police for investigation. 'I was furious and wrote to them saying they hadn't talked to witnesses and were just taking the Police's view. They then referred both complaints to Police'... Mr Feltham said it was clear some Police staff working at the protest were wearing Tasers and this was in breach of Police policy... 'I am satisfied that the actions of at least one Police staff member fell short of the professional standards that NZ Police expect. For that reason, this complaint is upheld'" (*Marlborough Express*, 5/9/13, "Commander Upholds Police Complaints", Cathie Bell, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/9129204/Commander-upholds-police-complaints>).

But this didn't make any difference to the cops' behaviour at the January 2014 Waihopai protest, where Tasers were once again in evidence and they were not interested in engaging in any kind of dialogue with us. So much for "going through the proper channels". But, in the bigger picture, the cops are only a side issue. ABC is more determined than ever to keep up this marathon of a campaign. That spy base is a blot on the conscience of all New Zealanders (as well as a blot on the Marlborough landscape) and we won't stop until it's closed. We'll keep doing it for as long as it takes. So, we look forward to seeing you back there again next time. Spread the word and bring your friends. This affects all of us because it's being done in our name and with our money. With every passing year the scandals involving the GCSB and Waihopai become bigger and worse. Time to say "Enough is enough; close Waihopai now!"



Who's Running The Show?

And In Whose Interests?

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- Murray Horton

This speech was delivered at more than 30 venues around the country, from Dunedin to Kaitia, and many places inbetween, in the course of my national speaking tour, which took place between March and July 2014. The accompanying excellent Powerpoint, created by Warren Brewer, can be viewed online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/SpeakingTour2014.html>. And Bill Rosenberg's equally excellent Key Facts Powerpoint, also used to accompany the speech, is at <http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/community/CAFCA/pdf/cafca-key-facts-2014.pdf>. MH.

I am the Organiser and spokesperson for two Christchurch-based groups, the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) and the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC). CAFCA, which dates back to the mid 1970s (we're having our 40th anniversary do next year), has the simple aim to expose and oppose all aspects of foreign control of this country. ABC, which dates back to the late 80s, is much more a single issue group, focusing on the overt military and covert intelligence ties between NZ and the US. Specifically, ABC calls for the closure of the Waihopai and Tangimoana spy bases and the agency which runs them, the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), plus the demilitarisation of the US military transport base at Christchurch Airport (which is now much less significant than it used to be)

If you want to learn more about CAFCA and ABC's issues, and what we say and do about them, then I refer you to our material, either the hard copy samples available at this meeting or to our Websites. For CAFCA those are www.cafca.org.nz and that of our publication *Foreign Control Watchdog*, which is at www.converge.org.nz/watchdog. For ABC it is www.converge.org.nz/abc, where you can also find ABC's publication, *Peace Researcher* (I am the Editor of *Watchdog* and Co-Editor of *Peace Researcher*). Hopefully some of you will join CAFCA and/or ABC, which is the best way to stay informed about the issues.

Wood Not Trees

I have done a number of these national speaking tours before, starting in 1993, with the most recent one in 2011. They have always been in election year, as is this one. That is not coincidental. We want people to be aware of the bigger picture before they undertake their triennial democratic exercise of casting their vote. The issues I will be discussing here are much bigger than the spin doctored, personality-driven trivia that is dished up to us in election year. We want to see the wood not the trees.

I want to make clear that we are not affiliated with any party, whether inside or outside of Parliament. CAFCA has always been fiercely independent and reserves the right to criticise any party (and has done so, much to the outrage of some of our members on the odd occasion). As much more of a single issue group, ABC is in a different situation and has enjoyed a strong working relationship with the Greens for decades, specifically in our campaign to close the Waihopai spy base. But ABC is, likewise, not affiliated with any party and reserves the right to criticise all of them. To give a current example, we think that the Greens' support for Labour's call for an inquiry into NZ's criminally scandalous intelligence agencies doesn't go anything like far enough (I'm talking about the revelations of GCSB domestic spying that was one of the major political issues of 2013).

This is the first time that I've done one of these tours on behalf of both the groups for which I am the Organiser. That is not the only difference from my previous tours. The main difference is one of emphasis. A few years ago I asked the partner of a then prominent politician why he had stopped subscribing to *Foreign Control Watchdog*, CAFCA's publication, and, without hesitation, he replied: "Too bloody depressing". And that was the effect that I fear my previous speeches had on the audiences, because they involved a long and very detailed analysis of the problem.

This time around I am going to emphasise the positive aspects of what CAFCA and ABC want; what it is that we want for the country, the economy, the State, the community. Too often groups such as ours (CAFCA is routinely described in the media as a lobby group; ABC as a protest group) are easily dismissed as "moaners" and "conspiracy theorists" who relentlessly emphasise the negative. So let's have a look at what we do want, as opposed to the usual recitation of what we don't want.

TNCs Are Running The Show

The first thing I need to do is put you out of your misery and answer the questions posed in this talk's title and subtitle: "Who's Running The Show? And In Whose Interests?" The answers are short enough to be communicated by a text message: "Not us, and not ours". You won't be surprised to be told that the answer to both questions is Big Business, specifically the transnational corporations which dominate this country's economy much more so than that of most other developed First World countries. Transnational corporations (TNCs) are the dominant players in the global economy – transnational simply means that they operate in more than one country; in NZ a foreign-owned company has been legally defined since 1973 as one that has more than 24.9% foreign ownership (whether by one foreign owner or a multiplicity doesn't matter).

For a detailed analysis of just how much of NZ's economy is dominated by TNCs, and all other aspects of foreign control of Aotearoa – including the perennial hot button issue of rural land purchases by foreigners – I refer you to CAFCA's Key Facts, which are in the yellow leaflet available at this meeting and on our Website. For the first time in years they have been completely updated and, for the first time ever, they include the sources for all of them (for reasons of space, these are on the Website version only, not the hard copy leaflet). I am indebted to my CAFCA Committee colleague Bill Rosenberg (whose day job is as the Economist and Policy Director for the NZ Council of Trade Unions) – he did all the work. So, I won't be speaking to those key facts - "the problem" – because I don't have to.

The only, very brief, points that I will make about "the problem" are these three:

- Don't take as gospel the language used by politicians, the media and "experts" about "foreign investment". A lot of so-called "investment" is simply a takeover, not creating new assets
- Since the Rogernomics bloodless coup of the 1980s a driving goal of Governments, whether National or Labour, has been "to make the New Zealand economy attractive to foreign investment". What this means to ordinary New Zealanders is that we have become, and remain, involuntary competitors in the race to the bottom.
- Ownership means political power. Foreign control means recolonisation, but by company this time, not country. When the Crafar Farms sale to Chinese buyers first became a major political issue several years ago, John Key said that he didn't want to see New Zealanders "become tenants in our own country". I very rarely agree with anything Key says but I'm happy to quote him on that one. In the owner-tenant relationship, there is no doubt about who holds the upper hand. I've been both a tenant and an owner, and I know which one I prefer.

And I need to make one brief point, specifically in my ABC capacity. All this stuff about TNCs being the problem is no hum as far as CAFCA is concerned, it is our bread and butter and has been the subject of every one of my speaking tours since 1993. But the central role of TNCs in the issues of interest to the Anti-Bases Campaign has not always been so clear. Since our foundation in the late 1980s we have been dealing with covert State agencies such as the GCSB and its US Big Brother, the National Security Agency (NSA). All of the revelations in the past couple of years about the GCSB, which have come to light as a result of the spectacularly bungled Kim Dotcom case, have proven just how the NZ State, including its covert arms such as the GCSB, plays a very subordinate, even servile, role when doing the bidding of the TNCs – the Hollywood music, movie and entertainment giants in the case of Dotcom. To quote a media commentator, writing in the *National Business Review* in March 2013: "Our spies' principal mission used to be the defence of the realm. Today's GCSB is about the protection of corporate property". The US makes no bones about the fact that its' State, including its covert agencies, exists to "serve America's interests". It wants to ram through the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) this year, which will greatly benefit US TNCs across the whole economic spectrum. Have no doubt that US agencies will be spying on the other governments and leaders involved in the negotiations, including Barack Obama's best friend forever and golfing buddy John Key. Rest assured that the NSA and its sub-contractors in the GCSB will be spying on opponents of the TPPA in every relevant country, including NZ. Edward Snowden's revelations from within the NSA make clear the close working relationship between the US covert State and US Internet and telecommunications TNCs. If it wasn't clear in the past, it sure as hell is now to ABC – TNCs and corporate colonisation are very much our issues now.

As I said, I want to emphasise the positive aspects of what CAFCA and ABC want; what it is that we want for the country, the economy, the State, and the community. The preparation of this speech was a collective project, not just an individual one. After discussion, we came up with four main slogans which broadly sum up what we're about. They are:

- **People's Rights Before Corporate Profit**
- **Public Service Not Private Profit**
- **An Independent Foreign Policy**

- **No Unjust Secret Treaties**

I'll deal with them in that order.

People's Rights Before Corporate Profit

For as long as I've been a political activist (stretching back to the late 60s) "people before profit" has been a rallying cry for innumerable campaigns. You would think that it is a no brainer. But not to the politicians who have formed Governments headed by either major party in the last few decades; not to the ideologues in the key bureaucracies such as Treasury; not to Big Business and its PR lobbyists; and not to the propagandists in the corporate media and the so-called experts in academia and the think tanks. They all chant the mantra that what is good for business (by which they mean Big Business) is good for the country. The interests of capital are paramount, to be pandered to ahead of all other considerations. Their slogan is simply "Profit Before People".

I recently watched the excellent British documentary "Spirit Of 45", about the birth of the Welfare State in that country in 1945, and its death under Margaret Thatcher in the 80s and every succeeding Government, whether Conservative or Labour. It was like being doused with a bucket of cold water to see grainy old black and white footage of Clem Attlee, the Labour Prime Minister who won the 1945 election, making speeches about his Government's commitment to socialism (by which he meant the democratic socialism variety that used to be the catch cry of Labour Parties around the world, and which has been watered down to something called social democracy). Socialism is not the subject of my speech, nor is it CAFCA's policy (our Committee, let alone our membership, espouse a variety of political views and affiliations and we are not, most emphatically, a political party). The point I am making is that there was a time in the not too distant past when the likes of the British Prime Minister could speak, entirely seriously, of his endorsement of socialism in the context of policies that openly put the interests of ordinary working people ahead of those of capital and Big Business. You won't hear that word today, even from the supposedly most Leftwing of Labour MPs or officials in this country. It is only under David Cunliffe's leadership that I have heard the word "capitalism" used in anything other than an uncritical fashion by Labour. The point I am making is that Big Business (of which TNCs are the biggest; they constitute the dog, the rest are merely the fleas) sets the agenda – indeed it has a firm grasp of it by the short and curlies – and that the ideologues, spin doctors, propagandists, apologists and so-called "experts" rigorously attack anything put up by mainstream politicians that looks like it might not be in the interests of Big Business. For a current example, look at the reaction to Labour and the Greens' eminently sensible proposal to establish a single buyer to bring some order and fairness to the chaotic and profiteering electricity market

Corporate Welfare & Tax Avoidance

What would a society look like in which people were put before profit? I'll briefly look at a couple of current hot button issues – corporate welfare and corporate tax avoidance. Corporate welfare is where the Government abandons its own fairy tale of "market forces" and simply hands over taxpayers' money to TNCs, either directly or as indirect subsidies such as tax breaks, as well as all sorts of other favours such as favourable law changes. If that policy were to cease, then we would have a film industry whose members were workers with all the legal protections that entails, rather than as "self-employed contractors" who carry all the costs and risks themselves. Instead of giving hundreds of millions of taxpayers' dollars to Warner Brothers and Fox Studios, the Government could put that money directly into supporting a real NZ film industry, not just one to which giant Hollywood TNCs outsource their movies to benefit from highly talented, extremely cheap labour and world-beating locations. This is not a pipe dream. A December 2013 *Time* article entitled "How Sweden Has Re-Engineered the World's Music" included the Welfare State as one of the reasons why Swedes are doing so well in all sectors of the world's music industry. Sweden generously pours money into both music and its indigenous music industry. Now there's an interesting model for New Zealand culture. The Government should help its own people, not TNCs.

If corporate welfare was to cease and the Government was to stop propping up the transnational Chorus we'd all benefit by lower Internet rates. If corporate welfare was to cease we could start dealing with the major social ills caused by problem gambling, rather than giving a free hand to Sky City Casino. If a half century of corporate welfare was to cease the country could get rid of its biggest bludger, Rio Tinto's Bluff smelter, and we would find ourselves in the position of having the single biggest chunk of electricity in the national grid available for more productive uses than being exported as alumina. There would be no excuse for power prices for domestic users not to come down to affordable levels. Those TNCs came third, second, and first, respectively, in the 2013 Roger Award for the Worst Transnational Corporation Operating in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Transnational corporate tax avoidance involves serious money, for instance, the \$2.2 billion which the Big Four Australian banks agreed to pay in 2009 to get IRD off their backs. TNCs will go to great lengths to dodge taxes e.g.

MediaWorks restructured in 2013 and was thus able to “walk away” from a \$22 million tax debt. The likes of Cadbury pay derisory amounts of tax or none at all in New Zealand because of various international tax rorts that are available to TNCs (but not to local businesses, let alone “Mum and Dad” taxpayers). To quote a January 2014 *Businessday* column in the *Press*: “Together, Google, Facebook and Apple made an estimated \$750 million out of New Zealanders in the last tax year but paid less than \$3 million in tax – that works out to a tax rate of 0.4%. On the other hand, the New Zealand company tax is 28%”. If TNCs were made to pay their share of NZ taxes (and I’m not calling it “their fair share” because the tax rates for businesses have been cut and are too low), the State would have billions more available for the needs of the New Zealand people, such as education and health. If those tax rates were restored to what they were until recently, let alone increased from that to a more realistic level, there would be yet more billions available for the common good, as opposed to the shareholders and grossly overpaid CEOs of transnational corporations.

If people’s rights were put before corporate profit, we would have a drastic improvement in workers’ pay and conditions; we would see an emphasis on workers’ safety in currently very dangerous industries like forestry; it would be a top priority to restore full employment (as opposed to “an acceptable level of unemployment” that is currently peddled to us as full employment); we would tackle national disgraces such as child poverty, food banks, homelessness and the emerging phenomenon of the working poor; we would tackle the increasingly yawning gap between rich and poor, with all the attendant problems that inequality brings; we might even see justice for the long suffering people of Christchurch who are still waiting for their quake-damaged homes to be repaired or rebuilt. These are specific examples – but by no means the only ones, there’s a long list – of wrongs that could start to be righted (or, more correctly, lefted) by a reorientation of the national priorities, a reversal of emphasis from putting corporate profits before people. Politicians and the “experts” like talking about the benefits of investment. What better investment could there be than in our own people, as opposed to foreign-owned corporations; investment of money, resources and political will for the benefit of the many instead of the few?

It is appropriate here to say what it is that CAFCA wants in relation to transnational corporations in this country. We have discussed this in the past and it came down to two different options. The “aspirational” one is to kick the bastards out. The sky wouldn’t fall if we did. It would certainly have an effect on the economy but not as much as the TNCs’ political and business mouthpieces would have us believe. For example, if you check out our Key Facts (hard copy or online) you’ll see that foreign investors are not great for employment – they only employ 17% of the workforce, despite owning a large proportion of the economy. But the other option is the “realistic” one – namely, to introduce many more hoops for them to jump through before being allowed into the country and, once in, much, much tougher rules and controls to govern their operations here. I don’t have time to go into all those details but the central principle would be that their presence here would have to be genuinely deemed to be in the national interest and in the public interest. This is our home and they are visitors to our home – the home owner sets the rules for the visitors. Let’s apply that slogan that we keep being told in other contexts – it is a privilege, not a right. As far as foreign purchases of NZ rural land is concerned, there is a good case to be made for a blanket ban. If that is deemed “aspirational”, then the “realistic” option is to only allow land to be leased by foreigners, not bought.

Public Service Not Private Profit

Mass opposition to flogging off public assets has been one of the major campaigns of the past several years, and one in which I’ve been heavily involved (I am the Convenor of the Keep Our Assets Canterbury coalition). We have already had a referendum on asset sales, which overwhelmingly rejected them, and the issue will doubtless feature strongly in this year’s election campaign. One thing needs to be made clear - privatisation of public assets is wrong, regardless of whether the new owners are transnational corporations, local Big Business (pakeha or Maori) or “mum and dad” (ditto). No matter how much Key and English and co tart it up, the central, glaringly obvious fact is that “mum and dad” already own these State-Owned Enterprises, and all other public assets, because that’s what public ownership is. It means ownership by the public. It’s not very difficult to work out; you don’t need a Master of Business Administration degree from Harvard. The Government has been brazenly stealing public assets - all sugar coated as “partial privatisation” or “the mixed ownership model”, because it is only stealing 49% of them - and laughing in our faces by urging us to buy back a little bit of this stolen property in the form of shares. Forget about Nigerian scams; this is the much worse New Zealand scam.

We have paid for them by our taxes, why should we be expected to pay for them again by buying a few shares in them and diluting our ownership to the status of a minority shareholder? What happens if one of these privatised companies goes bust? The obvious fact is that, in the share market, there are always highs and lows, winners and losers. So, in the event that one of them goes bust, mum and dad will go to the back of the queue as unsecured creditors, just as happened with the shonky finance companies that toppled like dominos. And mum and dad will be left with nothing, exactly as they were by the finance companies. Isn’t that a great bargain!

Key makes the facile claim that restricting private ownership to 49% provides some sort of protection. Crap! Ever since 1973 the Overseas Investment Act has defined a foreign-owned or controlled company as one with more than 24.9% foreign shareholding. It doesn't matter whether that percentage is held by one or many foreign owners; if it totals anything higher than 24.9%, it is recognised as a foreign company. In other words Key is talking about accepting a level of private, inevitably foreign, ownership which is double the legal definition of a foreign company. Even in the unlikely event that these SOEs do end up in continued New Zealand ownership or, in the unlikely event that they do end up being owned by "mum and dads", that doesn't make it right. It would still be the privatisation of what is rightfully public; the expropriation of the common wealth for private profit.

There are no sound economic reasons for selling these State-owned electricity generators and any other SOEs that may be also being eyed up for sale. As in the past, the reason cited for selling assets is to help to pay off public debt. But the Government can borrow money at cheaper rates than the private sector, so why is that a worry? It's the equivalent of selling your house to pay off the mortgage. You've cleared your debt, but you've no longer got your prime asset. More importantly, you no longer own the roof over your head. You have to downsize to being a tenant – everyone knows who calls the shots in the landlord/tenant relationship. I've been both a tenant and a homeowner, and I know which one I prefer. That's the path Key and co is setting us onto – becoming tenants in our own home. That is ironic because it's only two to three years ago that Key himself said that he didn't want to see New Zealanders become tenants in our own country. Well, he's doing everything possible to bring that about.

And there is an inherent contradiction in the economic justification offered for selling assets – they're being put on the market because they're attractive to private owners, TNCs in particular. Why? Because they're profitable; they're not distressed assets being offered at a bankruptcy sale (Solid Energy, the only SOE in that situation, has been withdrawn from the auction block). To whom do they deliver those profits at present? The Government: on behalf of their owners, the New Zealand people. So the Government is blithely waving goodbye to that guaranteed income stream of hundreds of millions of dollars per year (well, at least, to 49% of that income stream).

Only a certain amount of weight should be attached to the economic argument for retaining the SOEs. Indeed, by concentrating on that aspect, the whole debate can be diverted down a slippery slope. The emphasis should not be on how profitable they are or aren't, because that accepts the validity of them having been set up as SOEs in the first place, by the 1984-90 Labour government, as one of the central pillars of Rogernomics (and Labour's policy of opposing the privatisation of these SOEs does not propose any change in their status from profit-oriented State-owned businesses).

Privatisation Is About Ideology, Not Money

Who said this? "I am not sure we were right to use the argument that we should privatise to quit debt. We knew it was a poor argument but we probably felt it was the easiest to use politically". Answer – none other than Sir Roger Douglas, in a book praising the sale of State forests ("Out Of The Woods"; Reg Birchfield and Ian Grant; 1993). So there you have it, from the horse's mouth or, more likely, the other end. Privatisation is not about money; it's all about ideology. And it is truly nothing more complicated than that – the wilfully blind zealous belief of both major parties, since the 1980s, that public ownership is bad and private is good.

What is needed instead is a political commitment that State-owned companies supplying an essential service actually be a public service rather than profit-obsessed corporations, which are publicly owned whilst exhibiting all the worst characteristics of privately owned Big Business corporations. That requires a political decision to change the business model of those and other State-Owned Enterprises from profit to service. Now there's a scary, radical concept – but it was the status quo in NZ until the 1980s and early 90s. The country's electricity system existed to ensure nationwide, coordinated, uninterrupted supply of an essential service, at cost. It functioned from one end of the country to the other and was characterised by planning.

The operative words here are public service. Being State-owned is not enough by itself, if the sole priority of that State ownership is to generate a profit. What would a society look like that prioritised public service over private profit? It would have as its central principle the concept of "the public interest". So, for a start, we would see a stop to the erosion and downgrading of the public education and health systems. I'm old enough to remember both free public education including at university level, and free public health, including visits to GPs. It would see the State resume the role it used to play in providing thousands of jobs for the unemployed, and provide direction for the economy as it did in the past in sectors such as forestry. The State would once again commit to housing the poor and vulnerable, rather than leaving them at the mercy of the market. It would see the central Government once again committed to local and regional democracy, rather than what has been the case in Canterbury for several years, where this Government fired the regional council and replaced it with unelected functionaries whose top priority is to serve the interest and profits of the dairy industry, which is now the dominant agribusiness in the

country. It would, once again, see a commitment to a public service broadcaster, rather than a lowest common denominator TV network existing solely to deliver customers to advertisers and dividends to the Government. The State would, once again, recognise public transport as a top national priority and invest in the infrastructure that has been allowed to run down over the decades. It would do all of those things because they are in the public interest.

We need to fight to retain what we've got left that does provide a public service, things such as Pharmac (which was established by a National government, as a matter of interest). Pharmac keeps down the price of prescription drugs and for that reason is hated by the giant pharmaceutical transnationals who are working through the US government to get rid of it as part of the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). We need to retain Pharmac because it is in the public interest.

I'm not indulging in romantic nostalgia for the past – I remember what it was like and I worked for the Railways for 14 years when it was in its heyday as a Government department, so I don't have any illusions on that score. I could tell you a few stories. But the solution was to fix it, make it work better, make it better serve the New Zealand people who owned it, not to chuck out the baby with the bath water. Only the State has the resources to deal with things at the national level, because that is the basic requirement of Government. I live in a city that is currently run by a specially created Government department, the Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority, and in a city where nearly every resident has had dealings with the Earthquake Commission, another Government department. So I'm well aware of the horror stories of my fellow Cantabrians. I've had extensive personal dealings with both EQC and my Australian-owned insurance transnational in relation to quake damage to my own home (which is also my workplace), so I know what it's like. I also know that Christchurch, and the country, would be immeasurably worse off if we didn't have EQC and I salute the foresight of those who established an organisation that is unique in the world. Could it have done a better job? Of course, and it must. But it is in the public interest to have the State, and not the profit-driven insurance transnationals, responsible for disaster recovery.

An Independent Foreign Policy

First question – don't we already have one? Well, we are most definitely nuclear free, and that is something to be very proud of. It puts NZ well ahead of most other countries. I recommend that you read Maire Leadbeater's excellent new book "Peace Power And Politics: How New Zealand Became Nuclear Free". The lesson from that successful campaign was that it was won from the grassroots up, not from the top down – it wasn't bestowed upon us from on high by some enlightened politicians. And, as a direct consequence of that, we are out of ANZUS. But the key fact about that one is that NZ was kicked out, we didn't leave of our own accord. If things had panned out the way that 1980s' Labour government wanted, we would have had our cake and eaten it, by being both nuclear free and still in ANZUS.

Both of those highly commendable achievements were won a generation ago and have become the status quo, part of the cultural furniture. But things haven't progressed from there, and the powers that be, both in NZ and the US, have been actively working to nullify those facts on the ground, to get around them, to subvert them, and to render them irrelevant. My case is that we have a half pie independent foreign policy, if that; and it will take another grassroots campaign of similar scale to achieve a full pie one. That's not to say that there haven't been some laudable instances of NZ acting independently of our imperial masters – such as, for the first time ever, we stayed out of someone else's war, namely Iraq (although we did send non-combat forces there for a less than distinguished deployment which achieved nothing); and NZ played the key role in reaching a lasting peace settlement in Bougainville.

But those are exceptions, not the rule. Despite being both nuclear free and out of ANZUS, NZ has continued to be a loyal junior partner to the US in American wars such as in Afghanistan; in the vitally important covert intelligence alliance, the secret ANZUS best illustrated by the Waihopai spy base; and in slavishly doing the bidding of both of the US government and American transnational corporations when told to do so. We're not as much of a doormat as Australia but that's not much of a benchmark, and we're getting there.

Picking & Choosing

So, what would an independent foreign policy look like? Firstly, it's not the same thing as neutrality, armed or otherwise. It doesn't mean isolationism. It would mean that New Zealand would pick our allies and, if necessary, our wars, on a case by case basis, decided first and foremost by what is in the interests of the New Zealand people, not the interests of foreign governments and/or corporations. To give a couple of real world illustrations of what I mean by that: this year being the centenary of the start of World War 1, we are being force fed a diet of nauseating pap and propaganda about it. That war was the epitome of imperialist wars; it literally was a clash of empires, with ordinary people from all over the world, including one of my own great-uncles, paying for it with their lives in their

tens of millions. It was a war with absolutely no justification. It demonstrates exactly why New Zealand needed then, and still needs, an independent foreign policy. On the other hand, a case can be made for World War 2 having been necessary because it posed an existential threat to not only New Zealand but the world at large (my father was a prisoner of war in that one). We fought both those wars as the most loyal servants of the British Empire and as soon as that was over and power shifted to the American Empire, we rode off with those cowboys.

An independent foreign policy would involve cutting the strings that continue to bind us to the American Empire. ABC's demands are clear and easily understandable – the GCSB spy bases at Waihopai and Tangimoana (which are US National Security Agency bases in all but name) must be closed; the GCSB, which is simply a junior subcontractor for the NSA, must be abolished; and the US transport base at Christchurch Airport must be demilitarised, to end it providing cover for US military and intelligence activities that have nothing to do with providing logistic support for peaceful scientific research in Antarctica.

Now, once again, global power (economic at first, with political and military still to come) is shifting from the US to China. I do not advocate NZ transferring its allegiance to become a loyal servant of the arising Chinese Empire. True to form, we have put all our eggs into one basket (dairying) and hope to sell them in one market (China). Once again, that puts NZ into a terribly vulnerable position if and when something goes wrong in the Chinese economy, or it develops its' own dairying industry. As the trade off for that short term gain NZ has opened the doors to a Chinese takeover of that very industry and the rich farmland on which it depends. So it will be a race to see which comes first – China developing its own dairy industry, meaning that it won't need NZ any more; or China owning the NZ dairy industry, rendering the question academic. I need to make clear that I am using the example of China only to make the point; my criticism would be the same if the country involved was Australia, the US, Britain, Japan or wherever. Indeed, in parts of the South Island, specifically Southland, the biggest foreign owners of dairy farms come from Germany and Ireland.

An independent foreign policy means not being part of anyone's empire but standing on our own two feet and picking and choosing our friends and allies, based on what is in our own national interest and in the public interest (I make that point because NZ Big Business has a habit of hijacking the phrase "national interest" to mean what is in its interests). Foreign policy does not only involve military alliances and wars; these days it predominantly means trade. The same principle applies – that NZ chooses our trading partners based on what is in our national interest and, more importantly, what is in the public interest. Global trade is dominated by transnational corporations and their interests have been prioritised by the governments of their nominal home countries, governments which have been subjected to corporate capture, governments that think what is good for Big Business is good for not only their own countries but for the world. Most of what are misleadingly called "free trade" agreements is nothing of the kind – they are investment agreements, serving as the Trojan horse of the transnationals to gain access to ever more markets for profit, power and control. In that respect, much of global foreign policy has been privatised, meaning that the agenda is being set, not by sovereign governments but by transnational corporations using their political allies to further their interests.

To give a current New Zealand example, which is a textbook one of its kind – the Dotcom case, where the New Zealand State, from the highest political level down to its enforcement agencies such as the Police and the spies, fell over itself to do the bidding of the US government which is working hand in glove with huge US transnationals, namely the movie and music industries, to shut down Dotcom's operation, lock him up and deliver him to be imprisoned by those whose interests he had threatened. The Yanks said "jump", and the New Zealand government said "how high?" That case demonstrates the privatisation and corporatisation of American foreign policy. Wearing my CAFCA hat, I need to say that we don't carry a flag for Kim Dotcom – he should never have been allowed into the country. The fact that he was allowed in is a further demonstration of the gutlessness of the Overseas Investment Office, which sees its role as a doorman for foreign "investors", when what is needed in cases like this is a bouncer. CAFCA has a copy of that Office's file on Dotcom – it makes for fascinating reading. But wearing my ABC hat, I express gratitude that he has tackled head on the covert State which was illegally spying on him and that, in doing so, has forced into the open the whole shonky practices of the GCSB and their counterparts in the US. Good on him for doing so. The Dotcom case provides two different illustrations of what an independent foreign policy would mean; firstly, NZ wouldn't let in every Tom, Dick and Kim in the name of "attracting foreign investors"; but, secondly, having done so, NZ would put the interests of its own people, including non-citizen residents, ahead of the corporate and political interest of the US government and Big Business.

No Unjust Secret Treaties

This begs the question – are there any just secret treaties? We had a discussion about that and concluded that, by definition, secret treaties are unjust. There is no shortage of examples but I'll concentrate on two current hot topics which are of major interest to both CAFCA and ABC – namely the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement

(TPPA), and the UKUSA Agreement, commonly referred to now as the Five Eyes Agreement or alliance. I'll deal with the latter one first, because it naturally flows on from the need for an independent foreign policy. Very briefly, Five Eyes is a top secret agreement, dating back to the immediate post-World War 2 years, between the spy agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to, between them, cover the globe for the purposes of systematic electronic intelligence gathering (back in the 1940s it started off as signals intelligence). The NZ member agency is the GCSB; the US NSA is the biggest of the Big Brothers. So, Five Eyes is what Waihopai is all about – and if you have a look at that place, you will see that not only does this monster have five eyes, it also has two balls. Secrecy is at the very heart of Five Eyes – for its' first 50 or so years its very existence was denied by all member countries. That has now changed but don't expect to be sent a copy of it if you write to the Prime Minister under the Official Information Act.

Five Eyes Is The Secret ANZUS

The seminal book on the GCSB and Waihopai is Nicky Hager's 1996 classic "Secret Power". The foreword is written by David Lange who, as Prime Minister in the 1980s, gave the go ahead for Waihopai. At the time, the spy base was justified on the grounds that it gave NZ an independent intelligence gathering ability, particularly after the US supposedly cut us off from their intelligence in punishment for our nuclear free policy. It is, of course, nothing of the kind. As Lange wrote: "But it was not until I read this book that I had any idea that we had been committed to an international integrated electronic network...it is an outrage that I and other Ministers were told so little, and this raises the question of to whom those concerned saw themselves accountable". Remember those ruefully candid words from a former Prime Minister next time you hear John Key assuring us that he knows what the GCSB and NSA are up to and that we have nothing to be worried about.

Five Eyes is the reason for the existence of both the GCSB and Waihopai. Five Eyes is what binds New Zealand into the American empire, specifically both its intelligence and military wings. It is much more important than ANZUS ever was, it pre-dates ANZUS, it has carried on uninterrupted despite NZ being kicked out of ANZUS a generation ago, it is, in reality, the secret ANZUS to which NZ has always belonged and in which we have been a willing accomplice. Getting NZ out of Five Eyes is absolutely central to achieving a genuinely independent foreign policy. I'll go further than that and say that getting NZ out of Five Eyes would be a major step to NZ being a truly independent nation. This is in addition to closing the Waihopai and Tangimoana spy bases and abolishing the GCSB.

The TPPA is not yet a done deal and hopefully never will be. I could have spent this entire speech talking about it (indeed it was the subject of my speech on my 2011 national speaking tour). I recommend that you go to www.itsourfuture.org.nz for all the details about it. The proposed Agreement itself has changed shape radically in the years it has been on the political and transnational corporate agenda – it started off being tacked on to an obscure existing agreement among a handful of Asia/Pacific countries, including NZ and has now ballooned into the Big Daddy of such agreements, which is being used by the US to cement into place its' "pivot to the Pacific", to reassert its self-proclaimed role as the world's sole superpower (there is a parallel drive to implement a trans-Atlantic agreement between the US and Europe). But, regardless of what shape the TPPA takes, one thing remains constant – everything about it is shrouded in secrecy. All that anyone knows about it comes from leaks.

Agreements such as this are always misleadingly and deliberately called "free trade" agreements. In reality they are not about trade at all, or certainly not in the way that you and I understand that word. In a nutshell they are about making things easier for transnational corporations in every sense imaginable. The TPPA has been called a modern version of the aborted 1990s' Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which was defeated by a global campaign, including in NZ, which saw it for what it was – an attempt to formalise the privatisation and corporatisation of global governance. A major reason that it was defeated was that the essence of it was leaked and the world's peoples were outraged by what was planned to be imposed upon them. Those negotiating (or selling out, in NZ's case) the TPPA are very anxious that there no such slip up this time around. Once again there is, and has been for several years, a growing global campaign to defeat the TPPA. Here I must pay credit to the indefatigable Jane Kelsey – the people of the world, not just New Zealand, owe her a huge vote of thanks.

TPPA Is Attack On National Sovereignty

If NZ does not end up being ensnared in the TPPA or, even better if the TPPA doesn't come into existence; that would mean that we would keep a modicum of control over our own affairs. What is stake here is national sovereignty, and there is no more important subject, indeed it's been at the heart of the whole debate over the Treaty of Waitangi since 1840. Does that mean that CAFCA and other opponents of the TPPA are "anti-trade"? Of course not but we need to retain our national sovereignty, our ability to control our own destiny, and our right to pick and choose with whom we trade and which transnational corporations we let into our country and on what terms. I used the phrase "a modicum of control", meaning that we've already lost plenty of our national sovereignty due to

rushing lemming-like into a whole lot of other “free trade” agreements.

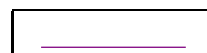
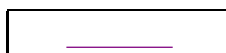
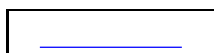
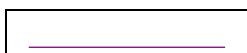
One thing needs to be clarified here – would either Five Eyes or the TPPA be OK if they weren't secret? Short answer: no. The secrecy under which they exist or are being negotiated simply adds insult to injury. The campaign to release the TPPA text is all well and good, and sunshine is an essential ingredient of the democratic process, but the primary problem is those treaties themselves. New Zealand, whether led by either National or Labour governments, has been far too willing to relate to other countries and transnational corporations on their, rather than our, terms. Apologists describe this approach as “realistic”, that a small country like ours has no choice but to behave that way. History proves them wrong. Once again I only need to mention the nuclear free policy, whereby NZ decided to put its own interests first for a change. Doomsayers predicted that the sky would fall – a generation of New Zealanders has grown up knowing no other reality and the sky still seems to be very much in place. Defenders of “free trade” agreements say that NZ's current salvation is the Free Trade Agreement we have with China (the foreign policy high point of the last Labour government). But NZ would have reached that situation with China by means of normal trade; the Agreement has encouraged us to foolishly put all our eggs into one basket (the one marked “dairy products for China”); and we are seeing a systematic buy up of every sector of that very same dairy industry in NZ by Chinese transnational corporations and rich individuals, enabled by the terms of the Agreement. That is an unacceptably high price to pay.

It's at this point where people usually ask: “What can we do about it?” I'm not going to address that topic. Not because I don't have any answers – on the contrary, I have a lifetime's experience of campaigning and my 2011 tour speech devoted a decent chunk of time to talking about how to fight the TPPA. What to do about it is not the topic of this speech, and would easily fill up another speech of this length. In essence, the answer is simple – build a campaign to achieve the goals I have talked about in this speech (and/or incorporate those goals into existing campaigns). To use a phrase much beloved by the Western press when applied to other countries – we need a People Power movement.

Let's Fight the Disease As Well As The Symptoms

That campaign has to be from the grassroots up, not from the top down. It should work in partnership with a political party or parties, but not be dependent on the Parliamentary process – that should only be part of the campaign, not the be all and end all (to give a current example, there has to be more to a campaign to save public assets than a referendum which the Government ignored). New Zealanders have a wealth of experience in campaigning, we are very good at it, world leading in some instances, and you don't need me to tell people how to do that. New Zealanders will run such a campaign or campaigns in ways that are most appropriate to their community and to their situation. The point of this speech, of my tour, is to urge that the four topics that I've talked about be central in this year's election campaign; that they should be central to campaigns already being run on a whole raft of issues around the country, and they should be central to any new campaigns set up. The first thing to realise is that we're all dealing with different symptoms of the same disease.

CAFCA and ABC are not arrogant enough to say that these four topics are the most important ones facing the country. Of course there are others. But what we do say is that they are among the most important, that they underlie everything else that the people of this country are concerned about, and that any campaign, electoral or otherwise, that doesn't include them is missing the point. To conclude: we want an independent Aotearoa based on policies of economic, military and political self-reliance, using Aotearoa's resources for the benefit of the people of Aotearoa. This country needs People Power to let the world know that Aotearoa is not for sale! How we do that is up to us, the people of this country. So let's get on with it.



Waihopai

The Secret ANZUS Which Binds Us To The American Agenda

Peace Researcher 47 – August 2014

- Maire Leadbeater

This is a chapter from "Peace, Power & Politics: How New Zealand Became Nuclear Free", Otago University Press, 2013. Reproduced with permission. See elsewhere in this issue for Jeremy Agar's review of the book. Subtitle and subheadings added by Peace Researcher. Ed.

The Waihopai spybase near Blenheim is a frequent target for dramatic peace protest today, just as it has been since the late 1980s. Waihopai is an electronic intelligence base operated by New Zealand's Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB). New Zealand feeds the electronic intelligence gathered there to its partners in the UKUSA Agreement,(1) including the US National Security Agency (NSA). The Waihopai campaign began to build up around the same time as the opposition to the new frigates, but did not attract the same mass support. Nevertheless, it was a remarkable achievement, unknown elsewhere in the world, for a protest campaign to be mounted against an intelligence base that was yet to be built.(2) The base represents the less obvious face of power and political dominance – the power conferred by superior intelligence capability.

In 1987, when the (Labour) government announced that the base would be built, peace activists objected because we did not believe New Zealand should be supporting global military strategy. Today we know more about the vast scope of the Echelon spying network, and its' "Dictionary" computers programmed to sift vast quantities of messages and seek out selected key words. We are not told how this information is used. But sometimes we have a clear view of how Echelon intelligence is put to nefarious purposes. In 2003 Katharine Gun, a young woman employed by the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), the British counterpart of the GCSB, leaked secret intelligence information hoping that the exposure would help to prevent a looming war. She had found out that the NSA wanted an intelligence "surge" against named UN Security Council member nations, as part of a dirty tricks campaign to get the votes it needed for a new UN resolution authorising military intervention in Iraq.(3)

Owen Wilkes Exposed It

It was thanks to Owen Wilkes* that we learnt about Waihopai and its role. New Zealand defence officials had been working with their Australian counterparts since 1984 on ways to improve signals intelligence interception.(4) They had two new bases in their sights: Waihopai and its "big brother" station at Geraldton in Western Australia. The GCSB managed to keep its plans under wraps while they negotiated for a suitable site for the base. The 31-hectare block of farmland in the picturesque Waihopai Valley near Blenheim was well away from urban-based electrical interference, had dry and salt-free climatic conditions and was close to the Royal New Zealand Air Force Woodbourne base. In November 1987 Prime Minister David Lange agreed to the construction of the base. The public was only let in on the secret the following month, after curious farmers living close to the base site started asking questions of their local National MP. The Prime Minister refused to say more than that the base would be wholly New Zealand owned and controlled and would offer "a new level of sophistication in our independent intelligence capability".(5) In January 1988 concerned local residents were told that the new base would be a "satellite intercept station".(6) *Peace Researcher 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>, is a special tribute issue to Owen, who committed suicide that year. Ed.

Owen Wilkes was soon able to put two and two together. The choice of a quiet location indicated that the base was designed to listen to signals we were not intended to hear. The satellites being targeted would need to be "geosynchronous" (synchronised to the Earth's rotation and hence appearing to hover above the Equator); by a process of elimination he concluded that the base would be targeting the international Intelsat system.(7) Intelsat satellites – which carried the world's telephone, fax and telex systems – are spread right around the globe, so a worldwide network of intercept stations was required to monitor them. The positioning of Waihopai's brother station in Western Australia suggested that between them, the two stations would be able to eavesdrop on satellites across the Indian and Pacific oceans. Owen also emphasised that New Zealand was about to acquire the capacity to spy on private communications emanating from its small Pacific neighbours. The base would not be able to listen to sensitive information such as Fiji's Colonel Rabuka planning his next coup or a French admiral reporting on the state of health of the *Rainbow Warrior's* spies – that information would be encrypted or sent by other secure means. Since the information scooped up at Waihopai would come from civilian rather than military sources, it would provide a pathway for potential interference in the internal democratic processes of sovereign nations: "Big brother GCSB will be working with bigger brother DSD (Australia's Defence Signals Directorate) for Biggest Brother NSA,

the US National Security Agency. Its data will end up being used to undermine whatever privacy, secrecy, independence and sovereignty South Pacific microstates currently enjoy".(8) Owen's reasoning had some unexpected support. Defence Minister Bob Tizard was visiting his Australian counterpart Kim Beazley in March 1988, when he made a faux pas recorded on an Australian radio programme. He publicly confirmed that not only was the base about "satellite interception", but also Geraldton and Waihopai stations were compatible. Beazley made an aside to the media: "Well, you have learnt something new, haven't you?"(9) The leaflets produced to support the anti-Waihopai campaign back in the late 1980s are scarcely out of date today because they stress, as contemporary activists do, that the intelligence information originating from Waihopai is only useful when it is fed into a wider system. The base may be staffed by New Zealanders, but the network is controlled from the US.

There were four national weekend protest actions in 1988, and the pattern was repeated in 1989, with the Wellington and Christchurch Anti-Bases campaigns taking turns to shoulder the main organising role. At the same time, Jim Chapple, veteran Peace Van activist, set up a caravan as a Waihopai mobile information stall. He spent seven months on the road, visiting schools, holding meetings and giving interviews. I attended the first 160-person-strong weekend demonstration organised by the Wellington and Christchurch groups in February 1988. An 18-metre-diameter peace sign was painted on the ground to represent the size of the proposed satellite dish; then we all helped to construct a mini-subdivision of 366 cardboard houses. The little houses were a Limit* initiative and were mostly built by children. For the estimated cost of building the spy base, the Government could provide genuine security for low-income families by building all these houses. Jenny Easton remembers that the houses "came alive" with the golden light of the climatic phenomenon known as the northwest arch.(10) At the time the base site was distinguished only by some survey pegs – a few of which were quietly moved on the day of the action.

**Limit was a Wellington-based women's peace group. It was formed in early 1988 at the time of the broad campaign against the Government's proposal to purchase four hugely expensive frigates. Its members said that real security was about "having enough to eat, somewhere to live, education and a job", not armaments. The name Limit was chosen both as a reference to the need to restrict military spending and also as a play on the word military itself. Limit balance sheets set out frigate costs (and later Waihopai costs) on one side, with social service needs on the other. Instead of frigates and spy bases the money should go to such measures as establishing the 1:20 teacher-pupil ratio in all junior classes or keeping open the 43 hospitals with fewer than 100 beds that were facing closure. Limit actions were always marked by humour and creativity as well as passion. ML.*

Women's Camp & Militant Protest

In May 1988 protest action became more militant – but remained peaceful. On 2 May five activists chained themselves to equipment on the site. Ron Smith was celebrating his 67th birthday: "A dozen of us slept Sunday night in Blenheim (sharing a birthday cake they baked for me) and then proceeded to the site in the icy pre-dawn darkness. There five of us chained ourselves to earth-moving machines. Despite woollen overcoat, scarf, balaclava and gloves, I was freezing. The building contractors arrived at 7 a.m. – there was a time penalty in their contract – abused us and tried to work around us. But we moved to be in their way leading to near violent abuse and threats. We explained that we had nothing against them, but they were real red-necks. After an hour or so they gave up and used their vehicle radio-phone to call the Police. When the four police arrived we refused to move and after another hour's delay (during which the Police contacted the GCSB in Wellington and got authority to evict us) we were arrested".(11)

The women-only peace camp which also began in May was an initiative of May Bass, at the time the Hamilton-based Editor of *Peacelink*, and June Gregg from Timaru. May had taken part in a women's peace camp at Cockburn Sound in Western Australia and both had been to Greenham Common. The two of them sorted out the logistics, hiring some caravans and setting them up on a site made available by a sympathetic farmer. May was delighted that the camp drew in a new section of the women's peace movement – lesbian women, who had great networks to build up the numbers.

There was always a lot of discussion before Waihopai demonstrations. Actions that might result in arrest would signal the depth of commitment and ensure publicity. However, it was accepted that there should be no pressure to join in on an "arrestable" action. The women's first occupation of the construction site took place on 12 May. They had decorated the machinery and the site with peace symbols, flowers and streamers. May and two others who had volunteered for "arrestable" roles climbed on the earth-moving machinery, while the other women encircled them. When the construction workers arrived they were angry. For May it was the first time in her life when she thought she might die. "I've never seen a man so angry – he just came up right close to my face and said 'how dare you, how dare you!' Then he got into the cab of his front-end loader and he drove it at full speed over really rough ground, and I was hanging on for dear life – I daren't look down, it was so frightening".(12) After three or four minutes, the driver stopped his machine and May found herself on the ground, nauseous but otherwise unscathed.

The three women who had clung to machines were all arrested. Amazingly the peace camp kept going from May until September, a total of 117 days in the depths of a Marlborough winter.(13) The women joined in the second national “mixed” protest weekend in May when 200 demonstrators made a massive “No” sign from rocks that had been removed from the site.(14)

There were high profile actions in Wellington too. In June demonstrators briefly occupied the 14th floor of the Ministry of Defence building, site of the GCSB offices. In July some very hardy Waihopai women left a small contingent at the base while they camped instead on the lawn in front of Parliament for two days and two nights. Wearing T-shirts with individual letters, the women spelt out “No Spy Waihopai” on the steps of Parliament and spelt a shorter “No Spy” message at Parliament’s public gallery. A few months later a “GCSB Open Day” was held in front of Parliament, complete with an impromptu information bureau and a scale-model satellite dish pointed at the politicians.(15) Peace groups around the country held local demonstrations or organised to travel together to the protests in the capital. The little town of 366 houses travelled north and was used to demonstrate to Aucklanders how the Waihopai budget could be better spent.

“The Battle Of Waihopai”

This was the headline for the *Christchurch Weekend Star* story about the November 1988 action which was notable for a very strong Police presence. The undaunted activists made an assault on the base at 4.30 a.m. on a Sunday morning, but Police were already on the other side of the fence. Warren Thomson, one of six arrested that night, injured his hand on the barbed wire topping the fence and needed five stitches.(16) In February 1989 the “Waihopai women” called on other women to join them at Parliament to protest about the base and about rising defence expenditure. Five hundred women from all over the country came – sufficient numbers for them to hold hands and encircle the Beehive. By the time of the August 1989 demonstration the first radome had been constructed to cover the satellite dish. The giant white sphere, designed to hide the direction the satellite was pointing, was thereafter a magnet for various kinds of protest missiles, from water balloons to dung and paint bombs.

Attempts to breach base security continued into the 1990s. Sometimes there was success, as in May 1990 when some managed to get over the fence onto Defence land and hold an evening vigil around a campfire. When the Police arrived many of the protesters refused to leave – including 70-year-old Will Foote – and they were bodily carried off by Police.(17) In October 1990 Waihopai was included in the nine-day Touching the Bases Tour which also took in Tangimoana, Black Birch, Harewood and an Owen Wilkes-led day trip around “secret” Wellington. The unique aspect of this information-cum-protest action was that a number of activists from the Asia-Pacific region took part, including several Filipinos and representatives from Bougainville and Fiji. Since I had missed a lot of the 1988 and 1989 Waihopai action I was happy I could take part in this tour and catch up with colleagues from around the country. It was also a great chance to meet with some of the very activists working for a nuclear free and independent Pacific who could well have been targets of UKUSA spying. In fact we really understood the personal determination and commitment of our colleagues when they insisted on walking with us to the 4,500-foot summit of Black Birch ridge in snow and gale conditions. Hardy Christchurch organisers Murray Horton and Warren Thomson became concerned that our guests from tropical climes might suffer hypothermia and worked hard to persuade them to keep their layers of woollen clothing in place even when they felt warm from the strenuous climbing.

After a January 1994 demonstration Murray Horton of the Christchurch ABC was elated, describing it as “the biggest, most militant, best publicised, and generally most successful demo there since 1989”.(18) The demonstration was heavily policed. One policeman even came on horseback – the better to intimidate the demonstrators? This was presumably on his own initiative, as New Zealand does not have a mounted Police force. Several people told me the story of how this officer seized an anarchist flag from a demonstrator and charged off with it like a cavalryman going into battle. Right under the noses of the Police, some demonstrators managed to cut a hole in the barbed-wire-topped fence while others distracted Police attention. Nine were arrested after crawling through into the secure area and dodging the electric-wire back-up fence. Seventeen people had planned a new strategy: they stripped off to the buff and then each person painted a letter on the back of the next person. When they lined up together at the gate the letters spelt out “Uncover The Spybase”. The local press covered the nude action but no one seemed too scandalised. For Murray, the “property damage, nudity, general lack of good manners”(19) was all in the cause of ensuring that attention was focused on an issue that the politicians and media would otherwise ignore. Some Labour MPs who had not spoken up while their party was in Government now expressed their opposition. John Blincoe, Nelson Labour MP, dubbed the base “an ominous blot on the Marlborough landscape” and sought an inquiry.(20)

In 1995 security was tight for the January protests, and the Police enforced a 200-metre security zone outside the base. Despite this a group sat down at the main gates in a “symbolic blockage” as security staff were about to change shifts. The security gate was locked with bicycle D-locks and there were four arrests.(21) The following year

three of the six arrested at the January demonstration were charged with wilful trespass for entering the base security area. In a break with the precedent set over the previous six years, these charges were prosecuted in court. This led to convictions but no penalties, in recognition of the “sincerity” of the protesters.(22)

“Secret Power”: Nicky Hager’s Groundbreaking Book

In 1996 Nicky Hager published his groundbreaking book “Secret Power”, opening huge cracks in the wall of secrecy around Waihopai and New Zealand’s intricate links to the US-led global signals intelligence spying network, the UKUSA Agreement. The GCSB, operator of the Waihopai base, was exposed to scrutiny as never before. “Secret Power” meticulously pieced together information gleaned from open sources and leaks from within the intelligence establishment to build a detailed profile of the South Pacific intelligence operation. In the course of putting New Zealand’s role under the microscope Nicky also revealed much more about the global network than had previously been known and he quickly became an in-demand international intelligence expert. Within a few years, the European Parliament insisted on an investigation into the clandestine system and in 2001 approved a report which confirmed the existence of the Echelon network.

Nicky and his publisher released the work without prior publicity or fanfare to help avoid the possibility of an injunction on sales of the book. Rather than dismiss the accuracy of the carefully documented work, some critics tried to dismiss its content as “old news” – Waihopai was just another aspect of New Zealand’s well-accepted post-war role in carrying out surveillance of the South Pacific. This was a disappointing echo of the arguments used by proponents at the time we first learned about the construction plans in December 1987. Fortunately, TV3 was sufficiently intrigued to send a film crew to film the base covertly. Nicky, presenter John Campbell and the TV cameras were able to get a good view of the operations room through a window.

The Waihopai 20 Case

Activists decided to up the ante for the January 1997 national demonstration. The Anti-Bases Campaign toured prominent British journalist and intelligence expert Duncan Campbell, who highlighted the extent to which the global intelligence network was spying on individuals and commercial enterprises.(23) The presence of Green MP Rod Donald and Labour MP Marian Hobbs at the protest helped to fuel the publicity. They both had an on-site briefing from Nicky Hager. This time I decided it was my turn to take part in an “arrestable” action. A group of us decided to challenge the “security zone” around the base and try to reach the main security fence. We walked across the paddocks singing “Keep on moving forward, never turning back, keep on moving proudly” until the Police caught up with us. Twenty of us were arrested and held in the Blenheim Police Station until the early evening, when we were bailed to appear in the Blenheim District Court on the following Monday. We had a lucky break when Auckland Queen’s Counsel (and veteran prison reform and peace activist) Peter Williams got in touch to offer his help – pro-bono. The Blenheim court – a little unused to such a high-powered legal presence – agreed to delay our court sitting until Williams could get down from Auckland.

A member of the “Waihopai 20” was Mark Roach, veteran of many an effective protest action. One of his specialities was to whip up a really visible demonstration at key moments. “Timing was everything”, he told me, looking back on his activism in the 1980s and 1990s.(24) Just after the action at Waihopai, he and others hung a giant 12-metre banner reading, “Mr Bolger, Tell NZers The Truth About The Waihopai Spy Base” – from the temporary scaffolding erected around the Cenotaph War Memorial, right outside Parliament. The Prime Minister could not have missed it.(25)

Peter Williams mounted a strong case for us at our April trial based on the example of the successful defence mounted in Liverpool for the Ploughshares Four. In 1996 four women had “disarmed” a British Aerospace Hawk aircraft with hammers as a means of drawing attention to the use of Hawk aircraft against the people of occupied East Timor. They claimed their actions were lawful because they served to help prevent a greater crime. Peter Williams’ eloquent defence and exposition about the long and noble tradition of civil disobedience did not sway the judge any more than similar defences run by arrestees such as Ron Smith or Bob Leonard in the previous years. So we were not acquitted, but our “sincerity” was taken into account and 19 of us were convicted and discharged with no further penalty. However, Warren Thomson (“Waihopai Warren”),(26) presumably because of his previous “record”, was fined \$300 for trespass.

In May 1999 Australian TV’s Channel 9 devoted a programme called “Big Brother Is Listening” to the top-secret UKUSA Agreement, forcing a first admission from the Australian Defence Signals Directorate that the Agreement actually existed. Nicky Hager was interviewed extensively, as were other intelligence experts and former US and Canadian spies. In his interview, Nicky emphasised the automated nature of the Waihopai operations: “The phone calls, all the emails, whatever it was that were picked out by the American list [using the Echelon Dictionary system

to search on names/words or numbers] went straight to Washington ... the United States could use, not just indirectly by 'please give us the intelligence you get', but could actually use the foreign countries' facilities as *if they were its own*" (27) (emphasis mine). Although not screened in New Zealand, the programme did generate a number of news stories – particularly covering the official acknowledgement of the existence of the UKUSA Agreement. (28)

No Action From Labour

A Labour-led government returned to power at the end of 1999. Despite the anti-Waihopai campaign support shown by several Labour MPs while in Opposition, the new Government did not respond to challenges to close Waihopai or to re-examine its role. But the Green Party now had two MPs dedicated to putting the spotlight on Waihopai, Party Co-Leader Rod Donald and Keith Locke. Keith reflects: "Waihopai was important for us because it symbolised New Zealand's continuing subordination to the American-led military alliance, despite our anti-nuclear policy and the effective exclusion of New Zealand from Anzus. The Clark government's strategy, whenever we asked Parliamentary questions about the cost and purpose of Waihopai, was to refuse to answer on 'security' grounds. It knew that any real debate on the matter would weaken public support for the spy station. New Zealanders would not be happy to learn that Waihopai operated primarily to serve America's foreign policy interests, not our own". (29)

In the Foreword he contributed to "Secret Power", former Prime Minister David Lange says he was ignorant about Waihopai's role as part of an "integrated electronic network". But a comment about Waihopai in his autobiography indicates he understood some of the function of the base: "In 1987 the Cabinet agreed to build an electronic interception facility at Waihopai to complement the installation we already had at Tangimoana. We did this as part of our obligations under the UKUSA security agreement ... I thought we should build the base because it seemed unwise at the time to further upset the Americans, who were the chief beneficiaries of the information it provided". (30)

Campaign Continues

Demonstrations at Waihopai have been an almost annual feature on the activist calendar since 1988. In 2008 three Waihopai Anzac Ploughshares activists – Father Peter Murnane, Sam Land and Adrian Leason – breached Waihopai's security and deflated one of its two giant domes. (31) In 2010, the "Waihopai Three" were acquitted on a claim of right defence. Their legal travails were not over as the Crown pursued a \$1.2 million award of damages in its favour, mainly repair costs for the damaged dome. (32) An unintended side effect of the destruction of the satellite dish's cover was that locals were able to collect photographs and measurements of the uncovered listening antenna. When these measurements were analysed by a registered surveyor it became clear which satellites were being targeted at different times. Where previously it had been assumed that the targets were always satellites over the Pacific, it now emerged that the base was also listening to satellites in Asia, including areas where Russian, Chinese and Japanese satellites are positioned. For example, on one day in 2009 the experts narrowed down the probable targets to one of two telecommunications satellites – one Vietnamese and the other Japanese. (33) At the time of writing a new law, which would extend the mandate of the GCSB and give it qualified authority to spy on New Zealand citizens, was being debated (*and was passed, in 2013. Ed.*). While a great deal is being made of the need for greater oversight mechanisms for the GCSB, the central issue is the same as it was in 1988, when the GCSB controversy began: New Zealand does not set the agenda for the agency or for Waihopai; the US does. I am one of many peace activists who first protested at Waihopai back in 1988 and continue to do so today. So long as Waihopai intercepts civilian communications on behalf of the UKUSA partners and the New Zealand people have no say over its operation, it is a fair bet that the campaign to close the base will continue.

Endnotes

1. The UKUSA parties are US, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.
2. Nicky Hager, "Secret Power", Craig Potton, Nelson, 1996, 182.
3. M. Bright, "The Woman Who Nearly Stopped A War", *New Statesman*, 19/3/08: www.newstatesman.com/blogs/martin-bright/2008/03/katharine-gun-iraq-war-gchq
4. Hager, "Secret Power", 180. They also agreed on a need for improved anti-submarine surveillance.
5. David Lange, press statement, 2/12/87 (author's personal collection).
6. *NZ Herald*, 28/1/88.
7. Owen ruled out spying on US or French military satellites, since the equipment would be supplied by the US, and most Soviet satellites were not geosynchronous or would be better intercepted from other US facilities.
8. Owen Wilkes, "Big Brother Will Be Listening From The Waihopai Valley", *Peacelink* 60 (April 1988), 6–8.
9. Bronwen Reid, "Chatters Of State", *Listener*, 21/5/88, 26–28.
10. Interview with Jenny Easton, 28/10/12.
11. Smith and Orsman, "Working Class Son", 193.

12. Interview with May Bass, 30/8/12.
13. June Gregg, "Women's Camp Update", *Peacelink* 66 (October 1988), 16.
14. Ibid., *Peacelink* 62 (June 1988), 7.
15. "Regional News", *Peacelink* 68 (December 1988), 29.
16. *Christchurch Weekend Star*, 3/12/88.
17. S. Blyth, "Waihopai Protest May 1990", *Peacelink* 83 (July 1990), 24–25.
18. *Foreign Control Watchdog* 75, April 1994, 3.
19. Ibid., 3
20. M. Horton, "Waihopai Spybase Protest: Testicles Dangled; Bums Bared; Horse Mounted", *Foreign Control Watchdog* 75 (April 1994), 3–4.
21. *Peace Researcher* 4 (March 1995), 2–5.
22. *Foreign Control Watchdog* 82 (August 1996), 50.
23. *Press*, 20/1/97.
24. Mark Roach, personal communication, 6/4/12.
25. *NZ Herald*, 28/1/97.
26. Murray Horton titled a 1991 profile of Warren Thomson "Waihopai Warren" to signify his passionate commitment to the anti-Waihopai campaign and his 1988 and 1989 arrests for jumping the security fence, *Peacelink* 98 (December 1991), 29–31.
27. *Peace Researcher* 19/20 (November/December 1999), 10–14.
28. TV2 covered the issue in a quirky "Big Sellout Tour Of New Zealand" series.
29. Keith Locke, personal communication, 22/3/13.
30. David Lange, "My Life", Viking, Auckland/New York, 2005, 227.
31. A second satellite dish and "golf ball" radome was added to the complex in 1998.
32. September 2011 judgment was awarded against the Waihopai Three in a Crown civil suit. However, the suit was withdrawn, in February 2014.
33. Nicky Hager, "Spies On The Ground Beat Ears In The Sky", *Sunday Star-Times*, 24/1/10.



A Few Filipino Bishops (& One Kiwi Domebuster) Meet To Resist US Intervention

Peace Researcher 47 – August 2014

- Peter Murnane

Father Peter Murnane, Adrian Leason and Sam Land are the three Catholic peace activists who deflated one of the Waihopai spy base's domes in April 2008. They were acquitted of all criminal charges by a Wellington jury in 2010; so then the spy agency which operates Waihopai, the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), sued them personally for the \$1.2 million cost of replacing the dome. This civil suit wound its way through the court system until, in February 2014, the State threw in the towel and dropped the suit. Ed.

To receive an invitation to the Philippines, fare paid, was surprise enough. My amazement increased when I saw that the invitation was to a January 2014 conference organised by bishops, on the topic of resisting US intervention. In the past, certain bishops have not been at all happy with the nonviolent direct actions I have taken part in; not least the April 2008 Ploughshares action that briefly disabled the US National Security Agency-directed spy base at Waihopai. The invite was so unusual that I did a brief check: yes, there really *is* an *Ecumenical Bishops' Forum*. It was not, as one friend suggested, a US Central Intelligence Agency trick to get me out of the country - they are too busy with Julian Assange and Edward Snowden. So, from my remote address in the Western Solomon Islands, I made my way to Manila, then to Davao City on the southern island of Mindanao, where more than 30 bishops from diverse churches and half a dozen countries gathered to look hard at the damage being done by the USA through its military and corporations in Philippine ports and rural areas.

Two of the Catholic bishops who founded this Forum were present. It is now in its thirtieth year. Most of the others were from Protestant churches around the Philippines, but two colourfully-gowned Syrian bishops from Kerala in India brightened up the room, and the Anglican Archbishop of Quebec was inspiring in his awareness of the deeper social and political realities. It was good to hear a bishop from Sri Lanka telling something of that country's tragic story. I found it sad that these men probably did not represent the mainstream of episcopal thinking but were more than likely marginalised for their views.

It Was Not Armchair Stuff

On the first day the bishops set off in three directions to look at facts on the ground. Those who headed for a destructive mining zone were put on the backs of motor-bikes, and rode muddy hill tracks, often above terrifying ravines. Armed guards turned them back at a road block. It seems the benefits that US mining business brings to the Philippines are too sensitive to be seen by the public, least of all church leaders who might help the people towards solidarity and opposition. To keep their secrets, they have often used violence, death threats, and "extra-judicial killings". The bishops had to be content to meet members of local indigenous communities and small-scale miners whose land and livelihoods are being destroyed by the huge St Augustine Gold and Copper Ltd.

A second group heard from workers whom the Dole fruit company is exploiting by paying low wages and denying them security. They heard too about the *genetically modified organisms* (GMOs) that are being used in agriculture without sufficient testing, and huge potential damage that they could cause. Another group visited the port environs and heard from those among the poorer populace who had experienced the impact of thousands of crew members from US ships who often land for leave. This always leads to local women and girls being exploited for the "recreation" of US personnel.

Although US military bases were expelled from the Philippines more than 20 years ago, the Visiting Forces Agreement already gives the Navy access to even more ports than before, and the US is negotiating for still wider presence. Within the Mutual Logistics and Support Agreement the US is constantly angling for a firmer foothold, for it plans to station 60% of its naval forces in the Pacific "to defend itself against China". The Philippines is the most convenient focus for this. So as to better "defend democracy" and "preserve global peace and security" they are already using drones – remotely controlled pilotless aircraft that spy and/or kill – but the people and mayors of Mindanao - where Davao City is located - are so far strongly resisting their use.

Social Destruction

The bishops, putting aside any differences, reflected on the social destruction caused by this new US "invasion" of their country. Their published statement listed the evidence; then challenged representatives of the USA in the

Philippines to recognise the serious harm the US military and transnational corporations are doing to people and environment. The bishops also appealed directly to those who *invest* in transnational companies to examine carefully what their money is doing. Their statement also spoke to those who come to the Philippines to work for the US military or transnationals. Recognising that poverty often forces people to work in such damaging jobs, the bishops called on the Philippines government to help them to find alternatives.

Finally, this small, courageous group of church leaders pointed to their own basic principle of living as “to love God in our fellow human beings” and called on all other bishops, all Christians, and other believers to stand in solidarity with them.

The Terrorism Suppression Act And Criminalisation Of National Liberation Groups

Peace Researcher 47 – August 2014

- Cameron Walker

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The term “terrorism” is problematic because it is both descriptive and pejorative. It can be used to describe horrific behaviour that ought to be widely condemned, such as the indiscriminate attacks of 9/11 or the 2002 Bali bombing but it also has been used to denounce groups who have engaged in armed struggles, without regular resort to killing civilians, in countries where means of peaceful change have been thwarted by State repression. During the solidarity campaigns to oppose apartheid and Indonesia’s occupation of East Timor, New Zealand human rights activists supported overseas organisations denounced as terrorists by the New Zealand government and other Western leaders.

British Prime Minister [Margaret Thatcher](#), US President [Ronald Reagan](#) and New Zealand’s Prime Minister Robert Muldoon referred to the African National Congress in South Africa as a terrorist organisation. Senior [National Party MPs continued to denounce the ANC](#) as terrorists right up until 1990. Despite this the New Zealand anti-apartheid group Halt All Racist Tours (HART) organised a “Keep A Soldier In The Field Campaign” to openly raise money for the armed struggle of the African National Congress and South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) against the South African government. Armed struggle against apartheid was conducted both within South Africa and neighbouring African countries, where the South African Defence Forces conducted bloody military interventions.(1) *Namibia was then known as South West Africa and occupied by apartheid South Africa. Ed.*

In 1993 Ministry of External Affairs and Trade officials provided memos to then Foreign Affairs Minister Don McKinnon describing East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao as a “self confessed terrorist” after New Zealand East Timor solidarity activists urged the New Zealand government to call on Indonesia to release him.(2) Indonesia’s military occupation of East Timor from 1975 to 1999 was renowned for its brutality, [killing almost a third](#) of the tiny country’s pre-invasion population.

Passing Of The Terrorism Suppression Act

With this history in mind, a number of submitters to the Select Committee considering the Terrorism Suppression Act in 2002 [expressed concerns](#) that the legislation could potentially be used against those who support an overseas liberation movement unpopular with the New Zealand government of the day. To ease these concerns an avoidance of doubt clause was inserted into the sections that made it an offence to [provide funds](#) or make [property and financial services available](#) to terrorists. The avoidance of doubt clauses in s 8(2) and s 10(2) stated that it was not an offence to collect funds or make property available “intending it be used, or knowing it would be used for the purpose of advocating democratic government or the protection of human rights and that is not involved in any way in carrying out terrorist acts”.(3)

However, these sections were repealed by the Terrorism Suppression Act Amendment Act of 2007 increasing the possibility the legislation could criminalise people involved in a just international solidarity campaign. The Amendment Act of 2007 also made it so that the Prime Minister has both the power to [make terrorism designations](#) and is responsible for reviewing them every three years, whereas in the original Act the High Court performed this role. Terrorist designations expire after three years and may be [renewed by the Prime Minister](#).

Terrorist Designations

The Terrorism Suppression Act was hotly discussed when the Amendment Act was passed, because only a few weeks beforehand the Police made an unsuccessful attempt to charge a number of Maori, environmental and anarchist activists arrested in Operation 8 (also referred to as the “Urewera raids”) with terrorism offences under the Act*. Sadly since then public debate on the Act has largely gone silent, which has meant the National government has been able to enthusiastically designate overseas groups without much critical scrutiny.

*Peace Researcher *intermittently covered the “Urewera terrorists” case since the ridiculous military-style 2007 Police raids throughout NZ, but primarily in Ruatoki, in Tuhoe country. We last wrote about it in PR 42, November*

2011 (*"The Covert State Must Not Be Severely Embarrassed. Government Drops Charges Versus 'Terrorists' And Changes Law To Legalise Illegality"*, by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/42/pr42-003.htm>). Of the 18 people charged, one died while awaiting trial, and 13 had all charges against them dismissed before trial, on the grounds that the evidence was illegally obtained. That left four, who finally stood trial in 2012 and were convicted of the lesser charges against them, namely of firearms offences (the jury could not reach a verdict on the more serious charge of belonging to an organised criminal group). The two Maori defendants, including Tame Iti, were jailed for 2½ years; the two Pakeha ones got nine months of home detention.

The Independent Police Conduct Authority (IPCA) report into the 2007 Ruatoki raids was released in May 2013 (after the two imprisoned defendants had served their sentences and been released). "The IPCA considered the launching of the investigation in 2005 'reasonable and necessary'. But the report found Police searches, vehicle stops, roadblocks and photographs taken in Tuhoe country on October 15, 2007, unlawful, unjustified and unreasonable. Roadblocks were indiscriminate, intimidating and 'added to people's fear and anxiety' in Ruatoki. Photographs of 66 drivers and 15 passengers taken at the roadblocks – in some instances including children – were not part of Police operation planning and had not been discussed. Searches carried out at five properties were also deemed unlawful, as were Police unreasonably detaining family members of suspects" (Press, 23/5/13, "Urewera Report: Children Recall Raid Fear", Mike Watson). Ed.

Since 2010 John Key has used this power to designate a number of organisations not on the UN Consolidated List of Al-Qaeda entities, a departure from the Clark era when only organisations on the UN list were designated. [Designated groups](#) now include the [Kurdistan Workers Party](#) (PKK), who have been battling Turkey for an autonomous Kurdish homeland since 1984; the Colombian Marxist guerrilla groups, the [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia](#) (FARC) and [National Liberation Army](#) (ELN); the [Communist Party of the Philippines](#) (CPP) and its armed wing the New People's Army (NPA) which have been fighting the Philippine government since 1969; as well as Palestinian groups including the armed wing of Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade. The causes, ideologies and modus operandi of these groups are very different to the indiscriminate Al-Qaeda style terrorism that the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 was supposedly enacted to combat. Designations last three years and can be renewed by the Prime Minister. All the groups designated in 2010 were re-designated in 2013.

Terrorist Acts

To designate a group, the Prime Minister has to be satisfied on [reasonable grounds](#) the entity has knowingly carried out or participated in at least one "terrorist act". The definition of a "terrorist act" in [section 5](#) of the Act has been described as "awkward and multifaceted" by the former Dean of Victoria Law School, Matthew Palmer.⁽⁴⁾ The Human Rights Commission recently described the definition and other terms within the Act as "open to interpretation" thus having the potential to be "applied very broadly by law enforcement and intelligence officials".⁽⁵⁾

According to section 5 the act must be carried out with the purpose of advancing an "ideological, political, or religious cause" with the intention to:

- (a) induce terror in a civilian population; or
- (b) to unduly compel or to force a government or an international organisation to do or abstain from doing any act.

Furthermore the act must be intended to cause one of the following outcomes:

- (a) the death of, or other serious bodily injury to, one or more persons (other than a person carrying out the act):
- (b) a serious risk to the health or safety of a population:
- (c) destruction of, or serious damage to, property of great value or importance, or major economic loss, or major environmental damage, if likely to result in one or more outcomes specified in paragraphs (a), (b), and (d):
- (d) serious interference with, or serious disruption to, an infrastructure facility, if likely to endanger human life:

(e) introduction or release of a disease-bearing organism, if likely to devastate the national economy of a country.

Law Of Armed Conflict Exemption

An avoidance of doubt clause was inserted to provide guidance in places of armed conflict. Section 5(4) states that an act is not a terrorist act if: "it occurs in a situation of armed conflict and is, at the time and in the place that it occurs, in accordance with rules of international law applicable to the conflict". However, this section alone is insufficient to protect legitimate national liberation groups from designation. The [designation papers](#) compiled by the NZ government's Terrorism Designations Working Group have interpreted section 5(4) to mean compliance with the [1949 Geneva Conventions](#) and [Additional Protocol II \(1977\)](#) to the Geneva Conventions, which regulates the conduct of civil conflicts.

Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Convention outlaws the taking of hostages, extrajudicial killings and other inhumane treatment either by State parties or non-State armed forces.(6) Under Article 1 of the 1977 Conventions a non-State armed force, in order to implement the Convention, must be under responsible command; and exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations'.(7) Article 2 of the Convention, states that it strictly covers instances of sustained armed conflict and does apply to internal disturbances such as riots or sporadic instances of violence.(8)

Edre Olalia, a prominent human rights lawyer in the Philippines who has defended Leftwing rebels and political activists accused of terrorism, has criticised the Convention's line of reasoning on the need to hold and maintain control of a territory for being based on the strict assumptions of conventional warfare and disregarding the special features of guerrilla warfare.(9) Many guerrilla campaigns against military occupations or authoritarian governments, including those in South Africa and East Timor would have been too sporadic to be covered under these rules.

Terrorism Designation Papers

Before the Prime Minister makes a designation, the [Terrorism Suppression Working Group](#), a group chaired by the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, including officials from the Police, Crown Law, the Security Intelligence Service (SIS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Justice and the External Assessments Bureau, produces a paper providing the legal rationale for the designation. Following designation the papers are [published on the Police website](#). The Working Group has interpreted the Section 5 definition of a terrorist act to cover many different types of action. Some of the actions fit common public notions of terrorism, such as [suicide bombings on civilians](#) by the Somali Muslim fundamentalist group Al-Shabaab. However, some of the other actions are in cloudier territory such as a [jail break](#) by guerrillas by Colombia's Leftwing National Liberation Army (ELN) or the [NPA](#) shooting armed security guards and sabotaging mining equipment of a company accused of abusing the environment and committing violence against small miners in the southern Philippines.

Organisations, such as the CPP/NPA, who have tried to avoid civilian casualties during their attacks on military and police units, are lumped in the same "terrorist" category as groups whose attacks have been aimed at killing as many civilians as possible. As it is the Prime Minister who gets to decide who is designated, political considerations, rather than a sincere consideration of public safety, are strong deciding factors of which groups are designated. It appears the designations made by the US, European Union and Australia have also been a strong influence on New Zealand's designations list. An internal document from the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet discussing the designation of the Communist Party of the Philippines and New People's Army notes: "Among New Zealand's close security partners the NPA/ CPP has been proscribed as a designated terrorist entity in the European Union and the United States of America."(10) In 2006 Murray McCully criticised the then Labour government for not designating all the groups that New Zealand's overseas "security partners" (i.e. the US and Australia) had.(11)

Criminal Offences Triggered By Terrorist Designations

Once a group is designated it becomes a criminal offence to [deal with the property of the group](#), [make property or financial services available to the group](#), [recruit members](#) to the group or [participate in the group](#). Whether or not fundraising for a designated group would constitute an offence is uncertain because the section [prohibiting the financing of terrorism](#) does not make an explicit reference to designated terrorist entities but instead says it is an offence to "provide or collect funds intending that they benefit, or knowing that they will benefit, an entity that the person knows is an entity that carries out, or participates in the carrying out of, one or more terrorist acts".

As only one “terrorist act” is required, had this legislation existed in the 1980s the Muldoon government might have designated the ANC based on the 1983 [Church Street bombing](#); when the ANC’s armed wing bombed the Pretoria offices of the South African Air Force, killing 16, including civilian passers-by heading home from work in rush hour traffic. If the group had been designated, New Zealanders who donated money or provided other practical support to the ANC to support their broader political and armed struggle against apartheid could have potentially been prosecuted.

Mistaking Colombian And Philippine Activists For Terrorists

Many of the designated groups hail from countries where democratic freedoms have been curtailed and opposition activists have been branded as terrorist supporters and detained under measures ostensibly enacted to fight terrorism.(12) Therefore information from the authorities in these countries about alleged supporters of terrorism may be unreliable. References included in the 2010 FARC and 2013 CPP/NPA designation papers give the impression that the Terrorism Designations Working Group has not given sufficient consideration to the regular labelling of Left-leaning political figures in Colombia and the Philippines as supporters of terrorism by the State security forces and may be prone to taking unreliable information at face value.(13)

Liliana Obando And Persecution In Colombia

A section of the [FARC paper](#) entitled “Regional presence/links with New Zealand citizens” (para 78) claimed: “there are undoubtedly people in Australia and New Zealand who are sympathetic to FARC’s cause”. It continued: “There are some tenuous indications of person-to-person links regarding the FARC and/or the social conditions which help underpin the FARC, but nothing concrete is known to exist”. The paragraph concludes with a reference to a news story about a “Colombian woman who visited Australia in 2005 and 2007 as a representative of a farm workers’ peak union body” being arrested in Bogota, Colombia, and charged with “covert offshore fundraising” for the FARC. This is a reference to the case of [Liliana Obando](#), a mother of two and sociologist who was working for Fensuagro, Colombia’s agricultural workers’ union.

Obando had undertaken speaking tours in Canada and Australia to discuss the repression of trade unions in Colombia. One week prior to her arrest in 2008 she had released a report [documenting the murder of 1,500 unionists](#) by Rightwing paramilitaries with the support of Government forces. During her imprisonment from 2008 to 2012 she received a large amount of support within Colombia and overseas. Amnesty International described her charges as “trumped up” and [100 British MPs, lawyers and trade union leaders](#) signed a letter to Colombia’s President calling for her release.

The Colombian authorities claimed that Obando’s name appeared in documents from the infamous [FARC laptop](#) retrieved from a FARC camp in Ecuador that the Colombian Armed Forces bombed in 2008, killing Raul Reyes, a leading FARC commander. According to the Colombian government the laptop, which miraculously survived the bombing, showed links between the FARC and a large number of opposition figures as well as overseas trade unions and political parties. The Colombian Supreme Court in 2011 [declared the files from the laptop to be inadmissible](#) as evidence in the case of a Colombian Congressman charged with supporting the FARC, because the files’ authenticity could not be verified and they were gathered without regard to proper legal procedure.

“Philippine Communists Running For Senate”

The October 2013 [paper advising the re-designation](#) of the Communist Party of the Philippines and New People’s Army included a discussion of an alleged rift within the leadership of the Communist Party over what balance it should give to armed struggle in relation to political action. The paper states at paragraph 19 that: “...tensions flared up in 2010, when CPP members stood for Senate election for the first time”. The reference for this claim is an article in [Small Wars Journal](#) by a former Armed Forces of the Philippines analyst, which discusses an alleged rift in the Communist Party over raising money for the Senate campaigns of the Leftwing candidates Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza. The article provides no references for its claims of a rift within the CPP over the election or the Party raising money for Ocampo and Maza’s Senate campaign.

During the 2010 elections former Congress representatives Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza [stood for the Senate as guest candidates](#) on the ticket of the Nacionalista Party. They failed to win Senate seats but their campaign garnered much attention in the national media, as their Leftwing political programme and activist backgrounds made them stand out amongst their more traditional opponents. In the Philippines a portion of the Congress is reserved for small parties, known as partylists, which represent marginalised sectors of society and are elected using a proportional electoral system. Between 2001 and 2010 Maza was a Congresswoman for the [Gabriela](#) partylist, which represents women, and Ocampo represented the Leftwing nationalist [Bayan Muna](#) partylist.

During their three terms in Congress Ocampo and Maza were accused by Rightwing opponents of being sympathisers or even outright supporters of the country's ongoing Communist insurgency. Over the past decade Bayan Muna and Gabriela members, like members of other Leftwing organisations in the Philippines, have been assassinated in extrajudicial killings and subject to other forms of State harassment.⁽¹⁴⁾ Ocampo and Maza were subject to particularly harsh criticism during the 2010 election campaign from retired General and fellow Senate candidate Jovito Palparan, who warned of the "dire consequences that may befall" the Philippines if Ocampo and Maza were elected. General Palparan, a fanatical anti-Communist, earned the moniker "Butcher Palparan" in the mid 2000s due to the extensive human rights abuses committed by forces under his command in Central Luzon. He is currently a fugitive from the law after being [charged with the kidnap and disappearance](#) of two young female university students. *He was arrested and imprisoned in August 2014, after having been on the run for more than two years, doubtless comfortably sheltered by his mates in the military and the death squads. He literally knows where the bodies are buried. Ed.*

Misuse Of Anti-Terrorist Law Overseas

In other Western jurisdictions counter-terrorism law has been misused to target international human rights activists and migrants who have fled from repressive regimes. A representative of the Australian Federal Police was sent to [Bogota to interrogate Liliy Obando](#). In Melbourne in 2010 the homes of Kurdish residents and a Kurdish community centre [were raided by Australian Federal Police](#) looking for links between the Australian Kurdish community and the PKK. Similar scenes were repeated in the US later that year when [FBI agents raided](#) the homes of anti-war and Palestine solidarity activists searching for links between the activists and the [Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine](#) (PFLP) and FARC.

In Australia mere association with someone who is a member of a designated terrorist organisation can be punished by up to three years in prison. ⁽¹⁵⁾ The US Supreme Court held in 2010 that providing information on non-violent conflict resolution to a designated organisation, such as the PKK, would constitute providing "material support" to terrorists.⁽¹⁶⁾ New Zealand's Terrorism Suppression Act is milder than its Australian and US equivalents. However, the wide discretion it gives to the Prime Minister to designate a terrorist group and its wide definition of what constitutes a terrorist act raises the possibility the Act could be misused.

Potential Misuse In NZ

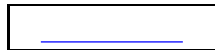
The out of context references to Liliy Obando and the Leftwing Philippine Senate candidates, in the papers prepared by the Terrorism Designations Working Group, raise concerns that the Police and SIS might uncritically accept claims linking political activists to terrorism. Unreliable information has led the New Zealand authorities on previous occasions to falsely accuse people of terrorist links. In 2002 the [Algerian asylum seeker Ahmed Zaoui was sent to prison](#), after arriving in New Zealand, when the Police found his name included on the Website of the American conspiracy theorist and cult leader Lyndon LaRouche. The Terrorism Suppression Act was initially passed when the Labour Party was in Government and now National has used it to enthusiastically designate many groups. Both major parties bear responsibility for this law and therefore should be put under pressure to repeal it

For Anti-Bases Campaign's submissions on the Terrorism Suppression Act and the two Terrorism Suppression Amendment Acts, all written by Bob Leonard, see <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/abcterr.htm>, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/subtsa.html> and <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/terramend.pdf> Ed.

Endnotes

1. The University of Canterbury's Halt All Racist Tours Collection includes a number of pieces of correspondence relating to the Keep a Soldier In The Field campaign.
2. Maire Leadbeater, "Negligent Neighbour: New Zealand's Complicity In The Invasion And Occupation of Timor-Leste" (Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, 2006) at 148. *Reviewed by Jeremy Agar in Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141b.html>. Ed.*
3. Alex Conte, "Counter-Terrorism And Human Rights In New Zealand" (New Zealand Law Foundation, Wellington, 2007) at 360.
4. Matthew Palmer "Counter-Terrorism Law" [2002] NZLJ 456 at 457.
5. Human Rights Commission "Operation 8: A Human Rights Analysis" (December 2013) at 79.
6. Convention (I) for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field. Geneva (12 August 1949), art 3.
7. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) (8 June 1977.), art 1.

8. Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II) (8 June 1977.), art 2.
9. Edre U Olalia, "The Status In International Law Of National Liberation Movements And Their Use Of Armed Force" (International Association of People's Lawyers, Utrecht, 2002) at 18.
10. The Chair: Officials' Domestic and External Security Committee "Recommended Renewal of Designations Under S35 Terrorism Suppression Act: New People's Army/Communist Party of the Philippines (sic) (NPA/CPP) at 46 (Obtained under Official Information Act 1982 Request to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet).
11. (14 June 2006) 631 NZPD 3543.
12. In Turkey and Israel/the Occupied Territories overly broad anti-terrorist legislation aimed at the PKK and Palestinian militant groups has been used to detain unarmed Kurdish and Palestinian opposition activists.
13. For further discussion of human rights abuses in the Philippines and Colombia see: "Death Squads Target Trade Unions And Progressive Groups In The Philippines" and "New Zealand Defence Force Plan To Sell Arms To Colombia Should Raise Alarm Bells".
14. William N Holden "Ashes From The Phoenix: State Terrorism And The Partylist Groups In The Philippines" (2009) 15 *Contemporary Politics* 377 at 383.
15. Criminal Code Act 1995 (Cth), s 102.8.
16. Holder v Humanitarian Law Project 2010 WL 2471055 (US) (SC).



Peace, Power & Politics How New Zealand Became Nuclear Free by Maire Leadbeater, Otago University Press, 2013

At the start Maire Leadbeater writes that she intends this history of the New Zealand peace movement to be a continuation of her mother's "Peace People", a story which ended at 1975. Leadbeater takes us from then till the present. So partly she is paying tribute to her mum, the marvellous Elsie Locke*. They're both excellent witnesses and although comparisons are odious, one might be ventured. Reflecting perhaps developments in technology, "Peace, Power & Politics" is a more colourful and attractive presentation. It's a handsome book, full of illustrations, cartoons and posters from the various campaigns, achieved with no loss of the thoroughness that marked Locke's book *Murray Horton's obituary of Elsie Locke is in Peace Researcher 23, June 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/elsobit.htm>; his review of Maureen Birchfield's "Looking For Answers: A Life Of Elsie Locke" is in PR 39, January 2010, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr39-183a.htm>; and his review of Elsie's "Peace People" is in Foreign Control Watchdog 71, November 1992, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-november-1992.html>. Ed.

Of course both mother and daughter were/are activists. Usually when public figures put out books it's to justify themselves. The political autobiography is seldom a reliable record of "the life and times". Usually the text been drafted by a ghost writer, so we're never quite sure whose voice we're hearing. With Leadbeater there's no such problem. Unlike the self-serving inflating of politicians' egos, the power she's writing about is the power of the people of New Zealand. Here the situation is reversed, the author having largely written herself out of her history. She's not in the copious index, though she can't help but appear in some of the photographs. The commitment is to the cause rather than to the career.

This modesty means that the campaigns with which the author was personally involved are given the same sort of emphasis that another historian might have given them. Leadbeater's long and consistent experience has been informed by an appreciation that what we call the peace movement takes many forms. At the core of the book is a balance, a judicious linking of the various themes. On the cover is a tribute from Nicky Hager to the effect that "I cannot think of anyone better to have written this history".

Neither can I. Leadbeater was long involved in the country's most well-known advocacy, for a nuclear-free New Zealand. She's also published "Negligent Neighbour" (*reviewed by Jeremy in Peace Researcher 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141b.html> Ed.*), her 2006 account of the travails of Timor Leste, a topic she leaves out this time round. Her fluency and her unassuming proximity to all the main currents in the flow of our recent history make her an excellent guide.

Remarkably, The Policy Remains Intact

1975 was a good place to start, that being the year when the Peace Squadron first set sail from Auckland's Mission Bay to protest against nuclear ship visits. NZ was nuclear-free by then, but policy was teetering, with the PM, Bill Rowling, saying that the Government was about to "re-examine" matters. The decades following, when pressure on succeeding Governments seldom relented, are the main topic of "Peace, Power & Politics". Remarkably, the policy remains intact. Leadbeater shows us why. Her account pays tribute to the ingenuity and determination of public protest. This is very much history from the bottom up. While there are several names that deservedly recur in her story, peace activism in NZ has been marked by its spontaneous and non-hierarchical nature.

1975 was also the year when the New Zealand Foundation for Peace Studies was launched, a detail that's significant in this context in that it's a reminder of how activism and analysis have tended to complement each other. Another event from that year was the Maori land march led by Whina Cooper. That gets a mention too, a mutual linking of peace and justice themes being another recurring theme. And 1975 marked the election of the Muldoon National government, after a campaign in which television ads showed those notorious dancing Cossacks. Radicals were stirring and that meant that the Russians would come (Cossacks were in fact violently anti-Communist, but never mind). Muldoon hated peaceniks and wanted to outlaw "political" strikes or strikes that had the potential to

“inflict inconvenience on the community”, while his new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Brian Talboys, wasn’t about to endorse the drive for a South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone, letting it be known, mysteriously, that “one might as well seek the creation of a Devil-free zone”. Yet just a decade later, in January 1985, NZ was officially declared nuclear-free. Leadbeater’s account of how the change came about is absorbing reading. Tactics were often imaginative. In 1981 Devonport, host to the NZ Navy, became the first local authority to declare itself nuclear free. Other Auckland boroughs followed suit. The next year Christchurch became the first major city to be a nuclear-free zone, with Wellington and Manukau doing so soon after. It was becoming clear that at the grassroots the peace movement was widely supported. Other ideas were to declare houses, schools and businesses nuke-free.

Owen Wilkes: Peace Researcher Without Peer

Meanwhile, from Norway, Owen Wilkes (see PR 31, October 2005, *Special Issue on Owen Wilkes*, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>. Ed.) reported that the US Navy’s plan to build a “transit facility” on the Black Birch mountain range near Blenheim was needed, as the Yanks put matters, “to obtain the location of the stars in the Southern Hemisphere with the increased accuracy that is required for military purposes” This “increased accuracy” was not part of the proclaimed deterrence policy. It could have been needed only in order to hit enemy missiles in their silos, something you do only if you are planning for a first-strike capacity. In March 1982, the Campaign Against Foreign Control In New Zealand (CAFCINZ, now the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa – CAFCA), held a public meeting in Blenheim to alert the locals, and in 1986 CAFCA scaled the barren peaks and put up a banner with the slogan “Star Gazing Yes – Star Wars No” (*for more details, see Maire Leadbeater’s article “Our History As An Anti-Bases Campaign: From CAFMANZ to CAFCINZ To CAFCA [& Then To ABC]” in Foreign Control Watchdog 135, April 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/35/09.html> Ed.*)

Another example of Wilkes’ cunning was his hunch that a group of antennae must exist somewhere in the country. A long established Defence communications base near Waiouru was an obvious bet, but when film makers Alister Barry, Russell Campbell and Rod Prosser approached the perimeter fence a disembodied voice told them to scram (*they were researching their seminal 1980s’ Vanguard Films documentary “Islands Of The Empire”. Ed.*). Barry checked phone directories, where he noted that several radio operators who had worked from Waiouru now had addresses near Foxton Beach. That’s how the Tangimoana base was found at the mouth of the Rangitikei River.

Leadbeater outlines the struggle of public opinion to halt a proposal to buy Anzac frigates for somewhere around \$2 billion. The NZ Navy did need some new vessels to patrol the economic zone and perhaps they’d be useful for disaster relief, but these were tasks for which frigates are unsuitable. They were “blue water” fighting ships – valued for their role in providing anti-submarine protection for large groups of allied warships. But since there was no submarine threat or actual or potential threat of invasion, the frigates seemed destined to be used to keep our allies happy and pave the way for our Navy to continue playing war games in South East Asia. Naturally enough, defence officials were keen to support the Australian proposal for precisely the reason that peace activists were opposed – the frigates would be a ticket back into major exercises with at least some of our traditional allies”. Leadbeater is referring to the US and Australia, this being the period when in public the Lange government was dithering over whether to allow nuclear-armed ships to visit our ports, prompting all those much photographed peace flotillas. However, hidden from public scrutiny, Tangimoana and Black Birch were secretly being commissioned to herd NZ into complicity with a US global war-fighting capability.

“In 1987”, Lange wrote in his autobiography, quoted here, “the Cabinet agreed to build an electronic interception facility at Waihopai to complement the installation we already had at Tangimoana. We did this as part of our obligations under the UKUSA security agreement ... I thought we should build the base because it seemed unwise at the time to further upset the Americans who were the chief beneficiaries of the information it provided”. Note the reference to UKUSA (*now commonly called Five Eyes. Ed.*). There’s no NZ. The Prime Minister did not think the spy bases were connected to his country’s interests. Waihopai was a sort of Guantanamo.

Book Most Welcome Addition To Our National Library

Wilkes predicted that “Big Brother GCSB (Government Communications Security Bureau) will be working with bigger brother DSD (Defence Signals Directorate, now the Australian Signals Directorate) for bigger Brother the US National Security Agency (NSA). Its data will end up being used to undermine whatever privacy, secrecy, independence and sovereignty South Pacific micro-states currently enjoy”. Yes, it all sounds very contemporary; it’s something we all are now aware of. But Wilkes was writing in 1988 when analyses of such accuracy were ridiculed. We’ve been lied to for a generation. This book is a most welcome addition to our national library. NZ’s peace activists have done much to forge our identity as a mature, sovereign, democratic nation and reflecting on their journey would be a wise thing to do in an election year.

No Place To Hide

Edward Snowden, The NSA And The Surveillance State

by Glenn Greenwald, Hamish Hamilton, London and New York, 2014

This important book made the news shortly after Edward Snowden revealed to the world what the spies were up to. Glenn Greenwald is a journalist with a track record of researching what he calls the “surveillance State”. That’s the National Security Agency (NSA) in the USA, the outfit that watches the world, along with its “Five Eyes” partners, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Snowden contacted him anonymously, feeling out whether Greenwald, and his newspaper, the UK’s *Guardian*, would serve as a conduit for the top secret files that he wanted the world to know about. He couldn’t reveal who he was or what he knew till he was sure that he’d found the right man. And until that confidence was established, Greenwald couldn’t know who was sending him messages or what they might be about. The first section of this engrossing book follows these exchanges. Eventually they met, in Snowden’s Hong Kong hotel, and the partnership was established.

Snowden had access to the most secret stuff in the world of the spies. To quit, emigrate, and spill all took immense courage. He knew that the US government would make every effort to get him back and lock him up. From Greenwald’s account Snowden impresses as a man of unusual intelligence and integrity.

For Greenwald himself the risks are also considerable. An American like Snowden Greenwald lives in Brazil. More than anyone outside the world of State surveillance the pair has reason to know that the governments they were challenging (primarily the US and the UK) had not just Five Eyes but long arms. Greenwald tells us that when his partner was flying to meet him in Hong Kong, he was detained at Heathrow, the Brits claiming that Greenwald’s “release of documents [was] designed to influence a government and is made for the purposes of promoting a political or ideological cause. This therefore falls within the definition of terrorism”.

Both Snowden and Greenwald knew that an NSA tactic of “discrediting a target” included such practices as setting up sexual encounters (“honey traps”), changing photos on social networking sites, writing a blog purporting to be a sexual victim of a target, or texting damaging messages to their colleagues.

Spying On Brazil’s President

What we heard in May 2014, when the book came out, was that in 2011 NZ had been privy to NSA spying on the President of Brazil. Greenwald reproduces a document, labelled “TOP SECRET”, meaning that it was circulated only within the Five Eyes. Headed “surge effort”, its “goal” was to attain “an increased understanding of the communication methods and associated selectors of Brazilian President, Dilma Rousseff and her key advisers” (in another context we read that Canada had a programme to spy on Brazil’s Ministry of Mines and Energy).

The NSA’s “(U//FOUO) S2C41 surge effort” targeted “one of Mexico’s leading Presidential candidates, Enrique Pena Nieto, and nine of his close associates. Nieto is considered by most political pundits to be the likely winner of the 2012 Mexican Presidential elections which are to be held in July 2012” (Nieto did win, and is still in office, from all accounts serving as a conventional Mexican President). Brazil and Mexico were of interest to NSA as it compiled a list headed “Identifying Challenges: Geopolitical Trends for 2014-2019”. A question followed: “Friends, Enemies, or Problems?” Others on the list are Egypt, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Turkey and Yemen.

What do these countries have in common? It’s anyone’s guess, but the obvious connection is that they’re large countries which are neither firm friends nor dedicated enemies, and of interest to American economic and military strategists. What they’re not is a security threat as supporters of terrorism or subversion. They’re the sort of countries that the USA would always keep an eye on. Any idea that NZ needs to ask – or should spend money asking - if Brazil, Mexico, Egypt, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Turkey and Yemen are “Friends, Enemies, or Problems?” is farther than far-fetched.

The understanding had been that the Five Eyes partners don’t spy on their own citizens. Thus, just as it was illegal to spy on Kim Dotcom, Americans were specifically beyond the NSA’s mission, except if someone elsewhere was communicating with the US, or if a warrant was issued.

There had been repeated assurances from NSA that it could not provide specific numbers of interceptions, and, in fact, did not spy on individuals. They said they only had “meta data”. This was a lie. A programme called BOUNDLESS INFORMANT counts all phone calls and e-mails in the world. In Greenwald’s summary of Snowden, it is clear that “[t]he US government had built a system that has its goal the complete elimination of electronic privacy worldwide”.

When the law won’t allow something that NSA wants, the law might get changed. For example, Verizon, a major US phone company, got a top secret order from the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, under FISA (the secret Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act), to turn over data about Americans’ phone calls, either domestic or international.

Everything about the NSA and Five Eyes is creepy. The tone of the language it uses is a sort of mix of dystopian science fiction, geeky computer talk, and North Korea. In 2011, for instance, Five Eyes announced a “New Collective Posture”, an ambition to “Sniff It All”, “Know It All”, “Collect It All”, “Process It All”, “Exploit It All” and “Partner It All”.

The Scale Is Vast

Snowden’s leaks show that NSA has a staff of 30,000 plus contracts with 60,000 employees of private corporations, the latter because the best estimate is that 70% of the snooping is on private concerns. Smari McCarthy, a researcher in Iceland, has calculated that Five Eyes spends \$US120 billion every year (“Don’t Shoot The Messenger!”, Vanessa Baird, *New Internationalist*, April 2014, <http://newint.org/features/2014/04/01/keynote-whistleblowers/>).

By 2012 NSA was processing over 20 billion “communication events” every day. In a randomly chosen month, March 2013, 97 billion e-mails and 124 billion phone calls were collected. This volume excited the lads (the NSA world comes across as young and male), and as they took their Christmas break, “on Dec 21, 2012 SHELLTRUMPET processed its One Trillionth metadata record. SHELLTRUMPET began as a near-real-time metadata analyser on Dec 8, 2007...”

Then there’s MUSCULAR, whose beat is to invade Google and Yahoo!, while BLARNEY boasts it’s about “Corporate Partner Access”, getting telecoms to spy. Targets in 2010 included people and businesses in Brazil, France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, Venezuela, the EU and the UN.

The excitement reaches fever pitch when it comes to “PRISM ... the most cited collection source in NSA 1st Party end-product reporting. More NSA product reports were based on PRISM than on any other single SIGAD (signals intelligence activity designator)...The number of tasked selectors rose 32% in FY12 to 45,406 as of Sept 2012.... Expanded PRISM taskable e-mail domains from only 40 to 22,000”.

No penny stock on a dicey stock market was as bullish as this. Another document shouted: “PRISM is a team sport!”, linking the FBI and the CIA. Greenwald shows us an NSA Powerpoint presentation, which would have screened at a motivational session: “The Role of National Interests, Money, and Egos’: Oh yeah... Put Money, National Interest, and Ego together, and now you’re talking about shaping the world writ large. What country doesn’t want to make the world a better place ... for itself?” Wow! Those guys! Are they on to it or what!?

There’s an analytical side of NSA: “Let’s be blunt – the Western World (especially the US) gained influence and made a lot of money via the drafting of earlier standards. The US was the major player in shaping today’s Internet. This resulted in pervasive exportation of American culture as well as technology. It also resulted in a lot of money being made by US entities”. This wisdom might be banal, but it is at least accurate.

A PRISM document shows a “sampling” of “reporting topics” for a week in February 2013. They were: Mexico, narcotics, energy, internal security, political affairs, Japan, trade, Israel, Venezuelan military procurement, oil and the ‘trade activities’ of Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Brazil, Japan and Mexico”.

NSA rejoices in “malware”, a term that Snowden and Greenwald don’t bother to explain. Wikileaks defines it as “malicious software, any software used to disrupt computer operations, gather sensitive information, or gain access to private computer systems to view every keystroke....” . NSA has the ambition to use malware “to own” an estimated 100,000 computers.

The vast majority of NSA’s intrusions are “top secret”, and most of these are “FYEO” – For Your Eyes Only, those eyes being the Five Eyes, proudly first in the pecking order in Tier A, where they’re privy to “Comprehensive

Cooperation". While Greenwald notes that "[t]he US spies with these countries, but rarely on them, unless requested to by those countries' own officials", he points out a *Guardian* finding that NSA has paid at least £100,000,000 to UK's "Eye". This Eye, the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), in 2007 successfully clamoured for the right to "unmask" and hold on to personal data about Britons that had previously been off limits. Meanwhile the Australian Eye has "pleaded with the NSA to 'extend' their partnership and extend Australian citizens to greater surveillance".

Five Eyes Are The In Group

Tier B are 20 countries, roughly the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) economies. They get "Focused Cooperation". Chile, France and Israel aren't here, but probably for contrasting reasons. France has always been offside with the Yanks, whereas, as Greenwald outlines, Israel has a separate set of spying arrangements with the US.

"Metadata", the compiling of information about overall electronic contacts, is excused by the spies' apologists on the grounds that metadata storage does not look at the actual content of communications. Greenwald reverses matters, arguing that the substance of specific phone calls or e-mails can be confusing, incoherent or coded, and perhaps of little use to the spies. Metadata is more sinister as it "reveals all you contact, how often, when, and all their contacts ... Metadata is mathematical: clean, precise, and thus easily analysed". Whose life could withstand such scrutiny?

"Customers" for metadata include the US Trade Representative, the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce and Energy, and the US Treasury. Sometimes Five Eyes does indeed spy on its ostensible enemies, actual terrorists, but Greenwald doubts whether any terrorism has been stopped by it. Normal intelligence and Police work should do the trick. He reminds us that all the 9/11 perpetrators were being watched. They succeeded only because the authorities did not connect up all the dots. Because of its secrecy and its duplicity Five Eyes "reduces legitimacy" and lowers trust within society, suggests an NZ critic (Professor Kevin Clements, at Otago University's National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, *Otago Daily Times*, 5/6/14).

The frequency with which Mexico appears in this account is interesting. The original "free trade" deal, the template, was the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) involving the US, Canada and Mexico. That's two of the Five Eyes, and, in a bottom tier when it comes to the NSA, the country on the US's southern border and the birthplace of millions of its citizens. In NZ the connection with US policy - being in Five Eyes, being keen on the proposed Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA), and pursuing the cult of neo-liberalism - has made us the only small country to be in Tier One. But if "free trade" deals are about equal opportunity freedom, as the snake oil salesmen tell us, then why deny Mexico? Its low ranking suggests the reality of the power relationship: Mexico was included in NAFTA as a source of cheap labour and an export market for the US. The Key government might well ponder just how the US trade negotiators see the fifth of the Five Eyes. During the *Hobbit* deals, one US source described New Zealanders as "Mexicans with cell phones".

Drone Warfare Killing By Remote Control by Medea Benjamin, Verso, London and New York, 2013

It seemed at the beginning that Obama welcomed drones as a way to avoid all those boots on the ground. Picking off Islamic enemies was sold as a comparatively humane way of fighting a war. Drones, it was suggested, are surgical, as though blowing away people is as precise as the operating theatre. With laser surgery there wouldn't be collateral damage. All those soothing euphemisms.

That was when the "war on terror" was in full swing, with language swaying from this false precision of medical metaphors to treacherous vagueness. American governments have often evoked "wars", hoping thereby to show that the whole resources of the world's biggest state were marshalled against an enemy. But like the last such war, the war on drugs, victory in the war on terrorism has been elusive. Unlike the Second World War, in the Philippines, when the general could wade victorious ashore ahead of a flotilla of aircraft carriers, and unlike in Japan, when a couple of atomic bombs were emphatic, the terrorist enemy is maddeningly elusive. Sometimes you're not even sure if you know who he is.

Obama has dropped the Bushite language, but while we no longer hear about the "war", he's come to increasingly rely on drones. The claim has been that they're used sparingly, and only against self-declared enemies, but there have been all too many reports of innocents being killed. Of course there have. And when the removal of targets is

effected by the act of sitting in front of a screen in the United States and removing someone thousand of kilometres away by the touch of a button, it's all too easy. It's risk free.

This is a key reason, Benjamin thinks, why the US is so hated in the targeted countries. If one combatant has superior technology, that side will win any exchange of weaponry, leaving the inevitably defeated opponent to bemoan the conflict as unfair or unsporting. And the further war moves from hand to hand clubbing, the more certain is this outcome. The vanquished have to console themselves with the thought that the victors are cowardly or unmanly, the antithesis of a real warrior culture.

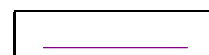
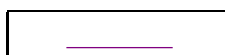
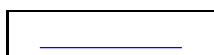
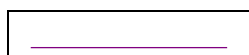
Drones can be seen as an emblem of the world that its Islamic targets hate. Many of the 9/11 terrorists came from the same parts of Saudi Arabia and Yemen, their loyalties being largely tribal and traditional. Their identity, presented as an expression of a religion, is more local and specific. They are reacting, however unconsciously, to anonymous globalism, as represented by the United States. In a culture which places high value on masculine honour, the drone is infuriatingly alien. When your friends or family are eliminated by an enemy that you never know, a presence that is invisible, revenge is impossible. To such a mindset the very technical sophistication of drone warfare becomes cowardly and dishonourable. The enemy is impersonal modernity (this discussion is derived from "Terror: The Hidden Source", by Malise Ruthven, *New York Review Of Books*, 24/10/13).

Sanitised Language Of State Mass Murder

It's unlikely that many suicide bombers read what the British government has to say about drones, but if they did, they might find confirmation for this attitude. The UK likes to refer to its drones as "Remotely Piloted Aircraft Systems", while the Americans call the moment of the killing, the moment when human beings are squashed, so that they resemble swatted insects, "terminal guidance". Military technocrats want the world to believe that drone strikes are as accurate and as limited as their governments' propaganda claims. If the language is bureaucratic, maybe the droning is really bloodless. A favourite word to describe a successful frying of a victim is that it was "clean".

US public relations present the drone warriors as cool, responsible, calculating, as everything the mad mullahs are not. But in a fascinating account, one such warrior has spoken in detail about his experiences, revealing deep ambiguities. Initially the idea of zapping people as though playing a computer game was exciting. But killing people can weary the soul, and the drone warrior gave it away ("Confessions Of A Drone Warrior", by Matthew Power, *GQ*, 23/10/13).

Perhaps the greatest threat of the technology is that it's relatively accessible. We used to fret over nukes going AWOL, but the next worry could be over drone proliferation. Benjamin emphasises the humanitarian aspects of the issue, detailing some nasty excesses and discussing the efforts of peace advocates to raise public awareness.



- Adrienne Thomas and John Gallagher

Jenny Lineham

Jenny Lineham, long-time resident of Christchurch's seaside suburb of New Brighton, community activist and peace campaigner, died on the 25th of January 2014, two weeks before her 65th birthday. Known to locals as a tireless community activist Jenny had been involved in a range of local activities over the years from nuclear-free campaign work in the 1980s, to environmental and community work in the 1990s and beyond. More recently, after the 2010/11 Christchurch earthquakes, Jenny was the instigator of a nationwide campaign to knit beanies for Canterbury's children. Jenny cared about all peace and justice issues and she was as much a campaigner for "happiness" as she was a campaigner for peace.

Key Part Of Nuclear Free Zone Committee

Jenny's roles took her down many different paths over the years. She had entered the peace movement when she was taken by the persuasive manner of Larry Ross* (of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee) that everyone could do their bit to make the world a better place. She was an ideal person to work alongside Larry as she brought many needed skills to the work. **Murray Horton's obituary of Larry Ross is in Peace Researcher 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44/pr44-008.htm>. Ed.*

She brought her background as a professional secretary and gifted office administrator, as well as being herself incredibly personable, modest and wonderfully creative and artistic. John Gallagher, a personal friend who also worked with her in Larry Ross' successful New Zealand Nuclear-Free Zone Committee from its beginning, underlines the significance of Jenny's background as a competent professional secretary. When Larry began turning his New Brighton home into a national campaign centre Jenny, who lived nearby, not only quickly and efficiently typed out many of his letters and media releases, but she also set up effective office systems.

These office systems enabled the huge amount of work needed for the campaign to succeed to be done and to be done to great effect. This work included communicating all around the country and the world, and especially to support countless new nuclear-free enthusiasts in campaigns throughout New Zealand. They were supported to become well-informed and create publicity about nuclear issues while getting signatures on petitions to councils to have their areas declared nuclear-free. The office had to process a huge number of orders for petitions and related literature, as well as for nuclear-free t-shirts, badges, and bumper stickers, all of which was done very effectively while Jenny was with the committee.

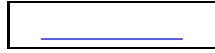
With her creative ability, she was also able to design and produce banners herself. Dennis Small, one of the committee members remembers Jenny's "remarkable ability to keep an even tempered and positive manner which facilitated the human relations side of the committee". Never one for being the visible face or spokesperson, Jenny worked solidly in the background to support the goals of the peace movement and it is arguable that without people like Jenny, the movement would not have been as successful as quickly. As Jenny herself testified, it was with the NZNFC that she learned how she could be effective, and she took this can-do attitude to the many other volunteer organisations with which she went on to work.

Always A Doer

Jenny was always a doer - always dependable, reliable and easy going. After working with Larry and others for many years, she was involved in setting up the Environment and Peace Information Centre, otherwise known as the Epicentre in the old Peace Room at the Arts Centre in Christchurch. Her colleagues remember Jenny's creativity and the commitment that she had to providing resources and information for the peace and environment movements. Warren Thomson comments that Jenny "ran the Epicentre almost single-handedly; she never complained and just got on with the job".

Jenny worked within different areas of the peace movement for many years including her local New Brighton Peace Group. She is remembered as someone who was always willing, always had creative ideas and always knew how to make them work. Everyone could depend on Jenny to help and to do what needed to be done. And she always did it with love, humour and humility. There is much more that can be said about Jenny and her commitment to

peace and justice and the environment and towards making the world a better place. She was a wonderfully gifted woman who in her quiet, no nonsense way touched many hearts and was instrumental in enhancing many people's lives. She will be missed by all who were fortunate enough to know her. She is survived by her long-time partner David Pierce of New Brighton and her five adored cats; by her siblings and her daughter Celeste and family in Australia.



Honouring Bob Leonard

Peace Researcher 47 – August 2014

- Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 46 (December 2013, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/46/pr46-011.html>) featured my obituary of Bob Leonard – founder and leader of Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC), long time Editor or Co-Editor of *Peace Researcher*, close colleague and dear friend for 30 years. In it I said that ABC intended to physically honour Bob's memory. There is a precedent for this. During our January 2006 Waihopai spy base protest we planted a memorial native tree for Owen Wilkes, ABC founder and world renowned peace researcher and activist, who had killed himself the previous year. It was planted at the Onamalutu Department of Conservation camp that ABC used to stay at in Marlborough and was planted alongside trees planted in memory of Green Party Co-Leader Rod Donald who had also died, of natural causes, in 2005. Rod was, likewise, a leading ABC activist. We also resolved to get Christchurch the self-proclaimed Peace City to officially honour Owen, one of its most famous peace activists, in the form of a memorial plaque on a bench in Beckenham Park, the neighbourhood in which he grew up. This took a long time to steer through the City Council bureaucracy but it finally happened, the Council paid for it, and the then Mayor, Garry Moore, officially opened it in 2007; an event that was reported in the media (see *PR* 35, December 2007, for my report on that, "Owen Wilkes Christchurch Memorial [Finally] Opened", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-155.html>). The bench and plaque are still unscathed and resplendent in their beautiful setting despite thousands of earthquakes, not to mention regular floods of the neighbouring Heathcote River during Christchurch's record rainfall of 2014.

In January 2014, during ABC's Waihopai protest, we planted a native tree (a lemonwood) for Bob at the Whites Bay Department of Conservation camp where we have stayed for the past several years. DoC gave us permission, as long as we only planted a tree indigenous to that area, there was no plaque and the planting ceremony did not disrupt things for the other campers (the same conditions had applied to the Owen memorial tree at Onamalutu). Steffan Browning, local Green MP and veteran ABC activist, took responsibility for supplying the tree. In a particularly nice touch he invited the kids who were camping with us to do the honours – that was highly appropriate, as Bob loved kids (as well as being a passionate defender of native forests). Bob had camped there with us during Waihopai protests, most recently in 2010.

ABC also decided to install a memorial plaque on a Christchurch park bench, in a place of significance to Bob. We chose Centaurus Park, which is within a stone's throw of his Huntsbury Hill home, where he and Barbara lived for 29 years before the February 2011 earthquake wrecked the house and permanently drove them to Wellington (where Bob died in August 2013). It was the park where Bob used to walk his beloved dogs every day. Things have changed vis a vis the City Council as a result of the quakes (to put it very mildly) and, unlike the Owen plaque, there was no Council offer to pay for Bob's one. Faced with a cost of several thousand dollars if we had to pay for a bench to be made, as well as a plaque, we settled on getting it installed on an existing bench in that park. Bob's widow Barbara generously paid for the plaque (she told us that she was happy to do so as Bob has no headstone anywhere – his family scattered his ashes in his native California). Given the choice of two benches - one facing away from, and one facing towards their former home - she chose the latter. It is very close to a kids' playground which, once again, is very appropriate for Bob.

Huntsbury is an area which suffered extensive land damage and Centaurus Park reflects that, with artesian springs coming to the surface and making it very wet and muddy after that record rainfall of autumn 2014. If you're coming to view Bob's plaque, bring your gumboots (I'm not kidding). It is actually within a short walking distance from Owen's plaque in Beckenham Park. As for his nearby house, it has been unoccupied and overgrown since February 2011. ABC went into it in February 2013 and got out a whole lot of Bob's papers. Barbara has been paid out by the insurance company and has bought herself a new home in Wellington. Life goes on.

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