

Mass Surveillance Of New Zealanders

Greenwald Versus Key

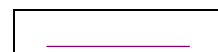
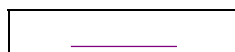
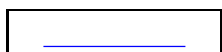
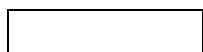
Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Warren Thomson

In the dismal dust of the recent NZ election it is too easy to forget the public revelations of Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Glenn Greenwald: the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) is carrying out widespread surveillance of New Zealanders, which raises serious questions about the truthfulness of the Government. Greenwald told TV3's *The Nation* he had been looking through US National Security Agency (NSA) documents obtained by Edward Snowden which revealed the extent of New Zealand's surveillance activities as one of the Five Eyes countries, with the US, UK, Canada and Australia. These documents contradict statements by the Government that New Zealand doesn't engage in mass surveillance or target New Zealanders unless they are involved in activities such as terrorism or cyber crimes. Greenwald told TV3: "The Government does engage in extraordinary amounts of analysis of metadata - meaning who's talking to whom, for how long, where they are when they speak - on a massive indiscriminate scale not just internationally but of New Zealanders as well".

Prime Minister John Key disputed the claims. He began by denying there was any mass surveillance. "There is no mass surveillance of New Zealanders by GCSB and there never has been mass surveillance of New Zealanders by GCSB," he told reporters. Later he admitted that programmes had been planned, and tried to divert attention by constantly referring to a programme that had been considered but then rejected. Material written by Keith Ng and reported on the [Scoop Website](#) (retrieved 16/9/14) states: "What Key has done is release a bunch of documents about a programme called CORTEX. This was a plan to provide malware detection and disruption services to companies and Internet Service Providers. Cortex has nothing to do with SPEARGUN," a cable access project underway in 2013 (or with XKeyscore. Ed.). What got stopped by Key – and which is the basis of his reassurance to the New Zealand public – was to do with an entirely different issue. It was a complete red herring.

Key later also confessed that the capacity for mass surveillance through XKeyscore was available, but still tried to deny the GCSB used it – although former GCSB Director Sir Bruce Ferguson had gone as far as saying personnel were trained in the system. Greenwald said New Zealand spent an extraordinary amount of resources on electronic surveillance for a country of its size. He also pointed out – based, remember, on the reading of thousands of the NSA's own documents – that: "Every single thing that the NSA does...involves NZ directly". New Zealand spied on a variety of countries, hostile and allies, on behalf of the US and UK, he said. One NSA document released by Snowden/Greenwald told New Zealand's security services and those of other Five Eyes nations to "sniff it all, know it all, collect it all, process it all and exploit it all". This includes the communications of any NZ citizen. *Scoop's* Gordon Campbell commented: "People like Thomas Beagle of Tech Liberty were saying a year ago, at the time the (new GCSB) legislation was going through ... that the GCSB and TICSA legislation (Telecommunications [Interception Capability and Security] Act) set up a system of mass surveillance and – in TICSA – invested sweeping and unchecked powers in the GCSB over our digital traffic" (*Scoop*, *ibid*).



Opening The Curtains

Spies & Their Political Mouthpieces Blinking In Unaccustomed Daylight

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Murray Horton

Conventional wisdom has it that Kim Dotcom's September 15 Moment of Truth public meeting in the Auckland Town Hall – deliberately timed to have maximum impact on the 2014 election just five days later – backfired and was, in fact, a major reason why National was returned to office with an increased majority (conventional wisdom also had it that the Dotcom connection was a big reason for Mana Party Leader Hone Harawira losing his Te Tai Tokerau seat, resulting in the combined Internet/Mana Party getting no MPs). The election result and the Moment of Truth's impact on it, positive or negative, is not my subject here. Nor will I be analysing what effect Nicky Hager's "Dirty Politics" had on the election (see Jeremy Agar's review of it elsewhere in this issue).

Key had long been expecting and dreading these revelations about his Government's systematic crimes against its own people, and its wholehearted participation in the international organised criminal group known as Five Eyes. As far back as his much vaunted January 2014 Hawaii game of golf with President Obama he had said that he expected revelations about NZ this year from Edward Snowden's US National Security Agency (NSA) files. Indeed the political and media commentariat went into a frenzy when Nicky Hager announced that he was releasing a new book the month before the election – the assumption (wrong, as it turned out) was that it would be material from the Snowden files.

The New Muldoon

It was fascinating to see how history repeats; as John Key, badly rattled by the Moment of Truth revelations, resorted to that faithful tool of all Tory politicians wanting to deflect attention from their lies and crimes, namely to ignore the message and shoot the messenger. So, even in advance of the event, Key was heaping disgraceful insults onto Pulitzer Prize-winning American journalist Glenn Greenwald*, calling him "Dotcom's little henchman", "a conspiracy theorist", and that favourite epithet from Key's former life as an international money trader, "a loser". He and his political and media allies were able to get great mileage out of the fact that all of the major figures at the Moment of Truth – Greenwald, Edward Snowden, Julian Assange and, most importantly, Kim Dotcom (who didn't help his case by cackling throughout like some sort of oversized German villain in a James Bond movie) are foreigners. *Jeremy Agar's review of Greenwald's "No Place To Hide: Edward Snowden, The NSA And The Surveillance State" is in *Peace Researcher* 47, August 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr47/pr47-007.html>.

And we New Zealanders don't like foreigners telling us what to do, do we. Well, only if they're good foreigners, like the President of the US or the Director of the NSA – but that's different, isn't it. And I wondered: who was the last Tory PM to shoot unwelcome messengers and whip up populist resentment against foreigners from the progressive side of the argument telling us what to do in relation to a national and international disgrace in which New Zealand had been very much caught with its pants down? The answer was none other than our old mate Piggy Muldoon, who used to rail against African and other Third World politicians telling us to cut our sporting ties with apartheid South Africa (with the unspoken message that not only were they foreigners but black foreigners). So that nice Mr Key, smile and wave John, selfie John, is none other than the reincarnation of Piggy Muldoon, minus the dimple. The Muldoonist parallel continues with "Dirty Politics", showing how Rightwing attack blogs like Cameron Slater's *Whale Oil* now carry out the political dirty work, smears and character assassinations that in Piggy's day were done by *Truth*. Even the relationship with the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) is the same. So, nothing changes in Torydom, it's just that the weapons get upgraded.

So, let's forget about the Moment of Truth's alleged impact on the election result, the so-called backfire. Let's just marvel at the fact that Anti-Bases Campaign's core issue – NZ's involvement in the Five Eyes global electronic spying network, courtesy of the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) and the Waihopai spy base – was suddenly front and centre in the election campaign and completely dominated the media for several days. That has never happened in any previous election campaign and you have to go back to 1987 to find an election where foreign policy was the major issue (that was the election where National unsuccessfully campaigned to reverse Labour's nuclear free policy). And this completely unique state of affairs was brought to us by a lineup of global A listers in the field of intelligence revelations. For a brief time, NZ was in the international spotlight in the continuing fallout from the Snowden revelations.

NSA Facilities In NZ

You may have forgotten those revelations already, because the subject was completely dropped as soon as the election was over and National and its media sycophants were wallowing in triumphalism. Let's remind ourselves what they were. Warren Thomson has detailed the major one, namely the mass surveillance of New Zealanders (see his article above). Fear of this was behind all the fuss about the earlier revelations about the GCSB's illegal spying on Kim Dotcom and more than 80 other New Zealanders. That, in turn, led to the massive protests against the 2013 GCSB Act, which simply legalised the crime of spying on New Zealanders (see my article "Crime Pays! Government Legalises GCSB Culture Of Impunity", in *PR* 45, June 2013, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/45/pr45-001.html>).

But that wasn't the only revelation to come out of the Moment of Truth. For example, Edward Snowden stated that the NSA operates facilities in NZ (i.e. other than Waihopai, which is operated for them by the GCSB). Snowden said that they were in Auckland and in the north of the country. Standard operating procedure for spies is to operate out of their countries' embassies and consulates, so it's logical to assume that the NSA is doing that from the US Consulate in Auckland, which is also handy to the two NZ landing stations for the Southern Cross telecommunications undersea cable across the Pacific to the US – Snowden said that in his work as an NSA analyst he had routinely come across New Zealanders' communications, which had been obtained by tapping the Southern Cross cable.

It's less clear where any NSA facility may be in Northland (Winston Peters claimed to know the location of both facilities, stating that he learnt about them when he had been both Deputy and Acting Prime Minister in the past. But he wouldn't say where). There were revelations that NZ has sent spies into friendly countries to spy on them on behalf of the US, and that NZ embassies have been used by the GCSB. Key was forced to admit that, while he is adamant that the GCSB has never carried out mass surveillance on New Zealanders, he couldn't rule out that the NSA might be doing so.

Plausible Deniability & Terrorism Hysteria

As soon as the election was over, Key was indecently keen to break with all precedent and get shot of the portfolios of Minister in Charge of the SIS and GCSB, which had always been held by the Prime Minister, regardless of whether National or Labour was in power. He bestowed them onto Chris Finlayson, whilst giving himself the newly created portfolio of Minister for National Security and Intelligence. Why did he dump responsibility for the two spy agencies onto one of his "little henchmen"? Simple – they had been causing him grief during the Government's 2011-14 term and grief is bad for the image of smile and wave John, selfie John. What Key and his spin doctors desperately needed was plausible deniability, that favourite phrase of political criminals and spymasters going back to the 1970s' America of Richard Nixon and the Watergate Scandal. "Nothing to do with me, you'll have to ask the Minister in Charge of the GCSB". He needs to be at arms length from the day to day business of the spies, to be insulated from the dirty deeds and grubby details.

The propaganda war in support of the Five Eyes international organised criminal group didn't wait until after the election was over. In the days immediately between the Moment of Truth and election day the domestic and international emphasis suddenly swung onto the baddies from central casting, namely the Islamic State terrorists who had been murderously rampaging through Iraq and Syria for several months. For an analysis of how IS is yet another "blowback" on the West (just as Osama bin Laden was), see Dennis Small's article "Capitalist Militarism" elsewhere in this issue. Suffice to say that if IS didn't exist it would have to be invented by Western governments, intelligence agencies and media. Not only are they behaving in a totally abhorrent genocidal fashion in their newly created "state"; but they have followed the script and issued threats against Western countries who take up arms against them.

Within a very short period of time an impressive dose of hysteria was whipped up – these Muslim terrorist bastards are going to come here and chop off our heads! We will have to fight them there before they kill us all here! Where have I heard that before? I know, when the Communists/Red China/the Viet Cong/the Yellow Peril was going to sweep down through Vietnam, murder us all in our beds, and do unspeakable things to our sheep, unless we stopped them there before they got here. In that same pre-election week there were major Police raids in Australian cities looking for "IS-linked domestic terrorists" and the Abbot government, with the support of the Labor Opposition, stampeded through new draconian laws giving unprecedented oppressive powers to the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO). See Warren Thomson's "Spooky Bits", elsewhere in this issue, for details. Right on cue editorials began to appear in the likes of the *Press* saying that: "Like it or not, the most effective contribution that New Zealand might make to the fight against IS is through our involvement in global surveillance through the Five Eyes intelligence network" (27/9/14, "What Can New Zealand Offer In Fight Against IS?"). The *New Zealand Herald* went further with an editorial headed: "NZ Must Be Ready To Join Fight Against IS" (1/10/14).

Hey Ho, It's Off To War We Go

So now the war drums were being beaten. There was a war coming up and New Zealand risked being left out of it! Key started dropping broad hints that he intended committing NZ to this hastily cooked up war against IS in both Iraq and Syria. To her great credit, Helen Clark had kept NZ out of the illegal 2003 American-led invasion of Iraq, although her Labour government had later sent supposedly “non-combat” military engineers to Basra, in the south of the country. Their deployment achieved nothing, they did get involved in the war, and they had to be withdrawn as the war turned against the illegal occupation forces.

And to his credit, John Key did not get NZ involved in Iraq during his first (2008-11) term (his predecessor as National's Leader, Don Brash, had been very keen to get NZ involved if he had won the 2005 election. Not to mention that the nuclear free policy would have been “gone by lunchtime”). Obama pulled American combat forces out of Iraq at the end of 2011 when a Status of Forces Agreement (which gives US troops immunity from local laws) could not be imposed on the puppet Iraqi government which was ungratefully biting the hand that fed it.

But the emergence of IS has meant that the US and its various satellites, including NZ, are now scrambling to get back into a new Iraq war, one which encompasses Syria as well (notice how there has been no further mention about overthrowing the vicious Bashar Assad regime in Syria. Suddenly his enemies – or, at least, the “non-moderate” ones – are also the West's enemies. Funny old business, propaganda). This is what the American military calls “mission creep”. Key must be feeling that, as he contemplates a retirement of smiling and waving at himself in the mirror, that his “legacy” will be lacking a war. He inherited the equally futile Afghanistan one from Helen Clark, but he wants one of his own. Better late than never, John.

Repressive Laws

Part and parcel of Key softening up NZ public opinion to get us involved in a war is his sudden drive to toughen up already repressive anti-terrorism laws, all under the guise of restricting the ability of “Kiwi jihadis” from going off to join IS to fight in Iraq and Syria, and then come back to chop off our heads. Conveniently, he said that the number of any such alleged fighters had to be kept secret (trust me, I'm a politician!). Still following the script, he made public, for the first time, the threat level (of terrorist attacks in NZ), saying that it had been recently raised from “very low” to “low”. Wow, that's pretty scary.

At the time of writing, no decision had been made about going to war (although NZ's Chief of Defence attended an October Washington meeting of all countries committed to fighting IS, presided over by President Obama. Key described it as being a “routine” meeting. I'm sure the US President usually chairs such “routine” meetings. Not). Nor had the details been made public about what the changes would be to the anti-terrorism laws, but they were expected to include increased surveillance powers, travel restrictions and new criminal offences. Key wanted to stampede Labour into cross-party support (as happened in Australia) in order to get the changes rushed into law before Christmas under Urgency.

But the two main Opposition parties – Labour and the Greens – weren't prepared to give him a blank cheque for such significant law changes (maybe because, post-election, Labour had proved that it could behead itself much more effectively than any scary IS bogeymen). The so-called “oversight” Intelligence and Security Committee (a committee of Government, not Parliament) had not been constituted post-election, so all the Government was offering was a truncated hearing before Parliament's Foreign Affairs Select Committee.

This is a story that is still unfolding but we already know that it is a shoddy sequel to the original bad movie, “The War On Terror” starring George Bush, Tony Blair and a cast of thousands of villains. We know the script of this ultimate disaster movie, featuring oil, lots of explosions, the theft of whole countries, murder by remote control, torture, kidnappings, police state laws, an endless supply of cartoonish villains who started off on “our side”, and the deaths of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. And at the end of every movie in the endless “War On Terror” series we know that there will have to be a sequel involving more of all of the above. That's the tar pit that Key is hellbent on leading us into. Watch this space. But one good thing should come out of it all – Tory governments are always dead keen to cut costs. Well, John Key can save the cost of his new flag referendum distraction. Just adopt the Stars and Stripes, John. Instead of a silver fern, put a dollar sign on it.



Let's Remind Ourselves Why We Should Shut Down The GCSB

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Warren Thomson

The following is the basis of an August 2014 speech that I gave to students in Wellington, on behalf of the Anti-Bases Campaign. It was written before the September revelations from Edward Snowden and Glenn Greenwald in Auckland.

John Key has been markedly secretive about security matters and it took a journalist to reveal his 2014 visit to the National Security Agency while in Washington. The NSA has clearly abused its powers and become the world's snoop. Its' absurdly wide powers of interception mean that any New Zealander who uses the Internet is likely to be on record in Washington. The Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) has been campaigning to have the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) closed down for 27 years, and we have been entirely unsuccessful, but the rationale for its demise is becoming more compelling than ever before. The following article looks at why ABC considers the GCSB such a menace to our democratic State.

1. The international context of the GCSB – particularly the activities of the Big Brothers, their demonstrably undemocratic nature, their corporative purpose, and their ineffectiveness and threat.
2. The GCSB and the problems that this organisation both has, and the problems it raises for those of us that believe in an independent foreign policy and the rule of law.
3. What we, as democratic citizens, need to do to ensure our real security.

Intelligence Failures Or Distortions

The GCSB is part of the Five Eyes intelligence group that specialises in communications and signals intelligence. The tiny GCSB works closely with the US NSA, the UK Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), the Australian Signals Directorate (formerly the Defence Signals Directorate, DSD) and the Canadian Communications Security Establishment (CSE). The system is dominated by the NSA and its associates, assisted in great measure by the GCHQ which it partly funds. We are thoroughly enmeshed in the American intelligence system. It is a serious concern that all of the Five Eyes group have hugely expanded their surveillance in the last few years and that Canada, Australia and the US have all built massive new facilities for storing data. The storage at the new US site in Utah will hold many exabytes* of data – former Google head Eric Schmidt once [argued](#) that the entire amount of knowledge from the beginning of humankind until 2003 amounted to only five exabytes (*Guardian*, 11/714). *One exabyte= one quintillion bytes. Ed.

A historical overview of American intelligence – possibly an oxymoron – presents us with a sad litany of abuse and failure. In dozens of cases the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or its associates has removed governments or undermined them, often with awful results. A particularly egregious example was in the mid 60s when the CIA supplied names of suspected Indonesian Communist sympathisers to the Indonesian military which proceeded to murder nearly half a million of its citizens (see PR 25, *Special Issue, March 2002, "Ghosts Of A Genocide: The CIA, Suharto And Terrorist Culture"*, by Dennis Small, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr25intr.htm>. Ed.). Possibly an even more savage instance was the support for the 1973 overthrow (on September 11th, of all days. Ed.) of democratically elected President Allende in Chile and the bloodbath that followed. False intelligence was used to justify the 2003 removal of the Saddam Hussein government in Iraq.

There have been significant failures in more recent years: world changing events like the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the so-called Arab Spring were not foreseen. Apparently no agency was able to predict the 2014 events in Ukraine and especially the extent of Russian intrusion there. It is not too facetious to state that the only wars US intelligence did predict were the ones that the Americans started themselves, and one has to ask the question whether poor intelligence is actually more of a threat than no intelligence at all. For example, have the reactions of the governments of Bush and Obama, based on the intelligence given to the decision-makers, actually caused more problems in the Middle East? And is there any evidence that US intelligence analysis contributed in any way to mitigate what is now a Middle East nightmare? Why was the 2014 advance throughout Iraq and Syria of the Islamic State (formerly the Islamic State of Iraq and an-Sham – ISIS) or current events in Ukraine not predicted? Has the obsession with spending huge sums on electronic intelligence actually weakened intelligence capabilities?

Missed Arab Spring & 9/11

We should note that, according to the British Parliamentary body set up to scrutinise UK intelligence operations, Britain's intelligence agencies were also surprised by the Arab Spring (which started in 2010) and their failure to realise unrest would spread so rapidly may "reveal a lack of understanding of the region". And if US Administrations had read their newspapers, would they have actually have been able to make better predictions? I think a good case can be made that experienced journalists are often better able to predict and prescribe than the bats in the cavern at Langley (CIA) and Fort George G Meade (NSA). Significantly, the 2001 attacks on the US on 9/11 – that's actually September the 11th for those of you that use a proper calendar – were completely unpredicted. But what is worse, the totally disproportionate military and intelligence response to the 9/11 affair has completely distorted both international politics and crucially, the response has precipitated an international jihadist wave which domestically, threatens the basis of Western law and democracy. At best the intelligence analysis of the Big Brother agencies was ignored and at worst it was plain wrong.

I want you to consider the fact that the US went to war over the deaths of around 3,300 citizens. The concept of proportionate response seems to have no credence in Washington. Hundreds of thousands of citizens of other countries have died as a result of the US-UK decisions based on intelligence analysis that supported aggressive military action. In the interests of perspective, it is important to not forget that 3,300 is not much more than 20% of the number of homicides in USA in any given year. In other words, the world has been transformed into a battlefield against 'terror' on the basis of killing a number of people which is approximately equal to only one fifth of the numbers of homicide victims murdered each year in the US by US citizens. We should also think about reaction to recent beheadings of Westerners in the Middle East. It is almost impossible not to react with revulsion to such a news item. But is sound policy to be powered by the emotional media presentation of such events? It is the disproportionate response to incidents such as this that means Western policies are driven by ideology and emotion and not useful intelligence analysis.

Before I move on from the topic of Western intelligence failure, let us also consider how spy organisations can be rendered ineffective, if not downright dangerous, by turncoat officers. Consider the role of two US intelligence personnel who almost single-handedly ruined everything that those hundreds of billions of dollars were spent on. Aldrich Ames, a senior counter-espionage officer in the CIA, gave the Russians details of most of the top US spies in the 1980s and early 90s. The damage done, and the disinformation the West received back through turned spies, was almost incalculable. Even worse was the episode where Robert Hanssen* gave away most of the details of the SIGINT (signals intelligence) systems. And, the current example of NSA contractor Edward Snowden, of course, shows how one person can completely blow a secret organisation apart. Secretive organisations with secretive operations and fixed mindsets are peculiarly vulnerable to mistakes, misinterpretation, and failure, and who is to monitor them? **Robert Hanssen was a Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) counter-espionage officer, who spied for the Russians from 1979-2001. Ames and Hanssen are currently serving life sentences without parole; Snowden is a political refugee in Russia. Ed*

Part of the problem is the overblown self-belief of the agencies. The hubris of such organisations can be clearly identified. And it is terrifying! William Binney is one of the highest-level whistleblowers to ever emerge from the NSA. He was a leading code-breaker against the Soviet Union during the Cold War but resigned soon after September 11, 2001, disgusted by Washington's response and move towards mass surveillance. Binney recently told the [German NSA inquiry committee](#) that his former employer had a "totalitarian mentality" that was the "greatest threat" to US society since that country's Civil War in the 19th Century. He also said that the NSA will soon be able to collect [966 exabytes](#) a year, the total of Internet traffic annually. The aggressive mindset is well-illustrated by the logo on a National Reconnaissance Office rocket launched in 2013 (the NRO is the hardware merchant behind spy satellites and their operation). The logo read: "Nothing Is Beyond Our Reach".

On the other hand, we have to recognise there are occasions when the agencies can't win. On occasion when they did try to correct information spun by the politicians, they have been overruled. It is clear that in the lead up to the 2003 Iraq War, Blair and Bush had already decided they were going to attack Hussein, and nobody would change their mind. British intelligence reports which questioned the basis of the decision were ordered to be rewritten to fit the mindset of Blair and Bush. Remember the respected Colin Powell, Bush's Secretary of State, solemnly promoting the invasion of Iraq with blatant misinformation? So, even when Western intelligence tries to get it right, it still gets it wrong. But the consistent failures of the intelligence organisations again point up the fact that in a number of critical situations, we can't expect them to provide the intelligence that is required.

We have one outstanding example of where an intelligence officer did make sure that crucial information was made public; the case of the whistleblower Katharine Gun*. Gun was working for the GCHQ in 2003 when she received an email ordering special efforts to spy on UN representatives who were expected to vote on resolutions relating to the

planned attack on Iraq. The intention was to use information on individuals to harass or coerce them into a line supporting the US and UK. The email is a stunning example of the constant efforts of US intelligence to manipulate world events by covert means, in this case, dirty tricks. Gun's story exemplifies the kind of activity that Five Eyes, and our GCSB, are involved in. Glenn Greenwald's book "No Place To Hide"^{***} cites a similar case where a Swiss banker was tricked into a drunk driver situation then promised help if he coughed up confidential financial information. *See PR 39, January 2010, "The Spy Who Tried To Stop A War: Katharine Gun And The Secret Plot To Sanction The Iraq Invasion", by Marcia & Thomas Mitchell, reviewed by Bob Leonard, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr39-183b.htm>. **See PR 46, August 2014, "No Place To Hide: Edward Snowden, The NSA And The Surveillance State", by Glenn Greenwald, reviewed by Jeremy Agar, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/47/pr47-007.html>. Ed.

Extra-Judicial Killings By Drones

I do not believe that a country like NZ, with a proud record of democracy, and a mostly good reputation in world diplomacy, should be in any way enmeshed in the manipulation, the propaganda and the failures that constitute Western intelligence operations. An important example of how the operations undermine our most basic legal foundations is when New Zealander Daryl Jones was actually killed in Yemen in late 2013 by a drone strike while he was working with al-Qaeda. What was he doing there? We don't really know. What part did he play in jihadist operations? We don't know. Was he a "terrorist"? We don't know. What we do know is that this NZ citizen was killed by an assassin from a different part of the planet with no warning, with no judicial process, and with no chance to give a defence. We cannot condemn the beheading of a Western journalist without similarly condemning this form of State-sponsored murder. This is against every sacred tenet of our legal system. Worst of all, John Key, sworn to uphold the rights of New Zealanders, didn't want to know.

If Key actually had any intelligence suggesting that this citizen of New Zealand was engaged in criminal activity, why wasn't Jones indicted? Why wasn't he charged under New Zealand law with a crime of supporting terrorism? Why is it that the New Zealand government is essentially ceding its sovereignty to the United States in this case and saying it's all right that the President of the United States authorised an operation that effectively executed one of our citizens. And the fact is that New Zealand, through signal intercepts and location tracking, is directly involved with what is effectively an American assassination programme.

Obama is presiding over a programme of extrajudicial killings – the sort of thing the CIA used to specialise in. Obama has radically escalated the drone programme and is selling people the idea that it represents "clean" war. But the US government is misleading people when it says suspected militants are being killed. In many cases it is civilians that are being killed in pursuit of one or two actual legitimate so-called "bad guys". Drones and other extrajudicial killings are an intrinsic part of Western intelligence operations and these are the kind of operations that the GCSB involves us in. While these murderous attacks have had some success in killing people Washington has designated as "terrorist" leaders, let us not forget the hundreds of men, women and children who have died or been seriously injured as "collateral" damage. We need to know, here in NZ, how much our intelligence agencies, or Special Forces like the Special Air Service (SAS), are contributing to the targeting of such actions.

"From a distance, we launch bombs or missiles with almost total impunity, and never want to know the number or identity of the victims ... we will not learn to live together in peace by killing each other's children", former US President Jimmy Carter (2002)

In terms of drones, don't forget the potential dangers to civil rights. Drones are increasingly being used by police forces, and most importantly, in the 2011 London riots, the GCHQ was called in by the Police to identify riot leaders by intercepting their communications. While there might conceivably be a case for properly warranted use of tapping in such situations, it is such a small step to a hard line government using them to suppress dissent (remember that Maggie Thatcher used Canadian spies to keep tabs on her own Cabinet members).

"In 1983, Canadian Security Establishment (CSE) was asked to spy for GCHQ at the behest of Margaret Thatcher. '...it seems as if Margaret Thatcher [then British Prime Minister] thinks two of the Ministers in her Cabinet are not 'on-side'... She wants to find out if they are'. CSE carried out the intercepts: 'We never stopped to question the morality of doing what amounted to dirty tricks for a partisan politician, for her very personal reasons, in a foreign land. After all, we weren't spying on Canadians...that time anyway'". The quotes are from former CSE operative Mike Frost in his 1994 book "Spyworld: Inside The Canadian And American Intelligence Establishments", reviewed by Bob Leonard in PR 23, June 2001, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/frostspy.htm>. ABC toured Frost through NZ on a national speaking tour in 2001. Ed.

Kidnapping & Torture

And let us not forget how bad the record of identifying these “terrorists” is. Guantanamo Bay prison was Washington’s answer to the problem of what to do with captured “terrorists”. 779 prisoners were held at Guantanamo since the prison opened on January 11, 2002. Of those, 620 have been released or transferred, one was transferred to the US to be tried, and nine have died, the most recent being Adnan Latif, in September 2012. 620 out of 779 were released. By my admittedly somewhat weak mathematical calculations this means around 80% of the prisoners were not tried but were released (some, however, were dispatched back to somewhat bleak futures in the hands of ruthless governments). A large percentage of these “terrorists” were actually innocent.

In June 2006, [US Republican Senator Arlen Specter](#) stated that the arrests of most of the then roughly 500 prisoners held in Guantanamo Bay were based on “the flimsiest sort of [hearsay](#)” (CNN, 12/6/06). And, at this point, it should be mentioned that reliance on “hearsay” – such as the metadata captured by the spooks over media webs – points to an extremely ill usage of the legal process for the future. There are other areas where the operations of the Western intelligence allies are unacceptable, particularly the use of rendition (basically kidnapping) and torture. Republican Senator John McCain noted that in World War II, the US military hanged Japanese soldiers for waterboarding American prisoners of war. The CIA confirmed having used waterboarding on three al-Qaeda suspects: Abu Zubaydah, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, and Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, in 2002 and 2003 (CBS News). There are probably other cases we don’t know about and, of course, many prisoners were handed over to other governments to be brutally tortured by their security forces (*Guardian*, 10/2/10).

Let’s look at a real case. Libyan Abdelhakim Belhadj was detained in Bangkok in 2004 along with his pregnant wife after a tip-off from MI6 (British foreign intelligence agency). He was interrogated by American agents for several days before being flown to the Libyan capital Tripoli (*and this was when Gaddafi was still in power. Ed.*). There he was tortured and detained for several more years. His wife, who was detained for several months, has not spoken publicly about the manner in which she was treated. I have no idea whether this man was kidnapped and tortured as a result of information intercepted from airline data or other places by the GCSB. But this is an entirely plausible scenario. The GCSB is closely aligned with organisations whose activities are extrajudicial, brutal, indiscriminate, unchecked and undemocratic.

Members of Britain’s MI5 (internal security and intelligence agency) were to be charged in 2010 with complicity in the [torture](#) of British resident [Binyam Mohamed](#), in another case of rendition. Through a Court of Appeal ruling, unanimously dismissing objections by Labour’s Foreign Secretary David Miliband, three of Britain’s most senior judges ordered the Government to disclose what MI5 knew of detainee treatment in Guantanamo Bay. One of the key paragraphs of the ruling stated that there “could readily be contended to be, at the very least, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment of [Binyam Mohamed](#) by the United States authorities”. But the case did not proceed. A new law titled (somewhat ironically) the Justice and Security Bill was passed that allowed David Cameron’s Conservative government to create a new generation of secret court hearings which [block the public disclosure of sensitive intelligence material](#). This is the world of the GCSB’s Big Brothers and Sisters.

US Big Business At Heart Of NSA Operations

Finally, I would like to touch briefly on another big concern, which is the integral involvement of American corporations in this system. Private corporations are at the heart of NSA operations and we have to ask the question about who these operations are meant to benefit. John Perkins, an international banker and spook who worked for the NSA throughout his career, stated that “I was initially recruited from business school by the NSA but ultimately I worked for private corporations”. And this is a very disturbing element of the surveillance system. Key parts of it are not run by Government authorities but by US corporations under contract. Note that Edward Snowden worked for Booz Allen Hamilton, a private corporation, but had access to the NSA’s most closely guarded secrets. Snowden also worked for Dell, and worked closely on some projects with Microsoft. AT&T and Bell are companies heavily involved, as is Northrop Grumman, Lockheed Martin and a number of others.

A good example is the warplane maker Lockheed Martin. The corporation’s Website states: “As the Government’s largest provider of IT (information technology) services, the security and integrity of Lockheed Martin’s systems are vital, not only to its own mission, but to the national security infrastructure”. When the surge in demand for cyber services began during the dying days of the Bush Administration, Lockheed Martin was the sixth-ranked contractor at NSA in dollar terms. Today it is number two, and with two more big contracts recently it is destined to be number one in 2015. It has an enormous part in spy activities, great profits from its Government contracts, and enormous opportunity to access either commercial or personal secrets. *Forbes Magazine* (11/5/13) stated that: “Lockheed appears to be engaged in all aspects of cyber security, from defense to offense, to exploitation of adversary networks and nobody at the company is willing to talk about the latter two subjects”.

One huge problem is the intimate circle of ex-spooks, business executives and military personnel that swap jobs in the Beltway bedlam. Millions of dollars for lobbying work and campaign funding slosh around Washington's halls of power, combined with tens of thousands of high paid corporate lobbyists and a continual merry go round whereby corporate executives and ex-intelligence officials shuffle between the public and private sectors to completely blur the line between Government agencies, including the spook agencies, and private corporations. In large part the NSA operations are contracted out to corporations with their own intrinsic interests.

Edward Snowden has dramatically demonstrated how personnel working for private corporations can access top level business and personal secrets. NSA has around 30,000 employees, but there are another 60,000 personnel in its' associated private corporations. Many of these will have direct access to NSA data, like Snowden. These figures do not include FBI and CIA operatives. Snowden also demonstrated the concentration of the NSA on industrial espionage. In an interview with Germany's ARD TV channel, the whistleblower said the agency would spy on big German companies that competed with US firms. In our own neighbourhood the Australian Signals Directorate monitored a US law firm used by the government of Indonesia for trade talks. The Australian spies tapped a US law firm which was representing Indonesia in a trade dispute with the US. A 2013 document [obtained by the New York Times](#) did not identify the US law firm, but says the Australians offered the intercepts to their allies at the NSA (BBC 20/2/14). The Canadian CSE has a massive spy program (codename "Muscular") aimed at Brazil's mining and oil companies.

We should also remember that cables from Wikileaks showed that Boeing had a sales force of US diplomats and lobbyists that went up to the highest levels of Government and managed to sabotage sales for Boeing's European rival Airbus. What goes on in secret, we can only imagine. What information is accessible by the thousands of employees working for private American corporations is unimaginable. Also, there is an intense ideological momentum in these operations. In almost all of the large number of US diplomatic cables on Peru released by Wikileaks, the US government interpreted opponents of corporate power as being enemies of the United States. As a result, Leftist activists and community organisers, particularly those who threaten corporate profits, are regularly targeted. Unions, environmentalists and indigenous communities that challenge transnationals are consistently regarded as hostile villains. The US government's propensity to dress up opposition to corporate interests as threats to US interests should alarm anyone who values democracy. As has been pointed out by Jane Kelsey and others, this has important ramifications for the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement proposals and the people opposing the TPPA. Does Five Eyes spy on opponents as part of its operations on behalf of Washington? The conjunction of US government and corporate interests is alarming. Finally: in 2012, when Blackberry was trying to introduce a new model phone, the GCHQ blocked its progress for months as it insisted that Blackberry adhere to specifications which allowed the British spooks access to its communications. In other words, these organisations are controlling the new IT products. And, incidentally, while they insist on monitoring new tech developments, they are able to work out ways to intercept the technology.

Problems With The GCSB

We must assume that the GCSB occasionally has successes, that it occasionally identifies people who potentially offer a threat to New Zealanders. But, as far as I know, not a single person has been indicted for any kind of crime that could fit even the broad given category of "terrorists". We have had serious incidents where our supposed allies have attacked us – the 1985 "Rainbow Warrior" bombing by the French; we have had Israelis operating in NZ to acquire NZ passports that were then used by Mossad hitmen to assassinate Israel's enemies*; Nicky Hager says Key repeatedly refused to answer questions on news reports about suspicions of spying by a group of Israeli backpackers who were in Christchurch on the day of the February 2011 killer quake (one of them died in it). *See PR 32, March 2006, *"Israel Apologises To NZ For Bungled Mossad Passports Operation"*, by Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-123b.html>. Ed.

We should note that both of these threats were adequately dealt with by the NZ Police. So far we have not had local Muslims or other potential fantasists planning mass bombings or other atrocities. We should note that UK, which does have a growing problem of home-grown jihadists, has brought this on itself by its intrusions into Middle East politics alongside Washington. Even Pentagon officials have commented that the War on Terror has caused more terrorism. But, so far, in NZ we remain somewhat immune. So we have an agency, costing us, officially, 60 to 70 million dollars per year, looking for a reason for its existence. We know that the spooks are not happy. Reports have commented on "low morale" in the GCSB. We know that there are serious deficiencies in the organisation.

In 2013, as you know, then Cabinet Secretary Rebecca Kitteridge's Report of her investigation into the GCSB's activities and its compliance framework was released. Her investigation into the organisation was quite damning; it identified a "series of failings" and a dismal range of management, oversight and organisational issues in the GCSB. The Report said, amongst other things, that the agency was under-resourced, lacked legal staff to give proper

advice, and was over complex and top heavy in management. She reported that the agency had a tolerance of poor performance in part because it was afraid to deal with slack staff because it was afraid they might get resentful and leak information.

Illegal Mass Spying On New Zealanders

It was revealed that the GCSB illegally spied on 88 New Zealanders between April 2003 and September 2012. And here, I must point out, with due humility, that our ABC group had been saying since our foundation in 1987 that the organisation spied on New Zealanders. We have also been saying for many years that the spying is on a scale far beyond that imagined by most people – which has been borne out by the Snowden revelations. The system is riddled with duplicity and protected by lies. One of the really serious comments that was made by Kitteridge, and one which has received far too little attention, is the comment that she had trouble accessing “basic files”. For whatever reason that this was so (Key said that they were “misplaced” or never existed) the critical point here is that this organisation is beyond proper oversight and investigation. Unless there is a whistleblower, we will never know exactly what the GCSB does and what its’ failures have been.

Note that another whistleblower at GCHQ, back in the 90s, told British TV that whenever anybody came to ask about what the spooks were doing, any potentially incriminating evidence was simply, and literally, removed from sight. So there is plenty to ask questions about. GCSB Director Ian Fletcher and his agency can’t even provide the most basic answers required of a Government department. It can’t give an accurate statement of what it has done. How many interception warrants were issued in 2013? First it told us in its Annual Report that it had seven interception warrants in force. Then it said 11. Then numbers four or five were mentioned. Then, taking into account the actual number of “access authorisations” whatever that means, the number was set at 26, far above the number originally reported. Fletcher, the Director, had to apologise to the PM for his agency’s incompetence. However, the Prime Minister doesn’t want to know. He demonstrated exactly what his attitude is when he responded to questions about the Snowden papers and NZ involvement that he “hasn’t bothered to ask”.

So the agency lied about spying on New Zealanders. It can’t or won’t tell us exactly how many interception warrants it gets. It is interesting for me that in something like education, the Government is insisting on programmes that can measure and create standards that must be reached. In the GCSB we have no standards, no measurements and no consequences for underperformance. We have any agency that has unhappy staff, that is badly managed, that gives misleading reports, and overall, lies about its activities. What kind of Government organisation like this can be allowed? Let alone the points already mentioned about its integral involvement in vicious and undemocratic operations on behalf of the American government.

Furthermore, what was the reaction of the current Government when the spying on New Zealanders was revealed in 2013? It simply rearranged the legislation. Against the wishes of a significant part of the legal profession, the Law Society, the IT industry, the Privacy Commissioner and other human rights organisations, and over 80% of the population, the Government pushed through a bill, by TWO votes, which allowed the GCSB to carry on business as usual. In practice, this still looks like merely a slightly expanded version of the previous inadequate system, with the addition of a couple of similar people, for instance, a Deputy Inspector-General, with at least one of the three being a retired judge.

The Myth Of “Oversight”

While we presently have a new intelligence oversight person, with a human rights background, it remains to be seen what access he will have to the organisation. In the past, MPs on the Intelligence and Security Committee (the so-called “oversight” body) were severely hampered by the fact they did not have security clearances that enable them to access high level secrets. The short meetings that were occasionally held dealt with administrivia and cups of tea until the short time allotted basically disappeared. Given that the real secrets related to our Big Brothers will inevitably be given a security ranking higher than any local oversight person, most of the interesting material will never see the light of day. And no outsider could know if he/she is getting the real information or not. A large number of NSA documents are classified “Not For Foreign Eyes”. And remember that anything that can be attributed to the other Five Eyes organisations will not be revealed by the GCSB, and in many cases it would be easy to withhold information on the basis that it pertains to an “ally”.

The history of oversight is an extremely sad one and we must stress this. So, is the formerly poorly managed, underfunded and deceitful GCSB, with shiny new legislation and a bit of abject grovelling, now squeaky clean and out to save democracy? I don’t think so. Over many years we have been lied to about the activities of the GCSB and it is hard to see why that should change. First of all, we have the worrying structure of a covert organisation run by a Prime Minister and the mate he appointed as Director (Key “forgot” about the phone call to recruit his mate, and tore

up the State Services Commission's shortlist of candidates for the Director's position). Even Sir Bruce Ferguson, former Director of the GCSB, raised questions about the manner of the appointment. He said on television that the appointment was "quite disturbing" and stated that, at the agency, "morale is lower than it's ever been before".

Recent controversy over the Prime Minister's Department's involvement in accelerating Official Information Act (OIA) material to an accomplice blogger raises incredibly important questions about the possibility of the GCSB being used for partisan politics. John Key's claim that he didn't sign off or know about the 2011 OIA request about the SIS that was released to Cameron Slater in near record time, but denied to proper journalists, is not comforting. Whether John Key was involved or not, the potential for political manipulation is a terrible danger to our democratic society. Don't forget that there have been egregious examples in the past: President Richard Nixon (1968-74) used covert activities to further his political interests (as exposed in the Watergate scandal which forced his resignation); Margaret Thatcher employed the Canadian CSE to spy on her own ministers in the 1980s, and, further back, UK Labour PM Harold Wilson was spied upon by his own security forces in the 60s and 70s in spite of vociferous rebuttals to the contrary. And the way that journalist Andrea Vance was investigated in 2013 over the leaking of the Kitteridge Report means attacks on the media here are part of the scheme.

Even more alarming is the recent revelation that (former) Minister of Justice Judith Collins gave the name of a civil servant to a blogger who released his name with the result that the public servant received death threats. And they didn't even get the right person. How far away from political manipulation and/or Government harassment via secret information are we? I would suggest a mere whisper. I should say that previous Labour governments were little better in their attitudes to spying and the GCSB. Helen Clark secretly re-established intelligence links with Washington around 2004-5 and tried to keep it an absolute secret (which came out in Wikileaks cables).

Another concern that is seldom addressed is the criminal use of data for private gain or other motives. There have been several serious intended or accidental releases of confidential Government information in NZ, with the ACC being particularly remiss. And public servants see inappropriate access of personal data frequently. In August 2014 a survey found that one in every 20 public servants has seen a colleague inappropriately accessing or misusing a client's personal information in the past year. The survey sampled 13,400 of the country's 148,200 public servants, to measure "integrity and conduct" for the State Services Commission (*Stuff*, 20/8/14). If the overall average of 5% applies to all public servants, then about 7,400 public servants saw colleagues improperly accessing or misusing clients' personal information in the past year. Such usage is even worse when stemming from an organisation like the GCSB that operates in secret with no day to day oversight.

Cyber Security Needs New Body, Not GCSB

Finally, we mustn't forget an important telecommunications guardian role that is very necessary and must be fulfilled. That is cyber security. Given the problems listed above, especially the point that the GCSB is already over-stretched and under-resourced, we need to turn to a different solution. And of course this should involve transparency and dedication. Hire a bunch of teenage hackers and give them a go. This is an area where an open cooperative approach is much more likely to succeed than a secretive arcane club. Remember that the Nazis' WWII Ultra encrypted code secrets were not prised open by a traditional intelligence group, but by a bunch of enthusiastic amateurs brought in for the occasion. At the moment the GCSB is riddled with a fundamental contradiction: the organisation that is responsible for our cyber security is also the organisation that is the most intrusive.

So, to sum up:

- The GCSB works in an international context that is vicious, costly, untrustworthy and dangerous to democracy
- In terms specifically of the GCSB: it has demonstrably lied to NZ citizens about its surveillance; there is little evidence of any real threats that we have been defended from; it is costly while being under-resourced; and, most of all, it has the potential to be used by a hardline Government for its own political ends.
- NZ used to have a good international reputation but that gets tarnished by close involvement in the machinations of the Western intelligence operations. How can we expect to sit on the UN Security Council, or get Helen Clark as new UN Secretary General, when we are an acolyte of the US?

On Radio New Zealand (13/8/14) the former Privacy Commissioner, Bruce Slane, stated that current security service oversight is "unsatisfactory" and proposed a roving inspector who can check operations. That inspector should be appointed by the Auditor-General, the Privacy Commissioner and the Chief Ombudsman, to take away any possible political influence. ABC would go much further. The Opposition parties in Parliament are all calling for a thorough Parliamentary investigation of the GCSB and its associates. This is a matter of grave and urgent concern.

And unless such an inquiry can come up with compelling reasons for the agency to continue it should be shut down forthwith. Remember, at least from outside, we can see no evidence of any success and the organisation was heavily criticised by the 2013 Kitteridge investigation. On top of this, the activities of the Big Brothers and the GCSB acolyte carry out undemocratic and anti-human rights operations that pose more threat to our way of life than jihadists or other so called terrorists ever could.

It is time for a radical rethink of our association with these self-serving dinosaurs, and to look at different ways to carry out the legitimate functions that we do need to carry out in the real interests of this country. Specifically we should look at how the Police can manage security issues in this country. Sure – the Police got it wrong in the “Urewera terrorists case” and the ongoing Kim Dotcom case – but the problems came out in the public arena where they were judicially examined and dealt with. The Police have a long history of undercover operations, a good record in terms of dealing with past threats, and most importantly, are subject to proper public scrutiny. When they get it wrong, we generally get to know about it.

And we need a totally new body to deal with cyber security – setting a thief to catch a thief might be a good idea, but we need to know what our thief is really doing. And to counter the real cyber threats, we need a new creative organisation tuned to this age, not an under-resourced and over-closeted Government department. Close down the GCSB. Set up a full inquiry into NZ’s intelligence and security needs and let’s set up security organisations that acknowledge the legal and moral basis that makes our society really secure.

On The Road

CAFCA/ABC Speaking Tour March-July 2014

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Murray Horton

My major project in 2014, in both of my ABC and Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) capacities, was my national speaking tour, entitled “Who’s Running The Show? And In Whose Interests?” This took place between March and July, in three separate sections (plus there came to be a fourth section, devoted to speaking at various venues around Christchurch). You can read my speech at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/SpeakingTour2014.html> and, if you’re so inclined, you can watch a video of me delivering it, at <http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/community/CAFCA/murray-horton-speaking-tour-2014.html>.

The Speech

If I say so myself, the speech was a good one. It’s unlike any of my previous tour speeches in that it was on behalf of both CAFCA and ABC. It also stressed the positive, rather than simply regurgitating the negative. And, because of that, it took me much longer to write than previous tours’ speeches. As to its political line, it could be described as “social democrat”. Chris Trotter, who devoted one of his weekly *Press* columns to it, described it as “old Labour”. I would even go so far to describe it as “small c conservative”. Reaction to the speech from audiences was almost universally positive. It was long, and got longer - with asides, topical anecdotes, and engaging audiences in Q&A sessions, the length blew out from the original 40+ minutes to closer to 90. But I will say, in my own defence, that despite that length, the audiences stayed fully engaged throughout. However, after one North Island local organiser complained that my “digressions” had eliminated any time for questions or discussion (this was a unique situation), I disciplined myself and strictly cut it back to the original length. What is on the CAFCA & ABC Websites and published in *Peace Researcher* and *Watchdog* is the original, with no “digressions” (which were never written down, they were strictly ad lib).

Jeremy’s Priceless Generosity

This speaking tour had a number of unique features. All of my previous ones (1993, 1999, 2002 and 2011) had been done solo, using public transport. But things were very different this time – CAFCA Chairperson Jeremy Agar volunteered his car, himself as driver (I’m a non-driver) and several weeks of his time. Special thanks are due to him - Jeremy made an effective donation worth thousands (even buying a brand new car for the trip, which led to some funny looks at some venues), paying all car related expenses himself (including inter island ferry costs) and would not take reimbursement for any of his personal expenses, such as food. Without Jeremy the tour would not have been possible in the fashion that it took place (all of my previous tours had been by public transport); I could not have transported such a large volume of papers with me, let alone things like a data projector and big posters – more unique features - if not for the use of his car. That was extreme generosity of both money and time – he was on the road, driving thousands of kms, for six weeks - plus another half dozen ChCh meetings in widely dispersed parts of town. Jeremy wasn’t merely the driver – he was in charge of screening the Powerpoint at each meeting (using his laptop and the data projector that CAFCA bought especially for the tour). The whole experience was a very interesting one for a couple of technophobes. And, as our Chairperson, he introduced me at every meeting, which meant that he also had a speaking role on the tour. He started the tour just telling people what material we had available but, as it progressed, he also referred to relevant topical subjects in his introduction, which worked very well. It was great to have our own MC and chair. We spent six solid weeks in each other’s company, day and night (including weekends) and were still speaking to each other at the end of it. We had many adventures but the telling of those will have to wait until the *Watchdog* obituary (depending on who outlives who).

Greg Fullmoon

And I also had an accompanying speaker, which was not part of the original plan, but it worked out very well. Greg Rzesniowiecki (due to his unpronounceable Polish surname he is universally known as Greg Fullmoon – which is his e-mail address) had wanted to do a joint speaking tour. We said no. But we invited him to speak from the floor at the end of each meeting. Which he did, from Takaka onwards, entirely at his own expense, and travelling independently of us, living in his van, the trusty Tinkerbelle (which provided my transport to and from a couple of my Christchurch meetings. It is an “interesting” experience to be told that the brakes have failed as we headed toward a red light on the motorway). It actually worked really well and his set speech about what people could practically do about the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement (i.e. make the TPPA an issue for their local Council) was a great

complement to my speech which, quite deliberately, did not propose any specific campaigns or solutions (I focused on the broad sweep approach, the “big picture” when it came to policies). Greg got a really positive response from audiences who basically got two speakers for the price of one. Greg tirelessly promoted the tour, helped us in numerous ways, and organised and publicised the final five Christchurch meetings (North New Brighton, Lyttelton, Heathcote, Fendalton and Papanui. He personally paid for some of those venues’ hire costs). He added a whole extra dimension to the tour. As a direct result of his involvement in the tour he has now become a regular *Watchdog* writer about the TPPA local government campaign.

Venues

In order, I spoke in: Dunedin, Timaru, Ashburton, Takaka, Blenheim, Waiheke, Auckland, Whangarei, Kaitiaia, AUT (Auckland), Hamilton, Te Awamutu, Thames, Waihi, Te Aroha, Tauranga, Whakatane, Opotiki, Gisborne, Clive, Palmerston North, Whanganui, Paekakariki, Wellington, Otaki, Christchurch WEA (this marked the official end of tour), plus North New Brighton, Lyttelton, Heathcote, Fendalton, Papanui (these final five Christchurch meetings were organised by Greg Fullmoon, not CAFCA). Otaki was the biggest at around 60; Te Aroha was the smallest at a handful. 20-30 was an average sort of crowd, including in Auckland, Wellington and at the Christchurch WEA. Numbers were definitely down on my 2011 tour, including in provincial cities and small towns. On the other hand, I got to more venues this time around (e.g. I’d never before spoken in Timaru, Ashburton, Tauranga, Te Awamutu, Te Aroha or Clive. I hadn’t spoken in Kaitiaia since my 1993 tour). It was a very comprehensive, not to mention tiring, itinerary, which covered a lot of the country, from Dunedin to Kaitiaia and back. There were notable gaps – no Taranaki, Rotorua, Wairarapa, Southland or West Coast (I have never spoken in those latter two or Rotorua).

Media Coverage

Media coverage varied but the tour did actually get quite a lot. Nothing in the *New Zealand Herald* or *Dominion Post* when I was in Auckland or Wellington – but I never have cracked them on any previous tours, either. The biggest coup was getting Chris Trotter to devote one of his weekly *Press* columns to me (13/5/14; “Horton’s Latter-Day Pilgrim’s Progress”). And I say “to me”, not “to the tour”, because he didn’t say anything about what I said or what the tour was about. Plus, I must say, that I’ve never thought of myself as a “pilgrim”, but there you go. There were decidedly mixed reactions to that column and it’s worth noting that it only appeared in the *Press* (not in any of the other papers for which he writes) and was never uploaded online. I appeared in the *Timaru Herald* (3/4/14, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/timaru-herald/news/9898929/Chinese-not-biggest-land-buyers> - prominent placement, too), *Manawatu Standard* (26/5/14 <http://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/10084701/Activist-claims-parties-too-business-focused>) & the *Gisborne Herald*. Plus the tour featured in quite a lot of community papers e.g. a columnist in the *Northland Age* (Kaitiaia) gave quite a plug for CAFCA (6/5/14, “Who Owns Us?”). There were plenty of radio interviews – community & Maori stations - in places I visited (but no mainstream radio & no TV interviews this time around).

Local Organisers

Local organisers & hosts are a vital part of any speaking tour. Without them the tour wouldn’t happen, simple as that. Not all of them were CAFCA or ABC members; some were complete strangers, from groups such as the Greens. Where you have good local organisers everything goes well. I will single out Nancy Hammond* in Timaru and Dion Martin in Palmerston North. They were both my organiser and host in each case, they were experienced organisers of all sorts of things, they got people out and they both did a great job of arranging media coverage. But the standout was Adi Leason in Otaki, who was both my organiser and host there. That meeting in his barn was the final of my North Island tour and it was a fantastic way to finish – it was the biggest crowd of the whole tour by far (double the numbers I got in big cities like Auckland and Wellington), and it had a completely unique feel to it. We ended with a bang (and after it was over, Adi confessed to me that he’d only started organising it about three days beforehand). Likewise Jeremy and I had only good experiences with all of our hosts (and some of them were complete strangers). Big thanks to all of them – we stayed with some great people. Particular thanks to David Robie and Del Abcede with whom I stayed several days in Auckland; ditto to Russell Campbell in Wellington; and to Mark Tugendhaft and Nedilka Radojkovich, with whom Jeremy and I spent a completely unforgettable day and night in Coromandel. *Sadly, Nancy Hammond died in July, aged 85 a few months after my tour. She was a most remarkable octogenarian and had an energy and dynamism that would put to shame people a quarter of her age.

Donors

A tour of this scale costs thousands of dollars, which CAFCA (with help from ABC) was fully prepared to pay for by ourselves. We didn’t ask anyone for money for it. But, I’m pleased to report; we received three unsolicited donations that went a long way towards defraying our costs. So, many thanks to Kevin Campbell; and to the two unions that

put in money – the Otago University branch of the Tertiary Education Union, and First Union. The latter was the single biggest donor, by far, and requested that it be listed as tour co-sponsor, which we were happy to do. First Union also publicised the tour in its paper and asked all its regional officials to advise their members about it.

Powerpoint

And a tour like this takes an awful lot of planning and preparation. For a good year beforehand a subcommittee of me, Jeremy, Colleen Hughes and Warren Brewer worked on it. Particular thanks to Warren who slogged his guts out organising a number of aspects of it – he created the brilliant Powerpoint which was a great accompaniment to the speech. Having our own data projector proved to be very, very useful. For various reasons there were times when we couldn't use it but the speech was written to be presented as a stand alone presentation, so I did fine in those meetings. Indeed one or two people who saw and heard both the "accompanied" and "unaccompanied" version told me that they preferred the latter, as they weren't "distracted" and could concentrate on what I had to say. The Powerpoint was a vital component of the tour. You can view it online at <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/SpeakingTour2014.html>. Warren set up the tour Website and put in an awful lot of work to keep it updated. That was an invaluable tool. Plus he ran the tour's Facebook presence.

Publicity

We used a variety of methods both before and during the tour (Website, Facebook, newspaper ads, e-mail, flyers). I met people who told me that they had learned about the tour and specific meetings via Facebook. We spent thousands on newspaper ads and there is no way that cost could be justified in purely financial terms. But a presence in old media was just as important as in social media – and we did encounter people who came to a meeting because they'd seen the ad in their local paper. Prior to the tour I publicised it heavily by e-mail. The most critical factor in letting people know about the tour was an on to it local organiser. Adi Leason in Otaki did not use any social media or paid ads, just basically word of mouth and maybe some e-mail – yet his was the biggest and most dynamic meeting of the whole tour. You need someone (an individual or a group) to take ownership of it and make it happen.

Resources

Having a dedicated vehicle at my disposal meant that we could take a lot of material and props with us, including:

- big posters – these had started off as a Powerpoint especially created by Bill Rosenberg and were instead turned into a set of ten old school laminated big posters. We displayed them at every venue (that's the beauty of low tech props) and they were a big hit, always being studied in great detail by those attending. Some people photographed them. You can view it online at <http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/community/CAFCA/pdf/cafca-key-facts-2014.pdf>
- postcards for people to send to politicians of their choice before the election – they were the one thing that we created specifically for the tour and they were a great success. We got thousands printed and there were only a few hundred left at the end of the tour (and they were all gone by the election).
- *Watchdogs* – what a windfall it turned out to be that the printer mistakenly printed (at no extra cost) up to 200 spares of the April issue, as opposed to the 50 that we had ordered and paid for. This gave us the luxury of being able to give them away, or sell them for a koha, to people who otherwise couldn't buy them. That meant that audience members could take away something much more substantive than just a flyer. There were only a handful left by the end of the tour and every one that was distributed was counted as sold for the asking price of \$5. Likewise, the much smaller number of ABC's *Peace Researchers* was all sold (Warren Thomson prepared an ABC leaflet especially for the tour, and hundreds were distributed).
- TPPA flyers – this set of ten differently coloured A5 flyers about ten different aspects of the Trans Pacific Partnership Agreement was a brilliant idea (big thanks to Jeremy for editing them) and hugely popular. They, and the postcards, went by the thousands. They provided people with an organising tool e.g. at the Kaitiia meeting, when people asked what they could do, I came up with the idea of putting the Pharmac leaflet into doctors' waiting rooms and distributing them at chemists' shops. We donated the leftovers to Greg Fullmoon for his endless road trip on the TPPA local government campaign.

We passed around an attendance sheet at every meeting and I subsequently contacted everyone who supplied a (legible) e-mail address, telling where to get information about the issues and campaigns raised in my speech, and adding them to my e-mail database so that they will regularly receive material from us. A number of people joined CAFCA during or after the tour (either new members or former members rejoining).

Intangibles

These tours are always wonderful opportunities to catch up with members, supporters and friends, and this one was no exception. I have to single out Bryan Gould who, along with his wife Jill, hosted Jeremy and I to a lovely Sunday lunch in their home; then, the next night, he introduced me at my Opotiki meeting, with a most fulsome litany of praise for CAFCA. That would not have happened if the tour had not taken us to Bay of Plenty. There were other such occasions with other friends and colleagues. Those social interactions humanise the grind of constant travel and “performing”: nearly every day and night. They rekindle the spark. And they enable me to catch up with what’s going on from people that I wouldn’t otherwise see more than once a year, if that.

Was It Worthwhile?

Yes, despite the fact that there is no way such a tour could be financially justified (let alone if we’d paid Jeremy’s travel costs); and that numbers at meetings were uniformly down on the 2011 tour and the demographic of those attending was largely older people (with a welcome smattering of keen young people). We just have to take both those factors as the reality of the situation. The tour was worthwhile because it showed our flag around the country; it was greeted extremely enthusiastically by people (some of whom expressed gratitude that we’d travelled so far to speak to them); some people travelled quite a distance themselves to attend one of my meetings; some attended more than one. It raised our profile and our issues in large and small places right around the country; it brought in money and members; it attracted media coverage in many places; and, ironically, by going to Auckland I got major coverage in the *Press* (Chris Trotter’s column) for the first time in several years. It was a great way to get out and campaign, and connect with people at the grassroots. Combined with our other means of communications (written, electronic, social media) it is a powerful combination. It is an integral part of what we are and what we do. It was also great fun and an unrivalled way to really see this amazingly beautiful country and reaffirm my faith in its people. Thanks for having me!

CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account

Financial Report For Year Ended 31 March 2014

Peace Researcher 46 – December 2013

- James Ayers, Organiser Account Treasurer

Presented to Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa Annual General Meeting, 22/9/14

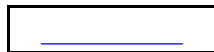
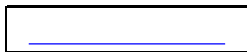
	2014	2013	
Income			
Pledges	30,292.73	29,009.912	
Donations	8,137.00	8,104.30	
Interest	39.88	63.12	
Other	539.40	539.40	
Total Income	39,009.01		37,716.73
Expenditure			
Contractor	38,528.00	35,600.00	
Phone	665.10	296.46	
Internet	584.35	538.40	
Printer	153.65	178.50	
Donations	0	450.00	
Other	156.50	2,176.50	
	40,087.60		39,239.86
Cash surplus (Deficit)	-1,078.59		-1,523.13
Opening bank account	7,675.60		9,198.733
<i>Add surplus deficit</i>	<i>-1,078.59</i>		<i>-1,523.13</i>
Closing bank account	6,597.0		7,675.60
Term deposit	(incl int recd \$815.13) 19,668.42		18,853.29
Total funds Organiser Account	26,265.43		26,265.43

Notes:

* Pledges includes interest from CAFCA term deposits of \$908.77

* Income: 79% pledges (57 pledgers); 21% donors

Contractor has received a \$0.70 per hour pay rise during the year with a further rise planned in the current year (subject to pledger support)



New Treasurer For Organiser Account

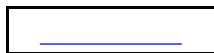
James Ayers Replaces Warren Brewer

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Murray Horton

As of the September 2014 Annual General Meeting of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa, CAFCA Committee member James Ayers has replaced Warren Brewer as Treasurer for the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account (Warren has resigned both as Treasurer and from the CAFCA Committee). I would like to reiterate my heartfelt thanks to Warren, who replaced long-time Organiser Treasurer, ABC's Bob Leonard, when the February 2011 killer quake made Bob and his wife Barbara permanent quake refugees in Wellington. Bob never saw Christchurch or his home again, dying in August 2013.

Warren took over at very short notice and in unprecedented circumstances. He was hampered by a lack of basic data (rendered inaccessible in Bob's home by earthquake damage and by Bob's abrupt departure). Throughout 2011 Warren had to spend a considerable amount of time on Organiser Account business, getting signatories replaced and reconstructing data (we weren't able to get anything out of Bob's quake-bugged house until February 2013). And he instituted a number of welcome improvements – for instance, I now get paid by a fortnightly automatic payment into my bank account rather than by a fortnightly cheque issued at a meeting, which was the practice for the previous 20 years. Many thanks; mate. And thanks to James for taking it on.



New Zealand's "Terrorist" Designations Of CPP/NPA

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Cameron Walker

At the end of 2013 I made an Official Information Act (OIA) request to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) for any information regarding the October 2013 decision to re-designate the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and New People's Army (NPA) as terrorists under the Terrorism Suppression Act. I received documents relating to both the original decision to designate the CPP/NPA in 2010 and the 2013 one to re-designate the two organisations. Under the Terrorism Suppression Act* designations only last three years but can be renewed by the Prime Minister if there are reasonable grounds to suggest the organisation is still involved in terrorist activity.(1) **For Anti-Bases Campaign's submissions on the 2002 Terrorism Suppression Act and the two more recent 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.

Many pages of the documents are redacted. However, the unredacted sections contain some interesting insights into the reasons why the Government decided to designate the CPP/NPA. Terrorist designations by overseas powers appear to influence the terrorist designations of New Zealand. The 2013 document notes(2) "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". A following paragraph, under the title "The threat posed by NPA/CPP to New Zealand, New Zealanders or New Zealand interests, including offshore' states:(4) "NPA/CPP does not currently present any known threat to New Zealand or New Zealand interests. However, there is the potential for New Zealand citizens in the Philippines to be killed or injured in an attack mounted by NPA/CPP".

No mention is made of the potential of New Zealanders to be affected by a military operation by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) or anti-communist paramilitary groups. Philippine human rights groups have documented over 1,000 extrajudicial killings of civilian political activists, trade unionists and outspoken church people by the AFP and paramilitaries over the past decade, including that of two foreigners resident in the Philippines, namely Italian missionary Father Pops Tentorio (killed in 2011) and veteran Dutch community worker Willem Geertman (killed in 2012).

Likewise, the unredacted pages do not include discussion of the impact that foreign terrorist designations have had on the off and on peace talks between the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (an umbrella Left organisation including the Communist Party) and the Philippine government, brokered by Norway. Governments who have listed the CPP/NPA as terrorists have forsaken the ability to be seen as neutral arbiters in the peace talks. In the 1990s New Zealand played an admirable role facilitating peace talks between the Papua New Guinean government and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army. New Zealand could play a good role in supporting Norway's efforts at finally finding a peaceful solution to the Philippine conflict, which started in 1969. Norway and Cuba are currently hosting peace talks between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC - designated by NZ as a terrorist group since 2010) and the Colombian government, which many hope will put an end to the five decades-long Colombian civil war. Norway and Cuba are playing a role that those nations which designated the FARC as terrorists could not.

No New Zealand Links

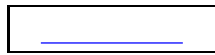
The two lines under the section entitled "The New Zealand or regional presence of NPA/CPP, or links to New Zealanders" were redacted.(3) I was interested to find out what these two lines said. As noted in my previous *Peace Researcher* article (PR 47, August 2014, "The Terrorism Suppression Act And Criminalisation Of National Liberation Groups", <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/47/pr47-006.html>) the authorities in both New Zealand and overseas have occasionally mixed up dissent with terrorism. In the case of the Philippines this is a strong worry if influences on the NZ authorities were to come from Manila, because the Philippine government regularly accuses political organisations, trade unions, church groups and human rights lawyers of being supporters of the NPA insurgency. Critics of the Philippine government's human rights record note that the smearing of opponents as "terrorists" or "Communist" supporters has legitimised serious human rights abuses against civilians, including extrajudicial killings, unlawful detention, kidnappings and disappearances.

I made a complaint to the Ombudsman to have the lines uncovered on the basis that the same document later states: "There is no proven NPA/ CPP presence in NZ".(5) Previous documents I had received under the OIA about the Colombian groups, FARC and ELN (National Liberation Army), also had the information under the same heading unredacted. On August 26, 2014, the Ombudsman informed me that the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet continued to maintain there was good reason to continue to withhold the two lines of information based on section 6(a) of the Official Information Act which withholds information likely to "prejudice the security or defence of New Zealand or the international relations of the Government of New Zealand". The letter noted that section 6(a) provided a "conclusive" reason for withholding official information.

I was pleasantly surprised when I received a letter on September 19th from Howard Broad, the Deputy Chief Executive of Security and Intelligence at the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, stating they would release the sentence to me. It simply reads: "NPA/ CPP does not have any confirmed links to New Zealanders or presence in New Zealand or the region". Broad noted that the release of this sentence was consistent with information already released in the same document and information released in the 2010 document. Making the complaint to the Ombudsman did not release any new information that was particularly revealing but it did remove the ambiguity of having the information under that particularly interesting heading blacked out. *And makes you wonder why it was blacked out in the first place. Why hide something when there is, in fact, nothing to hide? Ludicrous official secrecy is obviously addictive in the field of "national security". Ed.*

Endnotes

1. Terrorism Suppression Act 2002, s 35(2).
2. 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 (NPA/ CPP), p46 (obtained under Official Information Act 1982 Request to the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet).
3. p47.
4. p48.
5. p91.



Australian Government Tramples Democracy – Repressive Powers For The Spooks

The Abbot government has just passed some of the most potentially repressive legislation ever seen in the last 50 years. The law allows the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to seek just one warrant to monitor a limitless number of computers on a network. Critics of the law believe that it can be interpreted to blanket the entire Internet as the Internet is, essentially, a network. The law does not specify what, in its terms, a “network” is. Other parts of the new statutes are even more dangerous: ASIO is given the powers to copy, modify, or delete any data on the computers it is monitoring. Furthermore, the bill also allows ASIO to disrupt target computers, and use innocent third party computers not targeted in order to access a target computer. Those who identify ASIO agents could also face a decade in prison under the new bill, a tenfold increase on the existing maximum penalty. Ten years in prison is also the potential sentence for any journalist or whistle-blower who “recklessly” reveals information relating to intelligence operations.

Presumably such punishments are not to be inflicted in cases such as that of White House officials in the Obama Administration who, earlier in 2014, accidentally revealed the name of the CIA’s top official in Afghanistan in an email to thousands of journalists. The officer’s name - identified as “chief of station” in Kabul - was included by US Embassy staff on a list of 15 senior American officials who met with President Obama during a surprise visit to Bagram Air Field. The list was sent to a *Washington Post* reporter who was representing the news media, who then sent it out to the White House “press pool” list, which contains as many as 6,000 recipients.

One extremely serious aspect of the Australian legislation is that in some circumstances the law gives ASIO officers immunity from criminal and civil liability. Given recent reports that Australian Special Air Service (SAS) personnel brutally assaulted protestors (see below), what potential is there for vicious behaviour from the covert brethren? There was one concession made: the Government graciously consented to an amendment which specifically rules out ASIO using torture. While many Australian lawyers and academics have severely criticised the new statutes, the laws passed through the Australian Parliament with a large majority; the Australian Labor Party mostly went along with the Government. Both the Liberals and the Labor Party also voted against an amendment to make public the number of warrants that ASIO received each year.

Peace Researcher’s Co-Editors can only concur with the reported comments of Greens Senator Scott Ludlam: “What we’ve seen is, I think, a scary, disproportionate and unnecessary expansion of coercive surveillance powers that will not make anybody any safer but that affect freedoms that have been quite hard fought for and hard won over a period of decades. I have grave concerns about the direction that the Australian government seems to be suddenly taking the country” (AAP report on *Stuff*, 26/9/14). The *PR* Co-Editors have grave concerns that such legislation will soon appear in New Zealand.

Aussie SAS Detain & Brutally Assault Peace Activists

“Before dawn this morning, eight peace activists entered the top secret Swan Island military base near Queenscliff (Victoria). The group entered in the early hours of the morning to non-violently disrupt preparations for the imminent war in Iraq. Four of the activists were discovered, detained and assaulted by SAS soldiers on the base. The treatment of the activists by the SAS bordered on torture. The experiences of the four were:XXX5

- Forcibly stripped naked, handcuffed, struck on the face and choked
- Activists’ clothing were cut off with knives
- Hessian bags were placed over their heads and told ‘welcome to the bag motherfucker’ and asked ‘do you want to go for a swim?’ before being dragged naked across the ground.
- SAS personnel stood on activists’ heads and backs causing injury and said ‘If you move we will kick you in the face’.
- Dragged and dropped on the ground when they didn’t respond to questions

“When the Victorian Police arrived on the scene the assaults ceased. ‘I was thankful for the arrival of the Police, when they got there I finally felt safe’ said peace activist Sam Quinlan. An ambulance was called to the front gate as

activists were released from custody to attend to activists' injuries. 'The use of these tactics on citizens of Australia peacefully protesting the actions of the SAS is an alarming indication of the use of torture that the SAS is employing in Iraq, Afghanistan and other undisclosed locations' says Greg Rolles, an activist who entered the military facility.

"We were trying to disrupt the preparations for this imminent war and are concerned that Australia's involvement will only play into the hands of militant extremists' said Jasmine Pilbrow, another member of the group. The group are particularly concerned about the role of the SAS, who use Swan Island in their ongoing role in Afghanistan as well as likely roles in Iraq and Syria....The protestors are part of the Swan Island Peace Convergence, which has seen protestors blockading the island's only entrance since Tuesday, preventing traffic onto the island. It is the fifth consecutive year of protests at the island" (press release, 2/10/14, "Australian Peace Activists Detained And Assaulted By SAS On Swan Island").

GCHQ Has Tools To Manipulate And Spam

The *Guardian* (14/7/14) reported that the UK [Government Communications Headquarters \(GCHQ\)](#) has developed sophisticated tools "to manipulate online polls, spam targets with SMS (*text*) messages, track people by impersonating spammers and monitor social media postings", according to some of the documents leaked by US [National Security Agency \(NSA\)](#) whistleblower [Edward Snowden](#). The documents apparently disclose a range of GCHQ "effects" programmes aimed at tracking targets, spreading disinformation, and manipulating online debates and statistics. Among the programmes revealed in the document are:

- GATEWAY: the "ability to artificially increase traffic to a Website".
- CLEAN SWEEP which "masquerade[s] Facebook wall posts for individuals or entire countries".
- SCRAPHEAP CHALLENGE for "perfect spoofing of emails from BlackBerry targets".
- UNDERPASS to "change outcome of online polls".
- SPRING BISHOP to find "private photos of targets on Facebook".

The documents also detail a range of programmes designed to collect and store public postings from Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn and Google+, and to make automated postings on several of the social networks. The *Guardian* says that several of the programmes were at a "pilot" stage, at the time of publication, but that there was no detail of any legal restrictions on using any of the programmes, nor information about how often they were deployed. The *Guardian* reports the GCHQ as claiming all its programmes were "in accordance with a strict legal and policy framework" with "rigorous oversight". Glenn Greenwald, who released the papers, characterised the GCHQ statement as "questionable".

What Kind Of Person Runs The CIA?

The kind that lies, sets up killer drone programmes, and supports torture.

In July 2014 an internal investigation by the Central Intelligence Agency's Inspector General found that the CIA had "improperly" spied on US Senate staffers who were looking into evidence of the CIA's use of torture. Previously the public had been told by CIA Director John Brennan: "Let me assure you the CIA was in no way spying on (the Senate committee) or the Senate" ([Trevor Timm](#), www.theguardian.com/uk, 31/7/14). This was not the first time that Brennan had blatantly lied. After the CIA Inspector General's report completely contradicted Brennan's statements, Brennan was forced to privately apologise to the Intelligence Committee leaders.

When he was the top counterterrorism advisor for Obama's entire first term in the White House, Brennan built, oversaw, executed and excused America's drone assassination programme. During a speech in 2011, Brennan stated that [there had not been "a single collateral death" from US drone strikes](#) because of their "exceptional proficiency [and] precision", more lies that have been widely rebutted as the widespread evidence of "collateral" human damage comes in (*Guardian* Website, *ibid*). When Brennan worked in the CIA during the Bush years, he [supported many of the torture techniques used on prisoners after 9/11](#).

Peace Researcher 46 (December 2013, "Spooky Bits", Warren Thomson, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/46/pr46-002.html>) reported that after a few lean years for the Langley spooks, revelations about US intelligence budgets have shown that the CIA is back in favour. We are back to the bad old days, with more money, more special forces, more activities (drones, for one) and more operations in more countries, for the Agency. Black ops of Washington are as pervasive and appalling as ever.

Doctors Expected To Condone Torture

An article in the *New Scientist* (9/11/13, p5) recorded that “US doctors were directed by CIA to collaborate in the torture of suspect terrorists according to an independent panel of military, medical and legal experts”. A task force that was set up to preserve medical professionalism in detention centres discovered that US intelligence services demanded doctors participate in inhumane and degrading treatment of detainees, requiring medical staff to repudiate the essential ethical and humanitarian basis of their profession.

CIA Cover-Ups

In April 2014 a surprising attack on the CIA was launched by a leading Senator who has a history of supporting the spooks. The Chairwoman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Dianne Feinstein, accused the Agency of a catalogue of cover-ups, intimidation and smears aimed at investigators probing its role in an “un-American and brutal” programme of post-9/11 detention and interrogation. The attack stemmed from a row between the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Agency over a report on the torture of terrorist suspects after 9/11. Feinstein, after failing to take any action over all the recent revelations about NSA spying, suddenly turned on the CIA after it spied on staff members of her Committee. Feinstein accused the CIA of potentially violating the US Constitution and of criminal activity in its attempts to obstruct her Committee’s investigations into the Agency’s use of torture.

CIA officials were accused of monitoring computer networks used by Senate staff investigators. In a speech in the Senate, Feinstein not only confirmed that the networks had been the target of snooping, but she also said that there had been attempts by the CIA to remove documents from the network which detailed evidence of torture that would incriminate intelligence officers. Furthermore, there was evidence that CIA officers had tried to intimidate Senate staffers and ran a smear campaign in the media to discredit them. Feinstein was apparently fired up by “...repeated attempts by the CIA to frustrate the work of Senate investigators, including providing the Committee staff with a ‘document dump’ of millions of non-indexed pages, requiring years of work to sort through – a necessity, Feinstein said, after former senior CIA official Jose Rodriguez destroyed nearly 100 videotapes showing brutal interrogations of detainees in CIA custody” (*Guardian*, 11/3/14).

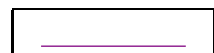
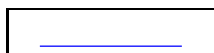
The Senate Intelligence Committee voted at the beginning of April to [declassify some parts of a study](#) into the Agency’s use of torture on detainees suspected of being involved in terrorism. This has significant implications for the military tribunals of the 9/11 defendants at Guantánamo Bay, several of whom were subjected to the abuse. The Committee study covered 100 detainees who were either in CIA custody or sent by the US to other countries for interrogation. The revelations from the parts of the Senate report released indicate a far higher number of renditions and torture instances than previously known. We should note that Feinstein’s accusations of CIA dirty work are coming, not from a critic of the spy establishment, but from the Chair of the Senate Intelligence Committee, who has determinedly defended spooks in the past.

More Data Collection

After the revelations about the incredible range of data collection of the NSA, it seems almost beyond belief that the CIA is also forging ahead with its own data collection systems. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (25/1/14) the Agency is building a vast database of international money transfers that includes millions of Americans’ financial and personal data. The *Journal* reported that the programme, which collects information from US money-transfer companies is carried out under the same provision of the Patriot Act that enables the NSA to gather nearly all American phone records, and like the NSA programme, the mass collection of financial transactions is authorised by the secret national security court, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

It’s The Caffeine!

One of the busiest Starbucks venues in the US requires its baristas to go through rigorous interviews and background checks and they are escorted to and from the business premises. One customer admitted that most of the clientele are caffeine-addicted personalities, but there are no frequent customer identifications and no real names on the customers’ personal cups. Welcome to Starbucks at CIA HQ at Langley, Virginia! The manager says that the shop has a “special mission” to help humanise the environment for the spooks who work in windowless offices and under stringent regulations. The atmosphere is crucial because the customers spend hours poring over documents, and it is claimed that if they miss some vital words, people may die. On the other hand, this is the CIA. Whatever they do, someone is likely to die (based on material from the *Washington Post*, 29/9/14).



Capitalist Militarism

The New Social Darwinism And The Crisis Of Western Civilisation

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Dennis Small

"It is no measure of health to be well-adjusted to a profoundly sick society" (J. Krishnamurti).

"Business follows the flag . . . We provide the kind of security and stability. You provide the kind of profits that guarantee investment and profit for the local communities, who in turn will buy our products . . . We need to continue to have this relationship where we provide the security and you provide the investment" (William Cohen, US Secretary of Defense, in an address to chief executive officers of major US corporations, October 1998 – quoted in "Neo-liberalism, Militarism & Armed Conflict", editorial introduction to a special journal issue looking at the linkages between the market and the military by Gwyn Kirk & Margo Okazawa-Rey, Social Justice: A Journal of Crime, Conflict and World Order, vol. 27, no. 4, 2000: <https://www.socialjusticejournal.org/SJEdits/82Edit.html>).

"These (i.e. Islamic State) are barbarians. They intend to kill us. And if we don't destroy them first, we're gonna to pay the price" (John Boehner, US House of Representatives' Speaker, Press, 30/9/14).

"The Global War on Terrorism is presented as a 'clash of civilisations', a war between competing values and religions, when in reality it is an outright war of conquest, guided by strategic and economic objectives" ("Towards A World War III Scenario: The Danger of Nuclear War", Prof. Michel Chossudovsky, Global Research, 2012, in Preface).

Islamic State (IS): The West's New Bogeymen

During August 2014 we saw and heard continual heartrending TV reports on the tragic plight of the Yazidi people in north-western Iraq. They had been marked out for extermination by Sunni Muslim extremists unless they converted from their syncretic faith, something which, of course, they had refused to do. Forced to flee for their very survival into the rugged Sinjar mountain range, the Yazidis were desperate for help. Aid from the Iraqi government and the Kurdish military, along with both firepower and humanitarian relief from Anglo-American forces, proved to be significant in tackling this crisis, although the response was pretty ragged and inadequate given the dire situation. Another rescue of acutely distressed people took place with the relief of the besieged Iraqi town of Amerli in the north-east of the country. Its' mainly Shia Turkmen inhabitants were saved by a coalition composed of regional and international forces. Such crises have demonstrated yet again the urgent need for much better internationally coordinated facilities and measures for rapid and *genuine* humanitarian intervention, protection, and relief. Future situations of the nature just described will inevitably arise around the world. This should be a priority firmly assigned under the United Nations umbrella with a neutral and independent administration to help meet the challenges of the future. The UN had made a direct appeal for international help in the case of the plight of the Yazidis. We shall pick up this issue again in discussion later below. There are thorny matters to confront, which we can at least touch on.

The Yazidi suffered a series of shocking human rights abuses. Media reportage and Western leaders painted a barbaric image of their Muslim jihadist persecutors, who belong to the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (or al-Sham, ISIS), also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), or even just the Islamic State (IS). A number of the Yazidi refugees pictured on TV had clearly been traumatised by their experiences. In one item filed from the frontline, British ITV's John Irvine spoke of "horror" stories and interviewed a distressed Yazidi woman about an episode that he remarked, "*defies belief*" (TV3, *Noon 3 News*, 13/8/14). In this particular atrocity, the Muslim jihadists had taken over the interviewee's village, killed some of the men, and then paraded the victims' severed heads around on the bonnets of cars in order to terrorise the rest of the inhabitants. It was surely a most horrendous incident. There is an obvious underlying assumption here that Western agents could never be involved in actions like this. Such reporting frames a contest of Western civilisation versus the threat of barbarism, as explicitly articulated in other reports by Irvine & co., all consistent with prescribed doctrine (for background see "Iraq War Media Reporting, Journalism & Propaganda": www.globalissues.org/print/article/461). Yet Irvine himself was also an enthusiastic cheer-leader for the barbaric, illegal Anglo-American invasion of Iraq back in 2003, even being the first foreign correspondent to greet the arriving US army ("No Mea Culpa from the British Media – Part I [2/9/04]: www.medialens.org/). "On April 9, 2003, ITN/ITV's John Irvine won all prizes for power-friendly wishful thinking, [saying that]: 'A war of three weeks has brought an end to decades of Iraqi misery'" (ibid.). Returning to Baghdad a couple of months later in 2003, Irvine noted the prevalent "lawlessness" but remained resolutely upbeat about Iraq's prospects (ibid.).

In August 2014 this ITV ideologue was casting Iraq under imminent threat from terrorist Muslim hordes, from “the rampaging cut-throats of IS”. His message implied that our standards and practice of human rights are far better than those of the new barbarians at the gates. There are obvious contradictions inherent in John Irvine's position given the documented record of what has happened in Iraq since March 2003 (*let alone its previous history!*) - from the onslaught on this tragically afflicted country of Western State terrorism right up to the renewed neo-imperialist surge in 2014, ostensibly against IS (“Bush in Babylon: The Recolonisation of Iraq”, Tariq Ali, Verso, 2003, puts both what happened before and since in proper perspective). It is also most important and enlightening to set all this in the context of its appropriate global background. Let us briefly flashback to the killing fields of Indonesia during 1965/66 when there was a mass slaughter of Communists, Leftists and other groups following an Army coup. This will afford us an insight into the bloody creation of the new capitalist world order and how Western propaganda works today (“The New Rulers of the World”, John Pilger, Verso, 2002/03, esp. ch. 1, “The Model Pupil”).

Black Mass And Mass Murder: Calculated And Cold Blooded Genocide

During this particular period in the mid-1960s, a major strategy of the new Indonesian military regime headed by General Suharto was the use of Muslim death squads whipped into a frenzy of bloodlust. According to an eyewitness account by American reporter Don Moser: “The corpse-laden rivers ran red from butchery” (in the “Haunted Face of a Red Defeat”, *Life International*, Time-Life International, vol. 41, no. 1, 11/7/66, pp62/3). As *Life International's* Far East Regional Editor, Moser described the ferocity of the Muslim terrorists against their victims in loving detail, explaining that: “For Moslems, the rising against the Communists was a holy war” (ibid, p63). These Muslim terrorists were among the West's prime allies – actually agents – in crushing the Indonesian Communists. Even head-hunting by Muslim death squads was some of the gory detail celebrated by *Life International*. Moser referred to such atrocities in these terms: “At the border between West and Central Java, youths presented passing motorists with the wrapped heads of Communists as souvenirs” (ibid.). He also described how one of the killers on the island of Bali beheaded a former friend, after first brutally mutilating his face (ibid, p62). The Indonesian Army orchestrated the genocide. Again, Moser clinically and appreciatively spelt it out: “Suspects were rounded up and imprisoned and after their names were checked against Party membership lists, they were either shot by the soldiers or else *farmed out to the people* [my emphasis] themselves for execution” (ibid, p63).

The pretext for the genocide, which in fact carried on to 1970, was an alleged coup attempt by the Indonesian Communist Party, said to have “had all the earmarks of a Black Mass” (ibid.). So many aspects of what *Life International* described here were later revealed to be the deliberately calculated outcome of US, especially Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) machinations. These included propaganda about the so-called “Black Mass” coup attempt; the supplying of death lists; the incitement to frenzied mass murder; the provision of weaponry and communications equipment; etc. (see later below for some relevant references). *Life International's* victorious celebration of the Indonesian genocide is probably the most callous and blatant piece of propaganda produced in the West since World War II. It was paralleled in *Time* and some other media. What are most remarkable are the combination of horror and the attribution of responsibility for this horror to certain Western allies but with the real blame ultimately assigned to the victims who brought legitimate *revenge* upon themselves. There is no suggestion in the *Life International* article of any American or other Western involvement. The genocide is largely portrayed in terms of a spontaneous episode of social outrage; and of the consequent bloody but necessary ethnic-type cleansing and punishment of a potentially dangerous enemy. There is no moral condemnation of the barbaric perpetrators – indeed, far from it in that they are warmly welcomed as our new allies! Propaganda became institutionalised. According to the official bowdlerised line: “[Suharto's] policies generated an economic recovery and brought Indonesia back into the Western capitalist fold” (“*Reader's Digest Family Encyclopaedia of World History*”, 1996, p627). The Suharto regime was certainly the model kind of Rightwing dictatorship so assiduously cultivated by Western forces in order to facilitate and foster capitalist extraction, the pillage of resources, and crony enterprise. “But his increasingly dictatorial style of government met considerable opposition from Islamic fundamentalism [ironically enough] and trade unionists” (ibid.). Mass protests against Government corruption and economic mismanagement finally drove Suharto, the West's Pol Pot, from power in 1998. For an extremely detailed analysis of one of the greatest unpunished crimes of the 20th Century (or any other, for that matter) see my “Ghosts of a Genocide: The CIA, Suharto and Terrorist Culture” which constituted the entire Special Issue of *Peace Researcher* 25, March 2002 <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr25intr.htm>.

The Indonesian genocide shows both how viciously the West and its mainstream media can perpetrate and propagandise the most atrocious human rights abuses, and how effective media manipulations can be on more than one level, even continuing right up to the present with regard to this particular case. For example, here is a recent entry in the *On This Day* column (30/9/14), highlighting historical events in the *Press*, a long-time propaganda agency for US foreign policy: “1965 – Six of Indonesia's top Army generals are kidnapped and killed in an abortive coup. Turmoil ensues, leading to the deaths of 300,000 Communists and President Sukarno being replaced by Suharto”. Several other nations were deeply complicit with the US in the Indonesian genocide. These were the

nations belonging to the so-called Five Eyes security/intelligence arrangement. Besides Britain and Australia, which were directly involved, NZ and Canada were also implicated.

There have been plenty of other similar abuses to the Indonesia genocide – all disguised, distorted, or played down by our rulers and the mainstream media (see, for example, “Year 501: The Conquest Continues”, Noam Chomsky, Verso, 1993). Another example; there were over 200,000 Mayan Indian and other victims in Guatemala of US-engineered counter-insurgency operations (www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guatemalan_Civil_War). “In Guatemala, the activities of the counter-insurgency forces were so horrific that funding actually stopped [for a time], although the shortfall seems to have been made good by the US partner in barbarity, Israel. Despite occasional doubts, the US remained steadfastly committed to militaries who were steadfastly committed to murdering their own populations” (“Terrorism: The New World War”, Lloyd Pettiford & David Harding, Capella, 2003, p162; “The American Connection: Volume Two: State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala”, M. McClintock, Zed Books Ltd, 1985). Incidentally, President Bill Clinton actually once made a very rare American apology in the case of Guatemala – as meaningless in import as it might well be considered. Overall, the most effective propaganda technique used by the mainstream media is simply the use of silence in order to screen these proxy wars and mass slaughter as much as possible from close scrutiny. President Barack Obama is trying to stem the tide of destitute child migrants from Guatemala and other Central American countries devastated by US-led wars in the past, and now prey to drug cartels, poverty, and other serious social problems. Obama himself is looking forward to retiring with his privileged family to a multi-million dollar mansion in California.

Militarist And Media Manipulations

In 2014 IS has perpetrated a barrage of horrible human rights abuses in both Syria and Iraq – from massacres of Yazidis, Shiites, Kurds, and other minority groups to the murder of captive Iraqi soldiers (thankfully nothing yet comparable in scale with the Anglo-American record!). As part of its sadistic propaganda campaign, IS has even showcased on video the gruesome beheading of two unfortunate American journalists and two British aid workers. Allah the merciful does not appear in IS' version of the Koran. Western intelligence agencies claim to have established the identity of the cold blooded executioner, nicknamed “Jihadi John”, who ironically enough has a London accent. Already the Anglo-American axis and its allies are working on a detailed list of war crimes for the legal prosecution of IS personnel while engaged in continuing military and covert action against this extremist jihadi movement. A UN report has condemned “systematic war crimes” carried out by IS and called for their prosecution (*Press*, 4/10/14). British Prime Minister David Cameron has called the “executions” carried out by IS acts of “pure evil”, and denounced the militants as “monsters” and the movement as “the embodiment of evil”. While these beheadings have been evil deeds indeed, Cameron owes his own affluent position in life today at least in part to such acts carried in Indonesia, Guatemala, and many other places over many years, as well as long-term general exploitation of the “Third World”, let alone the planetary environment. President Obama even spent some of his youth in Indonesia (1967-71), and his Kenyan father was a native of a British colony where the ruling power ruthlessly crushed the Mau Mau uprising against the racist white settlers. In recent years the surviving Kenyan victims of British brutality have been claiming compensation in British courts (<http://www.theguardian.com/world/mau-mau>; “UK to Compensate Kenya's Mau Mau Torture Victims”). Nobel Peace Prize winner and committed serial killer Obama is a modern-day exemplar of those former “barbarians” who became Roman emperors. He was born in Hawaii, which bristles with American military bases, a key command link in the intelligence and nuclear war machine. .

The most dramatic use of Muslim jihadists by the Anglo-American axis since the Indonesian genocide of the 1960s was against the Russians in Afghanistan during the Reagan/Thatcher era in the 1980s. CIA emphasis was on the recruitment of the most extreme Muslim foreign fighters as well as home-grown warriors – a strategy which blew back politically in the form of the Taliban and al Qaeda. Globalisation of conflict in the new era was exemplified by the rise of “bin Laden's organisation, which is as much a creation of globalisation as a response to it. The network was formed in the crucible of an international conflict between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan – a war that drew in Pakistanis, Americans and Saudis, along with Muslims from all over the globe” (“Holy War Inc: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden”, Peter Bergen, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2001, p214: Bergen was a CNN journalist and an officially endorsed mainstream media mouthpiece). The Western mandated and manipulated Muslim “holy war” against the Communists became a holy war against Western interests. Even though some bright spark in the CIA had coined the term “blowback” following the toppling of the Shah in Iran in 1979 at the hands of a wrathful fundamentalist movement, the world's worst terrorist organisation continued to deliberately foster a similar movement in Afghanistan. Then later, after driving the internationally oriented al Qaeda out of Afghanistan in 2001, the US and its allies have stupidly mired themselves down in a bitter, debilitating, dirty war for this tragically torn country against the domestically preoccupied Taliban with their tribal and Pashtun heritage, overlapping significantly into neighbouring, nuclear-armed Pakistan. American suicidal stupidity has continued to prove endless (!) on a widening range of fronts (“Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion & The Death of Utopia”, John Gray, Farrar, Straus &

Giroux, 2007).

Orwellian watchwords are always the West's ruling guidelines whenever it suits vested interests. Western war criminals and State terrorists – from Indonesia in the 1960s to Iraq in recent years - remain untouchable given that Western hypocrisy and selective morality are reflected in the UN bodies and other international agencies over which the West either exercises effective control or sufficient influence. The Obama Administration has vowed to pursue IS “to the gates of Hell”. This clash of barbarisms, plus other compounding global conflicts, threaten eventually to take us all over the brink, into the jaws of Hell indeed! Since 9/11, and indeed long before, the US has been on a fatally counter-productive and destructive path, continually generating ever more radical enemies. In sum, the globalisation of terrorism in all its forms is taking a very grim toll in the early 21st Century and augurs far more in the near future. Peoples around the world desperately need to mobilise positive, alternative pathways to the mounting inroads of global conflict.

Progress And Paradox

Many celebrants of Western civilisation extol its achievements in human rights. Yet the history of Western civilisation has been carved in blood. In the modern era there has often been, to date, a huge contrast between the domestic policy and practice of human rights and the implementation of foreign policy and practice. How is this contradiction reconciled? All sorts of psychological techniques are employed: from the rationalisation of force in the name of peace to bowdlerised history; from claims about legitimate self-defence to denials of any responsibility for covert atrocities (e.g., US-backed “death squad” operations in Latin America); from claims of humanitarian intervention to pre-emption of alleged threats. International law and the norms of civilised behaviour have been further grossly perverted in the new millennium (“Lawless World: America and the Making and Breaking of Global Rules”, Philippe Sands, Allen Lane/Penguin, 2005). The so-called “War on Terror” is testament to a new era in the story of the West, a new global stage where war/terror has again become central to the conduct of foreign policy. Yet the short history of the War on Terror – *and keep in mind the future is interminable for its exponents* – has already been red with the blood of hundreds of thousands of civilians, as well as combatants. Indeed, this stage of world history can be seen at worst as ushering a decline for our whole species into barbarism, even human extinction (“Towards a World War III Scenario”, op. cit.: www.globalresearch.ca/).

Since 9/11, there have been an avalanche of human rights abuses perpetrated in foreign lands, including “shock and awe” bombing; invasions; massacres; torture; systematic “death squad” repression by special forces and trained militias; targeted drone attacks; and mass social disruption and destruction. In a culture supposedly committed to democracy, freedom and the practice of human rights, at least according to its own proclamations, emerging “neo-fascist” elements are now clearly evident. Militarism is on the rise. It is being constantly reinforced by the commemorations about World War I (and, by association, WWII). So-called Western civilisation is reaffirming the black aspects of its heart's core. It is not trying to purge itself of its bloody past and present abuses, and so do its best to help create a peaceful and cooperative future. Instead, it is embracing the road to oblivion. Democracy and human rights within the West have depended historically on the rampant exploitation of peoples and the planetary environment. Western nations have consumed a grossly disproportionate share of the Earth's resources, including the bulk of non-renewables. And in terms of the evolution of the human species this has all been accomplished in a very brief phase of cultural innovation, technological exuberance, and rampant expansionism. From virtually the start of the 21st Century, the Anglo-American axis has once more been on a violent, neo-imperialist crusade. Instead of adherence to the proclaimed values of freedom, justice and human rights, the scourges of militarism and war-mongering – fostered, facilitated and promoted by the mass media - are proving fundamental to the global capitalist system (see my two part article “More Media War-Mongering: Signs of Things to Come”, *Peace Researcher* 41 & 42, July & November 2011, www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/41/pr41-006.htm; www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/42/pr42-008.htm). Competition for markets and resources worldwide drives the military bandwagon onwards into a planetary quagmire.

The militarist syndrome is a highly contagious disease because, inevitably, countries outside the West catch it too. For instance, India fears China's “global ambitions” and frets about “Beijing's influence in a region that it considers its backyard”, namely the Indian Ocean (*Press*, 17/9/14). “To counteract the threat, India is planning to spend nearly \$45 billion over the next 20 years building 103 warships, destroyers and nuclear submarines” (ibid.). Meantime, Vietnam is acquiring half a dozen Russian Kilo-class submarines from Russia to also try and counter China (*Press*, 9/9/14). At the same time, the US and India have agreed to cooperate more closely on “maritime security” in opposition to “China's naval muscle-flexing in Asia” (*Press*, 2/10/14). Even on land the old enmity has flared again between India and China along the contested border of the remote Ladakh region in eastern Kashmir, part of the Himalayan range. Pakistan too, of course, has claims in the Kashmir area and is an ally of China. Western civilisation in form of global capitalism has not only unleashed a competitive “race to the bottom” on humankind but the impending threat of mass destruction on the planet's life forms. Indeed, Western civilisation itself rests on the

threat of nuclear weapons and similar weapons of mass destruction (WMD), on the underlying contradiction and obscene evil of commitment to absolute self-immolation for everyone; and, in turn, the destabilising proliferation of such WMD represents another huge danger for us all. Another dimension of the gathering crisis relates to internal divisions within countries. Major powers like Russia, China and India, for instance, have significant Muslim minorities associated with ethnic tensions vis-a-vis the majority society.

Background To The Current Capitalist Crisis

So, far then from exorcising the evolutionary legacy of what we might consider to be our “killer ape” heritage - the dark side of our human nature - the impetus of the West instead in the new century has been towards neo-fascism and war. This impetus has drawn on a dangerous legacy. During the decade of the 1980s, the Anglo-American axis under the Reagan/Thatcher regime not only embraced militarist confrontation but also a doctrinaire version of the free market – neo-liberalism or “laissez-faire” economics pushed to the extreme, especially in the form of free trade fundamentalism (whatever the actual, self-serving reality of both national interest and corporate power!). “In the 1980s, British PM Margaret Thatcher and US President Ronald Reagan acted as the co-leaders of the neoliberal revolution against Keynesianism”, (“Globalisation: A Very Short Introduction”, 3rd ed., Manfred Steger, Oxford University Press, 2013, p40). “Keynesianism” can be described here for my purposes as: “A branch of economics, based, often loosely, on the ideas of [John Maynard] Keynes, [and] characterised by a belief in active government and suspicion of market outcomes” (“Pocket Economist”, Matthew Bishop, Profile Books, 2000, p134). To expand further on the quote above about the neo-liberal revolution: “Soon thereafter, business elites in the US and Japan consciously linked the novel term 'globalisation' to a political agenda aiming at the 'liberation' of State-regulated economies around the world” (“Globalisation”, op. cit.). Transnational corporations (TNCs) were eagerly seeking an unfettered global reach. In particular, the Anglo-American alliance went on to try and dominate the rest of the world through the mechanism of so-called “free trade” and investment. Later in the 21st Century, the aggressive promotion of free trade merged into a newly revived neo-conservative agenda emphasising military power as well - as articulated by US President George W. Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Globalisation And The Tightening Coils Of Conflict

To be sure, the new era of conflict-ridden globalisation is throwing out a multitude of challenges for peace-making. For instance, “Mad Dog” Tony Blair, former British PM and war criminal, is still spitting out his anti-democratic, militarist poison on the Egyptian situation and related conflicts (“Blair urges common *anti-Islam* cause”, *Times* article reprinted in the *Press*, 24/4/14). In April 2014, TV One and TV3 were running reports on the sentencing to death of the Muslim Brotherhood leadership by the new military dominated Egyptian regime. These reports, naturally, did not mention how the US and the rest of the West (especially Israel) strongly backed the illegal overthrow of the Morsi government in 2013; the de facto installation again of authoritarian control (albeit under a transparent civilian camouflage); and the pending judicial murder of hundreds of Islamist opponents designated as “terrorists”, the mandatory label today for any militant opponents of the West (e.g., “Egypt’s Bloody Coup d’Etat”: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/arab>; “Was Washington Behind Egypt’s Coup d’Etat – Did the Pentagon Give the Green Light?”: www.globalresearch.ca/). This Western support was not publicly broadcast of course but covertly implemented behind the scenes.

The instigation and/or support of social movements from street protests to bloody mass uprisings is a long proven CIA tactic - exemplified early on in the Middle East by the Anglo-American subversion of the democratic Iranian Mossadegh government in 1953 to grab the country’s oil. Likewise, the death penalty imposed on the Muslim Brotherhood leadership is also in the long and bloody tradition of US-backed death squad operations using CIA watch-lists, including the Indonesian genocide 1965-1970 outlined above (“Case Study: The 1965-70 Indonesia Genocide”, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44/pr44-005b.htm>; “An International Guide to CIA Death Squads”: www.whale.to/b/mcgehee.html; “Western Policy of Murder Rebounding as Terrorism”, Mark Curtis, *Guardian*, 7/10/2005; www.arabnews.com/node/274193; “Indonesia history, Genocide: 1965-1966, 40 years of silence, www.indonesia-digest.net/3200genocide.htm; <http://www.theguardian.com/film/the-act-of-killing>). In the case of Egypt in 2014, such a massacre is cunningly contrived to be conducted in the form of legally adjudicated executions. Blair has come out unashamedly in favour (*Press*, 24/4/14, op. cit.).

The Endless Terrorist War

Note that the headline featured in the *Times/Press* article above citing Tony Blair (“Blair urges common *anti-Islam* cause”) blatantly appeals to a “war of civilisations” (op. cit.). This has been a thesis prominently expounded by Professor Samuel Huntington, an American militarist mandarin, who had been one of the strategists of the Vietnam War, as well as an adviser to apartheid South Africa and Brazilian dictatorships. We now have a self-fulfilling prophecy at work (“The West will have to reap the whirlwind sown by Bush and Blair”, Dilip Hiro [6/4/03]:

www.independent.co.uk/). War against Iraq fused together Arab nationalism and militant Islam – the ideologies of Saddam Hussein and bin Laden's al Qaeda, although even early on there was some overlap with Hussein's appeal to religion as well (ibid.). Now with the emergence of IS following on from al Qaeda, Islamist jihad against the West has really globalised. There are beheadings in various places and other terrorist actions. Its battle cry has sounded across the globe, resonating in the impoverished areas of South Asia, and wherever Sunni Muslims feel aggrieved and oppressed. By mid-September 2014: “More than 6,000 new recruits [had] flocked to the ranks of Islamic State in Syria since American airstrikes began against the group last month, according to analysts (*Press*, 19/9/14). There are an estimated 500 British fighters among them. The hard Right foreign policy brigade and their media mates in the US and Britain were already cranking up anti-Muslim sentiment well before 9/11. Such sentiment has flowed on freely since then while Western abuses and attacks have evoked various versions of Muslim militancy, and even a type of what can fairly be called “Islamofascism” (so often just a loose term of Western propaganda) as in IS' creed and practice, a virulent mixture of medievalism and modern politics.

The Murdoch *Times* article on Blair's “anti-Islam cause” included his appeal to “the West to reach out to Vladimir Putin in the fight against 'radical Islam', despite the Russian President's 'militant stance' over Ukraine” (*The Press*, 24/4/14, op. cit.). Blair called for full Western support for the Egyptian dictatorship. The potential plethora of endless enemies is obviously worrying many in the Western Establishment with Blair appealing for efforts to get both Russia and China on side against radical Islam (ibid.). Lately, Blair has been eagerly promoting the Western war on IS, both in the air and on the ground (e.g., TV3, *6pm 3 News*, 23/9/14). Oh, what a tangled web we have woven indeed! But the Western power elite and the mainstream media are not going to let the mess that they have made spoil their ongoing storyline of the “War against Terror” (“The Mess They Made: The Middle East after Iraq”, Gwynne Dyer, Scribe, 2007).

How To Systematically Induce Extremism Everywhere

Tony Blair, as we have seen, is eminently unashamed of his war crimes to date, above all the lying propaganda behind the 2003 illegal invasion of Iraq. In the *Times* article (*Press*, op. cit.), he goes on to express the conflict of a couple of the three competing globalisms that Professor Manfred Steger has identified in his very popular and incisive study of globalisation (“Globalisation”, op. cit., ch. 7). Blair declares that radical Islam “is undermining the possibility of peaceful coexistence in an era of (neo-liberal market) globalisation” (*Press*, op. cit.). Steger contrasts these two types of globalism - “religious globalism” versus “market globalism” a la Tony Blair – with a third, which he calls “justice globalism” (“Globalisation”, op. cit.). This third sort of globalisation is that expressed by social justice and environmental non-government organisations (NGOs) in their efforts to chart positive alternatives for the future. Blair's hypocrisy, however, knows no bounds. “He defended last year's military coup against Egypt's *democratically* [my emphasis] elected government” (*Press*, op. cit.). In connection with the judicially mandated murder of the Muslim Brotherhood leadership, Blair perniciously and perversely said “that critics of Egypt's military-backed interim regime 'should show some sensitivity' after the killing of hundreds of police and soldiers” (ibid.) - during a coup against a “democratically elected government” in which the military and police killed many protesters defending this same Government! In so many ways, the political contest in Egypt is a contest between religious globalism and market globalism with a democratic struggle at the very centre over the issues of justice globalism.

There are a number of significant things then to note here about the specifics of Blair's appeal, including: the open endorsement of the Western-backed overthrow of democratically-elected governments, as recently demonstrated in Egypt and Ukraine; support for mass murder; the increasing desperation and confusion within the West's power elite as potential foes continue to multiply in the rest of the world; and the headline which actually implies that the whole of Islam is our enemy! In the course of this particular article, the reporter applies the normal selective use of propagandistic language, i.e. epithets like “radical Islam” and Putin's “militant stance” on Ukraine, terms that are never applied by the mainstream media to Western policies, institutions, and agents. As part of the malevolent and warmongering Murdoch media empire, the *Times* pours out a stream of foreign policy propaganda into the outlets of many other media, including the Australasian Fairfax Media, publisher of the *Press* and a raft of other Australian and NZ newspapers. While not as rabidly venomous as *Fox News* in the US, the *Times* serves as another vehicle for a grossly warped Western view of the world. Blair is actually quoted to the effect that radical Islam “is destabilising communities and even nations” (ibid.). The blowback and damage that his own malign actions and those of his mates have inflicted on vulnerable societies, and the resulting impetus to Muslim radicalisation have been enormous (see e.g., my article “Middle East Turmoil and Beyond: Political Blowback in Action”, *Peace Researcher* 43, May 2012, www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/43/pr43-008.htm). Given the inroads of IS into Iraq, Blair has recently come in for some lambasting, even from a correspondent or two in the *Times*. But, as we have seen, he is still very much on the job.

Blair's influence and that of former US President George W. Bush & co. live on in all sorts of ways. Blair himself, who has reaped plenty of monetary profits in the course of his neo-imperialist activities, has agreed “to advise the

Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al Sisi, whose courts have sentenced hundreds of dissidents to hang. Working on behalf of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), which is giving financial assistance to the Cairo government, Blair will be advising the former Field Marshal Sisi on how to polish his image and restore the trust of foreign investors" ("Blair Courts Scorn", *Press*, 4/7/14). While Blair even gets a bit of criticism these days in the conservative Western media, this is really yet another smokescreen. Blair's PR is, in fact, the bold public face of Western-backed repression with business pretty much as usual as under the former Mubarak regime. This syndrome is pervasive. For instance, much of Western peace posturing during the Israeli government's 2014 invasion of Gaza was just a smokescreen for delivering as much damage to the "terrorist"-labelled Hamas as possible within a conveniently orchestrated period of time. As a consequence, "collateral damage" took centre stage under the US-sponsored Israeli regime's onslaught on Gaza with the Israelis even deliberately targeting UN refugee sites that were precisely known to them. In blitzing Gaza, they have viciously and systematically slaughtered many children. These days, Western State terrorism is openly and boldly plumbing new depths of depravity.

Fungible Freedoms And The Fog Of War

IS actually originated in Iraq as an element within the Sunni resistance to the Anglo-American 2003 invading crusade, supposedly intended to bring the blessed gifts of freedom, human rights and democracy to the benighted. Part of the former al Qaeda network in Iraq, IS shifted its base to Syria in early 2013 (a *Times* report in the *Press*, 12/6/14). It set up a new base in Raqaa in the northeast of Syria. But having consolidated in Syria, it then returned to Iraq in 2014 and by mid-year had taken control of Fallujah and Mosul, gaining a large contiguous swathe of land across both Syria and Iraq to establish its proclaimed caliphate. While IS has evidently spent a lot of time fighting rival rebel groups in Syria opposed to the Assad regime, it has also acquired the reputation of being the most effective foe of the Shiite minority-ruled Government. Given suspicions in certain quarters in Syria that the West is in fact protecting Assad to some extent, the targeting of IS by the US-led coalition will very likely only increase such concerns and anger even more people. While IS too has even been considered beyond the pale by al Qaeda there are indications that some al Qaeda factions and IS are reuniting against a common Western enemy. This is due to American firepower targeting the Nusra Front and others. Media reports indicate that the Western aim is to wipe out IS and affiliated or associated groups. But the problem, even freely acknowledged, is how to *kill* the up to estimated 30,000 (or even 40,000!) IS fighters – and as noted more are joining rapidly all the time! - from the air when they have blended in with local communities. So the would-be exterminators of IS & co. need boots on the ground, from so-called "moderate" Syrian rebels to American special forces, and probably even many more foot soldiers to even have any real impact.

With the explosion during mid-2014 of IS into Iraq from Syria, the contradictions of Western capitalism and the "War on Terror" are mounting and multiplying rapidly. IS has replaced al Qaeda as the number one imminent threat. Its dramatic return to Iraq drew strongly on recent history. By 2012, anger and protest against the Nouri al-Maliki Shiite-dominated Government was widespread among Sunnis ("2012-2014 Iraqi Protests": www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/). IS capitalised on this, owing much of its success in 2014 to its' ready reception by Sunni communities. The difficulty of the struggle to relieve the town of Amerli stemmed a lot from the hostility of the surrounding Sunni villages. Again, the general alienation of Sunnis will make the assault on IS with its inevitable high toll of civilian casualties fraught with both a fractured Iraqi society and further widespread blowback. But the sheer malevolence and hypocrisy of the American Establishment is breathtaking. This was recently illustrated by a *60 Minutes* report on "The Islamic State", by Scott Pelley of CBS, who must be one of the world's top Orwellian propagandists (*Prime*, 30/9/14). In a textbook example of mainstream media manipulative journalism, Pelley attributed the rise of IS to the irresponsible abuse of power by the Shia leader Nouri al-Maliki in alienating the Sunni minority, once the base of Saddam Hussein's rule. Indeed, this has been the charge too of the Obama Administration in pressuring al-Maliki out of power. War criminal and former US President George W. Bush had even called Maliki a "son of a bitch" (*ibid.*). But Maliki had been a handpicked agent of the US agenda. Most ironically, the neo-imperialists should have listened to Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning, a US Army intelligence analyst and later whistle-blower to Wikileaks.

Ironies run amok as usual. Bradley Manning was posted to Iraq in 2009-10. He was horrified by the wanton "civilian deaths" caused by the US in Iraq and Afghanistan ("Wikileaks: Inside Julian Assange's War on Secrecy", David Leigh & Luke Harding, et al, (Guardian Books, revised/updated, 2013, p22). The careless brutality of his fellow Americans deeply disturbed him, as demonstrated by the internationally screened video of helicopter gunfire killing civilians and wounding children on the streets of Baghdad. An incident that apparently angered Manning enough to start leaking information concerned the detention of some Iraqi dissidents. They had allegedly been detained for printing "anti-Iraqi literature" but Manning found "it was, in fact, a scholarly critique against the Iraqi PM Nouri al-Maliki that tracked the corruption within his Cabinet" (*ibid.* p30). An upset Manning revealed this to his commanding officer but the occupying American officialdom was not at all interested in the matter. He was told instead to get on helping the Iraqi police find further people to detain (*ibid.* pp30/1). The farce of so-called "*political*" solutions as imposed by the US and its allies is exposed yet again. Gwynne Dyer, one of the more fair-minded

Western commentators on international issues, observed in June 2014 that: “The entire Iraqi government is an ‘institutionalised kleptocracy’, as one of PM Nouri al-Maliki’s own ministers said, and the Army is no exception” (*Press*, 14/6/14). Oh, bravo America and its Liberty Bell!

Over the years the US has had many “sons of bitches” to do its bidding – from Nicaragua’s Somozas to the Philippines’ Marcos, from Haiti’s Duvaliers to Egypt’s Mubarak, and from Afghanistan’s Hamid Karzai to Iraq’s Maliki, whatever the road bumps on the way. As nearly always, the American response is to blame the victims, or rather as in this particular case, one of their agents when his “use by date” finally runs out. A pertinent illustration of the now official “newspeak” is a comment made about “Dictators” by Roger Boyes, the diplomatic editor of the *Times*. Boyes refers to “the grim team that takes in the likes of Assad and Nouri al-Maliki (“Wrong to sleepwalk through conflict”, another Orwellian piece reprinted in the *Press*, 1/8/14). While the principled and idealistic Bradley (Chelsea) Manning is incarcerated as a military prisoner, the war criminal/state terrorist George W. Bush remains a pillar of the American Establishment. So much then for the idea of Western civilisation, something that Gandhi once reputedly quipped about (i.e. it would be a good idea!).

Orwellian Mainstream Media In Action

In the *60 Minutes* report (op. cit.), Scott Pelley of CBS was at his Orwellian best. Some aspects would be funny if it were not all so horribly tragic. Pelley’s voice practically shook with rage as he mentioned the fact that IS had managed to commandeer so much of the artillery, weaponry, tanks and armoured vehicles bought by the American taxpayer for the Iraqi military. Never mind, Scott, American arms companies are booming. Pelley referred in all seriousness to that ultimate Orwellian slogan, “*Operation Iraqi Freedom*”, and asked – revealingly enough - how come we lost Iraq so badly having sacrificed some four and a half thousand American lives?! (ibid.). In an interview, former Defense Secretary Leon Panetta blamed Maliki for not wanting sufficient US troops in Iraq and for dismantling what the neo-imperialists had built. Pelley, of course, made much of the atrocities committed by IS militants but naturally no mention of any American and allied depredations. Officially, the US is so brazenly barbaric that it does not keep track of “collateral damage”, i.e. civilian casualties. Data leaked by Manning showed that in fact the US did keep a record of these and that the figure tallied roughly with the total estimated by the reputable NGO Iraqi Body Count (IBC) – up to almost 110,000 deaths between 2003 and 2010 (see ch. 10, ‘The Iraq War Logs’ in “Wikileaks”, op. cit.).

Yet in reality this figure is very likely to be a gross under-estimate. Nicolas JS Davies, author of “Blood On Our Hands: The American Invasion and Destruction of Iraq”, questions the statistics by IBC as understating the actual civilian deaths by probably five to even up to 20 times (“US built powerful organs of State terrorism in Iraq”, 9/11/13). Actual epidemiological studies in Iraq estimate from 400,000 to over 1 m. Iraqis killed: “ ... probably about 10% of the Sunni population were killed, probably about 25% of them were driven from their homes, [and this] clearly meets the definition of genocide as it is defined in the genocide convention” (ibid.). The loathsome hypocrisy exhibited by CBS’s Scott Pelley, and ITV’s John Irvine, who can still stand unashamed amid the ongoing devastation and misery that they have helped legitimate, is very much in the tradition blazed by *Life International’s* Don Moser.

Political Blowback And Its Pulverising Effects

Similar to the growth of IS, the rise of al-Shabaab in Somalia originated from Western intervention, viz. the US-sponsored overthrow of the more moderate Islamic Courts Union movement. We have already commented above as to how the CIA generated the blowback of al Qaeda and the Taliban by its cynically calculated “bear-trap” strategy in Afghanistan as set by President Jimmy Carter’s Director of the National Security Council, Zbigniew Brzezinski. After successfully using the Islamist rebellion in Afghanistan against the Russian invaders, the US then forgot about the country, allowing disorder and civil war to usher in the Taliban regime and a safe haven for al Qaeda. Talk about being ultimately hoist by your own petard! In Libya, ruler Muammar Gaddafi aptly predicted that the West would soon come to regret his 2011 overthrow and murder, which the US & co. keenly backed with airpower. This country is now in turmoil with various warring factions. Recently some Muslim militants were even shown on TV celebrating in the swimming pool of the abandoned American Embassy in Tripoli! While Western intervention in Libya used the camouflage of “humanitarian” war, there were also some persuasive grounds at the time for assistance to people who might well have suffered severe reprisals. The case of Libya demonstrates that the West cannot now guarantee any favourable outcome from military action in a range of situations

Apparently, “drone war” President Obama personally faced down his “neo-con” military/security and foreign policy Establishment in opposing the mass training and arming of so-called “moderate” Syrian rebels, being worried where the weapons might end up (*60 Minutes*, Prime, op. cit.). The warmongering Anglo-American media, especially the Murdoch News Corp empire, has pushed hard for military intervention in Syria ever since the so-called “Arab Spring” erupted there. The mainstream media has stirred up widespread and continuing criticism of the Obama

Administration on the lack of such action in Syria, a charge reinforced by Panetta and others in Pelley's documentary piece (ibid.). Even journalists (e.g., Anthony Lloyd of the *Times*) with personal experience of the unreliability of "moderate" rebels have advocated this sort of military escalation! Suicidal stupidity knows no bounds for Western warmongers. Obama himself has flagged another intelligence failure, this time in regard to the growth of IS in Syria. But the contradictions go on compounding. The stronghold and prime disseminator of Muslim fundamentalism, Saudi Arabia, along with the conservative Gulf States, are now set to step up training and support, backed by the CIA, for designated "moderate" Syrian rebels. Iran is helping the Kurds in Iraq and backing the Shia militias there. Whatever eventually transpires from all this will not be pretty.

Ad Hoc "Coalition Of The Willing"

By September 2014, the US had even drawn Russia into another ad hoc war "coalition of the willing" aimed at IS that also included Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States - in all ten Middle Eastern nations - and comprising some 40 countries altogether, with even more nations supportive of such action. Not only is the involvement of Russia in line with Tony Blair's injunction it is clearly intended to try and forestall any veto on the UN Security Council. But how this will work out in practice in the longer term is very uncertain other than it will lead to ever more militancy aimed at the West. Russia has already criticised US bombing missions in Syria. IS' warning that the West has got involved in another "bloody and unwinnable war" is bang on the mark. Ironically, US air strikes in Syria have been hitting oil refineries (among other targets) used for income by the IS movement. The politics of oil certainly has a multiplicity of ramifications! Countries bordering Syria and Iraq are struggling to cope with an influx of desperate refugees. Turkey is especially stressed. Its Government fears too that Kurdish refugees from Syria will ultimately add to the resistance of its own Kurdish minority population, which has fought a bitter guerrilla war against the US-backed state in the recent past (for background see "Spoils of War: The Human Cost of America's Arms Trade", John Tirman, The Free Press, 1997). The Kurdish people are spread across several lands. Iraqi Kurds are pro-Western and the de facto "balkanisation" of the country under the post-2003 invasion regime has enabled the US to still cynically serve its resource interests. Part of Obama's propaganda has been about protecting the thousands of Americans in Kurdish Iraq but with no mention of the oil at stake there. As the *Times* ever so delicately puts it: "Perhaps most important are the Western economic interests there"... The Americans "are mostly the employees of Western oil and gas companies there to tap a geopolitically appealing energy source unthreatened by Russian belligerence, hostile rulers or civil war - as long as IS is kept out" ("Can IS be stopped? West's options", *Press*, 6/9/14).

Middle Eastern countries with authoritarian regimes in the US-coordinated "coalition of the willing" - like Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Bahrain, and the UAE - can ultimately expect more radical antagonism directed against their leaderships. Like the entangled politics of oil, the politics of democracy and human rights, as expressed for instance by that Western bastion of moral rectitude, the Saudi kingdom with its beheadings, torture and general repression, can have a multitude of disruptive and ironic implications. America has led the West into a nightmare of confused, conflicted cul-de-sac policies. How we can possibly extricate ourselves from all of this is fast becoming more and more problematic. What is so heartbreaking is the misery and suffering inflicted on the peoples of the Middle East by the predation of Western forces in their hunger for oil and gas. There are literally many billions of dollars for making war and only a miserable pittance for the millions of refugees and displaced peoples. The absolute evil obscenity of what has been done almost defies belief indeed! The anger and hate that the West generates will only greatly increase. By late September 2014 the UN had reported that it was "running out of money to pay for its food programmes for almost six million Syrians who have been displaced by the country's civil war" and that aid would be cut (*Press*, 20/9/14). And this situation prevails as the US military and co. launch their attacks. The UN World Food Programme has received less than half the monies it needs for its emergency programmes in 2014 for refugees. There is no hope for any normal development practices or, in fact, anything normal in such hopelessly war-torn lands.

Warmongering Versus Peacemaking

Early in this article, I raised the question of humanitarian intervention in wars given the perilous state of the Yazidis, the siege of Amerli and other incidents. Denis Halliday, former Assistant Secretary-General of the UN, resigned in disgust over the Western imposition of sanctions on Iraq from the Gulf War in 1991 to the invasion of 2003, owing to the heavy death toll and suffering exacted on young children - a death toll that was so obscenely celebrated by the then US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, a dark witch indeed. Halliday has a very pertinent criticism also of "a world where engineered, pre-emptive or more fashionably '*humanitarian*' wars of aggression have become the norm" (in a review comment on the cover of "Towards a World War III Scenario: The Dangers of Nuclear War", op. cit.). In the study just referenced, Professor Michel Chossudovsky shows how American war planning now includes supposedly "low-yield", tactical nuclear weapons; and how, in the ultimate Orwellian perversion of "Pentagonese" language, such weaponry is integrated into a strategy of so-called "humanitarian" warfare (ibid.).

The Pentagon's global military design, as Professor Chossudovsky sees it, is ultimately one of world conquest. As Chossudovsky declares in his Preface: "Military intervention is justified as part of an international campaign against 'Islamic terrorists'. Its' ultimate intention, which is never mentioned in press reports, is territorial conquest and control over strategic resources" (ibid.). The mainstream media work hand in glove with the militarist PR promulgated from the White House, the Pentagon, CIA, etc. Their latest joint campaign against IS uses the most lurid atrocity propaganda and fear mongering to cover up their own nefarious aims and destructive behaviour. One does not have to go along with Professor Chossudovsky's full-blown thesis of an American goal of world conquest to accept - at the very least on all the evidence - that the US and its close allies are determined to try and control as much of the world as they can, to both maintain global domination and to get even greater influence; and that they are quite prepared to repeatedly risk nuclear war in doing so.

War For Humanity?!

American assistance to the Yazidis, for the relief of Amerli, and for other groups under attack by IS has been determined, as ever, by US self-serving interests, propaganda, and strategic ends. Similarly, its loyal deputy, Australia, has also been loudly appealing to humanitarian intervention in launching war on IS, as well as making the argument for pre-emptive self-defence. Most malignly, and with typical Western hypocrisy, Australian PM "Mad Monk" Tony Abbott has been telling his fellow Australians that IS and its sympathisers do not hate his nation for the crimes it has previously done in the Middle East but for other reasons. "Humanitarian" intervention and aid have become badly contaminated concepts due to Western abuse. The international peace movement must still press for as much independence as UN agencies can muster to get the capacity and facilities for *genuine* humanitarian intervention in crisis situations. Since so often only the big powers have the necessary airpower and firepower, the challenge here is immense but we must try as hard as we can in this endeavour as part of a wider international peacemaking programme.

More generally, if the underlying causes of "terrorism" in all its forms are not addressed, conflicts will inexorably deepen and worsen. Even in the case of IS, there is talk in Western circles of political solutions as well as military action. The risk of the latter cancelling out the former altogether is overwhelming under the current projected war scenario with its proclaimed genocidal aim. As George Orwell showed, the manipulations and techniques of propaganda and of the mainstream media can be quite literally "awesome" in their power and reach. How could *Life International* in the mid-1960s succeed in portraying the Indonesian *genocide* as a victory for America and the West?! What are the psychological mechanisms elicited here? For the West, evil can be mundanely and legitimately justified in the context of a wider conflict. Of course, American's allies like NZ are willing, at the "end of the day", as our PM John Key is so wont to say, to excuse any human rights crime by the US for the greater good of their own skins and interests as they see them. This was signalled again by NZ Foreign Minister Murray McCully in articulating our successful bid for a seat on the UN Security Council in a speech to the General Assembly. McCully railed fulsomely against "the madness" and evil of IS, indulging in lavish hypocritical criticism of the UN for failures on Syria and Iraq in recent years (TV3, *6pm.3 News*, 30/9/14).

The Anglo-American commitment to folly and evil has again been demonstrated by the deliberate American bombing and destruction of a number of grain silos in Syria ("Airstrikes force jihadists to ration", *Times* report in the *Press*, 1/10/14). Catherine Philp sets the scene: "Fuel prices have doubled and electricity has been rationed in areas controlled by Islamic State after American-led airstrikes on oil fields" and on a number of "*grain silos*" (ibid.). "The cost of food and other basic goods has also soared" (ibid.). In order to win hearts and minds, and: "As the coalition seeks to weaken the jihadists' grip on the local economy, aircraft bombed grain silos. IS has taken control of scores of granaries across territory they have seized in northern Syria and Iraq, selling grain to civilians under their control at a cut price to shore up support. The targeting of food stores had drawn criticism from rival rebel groups who have warned that shortages would hurt civilians living under IS rule", let alone the civilian casualties involved (ibid.). Like Obama's hugely counter-productive drone warfare, the calculated cultivation of famine as a weapon of war is bound to backfire. But the US-led terrorist "War on Terror" stumbles from one war crime to the next. Incidentally, the US has long seen food as a weapon in its war on the world's poor ("How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger", Susan George, Penguin, 1976). "The idea of withholding food from the political enemy is as old as warfare and the scorched-earth policy" (ibid., p209). The US has used food in all kinds of ways for engineering favourable outcomes in international relations. In the new era which we have entered, food and warfare will be intimately linked.

Risking Nuclear War

Back in the past, I have taken part in protests outside the Russian Embassy in Wellington against the invasion of Afghanistan by the former Soviet Union and in support of the independence of Poland; as well as outside the Chinese Embassy over missile tests in the Pacific; and demonstrations at the American Embassy, including a

Greenpeace direct action where we dumped empty cardboard boxes at the front door registering our opposition to proposed nuclear waste dumping in the Pacific. Try doing that now! In such matters, the issues at stake were relatively clearcut, even though there could yet be dark plotting at work behind the scenes, e.g., the “bear trap” set by the US under the Carter Administration to give the Soviet Union its own “Vietnam” in Afghanistan.

In 2014 in Ukraine there are all the immediate signs of murky and ruthless covert actions by both sides in a very complex political situation. But the US has clearly been both the overt and covert instigator of a confrontation that is recognised as the most serious since the Cold War (“America Started this Ukraine Crisis”, William Pfaff, *Herald Tribune*, 7/8/14: www.williampfaff.com/modules/news/article.php?storyid=690). Victoria Nuland, the US Assistant Secretary of State, was secretly filmed telling a large private meeting of Ukrainian political decision-makers that Washington had spent \$US5 billion on developing “Ukrainian democratic institutions”, i.e. pro-US agencies. And one thing above all others stands out: America has been prepared to lead the West in an assault on Russia's very own borders. In recent years, US funding via its State Department, the Orwellian National Endowment for Democracy (NED), and other American outfits like the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Asia Foundation, has extended its tentacles in protests and subversion from the “Arab Spring” to Venezuela and Ecuador, and from Ukraine to Hong Kong (see e.g., www.bibliotecapleyades.net/sociopolitica/sociopol_cia11.htm).

A new Cold War is being openly celebrated by much of the Western media (e.g., “Cold War II: The West is losing Putin's Dangerous Game”, Simon Shuster, cover story, *Time*, 4/8/14, & “A Web of Lies: How it Entangles Putin, Russia and the West”, cover story featuring a photo of Putin as the chief villain, *Economist*, 26/7-1/8/14). Before the recent Ukrainian crisis, Russia had already been feeling the heat from Western pressure on both neighbouring Iran and Syria. Yet the Anglo-American axis, responsible for a host of recent illegal and horrendous activities, actually deems it fit to risk nuclear war by striking at what the Russian leadership considers to be heartland defence, by baiting the bear at the mouth of its own cave. The madly militaristic media like *Time* and the *Economist* peddle their poisonous propaganda no matter what the risks to humankind in general (<http://nationalinterest.org/feature/russia-america-both-think-they-can-win-new-cold-war-11395>). A *Press* editorial in July 2014 dutifully echoed this sort of stuff in the most rabid fashion (23/7/14).

Just imagine the tables turned and the US being confronted on its very borders – the country that so unashamedly proclaims its vital interests are at stake all over the planet. Not only has the Anglo-American axis backed a European “free trade” deal with Ukraine – the trigger for the current conflict – but this same axis obviously wants to try and make the geopolitically crucial country of Ukraine, formerly a republic of the old Soviet Union, a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ally right next door to Russia. The West promised Russia in 1991 at the time of the break-up of the Soviet Union that NATO would not expand into the former republics. This is another graphic illustration too of how promotion of the neo-liberal free market these days goes hand in hand with “neo-con” militarist action (www.globalresearch.ca/militarism-and-neoliberalism-two-sides-of-the-same-coin/31199). The West needs continuous predatory growth in terms of resources and investment for its goals of increasing economic production, endless wealth creation, prosperity and consumption. Russia's response to the latest intrusions has been highly aggressive, to the extent of openly and ominously rattling its nuclear missiles, even displaying several instances of such belligerence (e.g. “Russia Readies Nukes”, *Press*, 10 & 11/5/14). But such nuclear posturing, outrageous as it is, did not prove sufficient to deter Western warmongering. Only the stark reality of Russian military support on the ground, and the subsequent repulsion of President Poroshenko's savage assault on eastern Ukraine have had effect, despite the ritual of economic sanctions imposed by the US and its allies on Russia: <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/obamas-ukraine-foolly-comes-full-circle-11218>).

If the Russian missile rattling was crazy enough, then the US-engineered actions to provoke this particular militarist reaction have been even crazier. Certainly a Russian military response to Western provocation as demonstrated by Putin's takeover of Crimea was so easily and obviously predictable anyway. Crimea already harboured a major Russian military base. And even a very hardline *Times* correspondent/propagandist, Ben Hoyle, acknowledges that most Crimeans still strongly support Putin's stand (*Press*, 20/9/14). Russia has geopolitical ambitions like the other big powers. It is extending its naval reach in the Black Sea, and seeking greater control over fossil fuel resources in the Arctic, and more influence in Asia as well as Europe. Unless a new vision of truly sustainable development can emerge at the global level, all the big powers are converging on an inexorable collision course.

Destabilising Society After Society

Meanwhile, Ukraine has plunged into severe economic stress due to all the chaotic disruption, the hiking of gas prices by Russia, and related problems. A dark history and ongoing machinations have set the context for the current Ukrainian crisis. If the toppled Yanukovich government was elitist in orientation, as well as deplorably corrupt and backed by Russia, it is yet most evident (i.e. on any fair-minded assessment) that the real issues at stake are not democracy or concern for the Ukrainian people, the unfortunate inhabitants of a country with a

grotesquely tortured history. The West is fully behind Petro Poroshenko, a billionaire chocolate manufacturer and political opportunist, who is supported by a strong neo-fascist element and willing to ruthlessly slaughter many of his own people. In so many ways, one manipulative faction has simply replaced another. If it had suited Western interests, President Obama & co. would be screaming “blue murder” in the most outraged fashion about the blatant overthrow of a democratically elected government. The West's long record of geopolitical machinations, especially those of the US, stands testimony to this proposition. Instead, the conflict in Ukraine today very much amounts to a potentially most deadly game of realpolitik between major powers, yet another struggle for hegemony between West and East in this tragically afflicted land. In western Ukraine, the political context has been substantially shaped by the legacy of fascism. However, the main message of the Western media has been that Russia is the aggressor and that the Anglo-American axis and its European adherents are again standing firm on the grounds of freedom and democracy.

Yet this same media has struggled to convey a consistent account given the obvious local support in both Crimea and eastern Ukraine for Russian backing. While so-called “tank man” at the time of the massacre in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 became a famous symbol for the West of the spirit of democracy facing down Communist Party tyranny in China, there were a number of such incidents in eastern Ukraine of unarmed civilians similarly facing down tanks and armoured cars (as shown on TV too!). But the Western media have most selectively and conveniently missed the potent symbolism there. At the same time, news reports have often been very revealing in showing the results of shelling and bombing by the Ukrainian armed forces on Donetsk and other towns and villages, and the obvious agony and distress of the residents, let alone actual casualties. Amnesty International has condemned both sides for war crimes.

Given current Western strategy in countries like Ukraine, Syria and Iraq, ongoing blowback will be multifarious and ugly. In September 2014 Australia conducted its biggest domestic anti-terrorist campaign, linked with the war on IS, alleging plots to behead random members of the public and other terrorist activities. Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Glenn Greenwald contends that Australia's new “anti-terrorism” laws are geared to facilitate more authoritarian control (<https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2014/09/22/australias-prime-minister-gives-master-class-exploiting-terrorism-fears-seize-new-powers/>). Undoubtedly hyped up, and nicely timed to coincide with NZ's political elections and so help our National government back into power, Australia's anti-terrorism paranoia is yet symptomatic of what is to come. In the West, the growing National Security State (NSS) will ramp up aggressive militarism and so inevitably elicit more retaliation. NZ will follow Australia in lock-step with more repressive legislation as well as sending some Special Air Service (SAS) soldiers as part of the new Anglo-American war in the Middle East.

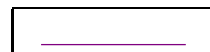
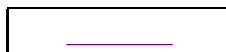
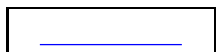
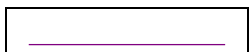
Countering Militarism

In the second decade of the 21st Century, the battles for the mind, the media, and genuine democratic debate, along with the ready and free dissemination of information, are reaching new levels of importance and urgency. The current controversies over the NSS and the surveillance society have been highlighted in recent years by the real heroes of the Internet, the whistleblowers Julian Assange of Wikileaks, former National Security Agency (NSA) analyst Edward Snowden, former US Army intelligence operative Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning, and other “information anarchists”, who point up the issues at stake on the forced march to human oblivion. Can we act pre-emptively and positively in time . . . ?!

On 15/9/14, at the Auckland Town Hall a packed auditorium at the “Moment of Truth” meeting heard and saw both Assange and Snowden by video link warn about the dire implications of the new surveillance society for freedom, democracy and human rights with the “Five Eyes” intelligence/spy agencies being a law unto themselves. Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Glenn Greenwald, who attended in person on stage, explained how the John Key-led National government had fed disinformation to the NZ public about NSA-monitored mass surveillance of New Zealanders. Hosted by the Internet/Mana Party this public meeting is the sort of event and action that we need much more of in the near future. Predictably, however, much of its import was obscured by mainstream media machinations, which is par for the course. Even the political party that hosted the meeting has been voted out of Parliament. But the causes highlighted live on in other ways. Worldwide, we are certainly going to have to step up several gears to counter the deadly trends of the NSS and globalist militarism. The coming generation depends on our efforts (“Why it's Vital to Rid the World of Nuclear Weapons . . . and how *You* can help”, *Pacific Ecologist*, issue 22, Summer 2013, <http://pacificecologist.org/archive/22/>).

For further details on the “Moment of Truth” public meeting and the revelations arising from it, see the lead two part article in this issue: “Mass Surveillance Of New Zealanders: Greenwald Versus Key”, by Warren Thomson; and “Opening The Curtains: Spies & Their Political Mouthpieces Blinking In Unaccustomed Daylight”, by Murray Horton. Jeremy Agar's review of Glenn Greenwald's “No Place To Hide: Edward Snowden, The NSA And The Surveillance State” is in Peace Researcher 47, August 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/47/pr47-007.html>. Ed.

Endnote: Thanks are due to John Gallagher for some very useful information he researched off the Internet. John has an excellent international peacemaking Website at: <http://www.village-connections.com/blog/>



Dirty Politics

by Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Publishing, Nelson, 2014

- Jeremy Agar

If you were around during the election campaign in August and September 2014 you'll have heard of this book, Nicky Hager's sixth. "Dirty Politics" is based on piles of hacked e-mails between influential bloggers and the leaders of the National government between 2008 and 2014. The facts aren't in dispute, and they are appalling. It should have led to defeat for Brand Key but of course it did not. Why not?

Sequel To "The Hollow Men"

Hager has said that during the months leading up to the election he expected National to win. Unlike Kim Dotcom, he didn't think that lobbing a late grenade would blow up the Government. This is doubtless an honest admission. "Dirty Politics" might not have had the immediate effect some expected, but longer term it just might. Hager writes that it's a sequel to "The Hollow Men", an earlier devastating account of National Party manipulation and extremism (which I reviewed in *Peace Researcher* 34, July 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr34-141a.html>).

"The Hollow Men" was published in 2006 and not, as the inside cover says, in 2008, the year when the Key government was first elected. Unlike the present book, "The Hollow Men", an exposé of National Party wrongdoing while in Opposition, was not issued immediately before an election, but as far as its author is concerned, the timing is not the point. Both books seek to explain the culture of the dominant political party, and cultural shifts don't happen within a week or a month.

There is, though, at least one precise parallel between the two books. Publication of "The Hollow Men" forced Don Brash to be dumped as National Leader in favour of John Key, and "Dirty Politics" led to the resignations of Judith Collins from the Cabinet and of Jason Ede from Key's office staff.. All sorts of people blog for all sorts of reasons, and the expression generally suggests it's something you do as a casual hobby, keeping friends and family up to date or chatting with distant colleagues. The bloggers on display here are full-time propagandists, slick, fast and quite despicable.

Much of the book details the offerings of the man called Whale Oil, whose blogs are so persistent and so topical that he's known as a public figure. Whale Oil understood early that blogging could be the fastest way to spread disinformation and rumour and he saw that electronic communication was not confined by the rules and conventions of traditional media. National's bloggers have been a jump ahead in adapting to the 21st Century. Hager doesn't speculate about whether Cameron Slater was why Key won his election, but he was certainly a help.

In contrast to Kim Dotcom's Moment of Truth in Auckland days before the vote, the bloggers apprehend that death by a thousand cuts – a cliché they repeatedly use – is the more effective way to go. Whale Oil would seize on a topic on a daily, even hourly basis. The content was trivial, irrelevant or false, and it was always malevolent, but in a society inured to the trivialisation of public discourse it kept National's opponents on the back foot. The Labour Party presently seems to be always battling away misunderstandings and confusions. One of the rules of winning, say the National bloggers, is to never explain. Explaining means you're losing. Brand Key is comfortable and relaxed. Brand Key's favourite (printable) putdown is the adolescent "loser".

Bloggers Are True Face Of National Party

So Brand Key doesn't talk about policy, and not just because its policies are so bad. Brand Key deals in personalities and innuendo, and from the evidence on display here, Slater deals with policy not at all. Of 40,000 comments made on the Whale Oil site, references to political issues are made only with immediate tactical motives in play. The idea is to target opponents with insult and ridicule. A Hager footnote lists the most frequent epithets "in diminishing order of occurrence: fuck (about 20,000 times), idiot, bullshit, corrupt, homo, prick, cock, hypocrite, liar, cunt, scum, bitch, bludger, wanker, vile and commie".

This is the language of the National Party at work. The strategy has been for the Leader to be relaxed and comfortable, while his office plays the tunes that Whale Oil conducts. Crusher Collins had to go because, as the bloggers' main contact in the Government, her name was mentioned online and her personality was shown to be

vindictively petty. Ede had to go because he was outed as the Prime Minister's link to all the filth. Slater liked Collins because he saw her as the most Rightwing of the leading politicians, his purpose in life being to drive NZ further into neo-liberalism. His other campaigns, as evidenced here, have been trapping the Mayor of Auckland in an extra-marital affair, opposing MMP – as, longer term, National has no obvious allies – and supporting the tobacco and liquor industries.

Slater might like helping out boozers and smokers but everything else is abusive and violent. Why spend your life this way? Money is probably just one rewarding part of it, his powerful clients having deep pockets, but the blogging, you feel, fulfils some need. On the evidence here, we learn that Slater's father was a former National Party President and that he is a Seventh Day Adventist. The blogging circle around Whale Oil present themselves as sharing a habit of hatred and a delight in upsetting people they don't like. A favourite sign off is Chaos and Mayhem, deployed frequently after a blog about the Labour Party. The undermining of David Cunliffe during the last term of Parliament was given its momentum by Slater, and has been successful to an extent that is, to an outsider, baffling in its ferocity, as all and sundry, including the Labour caucus, joined the attack.

The bloggers are contemptuous of ordinary people, especially if they're Labour voters from the east of Christchurch with earthquake-wrecked houses. What a bunch of losers. Christian morality apparently demands that the less you are advantaged, the more you are despicable. There's a sort of good-cop-bad-cop routine going on, as David Farrar, the other well known Nationalist blogger, expresses himself in a more measured tone. This allows him to present himself as a commentator – and allows Slater to despise him as a whimp.

After the election – after every election – two things were said about the two bigger parties: that there is no difference between them, and that Labour is extremely Leftwing. These opposite pieces of folklore can't both be true, and in fact neither is. Labour was offering policies that were somewhat different from National's. These lazy formulations allow those who aren't interested in politics to excuse their apathy. They're sentiments that the Slaters of the world exploit. An uninformed cynicism, the view that "politician" is a dirty word, suits the interests of the powerful, especially when they're incumbents.

Key is also very skilled at encouraging us to be bored by it all. He likes to suggest that to offer alternatives to his Government's policies is to be negative. Never mind that the operation of his dirty politics is nothing but negativity. Media personalities, presented to us as experts, ignore the damning evidence, preferring to tell us that Key's the sort of bloke with whom you'd want to have a beer. They tell us that Cunliffe, uniquely among parliamentarians, is two-faced, inauthentic. They ignore the evidence that smiling John Key is the person whose office schemes with mates whose view of people who aren't bending to his will is expressed by all those four letter words. It's less than statesmanlike.

Key's Plausible Deniability

Key himself probably doesn't bother with the details of what his team is doing, just as he usually doesn't ask about whom the Five Eyes are watching. If he doesn't know, he doesn't have to lie. This "deniability" adds another layer of dishonesty and irresponsibility to proceedings. Hager says that while the media as an industry have been dreadful, he doesn't blame journalists because in a commercially motivated environment they have little choice but to drop their standards. He's too kind. There's been almost a total surrender to the filth. One of the worst aspects has been that newspapers have connived with Whale Oil.

The title "Dirty Politics" might be a mistake, inviting as it does the response that they're all a bunch of rogues, so why bother? It's always been like that. But it hasn't. The 1975-84 Muldoon era - the comparison that's often cited - was based on the personality of a bully, but the abuse wasn't systemic and the unpleasantness wouldn't have survived a fall in the polls – or the existence of an investigator of Hager's stature. The dirt dished these days is different in kind: aimed at entrenching a privileged class, it's corrupting society itself. Muldoon bluffed and drank; the Key regime is subverting democracy. And now, with Slater's job done, he gets the Police to raid Hager's house while he's out, and remove equipment. The principled and brave defender of decency is the criminal; the creep whose life is based on hacking New Zealand poses as the outraged citizen. The times are sick.

Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face Media, Mayhem & Human Rights In The South Pacific by David Robie, Little Island Press, 2014

- Murray Horton

David Robie was New Zealand's pre-eminent foreign correspondent for decades, specialising in the South Pacific. His work used to very regularly appear in mainstream papers and magazines (I first became a fan of his by reading his articles in the *Press* and the *Listener*). When I first met him he was very much in his foreign correspondent mode, travelling with a New Zealand peace movement delegation to the Philippines to cover a month long series of conferences and protest activities at the former US bases in that country. His articles on the Philippines subsequently featured prominently in the NZ mainstream media (incidentally, that highly memorable 1988/89 Philippine trip was also the one on which both David and I met our respective wives. Both Del and Becky were involved in the Philippine groups which hosted the New Zealand and Australian peace activists).

Although David had started his journalistic career working for various newspapers in New Zealand and several other countries, at the height of his foreign correspondent fame he was a freelancer. And the ability to earn a living that way all came to a graunching halt with the notorious 1991 Employment Contracts Act, which cut a swathe through the ranks of print journalists (as it did through so many other industries). So, David went overseas for a decade, to teach at universities in Papua New Guinea and Fiji, and reinvented himself as a media academic, still specialising in the South Pacific. He came back to NZ in the early 2000s to work at the Auckland University of Technology's School of Communication Studies. In his own time he upskilled himself (he's a workaholic), gaining a PhD and becoming a Professor. He founded and heads AUT's Pacific Media Centre, which is unique in the country.

Writing Books Since 1980s

And throughout his decades as a journalist and media academic, he has been regularly writing books (as I said, he's a workaholic). His most famous was "Eyes Of Fire: The Last Voyage Of The *Rainbow Warrior*". He was on that Greenpeace ship on its high profile trip around various Pacific nuclear testing-contaminated sites in 1985 and he had left it in Auckland just before French State terrorists bombed it, killing one crew member. Originally published in 1986, that book was reissued as a Memorial Edition in 2005, to mark the 20th anniversary of that State terrorist crime (it was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120b.html>). Other books either written or edited by David have included "Blood On Their Banner: Nationalist Struggles In The South Pacific" (1989; reviewed by me in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 64, August 1990, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-august-1990.html>); and "Tu Galala: Social Change In The Pacific" (1992; reviewed by me in *Watchdog* 70, August 1992, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-august-1992.html>); and "Nius Bilong Pasifik: Mass Media In The Pacific" (1995; reviewed by me in *Watchdog* 78, May 1995, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-may-1995.html>).

"Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face" (the title comes from a placard, featured on the book's cover, that David photographed at an anti-nuclear rally in Port Vila, Vanuatu, in 1983) is the written equivalent of a greatest hits album. David describes it as a sequel to both "Blood On Their Banner" and "Tu Galala". He writes, in his Introduction: "The present book introduces some of the key inspirational ideas and the people who have influenced my journalism, publication and media education directions – from my trans-continental 'out of Africa' into Paris-based global news agency journalism and then the Pacific. They involved colonial legacy conflicts, environmental and indigenous struggles, 'forgotten wars, elusive peace', 'Moruroa, mon amour', and conclude with changing paradigms and contemporary challenges such as conflict-sensitive journalism and inclusive journalism education".

The book tells an incredible life story (his trans-African journey alone would be enough adventure for most people) and chronicles David's reporting from neighbouring countries about which the mainstream New Zealand media remain wilfully and shamefully ignorant – countries such as Kanaky, Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga, the Philippines, Bougainville and Timor-Leste, to name a few. Reading it brought back many memories and reminded me just what a turbulent part of the world we live in, one which makes the word "pacific" very ironic indeed. These countries and their peoples struggle with past or present imperialism (very present in the case of France's Pacific colonies), the aftermath of being used for American and French nuclear testing, war, militarisation, coups, repression, corruption, and are the first in the world to experience the negative effects of manmade climate change.

Journalists Need To Be Part Of The Solution

David concludes the book thus: "Critical deliberative journalism also means a tougher scrutiny of the region's institutions and dynamics of governance. Answers are needed for the questions: Why, how and what now? Journalists need to become part of the solution rather than part of the problem?" Exactly. And David Robie has always been the epitome of the critical deliberative journalist (for example, see his "The Invasion Of Iraq - And How The Media War Was Won And Lost. Half Truths And Media Spin: Whom Do You Believe?" in *Peace Researcher* 27,

August 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr27-77.htm>). For decades he has been an active supporter of the work of both the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) and the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) – he and Del came on ABC’s 1990 Touching The Bases Tour through both the North and South Islands; much more recently he has invited CAFCA’s Bill Rosenberg to speak to his Auckland students about who owns NZ’s media; and he has invited me to speak to them on several occasions. Most recently I was there in May 2014 as part of my national speaking tour (my report on that tour is elsewhere in this issue). Whenever I’m in our biggest city I stay with David and Del, their Grey Lynn house is my Auckland home away from home. David is both a colleague and a very good friend. As a journalist and media academic he has no equal in his field, one in which he has excelled for many decades. His latest book is a timely reminder of that. He is definitely part of the solution.

Will Foote

- Murray Horton

Will Foote, who died in September 2014, aged 95, had already lived an action-packed life before I was born. I am indebted to his final book “No More War” as the source for a lot of this about both his life and beliefs. I recommend that you buy it. It’s a quick read at only 76 pages). Amazingly, he was still writing and self-publishing books in his 90s. He rang me in late July to ask if Anti-Bases Campaign would include a flyer for “No More War”, in *Peace Researcher*. I told him that the latest issue (the August one) had just been mailed out (literally minutes before his call) but that we would be happy to include a flyer with the next issue, in a few months. He duly sent me a signed copy of the book (I’d said we’d review it, but instead it’s been used as the source for his obituary) and then, unannounced, turned up at the back door, on his walking frame, to deliver the flyers, in early August. Thinking about it, I reckon he knew that he didn’t have much time left. I was busy at the time and had no time to talk, so it was the most fleeting of visits. Sadly, that was the last time I saw or spoke to him and I regret that I didn’t sit down with him and have one last face to face chat. I read the book in one sitting and kept intending to ring him to discuss it with him, but never quite got around to it. So, I missed the chance to say goodbye and to thank him in person for a very long and remarkable life well lived – but Will got to say to say goodbye to everyone with his last book.

Four Years Behind The Wire

Wilfred John Foote was born in 1919, in the immediate aftermath of World War 1. All his life he was known as Will (I’ve heard him referred to as Wilf; he described Wilfred as “terribly old fashioned”. At his funeral one of his sons said that the kids went through a phase of calling him Fred but that didn’t last). A non-religious pacifist, he became a peace activist when he was at Teachers’ College and University in Christchurch (1937-39). He felt that the Labour government, headed by men who had been imprisoned for refusing to fight in WW1, had betrayed its principles. Will joined the No More War movement and the Peace Pledge Union. Seventy years later he wrote about those early influences in his 2007 essay “The Peace Movement In Christchurch 1937-41, 1946-47: A Memoir”.

When World War 2 broke out he was the sole teacher in a rural school in Southland. In Canterbury 30% of appeals to be recognised as a conscientious objector and exempted from military service were granted (the national average was 10%). Southland had no such respect for pacifists. He received his conscription papers and duly appealed to be recognised as a conscientious objector (CO), riding his bike 20 miles each way to and from the Invercargill Magistrate’s Court. He was summarily refused.

“Worse than all though, he told the *Press* in 2006, was being judged insincere by the (‘farcical’) review panel which heard his case, seeing his mother suffer and his family split, having parents withdraw their children from his school and being dropped from his cricket team. Foote declined a non-combatant role in the Army, as even this would have compromised his principles. ‘It was a difficult decision but I saw (the medical corps) as part of the war machine, repairing people to put them back into the slaughter’, he said. He volunteered to work in mental hospitals but was turned down. Some returned servicemen and the newspaper *Truth* pushed the view that COs were shirkers and cowards resting on couches. Foote said. The authorities needed to show that COs were being punished. The reality was hard labour, minimal food, cold huts, censorship and remoteness from families...He spent most of his time in defaulters’ camps in the North Island backblocks, cutting scrub and weeding flax clumps in swamps. He spent four years in prisons and camps with 800 other COs. He wasn’t released until months after the war had finished, as the Government decided no CO should go free until the last of the war veterans had returned home” (*Press, Obituary, 27/9/14, “Four Years Hard Labour For Refusing To Fight”, Mike Crean*).

There is a short chapter entitled “Guest Of The Government” in “No More War” (actually, they’re all short chapters) giving some details, with photos, of life behind the wire. “My new career as a scrub cutter started next morning at eight after wake up call at six, compulsory cold shower and porridge. The inmates could be categorised on the basis of religious belief – or lack thereof. The first and largest group was the religious fundamentalists, the main ones being Christian Assembly and Jehovah’s Witnesses, with a few Apostolic and Brethren. I don’t know if Catholics should go here. They were, to my view, more like the second large group, the Christian Pacifists, who were mainly Methodists, with some Presbyterians, Anglicans, Baptists, Church of Christ, one Quaker and a few who had various home-made options; and, finally, the ‘Hoons’, those who did not profess any particular religious beliefs and had ethical and humanitarian objections to war... (*Will defined himself as a “hoon”, which was apparently 1940s’*

shorthand for “humanitarians”. It has a very different meaning these days).

“I’ve long held a fairly negative view of religious fundamentalists, the rigidity of their views, the way they turn up to discuss the state of one’s soul at morning tea time and, for American fundamentalists, their emphasis on patriotism and military might and their influence on US foreign policy. However, the ones in camp were there because they wouldn’t fight and I learnt a new appreciation of their humanity...There were several main issues which concerned the inmates and their supporters on the outer. First, the camps themselves, a form of concentration camp beyond the law which could be used to remove any dissident groups; second, the indeterminate sentence; third, the lack of any appellate tribunal; fourth, the lack of any help for wives and children (they could get ten pence a day of the inmate’s one and threepence); fifth, the useless work...”.

Will was a World War 2 veteran and a prisoner of war but his was a very different war and he was a prisoner for refusing to fight. Following release he was prohibited from returning to teaching and had to work in manual jobs as directed by the Government. In 2012 I was privileged to give a joint talk with Will, who was in his 90s, about the secret history of what happened to conscientious objectors and other political opponents during WW2. It was fascinating to listen to his stories of life behind the wire for these domestic prisoners of war (it’s a subject that I had written about as part of a series of articles called “It Can’t Happen Here”, about the real history of New Zealand, when I was the 1974 Editor of *Canta*, the University of Canterbury student paper. My original political mentor, the late great Keith Duffield, had been similarly incarcerated, not just in camps but also in prisons, which is what happened to the most “uncooperative” of the COs. And I had also refused to register for military service in the early 70s, been prosecuted and convicted, then went through the business of being recognised as a CO. But, compared to what happened to the WW2 COs, it was a piece of cake. My obituary of Keith Duffield is in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 18, March 1979, <http://www.historicalwatchdog.blogspot.co.nz/2009/12/foreign-control-watchdog-march-1978.html>. Another excellent source is Russell Campbell’s documentary “*Sedition: The Suppression Of Dissent In World War 11 New Zealand*”, reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* 32, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120b.html>).

Veteran Peace Activist

This is from the back cover blurb of “No More War”: “Readmission to the teaching service in 1948 led Will to spend the next 30 years in a wide variety of schools in teaching and administrative positions; most of this time spent in rural areas. There was also three years as Principal of Tonga High School in Nuku’alofa. He was an active member of both primary and secondary teachers’ organisations, promoting the idea of a combined teachers’ union and a better deal for rural education at secondary level“. As principal he oversaw the conversion of Cheviot District High School to Cheviot Area School in the 1970s. He explained his return to post-war life: “The ex-inmates and outside activists’ main aim, like that of soldiers, was to get back to normal life. I felt the same way, obtained a permanent position at Martinborough District High School, staying there for nine years. I became immersed in local sport, got married (*he outlived his first wife, Doreen*). Involved in village life, and chased after the growing family. Apart from financial support, I forgot the peace movement, and climbed the appointment ladder” (“No More War”).

This state of affairs remained the status quo until 1970 when “my dormant conscience was rudely awakened” (ibid) by the Vietnam War and the attendant protest movement in New Zealand, and around the world. He resumed life as peace activist with a vengeance. He retired, to Nelson, in 1978 (in the good old days when 60 was the age of eligibility for National Superannuation) and then served as Secretary of the Nelson Peace Group for 16 years. Will represented the Nelson/Marlborough/Motueka/Golden Bay area on the Executive Working Group of Peace Movement Aotearoa for eight years. He is still remembered with great fondness in Golden Bay, dating back to when he taught there in the 1960s. He was a guest of honour and speaker in Takaka in 2011, in his 90s, when the Golden Bay Peace Group (founded in 1978) held a display in the Golden Bay Museum, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Golden Bay being officially declared a nuclear free zone (in 1986). Radio New Zealand’s *Spectrum* devoted a programme (20/2/11, <http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/spectrum/20110220>) to the opening of that display. It included a lengthy and fascinating interview with Will talking about life in the WW2 detention camps. The presenter, Jack Perkins, asked if he was mistreated in them – Will said no, that his abiding memory was of the good company of likeminded men, and of the friendships made. Definitely a glass half full view of life!

Prolific Author

He churned out a whole series of books, about his life, opposition to war, the arms race and poverty. And he was still churning them out at 94, the age at which he produced “No More War”. Again, from the back cover blurb: “This book discusses the appalling human cost of wars, in particular those involving New Zealanders and shows that there always have been non-violent alternatives to war. He looks forward to the day non-violent people power eliminates poverty, the arms race and war. As a father of four, grandfather of 13 and great-grandfather of seven, Will

continues to advocate that love must be the guiding principle in personal and public life. He has lived life leading by example – his legacy lives on”. His *Press* obituary (27/9/14, Mike Crean) said: “(‘No More War’) discusses in forthright terms the human costs of wars, in particular those involving New Zealanders. His theme was killing and violence and war were not the best way to confront tyranny. He said evil threats, such as Nazism, were best confronted by peaceful means. The process might take longer but was less costly in human life”.

We have reviewed several of Will’s books in the past. For example: “The Power Of People (How Nelson Province Became Nuclear Free)” was reviewed by Greg Jones in *Peace Researcher* 19/20, November/December 1999, <https://www.scribd.com/doc/110159799/Vol2-Issue19-20>; “Bread And Water”, also reviewed by Greg Jones in *PR* 22, December 2000, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/33726234/Peace-Researcher-Vol2-Issue22-Dec-2000>; “Going Uphill Backwards” (which Will described as being about “incidents from a storied life”), was reviewed by Robyn Dann in *PR* 26, October 2002, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr26-71.htm>; “Saving Trees, Stopping Wars” was reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *PR* 33, November 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-131a.html>; and “Passing Bells” was also reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *PR* 38, July 2009, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr38-175f.htm>.

It wasn’t all work and no play – he also wrote about his beloved cricket, which he’d played at provincial level in his younger days. One of his books (fiction this time) was “Poetry In Motion”, which he described as “a young NZ cricketer dreams of being the best”. Jeremy Agar, a fellow cricket tragic, wrote in his review of Will’s “Saving Trees, Stopping Wars”: “For many years Will Foote, a cricketer of note for decades, played in the Hawke Cup (second class competition) for Nelson and Wairarapa. His writing has the qualities of a good batsman who long ago saw off the opening attack. He’s content to deflect and nudge his singles and put the odd loose ball away to the fence. The pace men breathed their fire but Will’s still out there in the middle, 87 not out”. In “No More War”, under the subheading “And God Created Cricket”, Will wrote: “...In matters of cricket I’m true blue. I froth at the mouth when a batsman who knows he’s out refuses to walk and I absolutely detest sledging...My sporting obsession is shared by many in all classes of society...CB Fry, England’s pre-war captain, was one of the aristocracy in Hitler’s pre-war social circle. A story, which might be apocryphal, claimed that Fry tried to explain to the Führer the lbw (*leg before wicket*) law. Hitler just couldn’t get it and, in frustration, ordered his troops into Poland, and thus cricket caused World War 2”. At his funeral, various sons and grandsons spoke of Will’s attempts to instill in them his love of “incomprehensible” cricket. In his 2011 Radio New Zealand *Spectrum* interview, Will said that the worst part of his whole World War 2 experience was not being locked up for four years – no, he reckoned it was being kicked out of his (Invercargill) cricket team!

Active ABC & CAFCA Member

When I first met Will he was already retired and officially an “old man”; years older than I am now. Obviously, somebody forgot to tell him that he should behave accordingly. We met through the campaign to close the Waihopai spy base, which led to the foundation of the Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) in 1987; the first Waihopai protest was in 88, when it was still just bare Marlborough paddocks. He was attending Waihopai protests until into his 80s. He was an ABC member since 1993 and renewed his membership (with a donation) as recently as August 2014, just weeks before his death. He was involved in organising and hosting my Nelson visits during my Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) national speaking tours in the 90s and early 2000s (he hosted me on one Nelson visit).

Will was a CAFCA member from 1996 until his death, and he was an active one – after moving to Christchurch in the 2000s he regularly helped at *Watchdog* mailouts until into his 90s. *Watchdog* mailouts in our dining room are always social occasions and he was always great fun to have at them - he and Jeremy Agar used to talk cricket. His second wife, Anne, used to drive him to and from them, so we got to know her as well. She was the absolute rock in his life in its latter decades. Being a former schoolteacher led him to offer to proofread for me (I remember being amazed that he could read without the need for glasses, something I haven’t been able to do since I turned 50). I never took him up on it, so you can’t blame old Will for any typos that you may have spotted in recent years. He regularly made donations to ABC, CAFCA and to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account which provides my income (from 1996-2013, in the case of the latter). And in the decades since he “retired” in 1978, he was incredibly active in the peace movement, firstly in Nelson and then in Christchurch. His *Press* obituary was illustrated by a photo of him, in one of his ever present, splendidly unfashionable hats, holding a placard saying: “To Israel – Stop The Slaughter!” (I’m not sure which particular slaughter that was referring to)

Good Friend

Will was more than a member, he was a good friend. He was the oldest guest at my 60th birthday party (held in those chaotic first few weeks after the February 2011 killer quake). Sadly a prior commitment had prevented me from attending his 90th birthday party in 09, to which I’d been invited. He was as sharp as a tack, always good fun

and with a wonderful dry sense of humour. One example: he said that, after 2011, “we (Cantabrians) are all Quakers now”. His writings are full of humour - talking about the Christchurch peace movement’s open air public meetings at the start of WW2, he wrote: “Apart from receiving occasional remarks about our cowardly nature, it was all fairly peaceful. I remember a soldier once threw half a pie at the speaker, but it may just have been disgust at the quality of the pie rather than at the speaker’s words” (“The Peace Movement In Christchurch 1937-41, 1946-47: A Memoir”).

He regularly poked fun at himself in his books e.g. in “No More War”, he refers to himself as “a balding old man with half a left ear” (in old age, he got various bits chopped off due to skin cancer – hence the ever present, splendidly unfashionable hats). I kept teasing him that it was only a few years to go before he’d get the telegram from Queen Camilla (I hope that the thought of that wasn’t what decided him to turn up his toes). He was definitely the oldest of all the people for whom I’ve written an obituary, and he was active to an extent that put to shame people less than a fraction of his age.

“No More War” concludes with a quote from Indian writer Arundhati Roy, which sums up Will’s philosophy of life: “To love. To be loved. To never forget your own insignificance. To never get used to the unspeakable violence and vulgar display of life around you. To seek joy in the saddest places. To pursue beauty to its lair. To never simplify what is complicated or complicate what is simple. To respect strength, never power. To love all, to try and understand. To never look away. And *never*, never to forget”. Will, you were an absolute inspiration to us. Rest easy, old friend.

Mia Tay

Mia was a member of, and regular donor to, the Anti-Bases Campaign from 1992 until her death in 2014. Ed.

Mia Tay died from cancer on June 25, 2014, in Christchurch, aged 73. For over 40 years she was very active in the peace and anti-nuclear movement. She described herself as one who did the “elbow grease work at the grassroots”, who “got things going”, but was not one “in the prophet line in the movement”. However, she played in key role in holding the Christchurch peace movement together during its resurgence in the late 1970s. Many of the activities she helped to organise broke fresh ground, and some continue to this day. What shaped her lifetime commitment to peace, and what special skills did she bring to her work?

Born in The Netherlands in 1941 during World War II, Mia was the daughter of Quakers Jos and Angela Brusse. Her early years were spent on a Quaker farm school for Jewish children where her father managed the farm, and her mother taught. They provided a sanctuary plus a solid training in Dutch agricultural skills, while helping the children flee to a safer country. At the age of three Mia contracted diphtheria. Confinement from other children, lack of good food and forced removal of seven Jewish children to their deaths in concentration camps helped form her social conscience. Her parents’ strong moral views had a huge influence on her and gave her the strength to be different and say “hey, hang on! I don’t have to follow” (interview with Susan Bourke, May 1988).

Peace Activist Since Childhood

Having arrived in New Zealand with the family as State-assisted immigrants from The Netherlands after the war, she attended the Whanganui Quaker School. In 1955 the family moved to Christchurch, where she went to Linwood High and Avonside Girls High Schools. At that age of 15, after learning about apartheid, nuclear weapons, war, discrimination and inequality, Mia acknowledged her awareness that “there but for the grace of God, go I” by making a “personal commitment to the realisation that war is wrong” and becoming a Quaker. In 1960 she followed up her ambition to qualify as a social worker by studying sociology at Canterbury University, where she met and married Economics lecturer Frank Tay. She sat her final exams in 1968 while pregnant with her third child Kim. Around this time she began protesting against the Vietnam War with her young children in pushchairs.

Mia and I first met in 1976 at the International Convention for Peace Action in Wellington, when she was coordinating the Christchurch branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) and I was teaching peace issues in Auckland. Inspired by the conference, she teamed up with Michael Malloch from the Catholic Overseas Aid Committee to pool resources and to explore how local groups such as the National Council of Churches (NCC), Quakers, CORSO, etc could work together. Mia was appointed part-time organiser for the Peace Office, working with Michael for \$1 an hour for about four hours a day, including expenses. She was given a tiny office free of charge by the NCC and free secretarial services from the Irish Peace Movement. They worked on coordinating the NZ Northern Irish Peace Body; opposing the US Trident nuclear submarine programme; helping market the *New Internationalist*, and promoting visiting overseas speakers. The office published and distributed booklets reprinting

articles by inspiring peace activists including Robert Aldridge, a former US physicist who had helped design the Trident submarine's Poseidon missile with its cluster of individually targeted re-entry vehicles, each carrying a nuclear warhead. These publications were then promoted and sold at public meetings.

Lantern Ceremony

In the mid 1970s, prominent peace researcher Owen Wilkes* returned to Christchurch after attending annual commemorations in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He had observed the Hiroshima ceremony when the souls of the dead are remembered by floating lanterns down the city's river. Determined to do something similar here, he called together representatives of the Christian Pacifist Society, CND and Quakers to organise lantern-making with what "any self-respecting Kiwi would have in their shed" - a couple of pieces of wood, some wire, nails and paper. In 1976 Mia organised the first annual lantern ceremony on the Avon River on or around August 6th. There was a procession from the Cathedral to Victoria Square where people put their lanterns on the water. Mia saw it as a public ceremony where ordinary people could be involved in something positive and peaceful. In 2000, during the 25th successive year, the ceremony was filmed live by NHK Hiroshima and shown to millions throughout Japan. Speakers included Mayor Garry Moore, Maori leader Rev Maurice Gray and MPs. In 37 years, Mia never missed the ceremony; after the 2010-11 earthquakes, the closure of Victoria Square forced it to be moved to the World Peace Bell in the Botanic Gardens. *Peace Researcher 31, October 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>, is a Special Issue for Owen Wilkes. Ed.

As Secretary of the Peace Office, in July 1977, Mia wrote to local church ministers drawing their attention to the Hiroshima Commemoration asking them to use August 7th as a special day with "Peace is Possible" as the theme in all pulpits. She even offered them a "prepared sermon". She wrote: "It is the belief of this Office that Man has the skills to resolve conflicts without going to war, but the means of settling disputes without resort to armed violence needs to be constantly worked at". This was the beginning of the marking of Peace Sunday and a Peace Week devoted to highlighting opposition to all wars. Also in 1977 Mia started representing various Christchurch groups on the [National Consultative Committee for Disarmament](#), established by the Government in that year to facilitate consultations between non-Government organisations (NGOs) in Wellington and to offer suggestions for Government action at the first UN Special Session on Disarmament in 1978.

In early 1979 she helped organise non-violent action training workshops throughout New Zealand led by well known British/Australian Quaker Peter Jones and Kiwi Rachel Bloomfield. My first husband John Boanas and I attended the Christchurch workshop over Easter – just after we had moved to Christchurch and only six weeks before the birth of my first daughter. It was a special time to reconnect with Mia following the 1976 conference. We were taught listening skills and practical activities to deal with possible violent confrontation during the upcoming protests against the 1981 Springbok rugby tour. On reflection, Mia was convinced that this training helped the national protests to be predominantly non-violent – "... it was the peace movement's gift to the anti-racist movement".

Peace Groups

In the following weeks Mia attended the inaugural meetings of the fledgling Christchurch Peace Collective in our home, which we hosted until early 1982 when my second daughter was born. Mia and I worked closely to reactivate the dormant CND membership and establish Women for Peace, and later a branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). The Peace Collective organised the first Peace Movement NZ meeting at Living Springs in 1981; the visit of the "[Pacific Peacemaker](#)" to Lyttelton; peace education in schools; public meetings including by the famous [Dr Helen Caldicott](#); street protests in the Square and against visiting nuclear warships; and we wrote many letters to politicians about nuclear issues. Mia and Peter Jones assembled a "macro analysis kit" called "New Zealand and Nuclear Warships" which she promoted throughout the country via the Peace Forum.

During this time, the Peace Collective, which included Larry Ross* and Harold Evans**, had grown rapidly; and there were enough neighbourhood and church groups to form the Christchurch Peace Forum in 1982 to coordinate our activities. The Forum met on the first Saturday of every second month in the Quaker Meeting House with each group taking turns as convenor. That year, an ad hoc group of Peace Forum members called Peace Action coordinated the making and distributing of white flowers and singing peace songs around Mothers Day to highlight the role of mothers in peacemaking. They also organised a Peace Walk on [International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament](#) (<http://www.un.org/disarmament/HomePage/gender/docs/note2.pdf>) on May 24 which drew about 500 people, with speeches by local MPs including Ruth Richardson (National), and Labour's Ann Hercus and Mary Batchelor (*Peace Movement New Zealand Newsletter* June 1982, p3). *See PR 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44/pr44-008.htm> for Murray Horton's obituary of Larry Ross. **See PR 33, November 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr33-132a.html> for Kate Dewes' obituary of Harold Evans. Ed.

The first Christchurch Peace Festival, organised primarily by the Nuclear Free Zone Committee and the Peace Forum in March 1983, was sponsored by the City Council to mark the first anniversary of the city's nuclear weapon free zone status. A Parade for Peace stretched for six city blocks and was opened by the Mayor, city councillors and both the Catholic and Anglican Bishops. The public picnicked in the sun, entertained by over six hours of speeches, music, dance, and mime artists. 1,000 doves were released with peace messages attached; local doctors organised a mock nuclear blast, and spoke about the effects of a real nuclear war. Finally the crowd was addressed by Owen Wilkes about "Missile Madness" (*PMNZ Newsletter*, March 1983 p7 and *Peacelink* 8, April 1983).

In August 1982 the Peace Forum Management Committee had appointed Mia as their first Peace Worker. From 1983 she coordinated the Peace Office in the Environment Centre at the Arts Centre which became known as the Environment Peace Information (EPI) Centre. Her work included fundraising, collecting levies from the 25 local peace groups, selling memorabilia, booklets, showing anti-nuclear films, getting newsletters printed via a dirty duplicating machine, and activating phone trees for actions. She helped compile a list of peace books for the Public Library and a peace resource kit which was sent to all Christchurch schools. When *Peacelink* moved to Christchurch she helped collate and promote it. She also supervised workers from the Government-funded Voluntary Organisation Training Persons scheme. Many of those people are still active in the movement. Coordination of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki Day commemoration took a great deal of her energy as it often attracted up to 1,500 people with many groups involved. While helping run the EPI Centre until 1985, she used her creative skills to help make beautiful rainbow banners celebrating Christchurch as the first Nuclear Free City in 1982, and some huge ones marking NZ's nuclear free status in 1987. These were then taken all over the world by various peace campaigners to promote our policy.

Peace & The Arts

In one of her reports to *Peacelink*, she wrote about the importance of "Peace and the Arts": "The peace movement needs many talents. I have personally been involved with the protest and political part, as well as the spiritual. I've found that people keen on politics tend to form the active, planning, time-keeping, stirring-up role. They are often so busy with their business – after thoroughly enjoying themselves – that they forget the artistic. Then, in everyday protest work, comes a need for creativity. What is really exciting for me is the feeling that every time a grassroots movement looks like taking off - it passes from being a lunatic fringe - offbeat, political stirring group to a broad-based new vision movement for society – then we find that art in all its various forms comes to help. Suddenly the self-motivated political activist finds that there is music, visual art, help for posters, shows, drama, etc in ways never dreamt of. As the movement and the people in it mature, there is a real flowing of energy and enthusiasm. The creative imagination has more sources to draw from, and the ideas and resulting action have a main guiding line which sparks off new and interesting directions. So what I feel is that artists are not good political activists, and political activists are lousy artists, but when they work together in harmony great things happen!" (*Peacelink*, May 1985, p3). When Quaker Peace and Service and the Quaker Peace Committee were combined and moved to Christchurch in the late 1980s, Mia took a leading role and maintained that work until her death. She also served on the Peace Movement Aotearoa Working Group from 1984 for a few years, and later on the NZ Peace Foundation Council.

Runs In The Family

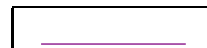
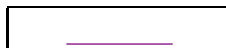
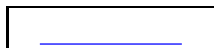
Despite being taken on peace marches in the pushchair, Mia's daughter Kim was not alienated by her mother's indefatigable peace commitment. In fact her early career emulated her mother's. She worked in the Peace Movement Aotearoa office in Wellington, and studied Peace Studies at Canterbury University. Subsequently she secured a job with the prestigious Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC) in London in 1992, where she co-published articles on the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, detection of satellites, and entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. She also served as the President of the NZ Foundation for Peace Studies at the beginning of the 2000s.

I have a delightful picture of Kim in the *Press* in January 1989, with a pile of teddies and dolls on the Quaker Peace Stall at the International Peace and People's Day in Hagley Park. More than 50 environmental, cultural, community and political groups were represented with stalls and displays. The annual event, one of the most popular of the Summer Times programme, was organised by the City Council. Mia and I built upon this early commitment to peace by the Council when, in 2002, we drafted the Christchurch Peace City proposal. Adopted later that year, it marked the 20th anniversary of Christchurch as the first nuclear free city, and declared Christchurch as New Zealand's first Peace City. In 2005, Mia received a well-deserved Peace City Award in recognition of her lifetime commitment to peace. Since then, several other cities, including Auckland, have emulated Christchurch's lead.

Ensuring Peace A Central Part Of ChCh's Identity

In conclusion, Mia played a key role ensuring that peace remains a central part of Christchurch's identity. Her humble, strong yet gentle caring presence and persistent hard work continue to inspire others. I miss her chuckle and wry sense of humour. I'm grateful to her for all the yummy wholesome dishes she shared at the many peace pot luck dinners, and for ensuring the hot drinks were organised. As with Kim and my daughters, she inspired other younger women to continue her legacy. Anna Parker and Jen Margaret, who were awarded the Quaker Loxley Fellowships for their peace work, paid tribute to her: "Mia, you were always on the other end of the phone with words of encouragement, support and passion. You believed in the projects we were working on, you championed us and our work. You also understood us as mothers, as women in context - you cared about us and our families. Your unwavering support saw us through the challenges of our projects, and we trust that the work we have produced is a useful contribution to peace/peaceful relationships that you worked for in your life".

Sadly, during her last few months our midnight email exchanges were often to share various remedies for cancer. She admitted that the stress of the ongoing earthquakes and repairs had taken a huge toll on her. In 2012 she wrote: "My dream is that by the end of the year I have this house sorted to run itself, all my papers in place, and that I have energy to help others who need help". When I bade her farewell my final promise was that we would ensure that the lantern ceremony would continue. The August 2014 ceremony was addressed by Mayor Lianne Dalziel, who acknowledged Mia's special role. Four local MPs attended, plus a Japanese women's choir and over 100 supporters, including members of Mia's family and many children. The WILPF group who organised it provided refreshments at the YMCA where they paid tribute to Mia's vision, and committed themselves to sustaining this rewarding event as a lasting memorial to her work for peace and reconciliation.



ABC Event To “Open” Bob Leonard Plaque

Peace Researcher 48 – November 2014

- Murray Horton

Peace Researcher 47 (August 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/47/pr47-009.html>) reported that the Anti-Bases Campaign had arranged the installation of a memorial plaque for Bob Leonard on a bench in Christchurch's Centaurus Park, within a stone's throw of the Huntsbury Hill home that he and Barbara lived in for 29 years before the February 2011 killer earthquake wrecked the house and forced them to immediately and permanently move to Wellington (where Bob died in August 2013, aged 74). Bob was the founder and leader of ABC, long-time Editor or Co-Editor of *Peace Researcher*, close colleague and dear friend for more than 30 years. My obituary of him is in *PR* 46 (December 2013, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/46/pr46-011.html>).

ABC “opened” the plaque on the first anniversary of Bob's death, August 14th, 2014. How do you “open” a plaque, or a park bench for that matter? Simple, it was done just like the unveiling of a headstone – we draped the bench in a couple of ABC banners and declared it open by the simple expedient of removing them. 18 hardy people gathered in the park during an absolutely freezing winter southerly (at least it had stopped raining, and it didn't hail, unlike the previous day) and we kept it short and sweet. Several people, including myself, spoke briefly and off the cuff – speakers included old friends, and former colleagues from Lincoln University where he worked for decades (it was pointed out that there is also a plaque for Bob at Lincoln). Mike Knowles, lead defence lawyer for the Waihopai Domebusters in their 2010 Wellington criminal trial acquittal, told how Bob had been a key component of the defence team, particularly via his expert witness affidavit. City Councillor Yani Johanson spoke about how Bob had been a mentor to him when he was a young half-American adjusting to life in Christchurch and getting involved as a political activist (Yani was on the ABC Committee for more than a decade). As a canine solidarity gesture, he brought his two dogs to the opening – but they are about 95% smaller than the greyhounds that Bob used to walk in Centaurus Park (and one of them is 100% less furry). Former ABC Committee member Melanie Oakley made a special trip from Ashburton to pay respects to Bob (she last saw him in 2000 before she left for years in London). Warren Thomson finished it off by calling for a minute's silence.

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 Christchurch's record rainfall of autumn 2014. Not to mention the 37 million litres of water that disappeared into the ground in that area when the February 2011 quake split the floor open of one of the city's major reservoirs, further up Huntsbury Hill. All that water had to go somewhere. So, if you're coming to view Bob's plaque, bring your gumboots (I'm not kidding. I had to wear mine to the opening. What wonderful Kiwiana!). It is actually within a short walking distance from the plaque that ABC had installed on a bench in Beckenham Park in 2007 for Owen Wilkes, ABC founder and world renowned peace researcher and activist. Owen was a good friend and colleague of ours for decades and worked very closely with Bob. Already I've taken a couple of out of town peace activists to visit both plaques. Make sure you visit Bob and Owen next time you're in the area.

