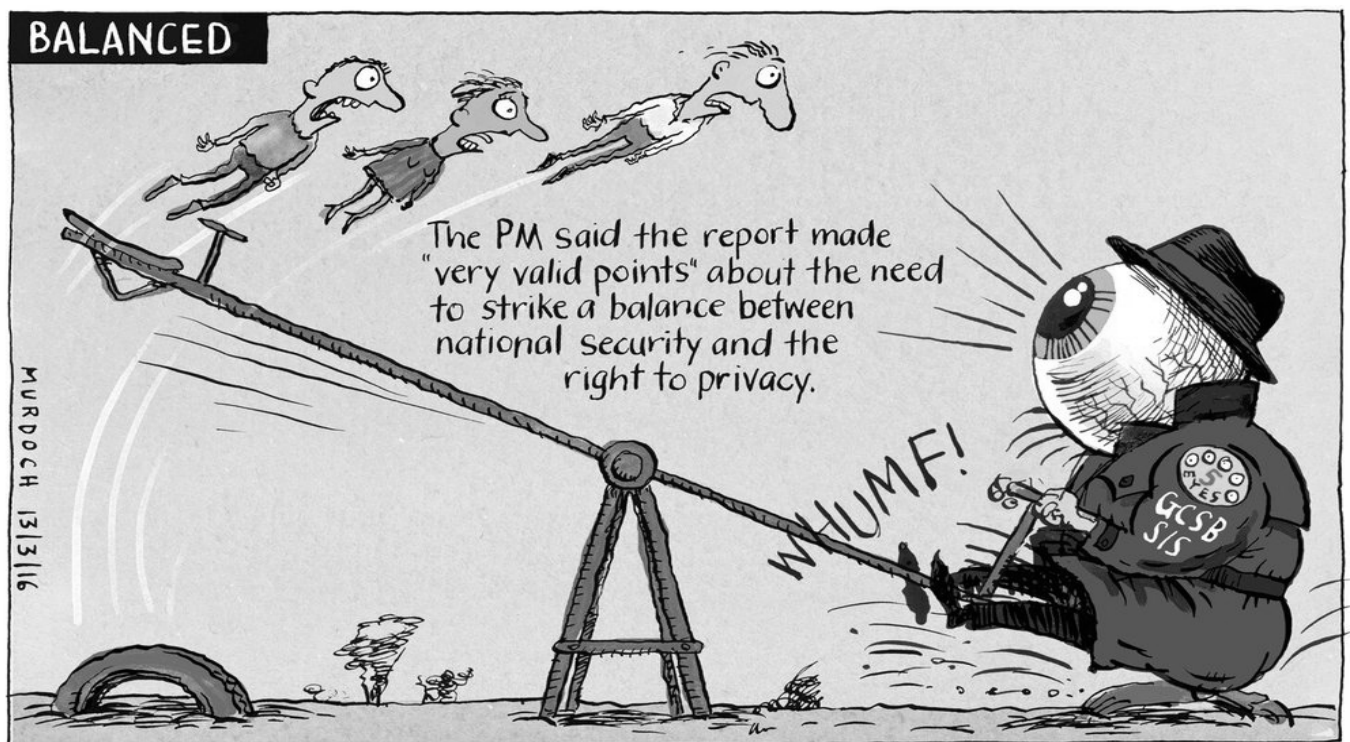


Journal of the Anti-Bases Campaign

June 2016

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**SPIES
GET
MORE
POWERS**

In this issue: Spies' Review, Waihopai Demo, Weapons Conference, Militarism

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ABC's suggestion for John Key's new flag, Waihopai 2016. Photo by Dot Lovell-Smith.

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A CRITIQUE OF THE CULLEN-REDDY INTELLIGENCE REVIEW

- Warren Thomson

Introduction

In July 2015 an official media release from the Justice Department announced that Sir Michael Cullen and Dame Patsy Reddy would head a Review into NZ spy organisations. At the end of February 2016, the report of the two patsies was made public. It is expected that new legislation for the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), and the Security Intelligence Service (SIS), will be introduced in July or August 2016, and it is certain that the legislation will give even more powers to the spooks.

The Cullen-Reddy Review gives us a strong indication of some of the likely new elements of new bills, and the opposition to extension of State covert power needs to prepare immediately to prevent further demolition of the rights to privacy, liberty and morally decent public policy making. For the Anti-Bases Campaign, public attention must continue to focus on the SIS and GCSB and the urgency of closing them down, separating New Zealand from the iniquitous Five Eyes hegemony. The fundamental problems that are intrinsic to the very existence of the surveillance agencies cannot be properly managed. The agencies must be replaced by properly publicly controlled institutions.

However, the carefully manipulated restrictive parameters of the Intelligence Review eschewed any discussion of closure. And the very few references in the Review to these broader considerations reflect the bias in the assumptions of the reviewers. Cullen and Reddy were in the classic position of not being able to see the forest for the trees and so, a critique of their report must focus heavily on the management of the trees rather than the threats to the forest.

So the following analysis of the Intelligence Review report is somewhat schizoid; while looking at the nuts and bolts recommendations made, the hidden infestation of the Five Eyes termites and the questionable rationale for the existence of the two agencies must be kept firmly in mind. It should also be remembered that many of the system's most incisive critics refused to make submissions to a Review which they saw as bent, making it easier for the Establishment to proceed with its agenda, and giving the recommendations more weight than they should have.

Bias And Establishment Views

The Review is based on a set of Establishment assumptions which seriously prejudice the conclusions. Furthermore, a close examination of some of the statements made shows how these assumptions enable the report to dismiss fundamental critical points submitters made without proper consideration. The reviewers were clearly more enthusiastic about taking the spooks' word for their good behaviour than seriously considering the actual history: "It was clear to us.... that (GCSB) restrictions are interpreted and applied conservatively" (p43), while critics have a "lack of awareness" about the agencies' activities.

While: "There have been examples in some countries in the past of intelligence and security agencies over-collecting information when they are not adequately controlled by the Executive ..." (p52) of course it has



Sir Michael Cullen & Dame Patsy Reddy

never happened in this country and Cullen/Reddy pretend it never will under the right and proper oversight regime they recommend. But examining the construction of the above sentence demonstrates the subtle approach to whitewashing opposition: “some countries”, “in the past” not “adequately controlled” – we can expect much better from a report that pretends objectivity.

Crucial matters of debate become assumptions: “Our Review *suggests* New Zealand does face a range of threats, many of which are not disclosed to the public” (p21). Why are these “threats” not disclosed to the public? Perhaps, because many examples given are “hypothetical”; or have occurred “in New Zealand or overseas”. There is little quantification of the “threats”. “A *number* of New Zealanders are already known to be fighting with or otherwise supporting ISIL” (the report quotes from the SIS *Annual Report* of June 30, 2015). Generalisations like “New Zealand is not immune from violent extremism” (p27) stem from bias, not data. We deserve better (emphasis added).

Unfortunately for the reviewers, polls they found failed to demonstrate any great public anxiety about terrorist threats, whereas a 2014 survey found 52% of the population expressed concern about Government surveillance. The bias of the report can be seen in an effort to portray a tiny increase in public concern over terrorism (much less than the margin of error) as indicating growing worries on the

issue, and belittling those concerned because some were unable to actually name the arcane organisations that make up our spook system (p17).

The Review does list the threats enumerated in a briefing to an incoming Minister (p37): rise in violent extremism, loss of information data by NZ companies, hostile intelligence operations in NZ, drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal immigrants, illegal fishing, and instability in the Pacific. It is hard to understand, if these are the key “threats” facing this country, how they are having a significant impact on the lives of New Zealanders and what justifies the responses requiring expensive, undemocratic, secret agencies. Furthermore, the Review tells us that more than 90% of intelligence comes from open sources (p45). The case for the continued existence of the agencies is hardly compelling.

Five Eyes? What’s That?

The Review was constructed in a way that allowed the reviewers to ignore the nasty system in which the GCSB is integrated, and on the all-important impact of Five Eyes on international politics, business and diplomacy there is a resounding silence. Except, of course, where the bias of the report brings in some perceived advantages of our participation in this monstrous system. It cannot be disputed that Five Eyes is “by far New Zealand’s most valuable intelligence arrangement” (p46) but in ignoring the effects of that ar-

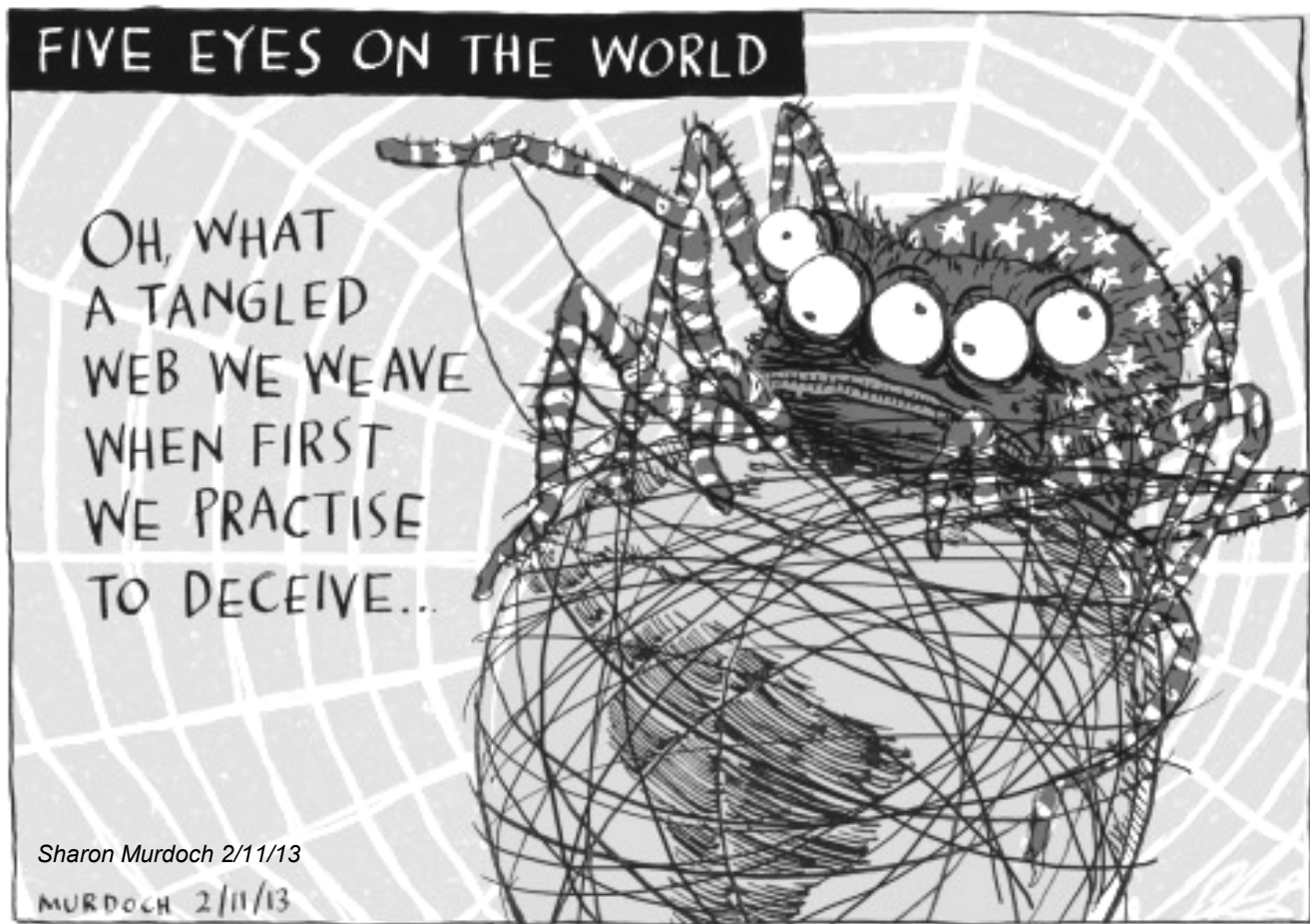
rangement Cullen and Reddy have done a serious disservice to this country.

Surely we could expect that the current investigation by the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security (IG) into New Zealand’s connections with torture, renditions and drone attacks should have raised alarm bells. At the very least the reviewers should have known that NZ agencies were praised by the US National Security Agency for operations which led to Bangladeshi activists being tortured by their Government’s security forces.

We are entrenched in a system that has lied, manipulated, tortured. John Key recently sang the praises of James Clapper (*Stuff* Website, 15/3/16), the US spy boss who visited NZ and met the PM in March. Many US Congressmen and Senators demanded President Obama sack Clapper for lying about spying on US citizens, and in 2015 Clapper tried to squash accusations by 50 intelligence analysts at the Pentagon who supported a formal, written complaint sent to the Defense Department alleging that senior intelligence officers have insisted on changing ISIS reports to make them reflect more positively on US efforts in the region (see my article “Spooky Bits” elsewhere in this issue).

If “intelligence collection is only of value to the extent that it focuses on the issues most important to New Zealand” (p3) why are we spying on UN representatives, politicians from Costa Rica, people from Brazil, Vietnam, tiny Pacific Island nations etc, etc.? The operations of NZ spooks, especially the GCSB, can not be separated from the operations of their masters. It is facile to follow up that the relevant Minister “should” formulate standard terms for international cooperation which are “to have regard to any risk of torture or capital punishment” (p59) with the comment that agencies may not be able to “guarantee the methods” used by foreign agencies but “should” ensure their own activities are “compliant with New Zealand law”. For a nation that prides itself on its international reputation, this is a serious lapse of morality.

But Cullen and Reddy were “satis-



fied' with the benefits to NZ of international interaction, because "New Zealand simply cannot go it alone in this globalised world of transnational threats" (p58). Even leaving aside any discussion of what threats this country might face if we did not tug at the trouser legs of the Five Eyes bullies and involve ourselves in arcane conflicts on the other side of the world, it is barely conceivable (and glaringly exemplifies the bias of the report writers) to not note that we could easily identify a dozen nations similar to NZ in size and importance that have absolutely no recourse to a bunch of "protectors" like Five Eyes, yet seem to survive quite happily. The report correctly states that it would be "extremely expensive to create a wholly self-reliant intelligence community" but completely fails to raise any question of what we actually need for "security" and how so many other countries seem to manage without big brothers to save them.

Is Effective Oversight An Oxymoron?

Besides the monumental flaw of ignoring the Five Eyes role in NZ affairs, the Reddy/Cullen report de-

monstrates a blind belief in the efficacy of "oversight" that is alarming. Cullen learned nothing from his failure to oversee the illegal spying of the GCSB and apparently was unperturbed by revelations that the US Central Intelligence Agency spied on its own Senate oversight committee to derail a report on CIA torture or that the British hide personnel details to conceal involvement in bombings in Yemen. NZ spooks must be virgins in the Five Eyes brothel.

After noting that currently "... lack of clarity (in legislation) ... makes it difficult to ensure compliance" (p1) and that "the secret nature of the agencies' operations makes effective oversight much more difficult to achieve" (p53), the report goes on to outline a three tier system of warrants that is supposed to ensure transparency and legality. As we see below, the quid pro quo for the new "protection" is to allow the spooks much broader powers of surveillance.

The recommendations propose the agencies have to get a warrant for every activity with the level of authorisation dependent on the signifi-

cance of the operations. Low level impact activity, for instance, following a "suspect" in public, would require a warrant from the Minister. At a higher level, warrants would have to be approved by the Attorney-General and the most invasive operations would need approval from both the Attorney-General and a "Judicial Commissioner" who is, or was, a High Court judge. However, the latter could only check for "legality" and could not comment on democratic or moral issues.

One foresees endless argument about what should be warranted at what level, and whether spooks would bother going through the process on a tedious regular basis is arguable. It should be noted that in 2015, on at least one occasion, an SIS operation went ahead without a warrant, which it can do under current legislation, but the immediate urgency of threat which is a requirement of such an operation appears to have been absent. As the Review says, warrant investigations are only carried out on a spot check basis, and this could only become much more random under the proposed system of more warrants.

We should also hope that the hopeless confusion, perhaps deliberate, that accompanied the spooks' inability to report the correct number of warrants in operation in 2014 is not typical of the system, because having to get a lot more warrants would then cause complete breakdown. And we are also asked to believe that the system is one where activities cannot be wilfully or accidentally concealed from oversight, and history is not reassuring on that score.

The report notes that protection from spying on Kiwis is currently less comprehensive than before the 2013 GCSB Act. Section 14 (which is supposed to stop the spooks spying on Kiwis) has been weakened: "... the protection offered by Section 14 is not as comprehensive as is commonly understood". Whereas before 2013 it applied to all GCSB activities, now for some activities such as cyber security or assistance to other agencies, restrictions to spying on Kiwis do not apply (p76).

The alarming Cullen/Reddy recommendation to further remove restrictions on the GCSB taking any action for the purpose of intercepting New Zealanders' private communications when performing its functions depends on using warrants to control such activity. This proposal to scrap GCSB domestic snooping restrictions, in the reviewers' own words: "...would mean that the GCSB would be able to *collect information in a broader range of circumstances* than it can currently' (p90, emphasis added). Such an expansion of GCSB powers with oversight through more warrants is based on assumptions about the system that are more based on blind faith than historical reality.

In 2014 in Australia, the spooks' Inspector-General had difficulty investigating serious allegations against an agency by an insider whistleblower because the unnamed Australian intelligence agency had "serious gaps" in record-keeping that impeded the investigation of the serious allegations from the whistleblower. Rebecca Kitteridge, currently Director of the SIS, said that while writing her report on the SIS, prior to becoming its head, she had trouble accessing basic files.

Some recommendations that Reddy and Cullen make are positive. "The current restrictions on the IG's ability to inquire into operationally sensitive matters should...be removed" (p10). They propose clarification of legislation to make clear that the Minister does not control the Inspector-General's work list. There is, similarly, merit in broadening the category of persons who can complain to the IG, expanding the number of members on the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) and the number of ex-judges or High Court judges who would check the issue of warrants. However, their assumption that oversight can work effectively indicates a vast gulf between believers and critics in this area.

Weakening Of Democracy

The report refuses to accept that the ISC should be remodelled as a Select Committee and continues to leave far too much power in the hands of Ministers. For example, the Review appears to support the current position that intelligence data can be provided to any person authorised by the Minister to receive it (p6). Cullen and Reddy should have been made aware by Crusher Collins' leaking of data to scurrilous Websites, and the use of information about then Opposition Leader Phil Goff by the Prime Minister's Department in the run-up to the 2011 election, that it is too easy for information from the spooks to become political fodder.

Worse, recommendations from the reviewers support the idea that advancing NZ "economic interests" and "international interests" are valid objectives for surveillance agencies, although they say these objectives should relate to foreigners. But this justifies usages such as the GCSB spying on representatives of governments such as South Korea and Brazil, and a number of others who had rivals contesting Tim Groser's failed attempt to become head of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Spying on political opponents of the Government who espouse radically different ideas of how the NZ economy should be run is okay if some "foreign" connection can be alleged, and the Ahmed Zaoui fiasco gives little confidence that this would be handled properly.

Generally, protection of activists dependent on promises not to spy on "legitimate protest", are hollow and unworkable. The blocking of an Auckland motorway by protestors is clearly not legal and opens those involved – and all their friends and relatives via metadata – to be put under surveillance. Which brings us back to the point that such matters should be in the hands of the Police, not the spooks because, as the "Urewera terrorists" episode showed, no matter how badly the Police behave, the activity comes to the attention of the public and the courts, unlike the activities of the spies.

There is little in the report that questions the trend (endemic in the spy world as Edward Snowden demonstrated) for spy agencies to infest communication systems and erode any privacy in communication. As is noted: since 2013 "network operators are legally required to ensure their services or networks have interception capability ...and are required to assist where there is authorisation" (p42). Recently Apple took a stand in refusing to allow the US Federal Bureau of Investigation access to its phones; Microsoft has begun court action to be allowed to inform its customers that they are under surveillance.

But the issue of widespread intrusion into New Zealand's communications networks was not raised in the Review. In fact, the report supports the obfuscation promulgated by the Prime Minister (and the mantra of Five Eyes) that mass surveillance does not take place because the spooks' focus is on intercepted communications "actually selected and examined" (p42). This is an evasion. We have mass collection. As the Review acknowledges; "metadata is an important tool for the SIS" (p38). The reviewers seem to have taken at face value the spies' assurances that only a small proportion of immediately relevant data is used, and other collected material disposed of.

But as reported in my "Spooky Bits" article (elsewhere in this issue), a review of the SIS by the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security has noted a number of "shortcomings" in SIS processes. Fairfax

Media (7/4/16) reported that: "Serious concerns have been raised about how the country's spies treat Kiwis' private information". Although this related to SIS vetting practices and not more general collection issues, it is hard to believe that agencies are going to junk anything which exhibits the slightest possibility that it might potentially be useful. We continue to have the major problem of data storage by Five Eyes accomplices and it is hard to believe that any law requiring warrants, as proposed by the Review, will ensure NZ spooks don't access data on Kiwis in the Big Brother system.

The Review does report that there is a problem with "incidental collection" because under current law the spies do not break the law if information relating to New Zealanders is gathered unintentionally while collecting for other intelligence purposes. Grounds for retention of this illegally collected data are said to be "quite broad" with wide exceptions allowing data to be kept. The reviewers were told by the spooks that such collection does not happen, but recommended legislation be rewritten to clarify the situation, and that a warrant be necessary to analyse it.

The Review, in terms of data storage, was extremely superficial at best. Reading the report, it seems our NZ spies are the only idealists in a Five Eyes mob where every other gangster grabs more information than they could ever process (Australia is going ahead with a Bill to keep all data for two years) and each in the last few years has built a massive secret data storage facility; the American spies' storage facility in Utah reportedly has the capacity to store the complete set of human knowledge.

The Battle Ahead

As of May 2016, it seems likely that the Government will produce a new set of spy laws in July or August. The powers of the spooks will almost certainly be enhanced. Below is attached a list of key recommendations made by Cullen and Reddy, which may or may not be picked up by those promoting new legislation. Unfortunately, the recommendations that should have been made, but were in many cases not even considered, are many. Chief amongst these is that the report did not recommend, or even consider, the abolition of the GCSB

and the SIS and the placing of their functions in the hands of transparent agencies, although they noted that a number of submissions made this proposal.

To sum up, the Review has produced the report that many cynics foretold – long on detail and short on analysis that puts the spook agencies into proper perspective and allows a full analysis of their relevance and place in a fully democratic and human rights-aware society. Nothing in the report gives any grounds for abandoning the contention that both the GCSB and the SIS should be closed down. Unfortunately the Establishment believers continue to give unwarranted deference to the forces of power politics and political chicanery; the testament of the heretics remains unheard. So 2016 will again need those committed to human rights and democracy in this country to take up the fight against the legislative machine and endeavour to publicise, and even slow, the ever expanding invasions into our privacy and our democratic process.

Some Key Recommendations From The Review:

- * "Every action 'should be done with integrity and in accordance with the law'" (!!!)

Removing the GCSB distinction between international and domestic spying: "would mean that that the GCSB would be able to collect info about New Zealanders in a broader range of circumstances than it can currently"

- * Remove the restrictions on GCSB taking any action for the purpose of intercepting New Zealanders' private communications when performing its functions (sect 14 of GCSB Act)
- * Remove or rewrite Sect 14 - needs clarification where data on Kiwis is "accidentally" collected which is not illegal at the moment and grounds for retention are "quite broad"

- * Give authorisation for every activity through a new three tier warrant system

- * Have a National Intelligence and Security Advisor to PM who would coordinate all the intelligence groups like the Canadian system does

- * The Inspector-General should be appointed for five years and (a) be funded separately from the intelligence budget, (b) be appointed by the Governor-General on the recommendation of the House of Representatives; (c) present his or her findings to the ISC (but on approval of the Minister); (d) take complaints from Kiwis about the agencies

- * Both GCSB and SIS have objectives which include protection of

NZ's "economic security" and "economic wellbeing"

- * Clarify in legislation that the "protected disclosures act" applies to the GCSB and SIS
- * Both agencies (not just GCSB) should be under State Sector Act (with "appropriate exemptions"), so that standards of conduct are set by the State Services Commissioner (SSC).
- * Directors should be appointed by the SSC – not the PM
- * There should be more secondments to move spooks and other Government officials around to experience various aspects of the different areas of work ■

A MARRIAGE MADE IN HELL

What Would They Call It? The GCSIS?

- Murray Horton

Warren's above article deals, in great detail, with the recommendations of the Review conducted by the two patsies, as he so memorably labelled Sir Michael Cullen and Dame Patsy Reddy (who has since been named as the next Governor-General). But it is also worth noting what the Review didn't recommend but which Cullen made very clear that they would have, if it had been in the terms of reference. Namely: a merger between the GCSB and SIS into one spy agency, covering both internal and external spying.

"It's the merger you have when you are barred from recommending a merger. Or as the co-author of the Intelligence and Security review, Sir Michael Cullen, put it, a civil union not a marriage. The law changes Cullen and Dame Patsy Reddy have recommended formally break down the distinction that still exists in many Kiwi minds between the externally focused GCSB - with restrictions on spying on Kiwis - and the SIS.

"That distinction (between internal and external surveillance) had gone in theory in 2014 under the intention of Parliament's law change (made

after the Kim Dotcom fiasco). But, as the reviewers pointed out, in practice it left the electronic spooks in limbo, untrusting of the law change and unwilling to use it. In essence the recommended change would remove the restriction on the GCSB intercepting New Zealanders' private communications when it was performing its intelligence functions, under a warrant it could raise in its own right.

"It was, they argued, a statement of the reality that it was about different 'kit' not different functions: 'The SIS basically has the old fashioned tools, and GCSB has the modern tools'. The proposed changes would leave the two organisations with the same powers, authorisation regimes, capacities, purposes and oversight - operating under the same legal structures and operating from the same building - hence Cullen's 'civil union' quip.

"They were now basically in the same area of activity and would increasingly be so, as technology advanced. If the reviewers had been allowed to recommend a merger they would have done so - and as far as they are concerned the

next Review in five to seven years will likely go that way. The changes would also, if you accepted the Review team's argument, prevent unnecessary and costly replication. Without the GCSB's technical powers available to them, there would be every incentive for the Police and the SIS to build 'mini-GCSBs' of their own.

"Oddly, Prime Minister John Key seemed to have a completely different take shortly after the report was made public. He said in principle the Government wanted to keep the domestic/overseas roles of the two agencies separate except in 'some very unique circumstances in relation to national security', which would be 'a tiny subset' of what GCSB was doing. And the GCSB and SIS would have different powers, though they would operate under the same definitions for things like terrorism. 'In the end the powers would still be pretty different', Key said" (*Press*, 10/3/16, "Spies May Cohabit, But Not Hook Up", Vernon Small, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/opinion/77697925/Spy-age-review-calls-for-Civil-Union-between-SIS-and-GCSB>).

As the *Press* article says, the next such Review is scheduled to take place in five to seven years. You can put money on the propaganda being ramped up in the next few years to accept the "inevitability" of a merged GCSB & SIS into one spy super-agency. This really does represent the drive to create an Orwellian Big Brother society in little old New Zealand. It's a dangerous trend and one which needs to be both monitored closely, and strongly resisted. ■

NZ SURVEILLANCE



WAIHOPAI SPY BASE PROTEST 2016

- Murray Horton

The Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) held our regular protest at the Waihopai spy base in January 2016 and, as had also been the case in 2015, it was the best attended for several years (we had more than 30 people camping overnight on at least one of the two nights we spent in Marlborough; with people coming from around the country). A first time feature was that a group of ten or so mainly Christchurch members of It's Our Future, the national group campaigning against the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) camped with us and played a full role in the weekend's activities, including providing speakers. They had approached us because they could see the similarities between their issue and ours; they wanted to actively build links; and the Waihopai protest was just before the February 2016 TPPA signing in Auckland (which attracted very big mass protests around the country). It was great to have them join us.

To quote from our press release announcing the 2016 protest: "2015 brought further revelations from Edward Snowden via Nicky Hager and others that, not only have the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) & Waihopai been conducting mass surveillance on New Zealanders for years (as ABC has said since the spy base was first announced in 1987), but also that they have been spying on a number of other countries (from our Pacific neighbours to Bangladesh and China), on behalf of the US National Security Agency (NSA). Plus spying on Tim Groser's rivals from other countries during his unsuccessful attempt to become head of the World Trade Organisation. The Government either completely ignored or tried to minimise these damning revelations.

"The 'independent' Intelligence Review can be guaranteed to recommend even more repressive spying agency laws to 'protect us from the terrorists'*. The Government has embroiled NZ in America's new war in Iraq (will Syria be next?). Waihopai does not operate in the national interest of New Zealand. In



John Key at spy base's outer gate. Photo by Warren Brewer.

all but name it is a foreign spy base on NZ soil, paid for with hundreds of millions of our tax dollars; it spies on Kiwis and foreigners; it is NZ's key contribution to America's global spying & war machine. Waihopai must be closed" (ABC press release, 15/1/16, "Waihopai & The GCSB Spy On New Zealanders; NSA Spies On Everyone; Back To War In Iraq"). **For details of the Intelligence Review's recommendations, see elsewhere in this issue. MH.*

Blenheim March & Rallies

There is a certain sameness to the annual protests (as indeed there is to these annual reports), which is only to be expected, as the spy base is the unchanging, mute and malevolent backdrop. But we always introduce a little variety each year, a bit of mix and match. The 2013 protest had deliberately focused exclusively on the base itself, with

no activity in Blenheim. In 2014 we decided to revert to our previous practice, namely to hold activities at both. Rather than a rally or a march or a stall at the local market, we decided to hold an old school public meeting. The point of difference was that, rather than at night, we held it on the Saturday morning before going out to the base (and it was very well attended, proving our hunch right). 2015 was different again, in that we reverted to a Blenheim march and rally for the first time in several years.

In 2016 we went for a trifecta – a march through Blenheim, punctuated by several rallies; activity out at the base; and then a film showing back in Blenheim. Largely, it all worked very well. At least 60 people assembled at a very busy roundabout near Blenheim's central business district (CBD) on the Saturday morning, displaying our banners and

placards; then we marched right through the CBD chanting and singing, stopping at several places for speeches and some street theatre from our leading players, Uncle Sam and John Key.

Our featured speakers (who spoke from the back of a ute that accompanied us through town) were myself, on behalf of ABC; Metiria Turei, Greens' Co-Leader & intelligence spokesperson; John Minto on behalf of Mana and Maire Leadbeater, veteran peace activist. It was a coup to get Metiria, because it was her first time at a Waihopai protest, and because she was the first Greens' Co-Leader to have spoken at one since Jeanette Fitzsimons and Russel Norman a decade ago. Nor did Metiria just make her speech and then shoot through; she stayed with us, and told us how happy she was to be marching through Blenheim in the company once more of grassroots activists. She also came out to the base and spoke there.

Here are the guts of what she said: "The GCSB has acted illegally. Our spy agencies are being used for political purposes like helping Ministers get international jobs, New Zealanders in the Pacific are being spied on and the Security Intelligence Service lacks a proper compliance system. We cannot let their arrogance erode our civil liberties away". Other people also spoke at various stops in Blenheim, including Gen de Spa from It's Our Future and Jeremy Agar, the Chairperson of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA).

Giant New Prop

Several years ago Domebuster Adi Leason had turned up at one protest wearing a John Key giant puppet head, and he and our regular Uncle Sam, Alice Leney (who is a bloke – it's a long story) had turned heads as they skipped hand in hand through Blenheim's CBD. Sadly that Key head had not survived the drive back to the North Island (it fell off the trailer and ended up somewhat the worse for wear).

But, for 2015, I was able to secure another giant Key puppet head. Adi was all set to wear it again but got sick on the day, so, at very short notice, Kieran Kelly became the

Prime Minister. And he did a very good job of it, complete with Tory blue shirt and rosette proclaiming "sell everything" (both provided by Adi), and swigging from a beer bottle (empty, I hasten to add) to illustrate the theme of barbecuing with his bestie Barack. Whenever any accusation was put to him, "John Key" unfailingly answered: "At the end of the day I'm fairly relaxed about it".

Plus, for the first time, we had not one but two Uncle Sams and two John Keys – courtesy of a very last minute decision, Forrest Chambers came down from the North Island. He marched through Blenheim dressed as Uncle Sam, dangling a large John Key puppet as he went. It was a strange sensation marching along being heckled from the other side of the road by one or both Uncles Sam – it certainly got the attention of Saturday morning Blenheimites.

That particular John Key head was not available for our use again in 2016, as its Nelson maker wanted it back for use there. So, ABC set about commissioning our very own John Key head from Christchurch sculptor Chris Reddington (who is also a musician and, most significantly, a maker of truly enormous wearable puppets). He duly delivered a wearable John Key head that is nearly as tall as I am (taller, actually, once you include the "spy camera" attached to the top of the head) and so round that it won't fit through a standard door frame.

Chris dropped this masterpiece off at our place while literally en route to the airport to go overseas for several months. It cost us several hundred dollars and required its own dedicated trailer to get it to and from Blenheim (many thanks to Michael Hamblett who volunteered himself, his car and trailer) but we reckon it was well worth the expense and general hassle. Once in Blenheim, there was a reversal of roles between Uncle Sam and John Key. Alice Leney wore the giant head (it's fitted onto a pack frame and requires both strength and balance to walk whilst wearing it. I know, because I tried it on for size when it was first delivered and duly staggered around our back lawn. I'm not sure what any witnessing neigh-

bours might have made of it).

The splendid Forrest Chambers wonderfully hammed it up as Uncle Sam, leading John Key around by dangling a couple of \$20 notes tied to a pole in front of him. They made a truly striking sight as they paraded through the streets of Blenheim (very carefully, I might add; the Key head is so big that, once it is being worn, it will not fit under things like lights and signs hanging from shop awnings).

Our original idea was that, at the regular speaking stops throughout the CBD, Uncle Sam and John Key would perform a bit of scripted street theatre. We soon realised that this wasn't realistic – Alice was basically flying blind (he needed a couple of people to guide him as he walked and he risked life and limb getting up and down from the back of the ute we used as a speaking/performance platform). Plus he couldn't easily speak intelligibly from inside the giant head – the primary function of its mouth is to see, not speak, through.

So we had to can that idea and just go with the visual impact (which was truly crowd-stopping. At least one passerby got her photo taken with it. Plus the Key head had a terrifying effect on small children. Hazel, the two year old daughter of ABC Committee member Jenny Hope-Boyd, froze in her tracks when she spotted it being worn at our camp. We had to store it out of her sight. She wouldn't go to sleep at night until her parents could satisfactorily answer her question: "Where is big head sleeping?"). But I'm going to pull editorial rank here and include the never performed street theatre script, for the record (I wrote it, the ABC Committee adjudged it to be a goody, and I don't like to see good writing go to waste, even if I say so myself. I've never suffered from false modesty).

Action At The Base

But wait, there's more. The Uncle Sam/John Key double act took on a whole new lease of life out at the spy base itself. Alice Leney, who lives at the top of the Coromandel Peninsula, travels to and from each Waihopai protest on one of his collection of beautifully preserved

classic American motorbikes, which are all of various current or ancient vintages. Each one way trip, particularly on one of his older bikes, can take several days. In recent years he has been Uncle Sam (succeeding the late Bob Leonard, who had created the role) and added a motorised dimension, namely Uncle Sam on a motorbike.

For the 2016 protest at the base itself, Alice reverted to being Uncle Sam and, with the giant John Key head in mind; he had especially ridden his 1940s' vintage motorbike with sidecar all the way down from the Coromandel. He thought it would be a great idea to have the subservient John Key being driven around by Uncle Sam (and he was

right. It was the single most striking visual image of the weekend). When we asked him how he planned to get a helmet onto such an enormous puppet head, he pointed out the law does not require sidecar passengers to wear helmets – just the rider.

All we had to do now was find

Play It Again, Uncle Sam!

Street Theatre Script

S is Sam; **K** is Key.

S: I'm looking for a guy to do some jobs for me, run some errands, spy on some people, and fight some wars. You look a likely prospect. You must be very important, because you've got the biggest head I've ever seen.

K: It's caused by a medical condition sir. The doctors say I suffer from money on the brain.

S: That sounds just perfect for my purposes. What's your name, boy?

K: John, sir.

S: Well, I need a key man in this part of the world, so I'll call you John Key.

K: Thank you very much, sir, much obliged.

S: John, I need someone to spy on everybody in Noo Zealand. Not just that Dotcom fella - everyone. Will you do that for me?

K: Yes, sir. I'll even change the law to make it legal in retrospect.

S: And, John, I need someone to spy on China. We like to pretend we're all friendly with them, but they're our biggest rival for the title of ruler of the world.

K: But I like pandas, sir.

S: So do I, John. They're so much cuter than eagles and kiwis. I tell you what, just spy on their Consulate in Auckland, you don't have to spy on the pandas.

K: Yes, sir, I will.

S: And, John, I need someone to spy on those itty bitty little Pacific countries that think you're their friend. Will you do that for me?

K: Yes, sir, I will, after all, what are friends for except to be spied on?

S: And, John, I need somebody to spy on some really obscure countries - say, Bangladesh - that are

nowhere near Noo Zealand and have nothing to do with it (except for, what's that funny game called, cricket). Will you do that for me?

K: Yes, sir, I will. I don't like cricket as much as rugby. The All Blacks win World Cup finals, the Black Caps don't and I only like to take selfies with winners.

S: John, seeing you've been such a good boy, you can do some of your own spying.

K: Yes, sir, I already have. We've been spying on all the rival candidates for WTO head when my good friend Tim Groser was running for it. He didn't get it though, so we've sent him to be our man in Washington, where you can spy on him yourself.

S: And, John, it's not just about spying. I've got all these wars to fight, in Iraq, Syria, Afghanistan, and in all sorts of places you've never heard of. It comes with the job. Will you help me with them?

K: Yes, sir, I will. Anything you need. Would you like some more troops? We love fighting other people's wars; we've been doing it for yonks. It's what we do. Wars r us, that's my motto. We're only little so we can't help much with the fighting. But we can help heaps with the spying that makes the fighting possible. Waihopai, that's the biggest help we can give you, it's working for you 24/7, and we even pay for it. You can't ask for better than that.

S: You really are a good boy, John. As a reward, I'm going to give you the TPPA. That's a pretty good deal, don't you reckon. Well, for me, anyway. Sorry about the dairy industry, but, hey, you can't always get what you want.

K: Leave it to me, sir. I'll tell them it's for their own good, the price of globalisation, no gain without pain, I'll think of something.

S: That's enough business for now, John, I hear you like to play a little golf. By coincidence, so do I. Why don't you take me out to this Waihopai place I've heard all about? I'm told it's got the biggest balls in Noo Zealand. ■

someone brave enough to wear the giant Key head while being driven on the open road in a 70+ year old motorbike sidecar. Jack, who is one of Adi Leason's innumerable sons, was only too happy to volunteer and squeezed himself inside the head and then squeezed both himself and the head into the sidecar. Alice didn't threaten the speed limit, being mindful that the very top heavy nature of the head constantly caused it to want to topple backwards. Jack kept the head under control and Uncle Sam and John Key duly made a grand arrival at the spy base's main gate, where they remained parked up, front and centre, for the duration of our protest there.

At the base's outer gate we held our usual rally, with a crowd of around 60 and a number of speakers – some had already spoken in Blenheim; others, such as former Green MP Keith Locke and current one Steffan Browning, have been veteran attendees and speakers for many years. Domebuster Adi Leason is always a wonderfully powerful speaker at the scene of his "crime" (for which the State tried, and failed, to punish him in both criminal and civil courts. He and his two partners in crime remain gloriously unincarcerated, unbankrupted and unapologetic. Three cheers for them, ABC says).

Adi's son Jack, fresh from his stint in Uncle Sam's sidecar, along with various offsidars/siblings/kids, made a great impression with their Guantanamo "Shackle Shuffle" action song and dance (with audience participation). "Waihopai Warren" Thomson from the ABC Committee hopped the gate to confront the cops with his placard and, having made his point to them on the spy bases' prohibited soil, climbed back out again with no legal consequences.

Edward Snowden Film

Normally once we leave the spy base; that is the end of the pro-



Clockwise from left: Jack Leason on banjo, Adi Leason (to his right) and kids perform "Shackle Shuffle" Guantanamo song and dance at Waihopai gate.

Warren Thomson gets up close and personal with a cop, inside the spy base's outer fence.

Follow the money! Uncle Sam lures John Key through Blenheim with some petty cash. Photos by Dot Lovell-Smith.

Murray Horton speaks in Blenheim (John Key keeps an eye on him). Photo by Warren Brewer.



ceedings. But not this year. We went back into Blenheim and screened a DVD of the Oscar-winning documentary "Citizenfour", about Edward Snowden (reviewed by Jeremy Agar in *Peace Researcher* 49, June 2015, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/49/pr49-007.html>). We had gone to quite a lot of trouble to arrange what was the first Blenheim showing of this excellent film – ABC Committee member Robyn Dann took the initiative and bought the DVD on our behalf and our invaluable Marlborough organisers, Phil Hunnisett and Steffan Browning, extensively advertised it locally, using the old school method of putting up flyers in cafes, shops and other such places.

It worked, as we got a full house of at least 50 people, plenty of whom had not been with us in Blenheim or at the spy base. People came from elsewhere in Marlborough, we even had some European backpackers turn up. It was a fascinating, informative and sobering way to finish our busy schedule of activities. And, for those who hadn't seen the film before, it was a chance to realise just what a debt the world's peoples owe to the brave Edward Snowden. Many thanks are due to ABC Committee member Lynda Boyd who did all the complicated technical stuff to make it all happen.

There was one disappointing difference from previous years' Waihopai protests and that was the almost zero media presence and coverage. We've always done really well in terms of mainstream media coverage, across newspapers, radio and TV. But not in 2016. There were no media contacts with us before the protest, there were no reporters on hand during our Blenheim activities on the Saturday morning, and only one reporter and one photographer (both from the *Marlborough Express*) out at the base.

But that meant that we still got reported through the Fairfax papers and on its *Stuff* site (*Marlborough Express*, 23/1/16 "Waihopai Spy Base Protesters Talk GCSB, Five Eyes And Democracy In Marlborough", Jennifer Eder, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/marlborough-express/news/76188890/waihopai-spy-base-protesters-talk-gcsb-five-eyes-and-democracy-in-marlborough>). It's im-

possible from year to year to predict what will capture the attention of the increasingly downsized and trivialised mainstream media. We should think ourselves lucky that we get any media coverage of our tiny but eye-catching protests – in the past couple of years there have been national days of action against the TPPA, involving thousands of people around the country, that have been completely ignored by the good old Christchurch *Press*. Don't get me started.

We'll Be Back For As Long As It Takes

ABC is more determined than ever to keep up this marathon of a campaign. That spy base is a blot on the conscience of all New Zealanders (as well as a blot on the Marlborough landscape) and we won't stop until it's closed. We'll keep doing it for as long as it takes. Apart from anything else, the weekend-long camps are always wonderful social occasions and an opportunity to catch up with friends

and fellow activists from around the country and sometimes from overseas.

The 2016 camp featured the most wonderful summer weather (30+ degrees the whole time we were there, the nights were warm, and a full moon made the nights like day). Special thanks to Pam Hughes and Ron Currie, the Catering Corps, whose gourmet food really lifted it to another level. They have made a real difference to the whole Waihopai camping experience in recent years. So, we look forward to seeing you back there again next time. Spread the word and bring your friends. This affects all of us because it's being done in our name and with our money. With every passing year the scandals involving the GCSB and Waihopai become bigger and worse. Time to say: "Enough is enough; close Waihopai now!"



Uncle Sam & John Key arrive at Waihopai in style. Photo by Warren Brewer

CLOSE WAIHOPAI SPY BASE!

**Murray Horton's speech,
on behalf of ABC.**

The last 12 months have brought further revelations from Edward Snowden via Nicky Hager and others that, not only has the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) & its' Waihopai spy base been conducting mass surveillance on New Zealanders for years (as we the Anti-Bases Campaign have said since the spy base was first announced in 1987) but also that it has been spying on a number of other countries (ranging from our Pacific neighbours to Bangladesh and China, on behalf of the US National Security Agency [NSA]).

Plus spying on Tim Groser's rivals from other countries during his unsuccessful attempt to become head of the World Trade Organisation.

The GCSB routinely spies on any number of other countries, on behalf of the NSA.

And the NSA spies on everyone.

The Government either completely ignored or tried to minimise these damning revelations. When it was revealed that the GCSB had been systematically illegally spying on New Zealanders, did the Government punish the criminals? No, it retrospectively legalised the crime and granted immunity to the criminals.

The "independent" Intelligence Review* can be guaranteed to recommend even more repressive spying agency laws to "protect us from the terrorists". How many terrorists have the spies protected us from? Not a single one. The only foreign terrorist attack in NZ's history remains that by French State terrorists on the *Rainbow Warrior* (i.e. by our "friends", white Christian Europeans, not by our supposed

enemies, brown Muslims). **For details of the Intelligence Review's recommendations, see elsewhere in this issue. MH.*

The Government has embroiled NZ in America's latest war in Iraq (will Syria be next?).

It is essential that more pressure is put on the Government to put an end to the anti-democratic and destructive activities of this NZ spy agency.

New Zealand's role as an American ally is being steadily reconstituted.

But our most significant contribution to Washington's global effort to manipulate world business and diplomacy is, and has been for nearly 30 years, the Waihopai electronic intelligence gathering base.

It is controlled by the US, with NZ (including Parliament and the Prime Minister) having little or no idea what goes on there, nor any control.

Waihopai is operated by the GCSB in the interests of the foreign Powers grouped together in the super-secret Five Eyes Agreement (which shares global electronic and signals intelligence among the intelligence agencies of the US, UK, Canada, Australia and NZ).

Its satellite interception dishes intercept a huge volume of civilian telephone calls, email and computer data communications, including Twitter, Facebook and the like.

Five Eyes Is Reason For Both GCSB & Waihopai

John Key has said that NZ's current military involvement in the Iraq War is "the price of belonging to the club" i.e. Five Eyes, which is accountable only to its own constituent agencies, not governments, and certainly not citizens.

Forget about flag referendum sideshows - getting out of Five

Eyes is vital to NZ becoming a truly independent nation.

It is essential that Kiwis recognise that the GCSB, far from protecting us from terrorism, puts us in the frontline by its Five Eyes operations.

Currently the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security is investigating links between our spies and drone attacks and other appalling Five Eyes activities such as renditions (whereby the victim is kidnapped and "disappeared").

We have people with us today from It's Our Future, the group leading the campaign against the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA - which was signed in Auckland on February 4th).

The two issues are inextricably linked. How? Intelligence today has been described as serving corporate interests and protecting corporate intellectual property.

Waihopai is the means by which that is done. It is the most important covert link between the US and its junior New Zealand satellite; the TPPA is the most important open link.

Waihopai does not operate in the interests of New Zealanders or our neighbours.

It has no proper oversight or control from our Government.

In all but name it is a foreign spy base on NZ soil, paid for with many hundreds of millions of our tax dollars, and directly involves us in America's wars and America's cynical manipulation of business and diplomatic affairs.

It spies on Kiwis and foreigners.

It is NZ's key contribution to America's global spying & war machine.

Waihopai is the monster with five eyes and two balls. Let's kick it out, let's kick it in the balls.

Waihopai must be closed ■

WEAPONS CONFERENCE CAMPAIGN MOVES TO AUCKLAND

- Valerie Morse

For the background to this, see Valerie's article "New Zealand's Homegrown Military-Industrial Complex" in *Peace Researcher* 50, November 2015, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/50/pr50-005.html> Ed.

The struggle to stop New Zealand's annual Weapons Conference has not finished in Wellington, and already plans are underway to take the campaign to Auckland for what is set to be a very big week in November 2016. The two day Conference is being held in conjunction with the NZ Navy's 75th anniversary celebration that includes the visit of a US warship for the first time in 32 years.

The Wellington Blockade

In 2015, on November 17, about 150 people converged at 8 a.m. to begin a blockade of the annual NZ Defence Industry Association Conference (herein referred to as the "Weapons Conference"). This two day Conference, sponsored by Lockheed Martin, brings together over 500 people involved in the provision of goods and services for making war. The blockade was the culmination of a grassroots community campaign led by Peace Action Wellington. The campaign seeks to shut down the Weapons Conference permanently.

The blockade was established in three places around the building, and was very successful in deterring and denying entry to Conference attendees who had signed up to attend the first morning's "speed dating" session. This session was billed as an opportunity for smaller company representatives to meet and mingle with the "primes" e.g. the "Prime Contractors": the major weapons manufacturers who tender for large-scale weapons platforms (warships, aircraft, armoured vehicles, etc).

Certainly, the blockade was energetic: people were committed to making sure that delegates could not get in, but it remained at all times non-violent. The response of the Police, however, was brutal. A total of 27 people were arrested over two days of protests for a range of offences, primarily trespass. Most of the arrests happened on the first morning, and by 11 a.m. the blockade moved around to the side of the building to disrupt the opening address of the Conference given by Graham Lintott, Managing Director of Lockheed Martin New Zealand. This "noise brigade" was certainly effective in disrupting the Conference: pots, pans and fists banging on the doors could be heard very loudly and clearly during subsequent airing of the Conference speech in a Radio NZ story.

Despite being told that they would be issued with a warning by Police, those people arrested were instead charged with minor offences and punished with restrictive bail conditions (a 200 metre restriction from being around the building), ensuring that they could not return to the blockade. Such bail conditions are a violation of NZ's Bill of Rights; Police do not have the ability to use charges as a means to institute bail conditions specifically to repress basic rights. Sadly, this is not a new Police tactic.

On the evening of the second day of the Conference, a "Block Party to block the party" was held outside of the Conference venue while the annual Defence Industry Awards were given at a gala dinner to celebrate successful war profiteering for the year. The Block Party was a noisy protest with musical instruments, dancing and food that went on for three hours as the dinner was underway inside. At the end of that week, the 27 arrested appeared in Wellington District Court. The charges were dropped against one person immediately.

Several further court hearings have been held in a frustrating and protracted court process. While a large number of people have been offered diversion (a Police scheme to avoid conviction), many have elected not to take it, preferring to argue the case in court. A number of people charged with offences took diversion for personal reasons (travel, work, etc). A further "status" hearing to determine if and when the case will go to trial has yet to be set at the time of writing. The Weapons Conference has been held in Wellington for 18 years and is likely to try to return to Wellington after the 2016 conference in Auckland.

Operation Neptune & The Auckland Conference

The NZ Navy's 75th anniversary celebration, dubbed "Operation Neptune", has prompted the temporary move of the Weapons Conference to Auckland, set for November 16th and 17th. Operation Neptune culminates in Auckland with a march through the city by sailors and crew from militaries around the world, and public "open days" on board the warships. If the US Navy accepts the invitation to come, as seems likely, it would be the first visit of a US warship since the 1984 visits of the *USS Queenfish*, *Schofield*, *Whipple*, *Bronstein* and *Wadsworth*. It appears that the Prime Minister can certify a ship as nuclear-free using publicly available information, meeting the letter, if not the spirit, of the 1987 nuclear-free legislation.

The US is not the only nuclear weapons state invited to the event; indeed, some 30 navies will be welcomed. Maybe such an overwhelming and overt military display ought to prompt some national soul-searching both about New Zealand's military past and its future. It does not seem likely, however. Instead, a whole year of events is being staged around the country sponsored by many of the same companies involved in the Weapons



Protest at Wellington Weapons Conference, 2015 (Valerie Morse third from left).

Conference—and those which are profiting from the \$3 billion annual war budget. At present, Lockheed Martin is carrying out a \$446 million upgrade of the frigates *Te Mana* and *Te Kaha*. This “upgrade” is merely a temporary fix, and the Government has already indicated plans to purchase new warships in the near future.

The upcoming Weapons Conference is likely to be the largest ever. It joins a growing list of international arms fairs and trade shows designed to enhance corporate-military relationships. The marriage of the military-industrial complex is not new; however, it has taken on a more complex nature as it has expanded into what is essentially a global security-industrial complex, or less elegantly stated, a military-surveillance-police & prison-complex. Many of the same companies involved in the provision of goods and services to the military are doing the same for intelligence services, police and prisons. As writer Stephen Graham notes:

“Policing, civil law enforcement, and security services are melding into a loosely, and internationally, organised set

of (para)militarised ‘security forces.’ A ‘policisation of the military’ proceeds in parallel with the ‘militarisation of the police’... ‘High intensity policing’ and ‘low intensity warfare’ threaten to merge... Western security and military doctrine is rapidly being reimagined in ways that dramatically blur the juridical and operational separation between policing, intelligence and the military; distinctions between war and peace; and those between local, national and global operations. [Wars] become both boundless and more or less permanent.”ⁱ

Yet, as the Wellington campaign shows, resistance to war and militarism is still possible in Aotearoa. Groups in Auckland such as No Pride in Prisons and Auckland Action Against Poverty are taking an intersectional approach to specific issues (poverty, mass incarceration) that recognises that the wider paradigm in which these or many other issues sit means the necessity of struggling against war and capitalism. At present, there is no active anti-war organising group in Auckland. These upcoming war events

provide a great opportunity for one to come together again. Organising is underway, and if you would like to get involved, please e-mail Valerie Morse morsevalerie@gmail.com

ⁱ Stephen Graham, 2011, “Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism”, Verso, London. Quoted in Jeff Halper, 2014, “War Against The People: Israel, The Palestinians And Global Pacification”, Pluto Press, p26.■

SPOOKY BITS

- by Warren Thomson

Same Old, Same Old

Questions have been raised again about how the Security Intelligence Service (SIS) treats its data. A review of the SIS by the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security has noted a number of "shortcomings" in SIS processes. Data collected for the purpose of vetting clearances is not properly managed. Journalist Rosanna Price reports that "serious concerns have been raised about how the country's spies treat Kiwis' private information" (Stuff, 7/4/16, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/78663110/SIS-review-finds-safeguards-to-Kiwis-vetting-information-not-up-to-scratch>)

Every year thousands of people have to provide the Government with personal information related to immigration, tax, business and particularly job applications. Some requested data covers sensitive personal information about relationships, health, political associations etc. In her report, the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, Cheryl Gwyn, noted a number of failings in SIS processes that did not meet standard data protection requirements. Most seriously, the SIS was found to allow access to personal data for a large number of its employees without properly recording who was looking at what.

No reasons for data searches were required. Some data was accessed for reasons that were not consistent with the assurances, consents, and other statements made when people gave their personal information. People giving data to the SIS are supposed to give consent to how it is used. Furthermore, NZ citizens have a right to expect that SIS staff access files only on the basis of direct need for their work.

SIS Director Rebecca Kitteridge made the usual noises about having appropriate safeguards in place and claimed (not for the first time) that changes were already underway fol-

lowing the report. "The report identifies that the culture within NZSIS, of treating information with the utmost sensitivity, *could be supported with more robust systems*" (ibid, emphasis added). Understatement of the year! According to Rosanna Price, the Inspector-General found "access controls" were not up to scratch; for example, there were no records of who was accessing the physical private records and no reasons given as to why.

"I found electronic records for the largest category of clearance holders and candidates were accessible at any time to 60 or so staff who carry out security clearances," she said (ibid). SIS Minister Chris Finlayson said information was protected and there would be further improvements made. Presumably it is not *his* sexual proclivities and financial details that are being bandied about the SIS offices.

SIS Spying Without A Warrant

Sometime in the second half of 2015 the SIS carried out an operation which involved warrantless surveillance. Under the current SIS law the spooks can go ahead with an operation without a warrant if there are extremely urgent reasons for doing so; for example, a terrorist attack is about to take place, or known terrorists are about to board a plane to escape the country. The alarming thing about this operation was that there are no discernible public indications of arrests or the saving of lives. It seems that the compelling reason for spying with no judicial authority, in fact, had no proper basis. The activity was revealed in a report by SIS Director Rebecca Kitteridge to Minister of spooks Chris Finlayson. While it is only a single instance over a six month period (as far as we know at present) it is a worrying sign that the 24 hour warrantless spying loophole can be misused.

Clapper Visit To NZ

The US Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, arrived in NZ in the middle of March 2016 for a meeting with Prime Minister John Key ahead of a Five Eyes meeting in Australia. Key played down the importance of the meeting by announcing "...he's literally here because there's a meeting in Australia". Key went on to say: "I've met General Clapper on a couple of occasions. He's obviously got great insight into intelligence and what's happening around the world" (Stuff, 15/3/16).

Key didn't say that, according to Wikipedia: "...two US Representatives accused Clapper of perjury for telling a Congressional committee in March 2013 that the National Security Agency does not collect any type of data at all on millions of Americans. One Senator asked for his resignation, and a group of 26 Senators complained about Clapper's responses under questioning. Media observers have described Clapper as having lied under oath, having obstructed justice, and having given false testimony".

Clapper also defended US spook analysis during a Pentagon investigation into accusations that top military officials have pressured analysts into making their reports conform to the Obama Administration's narrative of the fight against ISIS. The *Huffington Post* (1/10/15) reported suspicion of Clapper's close involvement in the alleged slanting of intelligence. More than 50 intelligence analysts at CENTCOM, the Pentagon agency covering security interests in nations throughout the Middle East and Central Asia, have supported a formal, written complaint sent to the Defense Department alleging that senior intelligence officers have insisted on changing ISIS reports to make them reflect more positively on US efforts in the region (see also the *Guardian*, 15/9/15).

More Poor Data Procedures

Spooks mishandling data is a too common theme. Examples of careless or perhaps illegal use of data are rife. It was revealed in the 2014/15 Report by the Australian Inspector-General of Security and Intelligence that an individual “who had previously had a close working relationship” with one of Australia’s intelligence agencies raised concerns about misconduct by the spooks with the Inspector-General. The allegations were made under a disclosure scheme enacted across the Tasman where intelligence whistleblowers are permitted, in some limited circumstances, to raise concerns with the Inspector General. However, the IG had difficulty investigating the case (surprise, surprise) because the unnamed Australian intelligence agency had “serious gaps” in record-keeping that impeded the investigation of the serious allegations from the whistleblower. Another good example of how oversight fails.

Aussie Govt Departments Rife With Illegality

Government employees make mistakes and, as well, there is illegal

accessing and/or use of data every day. We cannot know what the spook agencies in Australia, or here, get up to. Hundreds of Government whistle-blowers have made serious disclosures about wrongdoing within Australian Federal departments in the past year and most of them were about conduct by bureaucrats that broke Australian laws. The majority of the whistleblowers came from three Government departments: Defence, Immigration and the Australian Taxation Office, according to the Office of the Commonwealth Ombudsman (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 9/1/16).

It is reported that there were 639 “public interest disclosures” made about the conduct of Australian public servants. These involved contravention of a Commonwealth law, perverting the course of justice, maladministration, abuse of public trust, wastage of Commonwealth resources, conduct relating to health and safety risks, and abuse of public office. These departments represent the public face of wrongful activities. It is, of course, probable that the same, or even worse, transgressions are being continually perpetrated by the covert agencies. But few of the spooks’ illegalities and morally odious activities are likely to emerge from the depths to public scrutiny, regardless of what over-

sight systems are set up.

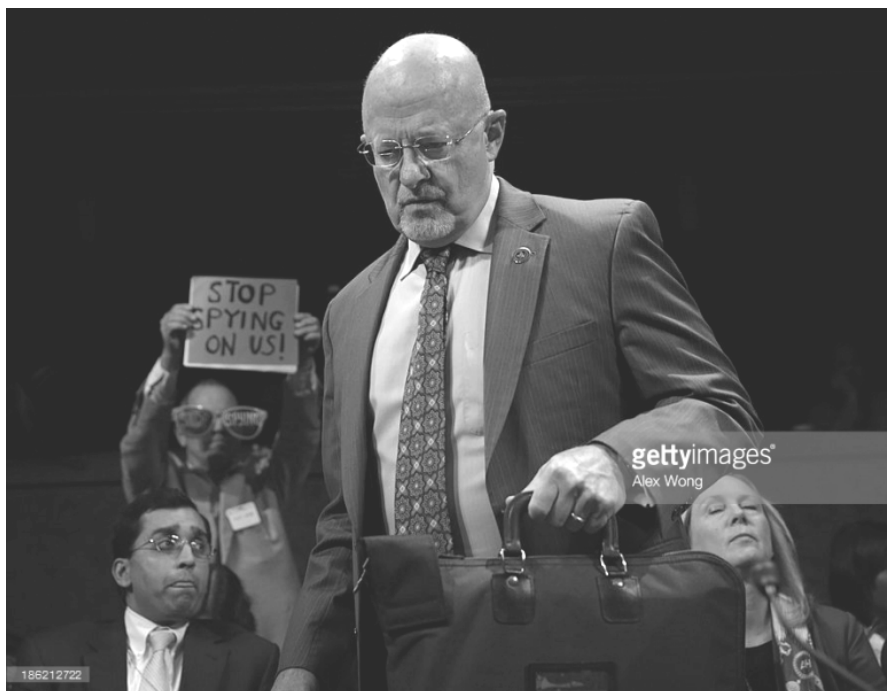
GCHQ Hides Mass Data Collection

Britain’s intelligence agencies have been secretly collecting bulk personal data since the late 1990s and privately admit they have gathered information on people who are “unlikely to be of intelligence or security interest”. A report in the *Guardian* (21/4/16) reveals that a “cache of more than 100 memoranda, forms and policy papers, obtained by Privacy International during a legal challenge over the lawfulness of surveillance, demonstrates that collection of bulk data has been going on for longer than previously disclosed, while public knowledge of the process was suppressed for more than 15 years”.

According to the *Guardian*, the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), the Government’s electronic eavesdropping centre based in Cheltenham, was collecting and developing bulk data sets as early as 1998 under powers granted by section 94 of the 1984 Telecommunications Act. The bulk personal data included information extracted from passports, travel records, financial data, telephone calls, emails etc.

The newspaper also points out that the files contain a number of warnings to staff about accessing private records. This is an important element of the newly public documents because, as the *Guardian* comments, the frequency of warnings to intelligence agency staff about the dangers of trespassing on private records raises questions about Ministers’ repeated public reassurances that only terrorists and serious criminals are having their personal details compromised.

One newsletter circulated in September 2011 by MI6, the secret service spooks, cautioned against staff misuse. “We’ve seen a few instances recently of individuals crossing the line with their database use ... looking up addresses in order to send birthday cards, checking passport details to organise personal travel, checking details of family mem-



James Clapper and protestor at US House Select Intelligence Committee Hearing.

bers for personal convenience,” it says (ibid). As long ago as 2003 it became apparent, in a court case of the time; that the GCHQ hoovered up all landline communications through its offices. Nothing since then has suggested that the British spooks have diluted their enthusiasm for mass data collection, and nothing suggests that any of the Five Eyes agencies can prevent meddling with collected data by unauthorised personnel.

EU Questions British Spying Legality

As *Peace Researcher* goes to print, the legality of Britain’s surveillance laws is being examined by 15 European judges in a judicial test case as European Union countries become more and more disturbed by Anglo-American snooping. Several EU states have challenged the UK’s Data Retention and Investigatory Powers Act 2014 (DRIPA). An outcome which declares the legislation unacceptable could severely limit data gathering online by the British government’s spooks.

European Court of Justice rulings are binding on British courts. Interestingly, two British MPs, Tory David Davis and the Labour Party’s Tom Watson, have been driving forces behind the case going to court. The GCHQ probably has most to lose if its spying in Europe has to be curtailed because of decisions in a European court. Providing, of course; that the GCHQ does not just ignore any legal restraints and continue to carry on its activities even more covertly. The High Court in London has already ruled that the powers under DRIPA are inconsistent with European Union law. If this result is not overturned by appeals, it is possible that the DRIPA legislation will have to be rewritten regardless of the EU court decisions.

Five Eyes Not Needed

After going to court to try and force Apple to access the phone belonging to one of the San Bernardino shooters who killed 14 people on December 2, 2015, the US Federal Bureau of Investigation got the data



they wanted through the services of an outside “guns for hire” hacker group, possibly from Japan. The phone’s contents were extracted to try and trace the killers’ activities leading up to the shooting. This has meant that a critical landmark American legal battle over privacy between the national security spooks and the Internet giant Apple has been put off for now (see the *Press*, 30/3/16).

Apple changed its encryption system in September 2014, making the communications on its new phones virtually impossible to intercept. The Internet hackers who provided their services (at a very high price) obviously offer services that the Five Eyes operatives, even with their multi-billion dollar budgets, cannot match. This strongly suggests that looking within the Five Eyes system for our cyber security may not be the best course. In NZ this presents another argument that the Government Communications Security Bureau is not the best place to look for our cyber security, in spite of PM Key bragging to the business community about the cyber security offered by the GCSB’s Cortex programme.

The FBI Director disclosed that it paid a third party outside the US government for a hacking tool to get inside the locked Apple iPhone 5c of one of the gunmen involved in the San Bernardino shooting. Apple declined to help the Bureau because it said it would require weakening the security of one, and potentially many more, of its popular

smartphones. In the end, the hackers paid by the FBI found a way into the phone that apparently exploited an unknown Apple security flaw.

A further example of the gross over-reliance on unimaginably expensive and ineffectual spook systems is the fact that the killers in the Paris attacks of November 2015 did not rely on high-end encoding for their messages but mainly used clear text communication (CNBC, 30/11/15). A leading commentator, Dave Chro-nister, who founded the Parameter Security company, told CNBC the “the amount of money that we are spending and the amount of civil liberties that are being violated just isn’t worth it”.

More Intelligence Failures

As the previous item suggests, many of the problems associated with preventing shootings and bombings relate not to the collection of more data but to the analysis of essential information. No matter how much data the spooks collect and store, the fundamental problem of analysis still looms large. It is likely that intercepting too much material actually weakens the security system process. In the case of the December 2014 Sydney café siege, where a lunatic gunman claiming to act on behalf of Islamic State killed two people (before the cops killed him), the spooks clearly failed, not in terms of high-tech surveillance, but in simple analysis. In April 2016 an

inquest into the deaths was told that the gunman had not only written letters to the Australian Attorney-General, he had also been “charged in relation to a murder” (*Press*, 8/4/16). Furthermore, he had been writing offensive letters to families of Australian soldiers killed in the Middle East. Surely Australian *intelligence* didn’t need Five Eyes to prevent this one.

Big Tech Still Sore At US Govt

Although the clash between Apple and the FBI over privacy and profit has come to a sudden halt, the critical conflict between Government surveillance and communications privacy, as represented by the technology industry, has appeared in another guise. Microsoft is suing the US government for the right to tell its customers when a Federal agency is looking at their emails. The corporation argues that the Government is violating the US Constitution by preventing Microsoft from notifying thousands of customers about Government requests for their emails and other documents.

The lawsuit has been brought on the basis that Federal Government spying contravenes the Fourth Amendment, which establishes the right for people and businesses to know if the Government searches or seizes their property. Microsoft is also saying that surveillance transgresses its First Amendment right to free speech. A cynic might suggest that Microsoft is making a stand in order to grab some of the kudos Apple has been given through its widely publicised refusal to allow the FBI access to its iPhones. By filing the suit, Microsoft could hope to position itself in a more prominent role as a defender of the public good. We should perhaps also note that past pleas in New Zealand for surveillance victims to be informed of snooping have fallen on completely deaf ears.

British Spooks Involved In Dirty War

US-based current affairs channel, Vice News, has released a report showing that Britain’s MI6 and

Special Forces have played a “crucial and sustained role” in covert US-led counter-terrorism operations in Yemen. The UK Ministry of Defence in 2014 told human rights group Reprieve that: “The UK does not provide any military support to the US campaign of Remotely Piloted Aircraft System (RPAS) strikes on Yemen” (*Guardian*, 11/4/16).

And Prime Minister David Cameron has several times denied explicitly that UK personnel are involved in targeting or conducting drone strikes in Yemen. But British military personnel have been seconded to MI6, under the Foreign Office, to conceal their role in operations which have killed a number of civilians. Operating under the spy mantle also means that British media cannot access information about the activities. It is likely that the NZ government uses similar subterfuges to cover up targeting operations by NZ military personnel or GSCB officers.

Dirty War In The Past

In February 2016 it was announced that Northern Ireland Police will conduct a massive investigation into the activities of Freddie Scappaticci, head of the Irish Republican Army’s internal security unit in the 1970s and 1980s. Scappaticci, codenamed Stakeknife, is alleged to have carried out 53 murders. But the most appalling aspect of this whole business is that “Stakeknife” was a double agent for British intelligence. It is possible that this man, working undercover for the British spook bosses, will turn out to be Britain’s biggest mass killer.

And Dirty Work From Moscow

In January 2016 it was reported that the UK Home Secretary would impose sanctions on a number of Russians implicated in the murder of Alexander Litvenko in 2006. Litvenko, an opponent of Vladimir Putin, was poisoned by tea contaminated with radioactive polonium. A retired British High Court judge, after investigating the affair, concluded that Putin and the former head of Russia’s main spook agency, the Federal Security Bureau,

probably approved the assassination. The current head of Russia’s anti-drugs agency is also on the list of those to be sanctioned (*UK Sunday Times*, 24/1/16).

Not To Mention Dirty Work By The CIA

Since Obama has declared combat operations over in Afghanistan, the Central Intelligence Agency has been conducting a widespread dirty war through its proxy, an Afghan force called the Khost Protection Force (KPF). The *Washington Post* reports that this highly secretive paramilitary unit has been implicated in civilian killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, detentions with little evidence, and night raids exhibiting excessive force and brutality (see the *Press*, 5/12/15). In the only legal case people have dared to register against the unit, a 14 year old boy was shot dead, and there are several reports of the attackers in various instances speaking English and using translators. The CIA has not denied that its operatives are working with the KPF. One former commander with the group said his pay and orders came from the CIA.

US Admiral Caught Up In Scandal

In late March 2016 it was reported that a senior US Navy captain was sentenced to 46 months in prison for corruption – taking entertainment and prostitution services in return for inflating bills of contractors. But, more interestingly, one of those caught up in the scandal was an admiral who was Chief of Naval Intelligence. He was stripped of his access to classified information, but few details were given about his transgressions. ■

"Technological progress merely provided us with more efficient means for going backwards" - Aldous Huxley, author of *"Brave New World"*.

"We mustn't lose sight of the fundamental truth though, that ordinary people - most people - are capable of very cruel things when put in certain circumstances" - psychologist Gisli Gudjonsson, *Kings College, London, Press, 9/10/13*.

"I know not with what weapons World War Three (WWIII) will be fought, but WWIV will be fought with sticks and stones" - Albert Einstein.

"Peace cannot be kept by force; it can only be achieved by understanding" - Albert Einstein.

"All thinking worthy of the name must now be ecological" - Lewis Mumford.

"In order to carry out a positive action, we must develop here a positive vision" - Dalai Lama.

For this article, it needs to be said at the outset that the prevailing Western doctrine of endless economic growth and industrialisation on planet Earth is an obvious absurdity. Yet this creed constitutes the blind faith of so many intelligent people. It is routinely expressed as the eminently rational ideology and extolled as such by the mainstream media. It is indeed the reigning conventional wisdom (http://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/apr/15/neoliberalism-ideology-problem-george-monbiot?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other).

Because of the creed's success, to date in material terms, it is mindlessly promoted as tracking interminably into the future; and this is so even though it must obviously result in global war due to the deepening crisis inherent in diminishing resources, widening socio-economic inequities, crumbling societies, out-of-control climate change, and failing ecosystems on a small, vulnerable planet. Against both a back-

ground of the human record to date and in the context of current behaviours, capitalist competition is becoming more and more aggressive (e.g., "Ten Ways Globalization Promotes Militarism", www.rense.com/general41>prono; "Resource Wars: The New Landscape Of Global Conflict" [Metropolitan Books, 2001/02] & "The Race For What's Left: The Global Scramble For The World's Last Resources" [Metropolitan Books, 2012], both by Michael Klare: www.michaelklare.com/books/the-race-for-whats-left/); "Does Globalization Cause War?", *Huffington Post*, www.huffingtonpost.com> globalization, 30/3/15; *Foreign Control Watchdog* 98, December 2001, "Globalisation Into Global War?", Dennis Small, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/98/05.htm>).

Enormous vested interests are now involved in global capitalism and consequent rivalry around the world. Increasingly, and inevitably, the market forces of so-called "free trade" have taken a more openly militaristic form given growing competition for scarce resources ("Ten Ways Globalization Promotes Militarism", *ibid.*, *Peace Researcher* [PR] 50, November 2015, "Militarist Market Strategy And Tactics", Dennis Small, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/50/pr50-007.html>). As Steven Staples of the Polaris Institute has so pertinently summarised, there are a number of closely interconnected ways in which corporate globalisation and "free trade" promote militarism, including ironically the way this process "champions the State's role in providing national security" ("Ten Ways Globalization Promotes Militarism", *ibid.*).

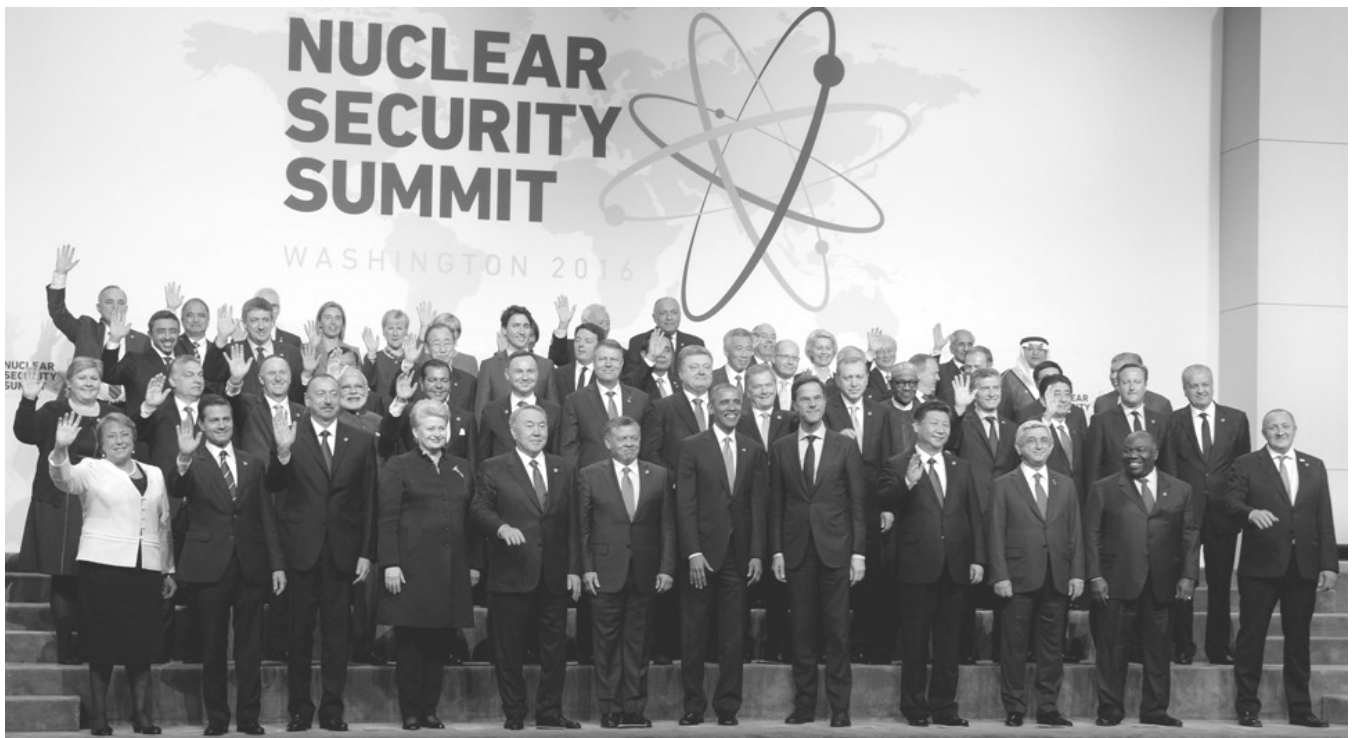
Free trade agreements (FTAs) are even designed to help foster national security objectives and the arms industry. Foreign policy militarism is also inextricably linked with a creeping (or galloping!) repressive domestic surveillance/security system as the pernicious Anglo-American mythology of legitimate "revenge" and "strike-back" continue to rebound on everybody (<http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/04/02/camero>

[n-warns-isis-could-use-drones-to-spray-nuclear-material-over-western-cities.html](http://www.foxnews.com/world/2016/04/02/camero)). Cynical scare-mongering for authoritarian control is now locked together in an interactive dynamic with the increasing risk of terrorist attacks.

NZ Spy Agency Review

The recently released Review* on NZ's spy agencies, overseen by Sir Michael Cullen and (following the Review) our newly appointed (!) Governor-General Dame Patsy Reddy, signals yet another stage in this process - however implemented in the relatively short-term - with its push for drastically new Orwellian-type powers. "The law changes Cullen and Dame Patsy Reddy have recommended formally break down the distinction" between the supposedly externally focused Government Communications Security Bureau" (GCSB), which is in fact foreign-controlled by the US National Security Agency (NSA) under the so-called "Five Eyes" intelligence/covert action agreement, and the internally focused Security Intelligence Service (SIS) ("Spooks May Cohabit, But Not Hook Up", *Press*, 10/3/16; & "New Freedom For Covert Spy Ops", *Press*, 14/3/16). *See elsewhere in this issue for Warren Thomson's detailed critique of the Review of spy agencies. Ed.

In actuality, a pretence of Governmental oversight would be in place given that the spy agencies' powers have "been greatly broadened" (*Press*, 10/3/16, *ibid.*). The proposed revamp of our spy agencies is clearly designed to dovetail with the updated practices and prescriptions of "Big Brother" NSA & co. (e.g., https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2016/03/10/surprise-nsa-data-will-soon-routinely-be-used-for-domestic-policing-that-has-nothing-to-do-with-terrorism/?postshare=9941457769654876&tid=ss_tw: by Radley Balko, also author of the book "Rise Of The Warrior Cop: The Militarisation Of America's Police Forces"). The US power elite's inner institutionalised



World Nuclear Security Summit, 2016 (John Key second row, third from left).

organisational logic is as remorseless as is its corresponding dynamic interaction with rivals and potential enemies like Russia and China. So the peoples of Earth must somehow rally together to stop this momentum to war if we are to survive much longer.

Mobilising A Mass Movement For Peace

Certainly, a mounting sense of crisis is arousing more and more people to the looming dangers and so the need for pre-emptive, positive action. There are growing signs of people power mobilisation on various fronts and in various quarters to counter militarism, and chart cooperative, sustainable alternatives to the dead end road of global capitalism. This is most heartening to see. We must participate and assist wherever we can. We have to aim for the maximum mass mobilisation.

Some inspiring non-government organisations (NGOs) are leading the charge. For example, Global Zero (www.globalzero.org) conducted an online petition, among other initiatives, leading up to the Nuclear Security Summit, 31 March/1 April, 2016, in Washington, DC. Global Zero itself is an American-based organisation, with its home office in the capital city. According to Global

Zero, there are nearly 15,000 nuclear weapons in the world, over-kill on a terrifying scale and a grim testament to human madness. The International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) puts the number of nuclear warheads at nearer 16,000, or more precisely 15,800 warheads ("Nuclear Arsenals", www.icanw.org the facts > arsenals).

The US and Russia have roughly the same number with over 7,000 warheads each, out of the total amassed by the nine nuclear-armed nations - the other nations are: Britain; France; China; India; Pakistan; Israel; and North Korea. Yet another international NGO also gives a total number of warheads at more than 15,000 (World Nuclear Weapon Stockpile, Ploughshares Fund, www.ploughshares.org). But the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (BAS), probably the most reliable source of all, actually puts the figure **over 16,000 - at 16,300!**

However, in late 2014, the BAS estimated that the operational number of nuclear warheads deployed in military arsenals amounted to roughly over 10,000, with the rest retired and scheduled to be dismantled ("Worldwide Deployments Of Nuclear Weapons", 2014, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*: www.thebulletin.org, 1/9/14). Whatever the exact

number of operational nuclear warheads, the prevailing situation is obviously both hugely frightening and obscenely ludicrous. The human mind, given its evolutionary history, seems quite incapable of truly comprehending the scale and depth of the horror that would be unleashed. We are a recently risen (!?) former cave-dwelling species now wielding weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

At the end of March 2016, over 50 world leaders met in Washington DC, at the so-called World Nuclear Security Summit (WNSS), the fourth and final one, without even the issue of existing nuclear weapons being formally on the agenda! As Global Zero indicated, these "world leaders" discussed instead only governmental and inter-governmental "strategies to keep [primarily civilian] nuclear materials out of the hands of terrorists". The series of conferences had been initiated and driven by the US and its particular geopolitical agenda, with the ongoing focus on the dangers of nuclear terrorism.

Global Zero rightly called for the total elimination of existing nuclear weapons as well, because there can be no global security if these officially sanctioned WMD continue to exist. In this connection, the NGO explicitly requested "a Nuclear Weapons Summit to start the multilateral

dialogue we need for phased, verified elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere". Global Zero aptly emphasised the point of its appeal: "The fact is nuclear weapons pose a real threat to us all **right now**" (see also: "Obama's Last Nuclear Summit And A New Movement For Nuclear Disarmament", www.huffingtonpost.com/vincent-intondi, 29/3/16).

Risk Of Nuclear War

The *BAS* has indeed recently alerted the world to the increasing risk of nuclear war. We live with the threat of ever present nuclear State terrorism. But lamentably, if predictably, this latest alert gained relatively little media publicity. Overall, conventional politicians and the mainstream media continue to exclude or downplay concerns about this global problem - overwhelmingly the most important and urgent of all - to the political periphery, other than the very occasional declaration of generalised concern. The exception relates to the perceived specific dangers posed by "rogue" non-Western states from Iran to North Korea - i.e. by whatever such enemy seems to be challenging the Western bloc.

According to the official line and that of the mainstream media, the West as the pre-eminent paragon of virtue naturally has no responsibility for the current perilous state of global affairs. At most, there are only a few dissenting voices from within Establishment circles. So the major Western role in generating nuclear brinksmanship remains hidden as much as possible (see e.g., *Pacific Ecologist* [PE] 22, Summer 2013, www.pacificecologist.org/archives/22 for "Why It's Vital To Rid The World Of Nuclear Weapons ... And How YOU Can Help"; and, to be sure, our own two *Peace Researcher* series extending back now to the early 1980s).

The Anglo-American axis has long prevented the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Middle East. Its protection of nuclear-armed Israel is fundamental to this syndrome (Lyndon Burford, "Avoiding Armageddon", *Opinion*, *NZ Herald*, 29/5/15, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/opinion/news/article.cfm?c_id=466&objectid=11456274). In his replies to questions in Parliament from Green

Party Co-Leader Metiria Turei, National's Deputy Prime Minister Bill English made it plain that NZ was simply another pliable pawn for the US, refusing to join the call to prohibit nuclear weapons (Parliament TV, 31/3/16).

NZ was certainly not going to get out of lock-step with the US at the WNSS. Despite our supposed nuclear-free status, the Government would not be taking any meaningful action to help ban, or even reduce nuclear weapons. PM John Key, who attended the Summit, is, of course, very much Washington's man; and this is a prime reason for the NZ corporate owned/controlled crony media in assiduously continuing to protect and promote him (whatever his lies and evasions from "dirty politics" to the "Panama Papers").

Globally, there is now a dangerous interactive geopolitical dynamic in play. At present, again ironically enough, the very clear potential *nuclear* challenge posed by the West's two big rivals - Russia and China - is also being played down (via officialdom, the media, etc.) even as the West, spearheaded in particular as usual by the US, gears up for further geopolitical confrontation. The central reason for all this highly selective, self-serving, and yet hugely risky propaganda game is that the Western leadership cannot afford to have its camouflage cover blown, and the grim social Darwinist reality of capitalist globalisation exposed.

Its indoctrination of Western publics depends so much on the promulgated illusion that there is both reasonable self-interest and even a measure of idealistic morality in its war preparations and posturing (*standing firm for freedom and human rights!*), let alone limitless prospects for economic growth (see editorial "The Ecological World View: Ending the Culture of War" by Kay Weir in *PE* 23, Spring 2015, pp2-5). The main geopolitical theme emphasises the alleged aggression of the West's big competing protagonists - viz. Russia in the Ukraine and China in the South Sea - that represents an affront to our freedoms and so, consequently, requires appropriate measures of military deterrence, and in the case

of Russia, economic sanctions as well. Above all, it means playing down the perilous nuclear risks so as not to frighten Western publics and thus imperil the ruling power elite.

Sparking Up The International Peace Movement

As observed above, however, various NGOs like Global Zero have been sparking up the international peace/anti-war movement. For instance, another excellent American organisation RootsAction (<http://www.rootsaction.org/>) has posed the peace challenge directly at the door of the White House. Hillary Clinton, the presumptive (at the time of writing) Democrat candidate in the November 2016 US Presidential election, was Secretary of State in the Obama Administration from 2009 to 2013.

Earlier in 2016 the RootsAction Team called on Clinton (in an online petition) to use for positive purposes a donation (\$US10 million) that she had previously received from Saudi Arabia. RootsAction appealed to her to put this particular donation towards a peaceful cause instead of helping further her own already eminently self-serving career. RootsAction, incidentally, is endorsed by such internationally renowned peace and social justice activists as Daniel Ellsberg, Naomi Klein, and Glenn Greenwald. The group's background statement in their appeal to Clinton is given immediately below.

"As Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton waived restrictions on selling weapons to governments that 'donated' heavily to her family foundation making it her personal mission to ensure that \$US29 billion worth of fighter jets were sold to Saudi Arabia - despite the concerns of foreign allies and others in the US government, including her department's and her own criticisms of Saudi Arabia. In the years prior to her becoming Secretary of State, Saudi Arabia had given the Clinton Foundation at least \$US10m. The maker of the fighter jets, Boeing, gave another \$US900,000 to the Clinton Foundation while Clinton was Secretary of State.

Those jets have been used by Saudi

Arabia, with the assistance of the US military, to kill many civilians in Yemen, (the poorest country in the Middle East). The European Parliament has backed a ban on arms sales to Saudi Arabia. The United Nations has condemned Saudi air strikes that have killed civilians... We urge you to give the money your foundation received from Saudi Arabia to antiwar organisations and to organisations providing aid to the people of Yemen...”.

In April 2016 NZ TV reporter Jenna Lynch, for the American-owned MediaWorks (i.e. TV3), labelled US drone strike victims, Daryl Jones (a New Zealander), and Australian Christopher Harvard (killed in Yemen in November 2013), as “propaganda tools” in a new al Qaeda video (*NewsHub Live At 6pm*, TV3, 21/4/16; see later for more comment on Yemen). *NewsHub*, in turn, is a regular propaganda tool for Anglo-American State terrorism. PM John Key is an enthusiastic death squad drone proponent. The GCSB contributes information for drone strikes.

Global Action enjoined support for an initiative at the WNSS by the leaders from Brazil, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Sweden, Turkey and other nations, urging bold action to eliminate nuclear weapons. NGOs had helped fire up this initiative. Meantime, however, the US has been directly involved in its own bombing campaigns in Syria and Iraq, let alone Afghanistan. While the Western media has been hypocritically wringing its hands over the civilian

casualties of Russian bombing in Syria, it has been largely silent and uncritical of the rising death toll and other civilian casualties from the West's own bombing campaign and its current proxy front assault on Yemen (for an exception see: “Hundreds Of Civilians Killed In US-Led Air Strikes On ISIS Targets – Report”, *Guardian*, 3/8/15, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/03/us-led-air-strikes-on-isis-targets-killed-more-than-450-civilians-report>).

Taking account of estimates from the US-based NGO Airwars and others, it seems that by mid-March 2016 the Western coalition had killed over 1,000 civilians and the Russians over 3,000. But such estimates are problematic due not only to the fog of war and related factors but also the calculated disinformation and secrecy of the American military, even as it gloats over the touted success of its Islamic State (IS) “kill list” (e.g. celebrated by NZ politicians like ex-Iraq mercenary National MP Mark Mitchell, Parliament TV, 13/4/16).

While the US is overwhelmingly responsible for the Western bombing of Syria/Iraq, client Arab nations like Saudi Arabia have also taken part in air attacks in Syrian air space. The Western record, especially the Anglo-Saxon tradition, of bombing civilians in the Middle East is long and bloody, with so much having been carefully screened from public view over the years (“Bombing Civilians: A 20th Century History”, ed. Yuki Tanaka & Marilyn B Young,

The New Press, 2009; <http://blog.independent.org/2015/11/04/d-c-s-missing-memorial/>, 4/11/15).

Current State terrorism is deeply rooted. The very latest propaganda line of the American TV networks (reproduced particularly on TV3's *NewsHub*) is the repeated reference to Western-friendly “democratic” rebels in Syria, i.e. the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)-sponsored forces (for a reality check see: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/syria-the-winners-and-losers-are-becoming-clear-in-this-war-a6872636.html>). Most symbolically, NZ TV coverage of American pop singer Prince's death at his mansion obscenely far outweighed the deaths of some 500 refugees in the Mediterranean Sea (22/4/16) – a typical expression of Western culture. TV3's *NewsHub at 6pm* had Prince's demise as its lead item for over ten minutes! (ibid.).

Promoting More American Imperial Mayhem

It is most pertinent at this point to note an example of how American foreign policy is relayed via the mainstream media. A favourite NZ media commentator on international affairs is Dr Paul Buchanan. He has again called for the deployment of the NZ Special Air Service (SAS) to Iraq in the fight against IS in order to assist the so-called “Five Eyes” covert intelligence grouping (Paul G Buchanan: “Why Kiwi SAS Troops Must Join The Fight Against ISIS”, *NZ Herald*, 7/1/16, http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11570088).

Previously, Buchanan had strongly criticised Labour Leader Andrew Little for “ignorance of international relations” and “hypocrisy” with regard to the war on IS. These particular charges were gleefully promoted by the likes of David Farrar, a key member of the National Party's “dirty politics” brigade (http://www.kiwiblog.co.nz/tag/paul_buchanan, 13/2/15). Buchanan is a former US foreign and intelligence insider, who has been a consultant to the CIA and the Pentagon. He was involved in the imperial repression of Latin America, even for a time lecturing and monitoring junior US intelligence officers on the region and what he euphemistically calls “un-



conventional warfare" (exemplified in the Latin American context by "low intensity" or "dirty warfare", using death squads, etc.).

While Dr Buchanan has expressed some reservations in later life about American imperialism, he still obviously at bottom sees "the world through a [US] State Department window", which of course gives him lots of credibility with the subservient NZ media (see Jeremy Agar's excellent and insightful review of Buchanan's "With Distance Comes Perspective" in *PR* 33, March 2006, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr32-120c.html>). In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, Dr Buchanan advocated that the US adopt a "street fighter's approach" in its "war on terrorism", discarding any ethical concerns if it is to win this war (*Morning Report*, Radio NZ [RNZ], 29/10/01).

Commenting on Buchanan's views in December 2001, I posed this question for him: "How about the Indonesian genocide of 1965-69, Paul? - is that the sort of street fighting you want? Buchanan ought to study his own American history more closely. But, significantly, fascist-type policies are again being unashamedly articulated" (*Foreign Control Watchdog* 98, December 2001, "Globalisation Into Global War?", Dennis Small, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/98/05.htm>). Western, particularly American, State terrorism has certainly reaped the whirlwind since 9/11! Buchanan is unashamed about his past record as witness his Website (Our People - 36th Parallel Assessments Ltd (NZ), www.36th-parallel.com>our-people).

In essence, the so-called "War on Terror" has been a long calculated policy, with American imperial decision-makers knowing full well that, at times, the only way any enemies could strike back was through terrorist-style actions; and that such actions could be conveniently lumped together for propaganda purposes with "wars of liberation", and any other armed resistance to imperial control. Ironies run riot as usual. Dr Buchanan has written on issues of labour, capital, state, and democracy in the southern cone of Latin America, i.e., Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay.

But, back in the late 1980s, Buchanan published an article on the use of "State Terror" in Argentina, explicating "The Varied Faces Of Domination", 1976-81 (*American Journal of Political Science*, vol., 31, no.2, May 1987, pp336-382). Buchanan emphasised how terrorism was an integral dimension of the Jorge Videla dictatorship. Yes, indeed Paul, and this vicious dictatorship and its death squads, torture, "disappearances", and other human rights abuses were instigated and strongly backed by the CIA as came to be revealed. This must have surely been suspected from the very start. Yet another case of the "evil empire" at work, eh!?

"American Exceptionalism"

Self-proclaimed "American exceptionalism" has obviously been a licence for exceptionally vicious realpolitik. Ex-CIA agent Ralph McGehee, who was hosted on a remarkable speaking tour of Aotearoa/NZ by the NZ Nuclear Free Zone Committee in 1986, has a damning summary of the CIA sponsorship of death squad depredations from 1953-94 ("CIA Support Of Death Squads", *Serendipity*, http://www.serendipity.li/cia/death_squads1.htm).

From the CIA/"Five Eyes"-orchestrated Indonesian genocide to the Argentinian military dictatorship, US State terrorism has helped ensure ongoing imperial exploitation courtesy of neo-liberalism and free trade ("The War On Democracy", [John Pilger, Granada, 2007], Maori TV, 16/2/16; "The Shock Doctrine" [2009], Maori TV, 27/5/14; "What 'Free Trade' Has Done To Central America", <http://fpif.org/free-trade-doctrine-central-america/>, 21/11/14; "A History Of Political Murder In Latin America: Killing The Messengers Of Change", W John Green, State University of New York Press, 2015). Perversely enough, one of Buchanan's arguments for NZ direct military action against IS is the need to prevent further atrocities!

During March 2016 a most rare media item allowed readers a bit of an insight into this dark period of Argentina's history ("Obama Dances With Details Over Argentina's Historic Dirty War", *Press*, 26/3/16). President Obama refused to apologise "for Washington's early

support for the military junta", which "killed 30,000 people" (ibid.). Obama was on a visit to forge a relationship with Argentina's new Rightist leader, and a "new (prospective) ally in one of the Americas' biggest economies" (ibid.).

His visit was protested by a "group of victims' relatives", who most pertinently declared: "We will not allow the power that orchestrated dictatorships in Latin America and oppresses people across the world to cleanse itself and use the memory of our 30,000 murdered compatriots to strengthen its imperialist agenda," the Buenos Aires-based Centre for Human Rights Advocates said in a statement" (ibid.). Most ironically, this particular *Press* item was set just below one on the sentencing and jailing for war crimes of Radovan Karadzic, the former President of the Bosnian Serb republic (ibid.). Western selective morality and hypocrisy still reigns supreme.

Ever since the US-contrived "bear-trap" provoking the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the American creation of violent Muslim jihadist movements has been continuous. Its future use was heralded first during the 1965-70 Indonesian genocide. Terrorism in all its various forms has been unleashed on the world. Bombing IS has further spread jihadists around the globe as the terrorist network strikes back savagely at soft civilian targets as in Ankara, Paris and Brussels. Blow-back has multiplying ramifications. This sort of outrage is now clearly providing inspiration for similar terrorist groups as witness the diabolical attack on Christians, mostly children and women, in Lahore at Easter 2016 (apparently by a Taliban splinter group), and other such atrocities.

Yemen, currently the victim of US proxy Saudi Arabia, was the original testing-ground for US-launched drone warfare ("Reaping The Fruits Of The War On Terror In Yemen", *Counterpunch*, 3/11/15, <http://www.counterpunch.org/2015/11/03/reaping-the-fruits-of-the-war-on-terror-in-yemen/>). A recent United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) report has drawn attention to the horrendous suffering of civilians, especially children, from malnutrition and deprivation, as well as the car-



nage caused by Saudi-flown American F-15 and British Tornado fighter bombers.

Western war criminals are indeed deeply implicated in a multitude of ways. Hillary Clinton, for sure, has a horrendous State terrorist record, tellingly described several years ago in *PR 40*, July 2010, by ABC's Doug Craig ("Hillary Clinton: Imperial Warrior", <http://www.converge.org.nz/a/b/c/pr40-194.htm>; see too <http://HillaryIsANeocon.com>; & "Queen Of Chaos: The Misadventures Of Hillary Clinton", Diana Johnstone, *Counterpunch*, 2015). Clinton is supported in her bid for the Presidency by such other State terrorists as Henry Kissinger and Dick Cheney, as well as neo-cons like Robert Kagan. In their positive peace campaigning, the RootsAction Team and Global Zero are joined by other specifically peace/anti-war movement organisations like the admirable World Beyond War (www.WorldBeyondWar.org), also American-based (Tucson, Arizona), along with more wide-ranging social justice, environmental and peace action on-line groups like Avaaz.

Some Former Hawks Turn Dovish!?

Even some long-time members of the American military-industrial complex seem to have turned somewhat dovish in their retirement. A case in point is Dr William James Perry, who had a career very much at the black heart of this complex and its

crazy, evil Doomsday preparations. Perry is now prominent in helping warn the world about the increasing danger of nuclear weapons (<http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/pentagon/2015/12/29/former-pentagon-chief-perry-nuclear-dangers-growing/78015460/>; <http://warontherocks.com/2016/03/three-minutes-to-midnight-closer-to-nuclear-conflict-than-we-think/>; note as well <http://www.radionz.co.nz/national/programmes/saturday/audio/201791986/jamie-mcintyre-the-usa-nuclear-arsenal>).

"In 2013, he founded the William J Perry Project (<http://www.wjperryproject.org/>), a non-profit effort to educate the public on the current dangers of nuclear weapons", as well as participating in various similar initiatives (William Perry, Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Perry: this entry incidentally gives a pretty friendly American view of Perry's career). Perry campaigns on these issues in association with several other former leading players in US military and foreign policy circles, including Henry Kissinger and George Shultz. As noted above, Kissinger is a vicious war criminal but a naturally enough a hero on the American scene. So the ironies and contradictions in all this sort of peace-making effort run amok indeed! William Perry himself is actually on the Board of Sponsors for the BAS.

Given the fact that Dr William Perry has had a number of key roles over the years in shaping American nu-

clear war-fighting technology and strategy, it is certainly most ironic that he is now deeply concerned about the global risks. Dr Perry, indeed, played a critical role in the development of "**US first strike**" or so-called counterforce" ("*Pentagonese*"!) systems. In the process, he also personally carved out for himself a lucrative career within the private arms industry, as well as within the related governmental bureaucracy and its infrastructure.

Perry assiduously shuttled around the "revolving-door" circuits of the military-industrial complex. During his career, among other posts (including in academia), he was at different times both Chief of Research and Development (R&D) and Weapon Systems Procurement at the Pentagon (1977-81), and then later Secretary of Defense (1994-97) during the Clinton Administration. He was continuously involved, in various ways, in the ever proceeding so-called "modernisation" of strategic forces. This modernisation process, given the very bureaucratic, highly complicated, and specialised character of the military-industrial system, incorporates a multitude of agencies, contractors, etc., all marshalled under the auspices of the Pentagon bosses. Such complexity makes for easy dissimulation and befuddlement of any proper democratic accountability. This situation, of course, prevails more than ever today with the plethora of oligopolistic contracting out and general privatisation facilitated by Perry & co.

Former Polaris and Trident missile designer Dr Robert Aldridge described politics within the US military Establishment during the late 1970s: "In order to defuse Congressional opposition to the development of counterforce (i.e. first strike) capabilities", Pentagon officials and their political agents as exemplified by the then Under-Secretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, William Perry, deliberately misled Congress about the implications of their R&D ("*First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy For Nuclear War*", South End Press, 1983, p39).

At the time, Perry contended in his Congressional testimony that: "Neither side (both the US and the former Soviet Union) seems likely to

acquire all these capabilities (i.e. absolute secrecy for a sudden surprise attack; and the coordinated ability to destroy enemy missiles, bombers and submarines) in the near future" (ibid.). In fact, Robert Aldridge went on, in his hugely important, ground-breaking and mind-blowing book "First Strike", to document in detail how in the later 1980s the already emerging counterforce technologies would start to become operational.

This military syndrome was already consolidating, along with all the accompanying nuclear war-fighting plans and rationale, even as the propaganda machine continued to churn out its poisonous smog of deception (ibid.). Yet Perry and his acolytes portray him today as having persistently contested the risks of nuclear war (e.g., <http://warontherocks.com>, op. cit.; see also his very self-serving book "My Journey At The Nuclear Brink"). Perry was also instrumental in helping develop the wider military doctrine of pre-emptive intervention (which includes nuclear first strike) and the capability for the US to fight wars on two fronts.

In the near future, the latter might well comprise the Ukraine and the South China Sea! To be sure, the potentially catastrophic conflict scenarios are multiplying with increasing militarisation on all sides. For instance, since its so-called "Pacific Pivot" in 2011 the American military build-up in this region is ominously intensifying (<http://original.antiwar.com/letman/2016/04/01/the-us-is-militarizing-the-pacific-and-not-taking-questions/>, 2/4/16). In reality, the US is actually now looking at the possibility of wars not just on two fronts but *three!* - in the Middle East, in Eastern Europe, and in the Pacific. Military madness and stupidity are insidiously prolific.

Pentagon Propaganda

A constant theme in Pentagon propaganda serving to legitimise the counterforce programme has been the alleged Soviet/Russian threat of a first strike on the US. So much of this, as we have just seen above, was simply scaremongering for armaments industry profit. For certain, in his excoriating study of "First Strike" doctrine and technology,

Robert Aldridge later reinforces this very point by quoting Perry again: this time Perry's sober assessment of the comprehensive superiority of US strategic forces over the Russian military (op. cit., pp272/3).

This particular assessment (delivered in February 1978) completely contradicts all the American propaganda of the time, and especially later on during the Reagan era, about the touted threat of the "evil empire". The American public relations (PR) blitz, so malevolently contrived and calculated, very nearly tipped the world into a final holocaust. Yet, true to form, the Western mainstream media - including the TV channels in Aotearoa/NZ - have used the death and funeral of Nancy Reagan in March 2016 to once more celebrate the poisonous neo-liberalism and nuclear-war fighting strategy of the Reaganist legacy, although to be sure anything negative of this nature was rigorously avoided by the PR spin merchants of the Anglo-American networks.

The media portrayal was sickeningly saccharine and sentimental about a supposedly beloved and well-meaning, indeed laudatory, and loving couple. Further homage is thus paid to a leading American war criminal and State terrorist. From Nicaragua to Afghanistan, and from the Iraq/Iran conflict to Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, Reagan's victims are forgotten in the memory-hole of the West because they are the "un-people", merely those beings necessarily sacrificed on the great altar of progress for the Anglo-American axis ("10 Reprehensible Crimes Of Ronald Reagan", www.lisaverse.com>2015/01/15; "War Crimes And Double Standards (Of Ronald Reagan And The Press)", www.thirdworldtraveler.com; "How Reagan Promoted Genocide", Centre for Research on Globalization: www.globalresearch.ca; "Noam Chomsky: Ronald Reagan's Secret Genocidal Wars", Alternet: www.alternet.org>chomsky-nuclear). Reagan's murderous death squad assault on Central America went hand in hand with his nuclear-war fighting strategy. See also "Fuck Ronald Reagan", by Bill Weinberg, in Peace Researcher 30, March 2005, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr30-105a.html>. Ed.

It is important here to note how history in its most readily accessible form is so often being rewritten by the American Establishment, possibly even the CIA, in the continuous global propaganda/information wars. The Wikipedia entry on Reagan cynically glosses over his human rights crimes. It actually casts him in the light of a dedicated opponent of nuclear weapons despite the glaring contradictions of its own documentation of Reagan's aggressive rhetoric and posturing, and his greatly increased boost for first strike weapons, including the new MX missile, termed in typical Orwellian Pentagonese the "Peacekeeper" (Ronald Reagan - Wikipedia: <https://en.wikipedia.org>).

The experimental MX became known as the LGM-118A missile. William Perry gave the green light to some high-tech weapons systems that have come in for strong criticism over the years, as even his own Wikipedia entry notes (op. cit.). These included the MX or LGM-118A "Peacekeeper" missile. It was deployed in 1986 and could carry up to ten armed re-entry vehicles. The MX/LGM-118A missile was decommissioned in 2005. Currently, the LGM-30 Minuteman is the only type of land-based intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) in the American arsenal. While this missile can carry a single warhead, it can also instead carry multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs). The Minuteman is the first American ICBM with this capability to be deployed.

While international arms agreements have apparently limited such deployment to some considerable extent, circumstances can change rapidly with MIRV re-arming an always readily available option. It is known that the US keeps a large number of non-deployed nuclear warheads in storage. While the US reduced the number of MIRVed warheads on many Minuteman missiles by replacing them with single warheads, it is now unclear what is exactly happening these days in this regard given a climate of heightened global tensions. The previous international controls have lapsed with the failure of effective arms reduction policies.

One observation has been that the US is said to be considering the retention of 800 warheads on an existing 450 ICBMs (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>). Certainly, the US-dominated submarine-based Trident missile system, of which Britain is a partner (albeit a very junior one), still very much constitutes an existing battery complex of first strike weapons. Currently, Britain is updating its Trident warfare component (<http://www.globalresearch.ca/trident-the-uks-route-to-nuclear-annihilation/5510687>). In turn, potential enemies Russia and China are "modernising" their own militaries, including their ballistic missile systems.

But Russia is still trying to catch up and China is way behind. Their ICBM status respectively reflects this lag in both technology and deployment. Tragically enough, the US has failed miserably yet again in its pretensions at world leadership. It could have used its nuclear superiority to really set an example in peacemaking and disarmament initiatives instead of indulging in aggressive belligerence in the Middle East, subversion in the Ukraine, and similar such behaviours elsewhere. Its lack of good-will, genuine commitment, and cooperation on arms control have been an inherent part of this dangerously destabilising syndrome.

The Global Culture Of Censorship And PR Spin

It is important to note that the well documented strategy of nuclear war-fighting adopted by the US is blatantly censored out of the historical record in the Wikipedia entry on Ronald Reagan. Such censorship is common now with so many other entries relating to American foreign policy (ibid.; compare "First Strike", op. cit.; "With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War", Robert Scheer, Secker & Warburg, 1982; & "Nuclear Nightmares: An Investigation Into Possible Wars", Nigel Calder, BBC, 1979/80; "To Win A Nuclear War: The Pentagon's Secret War Plans", Michio Kaku & Daniel Axelrod, South End Press, 1986/93).

In Wikipedia, Reagan's nuclear war-fighting strategy is obscenely portrayed in the most Orwellian terms. A pack of lies is presented as fact.

He is pictured as supposedly really wanting to rid the world of nuclear weapons. Three references for this are cited, including one that refers in turn to Reagan's own grossly self-serving memoirs; and another applying to the hard-Right Heritage Foundation, a highly influential Reaganist policy organ. Such rubbish is utterly refuted by what Reagan actually did, and by what he obviously thought and said at the time in the same vein, which is comprehensively recorded, along with all such relevant evidence from his own Administration (ibid. plus plenty of other documentation).

The study "To Win A Nuclear War", by Kaku and Axelrod, drew extensively on the Pentagon's own documents to demonstrate and prove the nature of its "first strike" nuclear war-fighting strategy, and aggressive militarism (ibid.). The battle for the truth has never been of greater moment. No Wikipedia entries on American nuclear weapons, that I have examined, cite the books mentioned by the authors referenced in this paragraph, or any other such critical material.

The confusion and opaqueness long cultivated by the Pentagon and its agents and collaborators on nuclear war issues carries on the same as ever, then, in continuously self-serving fashion. The mainstream media have been deeply implicated. A historical example from my own personal experience has long stuck in my mind as to the quite astounding purblind perversity of this media. For quite some time in the mid-1980s, the editorial staff of the Christchurch *Press* actually saw fit to expunge the phrase "nuclear war-fighting" in my letters to the editor with reference to American strategic posture.

Could anything be more stupid, malign, and even calculatedly crazy for a media organ than suppressing the public's right to know what was demonstrably true about the ultimate planetary threat?! Political ideology can certainly be extreme to a bizarre and suicidal degree. But the malevolence of the mainstream media is multifarious and ongoing. Perry and his mates pontificate about the nuclear threat in a manner that is certainly most welcome. They have obvious credibility for many audiences in conventional society,

having been long-time, integral members of the military/foreign policy Establishment.

But there are clearly as well some very self-serving aspects, both individually and nationally, in their expressed concerns, and how these are articulated. This kind of stuff can cloud perceptions and consequently foil the adoption of the most positive and constructive policies for peace-making. For example, while Dr William Perry acknowledges that the US carries much of the blame for its early policy approach to the Ukraine and resultant counter-productive effects after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, he follows the current Western line in ascribing the recent conflict and problems largely to Putin's dangerous ambitions rather than the well-documented US-led subversion of a country right on the borders of Russia (for Perry see e.g.: <http://www.militarytimes.com/>, op. cit.; & <http://warontherocks.com/>, op. cit.).

In actuality, Perry promoted the disruptive expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) into former Soviet republics, particularly the Ukraine (William Perry – Wikipedia, op. cit.). "The US-led expansion of NATO eastward (*by the Clinton Administration under the guise of a Partnership for Peace!*), which broke a Bush Administration promise to the Gorbachev leadership" has resulted, as predicted, in the still unfolding Ukraine crisis and related tensions ("Failed Crusade: America And The Tragedy of Post-Communist Russia", Stephen F Cohen, WW Norton & Co., 2000, p233). While Perry evidently opposed the Reaganite "Star Wars" missile defence programme, he still kept it in the wings. Pentagon plans to implement a version of this in Eastern Europe has long been a major destabilising factor for the region.

Pentagon Privatisation

As already recorded, Dr William Perry played a major role in promoting the privatisation of American military forces. Some more detail is very illuminating. He worked to modify and streamline the governmental procurement system by "restructuring defence policy and procedure" (Wikipedia, op.cit.). He pro-

moted “maximum reliance on existing commercial products” in order to save money and did this by using his various connections to foster further capital concentration. In this way, he facilitated the consolidation of the behemoths of the arms industry like Lockheed Martin and the growth of private decision-making power over the conduct of war.

The American arms industry is the very politico-economic expression of public-private-partnerships (PPPs) and crony capitalism in operation. As internationally renowned anti-nuclear campaigner Helen Caldicott describes the exemplary case of Lockheed Martin: “The most powerful military corporation on Earth, Lockheed Martin, was created in 1993 by a series of corporate mergers” (“The New Nuclear Danger: George W Bush’s Military-Industrial Complex”, Dr. Helen Caldicott, Scribe, 2002, p29). In light of the Clinton Administration’s decision to cut costs, “in an early 1993 meeting, Undersecretary of Defense William Perry bluntly informed industry executives of the new Pentagon policy of encouraging corporate mergers” (ibid.). As a consequence,

Martin Marietta merged with Lockheed, “Boeing absorbed McDonnell Douglas, and Raytheon bought the military units of Hughes Aircraft and Texas Instruments to become numbers two and three respectively” (ibid. p30). So the Bill Clinton Administration very deliberately engineered oligopolistic concentration in the arms/defence industry. So much for market competition and American free enterprise!

The notorious “revolving door syndrome” with its labyrinthine circuits worked wonders for Perry and his mates. The revolving door allows self-serving agents to shuttle back and forward between public and private employment, creating the conduits to benefit corporates with taxpayer monies. To quote Helen Caldicott again: “Two Government officials, William Perry and his Pentagon colleague John Deutch, both of whom were past paid consultants to Martin Marietta, shepherded the mergers through the Government bureaucracy.

“Officially, it was against the law for Perry and Deutch to act on behalf of their former employer but they obtained ‘conflict of interest waivers’

from Defense Secretary [Les] Aspin. Perry and Deutch even went so far as to change the Pentagon’s contracting rules, thus allowing merging companies to be compensated for costs involved in moving factories, for legal fees, and for executive bonuses (a policy memorably dubbed ‘payoffs for layoffs’ by Congressman Bernie Sanders from Vermont [a current Democrat Party contender for President]) (ibid.).

“Incidentally, Lockheed Martin realised a taxpayer-financed windfall from the merger amounting to \$US1.2 billion dollars. The company also became the single largest advocate of aggressive nuclear development in the country, in a quest to protect its *billions of dollars* worth of Government arms contracts” (ibid.). The profit motive continues to drive us all towards doomsday! At present, the privatisation of war underlying the rampant integration of technology in both the preparation and conduct of war goes on unabated. The monster is programmed to consume itself.

The war industry and the ever burgeoning security industry are intimately related. Perry’s “moderni-



NZ Herald, 29/10/15

sation” and “streamlining” of the military-industrial complex with its consolidation of defence company behemoths was meant to save costs for the American taxpayer. Instead, the new PPP contract system certainly went on to cost the American public, both in money and in many other ways. A recent example has been the failure of a security system installed by Boeing on the US-Mexican border. The surveillance and monitoring equipment designed by Boeing proved both too expensive and quite ineffectual (“The Invisible Wall”, Mitch Moxley, in *Popular Mechanics (PM)*, February 2016, pp9/10). A new “multi-sensor” system is being implemented by Elbit, a notorious Israeli firm, which is responsible for similar electronic “walls” separating Israelis and the Palestinians, and helping fence off Gaza and Egypt as well. The new American “invisible wall” established by Elbit even operates in the Arizona desert, and according to *PM*, is “the new technology that’s making our border more secure” (ibid. p3).

Combating Media Disinformation

“Pre-emptive intervention” as articulated and practised by William Perry, along with his mates and successors, has certainly spread mayhem and chaos far and wide. Propaganda and disinformation have been rife. The 2003 invasion of Iraq was even strongly backed here in Aotearoa/NZ in “gung-ho” fashion by State-owned TVNZ. This was the case even though the Labour government of the time, which gave armed support to the invasion, also expressed certain reservations. On the fall of Baghdad, the then TV1 newsreader, Richard Long, actually gave expression to extreme Orwellianism and American neo-imperial doctrine by lauding President’s W Bush’s “*fight for freedom*”!

Whether peddling such stuff, or just wallowing in plain myopic confusion, TV1 continues to pour out disinformation on the so-called “war on terror”. In the first noon news bulletin of 2016, TV1 newsreader Peter Williams, in all earnestness, told us about the American invasion of Iraq in **2013!** (*One News at Midday*, 25/1/16). Williams was introducing a BBC item on the continuing Sunni/Shiite conflict there - “*Since the US invasion in 2013 . . .*”.

Oh dear! The fact that TVNZ is very confused about the recent history of Iraq is far from surprising.

Currently, the prime enemy and source of “terrorist” evil for TVNZ is the scourge of IS; and Sunni IS is a direct outcome of the illegal 2003 invasion, which was cheered on by the likes of TVNZ. So it helped facilitate, however indirectly, the eventual phoenix-like rise of IS from the ashes of the supposedly defeated al Qaeda. This media organ’s malicious propaganda at the time elicited plenty of anger and disgust (“Thousands Outraged At TVNZ’s Pro-US Bias”, www.scoop.co.nz>To p Scoops, 12/4/03; *Peace Researcher* 28, December 2003, “Full Speed Ahead Into The Quagmire: NZ Blunders Into Iraq”, Murray Horton, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr28-91.html>).

The confusion and/or dissimulation go on. In an item on the WNSS, TV1’s Zac Fleming most misleadingly presented the conference as treating the subject of nuclear disarmament (*One News at Midday*, 1/4/16). He even gave the impression that the Summit was meant to be focused on reducing nuclear weapon “stockpiles”; and that it had ironically made more progress on the climate change issue. He faithfully followed the American media propaganda line in blaming the absence of Russia’s President Putin from the Summit - despite Russia’s huge arsenal - for much of the failure in making progress on disarmament (ibid.).

Yet as previously illustrated by the concerns of Global Zero, the WNSS was not about this issue at all. In reinforcing this point, I refer to one of Washington’s oldest think tanks which declared: “The 2016 (WNSS) is the fourth and final in a series of summits that aims to enhance the security and control of fissile materials – in particular, highly enriched uranium and plutonium” (“Everything You Need To Know About The 2016 Nuclear Security Summit”), Brookings Institution, [www.brookings.edu](http://www.brookings.edu/posts/2016/03)>posts>2016/03). TVNZ’s US correspondent, Jack Tame, similarly took up the theme of supposed nuclear disarmament at the WNSS and its lack of progress given the boycott by Putin, the West’s current favourite villain and figure of hate

(*One News At 6 p.m.*, 2/4/16). According to Tame, Putin’s absence had “marred” the Summit and President Obama’s focus on trying to ensure nuclear security. Oh, well done boys!

Yes, it is indeed true that Nobel Peace Prize winner Obama is committed to “nuclear security” and that is the reason why his budget sets out the American ambition to spend US\$1 trillion over the next 30 years on new nuclear weapons. Tame also joined in PM John Key’s spin that Aotearoa/NZ is not really nuclear free as Key responded to charges that he is undermining our purported status in this regard (“John Key Admits NZ Isn’t Completely Nuclear Free”, *ONE News Now*, TVNZ, <https://www.tvnz.co.nz/one-news/new-zealand/john-key-admits-nz-isnt-completely-nuclear-free>).

Yet it has long been known that we have some nuclear material for health procedures and scientific research. While it is more important than ever to take a stand on our nuclear free zone, this supposed zone is now almost comprehensively contradicted and undermined by our reintegration into the American nuclear war-fighting machine. Both the media and politicians have been content to hypocritically and servilely acquiesce. A virtual iron curtain of silence about the real meaning of such militarisation has descended on us while we are being led like lambs to the slaughter towards World War III (WWIII). Anzac Day war remembrances, so often an excuse for more war-mongering, have the ritual invocation: “We will remember them”. Post-WWIII, there would be an end to any such war commemorations. Either we eliminate nuclear weapons or they will most certainly eliminate us (“Obama’s Last Nuclear Summit And A New Movement for Nuclear Disarmament”, op. cit.).

After helping mislead the NZ public about nuclear disarmament, TVNZ’s Jack Tame did acknowledge that the big hot topics at the WNSS had been the issue of North Korea’s growing nuclear weaponry and the dangers arising from IS’s terrorism. With NZ’s reintegration back into a de facto ANZUS* as indeed celebrated here by the mainstream media, we are being primed again for

self-demolition - as also illustrated by Buchanan's advocacy. From Syria/Iraq through the Ukraine to the Korean Peninsula and the South China Sea, dangerous military posturing is now a constant background to our everyday life.

Astoundingly, again without virtually any political or media objection or caveat, NZ actually took part this year in potentially nuclear-oriented war games on the perilous Korean Peninsula (<http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/77823830/new-zealand-troops-help-us-south-korea-stage-assault-drill-against-north-korea>, 30/3/16). Then, most stupidly and bizarrely, PM John Key and his entourage visited China during April 2016 to talk free trade while NZ participated in military maritime exercise Bersama Shield as a member of the Five Power Defence Arrangement (UK, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, & NZ).

While Chinese State media warned us to keep out of South China Sea disputes, this exercise practised an assault on simulated Chinese forces in the very same region. NZ's Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade (MFAT) and Key's advisers and negotiators like Charles Finny and Stephen Jacobi are clearly losing the free trade plot. Even crony media like TV1 and TV3 were momentarily struck by the growing contradictions! **ANZUS: The Australia, New Zealand, US military treaty that was the foundation of all New Zealand's defence and foreign policy from its inception in 1951 until the US, under President Ronald Reagan, kicked us out in 1986. It remains in force today, but only between the US and Australia. Ed.*

Technocratic Delusions at Work

These days, the mainstream media, especially TV, regularly reinforce Western-generated technological creations and fantasies – from the latest information and communications technology (ICT) gadget, to distant space probes, and from computerised cars to the latest esoteric medical breakthrough for the affluent. For the most part, it is still very much business as usual on planet Earth, with faith in the operation of market forces and technocratic management to make the appropriate adaptations to the social

and environmental challenges we face - in all, a fundamentalist expression of Western culture at work.

As we have contended so far, the cargo cult of global capitalism systematically fosters the delusion that we can all somehow all get richer and that economic growth is endless, despite the obvious contradictions of the militarist market, let alone the limits of a small planet. Faith in the god of technology, the modern version of the classical stage's deus ex machina, is the operative utopian myth here. Lewis Mumford, the visionary environmentalist and critical analyst of Western civilisation, particularly its urban forms, revealed the dark trends of what he called "megatechnics", as opposed to eco-friendly "bio-technics" ("The Pentagon Of Power", vol. II of "The Myth Of The Machine", Secker & Warburg, 1964/70; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_Mumford). Given the bio-engineering connotations in the 21st Century of "bio-technics", we can conveniently and appropriately relabel what Mumford intended here as "eco-technics".

As expressed by the very title of his greatest book "The Pentagon Of Power" (ibid.), the supreme example and symbol of megatechnics in action for Lewis Mumford was the Pentagon, the very seat of the American military-industrial complex and its projection of power. The market, militarism, and megatechnics are now locked in a terrible triad, with the Pentagon darker than ever in the symbolic shadow it casts over our future prospects. Mumford "was a leading critic of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, and in 1965 startled an outraged part of the intellectual Establishment when, in his speech of retirement from the august position of President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he launched a blistering attack on US foreign policy in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam.

"He is also credited with being the first public figure to write an open letter to President Johnson to protest against the bombing of North Vietnam. In fact, he (was) a senior protester" ("Philosophers Of The Earth: Conversations With Ecologists", Anne Chisholm, The Scientific Book Club, Sidgwick and Jack-

son Ltd., 1972/4, Ch. 1, "Lewis Mumford – Inventing The Environment", p6). As one of humankind's truly great visionaries, Mumford saw deeply into the problems arising from the pretensions of "Western civilisation". He wrote many books and articles.

"In 'The Pentagon Of Power', Mumford places especial emphasis on the role of environmental deterioration in bringing home to mankind the mess we are in" ("Philosophers Of The Earth", ibid. p7). Ironically, back in the early 1970s he thought that the obviously deteriorating state of the environment would grip the human imagination in pre-emptive fashion, whereas "the disasters of war, though no longer locally limited, had through the ages grown too familiar to bring about a sufficient reaction" (ibid.). But Western capitalism went on to crush both environmental concerns and the Third World's appeal for fair prices for long-exploited raw materials. These two concerns could have been married together for a more sustainable international development policy.

Lewis Mumford presciently foresaw the trend to neo-fascism. "The ultimate Megamachine, he says, was the Nazi State but, during and after WWII, the enemies of the Nazis became contaminated by the very thing they were fighting to destroy: 'In the very act of dying, the Nazis transmitted the germs of their disease to their American opponents – not only the methods of compulsive organisation and physical destruction but the moral corruption that made it feasible to employ these methods without stirring effective opposition'" (ibid., p10).

Democratic Vision Is Needed

As repeatedly stressed, the Western mainstream media have collaborated in this strategy both intensively and extensively ever since. Neo-fascism is even openly promulgated on Rupert Murdoch's Fox News and other toxic media. For example, Fox News' "strategic analyst", Ralph Peters, openly preaches racist war and even *genocide* (for background, see my article "Brave New World Of The Endless Resource War", in *Peace Researcher* 28, December 2003, <http://www.converge.org.nz/a>

bc/pr28-86.html). Peters also writes for other Murdoch media like the *New York Post*, recently attacking Saudi Arabia in the American far Right's Social Darwinist "War of Civilisations" (<http://nypost.com/2016/04/16/how-saudi-arabia-undermines-the-united-states/>).

Rabidly frothing at the mouth, "mad dogs" like Ralph Peters run amok with America's hypocrisy and contradictions. Neo-fascist Peters is an active link between elements of the "defence" Establishment and such media. We continue to pay dearly from the political blowback of the US's embrace of so much fascist-type ideology and practice ("Blowback: America's Recruitment Of Nazis & Its Destructive Impact On Domestic & Foreign Policy", Christopher Simpson, Forbidden Bookshelf Series, Collier/MacMillan, 1988).

Overall, we certainly need a far more holistic and democratic vision of our place in the biosphere for our survival, a deeper and more sensitive appreciation of the insights of astrobiology and Earth systems. As indicated, the reigning mechanistic and technocratic vision of Nature has come to be expressed above all in the planning and conduct of war, and most pre-eminently by the Pentagon itself. This sword of Damocles teeters on its fraying thread today more than ever, threatening imminent nuclear nightmare for all the inhabitants of planet Earth.

In February 2016 the US sent out another aggressive message to the world with the test firing of "an unarmed Minuteman 3 missile" ("US Sends A Message With California

Nuclear Missile Test", *Los Angeles Daily News*, www.dailynews.com, 26/2/16). Promoted by the media as a signal for deterrence, it was in fact yet another example of Pentagon doomsday strategy and posturing as exposed and documented in "To Win A Nuclear War" (op. cit.). Similarly, US provocative and dangerous harassment of Russian Kalinagrad on the Baltic Sea has elicited continual "buzzing" manoeuvres from "enemy" aircraft ("Dances With Bears: www.johnhelmer.net, "Boy On Burning Deck – What The USS *Donald Cook* And The Polish Navy Were Doing Off...").

While an ABC News report just blamed the nasty Russians, even news correspondent David Martin of the propagandistic CBSTV network acknowledged - perhaps inadvertently - that Russia intends "to push back" (the former on *One News Tonight*, TV1, & the latter on *News-Hub Live at 6pm*, TV3, both screened 14/4/16). Russia has already acted to pre-emptively defend its military bases in the Crimea, Ukraine, and in Latakia Province, north-western Syria. Nobel Peace Prize winner and "Dirty"/Drone War warrior, Barack Obama, is wantonly indulging in Pentagon-driven brinkmanship that threatens all of humankind. In essence, we are contesting a predatory mindset which has systematically harnessed rationality and intelligence to psychopathological ends. Freud's genius and insight has indeed proved profound.

Marching To A Different Drum!

Greater widespread class warfare and racial/ethnic strife loom if we fail

to move to fairer, more egalitarian, and sustainable societies. Dangers increasingly loom too from those who discount means in terms of their purported ends, whatever side of the political fence they are on. And, worryingly, the very prospect of a more egalitarian future can in turn generate its own dangers. Ruling elites can get further motivation for militarist, nationalist ventures in order to try and unify their societies by attacking manufactured enemies, and grabbing more of the world's diminishing resources.

Indeed, this has long been a major driving source of motivation for the Anglo-American power elite, and is now more evident than ever before. Similarly, mounting socio-economic and political conflicts within China, the powerhouse of world economic growth in recent decades, could incite destabilising incentives of this type for the ruling "Communist" Party; and/or similarly in the case of Russia, as well as other countries. Competition between the US and its antagonists has the potential to escalate and compound chaotically. These challenges clearly demand a massive positive resurgence of the global "counter-culture" in both the West and wider afield. But the good news is, as we have noted early on in this article, that the movements for constructive change are stirring more than ever and people power is now increasingly on the march for a better world.

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/>.

Correction: In PR 50, November 2015, a book by Lord Jim O'Neill cited on p32 should have read "The Growth Map" (not "The Growth Gap"). But the economic global growth theory of O'Neill and Goldman Sachs is certainly full of gaping holes, e.g., O'Neill addresses the question of "resources" (actually only "energy") by preaching faith in technology and the entrepreneurial market. ■



THE WIKILEAKS FILES

Verso, London, 2015

This survey based on revelations from Wikileaks weighs in at a solid 624 pages, but it could have been much longer, Julian Assange having intercepted 2,325,961 State Department cables. What's on offer is basically a general summary of recent history, as seen from policy makers in the United States, with essays on lots of countries by different authors. As such the sweep of narrative won't surprise specialist experts or researchers.

Some of the comments on-line complain of uneven quality, an obvious hazard in anthologies, but for my money the perspective is presented in a consistently liberal and accessible academic style which has avoided overlap. Don't expect shock and awe, as most of the big stuff has already been publicised. The ideal reader might be one who wants a reference book on world affairs, to dip into from time to time as the globe lurches from one mad mess to another.

One pattern that emerges is a frequent contradiction between US tactical considerations and overall strategy. The cables are usually to do with immediate needs, and these can be at variance with long-term policy. In the chaos of places like Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, it seems that Washington elites have never been united on precisely what they want or why. The rhetoric of George Bush and – if in a more nuanced tone – Barack Obama hinted at a wish to embrace both countries as democracies, by which they meant neo-liberal investment zones.

Yet in the Afghanistan of 30 years ago the US was empowering Osa-

ma bin Laden's medievalist mates to topple a secular-minded Government because it was being propped up by the former USSR. Largely because of this, half the world is still in turmoil. In the bad old days of the Cold War, big power politics was simple, there being two sides said to be opposites, and various small fry in between, for whose favour the blacks and the whites competed. It was crude, but it was simple. Wikileaks is post-Cold War, a world with 50 shades of grey.

The devil, we're constantly being told, is in the detail. When politicians mouth this tired refrain their usual purpose is to hedge their bets, to avoid commitment, but Wikileaks reminds us that details can be revealing. It is in their asides, their jokes, their gossip and unscripted comments that people reveal motivations that their carefully spun webs of misinformation are designed to hide.

Wikileaks titbits show us an obsequious UK sucking up to the Americans, shedding all dignity in its rush to please big brother. David Cameron and other UK leaders



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caglecartoons.com

keep letting it being known that the US role in everything that matters is "essential" because they're the "world leader". In one message William Hague, then Cameron's Foreign Secretary, panting puppyishly, added "my sister is a US citizen". That's the background to the relationship of the warriors Dubya Bush and his good mate Blair.

Another detail: New Zealand is not in the index but it is in the text. Apparently we were part of a small privileged group of special best friends of the US, part of The Club no less, that gathered to worry about Iran and its rumoured nuclear ambitions. Was anyone besides #JohnKey and Murray McCully in the know? Is anyone aware of this privileged NZ expertise in Iranian nuclear policy?

The Wikileaks files on New Zealand, all 613 pages of them, can be read online at <http://liberation.typepad.com/files/wellington-us-embassy-cable-s---bryce-edwards.pdf>. There is some fascinating stuff in them. Ed.■

EYES OF FIRE:

The Last Voyage Of The *Rainbow Warrior*

by David Robie
Little Island Press,
Auckland, 2015

This is an updated version of the account of the 1985 sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*, first published in 1986. No New Zealander old enough to have been around then will be unaware of the incident, but this is a timely reminder for a newer generation of the day when terrorism reached Waitemata Harbour.

Terrorism is supposed to be the last resort of alienated young men from places we know nothing of, but the bomb which blew up the *Rainbow Warrior* in downtown Auckland was detonated by men and women employed by the Government of France. If you didn't know otherwise, you might suppose that some time before the attack France had suffered a traumatic event, because how else might such an odd barbarism be explained? France surely is a modern and agreeable place which merits our sympathy as the target of terrorism, not its perpetrator.

Not really. France is the same place with the same public institutions as it had in 1985, its current President being from the same party, the Socialists for Heaven's sake, as the President back then. Neither, in essence, has its global circumstances changed.

France Regarded Greenpeace As "Terrorists"

Pollution of land and sea and the degradation of habitats are even more of a problem now than they were last century and you don't find advanced Western democracies openly calling for the globe to get ever dirtier. And when the *Rainbow Warrior* docked in Auckland in July 1985, it was in the middle of voyages to draw attention to all sorts of environmental issues. Greenpeace had protested nuclear tests, acid rain, whaling, attacks on dolphins and the dumping of toxic waste. It was doing great work.

Not in the eyes of the French State. Their problem was that the *Rainbow Warrior* was due to sail towards Tahiti and the French islands in the south-east Pacific, where they were testing nukes. If, for the rest of us, it was bad enough that the Russians and Americans were in a perpetual nuclear confrontation which had the potential to wipe us all away, that tension was at least understandable, given the circumstances at the time. But France had as much reason to want to join the nuclear club

as it would have if it started to do so now. That is, zero. It was pure folly.

Being primarily focused on environmental issues Greenpeace was protesting the very real and obvious threat to marine life. The French, of course, said that their tests were clean. Which prompted the obvious response that they should, therefore, test their bombs in mainland France. *Rainbow Warrior* had just arrived from the Marshall Islands, where the US had long polluted (and where areas are still uninhabitable).

By 1985 France had conducted 193 tests in the Pacific and it wasn't done yet. France (still) pretends to believe that its overseas colonies are no different politically from Paris or Marseilles, so it felt able to treat the New Zealand government, then beginning to respond to Greenpeace's campaign for a nuclear-free Pacific, as an ally of its activities, which France labelled terrorism.

So it was that one winter's night on Tamaki Drive boat club members, who had been the target of thieves, were staked out on watch when a speedboat landed. Two people got out, dumped the boat's engine in the water, and were then picked up by a car driven by someone in a frogman suit. The yachties noted the car's plate number. A later search of the water came up with water bottles made in France. NZ's petty criminals had enabled the Police to arrest France's State terrorists.

A Frenchwoman who joined the open activities of Greenpeace in Auckland apparently expressed hostility to the idea of independence for New Caledonia and support for France's bombs, both opinions being the last things you'd expect to hear around Greenpeace. She advanced the rationale that nukes were needed as otherwise "we risk becoming like Finland, which is so influenced by Russia".

Hearing this ingénue, an experienced observer who knew European history would have intuited that she had been indoctrinated by an older and nostalgic extremist as no-one else had worried about Finnish sovereignty since about 1940. She turned out later to have been a spy. While it might not be surprising



Rainbow Warrior, Auckland, after it was bombed.

that no local NZ activist would have suspected her, it is surprising that an agent of the French secret police was so gauche.

It seems that the French didn't know enough of their own history to have created a convincing persona for their agent, who would have been detected had she operated in a more experienced milieu. Operationally, too, French tactics were clumsy. Twice before they had sunk ships, and both times they achieved nothing beyond discrediting the activities they were hoping to defend.

And just as its secret police have been amateurishly incompetent, so has its political class. Robie tells us that theories from the political elites in France included the assertion that low-tech Greenpeace was about to advance on French Polynesia with an armada so loaded with the latest gadgets to thwart the tests that the nuke programme would have to be abandoned. It was said that Greenpeace was financed by BP to maintain its oil interests, that the UK's MI6, the South African secret police and the Soviet's KGB had infiltrated Greenpeace. The latter, an old favourite, was picked up a naive NZ media and across the Tasman in the *Australian*. This detail is significant in that, as a "quality" Tory broadsheet with sophisticated journalists, the paper must have known the claim was suspect. Ideology trumps truth every time.

The rhetoric did not often reach eloquence. One letter to the Greenpeace office after the bombing warned of the traitors ready to deliver the country to the commies. They included "pacifists, hooligans, hippies, trade unions, PLO, Khomeinists, Labour terrorists – all the same riff-raff, all KGB agents". No wonder the correspondent concluded with: "Revenge. Better dead than Red. No more Vietnams". For years serious and educated people had been debating this dilemma of whether they would prefer to be crimson or expired.

Exact Opposite Of Intended Result

You'd think that the combined resources of the French elites would have come up with something better than these childish conspiracy theo-

ries, but perhaps the greatest of the many asinine calculations of the French State was its assumption that blowing up a Greenie ship in an allied country on the other side of the world would help it to carry on poisoning the South Pacific. Instead, inevitably, international outrage raised Greenpeace's profile enormously. It is no coincidence that the peace and environmental movements around the world became increasingly popular from the mid-1980s.

Only one man was killed, a Portuguese photographer, Fernando Pereira, but there could easily have been a high death toll. The frogmen who placed the bomb timed it to detonate just before midnight when normally there would have been many others in their cabins, but most happened to be on shore that night. Robie himself had been on board when the ship docked in Auckland, having sailed from the Marshall Islands.

Even after the event, after the terrorists were caught, President Mitterand's France knew no shame, and the dirty tricks continued. Now perhaps there's some resolution, some (in the irritating vernacular of the day) closure. In 1987 – after Robie's original account came out – the *Rainbow Warrior* was sunk off Matauri Bay in Northland as a likely

future marine habitat for divers to explore. And in 1996 France signed the nuclear test ban treaty.

Robie's professional life has been devoted to the peoples of the Pacific. A journalist and university teacher, he's written a series of investigative accounts of the struggles of the island nations against big power politics. "Eyes Of Fire" is an excellent production, thorough and informed with a restrained passion, with interesting photographs. French politicians, by and large, might now be behaving in a more acceptable fashion, but the global issues that Robie has analysed – of pollution and violence and the stupidity and corruption of power – still demand our witness.

2015 *Rainbow Warrior* Microsite – Eyes Of Fire 30 Years On (Little Island Press): <http://eyes-of-fire.littleisland.co.nz/> More than 40 video interviews, a lead background article and photo gallery by the author David Robie and contributions by Pierre Gleizes, Bene Hoffman, Hilari Anderson and John Parulis. ■



NZ Herald, 27/6/15

OBITUARY

- Murray Horton

JIM HOLDOM

Jim Holdom died in December 2015. His funeral was held on what would have been his 85th birthday. His final year was spent in an Auckland home, in order to be close to family, but Jim was an absolutely central figure in the Hamilton progressive movement for many decades. He was a member of the Anti-Bases Campaign from 1993 until his death. Likewise he was a regular donor to ABC. Jim organised the Hamilton visits of my ABC Committee colleague Warren Thomson (1998) and that of Mike Frost, former Canadian spy turned whistle-blowing author (2001), when ABC sent them around the country.

Jim was an active member of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA) from 1985 until his death. As with ABC, he always included a donation with his CAFCA sub. On more than one occasion, in the 90s and 00s, Jim was my Hamilton organiser and host during my CAFCA national speaking tours. He tried to extract every drop of value out of my visits – I have a vivid memory of him meeting me off the bus and my having to run, with my full pack on my back, in order to reach the central city newspaper office for the interview he'd arranged for me.

He was a founder pledger to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my income, from 1991 until his death. He pledged a very specific sum which never changed - \$8.50 per month. And yet, despite having been an ABC member continuously for more than 20 years and a CAFCA member for 30 years, Jim flew under the radar. There is not one single mention of him on the ABC or CAFCA websites.



Internationalist

Although he never visited the Philippines, Jim was also a member of the Philippines Solidarity Network of Aotearoa (PSNA) since 1994 and was one of the most valued ones. Why? When PSNA inherited a whole lot of material, in the 1990s, from the Auckland-based predecessor of PSNA, it discovered to its pleasant surprise that it included a bank account* with several active regular pledgers. Jim was one of them, and he remained so until 2014. For years he pledged a very precise sum - \$12.50 per month (which he reduced to \$10 per month not long before stopping altogether).

I asked Keith Locke, who was Philippines Solidarity's Auckland-based National Coordinator from the mid 80s until the early 90s, if he knew how long Jim had been pledging to that account. Keith couldn't remember but wrote: "I suspect it would be the 90s rather than the 80s. He was an enthusiastic supporter of all the good international causes, particularly through Corso. Any speaker going through Hamilton he would have been on to, and he may have signed up after a public meeting in Hamilton in the 90s. I don't exclude the 80s though". I wonder how many other groups he pledged and donated to?

(*That bank account provided a cautionary tale. PSNA decided to change to Kiwibank when that

started but even though there were only a handful of pledgers to the account, it took more than a year to effect the changeover, because it has to be done by the individual pledgers with their own banks. So, when ABC and/or CAFCA members ask why the Organiser Account is held with an Australian-owned bank - the original bank was taken over - I refer them to the hassle involved with transferring just a few pledgers from one bank to another. The Organiser Account has around 60 pledgers and it would be a nightmare. I have no doubt that we would lose some in the process. So, we pragmatically let sleeping dogs lie).

Jim was an active PSNA member. Over the past 20 years PSNA has organised or helped to organise a number of national speaking tours by leaders and representatives of a range of Philippine progressive groups (most recently, Efleda Bautista of People Surge, in 2015). Our first such tour was that of Leonor Briones of the Freedom From Debt Coalition in 1995. I accompanied her around the country. Jim was our man in Hamilton and Hamilton Corso, of which he was a leading figure, organised and hosted us. Jim was a consummate internationalist.

Local Activist

When I first met Jim, 20+ years ago, he was in the age bracket that I am now (60s) and supposedly "retired" from teaching. It was a very active retirement and he was a key figure in a bewildering number of Hamilton groups. Here is the 2003 citation for a Civic Award: "Nominated For: Environment, Human Rights. James (Jim) Holdom has been nominated for a Civic Award for his contribution to the community of Hamilton/Kirikiriroa. Jim has been and is an active member of so many different organisations including Corso, Trade Aid Kirikiriroa, United Nations Association, Council of Elders, Waikato Anti-Racism Coalition, Environmental Business Network, Forest & Bird Society, The Ecologic Foundation, Wanderers Travel Group, and Te Whare O Te Ata (the community House which borders on Fairfield Park).

"As a member of the Hamilton Corso community, Jim has

constantly challenged status quo assumptions both locally and internationally in areas of Recycle/Reuse policy development and sustainable development, and in Corso social justice issues which challenge racism, oppression and inequality. Jim is the longest serving member of the Trade Aid Kirikiriroa (Hamilton) Trust with his participation going back to the mid 1970s.

"In more recent years Jim's involvement has moved from that of volunteer in the Trade Aid shop to a valuable member of the Trade Aid Kirikiriroa Trust Board. This worthy citizen, widely known in the community, does not seek acknowledgement, but serves where he sees a need not always recognised and met by others". One not mentioned there is the leading role he played in the local Labour Party for decades.

In recent years it was clear that his health was failing. On my 2011 CAFCA speaking tour he came to my Hamilton meeting but he moved very slowly, with the aid of a stick, and he slept through my speech (who was that who said "I don't bloody blame him"?). I made a point of going to see and farewell him during my 2014 CAFCA/ABC national speaking tour (he was the second old comrade that I made a point of farewelling on that tour – the other being Don Ross in Whangarei. Tim Howard's and my obituaries of Don are in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 139, August 2015, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/39/13.html>).

By then Jim was in a Hamilton home, in a locked unit for those with varying degrees of dementia. His problem was that his memory was bugged. We had a great old yarn, although he continually forgot who I was. He was still totally interested in everything political – I doubt that any other residents of that rest home had Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela on their wall. When I teased him: "Where are your badges, Jim?" he proudly brandished a plastic bag absolutely bulging with the things, covering every conceivable group, campaign and slogan.

Staying with Jim was always an adventure. He'd been divorced for years and was the old bachelor personified (I never met any of his

family) – his house could best be described as cheerful chaos, and any need for food for himself and guest was quickly satisfied by a trip to his local Chinese takeaway to get his favourite combo meal. He was an eternal optimist – he had a history of heart trouble and told me that he'd once had a heart attack and collapsed on the footpath. But, never mind, it was close to his doctor's surgery, so they were able to bring him back from the dead quick smart. He was proof of the dictum to live each day as if it's your last (because one day it will be).

I'm forever grateful to Jim that his hosting and organising my Hamilton visit during my 2002 CAFCA speaking tour led me to see, for one last time, my old friend and colleague, Owen Wilkes. Owen, whose funeral celebrant correctly said "could sometimes be a grumpy old shit", had turned his back on the anti-bases movement and his old mates in it for the previous decade. But he was a good friend of Jim's, so he turned up at my Hamilton meeting (where he urged Chairperson Jim to get on with it by issuing a Fred Dagg command: "Kick it in the guts, Jim"). And then he came to see me at Jim's the next morning for a long chat, as the very close friend of old. It meant that my last memory of Owen was positive – the next time I went to Hamilton was for his funeral, after he killed himself in 2005 (*Peace Researcher* 31, October 2005, is a Special Issue, devoted to Owen, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/prcont31.html>).

Labour Party

That's not to say that Jim and I saw eye to eye on everything. He would brook no criticism of his beloved Labour Party (he was one of the only active Labourites that I've ever worked with and befriended). On one occasion he berated me for working with Christchurch people "on the wrong side" of the row that ripped Corso apart at the turn of the century (let's not go there). But despite those differences my two decades of dealing with Jim were overwhelmingly positive and productive, not to mention memorable. His family wrote in his funeral notice: "Jim fought as hard for himself in his final days as he fought for social justice for all people. We are now

living in a better world thanks to your strong beliefs, brave conscience and huge heart". I second that; passed with acclamation.

Jim was the subject of a *Waikato Times* obituary (19/12/15, "Hamilton Man Known As 'The Conscience Of The Waikato'", Roy Burke. The online version is titled "Hamilton Springbok Tour Protester And Labour Party Stalwart Dies"): "True story. During Martin Gallagher's year in the United Kingdom some time ago, friend Jim Holdom visited. The two were walking up one of those lovely English roads and Martin pointed out a quantity of ugly litter. He continued walking, and talking, and a distance later realised he was talking to himself. Martin looked back and there, well down the road, was Jim – picking up the litter. 'That was typical Jim', Martin says... Jim walked the talk. He rattled cages. He challenged. He was a champion for social justice. Sometimes it didn't make him popular, but that didn't bother him. 'He could never have been a diplomat', Martin says" (*Martin Gallagher is a former Hamilton Labour MP. MH*).

"Jim stood firmly for his beliefs. In 1981, he was one of the anti-apartheid protesters who cut the Hamilton Rugby Park fence and one of the first on the ground to disrupt the Springbok tour... A retired teacher, Jim was a Labour stalwart (a Gold Badge holder and life member) and a former Regional Chairman. Tributes to Jim from Labour Party Leader Andrew Little, former Labour Prime Minister Helen Clark and others were read.... Jim was four-square for justice for Maori. He was cremated in a Waitangi T-shirt. Some knew Jim as 'the conscience of the Waikato'. He earned the name partly by writing regular letters to the Editor of the *Waikato Times*. They were mostly good letters from a lateral thinker and dated back 30 years or more. Some knew him as 'the Badge Man'; for he proudly collected and wore the badges of almost 20 organisations he belonged to and served...

"He was a literary man and widely read. Libraries, including the University of Waikato Library, were among his regular calls. Kathryn Parsons, a University Library senior staff member, distributed his vast collection of

books when he moved to Auckland. She found many rare and valuable books, all carefully indexed. They have been donated to new owners, including the Turnbull Library. Jim completed his Master of Education thesis on Maori schooling in 1996. It was placed online in 2014 and has been downloaded more than 1,000 times. It is a rare gem gifted by a rare intellect" (when CAFCA Chairperson Jeremy Agar and I visited Jim in his Hamilton rest home in 2014, he very proudly showed us the hard copy bound volume of his thesis, which he kept in his room).

"That Man With All Those Badges"

Craig Wills is a Hamilton community radio broadcaster and has been a key ABC and CAFCA contact for many years. He didn't know Jim well but volunteered the following: "Interestingly, I met up with one of my old lecturers from the Waikato University, Peter Gibbons (recently). And yes, Peter did know of Jim! Peter made the analogy that a number of people in this area know a lot about specific parts of Jim's life, e.g. Corso, Labour Party, peace movement, teaching, local body politics, etc. Like Jim, Peter had been a member of the peace movement and an ardent opponent of apartheid South Africa, hence the apparent crossing of their paths...

"Two other aspects Peter can recall about Jim are thus: First of all, Jim taught at the Insoil Avenue Primary School, Hamilton East, during the early 1970s. I believe he was head teacher there at the time. And

secondly, Peter recollects Jim being an avid reader of any written works on politics, economics, ecology, etc. He mentioned that Jim could read three books in a week. The first time I saw Jim was at the Waikato University Library over 25 years ago. He tended to be a frequent visitor to the Library's Level Two, looking over the new academic releases ...

"I will always recall Jim as being 'Mr Corso' or that 'man with all those badges.' I did happen to visit the Corso Shop in Vialou Street during the late 1990s. It was absolutely 'chocker' with all sorts of odds and ends... On one occasion, I invited Jim for an interview at the Community Radio station to talk on the subject of Palestine. His knowledge of this topic was exceedingly deep and pity the fool who interrupted him when he was in full verse. I have retained Jim's notes that he provided me that day as my own personal archive.

"In 1998 Jim stood as one of six Hamilton Organisation for Local Democracy candidates for the local body elections (*one of the other candidates was current CAFCA Committee member, Warren Brewer. MH*). Jim, I recall, stood in the old East Ward. During the early 2000s, Jim's name would crop up from time to time in such campaigns as single transferable vote (STV, for local body elections) and opposition to the spraying of the gypsy moth. Personally, I knew Jim as an exceedingly intelligent man! I took great pleasure that every time we met, Jim did not forget my name".

The few months from late 2015 through the first quarter of 2016 saw the Hamilton progressive movement suffer a double blow: not only the death of Jim Holdom but also that of the Reverend Alan Leadley, a progressive clergyman (he was a good mate of Owen Wilkes and his partner May Bass. Alan was the celebrant at Owen's 2005 funeral and it was he who uttered the immortal line "you could sometimes be a grumpy old shit", whilst staring meaningfully at Owen's coffin). MH.■

LARRY ROSS MEMORIAL PLAQUE UNVEILED IN CHRISTCHURCH

- Murray Horton

Larry Ross, who died in 2012, was one of the giants of the New Zealand peace movement and the true father of nuclear free New Zealand. For full details of his fascinating life, see my obituary of him in *Peace Researcher* 44, November 2012, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr/44-pr44-008.htm>. His Auckland-based daughter Laurie recently decided to honour his memory by getting a memorial plaque installed on a Christchurch park bench.

ABOUT PEACE RESEARCHER

Peace Researcher is published by the Anti-Bases Campaign. The Co-Editors are Murray Horton and Warren Thomson; the Layout Editor is Becky Horton. Our journal covers a range of peace issues with emphasis on foreign military bases and intelligence topics. Contributed articles will be considered for publication based on subject matter and space requirements. We are particularly interested in reports of original research on peace topics in Aotearoa and the wider region of Australasia and the Pacific.

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You can read *Peace Researcher* online at our website, www.converge.org.nz/abc ■

This was following in the footsteps of the Christchurch memorial plaques already installed on park benches for two other leading peace activists (and veteran colleagues of Larry's), namely Owen Wilkes (see PR 35, December 2007, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr35-155.html>) and Bob Leonard (PR 48, November 2014, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/pr48/pr48-012.html>).

Both of those had been organised by the Anti-Bases Campaign and we were happy to help Laurie in areas such as publicity, appealing for funds, and with a modest donation (the initial sum that the Christchurch City Council asked her for was outrageous. Fortunately it was significantly reduced and she raised enough to pay for it and to not be left personally out of pocket).

It wasn't a straightforward process (these things never are; I speak from the experience of having done it twice before). ABC had got Owen and Bob's plaques onto benches in areas that held great personal significance to each of them, in suburbs where they had lived – in Beckenham Park for Owen, and Centaurus Park for Bob. Larry lived in New Brighton for 40 years and worked there for decades as a fulltime peace activist, so Laurie's first hope was to have the memorial plaque installed on a bench there, facing the sea. But that didn't work out, followed by another false start, before the matter was settled. And it really was third time lucky, because



Laurie Ross (left) and Christchurch Mayor Lianne Dalziel unveil Larry Ross plaque, 24/4/16

Larry's plaque and bench are in the best, and most appropriate, spot – in the Botanic Gardens, on the Avon River bank, and very close to the Peace Bell.

It was officially opened on a gloriously sunny Sunday morning in late April 2016. A good crowd attended; there was music; the Peace Bell was rung; well known peace activist (and friend of Larry's) Kate Dewes was MC; and there were a number of speakers, including Laurie and three current or former politicians – Christchurch's Mayor Lianne Dalziel, wearing a nuclear free shirt (she knew Larry from her previous life as a Labour MP); Christchurch Labour MP Ruth Dyson, (who also read a message

from Labour Leader Andrew Little), and former Christchurch Labour MP Margaret Austin. Lianne Dalziel, who performed the actual unveiling with Laurie, also read a message from Wellington's Mayor, Celia Wade-Brown.

It was just the sort of occasion that Larry would have loved and at which he excelled. Next time you're in the Gardens, pay Larry a visit (and make a trip to the suburbs to visit Owen and Bob). And when you're sitting on their benches, remind yourself of the huge contribution that Christchurch people (others include the incomparable Elsie Locke) have made to the local, national and international peace movement. ■

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