

Journal of the Anti-Bases Campaign

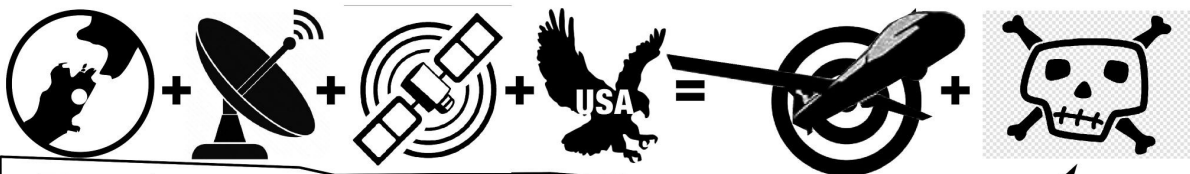
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WAIHOPAI

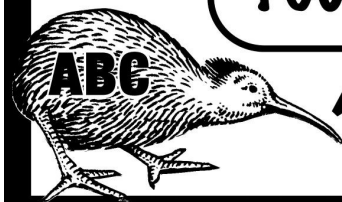
A US SPY BASE & A WARFIGHTING ONE

It appears that the NSA's APPARITION was the GHOST in our SPOOKS' GCSB Machine...



Total Lack of Oversight - See & Hear No Evil...

WE TOLD YOU SO!



In this issue: GCSB; Gaza Genocide; War Criminals; Spooky Bits; Mossad In NZ; Ukraine; Nuclear "Deterrence", "How To Hide An Empire" & "Israelism"; Mike Collins & Steve Howard Obituaries

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WE TOLD YOU SO Waihopai Is A US Spy Base And A Warfighting One

- Murray Horton

The news that the Waihopai spy base was going to be built led to the birth of the Anti-Bases Campaign in 1987. ABC has campaigned for the closure of Waihopai ever since (our most recent protest there was in 2023). We have consistently said that it is a US spy base in all but name i.e., that the NZ Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB, NZ's spy agency in the Five Eyes international spy alliance) works as directed by the US National Security Agency (NSA). We have also consistently said that it is a warfighting base, not just a spy base. The powers that be in NZ's covert state, and their political mouthpieces, have always denied this and/or asked us, where is your evidence?

Soothing Reassurances From GCSB Bosses

For example, this from the *New Zealand Herald*, (9/4/10), with the eye-catching title "It's Ours And It's Not Evil, Say Spy-Base Masters". "New Zealand's secret spies emerged from the shadows yesterday to deny their Waihopai station is an American spy base contributing to torture and war. Present and past Directors of the Government Communications Security Bureau took the unusual step of commenting publicly on allegations made during and after last month's trial in which a jury acquitted teacher Adrian Leason, 45, Dominican friar Peter Murnane, 69, and farmer Sam Land, 26, of charges of burglary and wilful damage after they broke into the base in Marlborough".

"Father Murnane said after the verdict: 'We have shown New Zealanders there is a US spy base in our midst'. In court, he said the trio felt strongly about the evil caused by activities of spy bases, such as torture, war and use of weapons of mass destruction such as depleted uranium. Air Marshal Sir Bruce Ferguson, the Bureau's Director, and his predecessor, Dr Warren Tucker, said the allegations demanded a response because they brought into question the integrity of New Zealand's security and intelligence apparatus. 'The Waihopai station is not a US-run spy base', they said. 'It is totally operated and controlled by New Zealand, through the GCSB as an arm of the New Zealand Government'".

"This has been formally investigated and reported upon by the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security, for example, at the request of then Prime Minister (Jim) Bolger, in response to claims made by peace movement activists at the time. 'The Waihopai Station was not - and is not - being used to contribute to 'torture, war, and the use of weapons of mass destruction such as depleted uranium' as claimed. It was not - and is not - contributing to 'unspeakable evil.' Quite the reverse'".

Waihopai Hosted US NSA Spying/Warfighting System For Nearly A Decade

Case closed? Not so fast. 2024 has unearthed fresh revelations. "The operation - that the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) did not tell Government ministers about - ran from 2013-20, but was only exposed by an official watchdog last month (March 2024). Intelligence documents strongly suggest the Bureau hosted - but exercised virtually no oversight over - a system run by the US National Security Agency (NSA) to help acquire targets classified as terrorists for killer drones, bombs and raids using GCSB data".

"An important aspect of the deal document - called a memorandum of understanding (MOU) - was that it dealt with concerns that arose within the GCSB about the system's military capabilities. The Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS) said the system was 'largely controlled by the partner agency', even though the Bureau could have vetoed operations it



The domes have gone... But the spying continues... Decommision the whole base.

Graphic by Ian Dalziel

did not like under the MOU. It chose instead not to keep track of them, the Inspector-General's report last month showed".

"The public report did not identify the foreign agency, and the Inspector-General later told *RNZ* he did not ask if the system was used for military operations. His report revealed the MOU was signed with the foreign agency in March 2012 by a GCSB Deputy Director. An internal GCSB document from 2012 showed it signed an MOU with the NSA that year to host the APPARITION system".

"The decision to host the capability on the terms set out in the MOU was significant, particularly given the potential uses of the capability to support military operations", said the Inspector-General report. The MOU was poorly implemented, it said. A subsequent policy requires the Bureau to get Ministerial approval for an international agreement that deals with new policy. The Inspector-General said this should be trig-

gered if the Bureau looked at a hosting deal like this again" (*RNZ*, 25/4/24, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/515190/gcsb-refuses-to-re-lease-details-of-spy-deal-to-protect-interests>).

Nicky Hager Explains APPARITION

So, what was this all about? Fortunately, we could rely on Nicky Hager to flesh out the details. Here's what he wrote. "The IGIS (Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security) report said the GCSB decision to host a foreign system from 2012-2020 was 'improper' and that the GCSB 'could not be sure the tasking of the capability was always in accordance with... New Zealand law'. The Inspector-General said: 'I have found some of the GCSB's explanations about how the capability operated and was tasked to be incongruous with information in GCSB records at the time'".

"But the Inspector-General could not reveal details of the system to the public because they are 'highly clas-

sified'. The name and function of the foreign spy spying equipment, the identity of the 'foreign partner agency' and the location of the 'GCSB facility' where foreign equipment was hosted all remained secret".

"The mystery spy equipment appears strongly to be a top-secret US surveillance system that was installed at the GCSB's Waihopai base at the same time as the equipment in the IGIS investigation was installed at a 'GCSB facility'. The top-secret NSA spy equipment had the ghostly codename APPARITION and fits with all the details presented in the IGIS report".

"APPARITION was owned by and controlled by the US National Security Agency - the world's largest intelligence gathering agency and head of the Five Eyes intelligence alliance that includes the GCSB. An NSA internal report, written after the launch of the APPARITION system in 2008, said that it 'builds on the success of the GHOSTHUNTER prototype... a tool that enabled a

significant number of capture-kill operations against terrorists”.

“Capture-kill operations involve lethal attacks on targeted people using drones, bombs and special forces raids. Human rights organisations have documented numerous deaths of civilians during capture-kill operations - many of them ‘algorithmically targeted’ by electronic surveillance systems such as APPARITION. They are also criticised as being ‘extra-judicial killings’”.

“This is what the IGIS report appeared to be referring to when it said the foreign capability ‘clearly had the potential to be used, in conjunction with other intelligence sources, to support military action against targets’. It referred to the equipment finding ‘remote targets’ and said that GCSB staff had raised ‘legal and moral issues’”.

“The 2008 NSA report explained how APPARITION targeting is done. ‘APPARITION is a precision geolocation capability for targeting foreign very small aperture satellite terminals (VSAT)’ it said. VSAT refers to small satellite communication systems used to access the Internet in remote places away from major Internet connections. Precision geolocation means working out the exact location of a target person. VSAT is ‘an important target’, it said, ‘because VSATs are often used by Internet cafes and foreign governments in the Middle East’”.

“The report said the APPARITION system at Misawa - a major NSA base in northern Japan - was ‘currently targeting VSAT terminals believed to be servicing Internet cafés used by high-value counterterrorism (CT) targets in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Indonesia, as well as non-CT targets in China’. The NSA report is dated December 2008, shortly after the first operational version of APPARITION was installed at Misawa. It said: ‘Plans are well advanced to install APPARITIONS... (at) FORNSAT (foreign satellite interception) ... sites worldwide, including Second Party locations, in the next two years’”.

“‘Second Party’ refers to the Five Eyes intelligence allies: the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (the First Party is the United States). The IGIS report says the GCSB was approached in 2009, the following

year, as a potential site for the foreign signals intelligence system. A March 2012 internal *GCSB Update* records that an MOU had been signed between NSA and GCSB for hosting of the APPARITION equipment and that installation was planned for June 2012. The IGIS report uses almost exactly the same words. The location for the APPARITION equipment was the Waihopai satellite interception base”.

“The system works by combining two different types in intelligence: ground stations like Waihopai intercepting the satellites that relay the VSAT satellite communications for remote users; and ‘Overhead’ spy satellites that locate the targets from far above the Earth. When combined, the report said, the intelligence systems could estimate the precise geolocations of VSAT Internet cafes and other target locations with an ‘average error of probability of only 0.07 nautical miles’ (130 metres) - not actually very precise in a built-up area”.

“Another NSA report, called ‘APPARITION/GHOSTHUNTER TASKING INFO’, describes the purpose of APPARITION as ‘Directed Target Development’. It ‘provides global access for VSAT geolocation requirements initially and incorporates the use of OH (overhead spy satellites), comsat (Waihopai-type station), SCS (secret eavesdropping units within embassies) and other access hubs’. It said: ‘Requests are acknowledged by Denver and scheduled via mission planning for execution’”.

Waihopai Domes Gone But It Continues Spying

“The various NSA and GCSB reports quoted were part of the trove of top-secret reports released by the US whistleblower Edward Snowden in 2013. The APPARITION documents do not say what the NSA used the Waihopai-based APPARITION equipment to target. However, GCSB used the equipment for its own targeting as well”.

“Another 2012 Snowden document suggests that the Waihopai base was intercepting VSAT communications in the Pacific by targeting the NSS-9 satellite, which was located at 183 degrees east. The 2012 report discusses technology changes affecting Waihopai’s ‘South Pacific mission’ including the ‘ViaSat Skylink VSAT links’, the NSS-9 satellite.

It’s unclear whether this VSAT surveillance involved APPARITION”.

“The Waihopai station also had a system in 2012 called FALLOW-HAUNT, used for collection (eavesdropping) and processing of VSAT communications. It was installed at Waihopai in November 2010. This may also be one of the surveillance systems mentioned (without naming the systems) in the IGIS report”.

“In 2022 the GCSB announced ‘Removal Of Waihopai Spy Base Surveillance Domes Begins’ and media reported that the ‘virtually obsolete’ Waihopai spy domes were being dismantled. Some people, including journalists, assumed that the Waihopai station was ceasing to be an intelligence base. However, Waihopai continues to intercept a range of satellites with more modern antennas and processing equipment as part of the Five Eyes intelligence alliance” (*RNZ*, 28/3/24, <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/512851/hager-spy-system-hosted-by-gcsb-likely-to-be-one-used-in-capture-kill-operations>).

NZ Has Blood On Our Hands. Shut Waihopai & GCSB

So, there we have it. While the GCSB spy bosses have been making reassuring noises all along, the reality is that for nearly a decade (and a very recent decade at that) the GCSB was hosting, at Waihopai, a US NSA system over which the GCSB had no control – by choice – and which was not known to the various Ministers who were nominally “in charge” of the GCSB. This period spanned both the Key National government and the Ardern Labour government, so both major parties were equally ignorant and culpable.

Furthermore, this NSA system was not only for spying but for capturing and/or killing targets via drones, missiles, bombs or attacks by special forces in countries far removed from NZ. Such military strikes inevitably kill family members, neighbours, bystanders and innocent civilians in general. This means that New Zealand very much has blood on our hands. As ABC has said from the outset, Waihopai is a US spy base and a warfighting one. The GCSB is a willingly complicit junior partner of the NSA. This is the proof. And it makes even more urgent the case for shutting down both Waihopai and the GCSB. ■

GENOCIDE IN GAZA

- Murray Horton

Let's Talk About Hamas

The general consensus is that Gaza is this generation's Vietnam. There are some similarities between the two wars - and a whole lot more differences. But it is true as far as the global protest movement is concerned. Even some of the chants are the same - substitute Biden or Netanyahu for Johnson in "hey, hey, LBJ. How many kids did you kill today?" (the answer in both cases is an awful lot). And the putdowns are much the same. If you were a critic of the Vietnam War, you were labelled "anti-American". Today, if you're a critic of the Gaza War or Zionism in general, you're labelled "anti-Semitic", which is just ludicrous.

I'm old enough to have actively participated in both Vietnam and Gaza demos. There is one conspicuous absence from the latter. In the Vietnam demos it was common for people to chant "Victory to the NLF" (National Liberation Front or the "Viet Cong" to the Western world) and to carry their flag - I have old photos of me as a callow youth with that flag. But nobody is

chanting "victory to Hamas" or carrying its flag. I can only speak from my personal experience of months of Christchurch demos but I have no doubt that if anyone was supporting Hamas at any NZ demo the media would be shouting it from the rooftops.

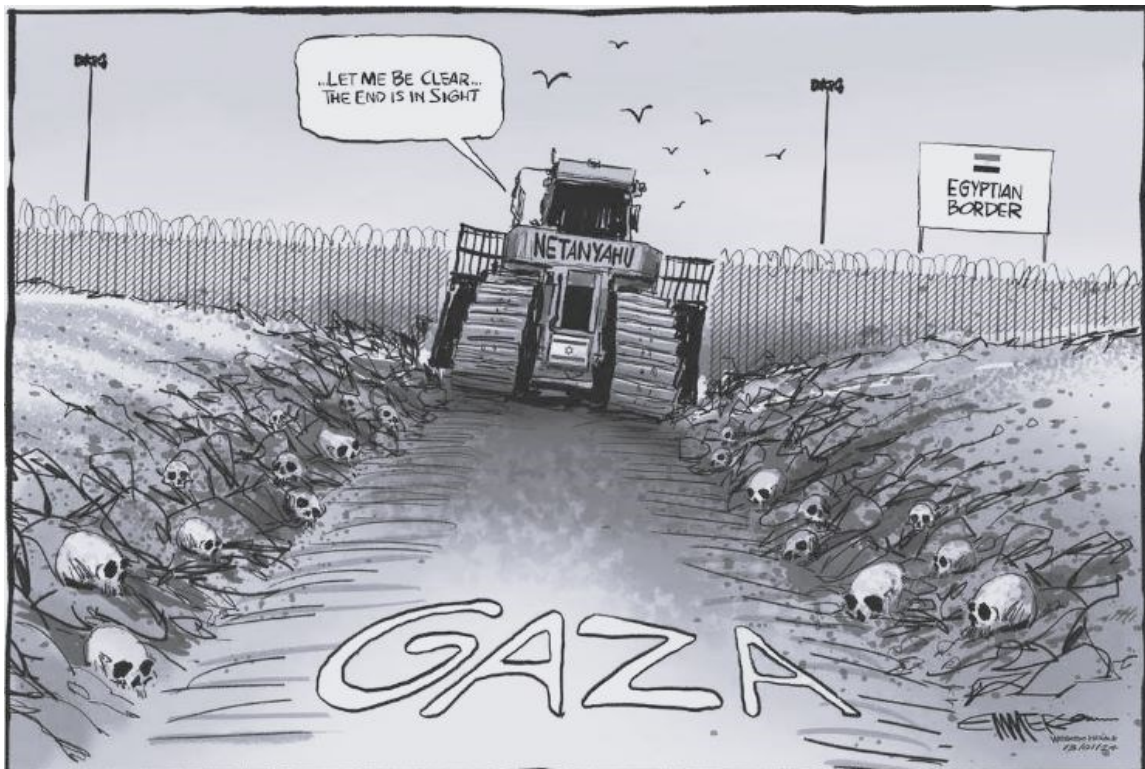
Why is this? Simply that people want to keep separate their outrage at Israel's genocide in Gaza from any perception of support for Hamas. There are big differences between Vietnam's NLF of half a century ago and Hamas today. One was communist and nationalist; the other is Islamist. I distrust all religious fundamentalists, regardless of which religion they are imposing on people. The same goes for ideological fundamentalists, so I put the Khmer Rouge in the same bracket as the Taliban (this country has been afflicted by capitalist fundamentalists in Government at various times in recent decades, including among the present coalition).

Israel has only got itself to blame for the existence of Hamas. Israel defeated and ruthlessly repressed the previous secular Palestinian armed resistance, the one led by Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which fitted into the pantheon of global liberation movements of the day. That old guard ended up as Israel's collaborators, the corrupt and powerless administrators (not rulers) of the Occupied

West Bank. It is no coincidence that the US wants to install them as administrators of a post-war Gaza, as sort of the reservation cops for what is already the world's biggest outdoor prison and permanent free fire zone for the Israeli military. The Palestinian people have made clear that they do not want this.

Israel laughably conflates Hamas with ISIS, which everyone agrees is a terrorist organisation and ideology, with no redeeming features. I guarantee that if Israel does succeed in its murderous mission to exterminate Hamas, it will be replaced by something more extreme, maybe something actually like the ISIS fascists. That would be a very sad day but the Palestinian people are not going to lie down and lick the boots of their oppressors. They will continue to fight back.

The Hamas surprise attack into Israel in October 2023 was an impressive military feat, catching the arrogant and complacent Israeli military and intelligence machine completely off guard. But Hamas definitely committed war crimes by terrorising, murdering and kidnapping Israeli civilians. As for killing and capturing enemy soldiers, that is normal in a war (which Israel and Hamas have been fighting for decades). Nor are the Israeli settlers innocent bystanders. Throughout history, and up until today, settlers are a common denominator in wars, land theft and



NZ Herald
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dispossession. This applies across the world, including in New Zealand.

Terrorism

Hamas is routinely presented in the West as a terrorist organisation – in 2024 New Zealand has designated it, in its entirety, as one (previously NZ only designated Hamas' military wing as a terrorist organisation). "Terrorist" is a very subjective term and it depends on who's telling the story. In wartime it is usual to brand one's enemy as terrorists. Thus, the Nazis branded the French Resistance as such. "Our boys" who incinerated huge numbers of German and Japanese civilians in WW2 bombing raids were as much terrorists committing war crimes as were the Nazis who bombed British civilians during the Blitz.

There are politicians in office now whose organisations and parties were previously branded as terrorists – South Africa and Northern Ireland are two examples. Look no further than the history of Palestine itself – when it was part of the British Empire in the 20th Century, Zionist Jews waged a very effective terrorist campaign against their occupiers, featuring bombings and murders.

Hamas doesn't seem to have thought far beyond that initial surprise attack into Israel in October 2023. Which brings up another similarity with the Vietnam War. In 1968 the NLF and North Vietnam took the US and its South Vietnamese puppets completely by surprise by launching the Tet Offensive right across South Vietnam and right into the grounds of the US Embassy in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City).

At the time, the West judged it to be a military failure, a suicide mission. The same with Hamas' attack – deemed a suicide mission. But both Tet in 1968 and Hamas in 2023 were looking beyond the purely military. They were both making a political point, issuing a wake-up call, putting their struggle front and centre on the global agenda. In both cases the impact was seismic. And there are other similarities. Tet finished the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson. 1968 was an election year – he announced that he wouldn't run again.

2024 is an election year – it remains to be seen what impact Biden's "ironclad" support of Israel's geno-

cide has on his re-election. Here's an even stranger coincidence - the 1968 Democrat convention was in Chicago (the protests became a legendary event in the history of the US anti-war movement). The 2024 Democrat convention is also in Chicago, with this generation's anti-war movement building up a head of steam in advance.

Important Differences Between The Vietnam And Gaza Wars

Vietnam could count on the rock-solid support of its ideological allies, the Soviet Union and China, who armed it and enabled it to have some air defences that could shoot down the US bombers that waged a much more devastating bombardment on Vietnam (and Laos and Cambodia) than anything Israel has unleashed.

Gaza has no friendly next-door neighbours – Vietnam had China, Gaza has Egypt, which regards Hamas as a threat and an enemy. The Arab states sold out the Palestinians decades ago, after they lost several wars to Israel. It was no coincidence that Hamas launched its attack just before Israel was about to announce a normalisation of relations with Saudi Arabia, the most vicious of the regional dictatorships.

Hamas does not even have the support of the Palestinian Authority in the Occupied West Bank, headed by the people who lost the 2006 Palestinian election to Hamas and were subsequently driven out of Gaza by it. So, Hamas is basically on its own, apart from Iran and its allies in the region, such as Hezbollah and the Houthis, but they are all a long way from Gaza.

There are other differences with the Vietnam War. Hamas has no air defences and, although it has done a very good job of protecting its own ranks with tunnels, it has provided no network of air raid shelters for civilians. It has effectively left its own civilian population defenceless against Israel's genocide from the sky. And, unlike Vietnam, it seems to have done little or nothing to mobilise those civilians, either for defence or guerrilla war.

A striking feature of the Vietnam War was the military participation of women. Hamas appears to be an all-male military and political movement. Having said that, there is no sign of Hamas having lost popular

support in Gaza. There has been no uprising or mass clamour to escape. Indeed, Hamas has apparently increased in popularity in the Occupied West Bank, which is run by its Palestinian rivals. The reason why is obvious – it is the only organisation offering any kind of effective armed resistance to the Israeli occupation from within.

Murderers, Liars, Cowards

Which brings me to the other side in this one-sided war. If Hamas is a terrorist organisation, then Israel is a terrorist state. If one has committed atrocities, the other is committing genocide. The keyword here is disproportionality. Yes, Israel is entitled to defend itself. But so is Palestine, specifically Gaza, which has been used as a real-world testing ground for Israeli weapons and surveillance systems ever since Hamas won that 2006 election.

The West is fed a constant diet of soothing noises about "surgical strikes" and "smart bombs", which is all just so much bullshit. The world sees that the reality is massive death and destruction. If Israel really was "smart", then it might have won the allegiance of some of Gaza's people (there were never going to be cheering crowds throwing flowers onto Israel's conquering troops).

But, no, it declared that its war was against all Gazans, that they are all the enemy, that they are sub-humans, and it is a war of annihilation. Despite their worst efforts, the Israeli military has still not won (at the time of writing) – whatever "won" means in this context. Hamas has neither surrendered nor been exterminated. I'd say Israel's methods have guaranteed a fresh supply of Hamas recruits.

Because Israel can count on the unquestioning support of the US, other major Western governments and a supine Western media, it knows it can commit genocide with impunity. Mass murder in broad daylight and in plain sight. It got such a fright from the successful Hamas attack that it reacted with an all-consuming blood lust, killing everyone in its path in Gaza. It has killed its own hostages, by accident or design; it has murdered record numbers of women and children; civilians; aid workers; health workers; journalists and UN staff.

It has weaponised the withholding of

desperately needed humanitarian aid and deliberately induced mass starvation. It has systematically destroyed hospitals, schools, universities, mosques, homes, etc., etc; to make Gaza unliveable for the foreseeable future. In some cases, it tried to concoct a cover story – “ Hamas had a control centre and/or tunnels under this hospital”. It gave up on that because it realised it didn’t have to pretend – it could do anything it liked without consequences, provoking only the feeblest of tut-tutting from its Western allies who bankroll and arm it, to the tune of billions of dollars per year. So much for “the international rules-based order” that they tiresomely, and lyingly, pontificate about.

It is plainly obvious that the Israeli military are mass murderers. They are also liars – they ordered Gazans to relocate to “safe zones”, which then made them easier to attack and murder. And their chosen method is to murder a defenceless civilian population from the air (a tactic favoured by their American accomplices in their various wars in recent decades). That’s why I call them cowards.

US Is The Enabler Of Genocide

If Israel is the mass murderer, then the US is the enabler of that mass murder, providing vital military support and political cover at places like the UN. Minor US satellites like NZ follow the US lead. Gaza is certainly not the only war at present, not even the biggest. Until October 2023 the West was fixated on Ukraine, whose war includes old-school features from both World War 1 (trench warfare) and World War 2 (long-range rocket attacks), combined with modern features such as drones and cyber-warfare.

Syria has become yesterday’s story; the war between rival gangs of thugs in Sudan has been forgotten. The West has only ever taken passing interest in the Congo, Africa’s decades-long world war, one in which millions have died. Gaza is not the only recent example of ethnic cleansing. Just the month before it started, Azerbaijan launched a victorious one-day long lightning strike into the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, resulting in the exit of nearly 100% of ethnic Armenians. This was one of the big stories in world news until Gaza wiped it out of global consciousness.

The world has been fed this myth of “plucky little Israel”, surrounded by enemies. Furthermore, we’ve been told it’s the only democracy in the Middle East. Maybe, but Israeli democracy is only for the occupiers, not the occupied. It certainly has never accepted the result of the 2006 Palestinian election which brought Hamas to power in Gaza. It has barred international media from Gaza during the war and shut down al Jazeera in Israel.

Zionism: An Inherently Racist & Terrorist Ideology

In fact, Israel is a bully, both domestically and regionally. A heavily militarised bully which wages continual war, both internally and regionally. Armed to the teeth and politically sheltered by the US superpower, it recklessly tries to provoke a wider war with Iran in order to draw in the US and its Western allies. A state governed by Zionism, an inherently racist and terrorist ideology, it is an apartheid state on the same model as the former white-ruled South Africa.

A state currently governed by the extreme Right and headed by a corrupt Prime Minister who is a literal criminal (in addition to being a war criminal), one who is keen to keep the Gaza War going indefinitely in order to postpone his various criminal trials. A lawless state which arms vigilante settlers and lets them rob, starve, terrorise and murder Palestinians with impunity.

Yes, Israel has got a problem neighbour in Hamas. Any country is entitled to defend itself against being regularly attacked by barrages of low-grade rockets. But Israel’s response has always been disproportionate and the most recent response is the most disproportionate of all. Israel is modelling its response on Sri Lanka, which ended the decades-long separatist war with the Tamil Tigers by finally driving them, and a huge number of civilians, into a corner, then bombarding them all into death and defeat.

But Israel will not achieve peace by military means – it will have to be a political solution (which has to be more than a ceasefire. Korea has had one of those since 1953, and it’s not a good precedent). Above all, Israel, the US and its’ fellow accomplices and enablers of genocide have to recognise that old truism: no justice, no peace. ■

WHO’S THE WORST WAR CRIMINAL OF RECENT TIMES? Henry Kissinger Wins The Ugly Parade

- Murray Horton

There is an abundance of choice when it comes to contemporary war criminals. Let me see: how about Netanyahu (with his “ironclad” accomplice Biden), Putin and Assad for starters. The ISIS Islamofascists; the rival thugs waging a war for power in Sudan. Hamas must be in there too, because it undoubtedly committed war crimes in its October 2023 attack into Israel. Going back a bit – George Bush and his cohort for their war crimes against Afghanistan and Iraq (which was headed by another war criminal, Saddam Hussein).

Indochina

But, for my money, the indisputable winner is Henry Kissinger, who died in November 2023, aged 100. This is not generational bias (“my Vietnam War criminals are worse than your Gaza War criminals”) but based on objective evidence. Right up until the end of his very long life, the American ruling class and its media mouthpieces lauded Kissinger as a master statesman. He was synonymous with realpolitik. But here was a man responsible for the deaths and misery of millions. Along with two presidents that he served as right hand man, Kissinger was synonymous with the Vietnam War, which lasted for years and had a death toll that leaves that of Gaza in the shade.

The number that Americans fixate on is the 58,000 American dead. They tend to give less attention to the millions killed, civilian and military, across Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Specific American war crimes include the relentless carpet bombing of Vietnamese civilians (dwarfing the Israeli bombing of Gaza); invading Cambodia; and wag-

ing a secret war in Laos, which became the most bombed country on Earth. US terrorist weapons included napalm and Agent Orange (which is still causing Vietnamese birth deformities to this day. Israel has not used anything like them in Gaza).

Chile, East Timor, Et Al

Kissinger's war crimes were not confined to Indochina. He played a central role in facilitating the brutal military coup that overthrew Chile's elected socialist government in 1973 and ushered in 17 dark years of the murderous Pinochet dictatorship. Under Kissinger, the US greenlighted the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor, where Suharto's military waged genocide for a quarter of a century, killing hundreds of thousands of Timorese. Under Kissinger, the US actively backed dictators and kleptocrats from the Philippines (Marcos) to Indonesia (Suharto) to Zaire – now Congo (Mobutu). Under Kissinger, the US actively supported apartheid South Africa.

He Worshipped Power For Power's Sake

“Viewed from the standpoint of what Robin Cook, a former UK Foreign Secretary, called ‘ethical’ foreign policy, much of what Kissinger did, encouraged or held indirect responsibility for now appears inexcusable, shocking and reprehensible.... His need for order and fawning respect for power induced him to deal with, even sometimes to coddle and appease, the powerful, however base”.

“But for the powerless, he had little time and less mercy. Into this latter category fell the people of Chile, who had the temerity in 1970 to elect a Leftwinger, Salvador Allende, as their President. For Chileans, it was a chance to forge a socialist future. For Kissinger and Nixon, it was further evidence of the spread of communism in America's backyard....”

“Arrogant disregard for democratic choice, national sovereignty and human rights became a callous Kissinger trademark – notwithstanding the fact these were supposedly core American values. Like Pinochet, dictators in Argentina, Brazil and Central America basked in the warmth of Washington's hypocritical approval”.

“Nor did Kissinger confine his concept of ruthless realpolitik to the Western hemisphere. When East



Henry Kissinger (left)

Pakistan, now Bangladesh, seceded from Pakistan in 1971 amid large-scale violence, Kissinger gave his private backing to Islamabad despite evidence, gathered by his own diplomats, of genocide by Pakistani troops. In Oval Office tape recordings that emerged after the event, Kissinger was heard sneering at those who ‘bleed’ for ‘the dying Bengalis’. He showed similar contempt for East Timorese civilians butchered during Indonesia's US-backed 1975 invasion, again undertaken on the pretext of battling communism....”

“More than once Kissinger tapped phones of staff he suspected of leaking information to the press. Reflecting the culture that led to the Watergate scandal he evidently felt untouchable. When quizzed about such criminal behaviour, he quipped: ‘The illegal we do immediately. The unconstitutional takes a little longer’”.

“Kissinger spent his later years – he left the White House after Gerald Ford's 1976 defeat to Jimmy Carter – running an exclusive consultancy, Kissinger Associates, advising Presidents off-the-record, writing books and cultivating the image of respected elder statesman. As the decades

passed, people tended to take him at his word, forgetful of his record”.

“Did the traumatised 15-year-old German Jew who washed up in New York as a refugee ultimately find the acceptance and security he craved? Perhaps. Will his reputation as a great statesman stand the test of time? Perhaps not. Would Kissinger worry about that? No. In his world, what he loved best was the holding and exercise of power. And for a while, back then, few men were as powerful as he” (*Guardian*, 2/12/23), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/dec/02/the-kissinger-years-flawed-legacy-of-the-man-behind-us-cold-war-policy>

Good Riddance

Rolling Stone (29/11/23) headed its lengthy obituary thus: “Good Riddance. Henry Kissinger, War Criminal Beloved By America's Ruling Class, Finally Dies. The infamy of Nixon's foreign policy architect sits, eternally, beside that of history's worst mass murderers. A deeper shame attaches to the country that celebrates him” <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-news/henry-kissinger-war-criminal-dead-1234804748/> I couldn't have put it better or more succinctly. ■

AOTEAROA/ NEW ZEALAND

GCSB Cover Up Unacceptable

The existence of a foreign targeting system run remotely from inside the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB) was revealed in March 2024 (see Murray Horton's lead article in this issue: "We Told You So. Waihopai Is A US Spy Base And A Warfighting One"). The Government's electronic spooks, the ones who run the Waihopai spy base, hosted a foreign intelligence spying system for years without the approval of its Minister and, if we can believe the report of the Inspector-General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS), without the knowledge of its most senior managers.

The *Press* (26/4/24) reported that the GCSB refused an Official Information Act request for a copy of the deal made with the "foreign agency" but that: "Intelligence documents strongly suggest the Bureau hosted – but exercised virtually no oversight over – a system run by the US National Security Agency to help acquire targets classified as terrorists for killer drones, bombs and raids using GCSB data". The investigation of the IGIS, Brendon Horsley found the programme "may have contributed to the foreign country's military targeting from 2012", (*Post*, 22/3/24). Horsley said there was no

realistic possibility the foreign agency would confirm this or not.

But it is not only "foreign agencies" who cannot be fully investigated. Inspectors General (IG) over the years have never managed to fully investigate GCSB operations, in part due to their statutory limitations, and mostly due to the spies' refusal to let anyone get their hands on the data that really reveals the operation of the agency. A number of times IG have referred to great difficulties in accessing the data; delay is routine, the "loss" of files not infrequent. In this latest case the GCSB "was unable to provide records of what jobs were done dating back further than two years, to 2018, due to a 'system upgrade'" (*RNZ*, 27/3/24).

There are a number of other discrepancies that appear with a harder look at the news reports. "A GCSB staffer *trained in its use* told (Horsley): "We have no input whatsoever into the process as it's all controlled from overseas" (*RNZ*, *ibid*). Why were staffers trained in the system's use if they were never going to use it?

Other attempts at coverup can be spotted. The GCSB chose to reveal that in 2020, the year the programme was shut down, that it had only been used "*rarely... eight times in the past two years*". On the other hand, Horsley reported the system *was used at least several dozen times, and probably a lot more*" (*RNZ*, *ibid*).

The investigation report criticised the GCSB's lack of due diligence and failure to inform its Minister – then-Prime Minister John Key. So, we can add Key to the long list of

Prime Ministers and Ministers responsible for oversight of the agency who either were completely ignorant of what the GCSB was doing, or lied about it (or both). Key joins Lange, arguably Clark, and Shipley, as leaders of the country that made misleading statements about GCSB activities.

Of the Ministers responsible for GCSB oversight who obviously didn't really know what went on, former GCSB Minister Chris Finlayson said he was "very unhappy" to learn the spy agency was hosting a foreign spying system without telling him: "I had all the great and the good ... all saying that we were creating a Stasi society. So, we go in to bat, do all these things for them, and then find that this kind of cock-up occurs. It's not good enough" (*Post*, 25/3/24). And *Peace Researcher* (PR) has not seen any comment from current Minister Judith Collins.

PR would like to now remind readers of the uncountable number of times that Anti-Bases Campaign (ABC) has accused the GCSB of concealing operations that were either carried out at the behest of Washington or London, were illegal or amoral, or were entirely overlooked by an ineffective oversight system. The latest revelations just confirm that the Anti-Bases campaign does not peddle conspiracy theories but is entirely justified in its more than 35 years trying to get Governments to get the spies under democratic control – if not shut them down!

NZ Software Backed By US Spooks

A Wellington company raising finance for its work making connected devices secure from cyberattacks has secured investment from Virginia-based In-Q-Tel (IQT). "IQT is a global strategic investor focused on national security across allied countries. IQT is funded by a broad set of intelligence and defence agencies in Australia, the UK, and the US," according to Nat Puffer, the Sydney-based managing director of IQT International (*NZ Herald*, 26/1/24)

Kry10, the Wellington company, is involved in a wide range of software development and the IQT investment is only one of a number of groups funding its work. But this is not the first time the spook-linked American company has got itself in-



to NZ corporate development; it was an early backer of Rocket Lab (whose military/intelligence support operations have received much attention in PR).

The mission statement of the Arlington Virginia-based In-Q-Tel says it “identifies and analyses technologies in all stages of development In the US and select other countries ... that are critical to national security. ‘We look for companies who can have an impact not only in New Zealand but across all nations in the Pacific,’” Puffer said (*NZ Herald*, *ibid.*). According to the *Herald*, Kry10’s American founder Boyd Multerer was in the past focused on utilising “seL4” - a standard that grew out of the US military for verified, secure and “self-healing” software connecting devices.

Apart from again illustrating the spooks inserting themselves into another NZ/Pacific region tech development, this new investment just reinforces the close links between such development and the interests of our Five Eyes mafia, and the need for companies looking for funding to consider the ethics of using spy money to bankroll their expansion.

AUSTRALIA

AUKUS Uncovered

A recent article in the *Australian Financial Review* (*AFR*, 9/4/24) completely blows out of the water any suggestion that US submarines supplied to Canberra by Washington will remain under Australian operational control in a war situation. Official US sources have confirmed that the ridiculously expensive Oz scheme to buy submarines under the AUKUS agreement is part of Washington’s strategy to confront China over Taiwan.

The American Deputy Secretary of State, Kurt Campbell, has publicly stated “... the practical circumstances in which AUKUS has the potential to have submarines from a number of countries operating in close co-ordination (inevitably directed by the US Navy) that could deliver ordnance from long distances including in cross (Taiwan) strait circumstances” (*AFR*, *ibid.*). In 2022, Campbell told European Union officials “in private” that: “we have (Australia) locked in now for the



next 40 years” (*AFR*, *ibid.*). The terms of the AUKUS agreement have not been made public.

The Pentagon strategy directly conflicts with Australian PM Albanese’s assurances about Canberra’s control of the submarines. The Labor government is committed to spending the \$NZ400 billion signed up for by the previous Morrison government, but is not quite as enthusiastic about the deal. Albanese has been trying to sell the agreement by hyping the number of jobs from the huge programme. However, already suggestions of budget blowouts are emerging.

UKUSA Plus Oz Cloud Spy Project

Andrew Shearer, Director-General of the Office of National Intelligence (ONI), has announced that Canberra is developing a “top secret” intelligence community cloud to help national security agencies better detect threats through shared data. It will be interoperable with US and UK spy networks, allowing the sharing of “vast amounts of data”, and direct communication with the Five Eyes big brothers (*ABC*, 7/12/23).

Media reports have not mentioned New Zealand or Canada. Wellington may be out of the loop – which could explain officials’ desperate attempts early in 2024 to latch onto AUKUS pillar two – or perhaps our local spies are keeping some secrets from the public. Shearer confirmed the project began ahead of the AUKUS partnership being formed between Australia, the United Kingdom and United States in September 2021. So, we should expect the local spooks to know quite

a lot about it, and how it might impact on NZ operations.

Shearer officially revealed the project at a Washington conference in December 2023. He said the “experiences” of the US and UK in building out their respective intelligence clouds has also shaped Australia’s programme, helping confront “problems” and avoid “some of the pitfalls”. The *ABC* article about the spies’ cloud project noted at the bottom: “Australia to put AI to the test tracking Chinese submarines”. It said that Australia will join the US and UK in testing a new way of tracking Chinese submarines using artificial intelligence (PR has not been able to follow this up).

Aussie Spies Conceal Chinese Hack

Australia’s spy agencies were told twice that a group of Australian MPs belonging to an international committee on China had been targeted by Chinese hackers — but the authorities chose to keep the MPs in the dark about the cyber-attacks (*The Nightly Website*, 6/5/24). In June 2022 the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had formally notified Australian authorities about the attempts by a Chinese hacking group called APT31 to target six Australian MPs.

MPs angrily demanded an explanation from the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) about why they weren’t informed, after they discovered that a “Five Eyes intelligence agency” first warned Australia’s agencies in mid-2021 that the attacks had taken place in January 2021. They did not learn of the hacking until more than

two years after the first warning was given.

Then they got a briefing from “the agencies” and an assurance they will be informed about future attempts to target them. Which leaves a multitude of questions about who first discovered the cyber-attacks, who was told about them and what data was shared (or more importantly, not shared) by “a Five Eyes intelligence agency” with the US Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), ASIO, and Australia’s Signals Directorate (the equivalent of the NZ GCSB).

Canberra Café Spy Nest

A Canberra café that serves the nation’s top spies, Federal police, and intelligence officials, was co-owned by the spouse of a Chinese politician honoured before Xi Jinping. According to the Website *The Nightly*, (12/3/24) Chinese citizen Zhu Cuihua was one of three Chinese citizens who bought the cafe in 2020. Her husband is “a senior official in both a Chinese Parliament and a united front group” (no, this description is not clear to *PR* either). The Cyber and Critical Technology Intelligence Centre, part of Australia’s Office of National Intelligence, is across the footpath from the Double Drummer café. The centre leads Australian national security research and intelligence assessments on critical science and technologies.

ASIO Claims A (Past) Success

In February 2024 Mike Burgess, head of ASIO (the equivalent of NZ’s Security Intelligence Service, SIS) reported activities of a spy network dubbed “the A-team” in his annual threat assessment. A former Australian politician “sold out their country, party and former colleagues” after being recruited by spies for a foreign regime, Burgess said. He did not name the former politician, nor the country involved. Only later in his report did he reveal that these activities occurred “several years ago” (*Guardian*, 23/2/24).

Burgess is obviously struggling for stuff to feed to the public about the need for his agency to exist. In 2023, when delivering his annual threat assessment speech in Canberra, Burgess boasted of the removal of (the same lot) of what he called a “hive of spies”, when declaring his agency was taking a “more aggressive” counterespionage posture.

In April 2024, in his latest report, he said the “foreign regimes” were offering their targets consulting opportunities, promising to pay thousands of dollars for reports on Australian trade, politics, economics, foreign policy, defence and security. He also stated: “... in one alleged plot, leading Australian academics and political figures were invited to a conference in an overseas country, with the organisers covering all expenses including airfares” (which sounds exactly like the junkets organised by the US Embassy in Wellington!).

Burgess said the taskforce in 2023 uncovered and disrupted an individual working on behalf of a foreign government who wanted to physically harm an Australia-based critic of the regime. This individual tried to identify his target’s home address and bank details, hired a subcontractor to take photos of the house and even asked how much money would be required to get the subcontractor to “take severe action” against the dissident, Burgess said.

UK

UK Spooks Still In The Torture Game

Officially the UK does not “solicit, encourage or condone” inhumane treatment, but historical evidence does not show this to be the case (see numerous reports in former issues of *Spooky Bits*). A report in the *Guardian* (27/3/24) states that the Ministerial approval system in regard to potential torture incidents contradicts claims to protect detainees.

The number of requests for UK Ministerial approval of intelligence-sharing where there was a real risk of torture, unlawful killing or extraordinary rendition has more than doubled in a year, according to an Investigatory Powers Commissioner report. The human rights group Reprieve said that there was an increase to eight cases in 2022 – from three in 2021 – in which approval was sought for intelligence-sharing with overseas authorities where there was a real risk of torture, unlawful killing or extraordinary rendition was concerning.

“When the number of requests is doubling, and officials have admitted 95% get signed off, it’s clear the system is broken. The Fulford principles

are not fit for purpose and it’s good to see MPs calling for their reform”. In the UK Parliament, MPs from both Labour and Tory parties have been questioning the “Fulford principles” which are the UK guidelines on torture situations.

These principles (formally known as the principles relating to the detention and interviewing of detainees overseas and the passing and receipt of intelligence relating to detainees), were introduced in 2019 and are intended to ensure that the detention and interviewing of detainees overseas, and the passing and receipt of intelligence on detainees, is consistent with the UK’s human rights obligations. This debate raises some issues that require answers. In what circumstances are British Ministers signing off on permission for Five Eyes operatives to employ torture or rendition, and are there similar operations involving NZ personnel?

Spy Power Increases – Again!

Reforms of UK spying laws were proceeding at Westminster as this edition of *PR* is written. The Investigatory Powers (Amendment) Bill is being marshalled through the Commons and will expand the powers of the spies. The legislation, designed to ensure the UK’s investigatory powers framework “remains adequate” in the face of evolving threats, includes measures to make it easier for agencies to examine and retain bulk datasets (*Guardian*, 25/3/24).

Unlawful Killing In Afghanistan

“The UK’s Minister for Veterans, Johnny Mercer, has effectively admitted in front of a public inquiry that he believed members of the Special Air Service (SAS) had engaged in dozens of unlawful killings of Afghan civilians between 2010 and 2013” (*Guardian*, 20/2/24). Mercer is a former Army officer who completed his tour of duty in Afghanistan in 2010. He said he had gradually become aware of problems during this time and some colleagues had warned him later about incidents when he became an MP.

Remarkably, Mercer said he found explanations given by senior officers and Ministry of Defence (MoD) officials to be “unbelievable”. He said an investigator brought in to review the progress of a war crimes inquiry known as Operation Northmoor had asked for body camera footage to

be supplied from ten randomly chosen SAS operations, only to be told no footage existed for any of the operations selected. He also told the public inquiry he found meetings with the then head of the Army, Gen Sir Mark Carleton-Smith, the Director of UK Special Forces, and other officials, “unconvincing” (*Guardian*, *ibid.*).

As a former officer, Mercer said he did not want to accuse the SAS of war crimes, however: “I don’t want to believe it, but at every stage I have tried to find something to disprove these allegations but I have been unable to”. He told the inquiry that a former fellow soldier told him he had been asked to carry a “dropped weapon” that would be used to fabricate evidence of an attack on the elite soldiers and justify civilian killings on night raids in Helmand province.

British Ops In Ukraine

At the beginning of March 2024, the RT news channel (a pro-Russia outlet) released an audio recording, confirmed as authentic by German sources, which captures Luftwaffe officers discussing how Berlin’s Taurus missiles could be used to try to blow up the Kerch Bridge connecting Russia with occupied Crimea. And during the conversation, Lt Gen Ingo Gerhartz, the head of the Luftwaffe, describes how Britain works with Ukraine on deploying Storm Shadow missiles against targets up to 150 miles behind Russian lines.

“When it comes to mission planning”, the German commander says: “I know how the English do it, they do it completely in reachback*. They also *have a few people on the ground*, they do that, the French don’t” (*Guardian*, 4/3/24). This leak to Russian television of a top-secret call involving senior German Air Force officers has been widely described as “embarrassing”. * *Reachback: The ability to exploit resources and capabilities located elsewhere. Ed.*

The German Chancellor announced an inquiry to find out how this extraordinary recording of a top-secret conversation had become public. However, according to *Guardian* sources, the discussion is said to have taken place not on a secure military system, but on commercial standard Webex video conference software. And one of the participants dialled in from Singapore,

which may have been the weak link.

Dangers From Britain’s Nuclear Past

Sellafield, Europe’s most hazardous nuclear site, has a worsening leak from a huge silo of radioactive waste that could pose a risk to the public, the *Guardian* has revealed (5/12/23). “Concerns over safety at the crumbling building, as well as cracks in a reservoir of toxic sludge known as B30, have caused diplomatic tensions with countries including the US, Norway and Ireland, which fear Sellafield has failed to get a grip of the problems”.

The leak of radioactive liquid from one of the “highest nuclear hazards in the UK” is likely to continue to 2050. That could have “potentially significant consequences” if it gathers pace, risking contaminating groundwater, according to an official document. Cracks at the facility in Cumbria, in the north of England, have also developed in the concrete and asphalt skin covering a huge pond containing decades of nuclear sludge. There are a number of other problems at the site.

The Magnox swarf storage silo (MSSS) is an “intermediate” level radioactive waste (ILW) storage facility constructed between 1964 and 1983. The facility consists of 22 concrete silos, housing 11,000 cubic metres of solid waste and radioactive cover water. Leaks, first detected in the 1970s, are hard to locate due to complex infrastructure and radiation risk. The newspaper also reports that Sellafield has been hacked into by cyber groups closely linked to Russia and China (*Guardian*, *ibid.*).

The astonishing disclosure and its potential effects have been consistently covered up by senior staff. The

Guardian has discovered that the authorities do not know exactly when the IT systems were first compromised. But sources said breaches were first detected as far back as 2015, when experts realised sleeper malware – software that can lurk and be used to spy or attack systems – had been embedded in Sellafield’s computer networks.

China Hacks UK Voter Data

The personal details of millions of voters are believed to have been accessed in an attack by Beijing. The attacks on the Electoral Commission happened in August 2021 but were only revealed in 2023. According to the *BBC* (25/3/24) MPs and peers are among 43 people confirmed as targets. They are mostly people who regard China with suspicion. Beijing has tended to target foreign politicians who dare to confront them, possibly using this approach as a means of threat. It is also likely that such data can be searched to identify individuals working in areas that are of particular interest to the Chinese authorities.

US

Warrantless Surveillance Act Back In Force

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), and its Section 702, which allows warrantless database searches and Washington’s use of private data brokers, has been renewed by the US Senate. Opponents of the Act, a bizarre conglomeration of Leftie civil liberties advocates and anti-big government Republicans, delayed the renewal of Federal surveillance for several months but failed to stop the Act being resurrected. The vote not only reauthorised the act, though; it also



vastly expanded the surveillance that law enforcement can conduct.

Section 702, one part of the FISA, allows the Government to set up surveillance on *foreigners* outside the US suspected of spying. But critics believe the law is frequently abused, allowing warrantless surveillance of Americans. The FBI abused its authority under the law no fewer than 300,000 times in 2020 and 2021, according to a ruling from a FISA court judge. A declassified report from 2023, for example, revealed that the FBI had used Section 702 to investigate Black Lives Matter protesters.

Republicans favouring Section 702 backed House Intelligence Committee Chairman Mike Turner (R-Ohio), who has continually proclaimed that Russia possessed a “serious national security threat” (*Huffington Post*, 5/4/24). During heated debates, Biden’s White House told the House of Representatives, as an example of Moscow’s “security threat”, that Russia had a new anti-satellite weapon (thus expanding current strategic moves by Russia, China, and the USA into space warfare) that was “worrisome” but not yet operational (*Huffington Post*, *ibid.*).

US intelligence officials also claimed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and other intelligence agencies used information gathered by monitoring the electronic communications of foreign weapons manufacturers to stop several shipments of advanced weapons parts to Iran (*Politico*, 28/1/23). The database accumulated under FISA-permitted spying meant the spooks could plug the names of identified components and their manufacturers in and trace vital components. But the data on foreign nationals and businesses gathered by the programme often includes communications with Americans, which now can be mined by domestic law enforcement bodies such as the FBI without a warrant.

US Spooks Fear Trump

There is clearly unease amongst US spooks about their intelligence dealing with Donald Trump. Several current and former intelligence and national security officials who spoke with *Politico* (7/3/24) said the normally routine decision to brief Presidential candidates was “fraught with unusual risk this year due to the pending court case and Trump’s his-

torically cavalier attitude toward national security information”.

It’s standard practice to share classified information with Presidential nominees, a tradition that dates back to 1952, but now is the first time an Administration has had to share classified information with a candidate who is facing criminal charges related to the mishandling of classified documents.

Trump has history: Besides storing top secret documents in a Mar-a-Lago bathroom, and refusing to return them, Trump spilled details of a highly classified Israeli intelligence operation to senior Russian officials. In another case, in one of his infamous (and often fact-free) tweets, he publicised an image from a classified spy satellite. And Trump’s decision to declassify evidence given by a former British spy about the former US President’s alleged links with Russia led to the disappearance of two Russian sources, according to a UK court document (although the former MI6 officer’s witness statement was part of a court case against Trump).

Trump’s friendship with Israel’s Benjamin Netanyahu and Russia’s Vladimir Putin concerns many; some spooks believe Trump puts his own interests before those of his country. One former senior US intelligence official noted that Trump retains close ties with dubious foreign leaders and could use the information to support them or advance his own interests: “I’d be afraid about giving him stuff,” the former official said (*Politico*, *ibid.*).

Shortly after Biden took office, he stopped Trump from receiving separate intelligence briefings that are historically volunteered to former US Presidents, citing Trump’s erratic behaviour. But Washington’s intelligence bosses are worried that Trump would come for them if they didn’t give the briefings he expects. Officials who spoke with *Politico* said their overriding concern was making sure Trump — the possible next President — feels he can trust the intelligence agencies.

The candidate briefings are delivered orally and have not historically included the intelligence community’s most highly protected secrets — top secret and top secret/sensitive compartmented information. But with hundreds of millions of dollars

in legal penalties pending, Donald Trump’s financial problems are no longer hypothetical, and his demonstrated willingness to abandon principle for the sake of a deal, as well as his apparent disregard for any duty to protect classified US material, makes him “profoundly dangerous” to US (and global) security. Some argue that no one in Trump’s position would be given a security clearance in any other circumstance (see, e.g., *MSNBC*, 12/3/24).

Civil Liberties Advocates Fear Trump

A classic case of projection (a psychological mechanism where a person attributes his/her own negative traits to another): Trump has likened the Biden Administration to Hitler’s feared secret police. “These people are running a Gestapo Administration,” Trump said, (*MSNBC*, 5/5/24), in a recent address to one of his Make America Ghastly Again rallies.

The article writer Ja’han Jones (*MSNBC*, *ibid.*) says: “Reading through (Trump’s recent *Time* interview), I was struck by the scope of the surveillance state — and widespread intrusion into Americans’ personal lives — that will be required for Trump to accomplish his agenda”. Regarding immigration, Trump said he would tap state police forces to round up most of the roughly 11 million undocumented people in the United States, hold them in camps along the southern border, and deport them. That means authorities would require “monumental resources” to search for and apprehend that many people.

The *Time* interview also says Trump wants to “let red states monitor women’s pregnancies and prosecute those who violate abortion bans”. His Rightwing minions already have plans, for example, Project 2025, a scheme for far-Right governance, if Trump is elected, which include increased abortion surveillance. *Huffington Post* reports an investigation from Senator Ron Wyden (D-Oregon). The Veritas Society, a nonprofit created by the Wisconsin Right to Life, used a data broker system called Near Intelligence to target people whose cell phone location data showed they had visited any of the 600 Planned Parenthood reproductive health clinics across the country.

Wyden’s office found that Veritas Society hired an advertising agency

to use Near Intelligence's Website to draw a line around each Planned Parenthood clinic and clinic parking lots. Anyone with a cell phone who stepped into those targeted areas were served social media ads with anti-abortion messaging or abortion misinformation. The senator began investigating Near Intelligence in May 2023 after the *Wall Street Journal* revealed Veritas Society was peddling abortion misinformation using cell phone data (14/2/24).

According to Ja'han Jones, Trump has also vowed to crack down on "anti-white feeling" which would almost certainly require new levels of surveillance, as well. There are Republican plans in places like Florida to put cameras in classrooms to catch teachers who discuss race or racism with their students.

And a second Trump Administration could expand operations against protest. Current anti-Israeli actions on US campuses will accelerate this drive amongst Republicans, who will use tools like facial recognition technology to identify people in crowds, and social media monitoring to probe activists' communications.

Russians Hack Microsoft

Russian hackers have made an "extensive and serious intrusion" into Microsoft's systems and used information stolen from the company's corporate email systems to access "some of the company's source code repositories and internal systems" (*CNN*, 8/3/24). Source code is key for businesses, and therefore for hackers trying to infiltrate their data, "because it is the secret nuts and bolts of a software programme that make it function". Hackers with access to source code can use it for follow-on attacks on other systems.

The *CNN* report said the same hackers attacked Hewlett Packard and had breached its cloud-based email systems. The hackers also gained access for months to email accounts, said to be "unclassified", at the Departments of Homeland Security and Justice, among other agencies, before the spying operation was discovered. US officials have attributed the hacking group to Russia's foreign intelligence service (*CNN*, *ibid.*).

Russian Hackers Indicted

At the end of 2023 US authorities

announced charges against one Russian intelligence officer (with the Federal Security Service) and one Russian IT worker for conducting a years-long cyber-espionage campaign against current and former US government officials, and interfering in a national election in the United Kingdom (*CNN*, 7/12/23).

The two Russian men also tried to hack numerous current and former US intelligence and Defense Department employees, as well as those at the State and Energy Departments, from 2016 to 2022, according to the US indictment unsealed in Federal court in San Francisco. Both the United Kingdom and the USA have major elections in 2024 and there will be major concerns about possible election interference from Moscow.

US Analyst Sells Info To China

At the beginning of March 2024, a US Army intelligence analyst was arrested for selling defence data to Beijing. Korbein Schultz was charged with conspiring to sell sensitive defence information, exporting defence articles and technical data without a licence, and bribery of a public official. According to reports from *Reuters*, Schultz, who was arrested at Kentucky's Fort Campbell, was paid about \$US42,000 to provide an individual he believed lived in Hong Kong with information about US plans in the event Taiwan came under military attack, according to the release (7/3/24).

Iraqi Military Wants US Out

The US military presence in Iraq has become a "factor for instability" and must be ended, a spokesperson for the Commander of Iraq's Army has said. Washington's presence has become "a factor for instability and threatens to entangle Iraq in the cycle of conflict" (*Guardian*, 8/2/24). The demand for the US forces to withdraw is an angry response to a US drone strike on a car in Baghdad that killed three members of a powerful local Hezbollah militia.

The Iraqis say the airstrike was a "blatant assassination in the heart of a residential neighbourhood in the capital, Baghdad, showing no regard for civilian lives or international laws" (typical of many, if not most, of Five Eyes-backed drone strikes). The airstrike was apparently undertaken without any prior consultation

with Iraqi officials and further damages Baghdad's relationship with Iran, which backs Hezbollah.

Abused Detainees' Mistrial

At the beginning of May 2024, a US District judge declared a mistrial when the jury could not reach a verdict in the trial of a military contractor accused of contributing to the appalling abuse of detainees at the Abu Ghraib Prison in Iraq two decades ago. The eight-member civil jury in Alexandria deadlocked on accusations that the civilian interrogators who were supplied to the US Army at Abu Ghraib in 2003 and 2004 had conspired with soldiers there to abuse detainees as a means of "softening them up" for questioning. The jury accepted that the savage treatment of the prisoners took place but could not agree on whether the private contractors were liable if they were under the control and direction of the Army.

Guantanamo "Very Professional" Operation

Florida Governor Ron DeSantis's description of Guantanamo Bay, the hell-hole US detention centre in Cuba, in campaign trail remarks at a virtual town hall hosted in Iowa, was that it was a "very professional operation" where people were "following all the available rules" (*MSNBC*, 5/1/24). DeSantis said in 2018 that he advised military officers on the legality of force-feeding, recounting that he told the officers the act was legal. DeSantis denies a number of reports saying he witnessed force-feeding at Guantanamo and has described the detainees' hunger strikes there as a form of "jihad".

A number of court cases, including in the UK and the US, are still ongoing as former detainees seek redress for their brutal treatment. We should remember that: (1) the majority of the hundreds of inmates were eventually released without charges laid against them; (2) that the "facility" has not yet been shut down; and (3) that NZ's SIS and GCSB used information extracted from unfortunates "rendered" by the CIA, and even suggested questions that should be put to them.

US Goes After North Korean Crypto

In a large-scale programme, which is given little attention outside the domain of the cognoscenti, the Biden Administration has spent much of the last two years bracing

key US networks and infrastructure against crippling cyberattacks from Russia, Iran and China. The Administration is also working to counter North Korean cryptocurrency heists which are believed to be powering the country's weapons programmes, especially missile development. The White House has focused on blocking the country's ability to launder the cryptocurrency it steals through its cyberattacks.

In the last year, the Administration has unveiled a flurry of sanctions against North Korean hacking groups, front companies and IT workers, and blacklisted multiple cryptocurrency services they use to launder stolen funds. Poor regulation and shoddy security in the fast-growing cryptocurrency industry make it easy for Pyongyang's hackers. Crypto's inbuilt privacy features and cross border operations means it also offers a powerful tool to circumvent sanctions. Anne Neuberger, the National Security Council's top cybersecurity official, said in an interview, that one of their top priorities was to attack North Korean crypto operations (*Politico*, 22/12/23).

Space Wars

The US Space Force has cancelled a multibillion-dollar programme to develop a classified military communications satellite because of increased costs, difficulties developing its payload and a schedule delay. But stopping the major programme has raised the ire of Washington Senators and Congressional Repre-

sentatives who claim Russian plans to deploy nuclear weapons in space represent a serious threat to American security.

As ever, it is difficult to separate American propaganda from the real emerging threats of space warfare. The placement of nuclear weapons in space would violate the 1967 Outer Space Treaty and mark a very dangerous escalation in the possibility of war between the big powers. In particular, the increasing importance of targeting satellites means first priority in a crisis would be to destroy hostile satellites.

However, it has been reported that US allies had been briefed on the intelligence and the alleged Russian capability was still in development and not a current threat. The Federation of American Scientists made a statement that: "Russia has been conducting several experiments with manoeuvring satellites that might be designed to sabotage other satellites" (*Guardian*, 15/2/24).

CHINA

China Hiding Weapons In Space

Beijing is involved in a public competition with Washington over which country will be the next to put someone on the Moon. But behind this race there is another, much more dangerous, conflict emerging: which country is winning the contest to weaponise space. Recently, the head of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA):

"... warned of China bolstering its space capabilities by using civilian programmes to mask military objectives, cautioning that Washington must remain vigilant" (*Guardian*, 18/4/24).

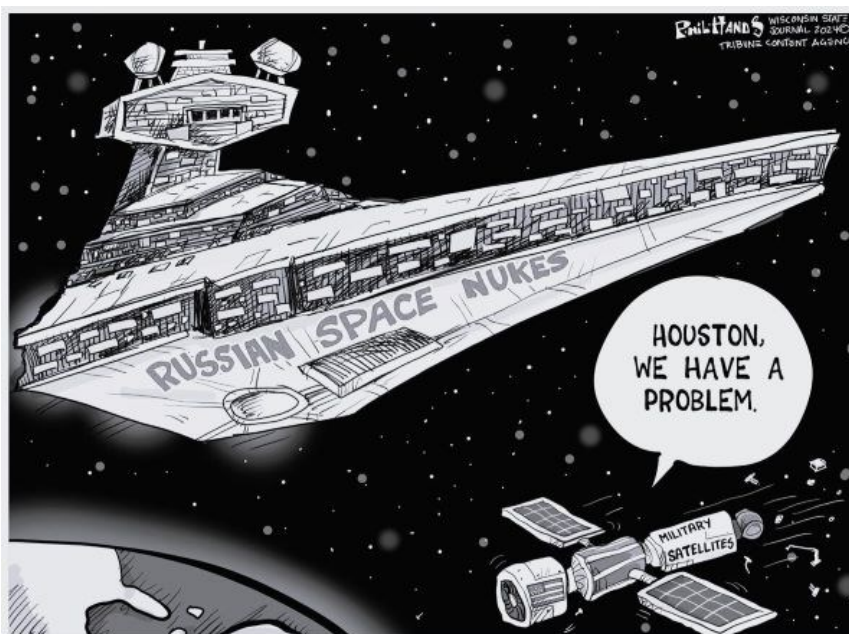
Bill Nelson went on to say that China's space technology has made huge progress in the last decade, and that, crucially, "... that a lot of their so-called civilian space programme is a military programme" (*ibid.*). What he did not say was that the American space programme, with private corporations doing most of the work, also easily fudges any distinctions between military and civilian usages. It is becoming harder and harder to identify weaponisation of space when satellites that can be used for multiple scientific or administrative functions can also be targeting for the military.

We should remember that: (1) Washington's space programme has become much more geared to weaponry in space (touted as "defence" mechanisms) since the setting up of their separate Space Command; (2) That Aotearoa/New Zealand satellite launching by Rocket Lab has frequently been claimed by the company to be for civilian use; (3) that success in future wars will depend on keeping surveillance satellites in space operable; and (4) that international agreements to keep space for peace have already been torn up.

Beijing Hacks UK Military Payroll Data

The *BBC* and other media have reported that China is behind a cyber-attack on the payroll system used by Britain's Ministry of Defence (MoD). It contains names and bank details of those serving in the Royal Navy, Army and Royal Air Force (*Reuters*, 6/5/24). The massive data breach targeted a third-party payroll system and potentially compromised the bank details of all serving personnel and some veterans. A very small number of addresses may also have been accessed.

UK government officials say this attack on records of defence employees fits China's "pattern of behaviour" and could lead to blackmail attempts. Ciaran Martin, the first CEO of the National Cyber Security Centre, said identifying the culprit would be a "long and complicated process". Beijing has dismissed the claims as a "smear". Asked if he could see how such an attack could



US News, 01/03/24

lead to blackmail, Martin said: “That is absolutely the case and that is why it’s a concern. Cyber security officials worry about supply chain risk or the soft underbelly of professional services firms hacked in this type of thing” (*Reuters*, *ibid.*).

UK Links Electoral Cyber-Attacks To China

Attacks on the British Electoral Commission, which reportedly saw personal details of millions of voters accessed, have been traced by officials to Beijing. The hacking happened in August 2021 but was only revealed in 2023. The Electoral Commission said unspecified “hostile actors” had gained access to copies of the electoral registers and broken into its emails and “control systems”, but added that neither had any impact on any elections (*BBC*, 25/3/24).

In an address at Westminster in March 2024, the UK Deputy PM described the affair and how the UK would respond (but with no details of Five Eyes’ own massive cyber warfare operations). Several MPs and peers who have been critical of Beijing are thought to have also been targeted. Overall, more than 40 MPs and peers are known to have been the target of Chinese attributed cyber-attacks.

Chinese Infiltrate Critical US Infrastructure

Christopher Wray, FBI Director, says Chinese hackers have infiltrated critical US infrastructure and are waiting “for just the right moment to deal a devastating blow” (*Reuters*, 18/4/24). According to Wray, the Chinese hacking campaign known as Volt Typhoon has successfully gained access to numerous American companies in telecommunications, energy, water and other critical sectors, with 23 pipeline operators targeted. The FBI believes China’s hackers operate a series of botnets – constellations of compromised personal computers and servers around the globe – to conceal their malicious cyber activities.

Beijing Spies Revealed

Media reports from February 2024 say a leading research scientist at Canada’s highest-security laboratory provided confidential scientific information to Chinese institutions, met secretly with officials and posed “a realistic and credible threat to the country’s economic security”, according to newly released Canadian intelligence reports (*New York Times*, 29/2/24). Two microbiology

researchers are reported to have been spying for China back in 2019. One is considered to have passed on information that represented a “threat” to Canadian security.

OTHER SPOOKY BITS

Moscow Saboteurs In Germany

A former German agency chief of Berlin’s foreign intelligence service says Russia has been “ramping up” operations in the West, as two men were recently arrested on suspicion of plotting sabotage attacks on military facilities in the country. Dieter S and Alexander J are alleged to have been operating as spies on behalf of the Kremlin. German spy officials say it would be naive to see the incident as an isolated one. Prosecutors in Karlsruhe have accused them of planning acts of sabotage, in particular at military sites in Germany, including a US military base used to train Ukrainian soldiers in the operation of Abrams tanks (*Guardian*, 20/4/24).

AI Tools Racist

A team of technology and linguistics researchers revealed recently that large language models like OpenAI’s ChatGPT and Google’s Gemini hold racist stereotypes about speakers of African American Vernacular English, or AAVE, an English dialect created and spoken by Black Americans. “We know that these technologies are really commonly used by companies to do tasks like screening job applicants,” said Valentin Hoffman, a researcher at the Allen Institute for Artificial Intelligence and co-author of the recent paper, published in *arXiv*, an open-access re-

search archive from Cornell University (*Guardian*, 16/3/24).

Hoffman explained that, previously, researchers “only really looked at what overt racial biases these technologies might hold” and never “examined how these AI systems react to less overt markers of race, like dialect differences”. Black people who use AAVE in speech, the paper says, “are known to experience racial discrimination in a wide range of contexts, including education, employment, housing, and legal outcomes” (see also *Nature*, 19/3/24). *PR* notes that AI and facial recognition – both technologies that demonstrate European/white racial bias – are becoming widely spread amongst law and security agencies.

France No. 2 Arms Exporter

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, France now has 11% of the global arms market. The country’s exports are “technically attractive” while “deliveries are often fast” (*Politico*, 11/3/24). France has overtaken Russia as number two in the amount of killing machinery it exports. The US, which dominates this killer trade market, saw its share of global arms exports grow from 34% to 42%.

The Ukraine War and other conflicts around the globe are a real bonanza for US weapons makers. With more NATO countries meeting the alliance’s minimum of spending 2% of gross domestic product on defence, there is more money for weapons, and Europe is becoming increasingly reliant on American arms. ■



TODAY NEW ZEALAND IS WILLING ACCOMPLICE OF ISRAELI GENOCIDE

But 20 Years Ago, It Busted Mossad Op, Jailing & Deporting Agents

- Murray Horton

In 2024, New Zealand leaves no doubt where it stands on the Gaza War. It is firmly on Israel's side, having said nothing beyond general tut-tutting about the genocide being inflicted on the Palestinians by Israel. It has repeatedly condemned Hamas, with no equivalent condemnation of Israel's vastly disproportionate overkill (quite literally, in this case). The New Zealand government, which years ago designated the Hamas military wing as a terrorist organisation, has now extended that designation to its political wing, meaning that NZ now designates Hamas in its entirety as terrorists.

And NZ has got directly involved in the Western military support for Israel, namely by sending NZ military personnel to join the US/UK-led coalition attacking Yemen and fighting the Houthis (who, as their act of solidarity with Gaza and the Palestinians, are attacking and disrupting shipping through the Red Sea). It is a token commitment of only six military personnel who are not directly involved in combat but are there to provide what the Government calls "precision targeting".

But it was all very different 20 years ago, when New Zealand took a radically different approach to Israel. One of the sensations of 2004 was the unmasking of an Israeli intelligence operation in Auckland and the arrest of two operatives of Mossad (that country's external security agency), followed by their conviction, imprisonment and deportation. The whole scandal caused major outrage right across the NZ political spectrum; a diplomatic breach with Israel; and attracted media and political attention right around the world because of the blatant nature of the operation and the serious implications for Israel's dealings with all other "friendly" nations.

Two Caught, Two Got Away

To briefly summarise: in March 2004, NZ Police arrested two Israe-

lis, Eli Cara and Uriel Kelman, in the act of them collecting a fraudulently obtained New Zealand passport (it was in the name of an NZ cerebral palsy sufferer who had certainly not applied for a passport and was in no position to ever travel). The passport was sought, not for either of them, but for their ringleader, Zev Barkan, who had been an Israeli diplomat in Europe for a number of years. Barkan fled the country and has not been brought to justice.

There was a fourth man also involved (all classic spy rings always have a mysterious Fourth Man), whom media inquiries identified as Tony Resnick. He was a New Zealand citizen who had lived for many years in Israel and who is believed to have been the one responsible for selecting the disabled man for the identity theft (Resnick worked as a paramedic and would have come into contact with the unknowing victim. Barkan also lived in a street near the disabled man). Resnick, and his family, also hurriedly fled the country without being brought to justice.

The online edition of Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* quoted Israeli radio: "...The reports said Resnick was a religious Jew, a member of Auckland's Jewish Council. Members of the Jewish community were quoted as saying that he planned to return to live in Israel. According to the report, Resnick had lived in Israel for 13 years and had served in the Israel Defense Forces..."

"If Resnick was indeed involved in the affair, he may have served a part that the Mossad has been known to offer to Jews living outside Israel, and which usually does not put the person providing the assistance at high risk. However, ever since Jonathan Pollard* was arrested and jailed in the United States in 1985 for being an Israeli spy, Mossad has minimised its contacts with Jews living outside the country..."

(www.haaretz.com, 27/7/04; "Report: New Zealand Citizen Aided Israelis In Passport Affair", Yossi Melman).

**Jonathan Pollard was a US Navy Intelligence analyst who was convicted of selling classified information to Israel. He gave his motive as patriotism towards Israel. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, for espionage, and spent 30 years in jail, despite a vigorous campaign by Israel and his supporters in the US to have him pardoned. After his release, he moved to Israel.*

Murder Inc.

The question remains – why would Israeli intelligence go to such lengths to secure, fraudulently, a New Zealand passport? The answer is sinister in the extreme, because Mossad is not just any old run of the mill spy agency, which simply spies on people. It specialises in murdering them. "Intelligence operations, by definition, are always murky, opaque and hard to pin down, but one could be forgiven for tracing a link between the July 15 (2004) conviction in New Zealand of two alleged Mossad agents for trying to illegally obtain the passport of a bed-ridden disabled man and the assassination of Hezbollah official Ghaleb Awali in Beirut's southern suburbs last Monday, allegedly by Israeli-run agents".

"Agents of the Mossad, Israel's foreign intelligence service, regularly use foreign passports to mask their identities, and New Zealand passports are prized because they are considered 'door-openers' due to New Zealand's reputation for neutrality, and do not arouse suspicions, particularly in the Arab world. They provide visa-free access to many countries, including the United States. A New Zealand passport is also a ticket to British residency, which could provide a European Union passport. These would be invaluable for Mossad agents hunting terrorist targets around the world".

"The Mossad agents who tried to assassinate Hamas political leader Khaled Meshaal in Amman in September 1997 carried Canadian passports, as did the assassins of three Palestine Liberation Organisation colonels in Limassol, Cyprus, in 1987. Three of the six Mossad operatives who set up the assassination of senior PLO figures in Beirut by Israeli commandos on April 13, 1973,

used British passports to enter Lebanon. The list is endless...".

"One must assume two things: that the Mossad is making similar efforts to obtain genuine passports from other countries because these are more foolproof for undercover agents than forged passports, and that Lebanon, which the Israelis and Americans believe is full of bad guys, is one of the targets... The incident in New Zealand appears to be the latest in a long string of high-profile botched operations by Mossad over the last few years, indicating that (Mossad Director) General Meir Dagan, is still having to wrestle with organisational problems and poor operational performance. But what happened in Auckland should be ringing alarm bells in Lebanon and the Muslim world" (*Daily Star*, 24/7/04; "Mossad Fiasco' In New Zealand Should Ring Alarm Bells", Ed Blanche).

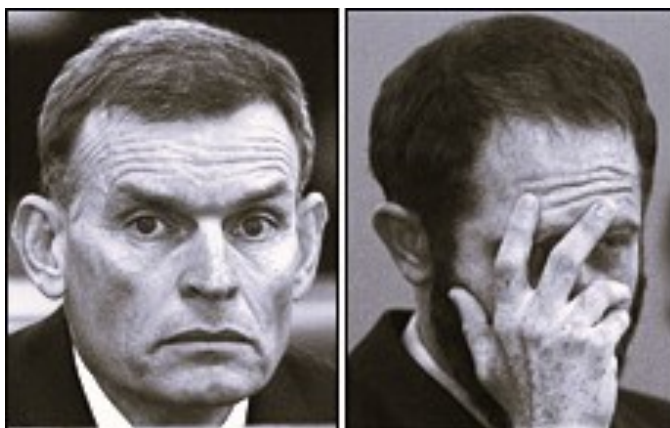
These murders are not journalistic speculation but documented fact. In some cases, they caused major international scandals. For instance, the above mentioned 1997 attempted assassination of the Hamas political leader, in Jordan. It spectacularly backfired for Israel, because it failed to kill their target (the method used was poison) and the Mossad agents got caught in the act, leading to the furious Jordanians (one of Israel's very few friends in the Arab world at that time) demanding that the antidote be produced and the man's life be saved, otherwise the Mossad agents would be tried on a raft of very serious charges.

Israel was forced to do just that, in order to get its would-be murderers back. Not only that but it also had to release from prison the wheelchair-bound Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the Hamas spiritual leader (they killed him in March 2004, with a missile, in a Gaza street). And, directly relevant to the 2004 New Zealand case – those would-be murderers entered Jordan, in 1997, using Canadian passports. This led to a major diplomatic ruction with Canada, which demanded that Israel cease using its passports – the Israeli government gave its commitment to refrain from using Canadian passports for illegal purposes.

So, Israel had a track record for abusing the friendship and trust of various Western countries, using their passports for political murders. New Zealand's Foreign Minister, Phil Goff, "rejected Israel's explanation that the passport was intended for use in the war against terrorism. 'I can't justify the act', he said, 'among other things, because the passport might have been used for an assassination in a third country. ... We don't think this was an isolated act'" (*Daily Star*, *ibid.*).

The Two Stooges Took The Rap

Which brings us back to the two hapless Israelis who were actually arrested and charged in Auckland. The first point to stress is that this was not a brilliant coup by NZ's intelligence agencies. It wasn't even sharp-eyed cops who busted this spy ring. A Department of Internal Affairs officer became suspicious about the passport application when



Mossad agents Eli Cara (left) and Uriel Kelman (hiding face) in NZ court

he got a phone call from a man saying that he was the applicant, seeking to hurry up the process.

The fact that this "New Zealander" had a North American accent struck the Internal Affairs officer as curious. Suspicions were confirmed when a call to the "applicant's" father revealed that his son had cerebral palsy, and had never applied for a passport. From that moment, the Police were informed and an elaborate trap was laid to catch the ring. The applicant set up a complex collection process straight out of a spy movie, which involved couriers, taxis, cellphones and several changes of delivery address. The cops still managed to catch Cara and Kelman in the act of collecting the passport.

They each faced three charges, including one under a new law of par-

ticipating in an organised crime group to secure a false passport. They were remanded on bail and very obviously kept under surveillance by both the Police and NZ Security Intelligence Service agents. It was reliably reported that their communications were bugged, most likely by the Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), which is responsible for spying on international communications. This apparently provided the proof that they were Israeli agents.

There were ramifications across the Tasman Sea as well. Cara claimed to run a travel agency in Australia, which he said was the reason he had made numerous visits to NZ in recent years. Only problem was that nobody in Australia could find a trace of any such agency. Shortly before he was arrested in Auckland, Australian Police raided a Sydney house that he had used, but turned up nothing, except evidence that it had been hurriedly vacated. The pretty unconvincing cover stories by both men were further undermined by the extraordinary lengths that Kelman (the younger of the two) went to hide his identity during their several court appearances.

He did a wonderful impersonation of the Invisible Man, complete with balaclava and dark glasses (Kelman came from a family steeped in Israeli intelligence. "For a long time, Kelman did not see his father, Israel 'Easy' Kelman, who for most of his son's childhood was abroad on missions with Israeli intelligence agencies. It was a natural progression for Kelman to follow his father's footsteps into Israeli intelligence", *NZ Herald*, 2/10/04, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/at-home-with-the-mossad-men/DUYRY353K67IPSLKMGKS NBJVTI/>).

By July 2004, they had obviously been instructed by their controlling officers to take the rap and avoid the prospect of an Israeli intelligence operation being examined in open court. They both pleaded guilty to the same single charge, the most serious one of trying to obtain an NZ passport by fraud. They were remanded in custody and duly sentenced to six months in prison (they could have got five years), plus the

judge ordered them to each make a \$NZ50,000 donation to the Cerebral Palsy Association for their callous and cynical attempt to steal the identity of the handicapped man.

True to form, Kelman stood with his hand covering his face throughout the entire sentencing hearing. They offered no explanation (although, interestingly, they both appealed) and duly served the requisite three months. In September 2004, when the time came for their deportation, they were released from prison several hours earlier than the usual time, were taken by Police to a back entrance of Auckland Airport and kept out of public view until they were put on a plane, under Police escort.

Major Diplomatic Breach

When Cara and Kelman were sentenced to prison, in July 2004, the Labour Prime Minister (Helen Clark) broke the official silence on the case that had been deliberately kept in place until then, and well and truly put the boot into Israel. "You do not expect your friends to do this to you... We look forward at some point to the Israeli government swallowing its pride and offering the explanation and apology we've asked for" (*Press*, 16/7/04; "Clark Lambasts Israel; Diplomatic Sanctions Imposed After Spies Are Sent To Prison", Colin Espiner).

New Zealand basically took every step short of breaking diplomatic relations. Clark suspended high-level visits to and from Israel; declined permission for Israel's President, the Head of State, to visit New Zealand; implemented visa restrictions on all Israeli government officials visiting NZ; suspended Ministry of Foreign Affairs consultations with Israel; and delayed indefinitely the appointment of a new Israeli Ambassador.

Because the case was so clearcut and the criminals had been caught in the act, the Government's measures were supported by all political parties and the media. This represented a major public relations embarrassment and diplomatic blow for Israel. Its local supporters tried to make light of the whole incident, pointing out that New Zealand and Israel have a very limited relationship anyway, with minimal trade between the two.

It was suggested that the Labour

government's harsh measures against Israel were further proof of its alleged pro-Palestinian bias (in the recent past, Phil Goff, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had visited the Palestinian leader, the late Yasser Arafat, in his besieged compound in Ramallah). Local Zionists even pulled out the old canard that criticism of Israel is proof of anti-Semitism, and tried to directly link the Government's measures with the coincidental and despicable mass vandalism of Jewish graves in Wellington. More reasoned commentators correctly stated that this crime bore all the hallmarks of the local neo-Nazi lunatic fringe and had nothing to do with the exposure and punishment of an Israeli spy ring.

Australia Secretly Expelled Israeli Diplomat

The ramifications of this international incident continued to play out. It was revealed, in February 2005, that Australia had asked Israel to withdraw a diplomat from its Canberra Embassy. This had not been publicly announced and when the Australian media exposed it, several weeks after the event, the Australian government refused to comment. But the seriousness of this unusual move is underscored by the fact that Australia and Israel were (and are) good friends. The unnamed diplomat had visited Cara and Kelman when they were in prison in Auckland.

Green MP Keith Locke was the only one to ask the obvious question. "We need to know whether last year's attempt by a Mossad agent to fraudulently obtain New Zealand passports was run out of Israel's Embassy in Canberra. The expelled diplomat was cross-accredited to New Zealand and visited the two Mossad spies jailed here. It is bad enough that Mossad was infringing on New Zealand's sovereignty and laws. It is even worse if the Israeli diplomatic post responsible for New Zealand was involved".

"Locke said there was prima facie evidence the Mossad operation against New Zealand was run out of Australia. 'One of the jailed spies, Eli Cara, was based near Sydney, running a dummy tourism agency. He crossed the Tasman 24 times. In addition, the third Mossad agent, Zev Barkan, who managed to escape New Zealand, had been an Israeli diplomat in Austria and Bel-

gium'. Locke said the New Zealand government must not be caught up in an Australian government cover-up of the affair".

"As long as Israel's diplomats to New Zealand are based in Australia, it is our business whether Mossad is operating out of the Canberra Embassy. Phil Goff's talk about fighting terrorism will be hollow if he doesn't try to get to the bottom of this, the only terrorist-linked activity in New Zealand since the (1985) *Rainbow Warrior* bombing" (press release, quoted in *JustPeace* 73, 10/2/05).

But things had obviously been happening behind the scenes. In early 2005, Cara and Kelman withdrew their appeals, which was followed, in February, by media and official speculation that Israel was preparing to apologise to New Zealand. The timing was significant, as this speculation was just before the visit of its President to Australia, indicating that Israel saw the need to restore good relations with both countries.

The Government wasn't kidding – in March 2005, Israel expressed surprise that a reserves general was refused entry into NZ to speak at a fundraising campaign organised by the local Jewish community. Phil Goff, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, reiterated that all such visa requests would be refused until Israel apologised. It also emerged that month that Israel's Ministry of Defense was the only client of an NZ manufacturer of military equipment to have been vetoed by the Government.

Israel Had Previously & Fraudulently Obtained Other NZ Passports

The pressure paid off. In June 2005, Israel apologised and the sanctions were lifted. This followed months of diplomatic wrangling about the wording of the apology and, in the end, Israel did not confirm that the two men were agents, merely referring to them as citizens. Helen Clark correctly said: "It is clear that the Israeli government will not apologise for criminal activity by just any citizens. There was a reason to apologise for the actions of these two citizens" (*Press*, 27/6/05; "Sanctions Lifted After Israel Apologises For Passport Incident").

Israel provided no explanation as to what the NZ passports were going

to be used for. Clark said that an international arrest warrant had been issued for the New Zealander, Tony Resnick (now safely in Israel) and she also revealed that other NZ passports had previously been obtained by Israeli agents. The Government had decided not to pursue them, as they had now all been detected and all relevant passports had been cancelled.

The Government had the support of the public and media throughout this whole squalid affair. To quote from a *Press* editorial (28/6/05; "Humiliating Apology"): "However humiliating it might be, for a beleaguered nation which requires international goodwill, it was an apology that had to be made...The New Zealand government was correct to take a hard-line stance over the passport fraud..."

"While it is positive that the relationship with Israel has been patched up, the apology does not quite mark the end of this passport affair. Two other participants are still at large and there are unanswered questions over the intended use of other New Zealand passports which were obtained by Israeli Intelligence agents and have now been cancelled.... (It is) a successful, if protracted, foreign policy success for the Government".

The editorial also drew the obvious parallel with the 1985 fatal bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior* by France, the only other "friendly nation" intelligence operation on NZ soil to end in criminal charges and imprisonment for the couple of agents who were caught. The French and Israeli spy bosses both exhibited the same arrogance and contempt towards New Zealand - and the governments of both paid the price for their complacent stupidity.

In fact, stupidity seems to be a hallmark of Mossad. A February 2005 article by Nicky Hager in the *Sunday Star Times* (cited in Israel's *Haaretz*, 27/2/05; "Israeli Jailed In New Zealand Headed Cyprus Spy Ring") revealed that Kara, one of the two agents imprisoned in NZ, had sent two Mossad agents to Cyprus in a 1998 operation which resulted in them being arrested and serving nine months of a three year prison term.

Kara's friendship with a senior Mossad official got him posted to Aus-

tralia, from where he worked on the ill-fated NZ passports operation. Apparently, after his return to Israel from a New Zealand prison, he decided to leave the world of intelligence and took a job with the credit card transnational, Visa. Probably a good career move, I'd say.

Besides, Mossad had found another willing helper - in January 2006, the *Jerusalem Post* reported that once New Zealand no longer became a source of fake passports, the German intelligence agency Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND) stepped in to ensure a steady supply of fake German passports to enable Mossad to place agents in Middle Eastern countries. The *Post* said: "During the 90s, Mossad agents often used passports from Canada and New Zealand when travelling in enemy territory, but once the practice became widely known, they stopped" (*Press*, 19/1/06, "Germany 'Helped Agents'").

Where Are They Now?

At least one of the Mossad squad continued working for it, including involvement in what the spooks call "wet jobs" (murder), namely Barkan - who started life as an American named Ze'ev William Brokenstein. "Former Israeli diplomat to New Zealand Zev William Barkan leads a life akin to that of novelist Frederick Forsyth's Jackal - emerging from the shadows only to be named by authorities in connection with various crimes before again disappearing".

"Barkan is still wanted in New Zealand as the alleged ringleader of an illegal passport scam in 2004; last year (2010) he was named as a suspect in the slaying of a Hamas operative in Dubai. Barkan is one of 32 people Dubai police suspect as having a role in the killing of Mahmoud al-Mabhouh in a hotel room in the emirate in January



Zev Barkan, one who got away

2010" (*Stuff*, 20/7/11, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/5311495/Dubai-murder-accused-had-Kiwi-link>). A simple Google search reveals that Barkan is now working in Israel's technology industry, specifically a cloud security company. He makes no secret of his past: "Before becoming XM Cyber's VPO, Zev Barkan spent over 30 years with the Israeli Intelligence Community".

US Disparaged NZ's Reaction as A "Flap"

And what did the US, the major ally of both Israel and NZ, make of the abortive Mossad operation? "Almost six years later, the scandal would rear its head again when in December (2010) cables released by WikiLeaks said United States diplomats disparaged New Zealand's reaction to the suspected spy ring as a 'flap' and accused New Zealand's government of grandstanding in order to sell more lamb to Arab countries. US officials in Wellington told their colleagues in Washington that New Zealand had 'little to lose' from the breakdown in diplomatic relations with Israel and was instead merely trying to bolster its exports to Arab states".

"Claims the men were Mossad agents were not pursued in court, the US cable noted. The cables revealed the US believed allegations the men were spies: 'While Prime Minister Helen Clark would not confirm which service employed the men, she noted that if one were to lay espionage charges then one would have to be prepared to offer the kind of evidence in court which our intelligence agencies do not like coming forward to display. 'We (the US) have very strong grounds for believing these are Israeli intelligence agents', the cable said" (*Stuff*, *ibid.*).

Caught In The Act

Israel was caught in the act of committing an international crime (most likely to facilitate the commission of a worse one elsewhere) and was deservedly the subject of widespread disgust, and appropriate punishment. The message from NZ 20 years ago was - if this is the way you behave in our country, then don't come again. We have no wish to be implicated, however indirectly and unwittingly, in the murderous crimes you routinely commit. What a pity the current NZ government is, by contrast, content to be a supine accomplice of Israeli genocide. ■

HOW WILL JOINING MILITARY ALLIANCES MAKE AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND SECURE AND PROMOTE WORLD PEACE?

- Kay Weir

Kay Weir was founding Editor of Pacific Ecologist, for the Pacific Institute of Resource Management - www.pirm.org.nz.

Does Funding Wars Lead To Peace?

US President Biden announced on 24 April 2024 a \$US95 billion package of military aid for Ukraine, Israel and Taiwan, after months of Congressional deadlock. The announcement highlights America's leading role in funding and sustaining wars and conflicts in the world. Astonishingly, the *New York Times* reported Biden saying: "It's a good day for world peace," and the foreign aid package "would strengthen national security". In fact, the opposite is true.

"The measure comes as Mr Biden faces backlash in the United States for his support for Israel in the war in Gaza," the *New York Times* reported: "The Israeli government's campaign in Gaza has killed tens of thousands of people and created a hunger crisis. 'My commitment to Israel', Mr Biden said, 'is iron-clad'". Biden's critics on the Left are angry about his willingness to provide more weapons to Israel, though the legislation also includes \$US1 billion for humanitarian aid. "Israel must make sure this aid reaches all Palestinians in Gaza, without delay", Biden said. But what is the sense of \$US1 billion in humanitarian aid to Israel when America at the same time is providing Israel with \$US25 billion to bomb Gaza and kill Palestinians?

Protests have occurred worldwide for months, including in Aotearoa, against Israel's devastating destruction of Gaza and mass killings of defenceless Palestinians. In America, students outraged at the genocidal war have protested on university campuses across the country, much as they did 60 years ago during

America's Vietnam War. They are angry because the bloodbath in the Gaza Strip, starting on October 7, 2023, is funded and backed by the US government.

Pro-Palestinian students stormed and barricaded themselves into Hamilton Hall, an academic building at Columbia University in New York. Riot police have now arrested thousands of students at American universities. Despite the arrests and violence against peaceful protesters the movement has grown stronger.¹

Meanwhile, NZ's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Winston Peters, travelled the world in April 2024 establishing our Government's stance on world affairs. "The Coalition government has made clear the strong emphasis it places on cooperation with New Zealand's traditional partners, NATO is a big part of that," he said, concluding a two-day visit to Belgium, coinciding with NATO's Foreign Ministers Meeting.

"Challenges to the international rules-based system, whether in Europe or in the Indo-Pacific, impact everyone's stability and security. The outcome of the war in Ukraine will have profound impacts on global security, so New Zealand must be prepared to do its part. NATO is the world's largest and oldest political military organisation, which New Zealand has cooperated with for decades – from Kosovo to Afghanistan. But as our shared values of human rights, the rule of law, freedom and democracy come under sustained attack, our long-standing cooperation with our traditional partners must be enhanced". Peters also engaged with high-level United States government and United Nations officials.

Aotearoa Supports Two State Solution

Peters deserves credit for his address to the UN General Assembly

expressing New Zealand's deep concerns about Israel's destruction of Gaza and Palestinians. "The situation in Gaza is an utter catastrophe. New Zealand condemns Hamas for its heinous terrorist attacks on 7 October and since, including its barbaric violations of women and children. All must demand that Hamas release the remaining hostages immediately. At the same time, facts on the ground in Gaza are absolutely clear. More than 32,000 people have been killed. Millions are displaced".

"Warnings ring in our ears that famine in Gaza is imminent. Indeed, Palestinian civilians continue to bear the brunt of Israel's military actions, humanitarian and medical workers are being killed, health facilities and vital infrastructure have been destroyed. Gaza, which was already facing huge challenges before this conflict, is now a wasteland. We call on all parties to this conflict to comply with (UN) Resolution 2728 without delay...Provisional measures ordered by the International Court of Justice are clear and must be complied with fully and immediately".

It's unfortunate his condemnation of the "heinous terrorist attacks" by Hamas of 7 October, including its "barbaric violations of women and children", took no account of the legal right of an occupied people to resist their occupier by military means if necessary. Israel has no right under international law to attack Palestinians in Gaza, because it is an occupying power.² Furthermore, Peters seems to accept without question unsubstantiated claims by Israel of "sexual atrocities" by Hamas that day.

On 15/12/23 AFP News reported data from Israel's social security agency that the final death toll from the attack was 695 Israeli civilians, 373 security forces and 71 foreigners, giving a total of 1,139.³ AFP News noted the data does not distinguish between those killed by Hamas and civilians killed by Israeli forces fighting to retake control of Israeli territory seized by Hamas.

Allocation of blame between Hamas and Israeli soldiers for civilian deaths on October 7 should await the investigation to be presented to the UN Human Rights Council in June 2024.⁴ Also, the allegation of sexual atrocities by Hamas on October 7 made in a December 2023

New York Times article have been investigated and found to lack evidence.⁵ See also “We Were Lied Into The Gaza Genocide. Al Jazeera Has Shown Us How”, (28/3/24).⁶

Peters, to his credit, commented in his address to the United Nations: “There is overwhelming support in the international community – including from New Zealand – for a two-state solution. We do not accept that Israel can achieve peace and security while taking more and more territory intended for a future Palestinian state. This misguided notion must end...”

“We welcome action by the United Nations (UN) Security Council and General Assembly in this regard, including UN Security Council resolution 2728 passed on 25 March 2024 demanding an immediate ceasefire. We call on all parties to immediately comply with this resolution”.⁷

Deaths And Famine Rising In Gaza

Despite Peters’ justly impassioned call at the UN for a ceasefire in Gaza, America has vetoed calls for a ceasefire for over six months. Why did he not condemn this and the fact America is providing Israel with weapons to continue bombing Gaza? Peace and security are being obliterated in Gaza. On 26/4/24 the UN reported famine was rising (*ReliefWeb*, United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in Occupied Palestine).⁸

Highlights

- “The World Food Programme warns that without massive and consistent food assistance that can be delivered freely and safely, famine thresholds in Gaza will be breached within the following six weeks; this is the only way to halt famine”.
- “65% of school buildings used as shelters for displaced people have been directly hit or damaged, highlights a new assessment by the Education Cluster”.
- “Rising temperatures are exacerbating the sanitation crisis and affecting more than 1.7 million internally displaced people who lack adequate shelter and essentials for survival”.

Gaza Updates

▪ “Israeli bombardment from the air, land, and sea continues to be reported across much of the Gaza Strip, resulting in further civilian casualties, displacement, and destruc-

tion of houses and other civilian infrastructure”.

▪ “Between the afternoons of 24 and 26 April, according to the Ministry of Health (MoH) in Gaza, 94 Palestinians were killed and 139 injured, including 51 killed and 75 injured in the last 24 hours. Between 7 October 2023 and 26 April 2024, at least 34,356 Palestinians were killed in Gaza and 77,368 Palestinians injured, according to Ministry of Health in Gaza”.

Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pledged to launch an attack on Rafah, the southern Gaza city that will worsen an already dire situation. Well over one million Palestinians are sheltering from the war. Netanyahu said that Israel would enter Rafah to destroy Hamas’ remaining battalions, “with or without a deal”. Israel and Hamas were negotiating a ceasefire agreement meant to free hostages and bring some relief to Palestinians in the besieged enclave.

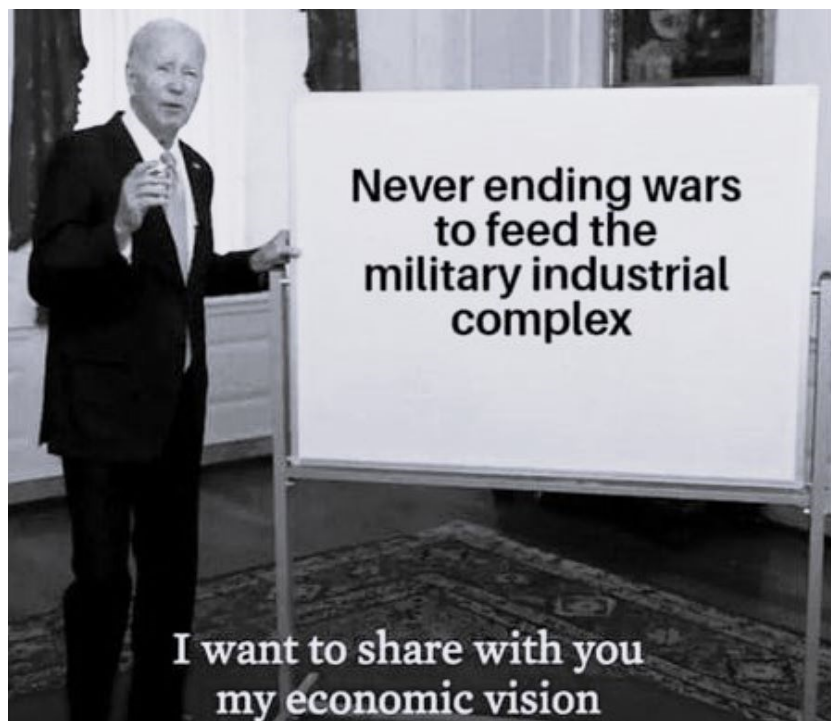
“We will enter Rafah and eliminate Hamas’ battalions there, with a deal or without a deal to achieve total victory,” Netanyahu said in a meeting with families of hostages held by militants in Gaza, according to a statement from his office. Netanyahu faced pressure from his nationalist governing partners to launch an offensive in Rafah, which Israel claimed was Hamas’ last major stronghold.⁹ *That attack on Rafah was launched in May 2024. Ed.*

Time To Review Cooperation With Our Western Allies

While America continues funding the unfolding genocide in Gaza, our Government should at least review its policy of continuing cooperation with our traditional allies. See Peters’ above quote about NATO. If our Government truly values “the rule of law, freedom and democracy”, it must acknowledge that the US/NATO wars on Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, all violated human rights and international law, as legal experts pointed out for years. The wars have killed millions of people with impunity, and destroyed countries, with ongoing effects today. The US, Britain and NATO have refused to accept investigations by the International Criminal Court into their many alleged war crimes over the past 30 years.

If the US and allies were really democratic, abiding by national and international laws, they would not have attacked Afghanistan in 2001. International law expert, Professor Marjorie Cohn (JURIST@law.pitt.edu) wrote, in November 2001 “The Bombing Of Afghanistan Is Illegal And Must Be Stopped”.

“In a patently illegal use of armed force, United States and British bombs are falling on the people of Afghanistan. There are already reports of thousands of dead and wounded civilians from the same kind of American ‘smart bombs’ used in Vietnam and Yugoslavia,



with the promise of myriad casualties from unexploded cluster bombs. Yet while the media bombards us with details about the tragic but few deaths from anthrax - we are shielded from photographs of the dead and injured in Afghanistan”.

Professor Cohn continued: “The bombing of Afghanistan is not legitimate self-defence under Article 51 of the (UN) Charter because: 1) the attacks in New York and Washington DC were criminal attacks, not armed attacks by another state, and 2) there was not an imminent threat of an armed attack on the US after September 11, or the U.S. would not have waited three weeks before initiating its bombing campaign. The necessity for self-defence must be instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation”.¹⁰

“This classic principle of self-defence in international law has been affirmed by the Nuremberg Tribunal and the UN General Assembly. Even if the US was authorised on September 11 to use military force under Article 51, that licence ended once the Security Council became seized of the matter, which indeed it did on September 12, by passing Resolution 1368, and reaffirming in Resolution 1373 on September 28 that it remains seized of the matter. By bombing Afghanistan, the United States and the United Kingdom are committing acts of aggression, which is prohibited by the UN Charter”.¹¹

Our US-led NATO allies’ illegal war on Iraq, starting in 2003, was also widely condemned by experts as being promoted with false information e.g. the “weapons of mass destruction” lie, which expert investigator, Scott Ritter, and others confirmed did not exist in Iraq.¹²

The former United Nations weapons inspector criticised the Bush Administration’s strategy for establishing American supremacy, revealing fabrications about Iraq’s weapons programmes and discussing how to restore American credibility. Yet New Zealand continues to support Western wars, instead of condemning them as wars of aggression that destroyed countries, killing millions of people.

Professor Alfred de Zayas wrote in December 2023: “The perception of

NATO as a legitimate alliance is largely a result of public relations. Observers have already indicated that because of NATO’s aggressive wars, war crimes and crimes against humanity in Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, and because of involvement of NATO forces in torture and ‘extraordinary renditions’ in violation of the Geneva Red Cross Conventions, NATO could very well be considered a ‘criminal organisation’ for purposes of Articles 9 and 10 of the Nuremberg Statute. This found the Nazi SS and the Reichssicherheitshaupamt to be criminal organisations”¹³

Threatening The ICC Over War Crimes & Imprisoning Journalists

America stridently opposed exposure of its war crimes by the International Criminal Court (ICC). President Trump’s National Security Advisor, John Bolton, delivered a withering attack in 2018 on the ICC, castigating it as a “supranational tribunal trampling national sovereignty”. He threatened prosecutions against ICC personnel and retaliation against any country cooperating with the Court if it “goes after” America. How can this be considered by our Government to be respect for international law and human rights?

Bolton’s intervention came as the ICC Judges’ Pre-Trial Chamber weighed up authorising a full investigation into war crimes committed in Afghanistan. Alleged perpetrators included not only the Taliban and Afghan government forces, but also the United States military and CIA over their use of torture. Kate Clark of the Afghanistan Analysts Network reported: “In February 2018, victims of war crimes who were asked for their views and experiences, ‘overwhelmingly’ backed an investigation”.

“The court received 1.7 million victims’ representations on a range of crimes: murder; attempted murder; imprisonment or other severe deprivation of liberty; torture; rape; sexual violence; persecution; enforced disappearance of persons; other inhumane acts; attack against civilian population; attack against protected objects; destruction of property; pillage; forced displacement; outrages upon personal dignity; and denying a fair trial”.¹⁴

Imprisonment of persecuted, long-suffering, award-winning journalist,

Julian Assange, in the UK’s Belmarsh prison for exposing US and NATO war crimes, also speaks volumes on how far the West’s espoused “democratic values” have deteriorated. Assange is threatened with 175 years in a US prison with the aim of intimidating other Western journalists from publishing information on its war crimes, and they are largely succeeding. Former UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor Nils Melzer, has written on the appalling treatment of Assange by US and UK governments, and a growing tyranny in Western countries.¹⁵

Why does NZ follow behind untrustworthy countries that betray their democratic principles, while using the words “democracy,” and “values,” to hide their lawless, belligerent activities? Are our leaders also intimidated by our allies? Western politicians and mainstream media systematically ignore war crimes committed by US/NATO forces and engage in total censorship, while whistleblowers who inform on their crimes are persecuted. Others have also been imprisoned for exposing American war crimes, e.g. Chelsea Manning and John Kiriakou.

While making every effort to suppress information about their many wars and thousands of war crimes, America and its allies were quick to condemn Russia over the war in Ukraine, which they had sedulously provoked over years. One way the war in Ukraine was provoked by Western countries was by ignoring Russia’s legitimate security concerns expressed for years over continual expansion of NATO which aimed to surround Russia, despite an agreement with Russia’s Gorbachev not to do this after the former Soviet Union left East Germany.

“Most Blatant Coup In History”. US Analyst On Kyiv Coup

US President Biden in 2024 allocated \$US61 billion for Ukraine to continue the war with Russia. Winston Peters says: “The outcome of the war in Ukraine will have profound impacts on global security, so New Zealand must be prepared to do its part”. But on what evidence has our Government based its support for America and NATO in the war?

Former Disarmament Minister and lawyer, Matt Robson, pointed out in (Labour) Government pushed through a sanctions bill against Rus-

sia in two hours with no historical analysis or informed debate, condemning Russia for its 'unprovoked aggression' on Ukraine".¹⁶

When Russia's President Putin ordered the "special military operation" in Ukraine on 24 February 2022, it was because there already was a war in Ukraine that began in February 2014. The conflict started after US "diplomats", including Victoria Nuland, violating international law, supported a coup in Kyiv that deposed a democratically elected Government. The Americans actually chose the new Ukraine leader themselves! Thus, an unelected, anti-Russia regime was outrageously imposed by Americans on Ukraine. The first steps of the regime were to ban speaking the Russian language, then direct the military to attack Russian-speaking civilians in the Donbas region.

George Friedman, who headed Stratfor ("an American strategic intelligence publishing company"), confirmed America's role in the coup in an interview in December 2014 with Russian news agency *Kommersant*: "Well-known American political scientist George Friedman paid a visit to Moscow in December 2014. The private intelligence and analysis agency he heads, Stratfor, is often referred to in the United States as the 'shadow CIA'".

In the interview with *Kommersant*, Friedman spoke about what goals the United States pursues in Ukraine, and explained why these goals are incompatible with Russia's interests. Extracts: "The authorities of the Russian Federation cannot allow a situation in which Western armed forces will be a hundred kilometres from Kursk or Voronezh. The US on the other hand, was interested in the formation of a pro-Western government in Ukraine. They saw Russia was on the rise and sought to prevent it from consolidating its position in the post-Soviet space".

"The success of pro-Western forces in Ukraine would make it possible to contain Russia. Russia calls the events of the beginning of the year (22 February 2014) a coup d'état organised by the United States. And it really was the most blatant coup d'état in the history of mankind. ... After all, the US openly supported 'human rights groups' in Ukraine, including with money. And Russian special services missed these trends".

"They did not understand what was happening, and when they did, they failed to take measures to stabilise the situation. You have two countries. One wants Ukraine to be neutral. And the other is for Ukraine to be part of the line of containment of Russian expansion".¹⁷

Minsk Accords Sabotaged By Treacherous EU Leaders

After the coup d'état in Ukraine in February 2014, mass protests against the anti-Russia regime began in the east of the country, where the Russian-speaking population predominates. In response, in mid-April, Ukrainian authorities launched a military operation in Donbas using aviation and massive shelling of residential areas. There were massacres, and atrocities. In an effort to stop the violence, the Minsk agreements, reached in 2014-2015 were supposed to become the basis for a settlement in Donbas.

They were signed with mediation by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Russia, Germany and France. The agreements provided for a ceasefire, withdrawal of weapons, amnesty, resumption of economic ties, and implementation of constitutional reform in Ukraine on the basis of a dialogue with representatives of the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics.

It was supposed to result in decentralising power, taking into account the special status of areas of the Donetsk and Lugansk regions. However, Kyiv dragged out the peace process for years, refusing to implement political provisions of the Minsk agreements, then declared them unacceptable, refusing to engage in direct dialogue with the Donbas republics. Thus, Russian diplomatic efforts, via the UN-endorsed Minsk accords, to stop the Kyiv regime killing Russian speaking civilians in the Donbas were obstructed.

The former German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, revealed in a December 2022 interview with German newspaper *Die Zeit*, that she had signed the Minsk agreements, not to protect the people of the Donbas and put an end to the war waged against them by Kyiv authorities, but to give them time to militarise. Former French President François Hollande also confessed: "Yes, Angela Merkel is right on this point".

On 1 February 2022 award-winning Italian journalist Manlio Dinucci re-

ported that a large force of Ukrainian soldiers with the brutal neo-Nazi Azov Battalion in the front began attacking civilians.¹⁸ Increasing numbers of attacks by Ukraine's military on civilians in the Donbas region were recorded on 23 February 2022 by the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Realising they could not defend themselves from such a large force, the Donbas leaders requested Russia's help. In accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, Chapter VII, Russia launched its special military operation to defend the people of Lugansk and Donetsk who requested help. Understandably on 24 February 2022, President Putin, announced a "special military operation," to "denazify and demilitarise" Ukraine to protect the people of the Donbas region.

Searching For Peace

Former Swiss Army Colonel, Jacques Baud, worked for the Swiss Strategic Intelligence Service and was an adviser on security in refugee camps in eastern Zaire during the Rwandan War. He also worked for NATO in Ukraine. He is the author of several books on intelligence, asymmetric warfare, terrorism and disinformation including: "Ukraine Between War and Peace"; "Governing By Fake News"; "Defeating Jihadist Terrorism"; and "The Navalny Affair", all published by Max Milo.

Baud has written articles about deceit and hypocrisy in the Ukraine War. Here's an excerpt from "The Search For Peace", published in January 2023: "Our media show us tragic footage of children and civilians taking refuge in the Kyiv Metro in the cold and dark, seeking shelter from the bombs. This is heart-rending, they merit our sympathy. It's easy to blame Russia, but neither these Ukrainians nor our (Western) media, diplomats or governments showed the same compassion for the other Ukrainians, bombed by Kyiv's armed forces in the Donbas for eight years, who have spent every Christmas and winter in the same conditions since 2014. How come?"

"The fact is that for the Ukrainian neo-Nazi militias, the people in the Donbas are only 'sub-humans' who do not deserve our compassion. This position was shared for eight years by our media, which *ne-*

ver raised their voice against these attacks. The death toll among these people, surpassing 10,000, has moved neither our media nor our diplomats, who are so concerned about respect for international humanitarian law, but only for certain kinds of people!"

"If our diplomats and media truly had been concerned to prevent war in Ukraine, they would have denounced Ukraine's disregard for the status of the Crimea in 1995; they would have deplored the 2014 *coup d'état*; they would have condemned discrimination against Russian-speaking, Hungarian-speaking and Romanian-speaking minorities by the unelected Ukrainian authorities in 2014; they would have urged Ukraine from 2014 onwards to comply with its obligations under the Minsk accords; they would have shown some compassion for Russian-speaking Ukrainian civilians in the Donbas, who have been embattled by their own Government since 2014".

"They would have drawn international public opinion to the attacks by neo-Nazi militias on civilians in the Donbas; they would have condemned, in February and then again in August 2021, the closure of Ukrainian opposition media, which were on the verge of alerting the international community to preparations of an offensive in southern Ukraine that were decided in March that year; they would have criticised the Ukrainian artillery shelling civilians in the Donbas in mid-February 2022; they would have condemned the banning of opposition parties in Ukraine in 2022".

"The Ukraine crisis could have been avoided altogether if we had made an effort to try to understand it and address it in time, i.e. from 2015 onwards. Recent interviews with Angela Merkel in the German newspapers *Der Spiegel* and *Die Zeit* show Germany deliberately sacrificed peace in Europe in order to maintain a semblance of unity in NATO".¹⁹

Agreement To End Ukraine War Blocked By UK/US

The Ukraine War could have ended in April 2022, shortly after it started in February 2022. An agreement was reached in Istanbul in April 2022 between Russia and Ukraine on suitable terms for both. But former UK Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, and America didn't want the

war to end, so offered Ukraine more weapons and money for war to continue.²⁰

TASS news agency reported that German newspaper, *Welt am Sonntag*, in 2024 reported the Istanbul deal could have stopped the Ukraine War. "Looking back, the deal still looks advantageous even after two years of war," the paper reports, noting that Ukraine's positions at talks back then were better than now. If hostilities were stopped back then "numerous lives would have been saved". Provisions included Ukraine's neutrality. Kyiv allegedly committed not to manufacture or buy nuclear weapons and not to let foreign troops use its military infrastructure or hold international drills.

Russian Presidential spokesman Dmitry Peskov said on March 1, 2024 that the draft agreement is no longer topical. He recalled that Kyiv had turned it down on orders from London ("Istanbul Accords Could Have Stopped Hostilities In Ukraine: German Newspaper").²¹ Two years later, Ukraine is far more damaged by Russia's superior forces, and hundreds of thousands of ill-equipped, ill-prepared Ukrainian soldiers have died and many thousands more injured as a result of the war not ending in April 2022.

Funding More Weapons For Ukraine To Attack Russia

While America in April 2024 promised Ukraine more military aid, this time \$US61 billion to continue the war, the big problem, noted by several sources in Ukraine, America and Russia, is that Ukraine not only lacks weapons, it lacks soldiers to continue the hopeless war.²² Few Ukrainians want to enlist, despite draconian efforts to force them.

Millions have understandably left Ukraine to escape having to fight. Also, those who do enlist, either willingly or by force, have been defecting, giving up the battle, realising they have no hope of coming out alive. And so they should save their lives, not die in a war that should never have happened, and could have ended in April 2022. It just shows how brutal our allies are, having no respect for the lives of Ukrainians or Ukraine, the country they are destroying, in their proxy war with Russia.

So, America continues the war it knows Ukraine can't win. It's moved

on to plan B as Mike Whitney reports (29/4/24).²³ "The Washington Brain-trust has abandoned any hope of winning the war outright and has adopted a different strategy. It aims: To continue to increase and intensify asymmetrical attacks on vital infrastructure and civilian areas in Russia proper in order to inflict as much damage on Russia as possible. Any concern for the Ukrainian people or the future viability of the Ukrainian state, have not been factored in to Washington's cynical calculation".

"What matters is preventing a Russian victory and inflicting as much pain on Russia as possible. Those are the primary objectives. In practical terms, that means more Ukrainian soldiers will be slaughtered in order to continue using Ukraine as a launching pad for attacks on Russia. In fact, UK warlords have already confirmed this".

"Check out this excerpt from an article at *Zero Hedge*: 'UK defence chief, Admiral Sir Tony Radakin, tells the *Financial Times* that the West's new infusion of military aid will help Ukraine increase its long-range strikes on Russian territory: Ukraine is set to increase long-range attacks inside Russia as an influx of Western military aid aims to help Kyiv shape the war 'in much stronger ways', the UK's military chief reports".

If Winston Peters and advisers had considered all this, he would not have said in April 2024 that New Zealand shared NATO's values of human rights, the rule of law, freedom and democracy; and New Zealand would work together with NATO partners to contribute to Ukraine's "self-defence". Western "values" no longer support truth, international law, or human rights of Ukrainians, Russians, Palestinians, Iranians, Iraqis, Libyans, Syrians, or people in Afghanistan.

Prolonging A War Is A Crime Against Peace

International law Professor Alfred de Zayas reports: "In 2014, the US and NATO's overt and covert involvement in the coup d'état against the democratically elected President of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, constituted a violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states as laid down in countless General Assembly Resolutions, including 2123, 2625 and

3314. Moreover, the rapid militarisation of Ukraine, delivery of lethal weapons, drones and missiles since 2014, the training of its soldiers posed a growing existential threat to Russia. In a very real sense, the Ukraine War began in February 2014, not February 2022”.

“Article 2(3) of the Charter imposes an obligation on all states to settle disputes by peaceful means, an obligation that continues even after armed conflict has broken out. This obligation to negotiate requires a compromise, a quid pro quo, and does not accept ‘victory or death’ or any demands of ‘unconditional surrender,’ which in the nuclear age means apocalypse. Prolonging a war by refusal to negotiate entails both a crime against peace and a crime against humanity, especially in a situation where the peace and security of the entire planet is at stake, bearing in mind the growing danger of nuclear confrontation”.

Rising Nuclear War Dangers

A report in *Asia Times* (26/4/24) that NATO is starting to deploy combat troops to Ukraine raises the stakes of escalating to nuclear war. Kyiv is desperate for new recruits having lost hundreds of thousands in the war. Reports that some top Ukraine army brigades have refused orders from their commanders with one brigade even abandoning positions in Chasiv Yar, worsens the situation. America’s “national security” Establishment concludes that Ukraine is losing the war. It fears a Russian victory in Ukraine, that would perhaps be a fatal blow to NATO.

NATO’s stockpiles of weapons are very low as they have sent so much to Ukraine. NATO is also far behind Russia in manpower and industrial might. “NATO’s plan to try and ward off disaster,” reports *Asia Times*, “seems to be to fill in gaps in Ukraine’s forces by importing ‘advisers’ waiting for the US to commit its Army to the battle after the November (2024) elections”. If US forces are introduced, Europe will be plunged into World War 3.²⁴

A related article by *RT* (2/5/24) reports Hungarian Foreign Minister, Péter Szijjártó, condemning the latest remarks of French President Emmanuel Macron on sending troops to Ukraine, warning such a move could ultimately spark all-out nuclear war. Speaking to French broadcaster *LCI* on May 2, Foreign

Minister Szijjártó strongly condemned the idea, saying the French leader’s comments themselves have contributed to escalating the situation. “If a NATO member commits ground troops, it will be a direct NATO-Russia confrontation and will then be World War Three,” Szijjártó said.

Macron made fresh belligerent remarks in an interview with the *Economist* published on May 2, doubling down on previous statements about deploying French troops to Ukraine. President Macron said his original remarks earlier in 2024, were a “strategic wake-up call for my counterparts”. Paris could deploy troops “if the Russians were to break through the front lines” and a request for help came from Kyiv. Hungary’s top diplomat also criticised Macron’s idea that France’s nuclear weapons could become part of a “credible European defence”. He warned: “should the situation escalate into a global nuclear war, ‘it will be over for everyone.’”²⁵

NATO’s Steadfast Defender drills running through May 2024 near Russia’s border, heightened dangers as NATO fears Ukraine’s front line will collapse. Their drills could have spilled over into Ukraine. Macron has repeated a threat to intervene in Ukraine, and Poland may also. Also, Ukraine’s Zelensky has said he might request help from NATO.

Italy’s *La Repubblica* claims 100,000 NATO troops could flood into Ukraine if the decision is made. NATO might “just occupy west of the Dniepr” but could push further to attack Russia”, journalist Andrew Korybko reported (6/5/24). He suggested a way to avoid this apocalyptic possibility is for a neutral party, like the Pope, to mediate.²⁶

Aotearoa’s Voice Vital For Peace And Nuclear Sanity

America has played the lead role for decades in funding, creating and sustaining wars worldwide. Its aggressive foreign policy is “full spectrum dominance”. In 2024 America is funding Israel’s genocidal war in Gaza; supplying funds to Taiwan to provoke conflict with China; and providing \$US61 billion to sustain the hopeless war in Ukraine.

Millions of people are united in horror at Israel’s bombing destruction of Gaza and mass killings of over

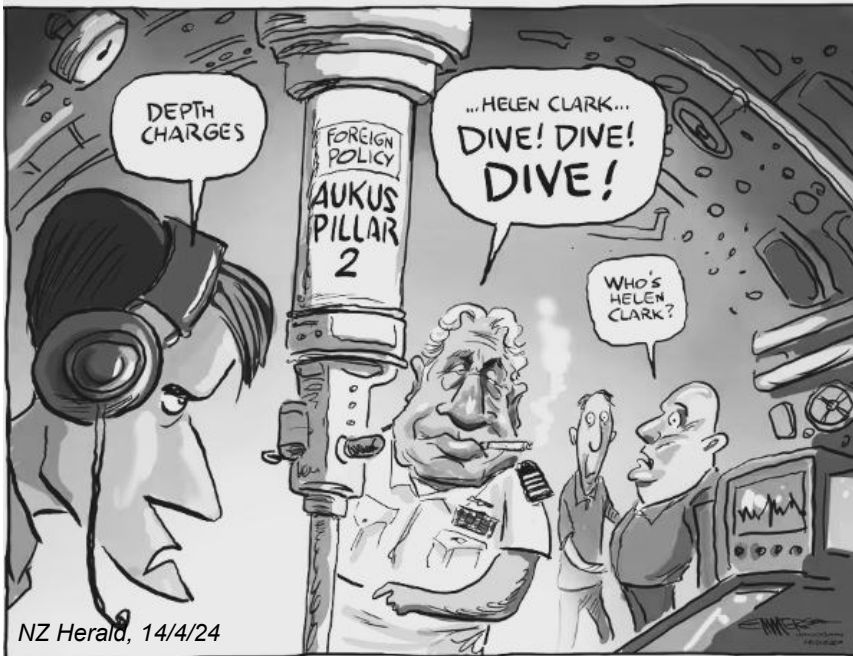
35,000 defenceless Palestinians. People are outraged that the American government is funding Israel’s slaughter of civilians who cannot escape the bombing and are also dying of starvation. Our Government deserves credit for supporting the two-state solution to resolve the conflict and for supporting UN Security Council resolutions demanding an immediate ceasefire. However, our Government has not condemned Israel and America for vetoing calls for a ceasefire, or condemned America for sending military aid to Israel to bomb Palestinians.

It’s never been more urgent for Aotearoa to speak out about the Ukraine War with dangers of nuclear war clearly rising. Our independent voice for nuclear sanity in earlier years is respected worldwide, but rarely exercised these days. The war in Ukraine could have ended in April 2022, shortly after it started. But the US-led NATO countries sabotaged the viable peace agreement, agreed by both Russia and Ukraine in Istanbul.

Instead, the Western allies have opted continually to send more and more weapons to Ukraine and tens of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers have died as a result. Now Western countries are beginning to realise that Ukraine cannot win against Russia’s superior forces, because Ukraine has neither enough soldiers nor munitions. Neither do Western countries have enough munitions, having sent most of them to Ukraine. Unwilling to be rational and cede for peace, the Western allies with their lengthy history of belligerent, illegal wars on countries in Europe and the Middle East this century, are making desperate moves that could lead to nuclear war.

The Western allies are desperate to win against Russia, which is fighting an existential war in Ukraine against the entire West. NATO combat troops are being sent to Ukraine and France is saying its nuclear weapons could be part of a “credible European defence”. The new plan to continue the war as Washington and London report is that “the new infusion of money,” to Ukraine is to help it increase its long-range strikes on Russian territory. This is fraught with dangers.

Barriers to our country advising diplomacy to end the war stem from



our Government's ignorance about the real causes of the Ukraine War. Sadly, Aotearoa jumped on the bandwagon and repeated the Western allies' propaganda claims that the war was "unprovoked". While making every effort to suppress information about their many wars and thousands of war crimes, America and allies were quick to condemn Russia over the war in Ukraine, which they had sedulously provoked over years, as outlined above in this article.

It's vital to understand the reality behind Western propaganda about the Ukraine War and the dangers of nuclear war. America is the only country to have used nuclear weapons deliberately, at the end of World War 2 in Japan when it was already defeated. America also had plans to attack with nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union, a key ally in the war against Nazi Germany.

Keeping Our Head While Others Lose Theirs

The good news is that there's now widespread opposition to Aotearoa being involved in any aspect of the US-led AUKUS military alliance. AUKUS paints China as a threat and aims to maintain American primacy in the Pacific. Former Prime Minister Helen Clark spoke at an *AUKUS symposium held in Parliament's Legislative Chambers on April 18 (2024)*. Clark questioned the wisdom of taking a hostile stance against our biggest trading partner who continues to pose no security threat to our country.

So, what is the alternative to New Zealand siding with the US in its push to "contain" China? "The alternative path", Helen Clark said "is that New Zealand keeps its head while all around are losing theirs, and that we combine with our South Pacific neighbours to advocate for a region which is at peace, so we always pursue dialogue and engagement over confrontation".²⁷ Amen to this and to supporting dialogue and a peaceful end to the war in Ukraine. ■

Notes

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NINETY SECONDS TO DOOMSDAY

- Russell Tregonning

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Retired surgeon Russell Tregonning, in the mid 1990s, was chairperson of the Wellington branch of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. IPPNW won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1985.

We have lost our fear of nuclear weapons. But experts, the Board of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* which is advised by 14 Nobel Laureates, are alarmed. They have a Doomsday Clock which tracks man-made threats, midnight being the time of the world's apocalypse. In 1947 they set the minute hand at seven minutes before midnight. In January 2023, mainly because of the war in Ukraine, they reset it at one and a half minutes.

More recently, more threats. In October 2023, Russia simulated a nuclear strike and its Parliament rescinded ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. It is upgrading its nuclear arsenal. In November 2023, the Israeli Minister of Heritage said dropping a nuclear bomb on Gaza was an option, and the US Pentagon announced their new nuclear 'gravity bomb' - 25 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb - designed to drop from an aircraft.

I was born in April 1945, four months before Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I grew up horrified by the wholesale death and suffering of Japanese civilians: about 220,000 died, half almost immediately, the rest slowly from radiation sickness, burns, injuries and malnutrition. In the early 1980s, I joined the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), an organisation started in Boston in 1980 by cardiologists Dr Bernard Lowan (US), and Russian Yevgeniy Chazov who believed that forces binding their two countries together were greater than those separating them.

I and my New Zealand colleagues joined our local national branch in large numbers, at one time, the highest proportion of our doctors' workforce than any other country, world-wide. Our goal was to educate the

public, aiming for a more peaceful and secure world, free from the threat of nuclear war. We emphasised that we doctors would be powerless to help in a nuclear holocaust.

In March 1954 a huge 15 million tons of TNT-equivalent hydrogen bomb devastated the Bikini Atoll surface. Locals up to 150 kms away called the fall-out, like snow, "the ashes of death". After stinging skin burns and hair loss, most children have had their thyroid glands removed to prevent cancers; adults have suffered thyroid cancer and leukaemia. A similar sized bomb detonated at Wellington, would destroy the capital and its surrounding cities. Fall-out would extend at least from Palmerston North to Kaikoura.

Has Nuclear "Deterrence" Worked?

Since 1945 US allies and Russia have waged numerous major wars by proxy causing millions of deaths, the latest in Ukraine. How long can the nuclear stand-off last? International treaties are tenuous. Terrorism and accident are entirely possible. There are now 12,500 nukes in nine countries, some are on hair-trigger alert, on aircraft and on submarines prowling the global oceans. The nuclear powers are holding us to ransom. Only one way to eliminate the nuclear threat: complete outlawing and elimination of nuclear stockpiles.

What should we do? New Zealand's unique antinuclear law is popular, our voices led the World Court judgement that threatening or using nuclear weapons is generally unlawful. We were early joiners of the 2021 UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) which rules that nuclear weapons are illegal, just like chemical and biological weapons are.

We are backsliding. We are now a partner of NATO, a nuclear-defended coalition. In Five Eyes we spy on our Pacific neighbours for the US and others. Being allied to the US, constantly at war, puts us in danger. We must refuse to be part of the military and intelligence operations of any nuclear power. The *Bulletin* admits to one prejudice: *we are opposed to extinction*. Aren't we all? ■



Review by Linda Hill

HOW TO HIDE AN EMPIRE A Short History Of The Greater United States Daniel Immerwahr (2019) Picador, \$39

On this book's cover is the familiar "logo" map of the United States outlined in red, but with odd appendages. Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, Alaska, Saipan, Bikini, Philippines, Guantanamo, Virgin Islands, Swan Islands, Thule Airbase. These are some of the US's overseas territories, which most maps and many US history books omit. Most "mainland" Americans, says Immerwahr, know little about them or how they were acquired. Nor did I, down here on the edge of a different imperial history. This book provides very readable, very useful background to US foreign policy today. But an audience warning: content includes violence and racism.

As a republic which fought for independence against the British Empire, the United States was ideologically and politically reluctant to establish colonies – it did "territories" instead. Starting, of course, with Indian Territory. A booming white population demanding land pushed surviving Indians west of the Mississippi, then further west again.¹ In 1834, Andrew Jackson proposed that a Western Territory populated principally by Indians might one day be admitted to the Union as a State. Congress did not agree. Some were reluctant to make informal segregation official and permanent. Others objected that it would "add to our Union men of blood and colour alien to the people of the United States".

The land grab continued west to California, with few reservations. By military means and purchases, the US government pushed south west into sparsely inhabited lands – "all

the territory of value we can get without taking the people", said one newspaper, such as "Indians and mixed races of Mexico" and Guatemala.² In 1867 the purchase of Alaska from Russia (US\$7.2m) went ahead despite opposition, Immerwahr says, "because, in the end, there weren't that many 'Exquimoux' and there was quite a lot of Alaska".

Island Grabbing

The logo map matched actual US borders for only three years. From 1857 the US began annexing uninhabited islands in the Pacific and Caribbean, 94 in all by the end of the century. Cotton and other agricultural monocultures had rapidly depleted US soils. The solution was guano, from centuries of bird droppings, and tricalcium phosphate, from centuries of marine life fossilised in coral reefs.

Mining and transporting guano was "arguably the single worst job you could have in the 19th Century", says Immerwahr. On Navassa near Haiti, Black workers revolted and killed five white officers. The case against the riot leaders back in Baltimore was important for the future, because the Supreme Court ruled, against the defendants, that US law applied to Navassa.

But if it was indeed "US territory", where was the Government? President Harrison sent a warship, which found the company running its own corporate fiefdom like "a convict establishment". He commuted the riot leaders' death sentences. So now, no matter "how remote those shit-spattered rocks and islands were", they were part of the United States.

The next wave of overseas acquisitions came thanks to Theodore Roosevelt. He read a Naval College treatise that to grow the US's maritime commerce would require a global network of ports, coaling stations and other infrastructure, and also naval protection with overseas bases. When Roosevelt became Assistant Secretary for the US Navy, Captain Mahan's treatise was his playbook. New US industries needed inputs not available in the US: rubber, jute, palm oil, tungsten and copper.

What The US Needed Was A Tropical Empire

So, in 1898, while his boss was at the osteopath's, he unleashed the Navy to acquire some of Spain's.

His game plan was to support small wars of independence, then move in: the Philippines, Guam, Cuba, Puerto Rico. Then Hawai'i, after a coup by American and British businessmen, and half of Samoa, and Wake Island. Plus, trails of smaller islands across the Caribbean, western Pacific and China Sea. In this wave, the US gained over 7,000 islands, with 8.5 million people. Some became ports or, later, airports. Others slipped into foreign hands, or were simply forgotten.

The US courts determined³ that overseas territories were American soil, US law applied, and their inhabitants were "Americans". However, rights in the territories were at the discretion of Congress and President, and they couldn't vote for either. Congress eventually gave levels of self-governance and revocable "statutory citizenship" to Puerto Ricans, Virgin Islanders, and Guamanians, but not Filipinos.⁴ Full rights and protections under the Constitution apply only to states and to "natural born citizens" (hence the politicking over McCain and Obama's origins). Hawai'i and Alaska became states in 1959. American Samoans remain "US nationals", not citizens.

In World War 2, US war planners "seemed as concerned with defending the US against its colonised peoples as defending it with them", says Immerwahr. US citizens of Japanese ancestry were interned both on the mainland and in Hawai'i and the Philippines (and NZ). The whole of Hawai'i was put under military rule. When war planners noticed Alaska was quite close to Japan (not on the other side of the world map!), all non-white Aleutian Islanders were forcibly removed to inadequate mainland camps where, by the end of the war, 10% had died.

Philippines

Immerwahr tells the stories of the acquisitions and later struggles for independence, giving most space to the two most populated, the Philippines and Puerto Rico. He relates the bloody history of the Philippines' war of independence against Spain, then against full occupation of all its islands by the USA. After 47 years of saluting the Stars and Stripes, Filipinos were abandoned to Japanese brutality and internment camps while US forces prioritised their allies in Europe.

Then MacArthur returned with devastating aerial bombing of Manila, targeting inhabited buildings including a hospital where thousands of civilians had taken refuge. After the war, Filipinos submitted claims for over a million war deaths. The US recognised the Philippines' independence in 1946 but, under the Treaty of Manila, retained its military bases and assets ("for mutual protection") on leased land until 1992, says Immerwahr. Or should that read 2024?

A 1951 Mutual Defense Treaty remained in place, and in 2014 a Visiting Forces Agreement signed by Presidents Obama and Aquino gave the US access to Philippines military facilities but "not a permanent military presence or base" of its own. In April 2023 President Marcos named four more bases the US will get access to, with rotating troops, bringing the number to nine. In April 2024 Marcos said they won't be getting any more.

The US has committed to \$US80 million worth of infrastructure at the first five bases: Antonio Bautista Air Base in Palawan, Basa Air Base in Pampanga, Fort Magsaysay in Nueva Ecija, Benito Ebuena Air Base in Cebu and Lumbia Air Base in Mindanao. The additional sites are the Camilo Osias Navy base in Sta Ana and Lal-lo airport, both in Cagayan province, and Camp Melchor Dela Cruz in Gamu, Isabela province and the island of Balabac off Palawan. Described as strategically important and "China-facing".⁵

Immerwahr tells of Guam's similar history. A small island in Micronesia, it was an important stop-over for Spanish, US, then Japanese ship-

ping. The US reclaimed it from Japan by laying waste its capital, destroying four-fifths of homes, moving thousands of "liberated" people into camps and building a military base. I see it now has three. The US Department of Defense owns a quarter of the island. As of August 2023, there are 17,000 US citizens, including 6,400 in active military service⁶ – about 10% of the population. As of 2021, 26% are Filipino. Only 37% are indigenous Chamorro, with about half giving Chamorro⁷ as their language.

Puerto Rico

In 1898, Puerto Rico in the Caribbean was more dependent on trade than the Philippines, so some thought Spain's replacement by the nearby USA might have benefits. It didn't. The same extractive plantation economy continued, until sugar prices nose-dived 30% in 1930-33. The authorities responded with a restrictive sugar quota to the mainland, followed by population control for the poor, racist medical experiments, and tests of mustard gases on Puerto Ricans to see if they would fare differently from whites.

WW2 brought US military investment – i.e. a military base in 1941 – but little relief from the "cesspool" of poverty, hurricanes and hookworms, except migration to New York. The independence movement grew. Its story includes strikes and bombs, shootings and massacre by police, and the assassination of a police chief. In 1950, during uprisings in seven towns the Governor's office was machine-gunned; he ordered National Guard planes to strafe the towns.

The next day in Washington, two

nationalists tried to assassinate President Truman. This was dismissed by the FBI and *New York Times* as "lawless lunacy" and "mad adventures that make no sense". But the US jailed the independence party and supported a moderate politician, who accepted internal self-government with continued access to mainland markets. Puerto Rico then became a tax haven, thanks to jurisdictional loopholes. Congress closed these in 1990, triggering corporate flight, economic collapse and an exodus of workers to the mainland.

We all remember "Pearl Harbour" as the day Japan bombed the US. But not that Hawai'i, the Philippines, Guam, Midway Island and Wake Island were all bombed from the air on the same day (though not quite the same day). As were Britain's colonies Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong, and Thailand was invaded.

For the US, WW2 was an air war. Bombs and materiel were hopped between islands or tiny bases, over the Himalayas, over Japanese forces. The US war effort and military logistics brought rapid advances in aviation, knocked-down equipment, wireless communication, cryptography and – because neither men nor goods travel well in the tropics – chloroquine, DDT and rot-and-rust-proofed packaging.

The US could now move between or over foreign lands it didn't control, Immerwahr says. Detroit to Miami to Brazil, to West Africa, to Cairo to the front at El Alamein. With air power, radio transmitters, and chemistry replacing unobtainable tropical products, the US no longer needed colonies. Just military bases. Lots of them.

The "Pointillist Empire"

Immerwahr calls the US's war and post-war strategy the "Pointillist Empire". Its' global power is based on controlling and moving between small points. At its height, the US military had 30,000 installations on 2,000 overseas base sites. Roosevelt traded 50 destroyers for 99-year leases on base sites in British territories – Newfoundland, the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica and Trinidad. The US gave roads and aid for land leases in Latin America, or just claimed bases from war allies. Together with US overseas territories, it set up northern and southern





routes across the Atlantic, and northern and southern routes across the Pacific. It built ports, warehouses and other infrastructure for its supply lines.

At war's end, the US gained jurisdiction over parts of Germany and Austria, half of Korea and all of Japan – and had more people under its overseas jurisdictions than on the mainland. But then, like the British Empire,⁸ it decolonised. Under pressure from independence movements, sure, but also, says Immerwahr, because war had taught Washington the art of projecting power without claiming colonies.⁹

“Domination without annexation”, it was called in the 1940s. But actually, he says, Washington was reshuffling its imperial portfolio. It divested from large populous colonies, retained small strategic ones, and invested in military bases as “tiny specks of semi-sovereignty strewn around the globe”. In 1948 George Orwell called England “Airforce One” because of the high continuing presence of the US military – there are still 21 bases today. US bases used Micronesian islands and their people for nuclear testing. From the time of the Gulf War, Dhahban – initially half base, half oil company town, and so close to holy Mecca – was what upset Osama bin Laden.

800+ US Bases Worldwide

Currently, there are over 800 US military bases world-wide, most of which I've never heard of. The US map for that is here <https://worldbeyondwar.org/no-bases/> Check out the concentrations still in Europe, in the Middle East, and encircling China and Taiwan. The map includes

large US air or navy bases with rotating troops, housing and warehousing, and small US installations like radar sites each end of Palau, but not a small puppet collaboration like Five Eyes at Waihopai (*which is nominally a “New Zealand” spy base. In fact, New Zealand is not mentioned at all on the map. Which is an oversight, because there has been a US military transport base at Christchurch Airport since the 1950s. Ed.*).

Guantanamo Bay was the first US base on leased land. After decades of Cubans rebelling against Spanish rule, a US warship off the coast blew up (probably coal gas) and Roosevelt made his move. But anti-imperialists in Congress limited the US's “sovereignty, jurisdiction or control” over Cuba, “except for pacification”. The US military Governor defined “stable government” loosely as “money at 6%”.

In 1903, to get rid of him, the Cuban legislature had to agree to lease Guantanamo as a military base and to the US's right to re-invade, which it did four times. The lease has no end date, so even a Marxist-Leninist government is stuck with it. I see Cuba hosted an International Peace Seminar for the Abolition of Military Bases in 2017. In 2024 it is facing a humanitarian crisis as a result of covid and ongoing US boycott rules tightened under Trump and Biden.¹⁰ Immerwahr notes public and political push-back against US military presence in several countries. He says this tended to concentrate it in the US's own territories like Guam, and to outsource “the dark side” of military work to allies – and to Guantanamo.

Recent technological advances are making the US pointillist strategy even sharper. The War on Terror was seen as a new type of conflict against “networks”; that is, against series of connected points. Precision weaponry came to dominate the US military's arsenals, and battles no longer needed take place on a field. Operatives on the ground could transmit coordinates to pilots for targeted “Taliban-plinking”.

Armed drones carry pointillist warfare to its logical endpoint, says Immerwahr. They can hover for hours, gather information with high-resolution cameras or “signals intelligence”, and target individuals as easily as buildings. It's called putting “warheads on foreheads”. The enemy is no longer a country, but a GPS coordinate – and that may be in a “friendly” country. Drones have killed more than 1,000 people in Pakistan (CIA estimate), and others in Somalia, Yemen, Libya and Syria. No occupying armies required. Which may be, Immerwahr says, why “post-regime change” planning by the Pentagon has been so “last-minute, haphazard and badly underfunded”. And privatised?

Book Tells The “How”, Not The “Why”

Immerwahr is a great story-teller. At 400 pages, this book is packed with a wealth of well-referenced detail, filling wide gaps in my knowledge about US territories I've never got to. My one criticism is that this book is geopolitics, rather than political economy – the “how” of empire with little attention to the “why”.

He mentions the need for tropical goods for US industry – rubber, palm oil, etc. – then seems to suggest that Spain's colonies and the lush islands of the Pacific were hardly worth having. Yet I could immediately think of global corporations today – Dole and Goodyear – which began selling tropical products in 1898. The weak economies of colonies are not a *per se* cause of poverty, but are caused by resource and wealth extraction, as well as repeated wars of conquest, as in the Philippines.

Immerwahr notes that “colonisation operates within borders, but globalisation... crosses them”, and favoured US corporate interests. He has an interesting chapter on how US military supply established uniform technical standards across the

world (with the occasional space glitch), from which world commerce benefited. This surely presaged the globalisation of corporate production and commodity chains from the 1980s on. That is, a global capitalist political economy supported geopolitically by the US's Pointillist Empire, with its 800 military bases, its proxy wars, globally-calibrated armaments industry, and pin-point assassinations by drone. ■

Notes

- 1 Land for cotton, see E.E. Baptist, "The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery And The Making Of American Capitalism" (2014).
- 2 Individual white planters did move south, see A Reséndez, "The Other Slavery" (2017).
- 3 "The Insular Cases" in 1901 and later.
- 4 Until the mid-1930s Filipinos could move freely to the US, but were perceived as a threat by labour unions. US-standard training of nurses and doctors was implemented in the Philippines, from which NZ currently benefits.
- 5 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines%E2%80%93United_States_relations;
www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/philippines-reveals-locations-4-new-strategic-sites-us-military-pact-2023-04-03/;
www.msn.com/en-ph/news/world/the-philippine-president-says-he-won-t-give-us-access-to-more-local-military-bases/ar-BB1IEEaQ
- 6 <https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47643>
- 7 An Austronesian language, possibly an independent branch of the Malayo-Polynesian language family.
- 8 K. Koram, "Uncommon Wealth: Britain And The Aftermath Of Empire" (2023), which I've reviewed for *Foreign Control Watchdog* 166, August 2024.
- 9 Post-war, the US also had control of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and veto power on the UN Security Council – which Immerwahr doesn't mention.
- 10 www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO2404/S00132/senator-cardin-must-help-end-the-blockade-of-cuba.htm ■

Reviews by Greg Waite

ISRAELISM (streaming)

This insightful film can be watched online for just \$5 on Kinema at <http://bit.ly/rentisraelism>, and gets a strong recommendation. While showing how the pro-Israel lobby in the US brainwashes Jewish youth and pursues critics relentlessly, "Israelism" still manages to be an engrossing and uplifting film. A series of central interviews with Simone Zimmerman, an American Jew raised to view support for Israel as central to her ethnic identity, explores how Jewish schools, youth groups, summer camps and university support groups build this blind support for an idealised Israel.

This is a world where Palestinians don't exist – the myth of "a land without people and a people without land" coming together. From among her early schoolwork, Simone holds up a map of Israel she coloured in at primary school; even then, there were no Palestinian lands. A programme of quiet, consistent indoctrination of Jewish youth creates an emotional bond, teaching them that the state of Israel is the home which ensures Jewish freedom in a dangerous world. And for some it quite literally encourages them to become "soldiers for Israel". One of the most telling interviews was with an ex-soldier, disillusioned at the routine beatings meted out to Palestinians.

In other pivotal scenes a charismatic young Israeli Defense Force soldier on a tour of US universities is shown cheerfully charming an advocacy group of young Jewish students; then a second group of Jewish students is filmed objecting to a

bid to divest university funds from US companies supplying arms to Israel, tearfully saying they felt personally attacked. A Palestinian student answers "you describe yourself as silenced and marginalised, but my aunts and uncles didn't sleep for weeks while bombs and missiles fell over Gaza. If divestment is hostile, then where do we even begin to describe the hostility of a military occupation."

Simone, who played the same pro-Israel role at divestment meetings in her own university, recalls the scripts they were given in advance and her confusion when confronted by questions from Palestinians she couldn't answer. She started to reassess her worldview, travelling to Palestine and seeing the daily anguish of Palestinians who have lost their rights, their homes and their history.

In this age of online misinformation, your Google search may well take you to reviews which claim this film is biased. Why do those reviews rate so high in your search? Because they have organised money behind them. But you can't hide the truth, as a scan of the many positive reviews in a big independent Website like imdb.com shows.

It's true, this documentary is not that modern parody of balanced journalism where both sides get equal time, right or wrong. It is an honest exploration of how blind support for Israel is created, made by two Jewish students who themselves made the journey from blindness to Palestinian suffering to compassionate collaboration.

Across the US students are now facing an organised campaign to block screenings on campus - understandably, because after you've watched this film, you understand how closeted ignorance is manufactured, and how hidden back-room



campaigns to undermine the voices and careers of Palestine's supporters are routine. Even in my quiet hometown of Whangarei, opponents of "Israelism" tried to convince the venue to cancel our showing when the film was scheduled here.

Truth Is Out About Apartheid State

Unfortunately for them, the truth is out. The Israeli Defense Force is a brutal army, unsurprising given its origins and training under the British paramilitary in post-war Palestine (see my book review of "Legacy Of Violence: A History Of The British Empire" in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 165, April 2024, <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/65/12.html>).

And Israel today is an apartheid state which denies food and medicine to Gaza while selling the weapons of oppression to autocrats around the world (see my book review of "The Palestine Laboratory: How Israel Exports The Technology Of Occupation Around The World" in *Peace Researcher* 66, November 2023, <http://www.converge.org.nz/abc/peace-researcher-home.html>). In spite of all that, the filmmakers retain their compassion, and conclude the film by highlighting that Israel's current alliance with the Right and militarism only increases instability and makes the world less safe for Jewish people, both in Israel and the US. ■

OPPENHEIMER

(Netflix)

Now showing on Netflix, "Oppenheimer" is a fabulous film, though not to everyone's taste. Though it follows the career and achievements of physicist J Robert Oppenheimer, it's definitely not told as a straightforward slice of history - and it's three hours long. This is a film for those who want to get a glimpse into the mental struggle to understand complex new science.

It's for those who want to see and reflect on what it took to create the first atomic bombs in a time of world war and what those bombs mean for us today; to watch the human turmoil which powers organisational achievements and power struggles which sometimes hold them back. And it's innovative filmmaking too. Imagined new ideas in physics flash across the screen; the desert home of the project glows larger than life; scenes of team jubilation after the successful first test are overlaid with images of the dying in Hiroshima.

Multiple Strands Of The Story Weave Together

Oppenheimer's academic career; his character flaws

and complex personal relationships; the mental demands behind breakthroughs in complex physics; the contrast between the driven Oppenheimer and the humanist Albert Einstein; Left and labour politics and Soviet sympathies among local and war-refugee scientists; ethical debates on ending the war but risking the future; battles against military bureaucracy and prejudice; the interaction of academic infighting and McCarthyism; and, ultimately, what it feels like to create a bomb which kills hundreds of thousands and could perhaps kill us all.

Who didn't like it? *Forbes* magazine, a voice of US Big Business. Here's a few telling phrases from its review: "Oppenheimer and his ragtag team"; "Oppenheimer is not just difficult to follow, but hard to care about"; "How do I feel about this strange historical biopic? Do I feel anything at all?". No respect for science, scientists, history or ethical dilemmas at *Forbes*.

Personally, I felt the film had the power to bring discussion of nuclear weapons, the risk of catastrophic war and the need for disarmament back into the public debate, and I couldn't imagine a simpler film doing that. See it for yourself; available now on Netflix, Neon, Apple TV and Google TV, and later on pay streaming providers like New Zealand's AroVision. ■

CIVIL WAR

(in cinemas)

Having watched it, I can recommend seeing "Civil War" to readers of *Peace Researcher*. At one level it's a wake-up call, showing you what a civil war in the US might look, feel and sound like (it's loud in places where war is loud, and ugly where war meets civilians). After watching the house-by-house fighting and abandoned urban streetscape, I came out at night onto the dark empty streets of Whangarei and still felt uncomfortably like I was in a battle zone. "Civil War" is also about the ethics and effectiveness of war journalism. Early on, Kirsten

Dunst as a combat photographer says: "Every time I survived a war zone, I thought I was sending a warning home - 'Don't do this'. But here we are".

It's A Good Start

These are the themes in most mainstream reviews, but I'd add one more. This is a movie which reimagines the type of war the US has so often provided weapons, intelligence and clandestine support for in other countries, coming home. A President dependent on the military, drones bombing civilians, refugees living in tent camps, journalists treated as combatants and killed, defeated leaders killed not put on trial. Whether this is enough to provide a wake-up call for the US remains to be seen, but it's a good start. ■

MIKE COLLINS

- Murray Horton

ABC Member For More Than 20 Years

Mike Collins was an Anti-Bases Campaign member from 1997 until his September 2023 death. He regularly included a donation with his sub. He and his wife Meg were pledgers for many years to the CAFCA/ABC Organiser Account, which provides my pay. Not only that, Mike was a regular big donor to that Account, over a period of nearly 20 years. Mike was an active member of both ABC and the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA). He was a CAFCA member from 1993 until his death. He and Meg hosted and organised my Opotiki and Whakatane visits during my 2002 and 2014 CAFCA/ABC national speaking tours, and were involved with my 2011 tour.

I have fond memories of staying in their beautiful clifftop home, overlooking Ohiwa Harbour (the house was lucky to survive a June 2011 storm and landslide which left it teetering on the edge of the cliff). Not only did I stay there but on one occasion they hosted a meeting for me in their home. This is what I wrote in my 2002 *Organiser's Report*: "...highlights included ... sharing a spa by starlight with my hosts ... (theirs was also the only one of my meetings to have ever been attended by a possum. The old saying about never acting with animals is true, the bastard upstaged me)".

I last saw them when Jeremy Agar and I stayed with them on my 2014 tour (the one where Jeremy drove me around the country). Jeremy had an adversarial relationship with his newly acquired smart phone but Mike undertook, with gusto, to show him all the apps he could download and what they could do. Whenever I mentioned Mike to Jeremy in subsequent years, he said: "Ah yes, the apps man".

And I benefited from Mike's "proclivity to 'mickify'" (see below).

On that 2014 visit, he gave me a gift that sat in our Christchurch bathroom until very recently (when it finally wore out and broke). It was very useful and used a lot. What was it? A simple short length of wood, split nearly full length down the middle. It looked like an old wooden clothes peg.

What was it for? For solving that universal problem of squeezing the last remains of toothpaste out of the tube, and thus demonstrating that it is possible to avoid waste in even the smallest of daily tasks. And what did Mike call it? A "toothy peg". I thought of him every time I used it. And I'm pleased to report that Meg has replaced it, once she learned of my plight. She found the last one left and sent it to me.

Thank you, Mike, for your decades of active support for, and generosity to, CAFCA, ABC and the Organiser Account. Thank you and Meg for your hospitality to me on more than one occasion. CAFCA and ABC were only a couple of your many causes and enthusiasms, but we appreciated the time you gave to us. It is people like you who make it all worthwhile. My condolences to Meg and your family and friends. ■

MICHAEL JOHN COLLINS (MIKE)

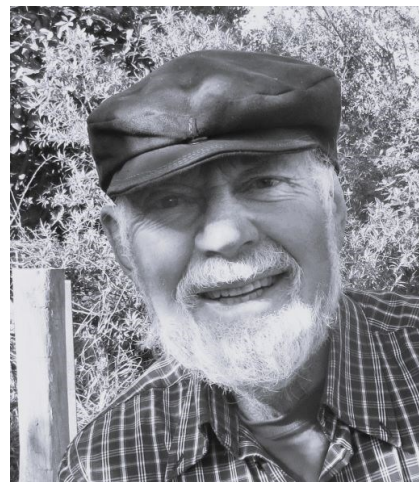
2 October 1942 - 27 September 2023

- Compiled by Linda Conning

From stories told at the celebration of his life

Mike died suddenly in Christchurch on the way back from a Fiordland cruise. Feeling unwell, he fell in a park, knocking his head on a concrete plinth, and died a few hours later. The last thing he saw was his granddaughter, in a bed of flowering primroses. A celebration of Mike's life held in Opotiki in early October 2023, was full of music including the specially composed "Michael, Mick, Mickey, Mike, Mr Mike", and stories both fun (an over-engineered chook house) and sad and illustrating the wide slice of his very full life.

Michael was a curious, mischievous, talented, and very active young person, along with his twin sister Hilary, who died in 2006. From a young age he made things from wood, carving intricate objects, and



as a teenager he built gliders, model trains and later, model aeroplanes of all descriptions. His geologist father, a pacifist, left his mark on his son, and at 15 Michael opted out of cadets at Christchurch Boys High School.

In 1957 the family moved to London for three and a half years during which time Mike acquired a BSA Bantam 2-stroke motorbike which he modified to enhance its performance. The bike was shipped back to Christchurch, where it was heavily used, including driving up braided rivers (times have changed). Michael was a keen Bible class attendee but later realised that traditional Christianity had a lot to answer for and took a keen interest in humanism instead. During his time in England, he pursued his interest in how things worked including by dismantling a range of objects, not always reassembling them in a workable state, but did successfully create a variable speed pottery wheel.

Following a First Class Honours degree in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Canterbury he won a two year scholarship to Cranfield College of Aeronautics, near Cambridge in England. On return to New Zealand, he worked in civil aviation but was directed to convert agricultural planes for military purposes for the Vietnam War, which was being financed by the Colombo Plan educational aid money. He protested, to no avail, and was summoned to the office of Prime Minister Keith Holyoake. He was allowed to continue employment, but with no chance of promotion.

However, an opportunity arose to switch from aeronautical engineering to a research scientist at the Forest Research Institute (FRI) in

Rotorua, where he wrote many a research paper, including one called "Are Dwangs* Necessary?", and designed a machine to test the strength of timbers. He returned recently to FRI (now Scion) and found to his surprise the machine was still operating, but now fitted with the latest technology. * Commonly known as a noggin

Quite An Activist

At FRI he "stirred the pot" while working for the Native Forest Action Council (NFAC), and was appointed to the Whirinaki Forest Park Advisory Committee following the cessation of native forest logging, a situation of great tension. Mike was quite an activist at this time, becoming involved as an organiser for the Electoral Reform Coalition to promote Mixed Member Proportionality (MMP). Mike and his wife Meg were at the first meeting to form a Green Party in New Zealand, and subsequently he became the first membership secretary, and persuaded others to set up branches of the Electoral Reform Coalition and the

Green Party in the Bay of Plenty.

Tony Hartnett, a leading MMP campaigner, saw Mike as a mentor - calm, courageous and with intellectual insight that was crucial in moving MMP forward, and getting the referendum over the line. Mike was active in electoral reform, the peace movement, nuclear weapons free NZ, and successfully lobbied Rotorua Council to become nuclear weapon-free. He was also a long-time supporter of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA).

His conservation involvement in the Eastern Bay of Plenty put his engineering ability to the fore, helping the Nukuhou Saltmarsh Care Group and Waiotaha Valley school children to build board walks, the latter which was around (yes, curved) the wetland adjacent to the school. He also designed the board walk in the Hikutaia Domain.

Mickify

At Ohiva he became well known for

his proclivity to "mickify" (now an official word in the *New Zealand Dictionary*), meaning to fix using a variety of available materials, all sorts of objects and saying "hey, don't throw that away, it might be useful some day" - which could be the theme for our society into the future. His latest venture was as the watch repairer at the newly opened Opotiki repair café.

In conclusion, Mike was a man of many interests, a man who knew how to age well, says his sister Jill, who didn't act his age, was always curious, always looking for humour. Peace activist Maire Leadbeater described him as a man of peace and courage who stood up for what he believed in, a man of strength and integrity. Tony Hartnett described him as a driving force, and a man before his time. An example to all, and who will be sorely missed, not only by his family and friends, but by his community. Mike is survived by his wife Meg, son Felix, and step children Sachi and Tom. ■

STEVE HOWARD

- Murray Horton

Steve Howard, who died in October 2023, aged 69, was one of the founders and key activists of Keep Our Assets Canterbury (KOA), of which I am the Convenor. You can read my obituary of him in *Foreign Control Watchdog* 165, April 2024 <http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog>

[g/65/13.html](http://www.converge.org.nz/watchdog/65/13.html). Steve's political activism was not confined to KOA. He had been in the Alliance and he was very active in the Green Party at grassroots level. He lived long enough to be able to vote Green in 2023 but he didn't make it to the actual election date. He was a member of the Campaign Against Foreign Control of Aotearoa (CAFCA).

He took part in all manner of other political protests and events, including supporting the Anti-Bases Campaign. He was part of the small but gallant band which picketed the first

NZ Aerospace Summit, in Christchurch in September 2022, focusing on Rocket Lab. Despite the bitterly cold weather (it snowed later that night) he merrily went about chalking slogans on the steps of Te Pae (the convention centre), which resulted in a particularly obnoxious security guard standing on his hand, and telling him that he should be at home "enjoying your retirement". Steve was undeterred.

There was precisely no media coverage of our 2022 protest but, strangely enough, a photo of it ap-

PEACE RESEARCHER WELCOMES YOUR FEEDBACK

Peace Researcher is published by the Anti-Bases Campaign. The Editor is Murray Horton; the Layout Editor is Becky Horton. It 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. We welcome your feedback and constructive suggestions on how we can improve.

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peared in the *Press* a year later, accompanying coverage of the protest at the 2023 NZ Aerospace Summit in Christchurch. Steve was dying by that stage but was delighted to be shown that photo, which featured him front and centre. Thank you, Steve, for your active support. You were taken from us far too young and too soon.



Steve Howard (front), 2022 ABC picket of NZ Aerospace Summit. Others, from left: Warren Thomson, Bronwen Summers, Terry Moon. Robyn Dann & Murray Horton holding banner. John Minto, rear, right.

MURRAY HORTON'S SPEECH

To Christchurch Gaza Rally On Behalf Of Anti-Bases Campaign, 20/04/24

New Zealand needs to get tough with Israel. It's not as if we haven't done so before. When NZ authorities busted a Mossad operation in Auckland 20 years ago, the Government didn't say: "Oh well, Israel has the right to defend itself". No, it arrested, prosecuted, convicted, imprisoned and deported the Israeli agents, plus made them pay a big sum of damages. And it refused to restore normal diplomatic relations with Israel, until Israel apologised to NZ. Which Israel did. Today's Government needs to treat Israel the same way it treats other aggressors, like Russia, with the likes of sanctions. And the Government needs to designate Zionism as an inherently racist, terrorist ideology.

Everyone knows that the Gaza War would stop in five minutes if the US stopped arming Israel to the teeth and allowing it to commit genocide with impunity. Israel is the mass murderer; the US is the enabler of mass murder. NZ is part of the US empire. The most useful thing we could do is to sever our ties to that empire, something we bravely started in the 80s with the nuclear free policy.

Develop a genuinely independent foreign policy. Get out of US wars, like the one in the Red Sea and Yemen. Get out of the Five Eyes spy alliance. Close the Waihopai spy base and the GCSB, the NZ agency which runs it. Kick out Rocket Lab, NZ's newest American military base. Stop the process of getting entangled with NATO. Stay out of AUKUS, which is simply building an alliance to fight a war with China. I never thought I'd find myself on the same side of an issue as Don Brash and Richard Prebble but even they have strongly opposed AUKUS. Zionism is the enemy of the Palestinian people. US imperialism is the enemy of the Palestinian people and the New Zealand people. ■

JOIN ABC AND GET PEACE RESEARCHER

Peace Researcher is the newsletter and journal of the Anti-Bases Campaign, Box 2258, Christchurch 8140, New Zealand. If you would like to join ABC, the details are below. All ABC members receive *Peace Researcher*.

Membership is \$20 per year (ABC is not registered for GST). **Donations welcome.**

Our bank account details are:

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You can also personally deposit cash into ABC's account at any Kiwibank branch. If you do that, make sure that you include your name as the reference.

If you're a new member, please e-mail us your name, postal address, e-mail address and phone number/s. ■