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## **Convincing Canberra: How foreign states seek to achieve their foreign policy objectives with the Australian Government**

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CONVINCING CANBERRA: HOW FOREIGN STATES SEEK TO  
ACHIEVE THEIR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES WITH THE  
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT

By

Lance Collins, BA(Soc Sci), Grad Dip Def Studies, MA

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Deakin University

March 2018



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AALD	Australian American Leadership Dialogue
ABCC	Australian Building and Construction Commission
ABF	Australian Border Force (amalgamation of Customs and Immigration)
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACIJ	Australian Centre for Independent Journalism (at University of Technology, Sydney)
ADA	Australian Defence Association
ADF	Australian Defence Force (military)
ADO	Australian Defence Organisation (wider defence apparatus)
AFP	Australian Federal Police
AG	Attorney General (person, or AGs, department)
AHRC	Australian Human Rights Commission
AIC	Australian Intelligence Corps (of the Army)
AICC	Australia Israel Chamber of Commerce
AIJAC	Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council
ALP	Australian Labor Party
AIPAC	American Israel Public Affairs Committee (US)
APAN	Australia Palestine Advocacy Network
APH	Australian Parliament House
AS	Australia (NATO Country Code)
ASD	Australian Signals Directorate, formerly Defences Signals Directorate.
ASIO	Australian Secret Intelligence Service
ASIS	Australian Security Intelligence Service
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
ASCANZUKUS	Australia, US, Canada, New Zealand, UK and US
AUSFTA	Australia—United States Free Trade Agreement
AUSTRAC	Australian Transaction Reports and Analysis Centre
AWB	Australian Wheat Board
AWH	Australian Water Holdings
AWM	Australian War Memorial
BRIC	Brazil, Russia, India, China; variations are: BRICS (includes South Africa) and BRIICS (includes Indonesia and South Africa)
CENTCOM	Central Command (US), also known as the Oil Command
CDF	Chief of the Defence Force (Australia)

CHOGRM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CPI	Corruption Perception Index (from Transparency International)
CSG	coal seam gas
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (Australia)
DFDA	Defence Force Discipline Act
DIA	Defence Intelligence Agency (US)
DIO	Defence Intelligence Organization (Australia)
DMI	Directorate of Military Intelligence
DOD	Department of Defence (Australia); alternately Defence Department, or Defence
DSA	Defence Security Agency (Australia)
DSB	Defence Security Branch (Australia), now DSA
DWSR	Dollar Wall Street Regime
DSD	Defence Signals Directorate, now Australian ... (ASD)
ETAN	East Timor Action Network (International)
FAD&T	Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (Subcommittee of the Australian Senate)
FOI	Freedom of Information
GFC	Global Financial Crisis (2008—)
IBAC	Independent Body Against Corruption (Victoria, Australia)
ID	Indonesia (NATO Country Code)
IDF	Israel Defence Forces
ICAC	Independent Commission against Corruption (NSW)
IDF	Israel Defence Force
IGIS	Inspector General of Intelligence and Security (Australia)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERFET	International Force East Timor (1999-2000)
IPA	Institute of Public Affairs
IR	(academic discipline of) international relations
IS	Israel (NATO Country Code)
ISDS	Investor-State Dispute Settlement (element of the TPP)
ISIL or IS	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, or Islamic State
I&S	Intelligence and Strategy (within Department of Defence—Australia)
ISOC	Israeli Organised Crime

JINSA	Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (US)
KOPASSUS	Indonesian abbreviation for their army special forces
LIHOP	‘let it happen on purpose’ (of deep operations)
LNC	Liberal-National Coalition (conservative political coalition—Australia)
MENA	Middle East North Africa
MIHOP	‘make it happen on purpose’ (of deep state operations)
MNC	multi-national corporation
NDB	New Development Bank
NSWSC	New South Wales Supreme Court (Australia)
ONA	Office of National Assessments (Australia)
OPI	Office of Police Integrity (Victoria, Australia)
RANR	Royal Australian Navy Reserve
PBAC	Pharmaceutical Benefits Advisory Committee (Australia)
PBS	Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (Australia)
PM	Prime Minister
PM&C	(Department of) Prime Minister and Cabinet (Australia)
PMC	private military company
PNAC	Project for the New American Century
R&R	rest and recreation (leave-military)
RANR	Royal Australian Naval Reserves
SACL	Sydney Airport Corporation Limited (Australia)
SACPAV	Standing Advisory Committee on Protection Against Violence (Australia)
SASR	Special Air Service Regiment (Australia)
SC	senior counsel (Australia)
SCAD	state crimes against democracy
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SIEV	Suspected Illegal Entry Vessel (Australia)
SLAPP	Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (US)
SRC	Student’s Representative Council (Australia)
STANAG	standardisation agreement (NATO)
TCC	transnational capitalist class
TNI	Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (formerly ABRI)
TTP	Trans Pacific Partnership
UN	United Nations

UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force, in Sinai to supervise the post Suez War (1956) ceasefire
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNOCAL	Union Oil Company (California)
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (May–Sep 1947)
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1929-1991)
WB	World Bank
WTC	World Trade Centre
WWI	World War One
WWII	World War Two

## PREFACE

History is evidence; thus its importance. In the opening pages of *Reluctant Saviour*, Clinton Fernandes describes how the authors of Canberra's 1998-99 East Timor policy justified their actions for posterity in an official DFAT publication, *East Timor in Transition 1998—2000: An Australian Policy Challenge*.<sup>1</sup> The particular interests in such politico-bureaucratic versions of history are usually undeclared. By contrast, Friedrichs and Kratochwil, in their study of the utility of pragmatism in IR research, proposed the 'purpose of research, including personal motivation, must be stated in public.'<sup>2</sup>

This author's twenty-six years' experience as a military intelligence officer is pertinent to the thesis. After graduating from La Trobe University in 1979 with sociology as the major discipline supported by history, anthropology and philosophy; the author joined the regular army as an officer cadet in 1979, graduating to the Australian Army's Intelligence Corps in mid-1980. Military service comprised initial experience as an infantry rifle platoon commander, then Australian Intelligence Corps appointments in: counterintelligence, electronic warfare, combat intelligence, strategic intelligence and what is called 'operational level' plans and intelligence staff positions. Expeditionary deployments comprised operational service in Kuwait and active service with the International Force East Timor (INTERFET) during September 1999 – February 2000.<sup>3</sup>

At the Joint Intelligence Organization (JIO)<sup>4</sup> Indonesian Army desk in 1986, the author was informed by Mr John Florent<sup>5</sup> of the Office of National Assessments (ONA) who led JIO's Indonesian Army desk in 1975, that 'Foreign Affairs' had

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<sup>1</sup> See: Fernandes, C., *Reluctant Saviour*, Scribe, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> J. Friedrichs and F. Kratochwil, On Acting and Knowing: How Pragmatism Can Advance International Relations Research and Methodology, *International Organization*, 63, Fall 2009, p. 715 of pp. 701-731.

<sup>3</sup> HQ3USA provided the base Coalition headquarters for the confrontation with Iraq over the status of UN weapons inspectors (1998).

<sup>4</sup> The Joint Intelligence Organization (JIO) was later renamed the Defence Intelligence Organisation (DIO).

<sup>5</sup> Formerly Lieutenant Colonel John (Pepe) Florent, Australian Intelligence Corps. Very highly regarded, he had no cause to mislead and was unlikely to be mistaken.

confiscated the material on the deaths of Australia-based journalists.<sup>6</sup> The conversation indicated supervision of the nation's Defence intelligence system by elements close to the centre of government.

During another appointment the author participated in national counter-terrorist exercises and a course conducted by the Attorney General's Department for selected police participants in the National Anti-Terrorist Plan. The omni-directional distrust between the federal and state police forces was noticeable.

The author was posted to the Plans Branch of Land Headquarters in 1993 where one duty was compiling the headquarters' response to drafts of the 1994 Defence White Paper which contained opinion—foreshadowing the 1995 treaty with Jakarta—that Indonesia was becoming our most important defence partner. Cooler heads prevailed and the more exuberant phrases were deleted. The Land Commander tasked the author to prepare a draft presentation on the defence of Australia. The headquarters Defence of Australia file was found empty but for a single slim folio: a fictitious scenario written for a training exercise. The immediate requirement was satisfied by a short appreciation<sup>7</sup>, which became a yearlong project. While government-departmental and academic work on defence policy, strategy, equipment and doctrine was voluminous; the experience inculcated the considerable difficulties and detail required in operations planning. What specific guidance is there, who goes where, when, to do what, against whom, with how few resources? It was also revealing of the organisational and personal bias inherent in the subject. That has particular application to Chapters Five and Seven.

From February to April 1998, the author served in Kuwait with Headquarters 3<sup>rd</sup> US Army, a precautionary defence against Saddam Hussein during the UN weapons inspection crisis; something that later morphed into the 'war of Monica Lewinsky's skirt': the bombing of Iraq (December 1998—February 1999) as Bill Clinton faced impeachment over a sex scandal.<sup>8</sup> Kuwait provided a worm's eye view of the

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<sup>6</sup> See IGIS, Bill Blick, *Balibo Inquiry: Balibo Killings 1975 And Intelligence Handling—A Report Of An Inquiry By The Inspector-General Of Intelligence And Security*, Inspector General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS), Offices of PM&C, Canberra, September 2001.

<sup>7</sup> A military planning process examining a complete range of factors to determine the courses open and select the best option to achieve the set aim: a form of feasibility study.

<sup>8</sup> R. Fisk, *The Great War for Civilisation*, Harper Perennial, London, 2006, p. 889.

American war machine; the hospitality of their soldiers and how politicised direction and encompassing worldviews flow down their command system, as they do in Australia's. In the author's 1998 annual performance assessment then Air Commodore Angus Houston wrote,

... contributed substantially to the success of seven major operations and the ongoing development of HQAST. I greatly value his contribution which has been highlighted by dedication, intellectual rigour, extensive knowledge and a highly developed analytical capacity to successfully handle difficult conceptual tasks. Typical were a number of intelligence estimates which were consistently balanced, well-reasoned, informative and, with the benefit of hindsight accurate.

The following annual report, from then Major General Peter Cosgrove's Brisbane based headquarters, similarly portended no trouble. While there, the author was appointed senior coalition military intelligence officer for the UN intervention into East Timor (September 1999-February 2000). Canberra and the ADF have been lauded for the relief of East Timor; the ordinary service personnel, junior officers and other ranks, certainly warrant the praise. Behind the scenes, the author's credible sources related, Washington gave Jakarta a warning so blunt even the TNI could not ignore it—and that was the decisive point. TNI gave way.

On returning to Australia, believing the Timor episode satisfactorily ended and that everyone might have learned something, the author was ordered to Hawaii as the single Australian representative on the US Pacific Command post-INTERFET intelligence debrief, and to the UK in an Australian delegation to an international forum on Peacekeeping.

In September 2000 the author found he, amongst others, was named on an Australian Federal Police (AFP) warrant supposedly concerning leaks of intelligence about East Timor. Defence protected the accusers; little different from the hooded denunciation of innocents during Mau Mau.<sup>9</sup>

Indicators of Australian government mis- and malfeasance have come as: a) tip-offs, comments, glances and evasions; b) an AFP investigation; and c) a senior security

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<sup>9</sup> African uprising against British colonists in Kenya (1952-60): 12,000 Africans confirmed killed; possibly 20,000.

official boasting to the author he had ‘such coercive power, that things he set in train could even force people to commit suicide...’<sup>10</sup> That official made similar remarks to another, who subsequently informed the author.<sup>11</sup> In just one case over ten years, the Howard government’s use of the security services to protect political interests from public scrutiny, and to intimidate lantern-bearers, entailed:<sup>12</sup>

- a. ‘the biggest [Federal Police] investigation of its type ever conducted’;<sup>13</sup>
- b. a death in Washington<sup>14</sup> and long-term psychiatric care for a Defence civilian in Australia;
- c. ‘inquiries’ by two Inspectors General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS), one of which contradicted the other;<sup>15</sup> and
- d. parliamentary and media scrutiny eclipsed by successful pro-government defamation cases.

Professional experience provided two major insights into the reality of international relations (IR). First, military deployments no matter how foreseeable often occur with little warning and great urgency as the government responds to public pressure to do something: September 1999 saw some young Australians deployed with little warning, unable to check the sighting of their seldom fired weapons. Second, is the duplicity of government: wringing a public hand for human rights; privately reaching with the other for East Timor’s natural resources.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> To the author, as recounted in a formal, taped ADF investigative interview, dated 14 May 2003.

<sup>11</sup> Letter passed to the author. [Archives 693]

<sup>12</sup> ‘Lantern-bearers’ is NY policeman, Serpico’s, term for what are commonly called whistle-blowers.

<sup>13</sup> D. Lague, Soldier’s home searched over leaks, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 September 2000, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> A. Fowler, Caught in the Crossfire, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, broadcast 16 April 2001. The program deals with the death of DIO officer, Mervyn Jenkins in 1999.

<sup>15</sup> IGIS was established by the Hawke government after the Sheraton Hotel Incident in Melbourne when an ASIS training exercise involving personnel carrying weapons went wrong. Hotel staff and Victoria Police had not been informed. See, NAA, *The Sheraton Hotel affair, the second Hope Royal Commission and Army counter-terrorism capability*.

<sup>16</sup> See P. Cleary, *Shakedown: Australia’s grab for Timor oil*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, p. 44.

## SUMMARY

Australia's rather subordinate relationship to some other states is made clear when tension between them brings Canberra's choices into focus. If the aims of significant states are more or less in accord, Canberra is able to balance its relations between them. Discord causes consternation: Australian policy makers have trouble deciding which to obey. Indecision was evident in Canberra's anxiety when Washington and Jakarta's aims diverged over East Timor in 1998-99; and when tension between Beijing and Washington sparked the Armitage-Downer exchanges and Chinese warnings over Taiwan. While Washington and Jakarta loom large, Canberra's fidelity to Israel, which the latter regards with 'something akin to amazement', is more difficult to understand.<sup>1</sup>

While there is a significant body of writing about the Americans and ANZUS, and the Jakarta and Israel lobbies receive some academic and media attention, to my knowledge there is a lack of open-source analysis about how these three lobbies gain influence with Canberra and to what ends. Similarly there are limited sociological studies examining the wider Australian society and its response to foreign lobbying and international relations. To address these apparent gaps in the understanding, this dissertation will consider the question: how do other states seek to influence Canberra's foreign policy, using the US, Israel and Indonesia as case studies?

This empirical analysis of political processes will draw predominantly on evidence readily available in the public domain, supported by other unclassified material. Academic works lay out the background and some of the theoretical issues involved, for example, in regard to the security of Australia and the nature of social groups such as politicians and the bureaucracy. Government, opposition, bureaucratic and military opinions, facts, deceptions and evasions are available in official documents together with Parliamentary and court records. In the era of state-corporate cooperation, some journalists are still willing to air actions that many in the power clique<sup>2</sup> would prefer to keep secret; thus their work is valuable. The internet's social

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<sup>1</sup> See: C. Rubenstein, A Distant Affinity: The History of Australian Israeli Relations, *Jewish Political Studies Review* 19:3-4 (Fall 2007), Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs.

<sup>2</sup> The power clique will be described in more detail in the main body of the dissertation. In short, it comprises a network of politicians, the civil, intelligence and military bureaucracies, corporate

media and special interest sites—that vary widely in usefulness from intriguing to delusional—are nonetheless useful ‘tripwires’ to noteworthy information.

The dissertation will establish that lobbying networks—supportive of the US, Israel and Indonesia—operate in Australia and that the now waning American alliance has, historically, been the catalyst for such cooperation. As other states act in the self-interest of their ‘elites’, their success raises questions about the strength and integrity of the Australian polity. Analysis of Australian society—its political economy and dominant power—leads in turn to the consideration of what is often termed an elite, but will be referred to by the more accurate descriptor of a power clique, within the conceptual framework of the *deep state* and *shadow government*. The notion of partly-open, much-hidden flexible networks<sup>3</sup> of protected insiders working either knowingly or naively to advance the interests of other states, will be examined in terms of Tacitus’ notion of *arcana imperii*, power as a hidden thing.<sup>4</sup>

Although the Washington, Israel and Jakarta lobbies are different in their composition, access and methods, they have common-enough aims, structures and methods to exert discomfiting pressure on their Australian targets. The research shows these lobby groups have commonalities and discernible differences that would provide both: the theoretical basis for analysis of other foreign interest lobbying, for example the Chinese, and the identification of measures to curtail the efficacy of such lobbying.

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controllers and elements of the justice system. Significantly for the dissertation, this group closely matches AUSTRAAC’s list of persons vulnerable to foreign bribery. See AUSTRAAC, *Strategic Analysis Brief: Politically exposed persons, corruption and foreign bribery*, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> For detail on ‘flexicans’ see J. Wedel, *Shadow Elite*, Basic Books, NY, 2009.

<sup>4</sup> For *arcana imperii*, see E. Horn, Logics of Political Secrecy, in, *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol 28, 2011, pp 103-122.

# INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

## SUBTEXTS

### Noises Off

Michael Frayn's 1982 farcical comedy about a stage play unravelling, *Noises Off*, is witnessed in three acts. The first is the dress rehearsal seen from the audience view as the cast struggle with eleventh-hour nerves. The second act is viewed from backstage, some weeks into the season, when simmering tensions between the actors threaten to degrade the performance. The third, comprehended again from the audience view weeks later, sees order collapse and the over-wrought actors, losing the plot, make up the lines as they go along.

This is a useful metaphor for Australia's mixed domestic politics and foreign policy—'the Canberra disease of being in a company town with a company mentality.'<sup>1</sup> There, the authorised Persian Version<sup>2</sup> is narrated in what Thomas Piketty terms 'the chaste veil of official publications'.<sup>3</sup> The journalist, Jeff Sharlet, in his study of the political influence of Christian fundamentalism in the US, describes an 'alchemy of logic by which doubt became the essence of dogma.'<sup>4</sup> British academic and former MP, David Marquand, is more succinct: 'governments, their advisers and the peoples they represent all speak with forked tongues.'<sup>5</sup>

This thesis examines the means by which lobby groups representing the interests of the US, Israel and Indonesia seek to influence Canberra's foreign policy.<sup>6</sup> While Anglosphere<sup>7</sup> cultural ties with America are obvious, the links to Israel and Indonesia

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<sup>1</sup> D. Stewart, founding commissioner of the National Crime Authority (NCA), *Recollections of an Unreasonable Man: From the beat to the bench*, ABC, Sydney, 2007, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> A satirical poem, by the English war poet, Robert Graves, that parodies a fictional Persian official account of the Battle of Marathon.

<sup>3</sup> T. Piketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Belknap Press (Harvard University Press), Massachusetts, 2014, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sharlet, *The Family: power, politics and fundamentalism's shadow elite*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2008, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> D. Marquand, *Mammon's Kingdom*, Allen Lane, 2014, p. 73.

<sup>6</sup> For some discussion of resurgent Anglosphere support for Israel see R. Ahren, Brave New Anglosphere: Israel revels in fresh support from US-UK-Australia triumvirate, *Times of Israel*, 19 January 2017.

<sup>7</sup> For conservatives, 'Anglosphere' has comforting overtones of cultural and linguistic compatibility. The political right, to varying degrees, represent the idea as a power base in an unstable world. The left fears another empire in line with the neo-cons desire for global dominance.

are less so. While there is reference to the relationships between them in the context of particular issues, such as Clinton Fernandes' work on the Jakarta Lobby in *Reluctant Saviour*, and the American relationship much addressed in the universities and press, the author is unaware of work that addresses the links between all four states and the mechanisms that forged and enforce them. This dissertation addresses that gap and in doing so, draws on a number of subtexts as outlined below.

### **Ideologues and Intellectuals**

A key subtext of this dissertation is that *not all is as officially or traditionally portrayed*. In the contest for public knowledge and perception, two main groups of observer/participant narrators or commentators emerge. The first can be labelled *ideologues*: their chief characteristic being a fidelity to politico-corporate power and its prevailing orthodoxies: the market and since 9/11, the war on terror. Their preferred mediums are government or 'think tank' publications or the corporate mass media. Broadly they can be described as either: *conservative-moderates* who wish to maintain the current order or revert to a more restrained version of it; or *reactionaries* who want to strengthen and hasten the application of the ideology. In contrast to ideologues, *intellectuals* are often in conflict with political power. These comprise a range of views from the great majority of *social-changers* who wish to reform society using measures such as more equitable wages and undoing corruption, through to *revolutionaries* who wish to replace the current political-economic system as irremediable. Intellectuals tend to rely on academic and current affairs journals/news-magazines and emerging media.

The fog is thickened by a range of other actors; from devoted theists to unreconstructed theorists, racists, bigots, nationalists, humanitarians and propagandists. This is not to say that one group or the other has a monopoly on misrepresentations or upright character. Bertrand Russell noted, 'The fundamental cause of the trouble is that in the modern world the stupid are cocksure while the intelligent are full of doubt.'<sup>8</sup> Plato makes similar observations in his version of the *Apology* of Socrates.<sup>9</sup> So does Brownowski, in *The Ascent of Man*, when he, visiting

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<sup>8</sup> B. Russell, The Triumph of Stupidity, in B. Russell, *Mortals and Others: Bertrand Russell's American Essays*, 1931-1935, v.2, p.28.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, (circa 430-350BC), B. Jowett (trans), *Apology*, Gutenberg.

Auschwitz, referred to dogma and ignorance juxtaposed with Cromwell's, 'I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.'<sup>10</sup>

Such a burden does not come without retribution; the American political sociologist, Seymour Lipset observed the 'emergence of the intellectual into the political battle as an active partisan brought with it anti-intellectualism as a line of counterattack by the harassed political and religious conservatives.'<sup>11</sup> It is necessary to examine contestable aspects of Australian history which underpin the official versions.

### **Epochal Change**

The second subtext of the thesis is that Australian *society has been undergoing epochal change with the interests of a power clique diverging from the rest.*<sup>12</sup> The neo-liberal resurgence was barely underway when Bronowski described the 'age old conflict between intellectual leadership and civil authority.'<sup>13</sup> Readers then, with the Vietnam War mostly considered an aberration, could scarcely imagine how civil authority by the 21<sup>st</sup> Century would be corporatised, bureaucratised, technocratised, militarised and corrupted.<sup>14</sup> In the intervening decades, the distribution of wealth has regressed to, as Piketty put it, 19<sup>th</sup> Century levels.<sup>15</sup> Oxfam reported in 2015 this mal-alignment being exceeded with the top one percent of people forecast to own more than 50 percent of global wealth by 2016; the ratio calculated to rise sharply thereafter.<sup>16</sup> Gerald Harvey lectured that in all of history the working class were only reasonably well-off between the end of World War II (WWII) and the mid-1970s.<sup>17</sup> Piketty charts a similar dynamic and attributes it to the 'violent military, political and

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<sup>10</sup> J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man*, BBC, London, 1979.

<sup>11</sup> S.M. Lipset, *Political Man: the social bases of politics*, Doubleday NY 1960.

<sup>12</sup> 'Power elite', C. Wright Mills' term, is described by Marquand as 'the corporate elite, what remains of the old public-service elite and the handful of politicians who manage to climb the greasy pole have merged into an informal constellation of power with shared values, assumptions and expectations...an unquestioned set of beliefs that tell them they have a right to rule, along with a touching faith in the beneficence of untamed capitalism.' Marquand, *op cit.*, p. 175. Power clique is a more precise term reflecting patronage.

<sup>13</sup> Bronowski, *op cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>14</sup> See: M. Triffitt, How fat cats are advising us on the rich-poor gap, *The Canberra Times*, 30 April 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Piketty, *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Oxfam International, D. Hardoon, *Wealth: Having it all and wanting more*, 19 January 2015.

<sup>17</sup> D. Harvey, *The Contradictions of Capital*, *Big Ideas*, ABC RN, broadcast 2000hr 21 January 2014.

economic conflicts that marked the twentieth century.’<sup>18</sup>

Collins and Reed earlier described the same phenomenon; concessions granted to the working class to forestall the threat of a new socialist economic/political model; then the collapse of the perceived alternative having a leash-slipping effect on capitalism.<sup>19</sup> Sharlet notes a ‘Cold War moment when America was a nation of single breadwinner nuclear families.’<sup>20</sup> Nicole Foss, among others, warned of economic and environmental reckonings ahead.<sup>21</sup> Will Hutton reinforced the sentiment, cautioning there ‘must be wholesale change in economic thinking.’<sup>22</sup>

### **The Effect of Orthodoxy and Social Issues**

The third subtext is the *difficulty of getting traction on social/political/economic issues*, which influence social cohesion and thus national security; this despite the amount of investigation and insight conducted by some diligent academics and journalists.

Much of Australian foreign policy has been and remains fixed to the notions of perceived reality as defined by the official and mainstream narrative; evidenced by the remnants of 19<sup>th</sup> Century coastal fortification around Australia predicated on the assumed threat of a Russian invasion. The current political definition of ‘reality’ was captured by the US journalist, Suskind, in a conversation with an aide to George W. Bush, commonly believed to be Karl Rove.

The aide said that guys like me [Suskind] were “in what we call the reality-based community,” which he defined as people who “believe that solutions emerge from your judicious study of discernible reality.” I nodded and murmured something about enlightenment principles and empiricism. He cut me off. “That’s not the way the world really works anymore,” he continued. “We’re an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality. And while you’re studying that reality—judiciously, as you will—we’ll act again, creating other new realities, which you can

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<sup>18</sup> Piketty, op. cit., p. 118.

<sup>19</sup> L. Collins and W. Reed, *Plunging Point: Intelligence Failures, Cover-ups and Consequences*, HarperCollins, Sydney, 2005, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> Sharlet, op. cit., p. 292.

<sup>21</sup> N. Foss, Building resilience in an era of limits to growth, *Big Ideas*, ABC RN, broadcast, 22 January 2014.

<sup>22</sup> W. Hutton, Crashing markets are telling us something, *The Guardian Weekly*, Vol 194, No 7, 22 January 2016, p. 18.

study too, and that's how things will sort out. We're history's actors ... and you, all of you, will be left to just study what we do.<sup>23</sup>

Within Australia a deep preparedness to conform to orthodoxy has long been noted. In 1992 Robert Manne commented on the impoverishment and conformity of Australian intellectuals who rarely showed 'signs of dissent.'<sup>24</sup> More recently and attracting criticism for it, Alecia Simmonds wrote:

Any idea that takes longer than a nano-second to understand...[or] threatens conservative orthodoxy is consigned to the divine irrelevancy of the academy... Australia is a vast, sunny, intellectual gulag. The question is why. It's certainly not for want of thinkers.<sup>25</sup>

Under the weight of bi-partisan politics, the left in Australia has not thrown up popular leadership challenges to orthodoxy that Jeremy Corbyn in the UK and Bernie Sanders in the US represent. Australian orthodoxy has a one-dimensional aspect where there is little consideration of views that diverge from the official narrative. Things go unnoticed in the mainstream, for example: the reported capture by Iraqis of an Israeli officer fighting with ISIL in Iraq<sup>26</sup>, or the role of Western interests in the destabilisation of Syria.<sup>27</sup>

### **An Australian Deep State?**

States have an obligation to protect information essential for collective security and common wealth. Professors Peter Dale Scott (University of California, Berkeley) and Lance deHaven-Smith (Florida State University) have advanced theories of deliberate misconduct (*deep state events* and *state crimes against democracy* respectively) by power cliques in the US. They write of criminal conduct by elements masquerading behind or within the state for private motives: power or and profit. There is a growing political science and journalistic commentary on the *deep state*. With the Trump 45

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<sup>23</sup> R. Suskind, Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush, *New York Times*, Magazine, 17 October 2004.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Manne cited in M. Gunn, Intellectual life 'impoverished', *The Australian*, 3-4 Oct 1992, p. 3. Also see: D. Bagnell, Minds in Neutral, *The Bulletin*, 20 Oct 1992, p. 22.

<sup>25</sup> A. Simmonds, Why Australia hates thinkers, Daily Life, *Fairfax*, 15 May 2013.

<sup>26</sup> F.W. Engdahl, Guess Who is Behind the Islamic State? Israeli Colonel 'Caught with IS Pants Down', *New Eastern Outlook* (25 Nov 15) via *Global Research*, 26 November 2015.

<sup>27</sup> N. Ahmed, Syria intervention plan fuelled by oil interests, not chemical weapon concern, *The Guardian*, 31 August 2013.

Administration in—possibly staged—open conflict with sections of the intelligence system and the media, the notion of a deep state has entered the mainstream. In international relations (IR) theory the concept has not been explained nor adopted as a formal model.

For Australia, with Richard Ackland's article, in *The Guardian* of 6 May 2016, the term 'shadow government' moved from the blogosphere to the Australian mainstream.<sup>28</sup> Kim Beazley, in an address to an RAN audience, described his version of a benign Australian deep state intimately aligned with Washington.<sup>29</sup>

Apparent from the works mentioned and sharpened by the author's experience, *hidden and protected elements* in the control of Australia appear to exist. Some Australians, including many who consider themselves worldly and well-versed in current affairs, would subjectively doubt that a *deep state* could happen here. Given the power of defensive reasoning it would entail some difficulty to convince them otherwise. Awakening comes abruptly. One analogy is Lewis Carroll's Wonderland, where Alice was bored and sleepy in a field until she followed a rabbit down that hole and things changed completely. US Congress Delegate Freitas expressed it thus: 'You do not truly appreciate evil when you look at it. You appreciate what it is when it looks back.'<sup>30</sup> The possibility of *high-level mis and malfeasance in Australia* is the fourth subtext of this thesis.<sup>31</sup>

### **Deductions from Subtexts**

Ideological or experiential leanings amidst the fog of claim and counterclaim will influence attitudes. The advice of Clausewitz is thus useful: 'Small things always depend on great ones, unimportant on important, accidentals on essentials. This must guide our approach.'<sup>32</sup> Empirical facts become signposts: such as the number of

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<sup>28</sup> R. Ackland, We have an Orwellian 'shadow government' and your liberty is at risk, *The Guardian*, 6 May 2016.

<sup>29</sup> S. Burchill, keynote address, *Trump v The Deep State*, Seminar, Deakin University, 6 March 2017. Also see: Kim Beazley, Full text of, *2016 Vernon Parker Oration*, Australian Naval Institute, 9 August, 2016. Guy Rundel had previously mentioned ASIO as 'a small version of a "deep state"' in his, What we know about ASIO's 'deep-state' operations, *Crikey*, 16 October 2015,

<sup>30</sup> N. Freitas, N., Delegate, US Congress, *Speech in Support of SFC Martland*, 23 February 2016.

<sup>31</sup> Misfeasance: a wrong done, wrong-doing in office. Malfeasance: the doing of what a person ought not do, an illegal act.

<sup>32</sup> C. Von Clausewitz, [M. Howard and P. Paret, eds] *On War*, Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 595-596.

American overseas military bases compared to Russian and Chinese; maps denoting the Israeli colonisation of Palestine since 1948; and the erosion of civil liberties and egalitarianism in Australia.

### THE SUBJECT RESEARCH DILEMMA

Canberra had long displayed foreign policy support for the US alliance. It is generally represented by the ANZUS Treaty together with a network of ‘friendly’ states beyond the ‘organic ideal’ of the Anglosphere.<sup>33</sup> These include elements of NATO, Israel, Indonesia and some Persian Gulf states. This has been ideologically underpinned by the alliance with, in recent decades, American neo-liberalism in its political and economic forms; and after the collapse of the Cold War bogey, the war on terror (until its subordination in early 2018 by a return to US power tension with Russia and China). With a lack of consultation amidst discernible public unease, Canberra’s foreign policy has been relatively constant, despite the controversial conduct of some partners: the US (destabilisation and wars of domination), Israel (military occupation, ethnic cleansing<sup>34</sup>) and Indonesia (human rights abuses, invasions, ethnic cleansing). Australia maintains cordial relations with another notable US ally, Saudi Arabia, despite an extraordinary rise in the number of beheadings and the desert kingdom’s shadowy role in Middle East unrest. A marked escalation of Canberra’s part in American Syrian provocations was RAAF involvement in the US air strike on Deir Ezzor (September 2016) which killed between 62-90 Syrian troops, wounded others and damaged relations with Russia.<sup>35</sup> What caused the RAAF to be there? What communications were exchanged with foreign powers or undertakings given?

Underscoring these questions is the fact that if Australian policies were as honest and impartial as its citizens are led to believe, it would not matter what or how entreaties were made by foreign actors because they would simply fall on deaf ears. This raises

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<sup>33</sup> M Wesley, *The Howard Paradox*, ABC Books, Sydney, 2007, p. 52.

<sup>34</sup> Office of the Commissioner of Human Rights, *ICJ should assess legal status of prolonged Israeli occupation of Palestine, says UN rights expert*, UNCHR, Geneva, 21 March 2014. Article refers to Richard Falk, UN Special Rapporteur on occupied Palestine.

<sup>35</sup> See: RT, Australian Army chief talks up threats to ‘ethical’ warfare – but track record suggests hypocrisy, *Russia Today*, 26 February 2018.

questions about the nature of power and decision-making circles in Canberra, their relationships with foreign interests and duty to the electorate.

### **AIM**

The aim of this dissertation is to analyse how foreign states seek to achieve their foreign policy objectives with the Australian government.

### **SCOPE**

The case studies selected are the US, Israel and Indonesia with comparative reference to other countries when appropriate. Inherent in this are the aims, structures and methods of their Australia-based lobby groups together with reference to their successes and failures. The dissertation is general rather than particular: an empirical analysis of political processes. Australia's interstate relations take place in wide-ranging socio-political and historical-economic circumstances. The present associations based on historical contexts—the British Empire and its encroaching American cousins—were formed in the late 1940-60s. These linkages are now being shaped for an uncertain future where China looms large and our most important neighbour, Indonesia, will have a projected population approaching 305 million by 2035.<sup>36</sup>

It is a reasonable assumption that other states will act in ways defined by their own elites as being in their national interests; thus their government, corporate, or other groups like organised crime, would merely be doing what they should be expected to do. In Australia, the concurrence of the people is necessary for executing a mostly bi-partisan foreign policy. Australians themselves are therefore a critical factor in their nation's international relations. The role of Australians necessitates a review of Australian society and its relation with Canberra's 'power clique'; with the complicating factors of lobbying, corruption and the influence of the mainstream and other media. The structural-functional composition of the Australian power clique, for its influence over the domestic electorate and openness to foreign influence, is a key consideration.

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<sup>36</sup> NIC 2017-001, G. Trevorton, (Chair), *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress*, National Intelligence Council, Washington, January 2017, pp.99.

## METHODOLOGY AND OVERVIEW

### Genesis of the Research Topic

The research topic unfolded from a conversation with an academic in which the subject of the Indonesia lobby and a Chinese dissident's warning of Beijing's designs 'to turn Australia to a political colony of China' were raised.<sup>37</sup> It was remarked that little work was available on such foreign influences and discussion ensued on Canberra's closeness to Washington, Tel Aviv and Jakarta being the basis for useful study.<sup>38</sup> The high politics and repercussions surrounding the 1999 East Timor intervention and unpopular 2003 invasion of Iraq against the backdrop of the Howard government's frequent use of the AFP against lantern-bearers – 111 investigations in three years – invited curiosity about how Canberra interrelates with select foreign states and why.

The point of departure for research – reinforced in the sub-texts above – was influenced by the author's earlier studies in sociology, history, defence studies and international relations, together with military intelligence experience and co-authorship with an ex-ASIS officer of a published book on intelligence failures.<sup>39</sup> Canberra's close relations with some states and antagonism towards others is largely observable, as are irregularities in the conduct of Commonwealth and corporate affairs and the increasing drive to deny information – often freely provided to other states – to the electorate, and punish those who pass it *sub rosa*. This establishes opposing baselines of argument where 'liberal democratic ideas and interests clash with 'embedded mercantilist and statist perspectives'<sup>40</sup> In this contest of intellectuals versus ideologues, the state and its allies have the preponderance of institutional, legal, financial, and coercive power that greatly regulates the availability and integrity of information. With the additional prospects of deliberate disinformation and mistaken misinformation, the available data is often incomplete and

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<sup>37</sup> Prof Yuan Hongling, formerly of Beijing University Law Faculty, cited in, AAP, China wants Australia as a 'political colony', *The Age*, 15 June 2005. Cited in Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 214.

<sup>38</sup> The Israeli government of Menachem Begin passed a law decreeing Jerusalem the capital and seat of government resulting in UNSC Resolutions 476 and 478. Most embassies, including Australia's, remain in Tel Aviv, the former capital and seat of government. Also see: M. Zonstein, *According to BBC, Israel has no capital—but Palestine does*, 972, 19 July 2012.

<sup>39</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit.

<sup>40</sup> W. De Lint and Sirpa Virta, (citing Gill), Security in Ambiguity, *Theoretical Criminology*, Vol. 8(4), Sage Publications, 2004, p. 468.

contradictory. The complex and contestable nature of the data, together with the research aim of extending knowledge about matters, that interests with considerable power wish to keep secret, has implications for the research methodology and classification of sources.

### **Methodology – Benefit of a Practical Approach**

A number of methodological perspectives were considered. Within the discourse on IR methodology, Lamont describes the ‘duelling epistemologies’, or ‘divide’, of *empiricism* and *interpretivism*. The former is social science-based: positing IR research as akin to ‘study of the natural world’ where ‘theories seek to observe and explain state behaviour while also testing falsifiable hypotheses derived from observations of empirical facts.’<sup>41</sup> In contrast, *interpretivism* aims to ‘understand identities, ideas, norms and culture’ to reveal the ‘social and power structures’.<sup>42</sup>

#### **C. Wright Mills criticised empiricism.**

One continued weakness of American ‘social science’ since it became ever so empirical, has been the assumption that a mere enumeration of a plurality of causes is the wise and scientific way of going about understanding modern society. Of course it is nothing of the sort: it is a paste-pot eclecticism which avoids the real task of social analysis: that task is to go beyond a mere enumeration of all the facts that might conceivably be involved and weigh each of them in such a way as to understand how they fit together, how they form a model of what it is you are trying to understand...Undue attention to the middle levels of power obscures the structure of power as a whole, especially the top and bottom.<sup>43</sup>

It might be remarked that the top levels of power – ‘the captains of industry and their cabin boys in parliament’<sup>44</sup> – are little known or heeded, something that inhibits analysis. The bottom is relatively powerless in current circumstances.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, empirical facts are stubborn things, as are lack of them – intelligence gaps. To illustrate this, American troops fighting Apaches in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century were told to

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<sup>41</sup> C. Lamont, *Research Methods in International Relations*, Sage, Los Angeles, 2015, pp. 18-19.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., (Lamont), pp. 19-20.

<sup>43</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000, (originally published 1956), p. 245.

<sup>44</sup> R. Ackland, Cascade falls, *The Saturday Paper*, 30 July—4 August 2016.

<sup>45</sup> See C. Hedges, *The Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, 2010, pp. 125, 194-6.

be cautious when they saw signs of Indians, and even more careful when they did not. This supports the relative importance of both empirical facts and interpretive models, particularly when what passes for fact is contested, as is the case of some of the research data presented in this analysis. Both empiricism and interpretivism appear to offer useful methodologies to the research subject.

With its formative links to sociology and emphasis on ‘empirical analysis’, constructivism seeks ‘conceptual and theoretical illumination through the systematic analysis of empirical puzzles in world politics.’<sup>46</sup> Additional strengths are constructivism’s application to the ‘moral’ justifications of political organisations, particularly states, and the dynamics of ‘moral community’, along with emphasis on ‘historical sociology’ and ‘international history’.<sup>47</sup>

For a general empirical analysis of political processes over time, a blending of approaches, rather than concentrating on ‘divides’ offers advantages. In the military strategy dimension of IR, Rear Admiral Wylie reviewed the apparently competing environmental — and hence ‘service’ based, maritime, continental, aerospace (and now undoubtedly cyber) – strategies to blend a general military strategy to complement national economic and diplomatic grand strategies.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, the flexibility of methodology proposed by Friedrich and Kratochwil might avert some of the interpretive rejection of ‘the distinction between the researcher and social world, [that is] implied by empiricists’.<sup>49</sup> In similar vein, while the dissertation is principally qualitative, it relies on quantitative research for some analysis, such as the relative casualties between Israel and its neighbours, Australia’s sliding place on the international corruption index, the dollar amount of political donations, or the number of federal police investigations ordered under LNC prime ministers.

At a methodological level, two alternative approaches are proposed by Cox that differentiate between analyses for the purpose of description or analysis of power relations. A conservative *problem solving approach* would seek to determine what is

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<sup>46</sup> C. Reus-Smit, Constructivism, p. 222 of pp. 217-240, in, S. Burchill and A. Linklater, (eds), *Theories of International Relations*, Fifth Edition, Palgrave, London, 2013.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 234.

<sup>48</sup> J.C. Wylie, *Military Strategy: A General Theory of Power Control*, Naval Institute Press, 1967.

<sup>49</sup> See Lamont, op. cit., p. 20.

going on regarding foreign states and Australia's domestic and foreign affairs.<sup>50</sup> It assumes that state institutions are as they appear to be and irregularities if they are admitted at all are minor, junior and repairable. A disadvantage of problem-solving is defining reality or knowledge; power institutions are favoured with tradition, well-funded public relations offices and a largely supportive media. In Australia, as Donald Horne observed, what passes for public affairs 'takes the principle performers at their own value, and perpetuates their pomposities.'<sup>51</sup>

*Critical theory*, by contrast, 'does not take institutions and social and power relations for granted' but interrogates them for their origins and changing nature.<sup>52</sup> This has some merit for this dissertation, considering the imperial and cultural beginning of Australian foreign policy. Critical theory examines the sum of the parts in the context of historical change; the findings tending towards 'emancipatory politics.'<sup>53</sup> Cox proposes that periods of stability in inter-state power relationships are conducive to problem solving as a benign overall situation warrants prolonging the constancy; whereas periods of crisis strengthens the appeal of critical theory in order to deal with risk.<sup>54</sup>

The selection of methodology is also influenced by practical concerns. Lamont describes the difficulty of matching IR methodology 'to the wider policy community', the narrowing focus of IR inquiry, and the assertion that 'certain methods' within the discipline are alleged to be 'restating the obvious in complicated language.'<sup>55</sup> Friedrich and Kratochwil describe the futility of the 'epistemological quest for the incontrovertible foundations of scientific knowledge', proposing instead 'abduction', or 'best guess', as one of a number of pragmatic research methodologies.<sup>56</sup> They point out that 'factual statements are extremely rare in social

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<sup>50</sup> For problem solving and critical theory approaches, see: R.W. Cox, *Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1981, pp. 126-130.

<sup>51</sup> D. Horne, *The Lucky Country*, Penguin, Melbourne, 2009, p. 220.

<sup>52</sup> Cox, op. cit., p. 129.

<sup>53</sup> R. Devetak, *Critical Theory*, in S. Burchill and A. Linklater, (eds), *Theories of International Relations*, 5<sup>th</sup> Ed, Palgrave MacMillan, 2013, p. 163 of pp. 162-186.

<sup>54</sup> Cox, op. cit., p. 130.

<sup>55</sup> Lamont, citing Nicholson, (2002), op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> J. Friedrichs and F. Kratochwil, *On Acting and Knowing: How Pragmatism Can Advance International Relations Research and Methodology*, *International Organisation*, 63, Fall 2009, p. 701 of pp. 701-731.

intercourse’ and the ‘personal realm or private mind of others is ultimately inaccessible’.<sup>57</sup> They argue for proceeding ‘without the naïve optimism that faith in unshakeable epistemological foundation implies...[to act on reasonable bets] to develop a research methodology that would mimic the way we generated knowledge in everyday social practice...that what we see is not random.’<sup>58</sup>

Against backgrounds of deep states, corruption and erosion of civil liberties, De Lint and Virta note

exclusive focus on national laws and institutions (nation states and national governments)\_ does not accommodate subnational, transnational and subpolitical developments in the international system’ and see a ‘convergence of international relations and criminological literature on the security question.’<sup>59</sup>

In circumstances, such as the ‘war on terror’ where the security question is used to introduce more restrictive laws and increase government secrecy and surveillance, the confluence of IR and criminology may prove to be a revealing line of inquiry.

An initial estimate of the research task pointed to information requirements including: the academic IR theoretical context in which Australia’s close relations with some states over others takes place; the nature of decisive power in Australia and the society’s broad acceptance of these associations. An early assumption was that, given the contested nature of the available data and political-social groupings involved, analysis would be inductive and indicative, rather than deductive and conclusive.

The path was to conduct a principally but not exclusionary empirical analysis of political processes. Relying on open-source material the research raises questions about established orthodoxies, and exposes the political construction of these orthodoxies. The sequence adopted was to conduct initially coarse-grained basic research to discern the situation, identify gaps of knowledge and inadequacies within currently accepted IR theoretical constructs, then propose models of ostensibly hidden power as aids for future research. Books – scholarly, intellectual and

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid., pp. 703-704.

<sup>58</sup> Friedrichs and Kratochwil, op. cit., p. 709.

<sup>59</sup> W. De Lint and S. Virta, *Security in Ambiguity: Towards a radical security politics, Theoretical Criminology*, Vol 8(4), Sage Publications, 2004, pp. 465-467 of 465-489.

journalistic – influenced this initial research. Subsequent fine-grained research employed open-source material along with unclassified government documents parliamentary Hansard, court records *et cetera* as specified in the bibliography.

Throughout the process, an overwatch of current events was maintained through two of the three supporting studies outlined below. Where the sources are augmented by the author's past professional encounters, knowledge or impressions, this will be identified and comprises the author's evidence.

### **Lines of Inquiry**

Three lines of inquiry were developed in parallel with the main dissertation research. While not appearing in the paper due to length, they might be noted.

The first came from within the research requirement to identify any links between the strategies of allied states and Canberra's perhaps ultimate statement of support: military operations. A planned chapter on the politics of Australia's wars was finally excluded from the dissertation because of its 10,000 word length. The evidence collected for that excised chapter nonetheless generally supports the "other peoples' wars" theses most recently advanced by Reynolds<sup>60</sup> along with Stephens and Broinowsky *et al* during the much-celebrated centenary of World War I.<sup>61</sup> Challenging standard Anglosphere accounts of the peaceful British Empire reluctantly drawn into war to defend Belgium from German aggression, F. W. Engdahl and Docherty and MacGregor present evidence of financial manipulation, economic competition and secret cabals, centred on Alfred Milner's 'round table', being largely responsible for the Boer and 'Great' wars that introduced the sanguinary 20<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>62</sup> Noticeably, most of Australia's recent and current conflicts occurred, without public consultation or parliamentary debate, in regions of

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<sup>60</sup> Henry Reynolds (*Unnecessary Wars*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2016; and Henry Reynolds (*Unnecessary Wars*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2016. And

<sup>61</sup> See: D. Stephens and A. Broinowsky, (eds), *The Honest History Book*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Docherty, G. and MacGregor, J., *Hidden History: The Secret Origins of the First World War*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh and London, 2013 and Engdahl, F.W., *A Century of War*, Progressive Press, Palm Desert, 2011. Docherty and MacGregor further point to close links between Alfred Milner and Alfred Deakin and Keith Murdoch; Docherty, G. and MacGregor, J., Gallipoli 18: Keith Murdoch and the Great Witch-Hunt, *First World War Hidden History*, 22 April 2015.

strategic concern to the US and Israel. Conversely, Australia's 1999 UN sponsored intervention into East Timor, occurred only after: the end of bipartisan political support for Jakarta; heated exchanges in the Parliament; and strong media coverage in support of human rights with consequent public opinion. The excised chapter, now intended as a separate journal article, points strongly to Canberra's committing troops to most of the wars as a reflexive Anglosphere mind-set, mixed with an insurance policy hope that the 'great and powerful friend' will aid Australia if needed.

The second and third side studies reflect the military intelligence requirement to maintain *current intelligence* logs, while perfecting as much as possible the *basic intelligence* data base. It was noted that some of the media promulgated the revelations by WikiLeaks, Manning, Snowden and the Panama Papers, in a similar timeframe that Peter Dale Scott and Lance deHaven-Smith published books on the deep state and state crimes against democracy. Grouped together, these uncovered government and corporate phenomena, tended to support a developing premise that such events were neither random nor coincidental.

The second study was based on the requirement to consider current developments in global and domestic affairs during the research period; a time that saw the continued rise of China, the Arab Spring, the coup in Ukraine, attempted overthrow of the Syrian Assad government, the rise and dispersal of ISIL, with growing confidence and some democratic gains in Indonesia accompanied by apparent rises there in religious intolerance and military influence in politics. This record was listed in tabular form as the samples below illustrate. The *Record of Current Events* comprises 67,000 words over 554 pages.

**Table 1: Record of Current Events (excerpts)**

Date	Subject/keywords	Reference	Remarks
9Dec10	Arbib protected source. WikiLeaks.	Doling, P., Arbib revealed as secret US source, <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 9 December 2010, <a href="http://www.smh.com.au/national/arbib-revealed-as-secret-us-source-20101208-18prg.html">http://www.smh.com.au/national/arbib-revealed-as-secret-us-source-20101208-18prg.html</a> , accessed 3 Mar 15.	Extract: 'Secret US embassy cables obtained by WikiLeaks and made available exclusively to <i>The Age</i> reveal that Senator Arbib, one of the architects of Kevin Rudd's removal as prime minister, has been in regular contact with US embassy officers. His candid comments have been incorporated into reports to Washington with repeated requests that his identity as a "protected" source be guarded.'
14Feb11	Handlers at the US embassy. WikiLeaks.	Lynch, J., Has The Pro-Israel Lobby Subverted Australian Democracy? <i>Transcend Media Services</i> , 14 February 2011,	Comments include link to Lowenstein article.

Date	Subject/keywords	Reference	Remarks
		<a href="https://www.transcend.org/tms/2011/02/has-the-pro-israel-lobby-subverted-australian-democracy/">https://www.transcend.org/tms/2011/02/has-the-pro-israel-lobby-subverted-australian-democracy/</a> , accessed 24 Feb15.	
14Mar12	Petraeus/ Mullen Briefing WikiLeaks Manning	Woodward, P(aul)., Israel is putting American lives at risk, <i>War in Context</i> , 14 March 2010 <a href="http://warincontext.org/2010/03/14/israel-is-putting-american-lives-at-risk/#sthash.IFbLOjXb.dpuf">http://warincontext.org/2010/03/14/israel-is-putting-american-lives-at-risk/#sthash.IFbLOjXb.dpuf</a>	Refers to <i>Foreign Policy</i> article.
22Sep12	US Strat	Garnaut, J., Australia's regional plans for 'Chinese threat' praised, <i>The Age</i> , p. 5.	Luttwaks's comments.
17Jul14	Israel invades Gaza Fairfax coverage	Jones, E., The Gaza massacre, MH17 and the faux Fairfax foreign Affairs narrative, <i>Independent Australia</i> , 22 Jul 2014, <a href="http://www.independentaustralia.net/article-display/the-gaza-massacre-mh17-and-the-faux-fairfax-foreign-affairs-narrative,6696">http://www.independentaustralia.net/article-display/the-gaza-massacre-mh17-and-the-faux-fairfax-foreign-affairs-narrative,6696</a>	Jones cites Samar Sabawi in New Matilda 18 Jul 14: 'What drives Israel's war on Gaza? It is not the need to weaken Hamas nor to stop the rockets. Both goals were almost achieved back in April. ... Israel's real agenda in Gaza is not to find peace, but to further impoverish and oppress the Palestinian people ... it has been clear for some time that Israel's true objective is to continue settlement expansion and land grab, while using endless negotiations as a delaying tactic to alleviate international pressure.'
11Mar17		F. Pierraccini, Eurasia: The Strategic Triangle that Is Changing the World, <i>Global Research</i> , 11 Mar 17, <a href="http://www.globalresearch.ca/eurasia-the-strategic-triangle-that-is-changing-the-world/5579203">http://www.globalresearch.ca/eurasia-the-strategic-triangle-that-is-changing-the-world/5579203</a>	'Russia, China and Iran are laying down the foundations for developments that will make the US irrelevant in its struggle to extend its unipolar moment. Combining the population of the Eurasian continent ... will be the central pivot around which the global economy will revolve... [detail omitted] Will Europeans and Americans be able to accept a role as co-protagonists, or will they reject inevitable historical change, condemning themselves in the process to oblivion?'
29Mar17	<p>Posted (general) Facebook.</p> <p>Sydney Criminal Lawyers, In NSW We are Losing, NSW Chief Justice Tom Bathurst recently identified 397 separate laws which curtail three legal protections alone - the right against self-incrimination, client legal privilege and the presumption of innocence. He says this is a "conservative estimate" and has called on lawyers to fight for our ever-dwindling rights. <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../lawyers-must-fig.../">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../lawyers-must-fig.../</a></p> <p>There are hundreds of other laws which remove our legal safeguards and protections, including: Amendments to the Evidence Act which take away the right to silence at police stations in certain circumstances. <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../no-more-right-to.../">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../no-more-right-to.../</a></p> <p>A suite of anti-protest laws and the offence of 'unlawful assembly', which prescribe large fines and even prison sentences for protests that are not approved by police and don't comply with a range of rules. <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../nsws-anti-protes.../">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../nsws-anti-protes.../</a> <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../the-offence-of-u.../#">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../the-offence-of-u.../#</a></p> <p>Harsh bail laws which make it difficult for a person to be released from custody pending the outcome of their case, and offences which shift the onus of proof to the defendant. <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../showing-cause-un.../">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../showing-cause-un.../</a></p> <p>Immunity from both civil and criminal prosecution for law enforcement agents during 'special intelligence operations', even if they commit brutal assaults on people who turn out to be innocent. <a href="http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../anti-terrorism-1.../">http://www.sydneycriminallawyers.com.au/.../anti-terrorism-1.../</a></p> <p>We frequently receive threats and intimidation - often from dubious accounts - when we report on police brutality, corruption and the removal of legal safeguards and protections in favour of state control. This merely strengthens our resolve to report.</p>		
25Jul17	<p>Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS), Was the "Russian Hack" an Inside Job? Intelligence Vets Challenge the Forensic "Evidence", <i>Consortium News</i>, 25 July 2017, [via <i>Global Research</i>, 25 July 2017, <a href="http://www.globalresearch.ca/was-the-russian-hack-an-inside-job-intelligence-vets-challenge-the-forensic-evidence/5600944">http://www.globalresearch.ca/was-the-russian-hack-an-inside-job-intelligence-vets-challenge-the-forensic-evidence/5600944</a>, retrieved 15 Aug 17]</p>		

While the sources for this were wide-ranging, particular attention was given to the mainstream media in Australia for three reasons. Foremost, it is investigative journalists who have, historically, broken the big stories that indicate government secret or corporate high-level mischief. The Pentagon Papers, Watergate, prisoner abuse at Abu Ghaib, the Panama Papers, Menzies' support for the Ustasha, cutting of intelligence links to troops in East Timor, and institutional child sex abuse, were often stories broken by the mainstream media. Next, the chronological list of events and reportage displays how much material is available to decision makers and the electorate. Finally the publicly available information reduces the excuse of ignorance for politicians and electorate alike.

Anticipating instinctive rejections in some quarters of widespread venality in Australia, it was necessary to undertake a third line of inquiry, a similar *Record of Media-reported Corruption and Related Matters*, based primarily on Australian press reporting. Samples are presented in the table below. It is an indicative, not comprehensive list comprising 39,000 words over 130 pages. As with the concurrent *Record of Current Events*, this study both informed the dissertation and highlighted how much open source material could be known to politicians, law enforcement and public alike but is quickly forgotten. The period covered: the aftermath of the Australian Wheat Board (AWB) scandal over Iraq; Choppergate; the Heydon Royal Commission into trade unions; the federal parliament's opposition to the establishment of a federal crime commission; and intermittent unease about Chinese penetration of Australian politics twelve years after Professor Hongling warned of it.

**Table 2: Record of Media-reported Corruption and Related Matters**

Date	Subject/keywords	Reference	Remarks
16Jun11	Overland, VICPOL	Ferguson, J., Simon Overland facing questions after report finds Victorian crime statistics were distorted, <i>The Australian</i> , 16 June 2011, <a href="http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/simon-overland-in-firing-line-after-report-finds-victorian-crime-statistics-were-distorted/story-e6frgczx-1226076225171">http://www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/state-politics/simon-overland-in-firing-line-after-report-finds-victorian-crime-statistics-were-distorted/story-e6frgczx-1226076225171</a>	Excerpt: 'VICTORIA Police Chief Commissioner Simon Overland has accepted full responsibility for releasing misleading and inconsistent crime figures before last November's state election. Ombudsman George Brouwer today handed down a damning report into crime statistics that were found to have been incomplete and which "distorted" the true picture... "The release of quarterly crime statistics data, particularly so close to an election, was likely to be used in a political context," Mr Brouwer said ... Mr Brouwer also today criticised the role of Deputy Commissioner Kieran Walshe, who was the police front man when the statistics were announced in October...'

Date	Subject/keywords	Reference	Remarks
7 Jun12	AWB, Iraq War.	N. McKenzie, R. Baker, Top job 'offered to end probe', <i>The Age</i> , 7 Jun 2012, <a href="http://www.theage.com.au/national/top-job-offered-to-end-probe-20120606-1zwrh.html">http://www.theage.com.au/national/top-job-offered-to-end-probe-20120606-1zwrh.html</a>	
9Mar13	Prisoner X, Zygier, ASIO.	Laura Tingle, on ABC Sat Extra, reports Israel briefed AS on Prisoner X same day Dubai authorities told AS govt AS passports used. <a href="http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/saturdayextra/the-year-in-politics/4556296">http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/saturdayextra/the-year-in-politics/4556296</a>	
16Nov13	Paedophilia.	Munro, P. Australian arrests reach 65 in global porn ring, <i>The Age</i> , 16 Nov 2013,	Nov 2013, p. 3. Extract: 'Nurses, doctors, teachers, priests, even a police officer, are among more than 300 people , including 65 Australians, arrested over a major international [child] pornography ring.'
19Jun14		Cooper, A., Police on attempt to pervert justice counts. <i>The Age</i> , 19 June 2014, p. 12.	
23Sep17	LNP	AAP, Accusations fly about 'dirt unit', <i>SMH</i> , 23 September 2017, <a href="http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/accusations-fly-about-dirt-unit/2007/09/23/1190486116109.html">http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/accusations-fly-about-dirt-unit/2007/09/23/1190486116109.html</a> , retrieved 4 Dec 17.	

As with the *Record of Current Events*, this third side-study both informed the dissertation and highlighted how much open source material is provided to the public sphere but is unnoticed or quickly forgotten.

### Notes on sources

As discussed throughout the dissertation there is growing dissatisfaction with conventional sources of information. This perceived bias of mainstream sources, particularly with governments conventionally accorded the status of trustworthy primary sources, is in contrast to what is supposedly drummed into military intelligence personnel during their training and careers: the consideration of critical thinking and alternate hypotheses to analyse sets of indicators. This methodology is underpinned by the *Admiralty Grading System* in assigning an alpha-numeric score to the proven reliability of sources and the verified accuracy of their information.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> See, Collins and Reed, Op cit., pp. 39-44.

**Table 3: The Admiralty Grading System**

THE ADMIRALTY GRADING SYSTEM			
Reliability of Source		Credibility of Information	
A	Completely reliable.	1	Verified by other sources.
B	Usually reliable.	2	Probably true.
C	Fairly reliable.	3	Possibly true.
D	Not usually reliable.	4	Doubtful.
E	Unreliable.	5	Improbable.
F	Reliability cannot be judged.	6	Truth cannot be judged.

Thus in the mainstream narrative, government sources are routinely accorded a high reliability grading, whereas information graded F6 might be true but not yet supported by additional evidence. The system, while useful, has two main vulnerabilities. First, cognitive bias in government functionaries is often instilled by the ‘commander’s direction’ of the organisational power structure imposed on them and reinforced by sociological norms. Thus Nazis both fatally underestimated Soviet military strength, and saw nothing wrong with killing some 20 million Soviet citizens.<sup>64</sup> Second, the system is not proof against individual bias in assigning scores to reliability.

The discipline of counterintelligence is different from the ‘state security’ mind-set of secret police. A key counterintelligence skill is to examine one’s own side from the point of view of a hostile intelligence system in order to identify vulnerabilities; a perspective-challenging exercise that can throw up discomfiting outlooks. ‘Analytical eclecticism’, as Beeson states, ‘argues for the rather commonsensical-sounding idea that combining insights from different approaches might give a more complete picture of an increasingly complex social reality.’<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Figures vary. Total Soviet deaths are generally estimated between 11 million and 27 million, of which some 6-7 million were military personnel. See, W. L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p. 833, for Nazi plans for mass starvation in Eastern Europe.

<sup>65</sup> M. Beeson, The end of originality?, *The Conversation*, 21 February 2015.

To achieve a measure of analytical balance, government and corporate media narrative should be gauged against the contrary analysis of intellectuals such as Chomsky, ‘lantern bearers’<sup>66</sup> like Chelsea Manning and sources as diverse as *New Matilda* and *Australian National Review*. Online resources such as *Global Research*, branded as anti-American, and *Veteran’s Today*, criticised as anti-Semitic and conspiracist, also offer tripwires and alternate hypotheses different from the Washington-London-Canberra nexus.<sup>67</sup> Amongst the clutter much in the alternate media has the ring of inquiry, competence, detail and possibility about it; as much of government and corporate propaganda is recognisable as just that.

In the mainstream there is, in the manner of fraud or propaganda, the drive to create a single socio-political reality: proclaim the authorised narrative as though no other explanation existed, attack messengers, dismiss evidence, or make vague reference to conspiracy theories.<sup>68</sup> Examples of this are a partisan columnist’s commentary<sup>69</sup> against an article on the 1975 dismissal of the Whitlam government;<sup>70</sup> and the Abbott government’s attack on Human Rights Commissioner Gillian Triggs from February 2015.

While the mainstream media comes in for a great deal of criticism, many journalists within it attempt to distinguish propaganda from news, and report alleged or proven

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<sup>66</sup> Serpico’s term.

<sup>67</sup> As a news and commentary agency *Veterans Today* (VT) has weaknesses. Many articles are not well referenced; VT was partially refuted by Swedish Doctors for Human Rights for incorrect reporting of an article (see SWEDHR, Statement by Swedish Professors & Doctors for Human Rights on misrepresentations referred in a VT article on White Helmets, *Indicter*, (April 2017) and does itself no favour publishing Holocaust denial material. Evidence for the Holocaust seems incontrovertible; the BBC, suspecting Soviet propaganda, refused to publish Alexander Werth’s account of the Soviet liberation of Maidanek concentration camp until the Allies liberated camps in the Western European theatre. See, A. Werth, *Russia at War*, 1964, p. 890. In its favour, VT exposed US probable disinformation on the alleged Syrian chemical weapons strike on Khan Sheikhun (4 Apr 17) by 6 Apr 17, earlier than the expose by Seymour Hersh, finally published outside the Anglosphere on 25 Jun 17. See: G. Duff et al., Busted: White House Syria Report Obviously False (updated/video), VT, 12 April 2017; G. Duff, [the partly refuted article mentioned] Ordered Censored by Trump: Swedish Medical Associations Says White Helmets Murdered Kids for Fake Gas Attack Videos, *Veterans Today*, 6 Apr 17; S.M. Hersh, Trump’s Red Line, *Welt Politics*, 25 Jun 17.

<sup>68</sup> PS. See: R. Parry, The Dawn of an Orwellian Future, *Consortium News*, 28 July 2017; and A. Damon and M. Niemuth, New Google Algorim Restricts access to left-wing, progressive websites, *WWSW*, 28 Jul 17.

<sup>69</sup> G. Henderson, Saint Gough’s top 10 shockers; CIA conspiracy theory gets plug in AFR, *Media Watch Dog* 249, *The Australian*, 31 October 2014.

<sup>70</sup> M. Suich, Sacking doubts re-emerge, *The Australian Financial Review*, 31 October 2014, p. R1, R6-7.

misdeeds by politicians, officials and corporations.<sup>71</sup>

A considerable body of mainstream media reporting and opinion has been cited in the dissertation for three reasons. First, it discloses how much material is openly available. Second, the media act as tripwire, alerting observers to newly emerging primary sources or secondary analysis, often providing a good summary useful for coarse-grained analysis. Third, the policies and actions of government and foreign agencies seeking to influence it, take place in a social-political milieu, which is reflected in the mainstream corporate media, and increasingly in new sources such as blogs.

Before 2000, officialdom and special interests scorned activist information on East Timor as emotive and unreliable. As the world saw, the activists turned out to be right. Thus the blogosphere might also be treated as a useful tripwire when verified by other sources. For example during the research, an internet search for Israeli espionage cases in the US beyond Pollard and Franklin, brought up a little known scandal discussed on a niche internet site that referred to telephone surveillance systems. A follow-on search found a *Counterpunch* essay providing more detailed information and commentary from former US counterintelligence personnel about the threat to American telephone systems from Israeli surveillance technology. This in turn led to a formal speech by a Telstra manager that brought the problem closer to home with implications for the death of an Australian citizen. The episode is covered in Chapter Six. As Orwell reputedly put it, ‘Journalism is printing what someone else does not want printed: everything else is public relations.’

## **Ethics**

As the methodology employed pure research using open or unclassified sources, no interviews were conducted, questionnaires issued, or electronic or imagery based surveillance.<sup>72</sup> Although the author makes minor reference to past conversations or asides whilst in government service, these sources are necessarily unnamed.

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<sup>71</sup> For the suppression of Seymour Hersh’s revealing reports on the US destabilisation of Syria, see: T. Timm, The media’s reaction to Seymour Hersh’s bin Laden scoop has been disgraceful, *Columbia Journalism Review*, May 15, 2015; and J. Cook, The Useful Idiots Who Undermine Dissent on Syria, *Counterpunch*, 5 July 2017.

<sup>72</sup> See, C. Lamont, op. cit., pp. 55-59.

A number of public figures emerge in the context of their roles as politicians, government officials, in relation to their professions, or in regard to their prominent role in special interest groups. These references are drawn from open media reporting, court or parliamentary records, or their own words in open news sources or on unclassified government documents. Family and private lives are exempt from reference, discussion or comment. Four amplifying comments are pertinent to public figures.

First, the role of public figures, or their connection to government, does not imply conscious agency in any hypothetical deep state or shadow government. Such structures by their nature would be very tight and select groups. Even then, as Peter Dale Scott and others point out, the unified state is an ‘illusory ideal’ that does not possess the ‘structural coherence’ widely attributed to it.<sup>73</sup>

Second, sympathetic identification with government, or associated corporations such as security contractors, could make individuals unconsciously or consciously malleable by corrupt, criminal or clandestine networks within the interconnected structures that comprise the state. The long invisibility of institutional paedophile networks illustrates this. The common compartmentalisation system and ‘need to know’ caveats would assist such recruitment and conceal it within norms. C.Wright Mills makes similar points in *The Secret Elite* where he describes ‘self-co-optation’ and ‘self-used’ people in non-monolithic ‘hierarchies of success’.<sup>74</sup>

Third, people can become caught up in the flow of events which at first seem innocuous. The lawyer John Lawrence in the Northern Territory’s Royal Commission into youth detention noticed the tendency of officials to ‘go along with’ the treatment of young detainees that they knew was wrong.<sup>75</sup> Tolstoy considers this phenomenon at length in Part Two of *War and Peace*, remarking, ‘But every human action is always alike conceived by us as a certain combination of free will and

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<sup>73</sup> See P. D. Scott, *American War Machine: Deep Politics, the CIA Global Drug Connection, and the Road to Afghanistan*, Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2014, pp, 8-9. [War Machine]

<sup>74</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000 (originally published 1956), pp. 347-9.

<sup>75</sup> John Lawrence interviewed in M. Freri (prod), F. Kelly (pres), ‘How did you go along with that?’, Youth Detention Royal Commission, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 28 July 2017.

necessity.’<sup>76</sup>

Fourth, such people seek public life and have agency. A politician refers to ‘blood and fur and dust and shit flying everywhere’; a general to ‘the rough and tumble’; a bureaucrat stating, ‘I don’t have a reputation for missing my targets’; one boasting of his preparedness to call in the federal police on ‘leakers’; and another taunting, ‘Haven’t any of you got balls!’

### Structure of the Thesis

*Chapter One: Power and the Interaction of States* reviews both: a) the major theories of IR and their utility for interpreting historical and current events; and b) the utility of non-theoretical perspectives, such as *authoritarianism* and the *deep state*, to enable a more comprehensive and less doctrinaire analysis of international events. While the major relevant IR theories underpin the conceptual framework encompassing IR, there are shortfalls, for example John Mearsheimer’s remarks about wanting dominant power are probably overstated regarding Russia, which according to Paul Roberts, is acting defensively.<sup>77</sup> While an important and influential theorist, Mearsheimer understates the role of the internal dynamics of states in, for example, the invasion of Iraq, although with Stephen Walt, he criticised the methods and efficacy of the Israel Lobby in America.<sup>78</sup> Writers such as F.W. Engdahl, Peter Gowan and Michael Chossudovsky pay more attention to the financial linkages between states and corporations that lead to instability and the exploitation of weaker nations.<sup>79</sup> The wealth gap within and between states is increasingly making Marxist analysis of foreign and domestic affairs relevant. Under the protection of the surveillance state, disclosed by Edward Snowden and others, improper and criminal conduct by state and corporate actors is examined regarding a new totalitarianism.

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<sup>76</sup> L. Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, Part Two, (1869), The Modern Library, NY, 1994, p. 1374 of pp. 1344-1386.

<sup>77</sup> See: J.J., Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton and Company, NY, 2014, pp. xiii and 361; and Paul Craig Roberts, Russia in the Crosshairs, *Global Research*, 12 February 2018. Paul Craig Roberts is an academic, economist and journalist, who worked for several US politicians, notably as US Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Economic Policy under Reagan.

<sup>78</sup> J. J. Mearsheimer, and S.M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, Penguin, London, 2007.

<sup>79</sup> For example, see: F.W. Engdahl, op cit., [Century]; P. Gowan, *The Global Gamble: Washington’s Faustian Bid for World Domination*, Verso, London, 1999, and; M. Chossudovsky, *The Globalisation of Poverty*, *Global Research*, Montreal, 2003.

Pulitzer Prize winning Chris Hedges in 2010 cites American academic, Shelson Wolin, to describe the descent of the American political system into ‘inverted totalitarianism’ that, ‘... differs from classical forms of totalitarianism, which revolve around a demagogue or charismatic leader. It finds its expression in the anonymity of the corporate state.’<sup>80</sup> Yeadon and Hawkins amass what had been fragmentary accounts of fascism in America.<sup>81</sup>

While the author’s insider knowledge, experience and general interest in current affairs together with early research for the dissertation indicated that something was amiss in Canberra, to apply a contextual framework to it was more problematical. Work on the *deep state* by Peter Dale Scott and Lance deHaven-Smith’s *state crimes against democracy* (SCAD) suggested alternate explanations of precursor incidents to international events, juxtaposed with domestic propaganda and social control.<sup>82</sup> The problem was they dealt specifically with the US. Smaller states could have neither the ambition nor power of the US, so a more flexible model was required if it was to be applied to Australia. Albert Camus’ treatment of irrational and rational forms of terror introduced different ideological/psychological elements to the abuse of state power.<sup>83</sup> Simon Montefiore’s mention of the coming of a messianic government to Israel<sup>84</sup> introduced the notion of small powers (in the traditional IR sense) having regional influence and ambitions.

*Chapter Two: Vulnerability to Foreign Influence* provides a snapshot of Australian society that, to paraphrase Mao Tse-tung, like most others, may be ‘likened to water’ which the fish inhabit.<sup>85</sup> Australians themselves are therefore a critical factor in their country’s international relations. Donald Horne captured the formative Menzies era in *The Lucky Country*. Horne notes the ‘kindness’ of Australians, where life ‘is a

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<sup>80</sup> Chris Hedges, *Death of the Middle Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, p. 24 of pp. 23-25.

<sup>81</sup> G. Yeadon, and J. Hawkins, *The Nazi Hydra in America*, Progressive Press, Joshua Tree, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> For example, see: Scott, P.D., *American War Machine: Deep Politics, the CIA Global Drug Connection, and the Road to Afghanistan*, Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2014, (discussed further in Chap One). Also: Lance deHaven-Smith, *Conspiracy Theory in America*, University of Texas, Austin, 2013, [Conspiracy], (discussed further in Chaps One and Chap Four); and L. deHaven-Smith, *Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government*, *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, pp. 795–825, [Beyond].

<sup>83</sup> A. Camus, *The Rebel*, Harmondsworth, 1971, pp. 137-177. For a summary, see Collins and Reed, *Plunging Point*, pp. 133-138.

<sup>84</sup> S.S. Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, Phoenix, London, 2012, p. 607

<sup>85</sup> Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 1937.

street in the suburbs where each house keeps to itself.’<sup>86</sup> More ominously he describes ‘mindlessness triumphant’ in the ‘upper levels of society’, ‘a victory of the anti-mind’; where many national affairs are run by ‘racketeers’; in a region where the state has been considered a ‘half-sovereign’ colonial relic likened to Poland or Hungary.<sup>87</sup>

Thomas Piketty’s *Capital in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (2014) highlights growing economic divisions from which Australia has no immunity and David Marquand’s *Mammon’s Kingdom* (2014) describes the corruption of the British democratic state. Much of the descriptive material cited in the chapter is from the corporate media, itself drawing upon a range of primary and academic sources. This underscores both: the nature of the society, and of the facts being known. The chapter will highlight the divisions and vulnerabilities that could be exploited by the corporate, government or other agents of foreign powers.

In examining the conduct and influence of lobbying in Australia, the dissertation draws on the work of the NSW ICAC, the Federal *Register of Lobbyists* and Julian Fitzgerald’s *Lobbying in Australia*, to provide a theoretical underpinning. The nature of corruption is addressed with reference to the NSW ICAC and US General Accounting Office’s *Report on drug-related police corruption* (1998), which is underpinned by the Knaff Commission findings on the Serpico case. Australian corruption is not general, but confined to niche areas of opportunity and motive with poor anti-corruption enforcement.

The media is the subject of voluminous self-analysis and other opinions beyond the scope of dissertation. The mainstream media provides coarse-grained reporting of lobbying, again pointing to potential widespread knowledge of its practice and influence. Nevertheless, its relationship with the power clique, ideology and role in opinion-shaping are pertinent to the dissertation. The section on the media closes with its role in the ‘quietude’ of Australian society.<sup>88</sup>

In any state where there is systemic corruption, the groups most influential in

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<sup>86</sup> D. Horne, *The Lucky Country*, Penguin, (first pub 1964, 2009, pp. 23, 121.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 11, 39, 106.

<sup>88</sup> See C. Fernandes, Fascism: are we there yet? *Dissent*, No 22, Summer 2006/2007, p. 26.

relevant public policy formulation and enforcement are those most likely to be ‘duchessed’ by foreign interests.<sup>89</sup> The relationships between these elements of Australian power are examined in *Chapter Three: The Impossible Trident*; the title drawn from the common optical illusion that what appears is not necessarily so. DeHaven-Smith employs similar terms.<sup>90</sup> Michael Foucault provides insight into power as a relationship of violence; Gibbon into its camouflage of the servitude it imposes; C. Wright Mills to its control by a ‘power elite’; Bendahan *et al.* to its psychopathic nature; and Page *et al.* to the importance of ideological fellow travelers.<sup>91</sup> Australian public documents and media reporting form the basis of Chapter Three’s exploration of an Australian version of Marquand’s ‘informal constellation of power’.<sup>92</sup> It comprises untouchable ‘flex nets’<sup>93</sup> of political, corporate, lobbying, bureaucratic, judicial, police and foreign actors; often protected by ‘national security’, skirting the law if not public expectation. Much of this has been openly and comprehensively reported in dated, but still relevant, work by John Pilger in *A Secret Country*; to a lesser extent in Matthew Condon’s *Three Crooked Kings* trilogy on organised crime in Queensland; Small and Gilling’s book, *Evil Life*, on the Mafia in Australia; and Justice Don Stewart’s *Recollections*. Touching on the ‘deep state’ and ‘state crimes against democracy’, flex-nets have proved virtually impervious to lantern-bearers, the courts and media scrutiny. Flex-nets have profound implications for Australian democracy and foreign policy which do not emerge prominently in most academic treatments.

Flowing from the nature of Australian society and the character of the power clique discussed in Chapters Two and Three, *Chapter Four: An Astrayan Arcana Imperii?*

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<sup>89</sup> ‘To be duchessed means to be grandiosely entertained, or not as the case may be.’ P. Conrad, *Lingo and Literature*, in *Australian Literary Studies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Christ Church College, Oxford, p. 54.

<sup>90</sup> DeHaven-Smith, op. cit., [*Conspiracy*], pp. 67-68.

<sup>91</sup> M. Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, in H. Dreyfus, and P. Rabinow, (ed) *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, University of Chicago Press, 1983; E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol 2, p. 105; C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000 (originally published 1956); S. Bendahan, C. Zehnder, F.P. Pralong, and J. Antonakis, Leader corruption depends on power and testosterone. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 26, April 2015, pp. 101-122; M. Gilens, and B. Page, *Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens*, *Perspectives on Politics*, American Political Science Association, 2014, pp. 577, 572 of 564-581.

<sup>92</sup> Marquand, Op cit., p. 175.

<sup>93</sup> J. Wedel, *Shadow Elite*, Basic Books, 2009, p. 5.

examines Tacitus' concept of hidden power—developed in a study by Eva Horn<sup>94</sup>—in the context of the Australian state. Christopher Beckwith highlights the conflict between believing what one is told on one hand and 'total skepticism' on the other, reducing fact to opinion and potentially inducing an 'age of credulity, repression and terror'.<sup>95</sup>

With government credibility often assessed as unreliable and the internet hosting what are called conspiracy theories that range from demented to perhaps plausible, some discussion of the subject is warranted. Conspiracy theory has been addressed from a political science viewpoint by deHaven-Smith and by physicist David Grimes, who in a controversial article differentiated between scientific/medical conspiracy and political/social theories<sup>96</sup>; while Neal Kumar Katyal considered the matter from a legal perspective.<sup>97</sup> DeHaven-Smith in particular notes: the American fear of a Crown conspiracy that motivated the founding fathers of the US Constitution; Washington's proven and accepted official conspiracies such as McCarthyism and Watergate; and points out the CIA origins, in Despatch 1035-960, of 'conspiracy theory' labelling as a means of neutralising any criticism of the 'noble lie' of the Warren Commission into the murder of JFK.<sup>98</sup>

Careful navigation is required between the known record of genuine mistakes and deliberate mistruths of governments, and the array of conspiracy theories and contested information in published works and the blogosphere. It would be somewhere between rash and closed-minded to ignore one on the word of the other. Australia has a record of contentious episodes where the government version is not beyond reasonable doubt: sponsoring terrorism, political kidnapping, a coup, and false imprisonment that have inexorably led to the increasing power of the corporate state. These need to be reviewed in a comparative historical context because they: a)

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<sup>94</sup> E. Horn, *Logics of Political Secrecy, Theory, Culture & Society*, 2011 (SAGE, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore), Vol. 28(7- 8): pp. 103-122, DOI: 10.1177/0263276411424583, Sage Journals.

<sup>95</sup> C.I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>96</sup> Grimes, D.R., On the Viability of Conspiratorial Beliefs, *PLOS ONE*, Public Library of Science, 26 January 2016.

<sup>97</sup> See: L. de Haven-Smith, Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government, *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, pp. 795–825; D.R. Grimes, On the Viability of Conspiratorial Beliefs, *PLOS ONE*, Public Library of Science, 26 January 2016; N. Kumar Katyal, Conspiracy theory, *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol 112, No 6, April 2003, pp. 1307-1398.

<sup>98</sup> DeHaven-Smith, *ibid.* [Conspiracy], pp. 7-9, 107-131, 139-140.

are indicators of political power and its empowerment of coercive agencies; and b) form part of the milieu in which foreign actors relate with their Australian contacts. The political events outlined in Chapter Four are included because collectively they transformed power relations between the governing and governed and formed the background to the erosion of civil liberties that would gather pace under neo-liberalism and the war on terror. After considerable reflection on what to include or omit, Herodotus inspired some guidance: ‘Although it is incumbent on me to state what I am told I am under no obligation to believe it entirely...’<sup>99</sup>

The ANZUS Treaty is often treated as immutable, despite divergent national aims, or the changing nature of American foreign policy over time. *Chapter Five: Ties that Bind* covers the complexity of the alliance that has been highlighted by the rise of China and increasing prominence of other powers, including Russia, India and Indonesia. The defence of Australia has long been considered. Jean Bou notes early colonial efforts at local defence and post-Federation standardisation and enmeshment of dominion units into the ‘inexhaustible mine’ of imperial forces before WWI.<sup>100</sup> Horne, writing in the 1960s noticeably pointed to weaknesses in defence and dependence on the US.<sup>101</sup> The matter of the alliance is backgrounded by a considerable body of writing on the development of a strategy for the self-reliant defence of Australia. Peter Edwards places this from the 1970s with Sir Arthur Tange and the subsequent series of Defence White Papers.<sup>102</sup> Paul Dibbs’ analysis of credible contingencies in *Review of Australia's defence capabilities: Report for the Minister for Defence* (1986) formed much of the basis for the 1987 Defence White Paper, *The Defence of Australia*. This period coincided with the political adoption of neo-liberal managerialism; this ‘do more with less’ mantra was combined with the doctrinal ‘revival of the anti-raid philosophy of the 1901–39 Empire era’.<sup>103</sup> Consequently the Army, for example, shrank from a late 1970s strength of 29,000 to less than 24,000 in 1999, when it strained to meet the short-notice INTERFET

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<sup>99</sup> Herodotus, Holland, T., (trans) and Cartledge, P., (introduction and notes) *Herodotus, The Histories*, Penguin, 2013, Book VII, Para 152, p. 501.

<sup>100</sup> J. Bou, *Light Horse*, Cambridge University Press, 2010. For the ‘inexhaustible mine’ of manpower, see, H. Reynolds, *Unnecessary Wars*, NewSouth Publishing, 2016, p. 92.

<sup>101</sup> Horne, op cit., pp. 96-103, 106-113.

<sup>102</sup> P. Edwards, *Defence White Papers at 40*, Strategy, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, December 2016.

<sup>103</sup> M. Evans, *From Deakin to Dibb The Army and the Making of Australian Strategy in the 20th Century*, Working Paper No 113, Land Warfare Studies Centre, 2001.

commitment—a campaign conducted under sheltering US diplomatic and military protection and comprising high-value contingents from NZ and of British Gurkhas, as well as significant area-controlling forces from the Philippines, Thailand and South Korea.

The ongoing discourse on how to defend Australia is closely linked to considerations of the American alliance. John Hardy points out two problems with the manner of the debate: the way it is ‘related to political needs’ instead of strategic calculation, and the optimistically popular expectation that Australia will maintain a ‘technological lead over regional militaries even as they modernise’.<sup>104</sup> He describes a return to coalition expeditionary warfare with the Americans after 9/11, reverting under Kevin Rudd to defence of Australia constructs, ‘quite controversially, linked to China’s rise’.<sup>105</sup> A Chinese military officer bluntly stated Canberra’s dilemma to a reporter during a ministerial visit to China.

Australia must find a ‘godfather’ to protect it and cannot juggle its relationships with the US and China indefinitely, according to a prominent Chinese defence strategist. The warning by Song Xiaojun, a former People’s Liberation Army senior officer, comes after the Foreign Affairs Minister, Bob Carr, was told by his opposite number that Australia’s close military alliance with the US was an outdated throwback to the Cold War era—an issue raised in two other meetings with senior Chinese officials.<sup>106</sup>

Malcolm Fraser in *Dangerous Allies* (2014) and Hugh White in the Quarterly Essay, *Powershift* (2010), have questioned the value of the alliance; yet it remains virtually uncontested as a feature of Australian foreign policy supported by public sentiment. The ramifications of Donald Trump’s inauguration in January 2017 are not yet clear but inevitable ructions will probably have little impact on Washington-Canberra relations for the reason discussed in *Chapter Five*.

The Australian Government’s relationship with the Jewish state and the Israeli Lobby are discussed in *Chapter Six: A Chosen Friend - Israel*. Tel Aviv has long been in the

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<sup>104</sup> J. Hardy, Statements of intent: the politicisation of Australia’s strategic edge in the era of defence self-reliance, ANU, Sep/Oct 2013.

<sup>105</sup> Hardy, op cit..

<sup>106</sup> Gist of remarks by Song Xiaojun on 15 May 2012. P. Wen, Canberra ‘must pick strategic godfather’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 2012. See also, B. Carr, *Diary of a Foreign Minister*, NewSouth, 2014, pp.49-55.

news over the Israel-Palestine question. Robert Fisk reported on the Israeli's capital links with Washington in his seminal work, *The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East*, published in 2006. The Israel-Palestine conflict and Tel Aviv's role in US policy making, came to American and international prominence with the publication of Mearsheimer and Walt's *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy* in 2007. Tel Aviv's increasing travails are recorded in UN votes, the Goldstone Report<sup>107</sup> and chronicled by Max Blumenthal in *Goliath*. John Lyons' *Balcony Over Jerusalem* provides a modern Australian perspective of Israel and its lobby.

The structure, aims and methods of the Israel Lobby in Australia were raised by the publication of Antony Lowenstein's *My Israel Question* (2009). He was excoriated by Australia's Israel Lobby, including the ALP politician Michael Danby who attempted to prevent publication. One supportive critic commented 'what is missing is a solid analysis of the role of US of imperialism in the Middle East and the strategic role Israel plays.'<sup>108</sup> This stresses the significance of history where Washington's influence was preceded by London's. While this is in part answered by Fisk, the imperial strategies are key to understanding the development of Canberra's association with Tel Aviv.

The Israel—Australian relationship has been covered by Eulalia Han and Halim Rane, who cite a former ambassador describing Canberra's approach as 'indicative of a policy that lacks balance, is pro-Israel and closely aligned with that of the US.'<sup>109</sup> The authors found public opinion has little influence over public policy and that 'precise determination of the reasons why Australian government policy on the conflict is remarkably inconsistent with public opinion is a matter requiring further investigation.'<sup>110</sup> The mechanics of this are analysed in Chapter Six.

Australia's relationship with Indonesia and the role of the Jakarta Lobby is

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<sup>107</sup> *UN Human Rights Council, Report of the UN Fact-Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict*, UNGA, 25 September 2009.

<sup>108</sup> K. Bullimore, A Jewish writer's answer to Israel's question, *Green Left Weekly*, 20 September 2016.

<sup>109</sup> Ross Burns cited in, E. Han and H. Rane, Australian Public Opinion on the Israel–Palestine Conflict: Implications in the Context of Arab Revolutions, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 46, No. 4, December 2011, p. 619 of pp. 617–632.

<sup>110</sup> Han and Rane, op. cit., pp. 626, 629.

considered in *Chapter Seven: Shadows of Puppet Masters*. The association between the two countries is dictated by geography; although in some quarters it is defined by commerce. Clinton Fernandes has detailed two of the most problematic issues that have faced the neighbours: East Timor in his *Reluctant Saviour* (2004) and the continuing sore of West Papua in *Reluctant Indonesians* (2006). Greg Poulgrain in *Incubus of Intervention* has documented CIA Director, Allen Dulles' strategy in Indonesia during the 1950-60s and the manner in which Australia was induced to conform. The result has been decades of bipartisan support to Jakarta in the face of human rights violations and public unease about its power clique.<sup>111</sup> This has led on occasion to foreign policy being out of step with community attitudes, as in the lead-up to the 1999 intervention into East Timor. After the Suharto putsch in 1965, with the Indonesian military annexation of Papua and East Timor providing examples, an Australian Jakarta Lobby fostered, encouraged and protected a militaristic, expansionist regime whose way of war was genocide.<sup>112</sup>

In a clear example of intellectuals differing from ideologues, a number of writers have raised the way in which the Jakarta Lobby of politicians, business identities, civil and military bureaucrats, academics and media characters have influenced Australian foreign policy to the detriment of human rights. Those who have raised such issues with the Australian polity include academics Richard Robison and Scott Burchill, along with journalists Brian Toohey, Leonore Taylor and broadcaster Peter Cronau, to name a few.<sup>113</sup> Fergus Hanson referred to the widely used term, 'Jakarta Lobby', in a disapproving sense.<sup>114</sup> People who sympathise with the Indonesian people while criticising Canberra's relations with Jakarta are often strongly and

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<sup>111</sup> F. Hanson, *Australia and the World Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*, The Lowy Institute Poll 2011, Lowy Institute for International Policy, Sydney, 2011.

<sup>112</sup> This is merely stating a fact. Australian Aborigines and Native Americans would recognise from past experience the Anglo way of war has been genocidal. From Canaanites and Romans to Palestinians, ethnic cleansing has also been Israel's way of war. For a definition of genocide, see: Analysis Framework, Office of the UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG).

<sup>113</sup> See: R. Robison, Explaining Indonesia's Response to the Jenkins Article: Implications for Australian-Indonesian Relations, (Australian Outlook), *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol 40, Iss 3, 1986, pp. 132-138; B. Toohey, PM must retreat from Jakarta Lobby, *The Sun Herald*, 26 September 1999, and Howard's moment of truth, *Australian Financial Review*, 24-25 Apr 1999, p. 28; L. Taylor, The Lobby that Loved, *Australian Financial Review*, 16 Oct 1999; and P. Cronau, Intelligence Wars, *Background Briefing*, ABC Radio National, 30 May 2004.

<sup>114</sup> F. Hanson, *Indonesia and Australia: Time for a Step Change*, Policy Brief, Lowy Institute, March 2010, p. 6.

openly censured in the mainstream media and essays.<sup>115</sup> Considering the implications for Australian-Indonesian relations, the term is little used in academic works. Michael Wesley does not use it but infers high-level insider control of diplomacy so it ‘remains a marginal enough electoral issue’ to preclude foreign policy becoming ‘pressured and unstable’.<sup>116</sup> Significantly and unaccountably—as detailed in Chapter Seven—Canberra’s most senior Defence intelligence and military officials, in open court, simply denied the existence of a Jakarta Lobby.

The *Conclusion* summarises the range of factors influencing Australian foreign policy decision makers and shapers, individually and collectively, proposes a model for how this occurs, and identifies areas for further research.

A post script to the dissertation is the publication of Clive Hamilton’s *Silent Invasion*, a study of Beijing’s growing influence in Australia, during the examination period.<sup>117</sup> His expose largely corroborates methods of foreign lobbies analysed in the dissertation. A number of footnotes have been added to this effect.

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<sup>115</sup> An example of the latter is, G. Dean, *The Myth of the Jakarta Lobby*, Essay, April 2000.

<sup>116</sup> M. Wesley, op. cit., p. 224.

<sup>117</sup> C. Hamilton, *Silent Invasion: Chinese Influence in Australia*, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2018

# CHAPTER ONE: POWER AND THE INTERACTION OF STATES

## INTRODUCTION

The relative power of states and the conceptual frameworks for interpreting interrelations between them are important for two reasons: Australian foreign policy occurs in both the domestic and global contexts; and Australian decision-makers, advisors and special interests, are the target-set for global actors and ideologies. These bring pressure or inducements in three ways: *openly* against the formal Australian nation state, *discreetly* through special interests such as political parties or lobby groups, and *secretively* through individuals representing or influencing the Australian state. These foreign pressures against identified domestic target sets reinforce a) the importance of domestic affairs to the relationships between states, and b) the significance of emerging non-theoretical (in IR terms) perspectives such as *authoritarianism* and the *deep state* in utilizing a more flexible and less doctrinaire IR construct.

Traditional IR theory provides the normal means of defining relations between states. Since the main schools of IR were formulated in the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, there has been a threefold increase in world population and technology has jumped across a range of disciplines including information systems, transport and energy. There has also been an increase in the number and nature of states; the archaic composition of the UNSC Permanent Five reflects this. That a review of IR theory might be revised is supported by inadequate explanations for the recurrence of seemingly irrational empirical events with far-reaching consequences, such as the GFC and the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq. This does not suggest the current IR theories are invalid; simply that the rigid application of one or the other is too limiting a construct in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

The aims of this chapter are to: a) examine the strengths and weakness of the main IR theories; b) note the changing global, inter-state and intra-state conditions since their advent; and c) describe the utility of more recent non-IR political perspectives such as the deep state, authoritarianism and state crimes against democracy in order to enable a more flexible contextual framework for analysing the domestic and interstate influences on Australian foreign policy.

## THE MAJOR TRADITIONAL IR THEORIES

### Strengths and Weaknesses of the Theories

The main usual frameworks of international relations—*liberalism*, *realism*, *Marxism*, the *English School* and *green politics* for example—are generally understood. Nonetheless some review is warranted because IR theories, ideally, define the government, academic and media discourse about what occurs and why. Sometimes major events in IR do not occur in ideal circumstances, such as the four day meeting in Berlin during July 2001 between ‘senior’ interested parties from the US, Russia, Iran and Pakistan, after which it was revealed ‘by senior American officials in mid-July that military action against Afghanistan would go ahead by the middle of October’.<sup>1</sup>

A theoretical framework, despite shortcomings and vagaries, is essential because without such analytical tools empiricism can be misconstrued as mere observation or obfuscation.<sup>2</sup> For example, Australian diplomat, Richard Woolcott employed the word ‘pragmatic’, which could be taken to imply realistic or ‘realist’, when he proposed Canberra adopt a supportive or opportunistic utopian foreign policy supporting the looming 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor.<sup>3</sup> The precipitous collapse in 1999 of this 24-year-old bipartisan policy in the face of domestic public outrage is another reason to consider both the higher significance of domestic factors and the malleability of the theories: twenty-four years of diplomatic utopianism almost instantly morphed into military realism under the pressure of popular outrage, albeit finally backed by both UN resolution and US muscle.

The *Pax Americana* has transformed into a turbulent multi-polar world. The increased power and influence of some states, together with emerging technology, an

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<sup>1</sup> J. Steele, E. MacAskill, R. Norton-Taylor and E. Harriman, Threat of US strikes passed to Taliban weeks before NY attack, *The Guardian*, 23 Sep 2001. Also see: G. Arney, US ‘planned attack on Taleban’, *BBC News*, 18 September 2001; G. Vidal, *Dreaming War*, Nation Books, NY, 2002, pp. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> For detailed discussion of the theories, their evolution and critiques, see, S. Burchill and A. Linklater, *Theories of International Relations*, Fifth Ed., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Woolcott, cited in Cronau, P., (prod), *Intelligence Wars: Behind the Lance Collins Affair, Background Briefing*, ABC Radio National, 30 May 2004. Extract: ‘I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stand, but that is what national interest and foreign policy is all about.’

unstable global economy, climate chaos, increasing human population, environmental fragility with the threat of pandemics<sup>4</sup>, and continued religious strife, all bespeak a rapidly changing world. The current global turmoil recalls the ‘general ferment’ in Europe before the Thirty Years War.<sup>5</sup> While the turmoil may seem familiar to historians, traditional IR has some difficulty explaining or resolving crises, for example the current strains on the 1916 Sykes-Picot Anglo-French division of the oil-rich Middle East.

There are symptoms, or indicators, such as militarism, nationalism, aggression and propaganda, that match descriptors of the political ideology of historical *fascism* and might be described that way. The Canadian former diplomat and academic Peter Dale Scott with his theory of *deep politics*, and Lance deHaven-Smith’s theory of state crimes against democracy, point to the secret cooperation of government agencies, corporations and organised crime to engineer and exploit *deep events* that prompt domestic political change and perhaps ructions in the international order. Newer forms of fascism, or *neo-fascism* to separate current practises from a dismissive comparison with the Nazis, are all but ignored by many academics and the mainstream media.

The continued role and influence of ancient and medieval *monotheistic religions* in both the international order and domestic politics should also be noted. Mearsheimer highlights other variables:

Ideology of any sort, of course, falls outside the scope of my realist theory of international politics ... [however Chauvinism] sometimes leads nations to conclude that they are the “chosen” people, a perspective that has a rich tradition in both China and the United States, among other countries.<sup>6</sup>

A major shortcoming of much in IR theory is the underpinning assumption of the good offices of the actors. Politicians are assumed to have the best interests of their

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<sup>4</sup> See R. Manning, The Oil We Eat: following the food chain back to Iraq, *Harper’s Magazine*, February 2004, pp. 37-45; and NIC, *Global Trends 2017*, p. 51, which refers to the ‘global pandemic of 2023.’

<sup>5</sup> ‘...growth of city life, of wealth, luxury and poverty, of commerce, trading monopolies and usury reached flash point...the religious expression of the general ferment.’ J.F.J. Fuller, *Decisive Battles of the Western World, Vol 2: Spanish Armada to Waterloo*, Spa Books, 1994, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton and Co, NY, 2014, p. 400. [Tragedy]

nations at heart; diplomats to be adroitly seeking peace over war; generals and bureaucrats to be objective, competent and altruistic; judges to be truly impartial; and for the West in particular, domestic populations politically engaged while impartially and well-informed by a free press. Assessing these assumptions is important, for it exposes the weak links in a nation that foreign actors could exploit for their own purposes.

### **Realism: Interests and Power**

Classical realism prescribes how states should operate: seeking a balance or preponderance of power that keeps belligerents in check.<sup>7</sup> Realists believe that pragmatism about human frailty and competing nations will serve peace more than ideals about how the world should be. Although realist world views can be traced from Thucydides and Machiavelli, the modern school of realist theory is commonly held as beginning with E.H. Carr. Influenced by the collapse of post WWI idealism (utopianism), he described the post-WWI period as moving ‘...from a utopia which took little account of reality to a reality from which every element of utopia was rigorously excluded.’<sup>8</sup>

Drawing on WWII and its prelude, Hans Morgenthau stated six principles of realism that have become its textbook summary: ‘interests defined in terms of power.’<sup>9</sup> Realism has several themes, but is dominated by American theorists that tinge it with strategic advantage.<sup>10</sup> Mearsheimer’s *offensive realism* shares a common lineage with the *human nature realism* of Morgenthau and Waltz’s *defensive realism*.<sup>11</sup> Realism’s apparent ascendancy does not particularly denigrate the influence of the English School, which sees international relations as a semi-functional society without a central ruler.<sup>12</sup> Between the world wars, liberalism—together with a weak League of Nations—failed to prevent totalitarian expansionism or the corporate finance backing it. Allied strategy during WWII enacted a harsh realism: controlled

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<sup>7</sup> See, F. Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Penguin, London, 1992, p. 248.

<sup>8</sup> E.H. Carr, *The 20 Years Crisis*, Macmillan, New York, 1966, p. 224.

<sup>9</sup> H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, Knopf, New York, 1973, pp. 4-15. Morgenthau previously cited in, L. Collins, *IR Theory General*, Essay for MA, DU, May/Jun 1996.

<sup>10</sup> M. Hollis and S. Smith, *Explaining and Understanding International Relations*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1991, p.40.

<sup>11</sup> Mearsheimer, op. cit., [Tragedy], pp.xvi-xvii.

<sup>12</sup> F. Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations*, Macmillan, London, 1994, p. 11.

economies, terror bombing and common cause with a dictator. America emerged dominant and commenced shaping the post-war world. Roosevelt and his advisers at first considered the USSR as a great power pursuing the credible interests of one. Truman instead determined upon a course of confrontation with the USSR; Senator Vandenberg famously stating that if Americans were to believe the gravity of the communist threat, Washington would have to 'scare hell out of the country.'<sup>13</sup>

There are supporting views of the origins of the Cold War. Jules Henry argued that capitalist, industrial societies require a recognised threat or enemy in order to function; in effect, for social control.<sup>14</sup> Technology and corporatisation of much of the news media have combined to exacerbate this: 'The spectre of terrorism magnifies everything it touches like an explosion, and everyone exposed to a ubiquitous real-time media is at risk.'<sup>15</sup> Immediately after his first leadership scare in February 2015, then Prime Minister Abbott appealed to security against terrorism.<sup>16</sup> The theme of competition is evident in Huntington's theme that 'rivalry of the superpowers [sic] will be replaced by the clash of civilisations.'<sup>17</sup>

Mearsheimer's recent 'offensive realism' proposes great powers fear others and seek 'dominant power over others, because having dominant power is the best means to ensure one's own survival.'<sup>18</sup> This Americanesque doctrine overstates the need for dominance above balance or survival. There are many historical examples of great powers weakening themselves in this Thucydidian trap: from the 7<sup>th</sup> Century exhaustion of victorious Byzantium over Sassanid Persia creating the power vacuum then filled by Islam; the evisceration of France in WW1 and America's defeat in Vietnam and Pyrrhic victory in Iraq (2003-present).

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<sup>13</sup> Senator Arthur Vandenberg in 1947 on the question of Congressional Support for anti-communist support for Greece and Turkey, in, Mee, Jr, C.L., Who Started the Cold War? *American Heritage Magazine*, August 1977.

<sup>14</sup> J. Henry, Social and Psychological Preparation for War, in D. Cooper, (ed), *The Dialectics of Liberation*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971, pp. 50-71. Also see, E.J. Dionne, *Inevitably, The Politics Of Terror: Fear Has Become Part of Washington's Power Struggle*, Brookings Institution, 25 May 2003.

<sup>15</sup> B. Callcut, The spectre of terrorism, *ON LINE Opinion*, 17 October 2014.

<sup>16</sup> M. McDonald and S. Fay-Ramirez, Abbott's stoking of terrorist fears may be a political sideshow, *The Conversation*, 7 February 2015.

<sup>17</sup> S.P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon and Schuster, NW 1996, p. 28. Also See, S.P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilisations? in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 72 (3), US, Summer 1993, pp 22-49.

<sup>18</sup> Mearsheimer, op. cit., [Tragedy], p. xv.

Mearsheimer describes different forms of realism: Morgenthau's *human nature realism* articulated in *Politics Among Nations*, where states are power maximisers driving for hegemony; and in particular, Waltz's defensive or structural realism, voiced in *Theory of International Relations*, with its emphasis on maintaining a balance of power within an anarchical international system.<sup>19</sup> Concerned primarily with the rise of China, Mearsheimer notes realists focus on great powers because they 'cause the deadliest wars' and 'the behaviour of great powers is influenced mainly by their external environments, not by their internal characteristics.'<sup>20</sup>

Mearsheimer's latter point is particularly arguable, given the work of Peter Dale Scott and others including the British Government's Chilcot Report. A weakness in Mearsheimer's analysis is to treat lightly the invasion and occupation of Iraq (2003-present) against the role of corporations and political ideologues in promoting the war.<sup>21</sup> That ideologically propelled invasion occurred in spite of protests about misused intelligence and warnings of danger to America's real interests: its economy, international reputation and increasingly riven society. Similarly, without the Nazi Party and corporate backers, Germany would have been less likely to attempt the conquest of its neighbours that ended so ruinously in 1945.

Realist strategic theories can be effective; for example the history of British interference in Europe to maintain a favourable balance of power. In a similar vein, during 2016 Vladimir Putin changed the strategic landscape in Syria and the eastern Mediterranean by the commitment of a limited but aggressive military force to support President Assad. By contrast, the triumph of apparent utopian pragmatism over realism in Canberra's misplaced support for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor (1975-1999) brought only public tragedy and private profit.

Realism has a number of weaknesses and critics. Essential terms, such as 'national interest' or 'war' are not adequately defined.<sup>22</sup> Even 'state' is open to interpretation with breakaway groups or historic peoples like Kurds or West Papuans claiming

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<sup>19</sup> For Mearsheimer's summary, see, op. cit. [Tragedy], pp. 17-22.

<sup>20</sup> Mearsheimer, op. cit. [Tragedy], p. 17.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp. xii and 361. For an account of the neocons and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, see: Colonel Patrick Lang, Drinking the Kool Aid, *Middle East Policy Council Journal*, Blackwall Publishing, Oxford, Vol. XI, No 800, Summer 2004.

<sup>22</sup> For interpretations of war, see: Collins and Reed, op. cit., Chapter 7.

sovereignty. Ohmae proposed the imminent demise of the nation state in its current form; replaced by regional conglomerates of intertwining economic interests.<sup>23</sup> Although Ohmae's theory would see economics usurp politics, the post-GFC world and increasingly right-wing nationalism juxtaposed with the popularity of leftist leaders such as Corbyn (UK) and Sanders (US) may well see states claim back influence.

Fukuyama (writing before 9/11, the GFC, Afghanistan and Iraq, climate chaos and the growing influence of China and India) contended that liberalism had triumphed with the collapse of the Soviet model. He criticised realism for ignoring the internal mechanics of states<sup>24</sup> while touting the spread of democracy, formal abolition of slavery, decreased recourse to the death penalty, and relinquishment of empires.<sup>25</sup> Fukuyama maintained a narrow understanding that 'forms of power, such as natural resources or industrial capacity are important, but primarily as means of creating the capability for self defence.'<sup>26</sup>

Two weaknesses of realist theory come together: reality often can only be admitted in hindsight, and special interests can overshadow national interests. In Canberra, theories of regional engagement and transparency sometimes clash with Canberra's subordination to US global strategy<sup>27</sup>, which at the time of writing appears to be provoking confrontation on three fronts: against Russia in Ukraine and the Baltic, against Russia and Iran in the Middle East (Syria and Iraq), and against China in the South China Sea with a side-show over North Korea. Canberra's short-lived 1995 security treaty with Jakarta evokes Carr's concern with 'secret treaties'.<sup>28</sup>

## Liberalism

The significance of liberalism to Australia, particularly its new form, neo-liberalism,

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<sup>23</sup> K. Ohmae, *The End of the Nation State*, Harper Collins, London, 1995.

<sup>24</sup> Fukuyama, op. cit., p. 249.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp., 256-65.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 249.

<sup>27</sup> Historical examples of this are Canberra's spurning of US overtures for a peacekeeping force for East Timor as early as February 1999; and frequent disinclination to condemn China as a military threat.

<sup>28</sup> D. Lague, Treaty negotiations surrounded by secrecy, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 16 Dec 95, p. 6; and E.H. Carr, op.cit. pp. 3, 110. Carr's reference to 'secret treaties' is on p. 3. See also: H. McQueen, *Japan to the Rescue*, William Heinemann, Melbourne, 1991, pp. 342-345.

is the degree to which foreign policy and society has been shaped to its image. For the last four and a half decades a form of liberalism has formed a mainstream *Washington Consensus* narrative of globalised free markets and the attempted ‘democratisation’ of a range of states from the former Warsaw Pact to Iraq, Libya and Syria. In this, Washington, London, Canberra, less often Ottawa, and the American clients, Tel Aviv and less frequently Jakarta, usually speak with one broad voice, on stage and off.

The proponents of a Washington Consensus are not united. Richard Falk describes conflicting approaches between two American ‘grandiose’ schools to achieve ‘global ambitions’: a) an overwhelming military dominance of the Houston oil-based ‘Bush neoconservative entourage’ expressed in ‘aggressive warfare and territorial hegemony’, and, b) the Clintonite-Wall Street reliance on neoliberal finance supremacy, with a fall-back to militarism if desired.<sup>29</sup>

Liberalism has two main dimensions: political and economic. Political liberalism, also called *idealism* or *utopianism*, promotes democracy, human rights, peace, collective security and small government. Economic liberalism is committed to the unfettered ‘free market’; an elastic concept that ignores unfair commercial practices or corporate colonialism. Its new form, neo-liberalism, unleashed what Edward Luttwak describes as an American type of ‘turbo-charged’ capitalism that ‘happens to wreck society’.<sup>30</sup>

Liberalism led to a series of disastrous wars on the pretext of spreading democracy and forestalling threats to it. Since 1970, the Anglosphere’s neo-liberal political and economic pincers: a) ended the Cold War but squandered the gains with belligerent attitudes to China and Russia; b) ushered in the age of Islamist terrorism by supporting it; c) weakened Western states through increased social inequality; d) de-skilled much of Western manufacturing; e) promoted the growth of competitor states like China and India through outsourcing; and f) globalised poverty (with some

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<sup>29</sup> R. Falk, *Global Ambitions and Geopolitical Wars: The Domestic Challenge*, in D. R., Griffin and P. D. Scott, (eds), *9/11 and American Empire: Intellectuals Speak Out*, Olive Branch Press, Massachusetts, 2007, pp. 117-118 of 117-127.

<sup>30</sup> Luttwak cited in, Reich, R., Gilder, G., Luttwak, E., Blackwell, R., and Dunlap, E., *Does America Still Work*, *Harper’s Magazine*, May 1966, pp. 35-47. See pp. 44,46-47. Previously cited in, L. Collins, *Liberalism*, AIP 728 essay, 1997 and L. Collins, *The USA is a power whose time has passed*, essay for AIP 762, DU, 1996, p. 9.

UNDP camouflage) to create despair and conflict in the third world resulting in waves of displaced people. Where poverty has been reduced in places, it is arguable whether the extreme forms of economic liberalism have been the sole agent of change.<sup>31</sup>

Based on the high ideals of Enlightenment philosophers (Hobbes, Rousseau, Locke, Diderot, Montesquieu and especially regarding economics, Adam Smith), the ideal of classical liberalism provides the power clique bedrock narrative of what Winston Churchill called the ‘great democracies’. Liberals propose that people possess free will, are by nature peaceful, energetic and inclined to improve their lot through individual endeavour. It is the fountainhead of the ‘American dream’.<sup>32</sup> Such optimism flies in the face of the dark origins of American dynastic wealth—imperial theft, opium trafficking, bootlegging and underhand deals—together with (in Australia) crony capitalism where networks of mates form a ‘bonanza class’.<sup>33</sup> The image of liberalism is enshrined in the ideal of democratic elections. In contrast, Martin Gilens and Benjamin Page in an American study, noted the high impact on public policy by ‘economically-elite citizens who wield the actual influence’ as opposed to the ‘near zero’ effect on policy by average citizens.<sup>34</sup> Liberals rarely, if ever, cite Adam Smith where he points to the collusion of commerce and government, ‘to sink the wages of labour’ to ‘subsistence for a man and something over for a family’.<sup>35</sup> Smith feared ‘this real wealth of a society’ would suffer ‘so cruelly’ from the decline of equitable distribution of common wealth.<sup>36</sup>

In a notable example of orthodoxy-creation, Keynesian economics was displaced in the 1970s by networks of business, politicians, bureaucrats and academics enforced

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<sup>31</sup> See: Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Harvard University Press (Belknap), Massachusetts, 2014, pp. 70-71.

<sup>32</sup> The term coined by James Truslow Adams because, according to comic, George Carlin, ‘you would have to be asleep to believe it.’ See: A. Dykes and M. Dykes, History Lesson: America Is the Same Oligarchy It Was over a Century Ago, *Global Research*, 2 January 2015.

<sup>33</sup> J. Pilger, *A Secret Country*, Vintage, London, 1992, pp. 332-334.

<sup>34</sup> Gilens, M. and Page, B., Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens, *Perspectives on Politics*, American Political Science Association, 2014, pp. 577, 572 of 564-581.

<sup>35</sup> A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, The Modern Library, New York, 1994, pp. 75-76. Smith highlights that the master’s arrangements are ‘conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy.’ Smith is previously cited in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 286.

by economic ‘thought police’.<sup>37</sup>

Those who hold positions at the few “top” universities carry a disproportionate amount of power over hiring, publishing, and the granting of research funding through the National Science Foundation. The hiring of new economists by the leading universities is limited to those trained only at a few select graduate programs. And the major academic journals are equally dominated by articles written by economists from the same schools ... Within such a structure, the possibilities for a fundamental change in the direction of thinking are obviously limited.<sup>38</sup>

Economic liberals promoting this Washington Consensus proselytise the trickle-down benefits to all, in order to justify the lowest cost inputs, particularly wages. Small government is a liberal catch-cry but its practitioners demand state support for commercial operations; indicated by US GFC bailouts and Canberra’s efforts against East Timor to the advantage of energy corporations.<sup>39</sup> Marx and Engels’ description of governments as economic caretakers for the owners of the modes of production is thus similar to Adam Smith’s assessment of the magistrate’s role in suppressing wages on behalf of masters.<sup>40</sup> Such points are ignored by liberals, as ‘intellectual commitments are held tenaciously and can seldom be dislodged by logic or contrary evidence.’<sup>41</sup> An Australian example is officialdom’s reflexive acceptance of tenders from Chinese firms for the supply of combat uniforms for the Australian Army.<sup>42</sup>

Liberalism has many critics. Galbraith, Saul, Greider and more recently Harvey, Marquand and Piketty argue that markets are not free but exploited by states and

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<sup>37</sup> Hazel Henderson cited in, W. Greider, *One World Ready or Not*, The Penguin Press (Allen Lane), London, 1997, p. 458. The term was previously used in, in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>38</sup> R. Heilbroner, and W. Milberg, *The Crisis of Vision in Modern Economic Thought*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p. 100. Previously cited in, L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997

<sup>39</sup> See: P. Cleary, *Shakedown*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007; and, J. Pealman, Spies argue over Downer’s ‘hogwash’, *The Saturday Paper*, 8 March 2014, checked 23 May 17.

<sup>40</sup> See: K. Marx, and F. Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, in L.S. Feuer, (ed), *Marx and Engels*, Fontana, New York, 1974m p. 51; and A. Smith, A., loc. cit. Smith highlights that the master's arrangements with the magistrate are ‘conducted with the utmost silence and secrecy.’

<sup>41</sup> Khan cited in: R. Gilpin, R., *The Political Economy of International Relations*, Princeton University Press, Princeton NJ, 1987, p. 26.

<sup>42</sup> Colonel T. McCullagh, *Investigation into an Alleged Breach of the Customs Act 1901*, Department of Defence, Australian Government, 7 September 2010. Also see: Domestic manufacture of ADF combat uniforms must remain in Australia, Australian Defence Association, 2012.

corporations alike.<sup>43</sup> The criticisms are not recent, nor confined to the political fringes. Decades ago, Greider quoted a senior businessman warning, ‘Things are going to get tougher...change more rapid...a hurricane.’<sup>44</sup>

Liberals underestimate the role of states and exaggerate their ‘lack of control’.<sup>45</sup> What decades of neo-liberalism reveals is close relationships between states, or rather actors—lobbyists, politicians, bureaucrats—within the state apparatus to accommodate corporations. The Howard Government was active in fostering corporations: Woodside over East Timor oil, the 2003 Iraq War for Australian wheat, and privatising Kingsford Smith Airport for Macquarie Bank. This trend was being exacerbated by the secretly drafted and now resuscitated Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). The acquiescence of states could be explained by: repetitive honest mistakes, by shadowy pecuniary interests, overwhelming corporate propaganda, internalising and promoting liberal dogma by ideologues and decision-makers, or by ‘benumbed resignation’ in Western communities that has not yet led to political upheaval threatening to power cliques.<sup>46</sup>

The degree to which the power elite escape the consequences of their actions is extraordinary, for example the American and Mexican ‘governing elites’ who caused the Peso Crisis.<sup>47</sup> The role of non-government organisations like the World Bank and IMF in these situations should be noted, where their actions lend weight to the concept of ‘corporate mercantilism’.<sup>48</sup> In the aftermath of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC), the film *Inside Job* won the 2011 Academy Award for best documentary. In his acceptance speech the director began to loud applause: ‘Forgive me, I must start by pointing out that three years after our horrific financial crisis

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<sup>43</sup> D. Harvey, *Seventeen Contradictions and the End of Capitalism*, Profile Books, London, 2014, J.K. Galbraith, *The Culture of Contentment*, Sinclair-Stevenson, London, 1992; J.R. Saul, *The Unconscious Civilisation*, Penguin, London, 1997; and Greider, op.cit.; D. Marquand, *Mammon's Kingdom*, Allen Lane, London, 2014, and; T. Piketty, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Greider citing J.F. Welch, Jr, CEO of General Electric speaking in 1994; cited in Greider, op. cit. p.21. Also cited in, L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>45</sup> C. Birch, *Confronting the Future*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1993, p. 318.

<sup>46</sup> The term ‘benumbed resignation’ is Greider’s. Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>47</sup> W.F. Todd, Bailing Out The Creditor Class, *The Nation*, 13 Feb 1995. Todd was writing of the Mexican peso crisis (1994-1995) but cited an African economist to describe the nature of such ‘adjustments’, ‘One class of people borrowed the money, and a different class of people had to pay it back.’

<sup>48</sup> See: Burchill, S., Liberalism, in Burchill, S. and Linklater, A., (eds), op. cit., 2009, p. 77 of pp. 57-85.

caused by financial fraud, not a single financial executive has gone to jail, and that's wrong.'<sup>49</sup>

The myriad of protectionist measures employed by leading 'free market economies' and the flouting of theoretical conventions, such as copyright by China, seriously question the practice of liberal theory. Writing before the GFC, Peter Gowan argued that the abandonment of the Bretton Woods arrangements and imposition of neo-liberalism for the Dollar-Wall Street Regime (DWSR) through the 'social engineering' instruments of the World Bank and IMF was specifically designed on the back of American corporate and state power 'in order to establish a new regime which would give it monocratic power over international monetary affairs.'<sup>50</sup> While arguments about the nature of this globalised *Bellum Americana* serve to promote ambiguity about its existence, Gowan has no doubt. He wrote in 1999 after the Asian financial crisis that 'its gaze, "blank and pitiless as the sun" has turned upon the Soviet Bloc, the European Social Model, the East Asian Development Model, bringing them all to their knees.'<sup>51</sup> The indicators accumulate. Engdahl and Gowan point to a US engineered oil crisis (blamed on OPEC—the Arabs) being a hidden cause of the 1973 October War of Egypt and Syria against Israel, which profited British North Sea oil, but was detrimental to European and Asian economies.<sup>52</sup> American soft and hard power moves against the oil rich MENA<sup>53</sup> and Caucasus, together with the US pivot to Asia, point to an international great game in which Australia is a bit-player boasting of punching above its weight.

The Washington Consensus is now under threat from another state-based economic system, the *Beijing Consensus*. The latter comprises three main elements: 'bleeding edge' over 'trailing' technology to promote development; 'quality of life' measures of merit over 'per-capita GDP' to quantify development; and defence of sovereignty

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<sup>49</sup> Charles Ferguson, with producer Audrey Marrs, cited in; Huffington Post, Charles Ferguson's Oscar Speech Rips Wall Street: 'Inside Job' Director Levels Criticism During Acceptance, *Huffpost Business*, 28 February 2011.

<sup>50</sup> P. Gowan, *The Global Gamble*, Verso, London, 1999, pp. 19, 129.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 3. The sun quote within is from Y.B. Yeats, *The Second Coming*.

<sup>52</sup> See: F. W. Engdahl, *A Century of War*, p. 164. and Gowan, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> For example, Chas Freeman, cited in Alexandre Trudeau's documentary film, *The New Great Game*, points 37,000 Chinese workers—an unknown number oil-related—in Libya when Gaddafi was overthrown (2011) with Western backing. See A. Trudeau, *The Great Game*, 2012, transcript, Media Education Foundation.

by all means.<sup>54</sup> Indicative of China's increasing power and confidence is the formation of the New Development Bank (NDB) with other states (Russia, Brazil, South Africa and India). This marks a milestone in the development of Chinese grand strategy and the international economic order.<sup>55</sup>

Coincident with changing economic circumstances, deadly explosions at a chemical storage facility at Tianjin on 12 August 2015 drew international interest. The quite rational official explanation was of an industrial accident. Some Western conspiracists, evidently mirroring their Chinese counterparts, speculate that the devastating explosions were an American strike with a space-based kinetic energy weapon to 'forestall the Chinese government's planned announcement of a gold-backed currency and 'fire sale' of its U.S. debt holding... [which, if true] could trigger total collapse of the U.S. economy...' <sup>56</sup> Ian Greenhalgh, in *Veterans Today*, labelled the Tianjin explosion a 'mini-nuke' strike.<sup>57</sup> In the vein of coincidentally curious incidents, there was an explosion and fire at US military base in Japan on 22 August; and on 3 September 2015 five Chinese naval vessels were seen, unusually, off the coast of Alaska.<sup>58</sup>

Coincidental with the Tianjin explosions, relative currency values and manipulation are a key element in foreign affairs, as Davidson and Bergsten argue over the 2003 invasion of Iraq and China's currency devaluation respectively.<sup>59</sup> The *New York Times* reported on the 16<sup>th</sup> August 2015 that the Obama administration had voiced displeasure about Chinese agents operating in America.<sup>60</sup> China had devalued its currency on 11 August 2015; on 18 August, *The Washington Times* warned the real

<sup>54</sup> K.M. Campbell and M.E. O'Hanlon, *Hard Power: The new politics of national security*, Basic Books (Perseus), NY, 2006, p. 199.

<sup>55</sup> Daniel Yem Mao Lim and George Yin, China's development bank plans test rising power's strategic shift, *The Conversation*, 10 November 2014.

<sup>56</sup> J. Didymus, China Tianjin Explosion was caused by Pentagon 'Rod of God Space Weapon Strike, According to Conspiracy Theorists, *Inquisitr*, 18 August 2015.

<sup>57</sup> I. Greenhalgh, The Nuking of Tianjin—Frame by Frame Analysis, *Veterans Today*, 26 August 2015.

<sup>58</sup> See: P. Cooney, (ed) with, L. Sieg, K. Takenaka, A. Shalal, S. Maler, Explosion at U.S. military warehouse in Japan, no injuries, Reuters, 24 August 2015; and BBC, Five Chinese ships seen off Alaska coast, Pentagon says, BBC News, 3 September 2015.

<sup>59</sup> K. Davidson, The Real Reason America is Invading Iraq, *The Age*, 20 March 2003, and F. Bergsten, Currency Manipulation: Why Something Must Be Done, *Forbes*, 25 February 2015.

<sup>60</sup> M. Mazzetti and D., Levin, Obama Administration Warns Beijing About Covert Agents Operating in U.S., *NY Times*, 16 August 2015.

Chinese aim was ‘to achieve global financial dominance in one fell swoop.’<sup>61</sup> Sources as diverse as Murdoch’s *The Australian* and the Canada-based *Global Research* had earlier noted the implications of such Chinese moves for the American and global economies.<sup>62</sup> Opinions on the motives for such a monetary strategy by the Chinese vary from unseating the Americans to wishing to join the hegemonic club. Without inside knowledge it is impossible to gauge the veracity of all this, but the reports are routinely noteworthy based on the historical links between economics, money military strategy, conflict and developing military technology.<sup>63</sup>

The spectre of state-corporate collusion—contrary to the democratic and free market ideals of liberalism—is evident in Canberra’s policy over East Timor and the US-led war on Iraq with its consequent destabilisation of the MENA. A number of measures are available to protect states and thus society from unfettered neo-liberal capitalism. Greider recommends taxing finance capital rather than labour and establishing ‘a global floor on labour practices...’<sup>64</sup> There is no indication that the power clique in Australia are seriously considering any of these measures. On the contrary, they are applying the IMF and World Bank ‘medicine’: privatisation, increased foreign investment, higher taxes on labour and reduced welfare safety nets. The measure of this is the networking self-interest of the power clique supported by a credulous mainstream media. John Quiggan explained

we have in Australia a political career structure in which, really, privatising assets is a very good career move. If you look at the people who carried through very successful privatisations in office and what they’re doing now, you’ll find that the vast majority of them are working in highly paid positions in financial institutions.<sup>65</sup>

The presenter responded condescendingly. Quiggan reaffirmed his position.

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<sup>61</sup> L. Todd Wood, The day China says its currency is backed by gold, *The Washington Times*, 18 August 2015.

<sup>62</sup> See: R. Bromby, China’s gold reserves underestimated, *The Australian*, Business Review, 20 July 2015 and; P. Koenig, Russia and China: The Dawning of a New Monetary System, *Global Research*, 9 January 2015.

<sup>63</sup> See, N. Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the World*, BBC, 2010.

<sup>64</sup> Greider, op. cit., pp. 322-24, 257, 410.

<sup>65</sup> K. MacDonald, (prod), G. Doogue, (pres), Infrastructure investment: John Quiggin, *Saturday Extra*, ABC RN, 18 March 2017. Also see the episode’s comments.

### **Mercantilism, economic nationalism and a more complex world**

Mercantilism was a politico-economic theory current in the 16-18th centuries. To enable the domination of other states, it confirmed the sovereign or government's regulation of the economy to maximise power. Its flagship images are the East India Company's seizure of South Asia from both traditional rulers and the French, the legally commissioned privateers to raid enemy commerce, and the Anglo-Chinese Opium Wars. Its modern heritage is 'economic nationalism'.<sup>66</sup> In this version, the costs are socialised and the profits are privatised, something the theory has in common with neo-liberalism. Greider refers to several Asian varieties of 'authoritarian state capitalism'.<sup>67</sup>

It is unsurprising that liberalism, founded on a critique of mercantilism, should in turn be criticised by the intellectual descendant of mercantilism: economic nationalism. Economic nationalism, also a form of capitalism, has much in common with the international relations doctrine of realism with its emphasis on the state and security.<sup>68</sup>

Distinctions can become blurred. The First Gulf War (1990-91) was an instance of states combining their military power to further or protect economic and security interests. Others helped finance the war to maintain the US hegemonic power 'necessary to the existence of a liberal international economy.'<sup>69</sup>

With changing power relationships and the rising assertiveness of states such as China and Indonesia, more pressure will be placed on Western nations for a more equitable share of the earth's resources.<sup>70</sup> Advanced nations are loath to surrender their privileges. Without major technological and ethical breakthroughs, raising everyone would place unsustainable pressure on the environment and resources. Commercial interests masquerading as national interests have played a major part in the destabilisation of Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria<sup>71</sup> and Canberra's actions over East

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<sup>66</sup> M.A. Heilperin, *Economic Nationalism: From Mercantilism to World War II*, Mises Institute, Alabama, 13 July 2010.

<sup>67</sup> Greider, op cit., p. 36.

<sup>68</sup> L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>69</sup> Gilpin, op. cit., p. 88. Previously cited in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>70</sup> Greider, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>71</sup> For Syria, see, N. Ahmed, Syria intervention plan fuelled by oil interests, not chemical weapon

Timor's fossil fuels.<sup>72</sup> The consequences go far beyond borders, with Europe's refugee crisis of 2015 an example.

## Marxism

In the wake of the GFC and refusal of power cliques to solve social and economic problems or tame 'economic aristocracies',<sup>73</sup> Marxism gained renewed traction with grassroots support for Jeremy Corbyn and Bernie Sanders. In Australia, by contrast, no such self-confessed socialist has risen to prominence in the major parties; potentially illustrative of how 'dominant elites in the realms of finance and production can reclaim authority and entrench existing powers and privileges.'<sup>74</sup> The contemporary value of Marxism is that it is one of the few theoretical perspectives to provide an understanding of why the global economy is crisis-prone, and why it cannot seemingly be managed in a consistently rational and stable fashion. The need for state intervention to bailout the financial sector during the GFC promotes a theoretical perspective widely thought to be irrelevant in the 21st Century, but which continues to provide a compelling critique of market liberalism. Marxism remains an important critique of globalisation.

The power of Marxist analysis should be distinguished from the corrupted Soviet and Chinese communist models, just as the ideals of Adam Smith should be distanced from crony-capitalism. Marxist analysis focuses on capitalism's 'private ownership of the means of production...wage labour, the profit motive, and the drive to amass capital.'<sup>75</sup> Marx and Engels believed history unveils human development from barbarism to communism in which capitalism is a transitional period. They saw people as essentially good and cooperative but divided by ownership: 'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle ... [culminating in] two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat.'<sup>76</sup>

Marxism brought and brings impressive vision and focus to a wider and more

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concern, *The Guardian*, 31 August 2013.

<sup>72</sup> P. Cleary, *Shakedown: Australia's grab for Timor oil*, Allen and Unwin, 2007.

<sup>73</sup> See, A. Linklater, *Marx and Marxism*, in Burchill and Linklater, op. cit., 2013, p132 of 113-137.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>75</sup> Greider, loc. cit., p. 15.

<sup>76</sup> Marx and Engels, op. cit., p. 48-49.

complex range of issues, where many of the unequal characteristics of current world political economy are not ameliorated by liberalism or realism. Marxism suggests coherent explanations: the ‘bourgeoisie ... has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self interest, than callous “cash payment”’.<sup>77</sup> Marxist theory coalesces with the observations of Marquand and Piketty. Whereas economic liberals pretend to disparage the role of the state, modern times resonate with Marx and Engels’ admonition that the state is a ‘committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie’, although like many committees, states have competing sectional interests.<sup>78</sup> Examples of the state supporting the owners of the modes of production include: a) the Crown’s role in furthering the *Pax Britannia*, b) US private profiteering from the Iraq War (2003-present), c) Canberra supporting the Thai and Indonesian economies in 1997 and its obvious unseen hand in Australia’s wheat trade to Iraq, and e) the role of many governments in propping up surreal finance and the ‘real’ economy during and since the GFC.

Paul Krugman and others highlighted the contradictions of capitalism before the 2008 GFC.<sup>79</sup> Different writers have pointed to the civilising effect on capitalism of an alternate political model in the flawed USSR: ‘It was not until this challenge to the order of things that the working environment in the West was noticeably improved’<sup>80</sup> and the ‘taming of capitalism was, at least in part, a response to the Communist challenge.’<sup>81</sup> J.F.C. Fuller wrote ‘the contagion of the March Revolution in Russia swept westward like a wildfire. The mutinies of the French army were largely accountable to it.’<sup>82</sup> Despite the excesses of some of socialism’s sanguinary practitioners, the spectre of an alternative to capitalism applied a brake to the excesses of the latter.

The *disjecta membra* of modern capitalism is evident in unemployment, crime, a pervading sense of job insecurity, environmental destruction and unwillingness to pay for humanitarian tasks in poor nations. These factors in turn lead to a domestic

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<sup>77</sup> Marx and Engels, op. cit., p. 51. Marx and Engels, previously cited in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. Marx and Engels, previously cited in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997.

<sup>79</sup> Krugman, P., *The Return to Depression Economics*, Norton, 1999.

<sup>80</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Marquand, D., *Mammon’s Kingdom: An Essay on Britain, Now*, Allen Lane, 2014, p. 165.

<sup>82</sup> J.F.C. Fuller, *The Conduct of War 1789-1961*, Da Capo, New York, 1992, p. 177-79. The Bolshevik Revolution did not occur until late 1917.

political search for increased certainty. Luttwak warned, two decades ago, of the dangers of this for America.<sup>83</sup> The lurch to the more organised and populist political right is symptomatic of economic and social dislocation.<sup>84</sup> Corbyn and Sanders have thus far failed to decisively sway political outcomes in the Anglosphere, although Sanders was sabotaged before the primaries by the Democrat party hierarchy around Hillary Clinton.<sup>85</sup> Such a transition is unlikely to be smooth. In 2015 an English general warned of a coup against Corbyn<sup>86</sup> (two similar plots reportedly took place against Harold Wilson<sup>87</sup>) and the spectre of a grassy knoll hangs over attempts to reform Washington.

The relevance of Marxist analysis in the post-GFC and anti-political-establishment awakening seems self-evident. The 2016 Brexit and US presidential elections highlighted the growing wealth divide between the one percent and the rest and the rising international instability as Western states square off against Russia and China.

### **Environmentalism**

The carrying capacity of the environment has been an issue for hundreds of years with Thomas Malthus' *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) being influential as the world population approached one billion people. Later notable works include Garret Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* (1968) and the activism of David Suzuki and Paul Erlich. That the environment is a key issue in human affairs, and therefore between states, is evidenced by sources as diverse as the US military<sup>88</sup>, with Australia following.<sup>89</sup> Michael Chossudovsky contends in his study on the *Globalisation of Poverty*, the 'international financial order feeds on human poverty and the destruction of the natural environment.'<sup>90</sup> The British Government's Stern

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<sup>83</sup> Luttwak, in Tough et al., op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>84</sup> C. Hedges, *Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, p. 196 et seq.

<sup>85</sup> H. A. Goodman, Debbie Wasserman Schultz And The DNC Favored Hillary Clinton Over Bernie Sanders. Where's The Outrage? *Huffington Post*, 17 August 2016.

<sup>86</sup> C. Mortimer, British Army 'could stage mutiny under Corbyn', says senior serving general, *The Independent*, 20 September 2015.

<sup>87</sup> A. Fowler, *The War on Journalism*, pp. 52-55. Also see: BBC documentary, The Plot Against Harold Wilson, broadcast 2006.

<sup>88</sup> US Department of Defence, Quadrennial Defence Review 2014.

<sup>89</sup> R. Sturrock and P. Ferguson, *The Longest Conflict: Australia's Climate Security Challenge*, Centre for Policy Development, June 2015.

<sup>90</sup> M. Chossudovsky, *The Globalisation of Poverty*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, Global Research, Montreal, 2003, p. 18.

Review<sup>91</sup> and Pope Francis' letter were milestones in general acceptance of anthropogenic climate change.<sup>92</sup> The consequences of environmental degradation are commonly predicted to be serious; the US National Intelligence Council outlines the consequences of a doubtlessly hypothetical 'global pandemic of 2023.'<sup>93</sup> Australia, under the LNC from 2013, has been internationally criticised as lagging on the issue.

The relevance of environmentalism to international relations and within Australian domestic politics was demonstrated by failure to achieve agreement at the 2009 UN Climate Change Convention in Copenhagen. Widespread dismay at the lack of progress saw political misfortune visited upon the Rudd government, though it was not the only factor in his demise. Notable issues are: a) the weight of scientific evidence for anthropogenic climate change, b) the power of the fossil fuel lobby, and c) uneven public responses ranging from activism to apathy. The impact of resource extraction industries on society and economy are covered in the following chapter.

From first principles, environmentalism is significant for its impact on the inter-state activity of transnational energy corporations and governments. Canberra has shown this with its activity in the Timor Gap and in sea-boundary negotiations with Indonesia. Further afield the Australian firm, Woodside, withdrew from a stake in the Israeli Leviathan gas fields, evidently over Israeli tax policy. Australia has played a constant, if small, military role in US global oil strategy, with resulting upheaval in the MENA.

Environmentalism is concerned with the dynamics between people and nature rather than between states, though some environmentalists believe 'authoritarian structures' [i.e. 'world government'] are necessary to overcome environmental challenges.<sup>94</sup> In its extreme form, 'for the most part rejected by Greens', this view would culminate in 'lifeboat ethics': the abandonment of poorer and vulnerable societies.<sup>95</sup> Paterson notes the main argument pits institutionalists 'who eschew discussion of any broad

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<sup>91</sup> N Stern, Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change, 30 October 2006.

<sup>92</sup> Pope Francis, Encyclical Letter, *Caudato Si'*, of the Holy Father Francis, *On Care for our Common Home*, Vatican, 24 May 2015.

<sup>93</sup> NIC 2017-001, G. Trevorton, (Chair), *Global Trends: Paradox of Progress*, National Intelligence Council, January 2017, p. 51.

<sup>94</sup> See M. Paterson, Green Theory, in S. Burchill, A. Linklater, R. Devetok, J. Donnelly, T., Nardin, M. Paterson, C., Reus-Smit and J. True, (Burchill, Linklater et al.), *Theories of International Relations*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed, Palgrave MacMillan, Houndmills, 2009, p. 268 of pp. 260-283.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* p. 268.

“environmental crisis”, and focus on how international institutions deal with specific issue areas’, against bio-environmentalists and social greens ‘who insist on such a crisis and the need for political transformation’ to cope with it.<sup>96</sup>

Largely springing from grassroots movements motivated by specific regional issues such as opposition to the Lake Pedder dam in Tasmania, and given voice by leaders like Bob Brown, *green politics* is an identifiable global movement motivated by

concern for the future of the human species as a whole, and not just particular nations and culture...“for human life’s involvement with all other life, vegetable and animal ...”<sup>97</sup>

With a loose organisation based on bodies including Greenpeace, the UN Environmental Program (UNEP), and World Wide Fund for Nature, the Green movement promotes issues comprising environmental sustainability, human rights, peace and participatory democracy. Liberals tend to see the environmental obstacle as a matter of garnering agreement from states, while leftists view the corporate practices of global capital as ‘profoundly damaging to the environment.’<sup>98</sup> In Australia the Greens have maintained a toehold in federal politics for decades and have managed balance of power influence on occasion, though this has not precluded only token political-corporate acknowledgement of environmental issues.<sup>99</sup>

Environmentalism has collided with a coalition of conservative politicians, corporations and media who have coined the term ‘watermelons’ to describe environmentalists as green outside and red inside.<sup>100</sup> Commonly portrayed as the worst of offenders against the environment and anthropocentric climate change, ‘Corporate activism ... has enabled a corporate agenda to dominate most debates about the state of the environment and what should be done about it.’<sup>101</sup> Successful

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<sup>96</sup> Paterson, op. cit.

<sup>97</sup> Rowan Williams cited in Marquand, op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>98</sup> Bogler, J., Environmental Issues, p. 359, in, Baylis, J., Smith, S. and Owens, P., *The Globalization of World Politics*, Chapter 21, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, pp. 346-363.

<sup>99</sup> T. Flannery, After the Future: Australia’s New Extinction Crisis, *Quarterly Essay*, Issue 48, 2012, Black Inc., pp. 1-80). See pp. 21-22.

<sup>100</sup> For a summary of Tony Abbott’s actions against the environment, see, N. Feik, Abbott government’s attack on the environment, *The Saturday Paper*, 22 March 2014.

<sup>101</sup> S. Beder, Global Spin, in *Earthscan Reader in Business and Sustainable Development*, ed. Richard Starkey and Richard Welford, Earthscan, London, 2001, pp. 242-266.

corporate tactics include hiring former prominent people such as politicians<sup>102</sup> and environmentalists.<sup>103</sup>

Despite the weight of scientific opinion, climate change deniers are dogged, ignoring key factors such as the significant population increase and exponentially growing industrialisation and motorisation. A review of a speech by John Howard is instructive:

What we also learn from Howard's speech<sup>[104]</sup> is that a special corner of hell is currently being reserved for the really quite small number of zealots and snake-oil-salesmen who punched far, far above their weight in promulgating the scare. He singles out Al Gore; and the dismal, droney-voiced but extremely dangerous ex-World Bank economist Nicholas (now Lord) Stern; and he is right to do so.<sup>105</sup>

Detractors accuse the environmental movement of being bad for 'growth', the economy and jobs. Others see more sinister Green motives:

Far from a grassroots movement, environmentalism is a big business, funded and directed by the leading families of the U.S. and European establishments... [forming a movement of] four general types: those concerned, respectively with environmental problems, population control, animal rights, and land trusts...very secretive about their finances, but there is enough evidence on the public record to determine what they are up to.<sup>106</sup>

Social justice activists are sceptical of elite philanthropy pointing out that elite, top-down giving often comprises 'symbolic capital' and may well be motivated by the social status, commercial power or some other advantage derived from the act.<sup>107</sup> Noting the 'green revolution'—the switch from traditional seeds to new varieties, often genetically modified and controlled by corporate patents—Morvaridi cites the

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<sup>102</sup> A. MacDonald-Smith, NSW Labor's coal seam gas policy to come under fire, *Australian Financial Review*, 23 March 2015.

<sup>103</sup> M. Fyfe, The greenie who walked the plank, *The Age*, 2 July 2005.

<sup>104</sup> J. Howard, *One religion is enough*, The Global Warming Policy Foundation, Annual Lecture, London, 5<sup>th</sup> November 2013.

<sup>105</sup> J. Delingpole, Ex-Australian PM John Howard sticks it to the greenies, *The Telegraph*, London, 6 November 2013.

<sup>106</sup> By R. A., Maduro and R. Schauerhammer, Who Owns the Environmentalist Movement? *21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Fall, 1992.

<sup>107</sup> B. Morvaridi, Capitalist Philanthropy and the New Green Revolution for Food Security, *International Journal of Society of Agriculture and Food*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 28 June 2012, pp. 243–256. See p. 244.

Gates Foundation investing \$23 million in Monsanto.<sup>108</sup> Programs guided by international institutions like the World Bank are ‘being controlled by large multinational corporations and a wealthy few, who are *unregulated* and *unaccountable*.’<sup>109</sup> There are also assertions that the green movement has been co-opted by an ‘Anglo-American green agenda’ loosely comprising oilmen wishing to stymie nuclear power and a ‘new “limits to growth” ideology among American and European establishment circles’.<sup>110</sup>

It is logical that preserving the environment and effective use of resources are worthy objectives in themselves; even for doubters a Pascal’s wager on the environment seems prudent. Much of the green movement, and by extension green politics, is hard to lay at the feet of top-down ideology. For example the spectre of local grassroots protest saw normally conservative rural communities in protests against corporate and state agendas. In Australia ‘swarms of armed police’ confronted protesters over a proposed open-cut coal mine in the Leard State Forest (Maules Creek, NSW).<sup>111</sup> Similar dynamics caused the NSW government to suspend the licence for a proposed coal seam gas (CSG) project at Bentley, near Lismore, and cancel the planned deployment of 800 police tasked to quell the civil ‘protection’ arrayed against the venture.<sup>112</sup>

### State Power

Small nations have been able to defeat large military powers through a strategy of exhaustion, the type of protracted war advocated by Mao, which defeated the Americans in Vietnam and punctured optimism in Iraq and Afghanistan. Paul Kennedy, in *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1988) proposed that the pursuit of military power exhausted many empires and his views were reflected in post-Cold War Western defence spending.

Whether motivated by realist considerations, a utopian world-view of shared values, or Malthusian survival, the projection and perception of state power looms large in

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<sup>108</sup> Morvaridi, op. cit., p. 249.

<sup>109</sup> Morvaridi, op. cit. See p. 243-256.

<sup>110</sup> Engdahl, *A Century of War*, Progressive Press, Palm Desert, 2012, [Century], pp.173-177.

<sup>111</sup> F. Robson, The Avengers, *SMH/Age Good Weekend*, 26 July 2014, p. 29 of pp. 26-29.

<sup>112</sup> AAP, NSW suspends Metgasco’s CSG drilling licence at Bentley, *SBS*, 15 May 2014.

international relations. The elements of national power range from the hard power of population, wealth, geo-strategic position, military force, technological and industrial capability to less quantifiable soft power. The latter includes culture, social harmony, and international reputation; quantified famously by Joseph Nye who now speaks in terms of ‘smart power’.<sup>113</sup> Nye, describing the value of population growth and immigration, refers to ‘America’s soft, or attractive, power’, which promotes the ‘upward mobility’ of migrants.<sup>114</sup> He denies America is in decline from ‘imperial overstretch’ and notes the difficulty of wielding global central power in a system based on an

18<sup>th</sup> century liberal view that power is best controlled by fragmentation and countervailing checks and balances rather than centralization. American government was designed to be inefficient so that it presented less threat to liberty.<sup>115</sup>

This sentiment indicates the difficulty of policy formulation in states and might explain the general and controversial move to more centralised authority in many of them.

### **Hard Power**

Traditionally, hard power means the application of military force to achieve national ends. Taken further it could apply to the attempted legitimacy of the occupations that have failed in Iraq and Afghanistan at a cost approaching ‘a trillion dollars.’<sup>116</sup> Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes provided, in 2008, a less sanguine estimate of three trillion dollars.<sup>117</sup> Although competent and supportable military force remains at the forefront of hard power, it can prove impotent, as the anti-colonial wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century demonstrated. This has been validated in recent decades where superpowers have stumbled in Vietnam, Afghanistan and Iraq.

In her study of Islamist terrorism in Indonesia, Sally Neighbour chronicles the role of Indonesian fighters under Bin Laden in Afghanistan and the ‘electrifying event’ of

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<sup>113</sup> J. Nye in, A. Funnell, (pres), Soft power with Chinese characteristics, *Future Tense*, ABC RN, 3 May 2015.

<sup>114</sup> J. Nye, A key to America’s power, *Opinion*, CNN, 12 June 2015.

<sup>115</sup> J. Nye, Is America Like Rome? *The World Post*, 27 April 2015.

<sup>116</sup> K.M. Campbell and M.E. O’Hanlon, *Hard Power: The New Politics of National Security*, Basic Books, NY, 2006, pp. 7-9.

<sup>117</sup> Stiglitz and Bilmes, op. cit.

the Soviet withdrawal: ‘As Bin Laden himself put it, “The myth of the superpower was destroyed”.’<sup>118</sup> Instead they created fighters who were unafraid of them. The experiences of anti-colonisation, Vietnam, Somalia, Lebanon and Iran point to the limits of asymmetric military power, particularly on land.

### **Hard Power and Population**

The ‘earliest securely dated evidence of violent confrontation between hunter-gatherer groups’ using edged weapons and clubs dates from about 10,000 BC.<sup>119</sup> Fuller notes in the first chapter of his *Decisive Battles* the links between growing numbers of ‘stomachs, whether animal or human’, food supply and ‘living space’ as major causes for war.<sup>120</sup> In the David and Goliath struggles, minorities—whether Indigenous Australians, Armenians, Jews, Copts, Druze, Papuans, East Timorese or Native Americans—have always been and remain vulnerable. Long before the Earth’s human population reached one billion, Rome and Byzantium at their plunging points were decisively overwhelmed by armed and organised refugees. Human failings on the part of the vanquished were part of the story, but population pressure was the centre of gravity of both events. The European colonisation of much of the world from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century was as much about economic refugees fleeing Europe as it was about imperialism, particularly after about 1830 when the global population reached one billion. The population as power principle, and its ability to change the facts on the ground, currently plays out now with the clearance of Palestine, genocide in West Papua and the influx of Middle Eastern refugees into Europe.

### **Soft Power**

Soft power comprises population and language, including diasporas together with the exportability of culture through literature, music, film, science, foreign aid and so forth. Peter Dale Scott writes optimistically of soft power that is ‘increasingly people

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<sup>118</sup> S. Neighbour, *In the Shadow of Swords: On the Trail of Terrorism from Afghanistan to Australia*, HarperCollins, Sydney, 2004, p. 55.

<sup>119</sup> M. Kennedy, Stone-age massacre offers earliest evidence of human warfare, *The Guardian*, 21 January 2016.

<sup>120</sup> Fuller, op. cit., Vol 1, pp. 1-5.

oriented and grounded in civil society rather than the state.’<sup>121</sup> Economic muscle and the cultivation of dependencies, for example by China in Australia for manufactured goods and ‘foreign investment’, create linkages between the power cliques at both ends of the transaction. It was these types of arrangements that were alluded to in an article alleging that ‘high-level corruption’ in Australia ‘extends to Australian judges, diplomats, the police forces, individual politicians and by association both major political parties of Australia.’<sup>122</sup>

Influences such as globalisation and the reach of non-state actors like the World Bank and IMF have paved the way for the indirect exercise of American soft power and corporate penetration. This has not gone unnoticed by China, where two colonels argued in their book, *Unrestricted Warfare*:

... The United States is best at using supra-national combinations as a weapon. ... [and] never misses an opportunity to take a hand in international organizations involving U.S. interests... get involved in it and manipulate it.<sup>123</sup>

They identify a new model of ‘state + supra-national + trans-national + non-state’ as features of a ‘beyond’ limits national strategy of ‘ten thousand methods combined as one’.<sup>124</sup> This indirect approach is evident in the launching of the Chinese development bank, fortification of reefs in the South China Sea, and increasing presence and influence around the world, not least in Australia.<sup>125</sup> While subtle strategies and soft power may work, Putin’s precise and limited exercise of hard defensive realism in Syria early in 2016 proves they still have a place in international affairs.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Scott, op. cit. [War machine], p. 33.

<sup>122</sup> Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia, beyond casinos and judges, *Malaysia Outlook*, 7 March 2017.

<sup>123</sup> Q. Liang and W. Xiangsui, *Unrestricted Warfare*, Pan American Publishing Company, Panama, 2002, p. 159.

<sup>124</sup> Liang and Xiangsui, op. cit., pp. 158, 159, 171.

<sup>125</sup> For Beijing’s influence in Australia, see, C. Hamilton, *Silent Invasion*, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2018.

<sup>126</sup> R. Fisk, Why David Cameron is so silent on the recapture of Palmyra from the clutches of ISIS, *The Independent*, UK, 27 March 2016.

## NON-IR PERSPECTIVES—THE DARK STATE

### Conceptual Frameworks

The traditional IR theories covering relations between states, while providing useful theoretical models, do not entirely account for the emergence of recent analytical perspectives, such as the *deep state*, *crimes against democracy*, a revitalised interest in *authoritarianism*, and the flexibly networked global *wealth-power* dynamic evidenced by the Panama Papers (April 2016) and Paradise Papers (November 2017). The leaked detail of international money laundering indicates the interconnectedness of global wealth and its shared or conflicting interests. As the internet enables the exchange of ideas and information by dissidents and concerned citizens, the same technology enhances the power of the surveillance state and politico-corporate propaganda.

### Authoritarianism

If the aim of IR theory is to explain domestic and international polity, there are shortcomings in the variants of realism and liberalism ascribing reason to catastrophic international events, such as the GFC, or the proxy war in Syria. The Afghan and Iraq wars present valid test-cases for IR theory. Realism cannot give a coherent innocent explanation for the 2001 invasion of Afghanistan, nor the 2003 invasion of Iraq, because of the foreseeable damage it would do to the aggressors' economies and international standing. Nor is theoretical liberalism an adequate explanation, because the wars were its very antithesis, compounded by the widespread public opposition to the invasion of Iraq in particular. Mercantilism comes closer with its emphasis on state-trade links. Marxism draws closer still with its treatment of capitalism and imperialism.

Linking governments and corporations, the political ideology of authoritarianism is increasingly underscored as a descriptor/explainer of international and intrastate events. C. Wright Mills described the centralisation of power in America and the transformation of the 'public' to a 'mass'.<sup>127</sup> Chris Hedges defines the mechanics of

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<sup>127</sup> D. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000 (originally published 1956), pp. 3-4, 301 et seq.

the new authoritarianism.

In a system of inverted totalitarianism, it is not necessary to rewrite the Constitution, as fascist or and communist regimes would. It is enough to exploit legitimate power by means of judicial and legislative interpretation. ... There is a word for this: corruption.<sup>128</sup>

In debate it is emotively and symbolically difficult to separate new forms and allegiances of neo-fascism from historical Nazism. In the heyday of historical fascism, the Chinese despot Chiank Kai-Shek positively described fascism as ‘a stimulant for a declining society’; all that could save China from the ‘poison of liberal democracy’.<sup>129</sup> WikiLeaks and Snowden corroborated what was long suspected of the Anglosphere surveillance states; and the Panama and Paradise Papers verified private and corporate financial malfeasance.<sup>130</sup> That historical fascism was not entirely defeated in 1945 is supported by continued interest in Trotsky’s pamphlet as ‘one of the more coherent attempts to describe and forecast the consequences of [the] “destructive delirium” of fascism.’<sup>131</sup> The nature of fascism and the authoritarian mass societies, in which it flourishes, has been well documented, with Milton Mayer’s *They Thought They Were Free* much cited.<sup>132</sup> More recently, Laurence Britt produced a now widely disseminated 14 symptoms of fascism.<sup>133</sup> In a 1995 article, Umberto Eco listed 14 elements of ‘eternal fascism’,

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<sup>128</sup> C. Hedges, *Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, p. 24. In this passage, Hedges articulates the role of ‘selected and ratified by the corporate culture’ judges.

<sup>129</sup> Chiang Kai-Shek cited in M. Hastings, *Nemesis: The Battle for Japan, 1944-45*, HarperPress, 2007, p. 216.

<sup>130</sup> A leading US journalist in a 2004 meeting with the authors of *Plunging Point* said his many Pentagon informants claimed the ‘place was run by brownshirts’—a reference to the Nazis.

<sup>131</sup> L. Trotsky, *FASCISM: What It Is and How To Fight It*, Zodiac, 1993. Also see, R.S. Wistrich, Leon Trotsky’s Theory of Fascism, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 11, No 4, Special Issue: Theories of Fascism, Oct 1976, p. 157 of pp. 157-184.

<sup>132</sup> M. Mayer, *They Thought They Were Free, The Germans, 1938-45*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Also see: Adorno, T.W., et al, *The Authoritarian Personality*, Norton, NY, 1969; Camus, A., *The Rebel*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971, especially the chapter on State Terror and Rational and Irrational Terror; Dixon, N.F., *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence*, Johnathan Cape, London, 1976; Satre, J., *Anti-Semite and Jew*, Schocken Books, NY, 1970; Rech-Malleczewen, F.P., *Diary of a Man in Despair*, Macmillan, NY, 1972; Reich, W., *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, NY, 1970; and the chapter on the Nazification of Germany in William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

<sup>133</sup> L. Britt, 14 Points of Fascism, reproduced in, 14 Points of Fascism: The Warning Signs, *Project for the Old American Century*, retrieved 13 October 2014. Britt’s list comprised: Nationalism, disdain for human rights, enemies and scapegoats, militarism, sexism, controlled mass media, national security, confluence of religion and ruling elite, protected corporations, obsession with crime and punishment, cronyism and corruption, fraudulent elections.

notably the adoption of Newspeak.<sup>134</sup> An example of Orwell's 'Newspeak' in Australia is where the latest government chicanery is routinely described as a 'reform' contrary to correct usage: to improve by removing faults or errors. The mainstream media obligingly repeats and normalises the misleading abuse of the word.

Eco and Britt's, 14 points of fascism, both exceed Orwell's 1944 list.<sup>135</sup> Orwell's point was that the word had become meaningless, an argument also made by Lewis Lapham<sup>136</sup> and Clinton Fernandes.<sup>137</sup> In the Australian context Julie Marcus noted the Right's inclination to use terms such as 'Left's fascism' or 'Islamic fascism', to induce public emotions of insecurity.<sup>138</sup> American researchers Yeadon and Hawkins define fascism's salient characteristic as,

a marriage between corporations and government...how corporations control the government in a fascist state. Since fascism is a top-down revolution by a society's elite to gain total control over a capitalistic society...unlike socialism which is driven from the bottom up...the virulent police state never comes first.<sup>139</sup>

Astroturf riots and disorder are a feature of right-wing takeovers. Yeadon and Hawkins' description mirrors Franklin Delano Roosevelt's 1938 warning to Congress on the dangers of monopoly and fascism.<sup>140</sup> Yeadon and Hawkins detail corporate and other contacts between the US and the Third Reich.<sup>141</sup> Joseph Trento corroborates elements of this, pointing to how American agencies, '...secretly threw in America's lot with the worst of the Third Reich...quietly transporting Nazi war criminals, including rocket scientists, mathematicians, engineers, and doctors into the United States.'<sup>142</sup> Declassified documents reveal ASIO, under the Menzies appointed

<sup>134</sup> Eco, U., Ur Fascism (Eternal Fascism: Fourteen Ways of Looking at a Blackshirts.) *The New York Review of Books*, 22 June 1995.

<sup>135</sup> G. Orwell: What is Fascism? *Tribune*, Great Britain, 1944.

<sup>136</sup> Lapham, L. H., After Fascism, *Harper's Magazine*, October 2005, pp. 7-9.

<sup>137</sup> C., Fernandes, Fascism: are we there yet? *Dissent*, No 22, Summer 2006/2007.

<sup>138</sup> J. Marcus, Parallel lies, *Dissent*, No 21, Spring 2006, p. 14.

<sup>139</sup> G.Yeadon and J. Hawkins, *The Nazi Hydra in America*, Progressive Press, Joshua Tree, 2008, pp. 8, 31-32.

<sup>140</sup> F. D. Roosevelt, *Message to Congress on Curbing Monopolies—29 April 1938*, The American Presidency Project.

<sup>141</sup> For a snapshot, also see: *These 5 corporations helped Carry Out the Holocaust*, Brainwash Update, via Brasscheck TV, retrieved 26 Jun 15.

<sup>142</sup> J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, Carroll and Graf, NY, 2005, pp. 29 and 46. Noam Chomsky points out that 'U.S. counterinsurgency programs drew quite explicitly from the Nazi model ... Wehrmacht officers were consulted ...' in, N. Chomsky, *9/11: Was there an Alternative*, Seven

director Sir Charles Spry, although not sympathetic to Nazis, ‘thought that they could use them and so they admitted them and had them as agents’.<sup>143</sup> The creeping nature of authoritarianism is also highlighted by Marcus, who points to Australia as ‘steadily moving towards...[Haffner’s] semi-dictatorship of the democracy’.<sup>144</sup>

Subtle indicators of attitude-shaping emerge, in art and architecture for example. In his article on Indonesian fascism, Andre Vltchek captions a photograph of the statues of seven murdered generals of the Suharto coup period beneath an immense raptor as ‘Indonesian fascist art’.<sup>145</sup> N.R. Salingaros points to the ‘modernist...post-war buildings in Canberra’...the designers forgetting ‘modernism was the official architecture of Fascist Italy.’<sup>146</sup>

Neo-fascism can no longer be treated as an out-rider aberration of IR theory, or totalitarianism confined behind iron or bamboo curtains. Norman Pollack describes its infiltration into American liberalism, where fascism is able to

hide its *connection*, rather, to ruling groups and upper social strata through beneficial economic and fiscal policies, subsidies, the wider geopolitical strategies for wealth accumulation in international affairs...all is *normality* on display...<sup>147</sup>

Pollack and Yeadon *et al* are not alone in referring to modern America. The long-time editor of *Harper’s Magazine*, Lewis Lapham, described it as ‘political theories that regard individual citizens as the property of the government...’<sup>148</sup> Chris Hedges warned the popular film *American Sniper*

...masks a terrifying numbness. It fosters an unchecked narcissism. Facts and historical truths...are discarded. Dissent becomes treason. All opponents are godless

Stories Press, NY, 2011, p. 121. Jeff Sharlet outlines the role of America’s fundamentalist Christian right powerbrokers in lobbying various levels of the US Government to enlist/restore Nazis to the Cold War effort.’ See: J., Sharlet, *The Family*, Queensland University Press, 2008, pp. 144-180.

<sup>143</sup> David Horner cited in, M. Colvin, Revelations from David Horner’s official history of ASIO, *PM*, ABC RN, 7 October 2014.

<sup>144</sup> J. Marcus, Parallel lies, *Dissent*, No 21, Spring 2006, p. 16. Also see, deHaven-Smith, op. cit. [Conspiracy], p. p. 57, ‘Political awakenings in the context of creeping tyranny depend on recognizing the large implications of small but accumulating abuses.’

<sup>145</sup> A. Vltchek, A., Chilean Socialism 1: Indonesian Fascism 0, *Counterpunch*, 22-24 November 2013.

<sup>146</sup> N.A. Salingaros, *A Theory of Architecture*, UMBAU-VERLAG, Germany, p. 215. Australia’s new ‘dark granite’ pavilion at the Venice Biennale has been described as ‘simple’, ‘monolithic’, ‘brooding’. Refer to: Brown, R. (prod), Cathcart, M. (pres), in conversation with Julie Ewington, *All the World’s Futures: we review the 56th Venice Biennale*, ABC RN, 11 May 15.

<sup>147</sup> N. Pollack, Liberal Fascism in America, *Counterpunch*, 20 February 2013.

<sup>148</sup> Lapham, loc. cit.

and subhuman. ‘American Sniper’ caters to a deep sickness rippling through our society.<sup>149</sup>

Hedges’ ‘terrifying numbness’ echoes Reck-Malleczewen’s observation of crowds in the Third Reich: the ‘frightening emptiness of their faces...the immediate reflection of a basic and hysterical savagery.’<sup>150</sup> In 2015, John Pilger quantified the cost of American fascism: ‘Since 1945...69 countries [have been attacked in some way]... British historian Mark Curtis estimates the death toll in the millions. In every case, a big lie was deployed.’<sup>151</sup> Not all of the arguments pointing to fascism are agreed. Britt’s points, for example, were ridiculed online by an unnamed source.<sup>152</sup>

Fernandes, writing in 2006, defined fascism as a form of ‘counter-revolution’ comprising: a) ‘economic corporatism, b) hostility to the labour movement, c) extreme populism, d) class-based resentment, e) ultra-nationalism, and f) hostility to Enlightenment values.’<sup>153</sup> He doubted Australia is there yet, noting Australian polity is characterised by ‘quietude more than revolutionary upheaval.’

The links between corporations and the militarised state warrant close examination as *casus belli*. Stiglitz and Bilmes note the network of corporations and politicians is worth billions of dollars.<sup>154</sup> Rasor and Bauman detail the links between lobbyists, corporations, bureaucracy and politicians in their study of military contracting in the Iraq War (2003-present), as well as the efforts undertaken by lantern-bearers and some politicians to uncover the networks involved.<sup>155</sup> The connections between Halliburton and then ‘feared’ Vice-President Dick Cheney are well known, as is his role in provoking the war that would be so fortuitous for Halliburton (its stock price rising by 227 percent between 2003 and 2008).<sup>156</sup> Australia also had commercial interests in the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq, ranging from preserving the

<sup>149</sup> C. Hedges, ‘American Sniper’ Caters to a Deep Sickness Rippling Through Society, *Alternet*, 26 January 2015.

<sup>150</sup> F.P. Reck-Malleczewen, *Diary of a Man in Despair*, (1937), Macmillan, NY, 1972, p. 9.

<sup>151</sup> J. Pilger, Why the Rise of Fascism is Again the Issue, *Counterpunch*, 27 February—1 March 2015.

<sup>152</sup> Fascist Hart, Fascism? No One? A Response to “Dr.” Laurence Britt, *The Right Stuff*, 22 January 2014.

<sup>153</sup> Fernandes, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>154</sup> J. Stiglitz and L. Bilmes, *The Three Trillion Dollar War*, Allen Lane, London, 2008, p. 15. For a summary of the cost of defence contracting, see: pp.10-16.

<sup>155</sup> D. Rasor and R. Bauman, *Betraying Our Troops: The Destructive Results of Privatizing War*, Palgrave MacMillan, NY, 2008, pp. 165-173, 175-193.

<sup>156</sup> See: Rasor and Baumann, op. cit., p. 184; Stiglitz and Bilmes, op. cit., p. 15; and J. Steinberg, The ‘Ignoble Liars’ Behind Bush’s Deadly Iraq War, *Executive Intelligence Review*, 18 April 2003.

wheat trade to other business possibilities.<sup>157</sup>

Peter Phillips describes 21<sup>st</sup> Century fascism as the use of private military and security companies to secure the key personnel and fortunes of a transnational capitalist class (TCC), where the ‘center of global capitalism is so highly concentrated that less than a few thousand people dominate and control \$100 trillion of wealth.’<sup>158</sup> Phillips lists G4S as the largest private military company (PMC) in the world with 628,000 employees: the equivalent personnel-strength of 60 army divisions.<sup>159</sup> Australia and its allies, the US, UK and Israel, are noted as commonly using such security/military companies.

Canberra’s security partners, the US, Indonesia and Israel, have been accused of fascism. Max Blumenthal warned ‘even well-established liberal Zionists were beginning to discuss in unflinching terms the presence of fascism in Israeli life.’<sup>160</sup> Indonesia’s widespread killing of ‘communists’ in the wake of the Suharto putsch and a spate of ‘mysterious killings’ in the 1980s by the American client state are examples of these phenomena in Australia’s region.<sup>161</sup> Together with Vltchek’s description of Western-sponsored Indonesian fascism, these point to very deliberate current applications of the term to key states which loom large in Australia’s foreign relations. Michelle Grattan openly labelled Prime Minister Abbott’s government ‘authoritarian.’<sup>162</sup> Therefore, not deigning to respond, nor resort to Godwin’s law—a form of *reductio ad absurdum*, in which any party raising Hitler or the Nazis automatically loses the argument—are not sufficient rebuttals for serious questions about war, the growing power of the surveillance state and its relationship with corporations. Looking forward, given Canberra’s intimacy with these states and select corporations, neo-fascism constitutes a credible additional hypothesis for interpreting Australia’s domestic and international affairs. Serious thinkers have

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<sup>157</sup> Doren, C., *A Militarised Neo-Liberalism: Australia’s Policies in Post Saddam Iraq*, University of Newcastle, Australian Political Studies Association Conference, 25-27 Sep 2006.

<sup>158</sup> P. Phillips, Twenty-First Century Fascism, *Counterpunch*, 21 October 2015.

<sup>159</sup> By contrast, the Australian Army has two under-equipped skeleton divisions of both professional and reserve personnel.

<sup>160</sup> M. Blumenthal, *Goliath: Life and Loathing in Greater Israel*, Nation Books, NY, 2013, p. 65.

<sup>161</sup> See: J. Oppenheimer’s documentary films, *The Act of Killing*, (2012) and *The Look of Silence*, 2014; P. Cronau, op. cit.; J. Perkins, *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, Ebury Press, 2005, Chapters 4-7, pp. 23-46.

<sup>162</sup> M. Grattan, Grattan on Friday: Two years on, pugilist Abbott leads divisive and divided government, *The Conversation*, 4 September 2015.

raised fascism's spectre in the modern world, thus it must be addressed.<sup>163</sup>

### **The Deep State and State Crimes Against Democracy (SCAD)**

Peter Dale Scott, academic and former Canadian diplomat, advances *deep state* theory. This examines the clandestine and criminal operations of cliques within governments, marshalled to achieve secret strategic, commercial, propaganda or social control aims: a new form of the historical *agent provocateur*.<sup>164</sup> The concept is supported by Lance deHaven-Smith's concept of *state crimes against democracy*.<sup>165</sup> Given Australia's role over the years in a number of actual and proxy conflicts, some politically charged events in Australia's history are examined in Chapter Four. The American academic, Moti Nissani, makes key points about the Anglosphere. Borrowing from Aldous Huxley he calls the power clique 'Controllers', and describes: a) the lack 'of any near-conclusive proof for the existence of the Invisible Government'; b) how, as 'far as we can guess, this coterie is comprised of a few banking families and their allies and subordinates in the information, corporate, military, intelligence, secret society, and "religious" worlds', and c) he asks: 'Is it conceivable that so many people mistake puppets for puppeteers?'<sup>166</sup> By puppets Nissani means public figures such as politicians and corporations; for puppeteers he points to 'financial sponsors'.<sup>167</sup>

This is echoed by a former Australian Solicitor General:

My thesis today is that the Trump attacks on the media and on basic US institutions should be exposed for what they really are: part of a larger attempt by some in power in Western liberal democracies – including in Australia – to shut down one of the critical aspects of freedom of expression; that is the central part played by the media in the legitimate analysis and criticism of the work of governments, including work

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<sup>163</sup> The last time fascism slipped the leash, it cost somewhere between 60 and 85 million dead and took the Red Army to contain it.

<sup>164</sup> Deep state refers to: 'A term from Turkey, where it is used to refer to a closed network said to be more powerful than the public state. The deep state engages in false-violence, is organised by the military and intelligence apparatus, and involves their links to organised crime.' P. D. Scott, *The Road to 9/11*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2007, pp. 267. A glossary of related terms is included at pp. 267-271 of this book.

<sup>165</sup> L. de Haven-Smith, L., Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government, *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, p. 809 of pp. 795–825. [Patterns]

<sup>166</sup> M. Nissani, Who Rules the Anglosphere? *Veterans Today*, 5 August 2016.

<sup>167</sup> Nissani's analysis somewhat corresponds with Wright Mills, discussion of the top, middle and bottom. See, Wright Mills, op. cit., pp. 245 – 310.

done in tandem with big business, lobby groups and vested interests.<sup>168</sup>

Peter Dale Scott, using Max Weber as a reference, examines the phenomena of convenient, policy-significant, unsolved or covered-up events by states. As an evolving theory, the deep state requires some explanation. Wider acknowledgement of this phenomenon is difficult because of a range of factors including: a) its secrecy, b) the power of the mainstream media, c) the decisive populist impact of received wisdom, d) the nature of defensive reasoning and e), widespread public inattention. To illustrate the latter points, many people will watch movies or mini-series about deep state corruption, yet choose to believe it could never happen here. Scott argues,

I call the Letelier [Chilean diplomat killed in Washington DC in 1976] murder a *deep event* because the involvement of protected covert assets made it an event that would, at least initially, be covered up rather than exposed ... Max Weber defined the successful modern state as something that “successfully upholds a claim on the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence in the enforcement of its order.” It is against *this illusory ideal, subscribed to by most political scientists* [LC emphasis], that many states have recently been judged to be *weak states* (if the monopoly is seriously challenged) or *failed states* (if its claim can no longer be sustained)...Weber’s definition falsely invests the public state with a structural coherence that in fact it does not possess, never has possessed, and possesses even less as democracy develops.<sup>169</sup>

Scott describes a US-based *Dominance Machine* comprising ‘invisible’ or ‘shadow’ government seeking global full spectrum dominance extending,

...outward from government into society, embracing not only lobbyists but also universities and the mainstream media...competing groups of power-hungry operatives, striving to achieve and maintain an apex of power.<sup>170</sup>

This network subverts the constitutional or public state ‘...that is circumscribed by the privatised secret forces surrounding it.’<sup>171</sup> Yeadon’s analysis of the top-down approach of fascism is similar to Scott’s picture of a *deep state*, where, ‘The current

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<sup>168</sup> Gleeson, J., *The Threat to Freedom of Expression*, Sydney Writer’s Festival, 27 May 2017;

<sup>169</sup> P.D. Scott, *American War Machine: Deep Politics, the CIA Global Drug Connection, and the Road to Afghanistan*, Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2014, pp. 8-9. [War Machine]

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. [War Machine], pp. 21-22. Scott likens it to Chalmers Johnson’s use of the term ‘military-industrial complex’.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. [War Machine], p. 24.

tilt toward top-down violent or repressive power is defended rhetorically as a means to preserve security and social stability, but in fact it threatens it.’<sup>172</sup> Here Scott describes a modern phenomenon similar to the classical Roman *arcana imperii*, power as a hidden thing, examined in Chapter Four.

Scott defines a *supranational deep state* with the ‘apex’ probably ‘the banks and the colossi of the military-industrial complex...a milieu where American, Saudi, and Israeli elements all interact covertly.’<sup>173</sup> *Deep Politics* is ‘the constant, everyday interaction between the constitutionally elected government and subterranean forces of violence—forces of crime—that appear to be the enemies of the government.’<sup>174</sup> An underpinning assumption here is that most state officials are fundamentally honest citizens who have no knowledge or evidence of the deeper forces at work. Moreover, for the honest official, evidence alone does not provide the courage and means to confront these forces.<sup>175</sup>

To achieve specific constitutional, political or foreign policy objectives, *deep events* may take the form of ‘mysterious’ incidents that ‘repeatedly involve lawbreaking or violence’<sup>176</sup> and could arise as ‘let it happen on purpose (LIHOP)’ or ‘made it happen on purpose (MIHOP)’ incidents.<sup>177</sup> They are

...events that are systematically ignored, suppressed or falsified in public (and even internal) government, military, and intelligence documents as well as in the mainstream media and public consciousness. Underlying them is frequently the involvement of deep forces linked either to the drug traffic or to agencies of surveillance (or to both together) whose activities are extremely difficult to discern or document.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> P.D. Scott, *The American Deep State: Wall Street, Big Oil and the Attack on American Democracy*, Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2015, p. 4. [American Deep State]

<sup>173</sup> Ibid. [American Deep State], pp. 79 and 133.

<sup>174</sup> Scott, op. cit. [War Machine], p. 31. Scott also refers on page 96, to a ‘dark quadrant’, the ‘[“forbidden topic of drug financed CIA-related operations”] a zone of silence about which one can gather only inferential clues from outside.’

<sup>175</sup> For the context of evil looking back, see quote from Delegate N. Freitas, N., US Congress, *Speech in Support of SFC Martland*, 23 February 2016, cited at fn 28 in the Introduction.

<sup>176</sup> Scott, op. cit. [American deep state], p. 121.

<sup>177</sup> A. Makinde, Democracy, Terrorism and the Secret State, *Global Research*, Centre for Research on Globalization, 7 January 2013.

<sup>178</sup> Scott, op. cit. [War Machine], p. 3. On page 7 Scott refers to perpetrators ‘protected by others in higher authority.’

Scott distinguishes between *low-level deep events* like data theft<sup>179</sup>, *mid-level* ones such as the murder of Karen Silkwood, and *structural deep events* significant enough to affect ‘the fabric of society’.<sup>180</sup> Scott offers examples of: the JFK assassination, Gulf of Tonkin Incidents, Watergate, 9/11 and the 2001 anthrax attacks in the US. Structural deep events can be linked by similar methods (*operational*), shared executing agencies (*institutional*) and a common source of funding (*financial*). Deep events have a number of characteristics:<sup>181</sup>

- a. Stock market speculation.
- b. Senior officials are out of country or not contactable.
- c. Government immediately seeks additional repressive powers for intelligence, security and police agencies.
- d. The identity of the culprit is quickly publicised.<sup>182</sup>
- e. There is a paper trail leading to the culprits and their preliminary actions.
- f. There may be problems with the identity of the culprits.
- g. Double agents may play a role.
- h. The culprit acted alone.
- i. Intelligence agencies withholding information, such as Lee Harvey Oswald not being on the FBI watchlist before the Kennedy assassination, and two of the alleged 9/11 hijackers not being under surveillance.<sup>183</sup>
- j. Liaison with foreign intelligence services.<sup>184</sup>
- k. Bureaucratic misbehaviour where ‘the purpose of withholding

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<sup>179</sup> Data theft can have serious consequences: espionage and cyber war are conducted around it.

<sup>180</sup> Scott, op. cit. [American deep state], Silkwood was a nuclear industry chemical technician and labour union activist, who was found dead in a car wreck on 13 November 1974.

<sup>181</sup> P.D. Scott, *The War Conspiracy*, Skyhorse Publishing, Delaware, 2008. [Conspiracy]

<sup>182</sup> To this might be added, the culprit quickly dies and thus is unable to give evidence.

<sup>183</sup> Scott, op. cit. [American deep state], pp. 113, 123.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. [American deep state] p. 89.

information had become to allow the attacks to go forward.’<sup>185</sup>

It is a list with wide application.

Scott describes *illegal violence* as ‘an assignment handed off by an established agency to organised groups outside the law’—the intelligence, security or police services using non-state actors such as organised crime.<sup>186</sup> *Proxy violence* means the ‘delegation of violence is not to nonstate actors but to agencies of other governments.’<sup>187</sup> The US rendition program illustrates how this might happen. Initiated by Bill Clinton and significantly extended under the Bush 43 Administration’s, ‘war on terror’, rendition involved capturing terror suspects globally and moving some to Egypt where they could be tortured by local officials, unrestrained by ‘US prohibitions against torture’ or the ‘quaint’, according to George W. Bush, Geneva Conventions.<sup>188</sup>

*False flag* operations are terrorist acts involving an ‘incident’ or the murder of a state’s own citizens, then blaming another state or party to ‘justify’ whatever action the aggressor has in mind. One of the most famous examples of this was Operation Himmler, conducted to excuse Hitler’s invasion of Poland and thus igniting WWII. Brazen as it was, the deception came to light ‘only after the war.’<sup>189</sup> False-flag operations have a long history, before and since.<sup>190</sup>

Lance de Haven-Smith defines state crimes against democracy as ‘concerted actions or inactions by government insiders intended to manipulate democratic processes and undermine popular sovereignty.’<sup>191</sup> He argues that examination of crime in government has centred on lower-level corruption aimed at personal financial gain, rather than ‘anti-democratic conspiracies in high office’ where the aim is ‘social control, partisan advantage, or political power.’<sup>192</sup> He recognises the difficulty of

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<sup>185</sup> Fenton, *Disconnecting the Dots*, 2011, cited in *Ibid.*, [American deep state], pp. 114, 123.

<sup>186</sup> Scott, *op. cit.* [War machine], p. 2.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, [War machine].

<sup>188</sup> J. Scahill, *Dirty Wars*, Nation Books, London, 2013, pp. 26-30.

<sup>189</sup> Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

<sup>190</sup> P. Brennan, Brief History of False Flags, The Global Intelligence Files, *Wikileaks*, 19 Feb 2013.

Also see: *False Flags Are Just a Conspiracy Theory... Admitted Fact*, Washington’s Blog, 2 February 2016.

<sup>191</sup> L. deHaven-Smith, Frequently Asked Questions about State Crimes Against Democracy (SCADs), [FAQ].

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* [FAQ].

investigation because the plotters are often trained in law, or police procedures and the conspiracies are conducted like ‘covert intelligence operations.’<sup>193</sup>

### Deep State Models

The principle subject of Scott and de-Haven-Smith’s analysis is the US government and its outrider organisations and networks. Deep state and state crimes theories provide a useful alternate-hypothesis analytical approach to Canberra’s narrative which avoids mention of causal American involvement in politically motivated violence in Syria and Ukraine.<sup>194</sup> Those states are important for America’s grand chessboard oil strategy, and for Russian maritime strategy.<sup>195</sup>

One of the distinguishing features of the deep state is its criminality, distinct from principled actors necessarily operating in altruistic secrecy during a nation’s time of peril. Abraham Lincoln’s enlisting Pinkerton’s as an intelligence service and printing greenbacks to eschew paying ruinous interest to London banks suggests an historical example of the latter. Criminality explains the secrecy of the deep state: inviting inclusion of the academic study of criminology into the IR discourse; and caution towards the notion of unelected but benign shadow guardians.

The research to date and its attention to the superpower US virtually preclude the term’s wider application to less powerful states. To overcome this theoretical void, Albert Camus’ analysis of two great powers of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, Germany and the USSR, provides a useful conceptual framework.<sup>196</sup> His analysis of Nazi ‘irrational’ state terror—endless war and conquest for its own sake underpinned by bizarre ideology—contrasts with superficially similar Soviet ‘rational’ state terror, excused by its practitioners as a necessary means to attain the socialist ideal.

Scott distinguishes between *low-level deep events*, *mid-level* and *structural deep*

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<sup>193</sup> L. deHaven-Smith, op. cit., FAQ].

<sup>194</sup> For Ukraine, see, BBC, ‘*Fuck the EU*’: US diplomat Victoria Nuland’s phone call leaked—video, BBC, 8 February 2014; and H. Kamens, Kiev Snipers: Mystery Solved, *New Eastern Outlook*, 17 May 2014, reproduced vide, J.W. Dean, NEO—Kiev Snipers: Mystery Solved, *Veterans Today*, 18 May 2014. For Syria, see G. Duff, Secret mission to Syria, *New Eastern Outlook*, 29 September 2015.

<sup>195</sup> E. Delman, The Link Between Putin’s Military Campaigns in Syria and Ukraine, *The Atlantic*, 2 Oct 2015.

<sup>196</sup> A. Camus, *The Rebel*, Harmondsworth, 1971, pp. 137-177. For a summary, see Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 133-138.

*events* significant enough to affect ‘the fabric of society’<sup>197</sup>. The levels of physical violence are not self-evident in their effects; the murder or virtual exile of a lantern-bearer may seem a more vicious act than election tampering, however the latter in its outcomes may have long-lasting and deeper structural consequences.<sup>198</sup>

With George H.W. Bush’s proclamation of a new world order, American exceptionalism, the neo-con desire for global full-spectrum dominance, the preponderance of their defence spending, network of alliances and spread of military bases, and bellicosity of their foreign relations, the US assumes the of a messianic state. In the current American *messianic global model* of the militarised-corporatised deep state, the Washington Consensus of ever expanding capitalism and environmental destruction provides a yardstick for an irrational and insatiable deep state. Its messianic-global character is expressed by the neo-con Richard Pearle in an interview with John Pilger: ‘...just wage a total war...our children will sing great songs about us years from now.’<sup>199</sup> Key features of a messianic global model include criminality—Watergate, Iran-Contra, corrupted intelligence and CIA drug smuggling for example, have been fairly well researched.

Some writers characterise the Israeli state as having regional messianic aims.<sup>200</sup> Israel is discussed further in Chapter Six.

In their current form, countries like Russia and China probably have deep states of the rationalised-nationalist power clique protection model, together with regional designs in keeping with military strategies that are essentially defensive; in China’s case – for the moment. This would not preclude their considerable activity in global finance, for example, where London and other centres could also be active.

Any development of an Australian deep state, or state crimes against democracy, in the forms detailed by Peter Dale Scott and deHaven-Smith, would be disturbing. Scott Burchill drew attention to the deep state phenomenon at a Deakin University seminar in March 2017, referring to Kim Beazley’s address to an RAN conference.

<sup>197</sup> See pp. 63-64 above.

<sup>198</sup> DeHaven-Smith, op. cit. [Conspiracy], pp. 14, 17-20, 55, 139, 147.

<sup>199</sup> Pearle, cited in, J. Pilger, A new Pearl Harbour, *New Statesman*, 16 December 2002.

<sup>200</sup> For Tel Aviv’s messianic designs, see: S.S. Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, Phoenix, London, 2012, p. 607; and I. Shahak, “Greater Israel”: The Zionist Plan for the Middle East: The Infamous “Oded Yinon Plan”, *Global Research*, 23 April 2016.

In his presentation, the former Defence Minister and Ambassador to the US glossed over his version of a benign Australian deep state, closely integrated into global US warfighting strategy and capability.

Normally when you use the expression “deep state” what you’re talking about is a quite evil process associated with dictatorships that mean that whatever the politics are that runs across the surface of a state, underneath it all is the real power that lies in the deep state which is usually a military/intelligence phalanx. Well we have a benign deep state and the people who are representative of that include many sitting in this room.<sup>201</sup>

Beazley thus injected the notion of an Australian deep state into the public discourse. The dismissal of Whitlam points to an earlier iteration of an Australian deep state, Guy Rundle stating it was a ‘security crisis’; ‘part of a war between a permanent security establishment and an elected government—itsself part of a wider war of this type, across the Anglosphere.’<sup>202</sup>

Months before Beazley’s speech, Richard Ackland warned of a ‘shadow government’ in Australia, identifying the police as a major problem with [in NSW] ‘wide powers to restrict the liberties of citizens without due process, in a regime that operates as a “rival” to the criminal justice system.’<sup>203</sup> The emergence of police *fixated threat assessment centres* since the Lindt Café siege, nominally to forestall violent lone-wolf attacks, is prudent at one level; but it is a development ripe for political exploitation.<sup>204</sup> The real danger of such bureaus is the personnel ‘assigned to

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<sup>201</sup> Beazley, K., (jnr) Full text of 2016 *Vernon Parker Oration to Australian Naval Institute*, 9 August, 2016. Beazley describes his version of a benign deep state of the military, intelligence and security apparatus as a structure to protect the nation. His speech points to Australia’s close involvement with the American military-industrial establishment that is not so benign. A number of international defence contractors were listed among the conference sponsors. Seeking the website of one induced a warning message inferring it may damage your computer.

<sup>202</sup> G. Rundle, Rundle: proving the CIA-backed conspiracy that brought down Whitlam, *Crikey*, 25 November 2015.

<sup>203</sup> R. Ackland, We have an Orwellian ‘shadow government’ and your liberty is at risk, *The Guardian*, 6 May 2016. Also see, U. Nedim, *In NSW We are Losing*, Sydney Criminal Lawyers, 15 February 2016.

<sup>204</sup> See: Go Fund Me, *You have the right to remain awesome: carry on – Barrister Needed for Fiona Wilson*, 20 February 2018, Excerpt: ‘Origin Energy executive and whistle-blower Fiona Wilson has been detained by the new Queensland Fixated Threat Assessment Centre (QFTAC) and injected against her will and without any charges laid against her... [for] merely trying to contact the relevant Queensland Minister about the evidence that she was exposing. Instead of acting on Fiona’s evidence, the Minister referred her to QFTAC’; Z. Holmes U. Nedim, *NSW Police to target potential ‘lone wolf’ terrorists*, Sydney Criminal Lawyers, 18 February 2018; T. Mills, Centre to tackle lone-wolf

run it discover they will be most successful [in career terms] if they act like zealots themselves.<sup>205</sup>

Indicators of a hypothetical Australian deep state might include: undue secrecy, suppression of lantern bearers, increasing surveillance and social control measures, state coercive support for corporations, lawfare, unnecessary wars and election irregularities. Hypothetical-model indicators point to Australia, a middle power in relative decline, having a latent *rationalised-nationalist deep state* that assumes a limited aim of protecting and promoting the interests of the power clique: a racket.<sup>206</sup> Adequate mapping of any links between elements of the power clique and crime figures would require a major investigative effort by a body such as a federal ICAC.<sup>207</sup>

## INTER-STATE POWER

### OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING IR THEORY AND NEW PERSPECTIVES

This chapter has examined the major accepted IR theories as theoretical bases for defining relations between states. Although familiarity leads to assent, some are not convincing as interpretations of events; for example neither realism nor liberalism adequately explain the 2003 invasion of Iraq. Discounting the influence of domestic factors, such as special interests, underplays their role in world events. The neocon's design of the Iraq War and corporate and gubernatorial clashes with Green politics reveal the influence of political activity within states. For this reason new perspectives such as the state-corporate nature of authoritarian regimes and the presence of shadow decision-making networks need to be considered in the analysis of international relations. While these may not be criminal in the narrow legal sense, they probably fall outside the code of conduct expected in democratic Western polities: therein is the reason for the secrecy.

Expanding human populations, environmental pressure, the rise of the surveillance

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attacks, *The Age*, 1 March 2018, p. 10; C. Nyst, *Fixated Folk*, Nyst Legal, 26 May 2017.

<sup>205</sup> Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy*, p. 19.

<sup>206</sup> Horne described Australian national affairs as run by 'racketeers'. *The Lucky Country*, p. 39.

<sup>207</sup> For an interpretation of Australian authoritarianism, see George Venturini's six part series, *Tropical Fascism*, *Independent Australia*, <https://independentaustalia.net/profile-on/dr-george-venturini,111>, retrieved 5 Jul 2017,

state combined with increasing authoritarianism and the longevity of war, all indicate the importance of the state and its corporate links as key actors in IR. In democratic societies, state power and consequently its relations with other states depend on the consensus of the people. For this reason, Australian society is discussed in the following chapter.

## **CHAPTER TWO: VULNERABILITY TO FOREIGN INFLUENCE**

### **DEFINING AUSTRALIA**

The nature of the Australian nation state is fundamental to its domestic and foreign policy. The latter, frequently cloaked in secrecy for national security, is described by its practitioner-beneficiaries as being for the ‘national interest’. Australians commonly see their nation as an advanced, clever, free, open, democratic and peaceful society. Underpinning assumptions of its socio-political landscape include: a) bipartisan support for the American alliance, with by default association with Israel and Indonesia, and b) fidelity to neo-liberal market economics. Lest the assumptions pass too easily, a more sceptical use of Mao Tse Tung’s analogy of fish in their muddy waters is warranted. If Australian society reflected its positive white-hat self-image, it would be inconsequential what stratagems foreign government or corporate agents tried to use. Their efforts would simply bounce off an incorruptible and altruistic national elite and be unable to bypass diligent public officials who are buoyed by an engaged and informed electorate. This is the domestic terrain of international relations.

This chapter will view the Australian nation state as a predatory, hostile observer would. Foreign attempts to gain and garnish influence upon Australia’s key decision-makers will identify potential targets, estimate their ability to sway policy, and convince Australians to cooperate or conceal events from them if the electorate is likely to object. Such analysis would look at the social character of Australia and the aspirations and vulnerability of citizens, its class and power structure together with the functionality of its component parts, the media for example. Such observers would be interested in the general volatility or acquiescence of the society—its ‘quietude’ as mentioned in Chapter One—and the means of gaining information and influence through lobbying, the media and corruption. This analysis begins with the nature of foreign agents and the character of those Australians they would enlist to achieve their aims. It carries through into the areas of lobbying and corruption—grey zones in which foreign agents are able to operate—and considers the role of the media.

## AN AUSTRALIAN TARGET SET

### Foreign Actors

The breadth of intelligence and related economic, scientific and technical as well as corporate information acquisition conducted by states is covered more fully in a previous work, co-written with former ASIS officer, Warren Reed.<sup>1</sup> That Australia engages in such practices is undoubted, as the Securrency and Australian Wheat Board (AWB) scandals reveal. How other states use similar methods is less well-covered in Australian open sources. For the purposes of the dissertation, it should not be assumed away that foreign intelligence, corporate and criminal elements have long operated in Australia. British, American, Israeli, Indonesian and Chinese intelligence maintain a presence and the scale of foreign investment bespeaks significant corporate interest. Foreign terrorists groups, such as the Croatian Ustasha and Japanese Aum Shinrikyo, have been based here through the concurrence or ignorance of Australian governments. Shadowy figures dot the political and criminal landscape: Khemlani the Pakistani financier and the Nugan Hand Bank, for example.

### Australian Agents of Foreign Influence

Since the foreign aim of gaining influence is to produce a desired policy outcome, it follows that their control and influence operations would seek contact with Australians in a position to sway policy directly, or produce a wider social framework in which a policy supportive of foreign aims is possible. Other agent tasks include intelligence collection, subversion and disinformation. The Australian targets of influence operations are therefore likely to be in politics, corporations, the bureaucracy, military, universities, unions and media.<sup>2</sup> The following list of target types draws on previously published work:<sup>3</sup>

*Conscious Agents of the Foreign State Apparatus.* Although seldom caught or publicly discussed, Australians working for foreign governments undoubtedly exist. Brian Toohey described the ‘hunt’ for an Australian traitor working for the

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<sup>1</sup> L. Collins and W. Reed, *Plunging Point*, HarperCollins, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> See AUSTRAC, Strategic Analysis Brief: Politically exposed persons, corruption and foreign bribery, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

Indonesians a few days before the INTERFET deployment to East Timor.<sup>4</sup> Motives for treason might include:

- a. Blackmail for a range of reasons, particularly lifestyle choices, for example gambling, or socially unacceptable sexual conduct. In the 1930s this was commonly homosexuality; today it is paedophilia.
- b. Money could be cash payment for treachery, or the path eased for seemingly bona fide employment or investment within a foreign state's commercial sector.
- c. A genuine affinity with foreign friends, their culture and worldview. The extreme of this is 'going native'.
- d. Dissatisfaction with Australia.

*Unconscious Agents of the Foreign State Apparatus.* Moved by 'sympathetic identification'<sup>5</sup> with other cultures, these people may be unwittingly controlled by suggestion or psychological manipulation. They are interested in and familiar with the language, culture and personalities and believe what they are told by their 'official' and 'unofficial' contacts. Such people are candidates for the indirect, wine-and-dine approaches. Off-the-record conversations and false friendships are a useful means of exerting this type of influence.

*Naive Individuals.* While not all liberals are naive or realists pragmatic, some individuals in positions of trust may be unconsciously open to influence. They may be cultivated by hostile intelligence services or other formal or informal arms of special interests. A US domestic example of how such enlistments can occur is in the current mobilisation of 'liberals' against Trump. In the 'elite'-led, mass-like excoriation of Trump's perturbing character and policies, the role of the Democratic Party's insider apparatus in neutralising Bernie Sanders's candidacy in the primaries is forgotten, airbrushed from history.

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<sup>4</sup> B. Toohey, B., Hunt on for Indonesian spy, *The Australian Financial Review*, 16 Sep 1999, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Sympathetic identification" was the belief that "...all cultures were organically and internally coherent, bound together by a spirit...which an outsider could penetrate only by an act of historical sympathy." Edward Said, *Orientalism*, cited previously in, L. Collins, *Said's Orientalism*, MA, DU, 1996/1997, p. 6.

*Careerists.* Careerists are people, particularly in the public service or the military, who will for the purpose of furthering their career, internalise, promote and enact the narrative of the dominant organisational bias. Conscious or not, their unquestioning support for the prevailing dogma, and those that promote or enforce it, is an important factor in being talent-spotted by foreign actors. Another example would be an academic or journalist who had made the foreign state specialisation and required continued travel to the country and access to its citizens and officials. If they were to be critical of the foreign state, access could well be denied, having an adverse effect on their career.

*Casual Contacts.* These are people who may unwittingly pass on useful information or turn a blind eye in the ‘don’t go there’ manner of avoiding trouble. A few may be actively talent-spotted and ‘cultivated.’

*Helpers.* Where there is a significant expatriate or emigre community, such as the Jewish or Chinese communities, or enclaves of radical Islamists, some members may be induced by foreign states or ethno-nationalist ideologies to act against Australian interests. Examples are the two Pakistanis who criminally shot picnickers near Broken Hill when Australia declared war on Turkey (1915); Croatian Ustasha groups who used Australia as a mounting base for raids into Yugoslavia during the 1960s, and the Jewish community *sayanim* who provide support to the Israeli intelligence services in host/target states.

*Mercenary and/or criminal.* The *deep state* and *state crimes against democracy* theories opens up the field of states using criminal, mercenary or rogue actors, as Peter Dale Scott’s work on CIA involvement in drug smuggling suggests.

What astonishes about Australia, particularly in light of its little punished corruption, is how few traitors are caught compared to the UK and US.<sup>6</sup> In his critique of Blaxland’s official history of ASIO, Harold Callaghan describes Soviet penetration of the Australian polity, bureaucracy and ASIO itself as a ‘counter-intelligence

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<sup>6</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 49-50 Also see, Wikipedia, *List of American Spies*. Clive Hamilton notes Dennis Richardson effectively closing down Australia’s counter-intelligence capability in favour of counter-terrorism, and ‘because Australia does not prosecute spies there is little information about how it [espionage] works in this country.’ C. Hamilton, *Silent Invasion*, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2018, pp. 151, 162.

nightmare’ resulting in Prime Minister Keating and the Coalition agreeing ‘the whole thing should be dealt with as silently as possible.’<sup>7</sup> That was the Soviets, who were presumably under close Australian and Allied counter-intelligence scrutiny. Paul Barrett criticises overly close relations between some Australian politicians and the US and Israel.<sup>8</sup> Little comes to light of other dalliances consequent on Asia’s rising power and confidence.

### **AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY: SOME DISCORDANCE**

An examination of the character of the Australian polity is essential for the dissertation because it exposes the fractures and personal pressures that provide opportunities for foreign agencies to lobby for their own interests, to the detriment of Australian national interests. As seen with Brexit, the ascension of President Trump, confidence of the right in France and the election in Australia of another unruly Senate, the social pressures of 1-versus-99-percent neo-liberalism, automation and environmental degradation are beginning to tell. Therefore it is pertinent to the dissertation to examine Australian society as it is, rather than the image many choose to see in the mirror.

Naturally there are positive and negative perspectives of Australia. The former hardly needs amplification: bronzed ANZACs engaged in just wars; stoic rural dwellers battling fire, flood and drought; sporting heroes to surely match the valiant of Homer and Virgil; and selfless civic virtues combining to produce a just multicultural society whose economy, living standards and beaches are the envy of the world.

#### **Indicators**

*Indicators* is a military intelligence term used to describe evidence or signposts to imminent events: for example the appearance of 360 Soviet Red Army divisions when invading Nazis had estimated 200<sup>9</sup>; constantly tumbling climate-change forecasts, and the first sightings of rats in Albert Camus’ allegorical novel, *The*

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<sup>7</sup> Laurie Oakes cited in, H. Callaghan, Operation Official History: Titrated, Redacted, Incomplete and Fractional, *Quadrant*, No 525, Volume LX, No 4, April 2016, pp. 34-41.

<sup>8</sup> Barrett, P., What the WikiLeaks cables reveal about Australia’s leaders, *Inside Story*, 23 Dec 2010,

<sup>9</sup> W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Mandarin, 1991, p. 855.

*Plague*. Taken individually indicators might be dismissed as aberrations, such as naturally occurring heatwaves, asylum seekers' burnt hands<sup>10</sup>, the withdrawal of manufacturing industry from Australia, the high cost of doing business with wages and the carbon tax in the crosshairs, government hubris in the Parliament<sup>11</sup>, or validation of free market ideology.

Taken together, indicators can take on a different hue. The short-lived unease over carmakers' quitting manufacturing in Australia ought not to be viewed in ideological isolation from the complexities of wider society, such as community shock over alcohol-fuelled violence, or Her Majesty's satnav equipped ships 'inadvertently' straying into Indonesian territorial waters.<sup>12</sup> Mainstream denials of economic turmoil mask a deeper crisis of morale. For some, the land of the long weekend has become a society where many are 'living in a landscape of fear, where your ability to survive depends on your ability to detect and escape predators as well as obtain food.'<sup>13</sup>

When indicators come in clusters it is time to take notice. Electronics, clothing and footwear, then automobile manufacturing have largely departed.<sup>14</sup> QANTAS survived the Great Depression, WWII and the Cold War, but faltered in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century under an economic orthodoxy that the American intellectual Edward Luttwak described as 'savagery' and stealing that 'happens to wreck society'.<sup>15</sup> Its progenitor, economic neo-liberalism, when introduced to Australia in the 1970s and 1980s, saw '30 billion transferred from wages to profits'<sup>16</sup> (according to figures cited in John Pilger's study, *The Secret Country*), where 'Following their role models in the United States and United Kingdom, Australia's plutocracy embarked on an orgy of greed and avarice on a scale never before seen in the country.'<sup>17</sup> Such monetary transfers did not only happen in Australia but are indicative of a wider malaise:

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<sup>10</sup> M. Bachalard, Witness details burns claims, *The Age*, 7 Feb 2014, pp. 1, 6-7. Also see: M. Gordon, No transparency or move to get the facts, *The Age*, 7 Feb 2014, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> See: Hawthorne, M., 'Question time outrage was the death knell', *The Age*, 12 Dec 2013, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> J. Ireland, Scott Morrison admits Australia breached Indonesian waters during boat operations, *ABC News*, 17 Jan 2014.

<sup>13</sup> C. Eisenberg, Living in a Landscape of Fear: How Predators Impact an Ecosystem, *Scientific American*, 13 August 2010.

<sup>14</sup> See: Feil, M., The decline of Australian manufacturing, *The Drum*, ABC, 25 Oct 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Luttwak cited in, Reich, R., Gilder, G., Luttwak, E., Blackwell, R., and Dunlap, E., Does America Still Work, *Harper's Magazine*, May 1966, pp. 35-47. See pp. 44, 46-47

<sup>16</sup> J. Pilger, *The Secret Country*, Vintage, 1992, p. 334.

<sup>17</sup> S. Burchill cited in N. Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, Pluto Press, London, 1994, p. 145. Burchill previously cited in L. Collins, *Liberalism*, essay for AIP 728, DU, 1997

Orlando Letelier, a Chilean diplomat who documented the transfer of ‘billions of dollars’ from workers to the rich under the Pinochet regime, was assassinated in a Washington street in 1976.<sup>18</sup> The national reluctance to save heavy industry and farms might be mitigated if Australians invested more; though it would help if half of the investors’ returns were not lost in fees.<sup>19</sup>

In the era of state surveillance bolstered by the A\$20 billion-plus war on terror<sup>20</sup>, ASIS (under David Irvine) spied on East Timor for the advantage of Woodside and its select beneficiaries. Then, with Irvine transferred to head ASIO, the security organisation raided the lantern-bearers.<sup>21</sup> The reported offer by the Australian Signals Directorate (ASD) to provide Australian metadata to the ‘Five Eyes Partners’<sup>22</sup> denotes a scorn for Australian citizens, as though US lantern-bearer Perry Fellwock’s evidence was never suspected, let alone taken seriously:

Every Australian company that does business outside of Australia has its communications with its Australian head-office monitored by NSA and this information besides being disseminated to the US Government agencies that determine trade policy is also passed on indirectly to American companies competing with foreign—including Australian corporations.<sup>23</sup>

Such dealings with our ally were reinforced in NSA lantern-bearer, Christopher Boyce’s statement: ‘You think that’s [CIA operation against Allende in Chile] bad? You should hear what the CIA is doing to the Australians.’<sup>24</sup> The observations of forty years ago are of continuing relevance to other states as well, as will be shown with the Israelis in Chapter Seven and Indonesians in Chapter Eight.

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<sup>18</sup> P.D. Scott, *American War Machine*, Rowman and Littlefield, NY, 2014, p. 38. Letelier wrote an article in *The Nation*, August 28, 1976. Scott cites Naomi Klein as a source.

<sup>19</sup> M. West, Investors losing half of returns in fees: research, *The Age*, 29 Nov 2013, p. 3. Also see: C. Newman, The Day Money Died, *The Daily Reckoner*, 3 Dec 14. Also see: Foss, Nicole, Building resilience in an era of limits to growth, *Big Ideas*, ABC RN, aired 22 January 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Nicholson, B., War on terror costs us \$20 billion, *The Age*, 25 November 2013. In an earlier article, (A vast cost in feeling just a little more secure, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 September 2011) Ross Gittens puts the figure at \$30 billion.

<sup>21</sup> T. Allard, ASIO raids lawyer on eve of Hague spying case, *The Age*, 4 Dec 2013, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Allard, T., Australia may have offered to share data, *The Age*, 3 Dec 2013, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Winslow Peck [aka Perry Fellwock] cited in *The National Times*, 2-7 May 1977, p. 4. Also see: Nakashima, E., US, British spy agencies targeted aid groups and Israeli PM, *The Canberra Times*, 21 Dec 2013.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in J.Pilger, *A Secret Country*, Vintage, 1992, p. 213. [Secret] Boyce has reiterated this more recently; see, Christopher Boyce interviewed in M. Davis, The Falcon Lands, *Dateline*, SBS TV, Sydney, 18 February 2014.

Much of the current Turnbull government's personnel and policy are John Howard's legacy. Howard launched, between 1997 and 2004, 111 Federal Police investigations into 'leaks' of government information<sup>25</sup>, as he spent billions on a war against 24 million destitute and outgunned Iraqis in an attempt to prop up a threatened wheat trade and support other neo-liberal agendas.<sup>26</sup> Prime Minister Turnbull began and finished the barely successful 2016 election campaign by acquiescing in, if not activating, police action against political opponents.

When clusters of indicators become a tide, it is time to take notice: government concealment of information, raids by the Federal Police, politicians rorting travel expenses, a magistrate excluded from the sex offenders' register<sup>27</sup>, tax-payers bailing out quarrelling party mates<sup>28</sup> or relatives<sup>29</sup>, as LNC ex-Treasurer Joe Hockey heralds an 'end of an era of popular universal entitlement' before taking an ambassadorship to Washington.<sup>30</sup>

## Compliance

Power cliques are protected by misinformation and ever increasing secrecy. In an attempt to uncover lantern bearers, several federal police investigations into leaks to the media occurred during Scott Morrison's tenure as Immigration Minister.<sup>31</sup> Political discipline is also maintained by intimidation and fear, even amongst supposed insiders. One Liberal Party staffer confided, 'Everyone has to talk in whispers. Criticism is forbidden. It's like being in East Germany and worrying the

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<sup>25</sup> Katherine Murphy, Police will plug future leaks, *The Australian*, 17 Nov 2004.

<sup>26</sup> See: Doren, C., *A Militarised Neo-Liberalism: Australia's Policies in Post Saddam Iraq*, University of Newcastle, Australian Political Studies Association Conference, 25-27 Sep 2006. Also see: See J. Kerin, Taxpayers may foot AWB bill, *Australian Financial Review*, 12 January 2007, p. 3; and R. Baker, US sabotaged Australian wheat deal in Iraq, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Nov 06.

<sup>27</sup> Lee, J., and Spooner, R., Shamed magistrate spared from sex offender's list, *The Age*, 23 Sep 2013, p. 3. See also letters: Chapman, B., 'Justice is not blind', and Smith, F., 'Too hard for the system', in Letters, *The Age*, 23 Nov 2013, p. 22.

<sup>28</sup> Letters, P. Thomson, 'A modern fairy tale', and Pettifer, C., 'Not a good look, Libs', Letters, *The Age*, 21 Aug 2013, p. 18. Excerpt from Pettifer: So there we have it. The look of the Liberal Party. "Taxpayers just bailed out a squabble between Liberal Party mates. Millions of our dollars given to the "victims" of Matthew Guy's incompetence and buried before it could get to court."

<sup>29</sup> A. Ramsay, *A Matter of Opinion*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2009, p. 152.

<sup>30</sup> J. Hockey, *The end of the age of entitlement*, speech to the London Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 17 Apr 2012.

<sup>31</sup> M. Sercombe, Inside Dutton's asylum endgame, *The Saturday Paper*, 24-30 January 2015, p. 10.

Stasi is listening.’<sup>32</sup>

A lack of empathy is a permanent feature of Australian life, visible in the mob-like denunciations of Lindy Chamberlain, asylum-seeker detention centres, and deaths in police custody or prison. Melbourne Metro ticket inspectors roughly handled a 15-year-old child at Flinders Street Station on 31 July 2013. Some bystanders were shocked enough to film the event, but corporate and government officialdom dismissed concerns as legal centres reported that commuters felt unsafe in the face of uniformed physical aggression and invasions of privacy.<sup>33</sup> Such is the casual cruelty in Australia today: against the powerless and asylum-seekers; in live animal exports, and the steadily rising trends in aggravated and sexual assaults<sup>34</sup>; in ‘online child sex exploitation,’<sup>35</sup> and where the civil police are increasingly taking on the appearance of swaggering paramilitaries testing the limits of civil liberties, backed by ever more legislation aimed at association, demonstrations and privacy.<sup>36</sup> The Hungarian-British sociologist, Frank Furedi, describes the cultivation of a vulnerable group in society comprising ‘between roughly 80 and 90 per cent of the population...there is little need for a Leviathan to remind us of our lack of power’.<sup>37</sup> Or as a disgusted commentator on a blog put it, ‘Squads of armoured police goons seek out and crush any signs of civil unrest or dissent.’<sup>38</sup>

A friend of the author’s, an experienced military officer and cool observer, returned to Australia after three years on duty abroad. Their first remark on meeting, before any salutation, was, ‘Australians are *savages* on the road!’ Was the traveller noticing

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<sup>32</sup> C. Wallace, Why the Liberals can’t kill Abbott, *The Saturday Paper*, 24-30 January 2015, p. 15.

<sup>33</sup> See: ABC TV, CCTV footage shows Melbourne train ticket inspector slamming teenage girl into ground, ABC TV, 12 September 2013. Also see: Federation of Community Legal Centres Victoria, *Tracking Protective Services Officers, April 2015*, pp. 9-11; and J. Gordon, Train travel: taking a ride from safety to fear, *The Age*, 2 April 2015, p. 18. Gordon cites a report by The Federation of Community Legal Centres Victoria, based on a three years study of 10,000 complaints since 2012.

<sup>34</sup> S. Bricknell, Trends and issues in crime and criminal justice, No. 359, ISBN 978 1 921185 84 7, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra, June 2008. See also: ‘How can they have so much hate in their soul?’ National Nine News, Online ed., 18 Dec 2013; and E. Jackson, E., (prod) King Hit in Kings Cross, Radio Current Affairs, ABC RN, 27 Dec 2013, aired 1700.

<sup>35</sup> R. Olding, The moment you discover your partner is an online child sex offender, *The Age*, 8 October 2016, pp. 24-25.

<sup>36</sup> V. Chadwick, ‘Police power to stop cars under threat, *The Age*, 21 Jun 2013, p. 1. Also: R. Harris, ‘Spooks on loose, *The Weekly Times*, 26 June 2013, p. 1; and Lee, J., ‘Right to political protest under threat’, *The Age*, 13 Dec 2013, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> F. Furedi, Fear as political capital, *Australian Financial Review*, Review, 3 December 2004, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> See Comments in, G. Murray, (Australian writer), blog, *Who’s REALLY running Australia*, 30 May 2014. Also see: S. Keane, Tim Wilson and the Institute of Public Smokescreens, *Independent Australia*, 23 December 2013.

a rent in the social contact: a subconscious, projected rage where civility, safety and empathy are forfeit?<sup>39</sup> Victorian police chief, Ken Lay, speaks of a ‘warped and misspent masculinity’.<sup>40</sup> QANTAS employees were reportedly booed by queuing passengers for closing their check-in counters to go to the aid of a dying woman.<sup>41</sup> Increasing state authoritarianism, dangerous driving, ‘king hit’ bashings, an ‘ice’ epidemic, domestic violence, and a misogyny so entrenched it has become a national issue, all recall the Austrian psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich’s descriptions of an ‘emotional plague...manifested in social life’; or as John Lawrence, SC, describes Australia, ‘moral collapse across the board’.<sup>42</sup>

### Technology and Manufacturing

Canberra has variously promoted mining, agriculture, infrastructure and housing as the saviours of the Australian economy; yet, they are all being bought at increasing rates by foreign interests.<sup>43</sup> Some former politicians are key actors in the sale of Australian property to such interests;<sup>44</sup> former Prime Minister Bob Hawke, former Foreign Minister Alexander Downer and former Victorian Premier John Brumby, reportedly among the local agents acting for Chinese corporations in the purchase of agricultural land.<sup>45</sup> In this discourse on property, the distinctions between foreign investment and foreign ownership are smudged; proponents of the trend pointing to

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<sup>39</sup> For confirmation of the indicators, see, J. Ward, Green means go... or else! *Car advice*, 30 September 2016, and; Victoria Police Asst Comm Fryer and a yet to be published Monash University Study (Accident Research Centre) [stating ‘18% of Australian drivers have chased another driver’] cited in E. Bowden, On the road to ruin, police slam aggressive driving culture, *The Age*, 17 July 2017, pp. 6-7.

<sup>40</sup> Cited by, M. McKenzie-Murray, Hidden politics of family violence, *The Saturday Paper*, No 72, 8-14 August 2015, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> SMH, Airport staff booed while helping: union, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 November 2007.

<sup>42</sup> W. Reich, *Character Analysis*, Simon and Schuster, 1972, p. 504. John Lawrence interviewed in M. Freri (prod), F. Kelly (pres), ‘How did you go along with that?’ Youth Detention Royal Commission, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 28 July 2017.

<sup>43</sup> E. Smith, Land ownership just the start in foreign investment debate, *The Conversation*, 13 February 2015. Also see: L. Allen and B. Wilmot, Prices skyrocketing as Chinese developers ‘pay too much’ for sites’, *The Australian*, Business, 18 Dec 2013, p. 17.

<sup>44</sup> Cairns Post, China officially asks to colonise a part of Western Australia-for money of course, Cairns Post, 29 Apr 2012. *The Weekly Times* carries a number of articles on related subjects. Also see: Yousafzaik R., ‘Move to block foreign land sales’, AAP, in *Herald Sun*, News, 28 November 2012; and Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia, beyond casinos and judges, *Malaysia Outlook*, 7 March 2017.

<sup>45</sup> T. Fullerton, High stakes: the politics of Chinese investment, *The Drum*, 2 October 2002. Also see, J. Wagstaff and N. Kotsios, The real picture of foreign ownership of Australian farms, *The Weekly Times*, 27 April 2016, and White, L., Hawke clear to aid Chinese land grab, *The Weekly Times*, 27 Jun 2013.

the benefits of the first wave of foreign investment, Vestey's and the like. Unmentioned are the consequences for the original inhabitants: dispossession, genocide and despair. So ravenous is the appetite for foreign cash and so uneasy 'the pub test', the issue provided the wellspring of a heated exchange between radio host Alan Jones and then Prime Minister Abbott in November 2014.<sup>46</sup> Only after increasing media coverage of public disquiet did Canberra move to review regulations on foreign acquisition of housing, and block the sale of the Kidman grazing holdings to Chinese buyers on 'national interest' grounds.

Importantly for the future of the Australian polity, Thomas Piketty in his study of capital iconoclastically notes that foreign investment is not necessarily a pathway to prosperity:

None of the Asian countries that have moved closer to the developed countries of the West in recent years has benefited from large foreign investments, whether it be Japan, South Korea, or Taiwan and more recently China.<sup>47</sup>

The virtual collapse of manufacturing and declining employment opportunities and conditions portends a deeper issue for future Australian society. Dennis Glover notes: 'The transformation from the industrial to the post-industrial era has been so total as to constitute the sociological equivalent of an extinction event.'<sup>48</sup> Instructive observations can be drawn from a study on Algeria by UK-educated academic Abdelaziz Testas, who observed:

Using a global dataset for 96 countries for the period 1965-93 they [the researchers] found that trade dependence on exporting manufactured goods correlates with welfare, equality and internal peace, but concentration on the export of primary commodities is associated with high inequality, low levels of welfare and a higher risk of civil war. Exports of minerals require few skilled workers, so countries specialising in primary commodity trade have less incentive to promote education... [other cited research shows<sup>49</sup>] that endogenous technical change does not occur in

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<sup>46</sup> D. Harrison, Failing the 'pub test': Alan Jones blasts Tony Abbott over government's free trade deal with China, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 November 2014.

<sup>47</sup> Piketty, T., *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, Harvard University Press (Belknap), Massachusetts, 2014, p. 70.

<sup>48</sup> D. Glover, The unmaking of the Australian working class—and their right to resist, *The Conversation*, 3 August 2015.

<sup>49</sup> Sachs and Warner, Arrow and Molokai, and Binswanger, cited in: Testas, Abdelaziz, The United

resource-rich countries which have become dependent on the natural resources and fail to innovate. Innovation progresses more rapidly in manufacturing, which offers greater opportunities for ‘learning by doing’. Lack of innovation, as argued already, helps sustain authoritarianism... Dependence on revenues from natural resources has similar consequences for the level of political repression.<sup>50</sup>

Alex Perry notes the ‘Resource Curse, the observable phenomenon that oil-rich countries grow more slowly, more corruptly, less equitably, more violently and with more authoritarian governments than others do’.<sup>51</sup> He cites Joseph Stiglitz and others to reinforce the point.

Piketty also highlights the connection between technology, innovation and the link to social democracy:

In other words the progress of technological rationality is supposed to lead automatically to the triumph of human capital over financial capital and real estate, capable managers over fat cat stockholders, and skill over nepotism. Inequalities would thus become more meritocratic and less static (though not necessarily smaller): economic rationality would then in some sense automatically give rise to democratic rationality.<sup>52</sup>

In Australia, as manufacturing weakens, the trends to increasing state surveillance, the militarisation of police and smothering of dissent are obvious.<sup>53</sup> Aside from the threats to democracy by the trends described above, compounded by the inroads of foreign finance, the last measure of international relations is military power. Any neglect of organised digital and heavy industrial expertise entails consequences for a state’s ability to make and maintain the technology of modern warfare.<sup>54</sup>

## **Making A Living**

After decades of factory closures, lay-offs, off-shoring and downsizing, the centre-

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States’ approach to Algeria’s civil conflict: implications for democratisation, internal peace and anti-American violence’, *Democratization*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 47-120. See: pp.110-112.

<sup>50</sup> Testas, op cit., pp. 110-112 of 47-120. Testas, Ph.D, is a graduate of the Centre for Development Studies (Scotland) and the Leeds School of Business and Economics.

<sup>51</sup> A. Perry, *Falling off the Edge: Globalization world peace & other lies*, MacMillan, London, 2008, p. 131. Perry cites Stiglitz et al., *Escaping the Resource Curse*.

<sup>52</sup> Piketty, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>53</sup> See; C. Hamilton, and S. Maddison, *Silencing Dissent*, Allen and Unwin, 2007.

<sup>54</sup> For a maritime example, refer to: G. Doogue, (pres) and S. Clarke, *Submarines*, *Saturday Extra*, ABC RN, 5 September 2015.

of-gravity-narrative is the official unemployment figure<sup>55</sup> for some years hovering around six percent.<sup>56</sup> Unemployment is an issue where the bipartisan-government narrative is largely accepted and promulgated in the mainstream media.<sup>57</sup> Steve Keen demonstrated the difference between the Roy Morgan assessment (about 10 percent unemployment) and Canberra's official figure.<sup>58</sup> In 2005 journalist John Garnaut noted the real unemployment rate should factor in 3.8 million people of workforce age omitted from the official figures; thus the 'jobless rate would be as high as 14.8 percent if these hidden unemployed were counted in official statistics.'<sup>59</sup> The ABS argues that working one hour a week is the international standard for employment, and underemployment has only a minor percentage impact on statistics.<sup>60</sup> Other studies point to considerable stress in the workforce, noting: high youth unemployment, unpaid work (equating to \$110 billion or 7.4 per cent of GDP<sup>61</sup>) and reluctance to take leave and breaks, resulting in unhealthy lifestyles.<sup>62</sup> Australia is 'progressing more rapidly along the path of inequality than many other OECD countries.'<sup>63</sup> Even government figures point to 13 percent of the Australian population being 'considered' in 'relative income poverty' with the number of people working part-time (less than 35 hours a week) almost doubling to 30 percent between 1982 and 2012.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the difficulties in calculating accurate statistics,<sup>65</sup> the immediate sub-text of

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<sup>55</sup> J. Greber, Former ABS head says employment data 'not worth paper they're written on', *Australian Financial Review*, 14 October 2015.

<sup>56</sup> G. Kwek, Pressure on jobs market as unemployment hits decade high, *The Age*, 14 Feb 2014, p. 26. Also refer to: R. Williams, in conversation with Geoff Hudson, But where are the jobs? *Ockhams Razor*, ABC RN, Broadcast 3 May 15.

<sup>57</sup> A. Austin, The truth about jobs in Australia—that you won't read in the newspapers, *Independent Australia*, 22 February 2016.

<sup>58</sup> Keen, S., The truth about Australia's unemployment rate 'shocker', *The Australian*, 11 August 2014. Also see: L. Heinrich, The illegality of structural unemployment, *Independent Australia*, 30 April 2014.

<sup>59</sup> J. Garnaut, Keen to work, a million lost in the system, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 Mar 2013.

<sup>60</sup> See: Politifact Australia, commentary of Senator Mick Xenophon's questioning the jobless rate on ABC TV Insiders, 9 Jun 2013.

<sup>61</sup> Pro Bono Australia, Work-toll-revealed-national-go-home-time-day, November 2013.

<sup>62</sup> P. Cameron and R., Denniss, R., Hard to Get a Break, The Australia Institute, 20 November 2013.. Also see: Rainford, J., 'Unemployment same as during financial crisis', *The Green Left Weekly*, 12 Oct 2013; and M. Janda, Dollar sinks as report shows thousands left work in December, *ABC News*, 16 Jan 2014.

<sup>63</sup> B. Douglas, S. Friel, R. Denniss and D. Morawetz, Advance Australia Fair? What to do about growing inequality in Australia, *Australia 21*, The Australia Institute, May 2014, p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW), *Australia's Welfare 2013*, Chapter 2, Australian Government, 8 August 2013.

<sup>65</sup> See: M. Cowgill, *Has the unemployment rate been manipulated*, 29 May 2013, P. Krugman, There

Australia's official envy-of-the-world jobless rate is twofold. On one hand the authors of such an economy—kleptocrats, to borrow a term from Jared Diamond and Jane Jacobs<sup>66</sup>—feel fully justified in their pay rises from the public purse as does the power clique.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, if the citizen is not earning \$60,000 a year in such a benign jobs environment, it must be their own fault. Despite years of warnings, here and overseas, the slide into poverty for many continues unabated.<sup>68</sup> There are flow-on social consequences; for example, Martin McKenzie-Murray cites Victorian statistics on family violence and points to the highest level of incidents being in areas 'below the national average wage. Well below.'<sup>69</sup>

### **How Others See Australia and Australians**

As the American philosopher William James put it, 'Whenever two people meet, there are really six people present.' Each person of the two comprises three variables: how they see themselves, how others see them, and how they really are; it follows that a conversation between two people can be quite complex. Foreign agents, seeking to gain information from or influence over Australians, will employ a variety of methods to identify and cultivate individuals for exploitation. The detail on this has been covered in *Plunging Point*. The overall nature or sociology of Australian society, briefly described above, provides a backdrop to the personal and systemic vulnerabilities foreign agents would seek to identify.

How foreign actors see Australia naturally depends on their point of view. Australia has long been regarded as a farm and quarry for more sophisticated economies, a stable foreign investment opportunity or refuge for various fraudsters, criminals or Japanese terrorists seeking a quiet sheep station for testing chemical weapons.<sup>70</sup> Americans in the Vietnam war honoured Australian troops as 'our Gurkhas',<sup>71</sup> but

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is no 'real' unemployment rate, New York Times, 14 July 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Diamond, J., *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive*, Allen Lane, Melbourne, 2005, p. 7, and J. Jacobs, *Dark Age Ahead*, Random House, NY, 2004.

<sup>67</sup> S. McMahon, Australian MPs now among the highest paid in the world, *News Limited Network*, 18 Jul 2013.

<sup>68</sup> D. Hardoon, Having it all and wanting more, *Oxfam*, GB, 19 Jan 2015; Oxfam, Press Release, Richest 1% will own more than all the rest by 2016, 19 January 2015; and Australian Council of Social Service, *Inequality in Australia: A Nation Divided*, 2015.

<sup>69</sup> M. McKenzie-Murray, M., Hidden politics of family violence, *The Saturday Paper*, No 72, 8-14 August 2015, p. 11.

<sup>70</sup> N. Barber, N., On the Trail of Harry Mason, Aum Shinrikyo at Banjawarn Station, 1993.

<sup>71</sup> D. Horner, Australian Higher Command in the Vietnam War, Canberra Papers on

such trust is qualified. The post-interrogation suicide of the DIO liaison officer in Washington, Mervyn Jenkins, over Canberra's preferred option of maintaining Indonesian control of East Timor, called forth information from a US official that the Americans

had a clear view that the Australian government placed a very great weight on its relations with Jakarta and with the Indonesian military ...[which] was in turn influencing the exchange of information [to the US] through Intelligence channels.<sup>72</sup>

As a reasoned reaction, 'the US was forced to beef up their own Intelligence collection capacity because they were concerned about the quality of information they were getting from Australia.'<sup>73</sup> This episode of Canberra covering for Jakarta would have reinforced the wisdom painted on a corridor wall in HQ Pacific Command: 'There may be friendly countries, but there are no friendly intelligence services.' An Australian reputation for duplicity can be gleaned from a highly-regarded British newspaper's warning headline that 'Australians Covered up East Timor Terror Plot'<sup>74</sup>, a reputation not enhanced by the AWB scandal where Canberra operated furtively in breach of UN sanctions against Iraq.

In contrast to the UN's criticism of Australian policy on refugees, a British journalist writing in the midst of Europe's 2015 refugee crisis contrasted Europe's attitude to North African 'cockroaches' with Australia's policy on asylum seekers:

Australians are like British people but with balls of steel, can-do brains, tiny hearts and whacking great gunships...They threaten them with violence until they bugger off, throwing cans of Castlemaine in an Aussie version of sharia stoning.<sup>75</sup>

Such rough-diamond views, reinforced by images of tourists posing with koalas and smiling locals, must be juxtaposed with Lee Kuan Yew's 1980 remark about Australians destined to be the 'poor white trash of Asia' and Canberra's 2005 failed attempt to deny political asylum to Chen Yonglin (a Chinese walk-in defector): the

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Strategy and Defence No. 40, The Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1986, p. 12.

<sup>72</sup> P. Dorling, cited in P. Cronau, *Intelligence Wars, Background Briefing*, ABC RN, 30 May 2004.

<sup>73</sup> C. Thayer, cited in Cronau, *ibid*.

<sup>74</sup> R. Lloyd Parry, *Australians Covered up East Timor Terror Plot*, *Independent*, UK, 15 March 2002.

<sup>75</sup> K. Hopkins, *Hopkins: Rescue boats? I'd use gunships to stop illegal migrants*, *SunNation*, UK, 17 April 2015.

type of turncoat universally regarded (with reservations) as an intelligence coup.<sup>76</sup> Chen alleged the PRC maintained a widespread intelligence network in Australia. Supporting Chen's assertions, another Chinese dissident: 'Prof Yuan Hongling said China used its Australian network to influence political thought, "to turn Australia to a political colony of China".'<sup>77</sup> Some Chinese officials regard dialogue with Australian 'as no more than a form of "barbarian management"'.<sup>78</sup>

An Australian judge reports that Italians regard Australia's 'law enforcement agencies as a bad joke'.<sup>79</sup> It is a view reinforced when 'Two of Italy's most senior anti-Mafia prosecutors have slammed Australia's policing' after the murder of Joseph Acquaro in Melbourne during 2016.<sup>80</sup> The French security service's frustration with Australian officialdom over terrorist Willie Brigitte—and Howard's previous public and unfounded slight of French security<sup>81</sup>—was evident in Sarah Ferguson's illuminating *Sunday* program interview with the French senior security official, Jean Francois Clair, broadcast on 8 February 2004 and referred to in Senate Estimates.<sup>82</sup>

The question foreign agents and their controlling organisations will ask pertain to the degree of risk and what would be the consequences if caught. They would notice Australia's sliding on both the corruption perception and press freedom indexes.<sup>83</sup> Together these indicate that duchessing, bribery and blackmail of politicians, officials and business insiders are unlikely to be detected or brought to public account. Most tellingly, Australia's execrable record in failing to apprehend and jail traitors, together with the trenchant bipartisan opposition to the establishment of a

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<sup>76</sup> Australian Senate, *Mr Chen Yonglin's request for political asylum*, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee, Hansard, APH, 12 September 2005.

<sup>77</sup> AAP, China wants Australia as a 'political colony', *The Age*, 15 June 2005.

<sup>78</sup> D. Uren, *The Kingdom and the Quarry: China, Australia, Fear and Greed*, Black Inc., Melbourne 2012, p. 149.

<sup>79</sup> Stewart, D., *Recollections of an Unreasonable Man: From the beat to the bench*, ABC Books, Sydney, 2007, p. 216.

<sup>80</sup> M. Hawthorne, Italy want joint Mafia probe, *The Age*, 19 March 2016, pp. 1, 14.

<sup>81</sup> John Howard, *Doorstop interview*, Claridge's Hotel, London, 8 November 2003. Excerpt; '... then if there was a communications breakdown, it was between certain agencies in the French Government, not between Australia and France.'

<sup>82</sup> Australian Senate, Legal and Constitutional Legislation Committee, AG Portfolio, ASIO, Hansard, 16 February 2004. Also see: S. Ferguson, Willie Brigitte: The French Connection, *Sunday*, Channel 9, 8 February 2004. The French official was DST deputy director Jean-Francois Clair.

<sup>83</sup> See the following sections on lobbying and corruption.

Federal ICAC, would be of intense interest to foreign agencies or organisations.<sup>84</sup>

## LOBBYING

### Lobbying Defined

An insight into lobbying in Australia is essential to understanding the structure and methodology of the Washington, Israeli and Jakarta lobbies. While much of their activity is conducted quite openly, through the media opinion pages for example, secret lobbying could occur behind the closed doors of functional closed groupings such as the Australian American Leadership Dialogue, or Australia Israel Chamber of Commerce. Conversely, as will be demonstrated in succeeding chapters, some foreign lobby groups, while claiming transparency, do little to disabuse observers of their inferred hard power. In secret and top-down lobbying, money is the currency of power and political donations must be counted in this context.

Political lobbying is considered a proper, even desirable, form of discourse in a democratic society, although in the US and Australia, it is increasingly seen as a form of corruption through the coincidence of lobbying and political donations. Lobbying is

any communication with a public official for the purpose of influencing the making of a decision, including the making or content of policy or legislation, the awarding of a contract, allocation of funding or the making of a planning decision.<sup>85</sup>

Lobbying is part of the arsenal available to foreign states and corporations. Australia is no different. It openly and unsuccessfully lobbied Jakarta over the death penalty and secretly, within Asian states, strove to water down international prohibitions on the use of cluster bombs.

Lobbying is either ‘a legitimate part of a healthy democracy’ or a powerful and largely unaccountable influence on the political process, where ‘to get access, it takes organisation and finance.’<sup>86</sup> In Australia’s political landscape lobbying is

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<sup>84</sup> L. Collins and W. Reed, *Plunging Point*, HarperCollins, Sydney, 2005, p. 49. The ALP has lately intimated they would now support a federal integrity commission.

<sup>85</sup> NSW ICAC, *Lobbying In NSW—An Issues Paper on the Nature and Management of Lobbying in NSW*, May 2011, p. 9.

<sup>86</sup> Allen Fels and Jeremy Moss, cited in J. Fitzgerald, *Lobbying in Australia*, Rosenberg, Dural, 2006,

increasingly noticeable and mercenary. A book by Julian Fitzgerald covers the subject in fairly positive terms, describing how lobbying is changing: ‘lobbyists are now professionals who are prepared to act for others for a monetary fee, often a handsome one, to influence government policy and gain a regulatory or financial advantage.’<sup>87</sup> Jules Henry points to a more corporate style:

These great masses of capital are further organized into what has been called ‘interest groups’. The interest group is a group of corporate interests which, through interlocking directorates, mutual stock ownership, financial support, auditing and legal activities and membership in the same trade organisations, come to pursue common financial goals.<sup>88</sup>

In both definitions, the end is financial gain, often for the big end of town.

### **Types of lobby groups**

In his study of Australian foreign policy, Teuku Rezasyah identifies two main types of lobby, or special interest groups: *sectional* and *promotional*.<sup>89</sup> Sectional groups, such as business and financial interests, have ‘restricted membership and seek to advance their specific interests and channel their efforts at different [state] organs.’<sup>90</sup> Foreign lobby groups generally have an active sectional core that maintains close relations with the originating government; the Americans, Israelis and Chinese operate in this manner.

Promotional groups have broader membership and are not defined by self-interest, but are ‘usually concerned with wider issues, and seek a ‘conducive atmosphere’.<sup>91</sup> The Jewish and Chinese communities provide a wide base, from and in which sectional interests—intelligence operations for example—could be mounted. Examples of bona fide promotional groups might be environmental or humanitarian activist groups. Rezasyah sees the media as a promotional interest group, but this is debatable given their overall fidelity to the mainstream narrative.

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pp.16, 19.

<sup>87</sup> Fitzgerald, J., *Lobbying in Australia*, Rosenberg, Dural, 2006, p.19.

<sup>88</sup> From J. Henry, Social and Psychological Preparation for War, in David Cooper, (ed.), *The Dialectics of Liberation*, Pelican, Harmondsworth, 1971, p. 59 of 50-71.

<sup>89</sup> T. Rezasyah, Uncovering Australian Foreign Policy Making: The Prevalence of a Dominant Bureaucracy, *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol XXIV, No 4, Fourth Quarter, 1996, pp. 441-444.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 441.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Warhurst defines a lobbying pie sliced into: a) *third party political lobbying* by specialist firms which may have party connections, b) ‘*corporate* [such as QANTAS and Telstra] in-house government relations specialists’ engaged in *direct lobbying*, and c) ‘thousands of special interest *pressure groups*’.<sup>92</sup> Warhurst warns that ‘corruption can flourish when the lines between powerbroker and lobbyist become blurred’; for example, he notes a lobbying firm headed by a former chief-of-staff to Prime Minister John Howard enjoyed a ‘230 per cent growth in business’ in the month after the September 2013 LNC election victory.<sup>93</sup>

### Approaches to Lobbying

Lobbying is about power and access to it. This in turn requires power, for the strong seldom bend to the weak. Lobbying can usefully be divided into two approaches: secret and public lobbying. *Secret lobbying* involves powerful or professional lobbyists seeking to maintain interaction with politicians or officials, where details of the interactions are concealed, at least not noticeably publicised. Relying on persuasion, insider contacts, power (perhaps openly manifested as prestige), and especially money, successful lobbying ‘requires the employment of professionally trained and politically experienced senior staff ... [often former] senior public servants, politicians, political staffers and political journalists’.<sup>94</sup> Tactics may comprise a) appeals to sentiment or ideology, b) a ‘word in your ear’, c) pleas to common special-interests<sup>95</sup>, or d) or recourse to threats, of legal action for instance, in what is known as ‘Lawfare’.<sup>96</sup> A duplicitous form of secret lobbying is *astroturf* lobbying which mimics public lobbying, but

... refers to apparently grassroots-based citizen groups or coalitions that are primarily conceived, created and/or funded by corporations, industry trade associations, political interests or public relations firms ... synthetic grassroots movements that now can be manufactured for a fee by companies ...<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> J. Warhurst, Hazards of political overlap, *The Canberra Times*, 10 October 2013.[Overlap]

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> J. Warhurst, Interest groups and political lobbying, [Lobby], in A. Fenna, J. Robbins and J. Summer (eds), *Government and Politics in Australia*, 10<sup>th</sup> Ed, Pearson, French’s Forest, 2013, p. 262-3.

<sup>95</sup> F. Hunter and G. Hutchens, How property investing politicians have skin in the game on the negative gearing debate, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 2015.

<sup>96</sup> P. Giradi, *The Lobby is International*, antiwar.com. 21 November 2013.

<sup>97</sup> SourceWatch, Astroturf, accessed at <http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Astroturf> on 8

The defining characteristic of secret lobbying is that it tends to conform to the top-down rather than bottom-up method of social and political change. By its nature, secret lobbying can cross the line into corruption.

*Public lobbying* is used by seemingly powerless interest groups, or individuals and often centres on social justice or environmental issues. It represents a largely bottom-up form of social change, and because of the inherent inferior power relationship with the state, can have a long gestation period. An example is the activists who maintained a seemingly hopeless 24-year protest on behalf of East Timorese self-determination, to see success occur suddenly as the Asian financial ‘flu’ of the late 1990s severely weakened Indonesia. Successful ‘recruits for the new social movements may have relevant experience in international interest groups.’<sup>98</sup> Public lobbying can take a number of forms including: a) appeals to common sense or the public good, b) appeals to humanitarianism, c) provoking prejudice against migrants or religious groups, d) legal challenges (against which the power clique now often force plaintiffs to prove they can pay the legal bills if a case fails—thus forestalling legal action), social disobedience and e) and grassroots lobbying. These can be used in combinations.

### **The influence of lobbying**

John Menadue and others mentioned in his article warned that in Australia hidden ‘lobbying is pervasive and insidious.’<sup>99</sup> Fitzgerald cites figures of up to \$500,000 for a pitch including presentations to parliamentary committees, dinners and raised media profile.<sup>100</sup> It is big business: the total spent per annum in Canberra is conservatively estimated at one billion dollars.<sup>101</sup> At these sorts of rates, it is beyond the reach of most ordinary citizens and indicates top-down policy formulation. As a chastened Sam Dastyari remarked, ‘a handful of business and corporate interests really do completely dominate the political debate.’<sup>102</sup> Canberra boasts some 1,000 lobbyists in 150-265 firms, which includes about a dozen ‘top gun international

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March 2010, cited in NSW ICAC, op cit., pp. 9-10.

<sup>98</sup> Warhurst, op. cit., [Lobby], p. 262-3.

<sup>99</sup> J. Menadue, Secret lobbying is pervasive and insidious, *Crikey*, 14 May 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>102</sup> Dastyari cited in, J. Cadzow, Fallen Star, *The Age*, Good Weekend, 17 September 2016, p. 18 of pp. 16-19.

lobbying companies.’<sup>103</sup> Ian Ward notes the switch to media campaigns aimed at forcing government policy compliance. These include the success of the mining industry in forcing a Labor watering down of the ‘resources rent tax’, and Clubs Australia dispersing the ALP-Independents’ political will to restrict poker-machine problem gambling.<sup>104</sup> Despite unease about strongly financed lobbying in many quarters, others express no doubt: John Howard’s former Secretary of PM&C, Peter Shergold, saw ‘no problem in vested interests helping to shape government policy.’<sup>105</sup>

After the 2007 defeat of Howard, the ALP Government introduced both a Register of Lobbying<sup>106</sup> and Lobbying Code of Conduct.<sup>107</sup> With a change back to the LNC in 2013, opportunists were waiting in the wings,<sup>108</sup> with the alcohol lobby accused of playing a hand in the dumping of a health body.<sup>109</sup> By contrast, human rights groups have their pleas fall largely on deaf ears, as evidenced by the continued plight of West Papuans under Indonesian military occupation, the fate of asylum seekers, and rising poverty in Australia.

When negotiation or mediation between the policymakers and the special interest/lobby group breaks down, the issue can become uglier and much more public. The power relationships are obvious. Australia’s continued involvement in the Vietnam War saw protests escalate into major demonstrations resulting in arrests. Australia’s cigarette plain-packaging laws provoked a legal challenge by the tobacco industry. Police are commonly used in support of corporations to suppress demonstrations against CSG works, deforestation, the G20 agenda or social and economic inequality; they are seldom deployed by the state in support of public lobbying.

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<sup>103</sup> Fitzgerald, op. cit., pp. 19, 23.

<sup>104</sup> See: J. Massola, Nine Network planned campaign against Labor’s poker machine reforms, *The Australian*, 26 October 2011, and; B. Eltham, Transparency please! Why the tax breaks for pokies clubs? *Crikey*, 27 September 2011.

<sup>105</sup> Fitzgerald, op. cit., p.16.

<sup>106</sup> Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Register of Lobbyists*, Australian Government, September 2011.

<sup>107</sup> Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, *Lobbying Code of Conduct*, Australian Government, dated June 2011.

<sup>108</sup> H. Aston, Coalition ‘mates’ fill lobbyist ranks, *The Age*, 27 Mar 2014, p. 8.

<sup>109</sup> A. Corderoy, and M. Kenny, Alcohol lobby link to dumping health body, *The Age*, 14 Feb 2014, p. 1.

In an example of how lobbying can both arise with and promote special interests, Senator Peter Walsh listed the components of an immigration lobby that developed as Australia's post-war defence-related population policy was conceived, implemented and extended:

[mass immigration]...has been vigorously supported by a coalition of vested interests, apologists, propagandists and true believers, the real estate and housing construction lobbies, the Bureau of Immigration Research, the tax-payer funded multicultural industry and some economists hooked on a lifelong belief in immigration.<sup>110</sup>

While sometimes cast as a promotional lobby, the self-interest of many in the immigration lobby is evident, ranging from bureaucratic careers, to the continuation of a competitive labour pool and ever-expanding markets for housing and infrastructure construction. The insiders are either in, or have ready access to, the relevant bureaucracy and political parties. This lobby rapidly gained impetus to the point where it was self-perpetuating.

The self-interest of politicians who treat policies purely as a means to private ends should not be underestimated.<sup>111</sup> Political support for immigration as a means of assuring re-election has long been a feature of Australia's immigration policy. Birrell noted, after describing the economic benefits of immigration in the 1960s, that for the Liberal coalition 'it was like discovering the secret to eternal office'.<sup>112</sup> The same study highlighted the ALP's desire to respond to better organised ethnic communities in the 1970s.<sup>113</sup> This example describes sectional and discreet, if not secret, top-down lobbying.

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<sup>110</sup> P. Walsh, Immigration lobbyists must face facts, *The Australian*, 14 Apr 92, p. 13. Walsh cited previously in L. Collins, *An Essay on the Public Policy Processes of Australia's Post-War Migration Policy*, Grad Dip Def Stud, DU, 1992.

<sup>111</sup> A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, [Theory] Harper and Row, NY, 1957, p. 28.

<sup>112</sup> R. Birrell and T. Birrell (Birrell), *An Issue of People*, Longman Cheshire, Sydney, 1987, pp. 63. Birrell previously cited in, Previously cited in, L. Collins, *An Essay on the Public Policy Processes of Australia's Post-War Migration Policy*, Grad Dip Def Stud, DU, 1992.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

## THE MEDIA

### Significance of the Media

Ideally, the centre-piece of a democracy and its foreign relations is a knowledgeable and engaged public. Unless citizens are to be singularly informed by, a) ubiquitous government as described by Orwell in *1984*, b) corporate propaganda, c) or some combination of these two; an independent media sponsoring robust investigative journalism is a prerequisite. The decisive point for both foreign and domestic policy is Australia's electoral passivity: East Timor for 24 years; West Papua from 1963; Palestine from 1948; military adventurism since 9/11, and the attrition of relative social wellbeing.

The media and those involved in it are of intense interest to foreign actors because the media is the palace of opinion makers, a window into society, a measure of its pulse and a guide to who's who. It can be used to mystify and mislead, as notions of 'fake news' suddenly became news itself in 2016. For the Australian corporate-state and foreign actors, influence over and control of the mainstream media, and surveillance of online sources are considered essential.

### The Power Clique and the Media

In general, the *mainstream media* is predominately owned by corporations. Public broadcasters are controlled by governments through reduced appropriations and political appointments. Therefore they are largely part of the same state-corporate web that will be discussed in the following chapters. Arguments one way or the other swirl around Australia's media laws and ownership: the power, pro-Washington Consensus bias and underhandedness of the Murdoch press are legend, as are Canberra's now successful attempts to neuter the ABC. New technology and the increased reach of *alternative media* comprise outlets such as: blogs and new-form newspapers like *New Matilda*, *Crikey*, *Independent Australia*, *Australian National Review* and *The Saturday Paper*. Indicators of Canberra's disposition in the scrimmage over information are the power clique's responses to Julian Assange and Edward Snowden. Although there have been other lantern-bearers such as Thomas Drake and Chelsea Manning, it was Assange and Snowden who had the greatest effect on Canberra. Assange's Wikileaks placed a great deal of Canberra's soiled

laundry on the public record. Prime Minister Gillard quickly labelled the leaks ‘a grossly irresponsible...and an illegal thing to do.’<sup>114</sup> Snowden informed the world of the insidious growth of the surveillance state in the Anglosphere, the supposed fountainhead of liberal democracy.

The power clique’s relationship with the media comprises four interrelated elements. First is *broadcasting* the mainstream narrative, including targeted attacks on some media through press releases, interviews and the recorded official record (Hansard) of the ‘theatre of the absurd we call Australian politics’.<sup>115</sup> The second is the direct or indirect ‘drip’ to ideologically sympathetic journalists and commentators. They broadcast the government and bipartisan agendas on a range of matters including foreign policy. This subset also *narrowcasts* the correct interpretation of what passes as news to a wider audience of sympathetic opinion makers. While enough roughage must be portrayed to simulate balanced debate, the real iconoclasts—Noam Chomsky, Peter Dale Scott, Robert Fisk, Michael Chossudovsky, F.W. Engdahl and John Pilger for example—are noticeably absent from the Australian mainstream media. Third is a government campaign of *intimidation*, through the use of police against lantern-bearers and continual political and corporate harassment, including use of Australia’s draconian defamation laws.<sup>116</sup> Helen Ester describes the aggressive use of the Federal Police to ‘intimidate’ and ‘electronic tracking’ to frighten the public service, so that policy documents no longer regularly fall from ‘the backs of trucks.’<sup>117</sup> The fourth is defensive: Canberra’s *obsessive secrecy* and routine undermining of FOI processes. In 2015, Reporters Without Borders listed Australia 25<sup>th</sup> from the top in its *Press Freedom Index*.<sup>118</sup> That is up from 41<sup>st</sup> under John Howard in 2004.<sup>119</sup>

### **A propaganda arm of the corporate state?**

Corruption and wars are particularly sensitive subjects for Canberra. The Hawke

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<sup>114</sup> AAP, WikiLeaks acting illegally, says Gillard, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 December 2010.

<sup>115</sup> The term ‘theatre of the absurd’ was used by Mark Latham in an unruly interview at the Melbourne Writer’s Festival in 2015.

<sup>116</sup> For the pitfalls of lantern-bearing, see: B. Jones, A Whistleblower’s Guide to Journalists, *Dissent*, 2013.

<sup>117</sup> M. Grattan and T. Walker, gisted in, H. Ester, The Media, in C. Hamilton and S. Maddison, *Silencing Dissent*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, p. 105, of pp.101-123.

<sup>118</sup> Reporters Without Borders, *Press Freedom Index 2015*.

<sup>119</sup> Reporters Without Borders, *Press Freedom Index 2004*.

Government berated the ABC for its coverage of the First Iraq War (1991), in particular the views of an expert interviewee as ‘loaded, biased and disgraceful’.<sup>120</sup> Howard went through the same exercise in 2003.<sup>121</sup> The essence of both attacks was that the broadcaster was not acting as a government propagandist. Tony Abbott openly criticised the ABC in January 2014, concerning the intercept of Indonesia’s President Yudhoyono and his wife’s phones, and the ‘burnt hands’ affair of the ‘turn back the boats’ operation.<sup>122</sup> Politicisation of the ABC board has been conducted by both major parties, noticeably by Howard and Turnbull.<sup>123</sup>

Ownership and control have long been subjects of interest to Australian politicians and the media itself. Humphrey McQueen wrote of it in *Australia’s Media Monopolies*. Andrew Fowler has more recently attacked the growth of state power, the retreat of investigative journalism and the agenda of the Murdoch Press. One press article defined the *Guardian*’s Snowden leaks as treacherous, ignoring the ‘irony’ of having itself ‘just been castigated for its criminal acts involving phone-hacking.’<sup>124</sup> Fowler identifies the current period as a ‘fault line’ at the heart of journalism, as the editors of some major newspapers have surrendered the maxim of ‘arguing truth to power’ where ‘The individual did not have the right to privacy—but the state did!’<sup>125</sup> Illustrating the power and precision of media targeting, Alan Austin criticises the restraint of the press gallery in exposing political lies, and the politicised timing of the rumour of an Abbott-Credlin affair by a press gallery ‘primarily serving the interests of media proprietors.’<sup>126</sup>

Murdoch’s unswerving promotion of the Iraq War is well documented, quite notably in an article by Robert Manne.<sup>127</sup> David Marr points out that News Corp’s ‘papers and television stations rarely speak with one voice and can’t dictate outcomes’, but

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<sup>120</sup> R. Jolly, *The ABC: an overview*, Part 5, Australian Parliament, Library, Research Paper, 11 August 2014.

<sup>121</sup> R. Jolly, *The ABC: an overview*, Part 5, Australian Parliament, Library, Research Paper, 11 August 2014.

<sup>122</sup> Jolly, op. cit.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Fowler, A., *The War on Journalism: Media Moguls, Whistleblowers and the Price of Freedom*, William Heineman, Sydney, 2015, p. 14.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>126</sup> A. Austin, Tony, Peta and Niki—and the silence of the press gallery, *Independent Australia*, 10 March 2016.

<sup>127</sup> R. Manne, *Murdoch’s War*, *The Monthly*, July 2005.

in Australia, the US or Britain if you want to influence policy ... you have to deal with News Corporation ... [Murdoch's] political leverage depends on his uncanny talent for winning and holding the attention of very large numbers of people.<sup>128</sup>

The ideological aims of the Murdoch Press were revealed by an exchange in the Australian Senate Economic References Committee into tax avoidance on 8<sup>th</sup> April 2015:

[Julian Clarke (News Corp) in response to Senator Milne (Greens)] 'With due respect, I don't expect you to agree with this but I consider *The Australian* to be the finest national newspaper in Australia.'

Milne: 'We are not agreed.'

Clarke: 'You are in a minority.'

Milne: 'Not according to your sales.' ...

Clarke: 'We have a difference of opinion about why we're doing it. But every time you tell me we are doing it to run tax losses, I'll tell you we're not.'

Milne: 'I'm happy to accept you are doing it for ideological reasons.'

Clarke: 'I'm happy with that.'<sup>129</sup>

The role of the mainstream media in shaping public perception and opinion is as prevalent as it is designed to be decisive. In the lead-up to the 2016 US presidential election, which the usually accurate Western Illinois University predicted would be won by socialist Bernie Sanders<sup>130</sup>, there was a notable discrepancy in how the mainstream media published results favoring Hillary Clinton, a view not represented in online polls.<sup>131</sup> Similarly in Australia, blogger 'General Maddox' and author Bob Ellis noted the Murdoch press attempting to skew poll results on public health and

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<sup>128</sup> D. Marr, The politics of News, *The Monthly*, Issue 75, Collingwood, February 2011, pp., 62-63.

<sup>129</sup> See: C. Kruger, Murdoch's losses a gesture of love, *The Age*, Business, 9 April 2015, p. 22. In hearings, it emerged that NewsCorp 'repatriated' \$4.5 billion to the US parent over the last two years.

<sup>130</sup> M. Terzi, University With 100% Accuracy Record Predicts Bernie Sanders Will Be America's Next President, *Firebrandleft*, 9 November 2015.

<sup>131</sup> G. Olson, Pundits Thought Clinton Beat Sanders—but Did Viewers? *Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR)*, 14 Oct 2015.

Turnbull's post-honeymoon popularity respectively.<sup>132</sup>

The importance of public perception is indicated by the amount of resources governments and their departments devote to managing it with PR elements and legal support.<sup>133</sup> Some alternative media castigate, often with good reason, the timidity of mainstream media for lacklustre reporting on issues that go to the heart of government. Examples are the Brasscheck TV's disparagement of the corporate media, and *Independent Australia*'s criticism of mainstream media's lack of attention to 'Ashbygate'.<sup>134</sup> A combined study by *Crikey* and the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism found almost 55% of stories across ten papers were 'driven by some form of public relations', with Murdoch's *The Daily Telegraph* 'on top of the league with 70%'.<sup>135</sup> *The Sydney Morning Herald* performed better at 42% that week. Nonetheless some mainstream journalists do perform strongly on exposing corruption and other stories that special interests would prefer to keep secret. The question is: why does the information available not translate into broad public awareness and anger, rather than the 'quietude' Clinton Fernandes observes?<sup>136</sup>

### **The Foole doth thinke he is wise**<sup>137</sup>

A personally impressive and widely experienced foreign ambassador told the author before a witness that, 'Australians are the most docile people' he had ever encountered. If one astute foreign observer had reached that conclusion, others probably have. The elephant in the room remains: in the face of readily available knowledge, how is the electoral passivity of Australians possible? While the 'theatre' of the two-party system and despair and resignation, may be factors in parts of the electorate, Linda Alcoff (discussing racism and white America's attraction to Donald Trump) proposes a 'pattern of ignorance that is...not just a lack of knowledge; it's a

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<sup>132</sup> G. Maddox, Propaganda fail! Another Murdoch poll backfires, *Real News Australia*, 6 September 2015. B. Ellis, Not even Murdoch's magic can get Turnbull above 50-50, *Independent Australia*, 9 March 2016.

<sup>133</sup> See Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>134</sup> Ashbygate was an Australian political scandal involving the unauthorised acquisition and leaking of the diary of the House of Representative's Speaker, Peter Slipper. See D. Donovan et al., Ashbygate: The James Ashby Conspiracy, *Independent Australia*, retrieved 10 March 2016.

<sup>135</sup> Crikey, Over half your news is spin, *Crikey*, 15 March 2011. Also see: M. Strumendo and W. Bacon, Who else has researched 'Spinning the Media'? *Crikey*, 19 March 2010.

<sup>136</sup> C. Fernandes, Fascism: are we there yet? *Dissent*, No 22, Summer 2006/2007.

<sup>137</sup> William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*.

deliberate effort to avoid knowledge.<sup>138</sup> This line of inquiry is supported by David Dunning, an author of the Dunning–Kruger effect, who suggests a cognitive bias where incapable people overestimate their knowledge or ability. He notes,

An ignorant mind is precisely not a spotless, empty vessel, but one that's filled with the clutter of irrelevant or misleading life experiences, theories, facts, intuitions, strategies, algorithms, heuristics, metaphors, and hunches that regrettably have the look and feel of useful and accurate knowledge...our inability to detect our own ignorance, can sometimes lead to situations that are embarrassing, unfortunate, or downright dangerous—especially in a technologically advanced, complex democratic society that occasionally invests mistaken popular beliefs with immense destructive power...<sup>139</sup>

Despite sustaining legends of outback and ANZAC individualism, Australians are overwhelmingly crowded into seventeen cities with populations over one hundred thousand; a sociological reality that makes for an urbanised mass society. According to Jennifer Hudson, work is highest on peoples' anxiety list with global issues such as 'climate change and politics...not at the forefront of people's minds.'<sup>140</sup> Instead, 'Worries [are] much more personal... A lot of people [tend] to worry about work, social interactions, their appearance and those sorts of areas.'<sup>141</sup> Television is a favoured recreation; the list of most-watched programs a lexicon of corporate sport, cooking, renovations, and industrial-strength dating.<sup>142</sup>

Thus distracted from what really impacts on their lives, many Australians embody De Tocqueville's observation: 'The habit of inattention must be considered as the greatest bane of the democratic character.' While the Enlightenment writer's observations are almost 200 years old, a 'counter-enlightenment' has been noted<sup>143</sup>; Australian society seems particularly languid, at risk of 'mental gridlock'<sup>144</sup>, as the

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<sup>138</sup> Linda Martin Alcoff, cited in J. Green (pres), S. Senelmiss and M. Adler-Gillies, The 'pattern of ignorance' that explains Donald Trump's popularity, *Sunday Extra*, ABC RN, 1 March 2016.

<sup>139</sup> D. Dunning, We Are All Confident Idiots, *Pacific Standard*, Santa Barbara, 27 October 2014.

<sup>140</sup> Jennifer Hudson, Macquarie University, cited in M. Davey, Top of worry list: work, work, work, *Executive Style*, 5 May 2012.

<sup>141</sup> M. Davey, Job blues put our minds to work, *The Saturday Age*, 5 May 2012, p. 1.

<sup>142</sup> D. Dale, Australia's most watched television shows of all time (The Tribal Mind Archive 2014), *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 July 2014.

<sup>143</sup> See: G. Doogue, (pres), K. Percy (prod), Enlightenment discussion, *Saturday Extra*, in conversation with, Will Hutton, Kieron O'Hara and John Gascoigne, ABC RN, 7 April 2012.

<sup>144</sup> P. Macinnis, in R. Williams, (pres), M. Dias and T. Webb (prods), Feeding Curiosity, *Ockham's*

social gains of a century have been peeled back by the neo-liberal agenda of the last forty years. Many Australians may be, despite the best efforts of some, oblivious to what is going on around them. Foreign actors and some Australian politicians are not.

Howard looks Australians in the face and see them as not what they wish they were or hoped they might become—but exactly as they are. His political sentiment is ruthlessly unsentimental...he was making a potent pledge to Australians: to leave their consciences alone.<sup>145</sup>

John Howard was Australia's second longest serving prime minister; lauded by Tel Aviv for fidelity to Israel, and slavishly obedient to Washington after being caught out trying to blindside it in favour of Jakarta over East Timor.

## CORRUPTION

**‘a bit of a cesspool, the whole country’<sup>146</sup>**

Corruption visited Australia early with the privately contracted Second Fleet (1789) and infamous Rum Corps' coup d'état in 1808. It remains a major factor in Australian public life and clears the way for undue foreign influence.<sup>147</sup> Foreign actors, or their agents, may simply offer inducements to their Australian targets. Australians have done this in the AWB and Rio Tinto's Stern Hu scandals. More recently, Australian officials have been accused of paying Indonesian people smugglers to turn their asylum seeker boats around.<sup>148</sup> Conversely, little detail has come to light about the venality of Australia's public figures. Transparency International Australia's 2017 Global Corruption Barometer recorded high levels of public distrust of Australian institutions. The survey disclosed a perception of some concern about low level 'petty bribery' but greater disquiet about a 'higher level of grand corruption involving business and political leaders'.<sup>149</sup> Business and religious

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*Razor*, ABC RN, 24 January 2016,

<sup>145</sup> Marr, D., and Wilkinson, M., *Dark Victory*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2003, p. 211-212.

<sup>146</sup> Clive Palmer on, T. Jones, (compare) Class, Cooling and Corruption, *Q & A*, ABC TV1, 18 August, 2014.

<sup>147</sup> For notes on Australian corruption, see towards the end of V.G. Venturini's article, *The Facets of Australian Fascism: The Abbott Government Experience*, Countercurrents.org, 2 July 2016.

<sup>148</sup> Amnesty International, Australia: By hook or by crook—Australia's abuse of asylum-seekers at sea, 28 October 2015.

<sup>149</sup> T. Oriti, (rep), Survey reveals major concerns about corruption in Australia, *PM*, ABC RN, 1

leaders were particularly suspected. Fifty-one percent of the Australian survey reported not reporting corruption for ‘fear of the consequences.’<sup>150</sup> Surveys are one thing, but the ballot box continues to reinforce the current two-party system. Overall there is numbness about this: a simple equation comprising defensive reasoning, indifference, resignation, a perception based on reality that most people are honest, multiplied by the spectre of untouchable corruption. The fate of two law enforcement officers, Lee-Rogers and Kessing, who complained of lax security at Sydney Airport, shows a landscape of fear protects certain corrupt interests in Australia.<sup>151</sup>

### **Homo Corruptus—Rum, ‘Tea Money’ and the Bus<sup>152</sup>**

Corruption eats away at the heart of a society, so trust is lost and nothing works as it should (institutions, the law, the free market or employment), but it proves difficult to define.<sup>153</sup> Sir Alistair Blair-Kerr, Royal Commissioner investigating corruption, or ‘tea money’, in the former Royal Hong Kong Police, described corruption ‘like a bus: you got on the bus or you got off the bus and left, or you ran alongside the bus, or you stood in front of it and got run down.’<sup>154</sup> A.J. Brown notes different forms of contextual corruption: one around business, finance and the free operation of markets, the other concerning political and bureaucratic corruption.<sup>155</sup> The indications are that in Australia, the two are closely linked. Citing Canadian academic, Yasmin Dawood, journalist Stan Corry points to the abuse of power and inequality inherent in official corruption:

The first way is to say corruption basically takes place when you have a public official who uses public office for private gain ... you think about it as the abuse of power ... Another way to think about corruption though is in the campaign finance

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March 2017.

<sup>150</sup> Transparency International Australia, *Global Corruption Barometer, Results for Australia*, 1 March 2017, Question 7.

<sup>151</sup> Gary Lee-Rogers was an Australian Protective Service Officer found dead in October 2003 after raising security matters at Sydney Airport with his local MP. Alan Kessing was a Customs Officer convicted in May 2007 of leaking two reports critical of security at Sydney Airport.

<sup>152</sup> Kishor Dabke, Letter to the Editor (and another thing), *The Age*, Melbourne, 13 Sep 2011, p. 12. Excerpt: ‘... most probably the missing link between Homo erectus and homo corruptus, the mutant Homo sapiens in politics, business and other niche area.’

<sup>153</sup> A. Quince and K. Phillips, The struggle to define corruption through history, *Rear Vision*, ABC RN, 12 May 2015.

<sup>154</sup> Blair-Kerr, as recalled by, D. Stewart, *Recollections of an Unreasonable Man: From the beat to the bench*, ABC Books, Sydney, 2007, pp. 221-222.

<sup>155</sup> See: A. Quince and K. Phillips, Confusing corruption, *Rear Vision*, ABC RN, 10 May 2015.

context. So the worry is that you will have a wealthy group of people who will end up controlling a lot of the public policy in the country. That concern is less about the abuse of power and more about inequality.<sup>156</sup>

Mary Dejevsky's description of a genteel British form of corruption is most relative to the power clique in Australia. As evidenced by the Second Fleet and Rum Corps, there is British precedence for how Australia operates:

Two of the most deep-rooted maladies of British society are freebies among friends and jobs for the boys...In some countries, bribery is so prevalent as to be tantamount to a tax...You might argue that the US system of lobbying is a form of legalised corruption...Generally, these are not ills that afflict the UK...where complacency has meant a blind eye is turned to abuses, and grey zones where transactions take place that are not actually illegal, but which would—and should—embarrass one or both parties if they became public...It left the impression that there was one law, and one set of subsidised living standards, for the well connected, and another for everyone else...Something similar applied when it came to the hiring...could be deduced that there was no open advertisement, no standard recruitment procedure, no formal interview and no public disclosure of the appointment...Advantage compounds advantage. At root, much of the disparities come down to information and the way so much [of the 'information cartel'] is still kept from prying eyes...where access to information depends on one's wealth, power or privilege.'<sup>157</sup>

More formally if less precisely, the NSW ICAC has a comprehensive list of what constitutes corrupt conduct.<sup>158</sup> This was challenged in the High Court, which found that NSW ICAC acted 'outside its powers' in the case of NSW barrister Cunneen over allegations the lawyer perverted the course of justice.<sup>159</sup> The court's use of a narrower definition of corruption cast into doubt, past and projected ICAC cases involving some prominent political figures of both the major parties. This was the catalyst for a right-wing counter-attack defending Liberal Party politician Arthur Sinodinos and citing the targeting of Cunneen, though other opinion is that 'Telephone intercepts show there was a strong ground to take the investigation into

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<sup>156</sup> S. Corry, paper, The struggle to define corruption through history, in A. Quince and K. Phillips, The struggle to define corruption through history, 12 May 2015.

<sup>157</sup> M. Dejevsky, So you thought Britain wasn't corrupt? *The Independent*, UK, 22 Jul 2011.

<sup>158</sup> NSW Independent Commission Against Corruption, *What is corrupt conduct?* retrieved 8 November 2015.

<sup>159</sup> See: M. Whitbourn, High Court rejects ICAC's bid to investigate Crown prosecutor Margaret Cunneen, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 2015.

Cunneen further.<sup>160</sup>

The US General Accounting Office cited the Knapp Commission into the Serpico case to report on the recurring nature of police corruption and the consequent need for investigation every 20 years or so. Knapp decried the past perception of ‘a few dishonest individuals, commonly referred to as “rotten apples”, in an otherwise honest department’ and noted the reality of police corruption in the 1970s and 1980s as ‘systemic’ rather than ‘individual behaviour’. Knapp also framed the now standard description of corrupt officials as

“meat eaters” (“aggressively seeking out situations they can exploit for financial gain, including gambling, narcotics, and other serious offenses which can yield payments of thousands of dollars”) or “grass eaters” ([accepting and soliciting gratuitous payments up to twenty dollars but] who do not aggressively pursue corruption payments).<sup>161</sup>

Knapp concluded that while ‘the meat-eaters receive the large payoffs and the newspaper coverage, the grass-eaters are the heart of the problem because their greater numbers make corruption respectable.’<sup>162</sup>

### **Incidence and Enforcement**

Corruption’s underestimated presence in Australia is notable for its commonplace audacity. Thus the average citizen might read that the roll of NSW energy ministers resembles ‘an ICAC subpoena list’<sup>163</sup> or that a process for awarding infrastructure projects was ‘corrupted’<sup>164</sup> all under the misapprehension that Australia’s protections for public service lantern-bearers are among the best in the Western world.<sup>165</sup>

From its beginning in 1995, Transparency International’s *Corruption Perception*

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<sup>160</sup> R. Ackland, Truth or bust, Gadfly, *The Saturday Paper*, 20 February 2016. Also see: M. Sercombe, The truth about ICAC’s corruption rulings, *The Saturday Paper*, 3-9 September 2016.

<sup>161</sup> United States General Accounting Office, Report to the Honorable Charles B. Rangel, House of Representatives, *Law Enforcement: Report on drug-related police corruption*, Washington, 28 May 1998, p. 6.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid.

<sup>163</sup> J. Hill, Power Corrupts, *The Monthly*, 7 May 2014.

<sup>164</sup> Davidson, K., It is written: borrow and ye shall prosper, *The Age*, 21 May 09, p. 15.

<sup>165</sup> The ALP’s Sam Dastyari, cited in, A. Ferguson, Pay whistle-blowers: ASIC, *The Age*, 7 September 2015, pp. 1, 4.

*Index* (CPI) often listed Australia among the ten least-corrupt states.<sup>166</sup> In 2014, Australia's position was reduced to 11<sup>th</sup> and in 2016 fell to 13<sup>th</sup>. Transparency International's list of Australian sponsors is interesting in itself; some—not all—firms noted for corrupt employees, price gouging, jobs for the boys, paying-off a judge, environmental destruction and using state intelligence services to support corporate interests and harassing the lantern-bearers.<sup>167</sup> Adam Graycars, critically, notes the secrecy in which corruption occurs, and that when revealed 'does not reflect the full extent.'<sup>168</sup> Others are less sanguine. *Independent Australia* highlights Transparency International's assessment of Australia as one of the 'big five decliners', and sketches how the nation's ranking in the CPI has declined under LNP governments; first under Howard, then Abbott and Turnbull.<sup>169</sup> Lisa Marriot, using ABS data, supports this in showing the rise and decline of convictions for deceptive business and government transactions.<sup>170</sup> Academics Frijters and Foster place Australia's politico-corporate patronage 'potentially on a par with Colombia', the worst in the world.<sup>171</sup>

The years 2014-2015 saw the NSW ICAC findings involving Eddie Obeid and implicating politicians from major parties; Choppergate on MPs expenses and the Heydon Royal Commission implicating union and business figures in corruption. When the NSW ICAC handed down its 2014 findings surrounding Obeid, politicians from both major parties denied the need for a Federal ICAC, saying the present arrangements were enough.<sup>172</sup> There had been previous instances of public unease, spurred by Tony Fitzgerald's 2009 comments about corruption raising its head again, leading to public comment and Senator Bob Brown's calling on 4 August 2009, for a 'national integrity agency'.<sup>173</sup> This surge of public awareness was brought to an abrupt halt by well-publicised counter-terrorist raids in Melbourne on 4<sup>th</sup> August

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<sup>166</sup> Transparency International, Corruption Perception Index 2015.

<sup>167</sup> Transparency International Australia, *Who Supports Us*.

<sup>168</sup> A. Graycars, Australia less corrupt than most, but slipping, *The Age*, 29 January 2016, p. 19.

<sup>169</sup> A. Austin, Corruption under Turnbull: an international embarrassment, *Independent Australia*, 1 February 2016.

<sup>170</sup> L. Marriot, *Are Australia and New Zealand corrupt?* Australian New Zealand Chartered Accountants, August 2015, p. 153.

<sup>171</sup> P. Frijters and G. Foster, Battlers and plutocrats: How political connections reward Australia's super-rich, *The Drum*, 26 August 2015.

<sup>172</sup> T. Jones, (compare) Class, Cooling and Corruption, *Q & A*, ABC TV1, 18 August, 2014.

<sup>173</sup> See: P. McCutcheon, Queensland returning to dark corrupt past, *7.30 Report*, ABC TV, 29 July 2009. Also see: B. Brown, interviewed by F. Kelly, (pres), Greens push for a corruption watchdog, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 4 August 2009.

2009, with some 400 Federal and Victoria police deployed. Commentary from the government and in the mainstream media immediately flicked from the everyday reality of corruption back to the spectre of terrorism. The same coincidental pattern was repeated with the joint Fairfax/*Four Corners* expose on Chinese political donations in June 2017 and Prime Minister Turnbull's comments the following day about the Brighton siege.<sup>174</sup>

Although denied and not as obvious as in some other countries, corruption is part and parcel of mainstream Australian life. The OECD classified Australia 'as having "little or no enforcement", along with such countries as Mexico and Turkey'.<sup>175</sup> It is hardly a compliment, especially as Australian police, with their internal-security armoured vehicles, dark fatigues, black body armour and assault weapons, heads obscured by *faux stahlhelm* and facemasks, look more like Mexican police than previous generations of Australians were used to.<sup>176</sup> Having initiated the use of face-concealing masks, police condemned the practice by demonstrators as 'inappropriate and often cowardly', advocating banning demonstrators from using them.<sup>177</sup> By 2014, the OECD Report on member states measuring illicit financial flows showed low Australian scores for: a) customer due diligence and record keeping, b) 'politically exposed persons', c) no individuals and legal persons sanctioned or acquitted related to foreign bribery, 1999—2012, and d) while one of only four states to return stolen money, Australia returned three percent compared to one percent for the UK and 44 percent for the US.<sup>178</sup>

### Political Donations and Rewards

Money is important to many politicians; C. Wright Mills, writing of America's power elite noted, 'their very standards are pecuniary.'<sup>179</sup> Political donations are constantly a vexed issue. The cost of attending political fundraising functions is well publicised in the media and at thousands of dollars a ticket, these events are beyond

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<sup>174</sup> See Chap Three, fn 136-138.

<sup>175</sup> J. Kirkby, Australia is sliding down the international corruption ladder, *SMH*, 25 April 2010.

<sup>176</sup> See photographs accompanying article, Bucci, N., Full force of the law, *The Age*, 9 May 15, p. 1.

<sup>177</sup> ABC News, Coburg rallies: Seven arrested as police separate anti-racism, anti-immigration protesters, ABC TV, Melbourne, 28 May 2016.

<sup>178</sup> OECD, *Illicit Financial Flows from Developing Countries: Measuring OECD Responses*, 2014, pp., 32, 50, 74, 89.

<sup>179</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 346.

the reach of most voters. Politicians and donors are generally secretive about the source and amount of funds. It took the 2015 NSW ICAC to shine some light onto the scandal surrounding donations to both major parties. The question of hidden donations was raised by the Electoral Commission in 2011 with Liberal powerbroker Sinodinos in the eye of the storm.<sup>180</sup>

In 1983 the Hawke government set the amount at which donations to political parties had to be declared at \$1,500. Howard raised this to an annually indexed \$10,000 in 2006. The Rudd and Gillard governments (2007-2013) attempted to reduce the disclosable amount to \$1,500 but were ‘continually frustrated’.<sup>181</sup> By 2016, the non-disclosable amount had risen to almost \$13,000. Of interest in the public figures was \$200,000 from Chinese property developer, Ever Bright, to the Liberal Party.<sup>182</sup> Lindy Edwards highlights the impact of donations: ‘whoever is just about to win power that their income basically doubles, and that is the case whether they are Labor or Liberal’ and further notes the lack of transparency in the source and amount of donations.<sup>183</sup> Edwards has detailed ‘the lack of accountability of political donations, ‘It is not possible to make it more difficult to identify where income comes from, than it is in the Australian system at the moment.’<sup>184</sup>

Political insiders routinely are awarded sinecures.<sup>185</sup> Liberal Party member and conservative Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) policy director, Tim Wilson, was appointed as Human Rights Commissioner, the IPA having previously called for the abolition of the Human Rights Commission.<sup>186</sup> Wilson was selected for a safe Liberal

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<sup>180</sup> S. Anderson and S. Gerathy, Arthur Sinodinos must be stood down over NSW election breaches, Labor says, ABC News, 4 March 2016.

<sup>181</sup> B. Holmes, Electoral and political financing: the Commonwealth regime and its reforms, Research Paper, Parliament of Australia, 30 March 2012.

<sup>182</sup> M. Liddy and S. Elvery, Australian political donations: who gave how much? ABC News, 1 February 2016.

<sup>183</sup> Belinda Edwards cited in, A. Mann, (rep), Political donation laws under the spotlight, Breakfast, ABC RN, 8 June 2017. Also see: B. Edwards, Analysis of donations highlights ‘lack of transparency’, Newsroom, University of New South Wales, 7 February 2017.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> See, R. Cooke, Beyond the gall of duty, The Saturday Paper, 19-25 August 2017, p. 9. Excerpt: ‘And if you [politician] do get fired or canned or voted out, who cares? That Sky spot will still be there, our pension will still be there, Louise Adler will be on hand to offer you a book contract, your ideas will be perpetuated in evermore fact-resistant strains. After all, who will stop you? Who will stop any of it?’

<sup>186</sup> T. Lawrence, Tim Wilson Already Promised Gillian Triggs Job, *Independent Australia*, 25 February 2015.

seat before the 2016 election. Scott Morrison's 'reward came after the 2004 federal election when...in a move that reeked of political cronyism, Joe Hockey, then the tourism minister, gave Morrison a \$350,000 a year post [at Tourism Australia].'<sup>187</sup> After leaving formal politics, Hockey in turn received a post-ministerial appointment as Ambassador to Washington.

Rewards for faithful apparatchiks and useful idiots alike include a 'share in the "loot"'<sup>188</sup>: door-opening honours and awards, seats on corporate boards, 'plum postings', chancellorships and lucrative speaking engagements. The rewards make the occasional public opprobrium worth the risk. Conversely, even perceived disloyalty incurs banishment, or worse.

### **Gordian Knots**

John Pilger in *A Secret Country* and Paul Sheehan in *Among the Barbarians* articulate how the 'mates' system worked, particularly under the Hawke-Keating interregnum; and how political patronage of the 'bonanza class' lasted until their excesses provoked too much public criticism. This led to one entrepreneur, America's Cup winner Alan Bond, being jailed for a time, and a landslide election loss to Howard in 1996.

A number of Liberal Party insiders—Bruce Baird, Max Moore-Wilton, John Fahey and Stan Howard (the then prime minister's brother)—were named in the NSW Parliament in connection with Sydney's M2 Motorway scandal, in which 'financiers of the Macquarie Bank had devised a plan to hide the inevitable losses'.<sup>189</sup> Macquarie Bank, the 'millionaire factory', was associated with a sprinkling of Australian insiders, again including Max Moore-Wilton and Stan Howard.<sup>190</sup> Julian Fitzgerald notes Macquarie Bank owned 'a toll road that [Bob] Carr planned during his premiership and now he is one of its advisors.'<sup>191</sup> At about the same time, *The Business Review Weekly* reportedly disclosed a Stan Howard associated subsidiary,

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<sup>187</sup> N. Bryant, So Who the Bloody Hell Are You? *The Monthly*, Issue 75, February 2012, p. 32.

<sup>188</sup> L. Weiss, E. Thurbon and J. Matthews, *National Insecurity: The Howard Government's Betrayal of Australia*, Allan and Unwin, 2007, pp. 236-237.

<sup>189</sup> Hon I. Cohen, *M2 Motorway*, NSW Legislative Council, Hansard, 22 September 1998.

<sup>190</sup> Media Release, *Macquarie Bank a gone bunny?* Citizens Electoral Lobby, 4 April 2008.

<sup>191</sup> J. Fitzgerald, *Lobbying in Australia*, Rosenberg, Dural, 2006, p. 42. Also see: T. Fullerton, (rep), *Wheeling and Dealing*, Four Corners, ABC TV, 20 February 2006, <http://www.abc.net.au/4corners/content/2006/s1574346.htm>

under Finance Minister John Fahey's 'initiative' that had its US parent, CSC Group, win a \$160 million contract for information services to the Australian Government, including 'management of the national tally room's voice and data communications on election night'.<sup>192</sup> Prime Minister 'Honest John',<sup>193</sup> Howard featured in the government 'favouritism if not corruption' bailout of the (Stan Howard chaired) National Textiles workers' entitlements in 2000.<sup>194</sup> Stan Howard claimed no wrongdoing and emphasised his own ability to avoid the trap of conflicts of interest.<sup>195</sup> Contracts crossed the Pacific both ways: the Bush 43 Administration in 2003 reportedly finalised 'a \$140 million loan to Macquarie for the [US expressway] project'.<sup>196</sup>

Some of the same names come up in regard to Sydney Airport, which was privatised and leased in 2002 to Sydney Airport Corporation Limited (SACL), the majority of which is owned by Macquarie Bank. The first CEO of the corporation was Max Moore-Wilton, recently retired as Secretary of Howard's Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet (PM&C). With the M2 in trouble, Sydney's airport was soon to come to public notice. In 2002 Gary Lee-Rogers, of the Australian Protective Service, who complained to the Ombudsman about security at Sydney Airport, and to Whistleblowers Australia of fearing for his life,

met the federal MP for Eden-Monaro, Gary Nairn, who contacted the then-Attorney-General, Daryl Williams. But Mr Lee-Rogers was found dead in his Queanbeyan apartment before Mr Williams could reply.<sup>197</sup>

Lee-Rogers' concerns centred on drug trafficking, protected by the 'old Commonwealth Police Network' in a scandal that would 'call the Prime Minister and other high profile people to answer.'<sup>198</sup> Another witness is cited as pointing to the

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<sup>192</sup> BRW is cited in (blog), John Howard and Family Values, Archies Archive, *The Curmudgeon Magazine*, 24 March 2012.

<sup>193</sup> However the nickname originated, it became an albatross. See, *Crikey*, Politics, 'Honest John—a history', *Crikey*, 20 August 2004.

<sup>194</sup> SMH Business News, *Stitching up a deal*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 July 2004; and A. Ramsay, *Matter of Opinion*, pp. 151-154.

<sup>195</sup> *Curmudgeon*, op cit.

<sup>196</sup> B. Fischer, *Corporate Expressways, Brought to You by Macquarie and Transurban*, *PRWatch*, 12 November 2016.

<sup>197</sup> J. Garnaut, *Whistleblower's death was murder, court told*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 2014.

<sup>198</sup> Gary Lee-Rogers cited in, *The Corruption on Australia's Airports Part Two: Drug smugglers working with baggage handlers*, 10 March 2012.

involvement of corrupt police in drug smuggling through airports.<sup>199</sup> Despite assertions of organised crime and drug smugglers threatening Lee-Rogers—a ‘bloodied pillow’, ‘blood-stained knife’, allegations of ‘murder’ and ‘intimidation’, ‘suspects whose names were suppressed by order of the coroner’—the coroner, while criticising police examination of the crime scene as ‘incompetent’, ‘could not determine the exact cause of death’ but ruled out ‘murder or suicide’ to conclude Lee-Rogers died of ‘natural causes.’<sup>200</sup>

Poor security, organised crime and drug smuggling remained on the public perception of SACL with the arrests of Schapelle Corby in Bali in October 2004 and the Bali Nine in April 2005. Customs Officer, Allan Kessing, was the author of two reports on poor security at Sydney Airport that were leaked to the media after Corby’s arrest. Kessing was charged and convicted in 2007 of the unauthorised disclosure, the case attracting considerable coverage in the mainstream media. In 2005, Canberra, prompted by Corby supporters and the Kessing reports, appointed the British security expert Sir John Wheeler to conduct a review of airport security. Wheeler found, among other things, that ‘QANTAS staff at Sydney Airport were also among those implicated in an investigation involving the importation of cocaine by an organised crime syndicate.’<sup>201</sup> The review made three perfunctory mentions of corruption. Among those eventually gaoled for drug trafficking, a former director of Macquarie Bank, Ian Robert Chalmers, had his sentence doubled on appeal.<sup>202</sup>

These intertwined cases present a catalogue of organised crime, official corruption, police incompetence or worse, withholding or obfuscation of evidence, bluster, bullying, and political links. Moreover, they bring into play foreign governments, corporations and media, while exposing the vulnerability of key Australian sectors to organised crime—often a useful conduit for intelligence services. All this is not to intimate that senior figures in the government were involved in organised crime, but were borne along by events, as the closely documented Expendable Project

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<sup>199</sup> Ibid. See also: M. Brown, Coroner regrets links to Corby, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 April 2005.

<sup>200</sup> See: ABC, Coroner rules whistleblower died of natural causes, *ABC News*, 21 April 2005; and J. Garnaut, Whistleblower’s death was murder, court told, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 October 2004.

<sup>201</sup> J. Wheeler, An Independent Review of Airport Security and Policing for the Government of Australia, Australian Government, September 2005, p. 1.

<sup>202</sup> AAP, Banker sentence now 12 years, *The Daily Telegraph*, Sydney, 15 August 2007.

contextualises about the Corby case:

Accordingly, two broad axes of interest emerged within Australia's Howard administration: the Howard/Downer interest, and the Ellison/Keelty interest. The former's prime concern related to the stability of the relationship with Indonesia, whilst that of the latter related to the management and impact of domestic institutional corruption. Weighed against these considerations, was the welfare of a single citizen...political imperatives drove the actions of the government, and subsequently its organs of state...The degree of orchestration of government departments was unprecedented.<sup>203</sup>

The fallout lingers through changes of government. An open letter (supposedly to Tony Abbott) before the executions of Bali Nine drug-smugglers, Chan and Sukumaran, circulated on social media by a prudently anonymous individual, makes similar allegations of corporate political links and cover-ups.<sup>204</sup> To their credit, Tony Abbott and his foreign minister, Julie Bishop, made repeated public pleas for clemency before the executions.

Despite known pitfalls, the mixed business of politics and commerce continues. The Liberal MP Stuart Robert resigned from the front bench in 2016 having been 'caught up in a sleazy donation scandal in which he appears to have lobbied a Chinese government minister as a favour to a Liberal Party donor.'<sup>205</sup>

### **OBSERVATIONS ON THE AUSTRALIAN POLITY**

This chapter has examined Australia as a predatory foreign observer might; noting fault lines in the Australian polity that are deliberately concealed. Foreign actors would see many Australians are informed and engaged; but many of those are individually, politically powerless, or have no access to desirable information. This makes them of little use for foreign purposes.

There is an electorally significant majority who are politically unsophisticated in the way Dunning describes. The level of corruption is underestimated, but is present in certain sectors of society where individuals may have access, motivation and

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<sup>203</sup> Expendable Project, *The Politics*, The Expendable Project, retrieved March 2015.

<sup>204</sup> Anonymous, *Death Penalty Exported*, 16 January 2015.

<sup>205</sup> B. Eltham, Stuart Robert's Own Words Speak Against Him, *New Matilda*, 11 February 2016.

opportunity. This is reinforced by the NSW ICAC investigations surrounding Eddie Obeid and the disappearance overseas of a ‘centrally relevant’ witness in an ensuing ASIC prosecution.<sup>206</sup> The scale of global hidden financial movements is indicated by the scandal surrounding the Panama Papers of Mossack Fonseca, disclosed in 2016 by cooperating journalists responding to a lantern-bearer. The international scandal implicated Australian connections including ‘BHP Billiton, Wilson Security, a major electricity company—and 800 individuals.’<sup>207</sup>

Secret lobbying is likely to be effective as the power clique protects itself. In those quarters there is little likelihood of any thorough investigation. Collective amnesia will ensure knowledge of spill-overs into the public domain is soon forgotten. In this milieu where corporate, political and foreign affairs become entwined, foreign actors will set their sights on an Australian target set: those able to influence, legislate, make palatable and enforce or ignore policy. The questions that arise include: how does this group operate, how is it personally or collectively vulnerable and how does it protect itself?

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<sup>206</sup> M. Whitbourn, Witness disappears in cartel conduct case against Obeids and Sydney businessmen, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 April 2016.

<sup>207</sup> M. Wilkinson and A. Russell, The Panama Papers—Secrets of the Super Rich, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, 4 April 2016.

## CHAPTER THREE: THE IMPOSSIBLE TRIDENT

### ABOUT POWER

To achieve their strategic or commercial aims, foreign agencies must bring influence to bear upon or through the Australian power clique, in order to influence and enforce policy. Thus, understanding the structure and functions of Australia power clique in its overt, deep and shadow forms is essential, not only in regard to IR, but also relative to many of the domestic policy debates currently taking place in Australia.

The structure of Australia's power clique may be likened to the optical illusion of an *impossible trident* with four elements: a base (with handle) and three tines or prongs. Depending on the situation, the base could be the reach of corporations (including the mainstream media), with the three tines comprising political apparatus, coercive bureaucracy and the courts. The analogy highlights the illusory form and shifting nature of the power clique.

After selecting this as a descriptive metaphor, further research revealed that the US academic, Lance de Haven-Smith, in describing state crimes against democracy, similarly refers to: 'iron triangle', 'whirlpools', 'subsystems' and 'subgovernments' to describe the nature of 'political-economic conglomerates'.<sup>1</sup> These sorts of analogies are striking, for they point to the camouflaged, flexible nature of power that makes investigation of any deep state problematical. The exact relationships operate in flux, depending on the situation, personalities and opportunism. Nor are they particularly harmonious, as the poisonous relationships between Rudd and Gillard of the ALP, or Abbott and Turnbull of the LNC illustrate. The concepts of deep state (declared in the Australian context by Kim Beazley) and the shadow government broached by Richard Ackland complicate the picture.

This power structure has great taxpayer-funded coercive power which is brought to bear on the individual, through myriad interconnected actors and agencies, in a form of pass-the-parcel which mystifies all but the most involved individuals: perpetrators

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<sup>1</sup> L. de Haven-Smith, Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government, *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, p. 809 of pp. 795–825.

and victims. It is this very opaque denseness, often played out over years, that confounds public interest and thus democracy.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the structure and networks of the Australian target set that foreign actors will directly or indirectly attempt to identify and exploit in order to achieve their own aims. The major target set to be recruited as *agents of influence* comprises those individuals or groups that have the authority to propose, pass and enforce legislation, primarily: politicians, bureaucracy and courts. Other actors include the media, law enforcement agencies, lobbyists and others. Previous sections of this dissertation relating to state-corporate links and deep politics are pertinent to this analysis. At the centre of this analysis are the structures and functions by which the power clique protects itself and its interests.

## THE NATURE OF POWER

### Theories of Power

A central actor in IR is the sovereign state, with one of its distinguishing features supposedly being monopoly on coercive institutions that provide a formal power structure. Structuralism approaches human society as components of a larger, encompassing, overarching system characterised by history's relation to conscious thought and anthropology's study of unconscious reactions.<sup>2</sup> Structural models may be conscious or unconscious without the characteristic 'affecting its nature.'<sup>3</sup> Functionalism engages the notion of common interests of states and other actors, including trans-national corporations—an approach that considers individual self-interest. Davis and Moore considered the theory of stratification, beginning with the 'proposition that no society is "classless," or unstratified'; a 'functioning mechanism [by which] a society must somehow distribute its members in social position'.<sup>4</sup> Dating from 1945—before the advent of the one percent and automation—their theory optimistically assumes: 'Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are

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<sup>2</sup> C. Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, Penguin, 1963, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 281.

<sup>4</sup> K. Davis and W.E. Moore, Some Principles of Stratification, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1944 p. 242 of 241-249, Annual Meeting Papers (Apr., 1945), pp. 242-249. Published by: American Sociological Association Stable.

conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons.’<sup>5</sup> While perhaps workable in an ideal moral meritocracy, stratification runs the risk of some animals believing themselves more equal than others.

Michel Foucault, in an essay on power, notes its relation to a subject and the centrality of unbending action:

... a relationship of violence acts upon a body or upon things; it forces, it bends, it breaks on the wheel, it destroys, or it closes the door on all possibilities. Its opposite pole can only be passivity, and if it comes up against any resistance, it has no other option but to try to minimize it.<sup>6</sup>

Power has formal and informal structures operating in both conscious and unconscious norms. It is in the latter that the reach and influence of the mainstream media, with its interpretations and projections of history and current events, exerts such influence. Theories of criminal *deep events* and *state crimes against democracy* vastly complicate conventional ideas of power relationships within and between states.

### **The Corrupting Influence of Power**

Lord Acton wrote: ‘Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men.’ Henry Adams observed the consequences of power and profile as ‘the aggravation of self, a sort of tumour that ends by killing the victim’s sympathies’ and stoking ‘the violence of egotism’.<sup>7</sup> Owen and Dickenson describe the corrosive effect of ‘hubris syndrome’, the ‘disorder of the possession of power’ held over years with little constraint<sup>8</sup>: the possessed acting as though

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<sup>5</sup> Davis and Moore, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup> M. Foucault, *The Subject and Power*, in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983. pp. 208-226.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, Chapter X: Political Morality, originally published 2005. This version: Project Gutenberg, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> D. Owen and J. Davidson, Hubris syndrome: An acquired personality disorder? A study of US Presidents and UK Prime Ministers over the last 100 years, *Brain*, Vol 132 No 5, 12 February 2009, pp. 1396-1406. The researchers describe it as ‘pathological personality change’ revealed by: ‘self-glorification’; acting for ‘personal image’; ‘disproportionate concern for image and presentation’; ‘messianic zeal’ and exalted (lofty) speech; ‘conflates self with nation or organization’; excessive self-confidence; speaks as ‘the royal we’; manifest ‘contempt for others; accountability only to ‘higher court’ (God or history); ‘unshakable belief’ in eventual vindication; ‘loses contact with reality’; ‘recklessness’ and impulse; subordinates practicality to ‘moral rectitude’ (righteousness);

suffering ‘a traumatic brain injury’.<sup>9</sup>

In their study of power and corruption, Bendahan *et al*, while acknowledging the limitations of their experiments, generally support Acton’s finding that ‘Corruption depends on power. However, corruption depends on the person too... organizations should limit how much leaders can drink from the seductive chalice of power.’<sup>10</sup> Testament to the nature of power is Bill Clinton’s oft-quoted remark that ‘Washington’s narcotic of choice is power. It dulls the senses and clouds the judgment.’ It exemplifies political behaviour extending back to Diocletian (reigned Rome 284-305 CE) and beyond:

As long as the Roman consuls were the first magistrates of a free state, they derived their power from the choice of the people. As long as the emperors condescended to disguise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls were still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of the senate. From the reign of Diocletian, even these vestiges of liberty were abolished...<sup>11</sup>

Thus actual democracy is more than the conduct of apparently open elections. Some indicators of the power-obsessed mind-set considered by Bendahan *et al* include: a) it ‘appears that those who have power rationalize and legitimize its discretionary use’; b) they ‘may be blinded to social norms’, c) ‘high testosterone individuals will be “tuned-off” from feeling the emotional impact their decisions will have on others and will focus on maximizing their payoffs’ and d) ‘it is also equally possible that those who are corrupt “at heart” may seek power.’<sup>12</sup>

In their discussion of theories about the influence of wealth, Gilens and Page, foreshadowing Oxam’s 2015 report on wealth, note the confluence of ‘the wealthiest Americans ... [and] actors who may not be highly paid, such as public officials and political party activists.’<sup>13</sup> Thus very high salaries may not be the only distinguishing feature of this latter-day Praetorian Guard who depend on the power clique: public

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‘incompetence’ and ‘disregard’ for detail.

<sup>9</sup> J. Useem, Power Causes Brain Damage, *The Atlantic*, Jul/Aug 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Bendahan, S., Zehnder, C., Pralong, F. P., & Antonakis, J., Leader corruption depends on power and testosterone. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 26, April 2015, pp. 101-122.

<sup>11</sup> E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol 2, p. 105.

<sup>12</sup> Benahan et al., op. cit., pp. 101-122.

<sup>13</sup> M. Gilens and B. Page, Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens, *Perspectives on Politics*, American Political Science Association, 2014, pp. 574.

officials, media figures, law enforcement and defence personnel, lower management, lobbyists and such.

The hardening of officials in such a system is highlighted by lawyer John Lawrence over the July 2016 Four Corners' *Australia's Shame* expose of mistreatment of children in the Northern Territory juvenile justice system. Describing the attitude of the minister, gaolers, bureaucrats and others in an 'age of acquiescence' Lawrence refers to the Nuremberg trials of jurists and lawyers who 'adapted themselves to the situation'.<sup>14</sup>

### **Formal Power in Australia**

Formal Commonwealth administration in Australia is based on the notion of the separation of powers, between the Parliament, Executive and Judiciary.<sup>15</sup> Within them there are important overlaps. The Governor General is appointed on the advice of the Executive, as are judges to the High Court and other federal courts. One judge articulated his view of the role of the judiciary, where 'matters that may reflect adversely on the quality of the administration of justice are matters of proper public debate on which the community is entitled to be fully informed ...'.<sup>16</sup> Beneath the Executive are state, territory and local governments and a range of federal and state instrumentalities, such as courts, the public service, defence and intelligence departments, along with various police forces.

The central pillar of mainstream ideology is that these institutions are unassailably effective and honest. As then Governor General, Major General Jeffery stated in his 2004 Australia Day address, 'Our institutions are strong—with checks and balances to keep them that way.'<sup>17</sup> Jeffery made this statement when Australia was touched by intelligence scandals and cover-ups, the 'truth-overboard' and Tampa affairs, the

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<sup>14</sup> '...age of acquiescence where people who probably should have known better have chosen to, instead of oppose things which they know are wrong, have acquiesced and discussed and ameliorated rather than oppose ...' John Lawrence, SC, interviewed in M. Freri (prod), F. Kelly (pres), 'How did you go along with that?': Youth Detention Royal Commission, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 28 July 2017.

<sup>15</sup> Parliamentary Education Office, *Separation of Powers: Parliament, Executive and Judiciary*, Australian Parliament House, Canberra.

<sup>16</sup> Justice Besanko cited in, R.N. Moles, *Networked Knowledge—Law Reports*, Peek v Channel Seven Adelaide Pty Ltd [2006], *Networked Knowledge—Law Reports*.

<sup>17</sup> M. Jeffery, His Excellency Major General Michael Jeffery AC CVO MC, Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, On the Occasion of, *Australia Day Address 2004*, Broadcast on ABC Television, 26 January 2004.

invasion of Iraq based on mistruths and the AWB bribery scandal among others. In a form of Australian exceptionalism, Jeffery's sentiment is a recurring theme from within the power clique that continually denies the need for a Federal ICAC, by insisting the existing institutions are adequate.

### **The Australian Power List**

From Diocletian to the colonial boys, the drive to consolidate power and wealth remains an intractable condition. In the mid-1850s, the conservative William Wentworth proposed a system of hereditary peerage for the NSW upper house where the drafters had 'no wish to sow the seeds of a future democracy.'<sup>18</sup> The idea was ridiculed in August 1853 by the young Daniel Deniehy, in his 'bunyip aristocracy' speech. Australians seemed, and seem, largely confident they had avoided the "mushroom order of nobility" presented by the Australian pretenders to grandeur.'<sup>19</sup>

*The Australian Financial Review* annually details Australia's powerful people.<sup>20</sup> Defence and Security chiefs head the *Covert Power* list. American citizen Rupert Murdoch is in second place, with a range of politicians, public servants, business figures and trade unions included. A testament to political touting of ANZAC Day, khaki elections and the 'war on terror', military figures were included in the *Cultural Power* list, which comprised among others Justice Peter McClellan (Royal Commissioner into child abuse). Other groups were included here; some have negative connotations that can be exploited in propaganda terms, such as ISIS and Chinese property investors. The *Overt Power* list is dominated by politicians. Malcolm Turnbull is first, evidently a late change with Tony Abbott and Peta Credlin demoted; testament to the fickleness of political fidelity.

One of the panel determining these lists is Liberal Party insider Arthur Sinodinos<sup>21</sup>, John Howard's Chief of Staff in 2004, when public servants Peter Shergold at PM&C and 'Ric' Smith of Defence coordinated Howard's smothering response<sup>22</sup> to

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<sup>18</sup> NSW Parliament, Bunyip aristocracy story.

<sup>19</sup> J. Warden, J., *A Bunyip Democracy: The Australian Parliament and Australian Political Identity*, Political Studies Monologue No 2, Parliamentary Research Office, Australian Parliament, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1995.

<sup>20</sup> AFR, Power List 2015, *Australian Financial Review*, 24 September 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Video: Who chooses the AFR Magazine's Power list?

<sup>22</sup> Mr Gray—By about the Friday [16 Apr 04], did the Secretary, Mr Smith, tell you of a conversation

an intelligence scandal exposed in *The Bulletin* after years of government cover-up.<sup>23</sup> Sinodinos ‘saw the writing on the wall’ and left Howard’s staff for a corporate career shortly before the 2007 election that swept the LNC from office.<sup>24</sup> Sinodinos was awarded an Order of Australia the following year. Appointed deputy chairman of Australian Water Holdings (AWH), he was ‘paid \$200,000 plus bonuses for less than two weeks work each year, but had the PPP [public-private partnership with NSW government<sup>25</sup>] succeeded, Sinodinos stood to make as much as \$20 million.’<sup>26</sup> On 13 October 2011 Sinodinos occupied a Senate seat, vice Helen Coonan who resigned in August 2011 and who days later assumed an executive appointment with Packer’s Crown Casino.<sup>27</sup> She also serves on the advisory board of J.P Morgan. Sinodinos’ appointment to the Senate was by the NSW LNC of Mike Baird, whose predecessor was forced to resign during the NSW ICAC corruption inquiry swirling around Obeid.<sup>28</sup> Sinodinos was Assistant Treasurer under Joe Hockey<sup>29</sup> before attending ICAC in 2014 as a witness, where he ‘showed little of the nous that has made him a formidable political figure’<sup>30</sup> and ‘could have set an ICAC record for not remembering ... there were 69 occasions when he did not remember.’<sup>31</sup> While ‘never accused of corruption’<sup>32</sup>, Sinodinos among other directors of AWH was pursued legally by ‘disgruntled shareholders’. However the judge found

the applicants filed a notice of discontinuance, discontinuing the proceeding against Senator Sinodinos, with no order as to costs. In these circumstances, it is

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that he’d had with Dr Peter Shergar [sic Shergold]? Lewincamp—Yes, he did. He phoned me to indicate that he had spoken to Dr Shergar. As you can imagine, during those days there was a lot of discussion across Government and there was a lot of briefing and going on not just of the Minister for Defence, but also the Prime Minister.’ LvACP, ACT Supreme Court, 30 August 2007, p. 354 et seq.

<sup>23</sup> J. Lyons, Rotten to the Corps, *The Bulletin*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 30-36 [Rotten]. P. Daley, Breach of Trust, *The Bulletin*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 36-37. And magazine insert: *The Toohey Inquiry—The Restricted Report*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 1-36. Also: See Editorial.

<sup>24</sup> M. Ellenbogen, Howard’s Painful Finale, *Atlantic Eye, Global Panel*, 26 Nov 2007.

<sup>25</sup> See: SMH, Australian Water Holdings: who’s who, *Sydney Now* [section], *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 March 2014.

<sup>26</sup> K. McClymont and L. Besser, *He Who Must Be Obeid*, Vintage, Sydney, 2014, p. 373.

<sup>27</sup> B. Jabour, The rise and rise of Barangaroo: how a monster development on Sydney Harbour just kept getting bigger, *The Guardian*, 30 September 2015.

<sup>28</sup> K. McClymont, Barry O’Farrell resigns after being caught out over bottle of wine, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 April 2014.

<sup>29</sup> J. Hockey, *The End of the Age of Entitlement*, Speech to the Institute of Economic Affairs, London, 17 April 2012.

<sup>30</sup> McClymont and Besser, op cit., p. 374. Also see: Wixxyleaks, *Dumb—Arthur Sinodinos and the ICAC dumb defence*, 16 September 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Senator Rhiannon, (NSW), Australian Senate, Hansard, Tuesday, 23 September 2014, Page: 6899.

<sup>32</sup> McClymont and Besser, op. cit., p. 373.

unnecessary to refer to the allegations made against the Senator.<sup>33</sup>

Subsequently, ‘Sinodinos notified the judge he was no longer part of the court case ... One of the plaintiffs in the case confirmed to Fairfax Media that a confidential settlement had been reached with Senator Sinodinos.’<sup>34</sup>

A factor in the shareholders’ legal action was the companies bringing the case “‘may not be able to pay the respondents’ costs should their claims fail” and it was appropriate for them to provide security.’<sup>35</sup> Reported as a significant figure in the demise of Prime Minister Abbott, Sinodinos was appointed Cabinet Secretary by Malcolm Turnbull on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2015.<sup>36</sup> Sinodinos has international—particularly US<sup>37</sup>—contacts through Global Panel, ‘a respected NGO [of political, academic and business fellow travelers] that works behind the scenes in crisis areas around the world.’<sup>38</sup> Since his re-emergence in formal political life, Sinodinos has several times mentioned the need to remedy the loss of trust in politics.<sup>39</sup>

Commenting on Howard’s 2003 barbeque to welcome visiting US President George W. Bush, Margo Kingston lists the invited attendees as: ‘brutally exclusionary. Big business, close friends, big media personalities and lots of sports stars to help his image. No artists. Overwhelmingly male.’<sup>40</sup> There were familiar names: Varghese, Sinodinos, Shergold, Cosgrove, Leibler, Thawley. Steve Irwin, the ‘crocodile man’, was present. Kylie Russell, the first widow of Howard’s Afghan War, was snubbed—not informed of the US wreath-laying ceremony at the War Memorial.<sup>41</sup>

A hallmark of the power clique is their invulnerability to real consequences. Occasionally a politician or senior civil or military bureaucrat will go through the charade of contrition. I ‘accept responsibility’ is sometimes heard, but is

<sup>33</sup> Justice Katzmann, Order, *TSDack Pty Limited v Australian Water Holdings Pty Limited* [2015] FCA 931, NSD 105 of 2014, Federal Court of Australia, 5 August 2015.

<sup>34</sup> K. McClymont, Liberal Party backers were approached to buy Senator Arthur Sinodinos a home, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 March 2016.

<sup>35</sup> M. Whitbourn, Case dropped against Arthur Sinodinos over Australian Water Holdings, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 August 2015. For a separate case dropped for proof of costs, see: B. Hall, Mosque fight an ‘attack on freedom’, *The Age*, 7 November 2015, p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> P. Bongiorno, More cracks in the cabinet, *The Saturday Paper*, No 76, 5-11 September 2015, p. 15.

<sup>37</sup> M. Ellenbogen, Australian Milestones, *Atlantic Eye*, Global Panel, 26 Sep 2008.

<sup>38</sup> *Arthur Sinodinos*, Wikipedia, 19 Oct 15.

<sup>39</sup> Sinodinos, Government must regain public’s trust: Sinodinos, *Skynews.com*, 1 November 2015.

<sup>40</sup> M. Kingston, Howard’s elite—the official list, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 2003. [Elite]

<sup>41</sup> M. Kingston, Snub for war widow, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 October 2003. [Snub]

meaningless. Usually they do not resign or be dismissed; thus their salary, superannuation and status among peers are safe. An example of the emptiness of ‘accepting responsibility’ and the visceral aversion to real consequences was John Howard’s appearance on the ABC’s *Q&A*:

Pete Gray: You just said a moment ago that you defend our participation and you leading our country into a war that most Australian’s oppose. How do you defend it?

John Howard: Well, I accept responsibility.

Pete Gray: You accept responsibility?

John Howard: I accept responsibility.

Pete Gray: Would you go to the International Criminal Court ...

John Howard: No, well, hang on.

Peter Gray: ... and accept responsibility.

John Howard: Well, hang on.

Tony Jones: All right. All right.

John Howard: Let’s calm down.<sup>42</sup>

Howard blustered his way past the release of the Chilcot Report into the Iraq War and continues to be feted in the Australian mainstream media as an elder statesman.

### **Backstage—the puppeteers**

The Walkley winning journalist Michael West warns private power in Australia is based around ‘oligopolies’ comprising ‘networks to supermarkets, newspapers, packaging giants, banks and oil and gas majors’.<sup>43</sup> He sees this private power as ‘more critical to the future of Australians’ than the policy gyrations of the major political parties. Private power, ‘largely wielded by the big four global accounting firms’, directs governments on taxation and coach corporations on its avoidance.’<sup>44</sup> These linkages provide a firm base for likeminded worldviews, networking and opportunism. Such power can purchase influence. The Minerals Council of Australia

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<sup>42</sup> T. Jones, (compare), *The Odd Angry Shoe: John Howard on Q and A, Q&A*, ABC TV, 25 October 2010.

<sup>43</sup> M. West, *Conflict of Influence, The Saturday Paper*, 2-8 July 2016, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. The big four are: PwC, KPMG, Deloitte and Ernst & Young.

mustered \$35 million to oppose Labor's carbon tax.<sup>45</sup>

For influencing the Australian people, 'think tanks', some with innocuous names, are an exchange point for insider jobs and funding along with articulating and promoting partisan political views. For example Elizabeth Farrelly describes the Melbourne-based Liberal Party-linked Institute of Public Affairs, (IPA) and its corporate and political affiliates, as being 'about who and what is driving the national political agenda.'<sup>46</sup> Glenn Murray has detailed the political links, agenda, corporate sponsors and networks surrounding the IPA, 'a lobby group for big business'.<sup>47</sup> John Menadue cites IPA Director, Alan Moran, as stating the IPA had 'about 4,000 funders' in 2010 behind its 'colourful record in fronting for special interests.'<sup>48</sup>

The Sydney Institute's website claims it is 'a privately funded not-for-profit current affairs forum encouraging debate and discussion...genuinely pluralist...'<sup>49</sup> The Liberal Party affiliated director, Gerard Henderson, is reported as tightly guarding its source of funds, though corporate giants QANTAS and Telstra are listed as contributors.<sup>50</sup>

Private power's preference is for closed deals and inviolability to public scrutiny; evidenced by its bitter efforts against the NSW ICAC and opposition to establishment of a federal ICAC. Richard Ackland hints at the money and reputations involved

... when the captains of industry and their cabin boys in parliament call for hearings to be held in private, and for findings to be expunged from the record if charges are not laid, that what they are really hoping for is a Clayton's corruption commission.<sup>51</sup>

American academic Janine Wadel identified a new breed of 'influencers' comprising longstanding networks of 'influential groups that had shaped politics, business, and

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<sup>45</sup> M. West, Conflict of Influence, *The Saturday Paper*, 2-8 July 2016, p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> E. Farrelly, Institute for Public Affairs: the think tank with arms everywhere, *The Age*, 7 April 2016.

<sup>47</sup> G. Murray, Who's REALLY running Australia, 30 May 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Menadue, J., Think tanks, cash for comment and the corruption of public debate, *Pearls and Irritations*, 21 May 2014.

<sup>49</sup> The Sydney Institute, <http://thesydneyinstitute.com.au/>

<sup>50</sup> J. Lynch, Accounts of Sydney Institute offer bonus glimpse into life of Gerard Henderson, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 2014. Sourcewatch lists other major corporate sponsors.

<sup>51</sup> R. Ackland, Cascade falls, *The Saturday Paper*, 30 July—4 August 2016.

society' in the era of neo-liberal globalisation.<sup>52</sup> She calls them '*flexicans*'.<sup>53</sup> They cooperate in mutually supporting clusters, or as interconnected lone wolves, forming 'flex nets [that] operate at one extreme of the continuum in crafting their coincidence of interests.'<sup>54</sup> They 'serve a long-established function of the modern state—negotiating between official and private.'<sup>55</sup> As in the Chapter One discussion of fascism, the strong link between the modern state and corporations emerges. Wadel points to the neocons who drew the US, and by extension Australia, into the 2003 invasion of Iraq to further the security interests of Israel.<sup>56</sup> The networking of flexicans enables them to surpass problems that could be expected to hamper others; Wolfowitz, Feith and Pearle, being investigated for their connections with Israel, did not hamper their lobbying on its behalf.<sup>57</sup> Secretive about their finances, flexicans are discreet and agile enough that only individuals can 'connect the dots'.<sup>58</sup> Therefore flexicans and their ilk are often invulnerable to the very bureaucratic system that they have undermined. Effectively predatory opportunists camouflaged as altruists, they 'test the time-honoured principles of both the canons of accountability of the modern state and the codes of competition of the free market.'<sup>59</sup>

Collins and Reed identified the presence in international business affairs, particularly the energy associated industries, of a 'floating assemblage of semi-stateless, multilingual movers and shakers.'<sup>60</sup> The influence of those types in Australia's political history is underpinned by the demise of the Whitlam government (1972-1975) and the shadowy roles in the process of the Nugan Hand Bank and Pakistani 'carpet bagger' Tirath Khemlani.<sup>61</sup>

Politicians, ex-military personnel and public servants often transfer from public

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<sup>52</sup> Janine Wedel, *Shadow Elite*, Basic Books, 2009, xii.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-192.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> Wadel, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Collins and Reed, *Plunging Point*, p. 162.

<sup>61</sup> Khemlani was involved in the contentious 'loans' affair which destabilised the government. Nugan Hand was a 'bank' linked to the CIA alleged to have provided funds to the LNC opposition during the Whitlam years. See: Pilger, J., *A Secret Country*, Vintage, 1992, Chapter 3; and B. Toohey and W. Pinwell, *Oyster*, William Heinemann, 1989, p. 48. For remaining questions surrounding Nugan Hand, see, Martin McKenzie-Murray, Nugan Hand Bank fugitive found in US, *The Saturday Paper*, 14 November 2015.

service to further careers with private interests. While some can be of questionable ethics, particularly former ministers, many are quite upright. However the trend of government to corporate functions obscures the backstage activity of international relations and domestic politics.

## **POLITICIANS**

### **Dominant Role in IR**

Politicians are the most overt interface between the wider world and a nation's civil society; they are guardians of the loosely defined national or public interest. Therefore politicians are of intense curiosity to foreign interests, as are those who surround them: staffers, lobbyists, commentators, journalists, intelligence types, formal and informal ambassadors, fundamentalists of every ilk, policy and law drafters and special interests.

The salient factor of the last four decades is the dominance of the militarised neo-liberalism embodied in the US. In Australia there are two central themes. First, Australian politicians have largely been faithful to US foreign policy—if not internalising it completely—and they have generally supported the economic doctrine of neo-liberalism.<sup>62</sup> Second, their task in government has largely been to persuade the Australian people to support US foreign policy to the extent of warfare abroad, and accept neo-liberal economic 'shock therapy' at home; governments being the 'central actors' in opening national economies to 'global capitalist forces'.<sup>63</sup>

### **Political Parties**

Australian politics is dominated by the major parties with either the ALP or LNP coalition assuming government in their own right, depending on the number of seats they gain in the House of Representatives. In some circumstances, such as Julia Gillard's minority government, power might be gained with the backing of independents. The major parties are generally formed into the base or *organisational*

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<sup>62</sup> See comment on Hawke and Keating, in, C. Uhlmann, Letter on Powertrip, *The Quarterly Essay*, Iss 39, 2010, Black Inc, p. 80.

<sup>63</sup> P. Gowan, *The Global Gamble*, Verso, London, 1999, p. 194.

*party*, and the *parliamentary party* limited to elected politicians. The ordinary members of main parties are noted in the press as having limited influence on policy or the selection of candidates, in the face of conflicting cliques of powerbrokers. The main function of ordinary members appears to be fundraising—by paying membership fees—and as foot soldiers in electioneering and manning polling booths. The ALP is noted for its historical links to the unions, Kim Beazley (Senior's) remarks about the 'dregs of the middle class' notwithstanding. Another role of the parties is to indoctrinate and elevate the armies of political staffers, many of them ambitious for office.

What is remarkable about the major parties is their limited membership: estimates of 40-50,000 for the Liberals, in the 'tens of thousands' for the Nationals, and 37-40,000 for the ALP.<sup>64</sup> Two interrelated issues immediately arise: the influence such a small number of people have on national policy, and—given the low financial base provided by rank and file—the consequent significance of political money trails necessary to gain power.

In the spring of 2016, a media storm broke around ALP Senator Dastyari's acceptance of a \$1600 gift from a Chinese firm with links to Beijing. This cast a spotlight on the whole matter of 'political donations', with Attorney General George Brandis stretching logic and credulity in trying to draw a distinction between Dastyari's 'personal debt' and supposedly legitimate 'sponsored travel' and 'political donations'—the ultimate self-interest of which evidently eluded the attorney general, if not the Director General of ASIO.<sup>65</sup>

### **Political Character**

Politicians are a diverse association and the good ought not to be drafted in with the bad. Their stocks are low in Australia where they have been likened to bushrangers.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> K. Alexander, The party's over: which clubs have the most members? *Crikey*, 18 July 2013. The Liberals claim 80,000 on their website, <https://www.liberal.org.au/our-structure>, retrieved 9 September 2016.

<sup>65</sup> Senator Brandis, interviewed, F. Kelly, Australian intelligence agencies 'very conscious' of foreign political donations: George Brandis, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, broadcast 0745 2 September 2016.

<sup>66</sup> Bushrangers were an Australian form of 'highwayman' (UK) or 'road agents' (US). P. Conrad, Christ Church College, Oxford, Lingo and Literature, in Mead, P., (ed), *Australian Literary Studies in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Proceedings of the 2000 ASAL conference, Hobart, National Library of Australia, p. 48 of pp. 46-58.

Despite considerable criticism of Australian politicians and political process, directed particularly at the major parties, politicians' commonly expressed self-image reflects a different perception:

... most people go into politics because they believe very, very strongly in trying to build the future of their country, trying to shape the direction of their country in a positive way, making it better than what it was before they went in and I believe that those people who go in do that with the strong view that they've got certain values that they represent and that they have something to contribute.<sup>67</sup>

It is a view shared by Greg Sheridan:

I haven't met an Australian politician who didn't go into the business to try to make life better for their fellow Australians and I think we're far too negative about them and we penalise them too much for trivial things ... There is a sort of grotesqueness to our public discourse now, which is trivial and cynical and nasty and I think the politicians are more victims of it than progenitors of it.<sup>68</sup>

Conduct in the Parliament would seem to the contrary. After Greens Senator, Sarah Hanson-Young, objected to being spied upon by government security contractors on Nauru, the LNC's Peter Dutton suggested she 'gets most of the facts wrong most of the time' and generally made allegations which proved 'completely unfounded.'<sup>69</sup> Lantern-bearers from the private security contractor working on Nauru verified Hanson-Young's version.<sup>70</sup> Commentators are also noted favouring particular personalities, in a pre-'Choppergate'<sup>71</sup> assessment of Tony Abbott for example.<sup>72</sup> Another went perhaps too far in drawing attention to Abbott's knowledge of

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<sup>67</sup> Kelly O'Dwyer, MHR (Lib), speaking on, T. Jones, (compare), Political tensions and children in detention, Q&A, ABC TV1, broadcast 6 April 2015.

<sup>68</sup> G. Sheridan, in, Q&A, ABC TV1, broadcast 6 April 2015.

<sup>69</sup> G. Sheridan, speaking on, T. Jones, (compare), Greece, Gags & Grazing Land, Q&A, ABC TV1, 6 July 2015.

<sup>70</sup> J. Kelly, The Raven: Greens Senator Sarah Hanson-Young changes Twitter handle, The Australian, 5 June 2015.

<sup>71</sup> L. Martin, Former Nauru guards speak out against Wilson Security over spying on Sarah Hanson-Young, cover-ups and abuse, 7.30 Report, ABC TV1, 14 August 2015.

<sup>72</sup> Choppergate was the name given to a politicians' expenses scandal after Senator Bronwyn Bishop's indiscrete use of a tax-payer funded helicopter to attend a Liberal Party fundraising.

<sup>72</sup> D. Flint, D., Tony Abbott, Quadrant, 19 August 2010. Excerpt: 'He would have never led a coup against his leader merely because of opinion polling ... Unlike so many recent ministers, there has not been the slightest suggestion of incompetence or profligacy under his tutelage ... that he would become leader surprised him...Much is made of Tony's principles which are not those of the elites.'

Goebbels theory of propaganda.<sup>73</sup>

Despite their altruistic self-image the allure of power for politicians is difficult to ignore. This notion is reinforced by retired Federal MP Tony Windsor's observation about Tony Abbott after independents' handed power to Julia Gillard's Labor in 2010: 'He was only interested in gaining power and set about doing everything in his capacity to bring down the Gillard Government.'<sup>74</sup> Christopher Beckwith takes a longer view of the thirst for power:

Viewed from the perspective of Eurasian history over the past four millennia, ... the Modern political system is in fact simply a disguised primate-type hierarchy, and as such it is not essentially different from any other political system human primates have dreamed up. If recognition of a problem is the first step to a cure, then it is long past time for this particular problem to be recognized and a cure for it found, or at least a medicine for it to be developed, to keep it under control before it is too late for humans and planet Earth.<sup>75</sup>

He is not the only one to deduce politicians are making monkeys out of the electorate: 'The grotesque sense of entitlement that lets top people act in ways totally unacceptable for the rest of us. This is silverback behaviour ...'<sup>76</sup> Paul Keating evidently described Kim Beazley as not having such a character: 'what the mob wants [is the] blood and fur and dust and shit flying everywhere... He won't kill for it.'<sup>77</sup>

The ordinary, rational observer of today might note many politicians exhibit disregard for and violation of the rights of others, grandiosity, need for admiration, lack of empathy, attention-seeking and preoccupation with control.<sup>78</sup> Viscount

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<sup>73</sup> Excerpt: 'It was Goebbels's theory that if you say something often enough people will believe it ... But most people are incapable of a brazen and outright lie and accept most of what they read and hear as approximate truth... The extreme left's constant exploitation of what they see as "the gullibility of the masses" is further evidence of their fundamental contempt for ordinary people.' T. Abbott, *Politics of Deceit*, 27 September 1977, reproduced in, G. Henderson, *MWD Exclusive—What Barbara Ramjan Really Said About Tony Abbott in 1977 but is not cited in David Marr's Quarterly Essay*, Media Watch Dog, No 154, The Sydney Institute, 14 Sep 12.

<sup>74</sup> T. Windsor, I felt sorry for Tony. He was quite lost, *The Weekend Australian*, Magazine, 28-29 March 2015, p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> C.I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011, pp. xi-xii.

<sup>76</sup> E. Farrelly, Gruesome gorillas in our midst, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 2011.

<sup>77</sup> Paul Keating cited in M. Latham, *The Latham Diaries*, Melbourne University Press, 2006, p. 103.

<sup>78</sup> Indicators of personality disorders as detailed in, J. Panksepp, *Textbook of Biological Psychiatry*, Wiley-LISS, Hoboken, 2004, p. 147.

Norwich describes a medieval power clique characterised by ‘smug intellectualism and obsessive personal ambition’ that echoes down the ages.<sup>79</sup> Observers have offered psychological profiles of selected Australian politicians. Judith Brett commented on a ‘narcissistic’ Rudd<sup>80</sup> while emphasising Liberals’ claim to economic virtues of ‘frugality and self-control’—absurd assumptions in the face of the expenditure of Bronwyn Bishop and others.<sup>81</sup> David Marr’s analysis of Tony Abbott in *The Quarterly Essay* was immediately attacked by Gerard Henderson, who drew attention to the journal’s ‘leftist’ publishers.<sup>82</sup> David Leser wondered about an elected prime minister’s maturity<sup>83</sup> while Polster and Ross assessed his record with the truth.<sup>84</sup> Justice Don Stewart notes ‘for the most part, politicians are quite different from real people.’<sup>85</sup> Gillian Triggs, President of the Australian Human Rights Commission, lists bullies and cowards, exercising hubris, cruelty and spitefulness, among their number.<sup>86</sup> Former anti-corruption Royal Commissioner, Tony Fitzgerald, is less charitable:

There are about 800 politicians in Australia’s parliaments. According to their assessments of each other, that quite small group includes role models for lying, cheating, deceiving, ‘rorting’, bullying, rumour-mongering, back-stabbing, slander, ‘leaking’, ‘dog-whistling’, nepotism and corruption ... with voters as mere bystanders ... the public interest is subordinated to the pursuit of power, party objectives and personal ambitions, sometimes including the corrupt acquisition of financial benefit.<sup>87</sup>

Many get an early start in student branches of political parties, ‘where wannabe powerbrokers hone their scheming skills’.<sup>88</sup>

Not all politicians are as greedy or shameless as their general reputation paints them.

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<sup>79</sup> J.J. Norwich, *Byzantium: The Apogee*, Alfred Knopf, NY, 1995, p. 358.

<sup>80</sup> J. Brett, Rudd the narcissist, *The Monthly*, October 2013.

<sup>81</sup> E. Tlozek, Bronwyn Bishop defends taxpayer-funded travel to colleague Sophie Mirabella’s wedding as ‘official business’, *ABC News*, 24 July 2015.

<sup>82</sup> Henderson, op. cit., Media Watch Dog, No 154..

<sup>83</sup> ‘We have a boy running the country and he’s scaring the pants off everyone.’ D. Leser, *The Age*, 20 August 2015, p. 19.

<sup>84</sup> B. Polster and M. Ross, Tony Abbott is a liar: It’s a mathematical truth, *The Age*, 29 May 2014.

<sup>85</sup> D. Stewart, *Recollections of an Unreasonable Man*, ABC, Sydney, 2007, p. 183.

<sup>86</sup> R. Koval, ‘I knew I could have destroyed them’, *The Saturday Paper*, 23-28 April 2016, pp. 10-11.

<sup>87</sup> Fitzgerald, G.E. (Tony), AC, QC, The body politic is rotten, *The Weekend Australian*, 8-9 Dec 2012, p. 16

<sup>88</sup> M. Koziol, Abetz bails out of farcical young Liberals dinner, *The Age*, 14 July 2016, p. 4.

Some are sensitive to Australian politics and its media coverage. One, the ALP MP Greg Wilton, took his own life in 2000 and a handful of others have made attempts.<sup>89</sup>

### **Culture, faith and worldviews**

Australia's predominant ethos and war history is evidence of an Anglo-American worldview, which might be dismissively described as a sympathetic cultural-linguistic affiliation. This is too simplistic; after all, a common language and heritage did not prevent the Boston Tea Party. Some insight into the development of an Anglo-elite worldview may be discerned from the British—with some American infusion—Cliveden Set and its related composite groups, which

... followed closely the very construct of a cabal that intended to surreptitiously circumvent proper political conventions by imposing its ideological [sic] without the possibility of public scrutiny... that Britishization was the only means by which its colonies, dominions, and the rest of the world would modernize to a Civitas Dei i.e., World Government.<sup>90</sup>

Winston Churchill, a visitor to Cliveden, but evidently not part of the set<sup>91</sup>, refers to an elite

who hold that the fortunes of mankind are largely the result of the impact upon events of superior beings will find it fitting that Lee's famous comrade in arms, "Stonewall Jackson", should be mentioned at this point.<sup>92</sup>

Churchill notes Jackson's 'Calvinistic' temper and his view of war as 'delicious excitement'. The Confederate general is also described in Jeff Sharlet's analysis of fundamentalist Christianity in the US. Jackson's "'Black flag" of no quarter for the enemy' or slaughtering Mexican civilians attempting to surrender, being proof that obeying 'one's superiors, according to this logic, is an act of devotion to the God

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<sup>89</sup> B. Cassidy, The alarm bells ring, but precious few heed them, *The Drum*, 25 May 2012.

<sup>90</sup> Valladeres, D.M., *Imperial Glory or Appeasement? The Cliveden Set's Influence on British Foreign Policy during the Inter-War period*, Florida State University, March 2014, p. 13. For more on the Cliveden set see, A.C. Black, Hidden History: The Secret Origins of the First World War, *Global Research*, 19 July 2017.

<sup>91</sup> Note: Docherty and MacGregor, argue that Churchill was drawn into Milner's 'round table', *Hidden History: The Secret Origins of the First World War*, Mainstream Publishing, Edinburgh and London, 2013, p184. As were Australian connections, p. 154.

<sup>92</sup> W.L.S. Churchill, *History of the English Speaking People*, Vol 4, p. 170.

above them.’<sup>93</sup> George W. Bush invoked God to justify his invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, supposedly praying with British Prime Minister Blair on the latter.<sup>94</sup> Sharlet’s study of Christian fundamentalism—‘God drunk’ to use Fuller’s term<sup>95</sup>—and its impact on US domestic and foreign policy indicates similar secrecy, dogma and method in the quest of power by means of a faith-based journey through the “‘vertical chapel’”—the elevators of congressional office buildings...’<sup>96</sup>

In supposedly secular Australia, more people identify as “‘no religion’” than identify with any faith except Catholicism’ and 70 per cent of Australians deem ‘religion to be of no importance’ to their lives; yet politics is becoming more religious.<sup>97</sup> Politicians visited the evangelical Hillsong Church in Sydney and John Howard confused the separation of state and religion by appointing an archbishop as governor general.<sup>98</sup> Brian Howe, a former deputy prime minister, notes ‘a long history in this country [Australia] of people going into politics and public service as an outcome of their religious convictions.’<sup>99</sup> Prime Ministers Rudd and Abbott have been overtly religious. Mike Sercombe observed the number of Catholics in Abbott’s front bench, and a candidate making much of his own piety.<sup>100</sup> Sercombe also remarked on the increasing influence of the conservative religious right in shrinking political parties.<sup>101</sup> These later developments run contrary to John Warhurst’s 2010 speech arguing that fewer than half of ‘Australian prime ministers (11) have taken their religion seriously’ and a ‘clear majority (16) have been either nominal Christians only or agnostic.’<sup>102</sup> The spectre of a perceived higher loyalty to religious authority is open to calculated exploitation by special interests; the significance of Jerusalem for

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<sup>93</sup> J. Sharlet, *The Family: power, politics and fundamentalism’s shadow elite*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2008, pp. 352-353.

<sup>94</sup> E. MacAskill, George Bush: ‘God told me to end the tyranny in Iraq’, *The Guardian*, 7 October 2005.

<sup>95</sup> In reference to Oliver Cromwell, *Decisive Battles of the Western World*, Vol 2, Spa Books, 1994, p. 113.

<sup>96</sup> Sharlet, op. cit., p. 258.

<sup>97</sup> M. Sercombe, Abbott and the Christian right, *The Saturday Paper*, 29 August—4 September 2015

<sup>98</sup> Hollingworth was governor general from 2001-2003. See G. Henderson, Hollingworth: the wrong man in the wrong job, *The Age*, 26 May 2003, p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> B. Howe, referring to the work of Renate Howe, A Century of Influence, in Letter on Power Trip, *The Quarterly Essay*, Issue 39, 2010, Black Inc, p. 93.

<sup>100</sup> M. Sercombe, Abbott and the Christian right, *The Saturday Paper*, 29 August—4 September 2015. [Christian Right]

<sup>101</sup> Sercombe, op. cit., [Christian Right]

<sup>102</sup> J. Warhurst, *The religious beliefs of Australia’s prime ministers*, speech to St Thomas More Foundation, 10 November 2010.

example.

### Credibility?

Mistrust of Australian politicians has long been controversial, often fanned by special interests, as in the case of the Murdoch Press moralising about Jim Cairns's private life during the destabilisation of the Whitlam Government.<sup>103</sup> It was the 'core' and 'non-core' promises—a defacto watershed in political cynicism—that earned John Howard the sobriquet 'lying rodent',<sup>104</sup> exemplified in the cartoon of a long-nosed rat in telephone conversation with George Bush.<sup>105</sup> Although criticised for deceit by Allan Ramsay<sup>106</sup> among others, Howard denied lying to Australians.<sup>107</sup> Despite ambiguity about how the terms 'core' and 'non-core' promises came into the lexicon, they did, and stuck to Howard.<sup>108</sup> As Tony Abbott remarked on political honesty

... sometimes, in the heat of discussion, you go a little bit further than you would if it was an absolutely calm, considered, prepared, scripted remark, which is one of the reasons why the statements that need to be taken absolutely as gospel truth is those carefully prepared scripted remarks... all of us when we're in the heat of verbal combat, so to speak, will sometimes say things that go a little bit further.<sup>109</sup>

Circumstances change and people can alter opinions in response to them, but duplicity is perceived as an unpleasant omni-present factor in Australian politics. Australians make a show of scorning their politicians and treat their promises with cynicism, yet when a politician invokes the spectre of terrorism, Russian deception or Chinese aggression, a significant percentage of the public believe them.

With much of the nation under the economic and social strains that Oxfam and

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<sup>103</sup> Fowler, A., *The War on Journalism*, William Heineman, Sydney, 2015, p. 57.

<sup>104</sup> See: M. Sercombe, ... but rats, Lib MP really did call Howard a rodent, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 September 2004 [Rats]. Also see, Jeffrey, J., Stewth: Memory lane, *The Australian*, 1-2 November 2-14, p. 24; excerpt, Extract: '...And former Howard government minister Jackie "Outside the tent now" Kelly called her former colleagues "lying, lying toads", a pleasing echo of "lying rodent", the description of John Howard both attributed to and denied by George Brandis.'

<sup>105</sup> It was carried in *The Australian* of 6 September 2004. An email to the paper to verify the publication went unanswered.

<sup>106</sup> A. Ramsay, Anatomy of a Web of Lies, in Ramsey, *A Matter of Opinion*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2009, pp. 146-149.

<sup>107</sup> SBS, Prime Minister denies lying to Australians, *SBS*, 24 August 2004.

<sup>108</sup> See 'SJ', citing Alan Ramsay in J Quiggin, *Question for readers*, 6 May 2008. References are also made to: ABC RN, *7.30 Report*, 21 Aug 96 and *AM*, 21 Aug 96, no longer on ABC online archives.

<sup>109</sup> Abbott cited on K. O'Brien (rep), Abbott quizzed on mixed messages, *7.30 Report*, ABC TV1, 17 May 2010.

Piketty have described, a factor that marks politicians is the tension between their (perhaps) private recognition of actuality and their clutch onto the fantasy of an illusory political worldview.<sup>110</sup>

### **Politicians: Self-Interest**

As noted at the outset of the dissertation, one of the failings of traditional IR theory is the underpinning assumption that actors conform to the ideals of their role—for example, altruistic politicians play their parts rationally and to the best of their ability. This explains the common hatred by politicians for lantern-bearers who puncture their self-perception. The much-awarded Julian Assange has borne this overt invective for the glare that Wikileaks reflected into hitherto dark places.<sup>111</sup> With the denied threat of a US Grand Jury secret indictment of Assange, Washington was similarly vindictive in its pursuit of NSA lantern-bearer Edward Snowden.

An estimate of politicians' personal risks leads to the inevitable conclusion that they are individually more vulnerable to an astute electorate than they are to terrorists. This, more than anything else, explains the overwhelming growth of the surveillance-police state and fear-mongering in supposed response to the relatively puny blows terrorists are able to land on an advanced state (compared to the millions murdered, maimed and displaced in Anglo-American and European anti-colonial or imperial wars since 1945).

The NSW ICAC 2014 report found corruption in both the LNC and NSW Labor parties, exposing a rapacious appetite for money.<sup>112</sup> Curiously, these major parties cooperated in forestalling the establishment of an independent Federal corruption body along NSW ICAC lines. There was a telling bipartisan exchange to this effect on the ABC program, *Q&A*:

KATE APPEGARTH: Yesterday on Insiders journalist David Marr said this country needs a Federal ICAC and any politician who stands in its way will have to

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<sup>110</sup> For an analysis of Piketty's views on Australian political-economy, see, B. Kampmark, The Illusion of Meritocracy: 'Rock star economist' Thomas Piketty in Australia, *Global Research*, 28 October 2016.

<sup>111</sup> Pearce, M., Whistling in the wind: is there anybody out there? *The Age*, 19 Dec 2011, p. 11.

<sup>112</sup> M. Kenny and S. Nicholls, Liberal fund-raiser linked to Hockey pays back \$22,000 linked to Obeid Company, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 March 2014, retrieved 9 Sep 15.

explain himself. His comments echoed the sentiment of many Australians, who struggle to believe the dirty deals in New South Wales politics miraculously stop at the ACT border. To the Federal politicians on the panel, do you believe there should be a Federal ICAC, and if not, why not?

TONY JONES: Warren Truss.

WARREN TRUSS: Well, I think to establish such a body you'd have to argue that the current systems in place are either not working or have failed to deal with issues. We have a capacity to establish Royal Commissions that have investigatory powers...

TONY JONES: So should there be a Federal ICAC, just to go back to the question briefly?

PENNY WONG: Coming back to the question, I think that the view that has been put is that there are bodies which already exist in the Federal sphere which have powers which are not analogous to existing bodies in the State parliamentary process. So the Australian Crime Commission, which has the standing powers of a Royal Commission, the Commonwealth ombudsman, which obviously has quite extensive powers and let's be frank also, the Australian Senate, which I think you'd have to say is a body which certainly scrutinises the activities of the executive and others probably to a greater level than most upper houses. So I think the general view has been that we already have arrangements at the Federal level which provide for the sort of scrutiny that you're describing.

TONY JONES: Clive Palmer?

CLIVE PALMER: Well, the problem really is it's a bit of a cesspool, the whole country. If you go across to Queensland and New South Wales, we've got too many lobbyists being paid by business and by other interest groups to do their bidding. We see chiefs of staff, we see ministerial advisers moving from their position to lobbyists. You know, it's a really bad situation...<sup>113</sup>

The following day the corruption matter was again disposed of by the mainstream media's reaction to Palmer's 'Chinese bastards' comment in the same program. Scandals surrounding political donations are commonly and inconsequentially reported in the mainstream media, but are given a hard edge when linked to

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<sup>113</sup> Jones, T., (compare) Class, Cooling and Corruption, *Q & A*, ABC TV1, 18 August, 2014. [CCC].

organised crime buying political patronage.<sup>114</sup>

Media coverage of politicians' property portfolios, political donations and corruption in Australia discloses that Australian politicians are very interested in money—which is not to say it is all illegally gained. While battling away assertions of corruption against Joh Bjelke-Peterson, Bob Katter is at pains to point to Paul Keating's millions of dollars' worth of private residences and investments.<sup>115</sup> *The Washington Post*—reporting global media company *Forbes*' tracking of global billionaire wealth—noted Australia's high scores for political patronage, wherein

... all four of the Forbes billionaire lists they analysed show Colombia, India, Australia and Indonesia ranked high on the list [of billionaire wealth that was due to political connections] while the U.S. and U.K. ranked very low.<sup>116</sup>

Frijters and Foster, correlating Australian data with that of *Forbes*, conclude that plutocratic corruption is worse than portrayed in the *Washington Post* article: 'potentially on a par with Colombia'—the worst in the world.<sup>117</sup>

The degree to which Australian politicians are out of touch with the electorate can be surprising. Many Australians were irritated when a former Minister for Families and Community Services, Jenny Maklin, intimated she could live on the 'dole' of \$35 a day; the question and answer recorded as 'inaudible' in the official transcript.<sup>118</sup> Cigar-chomping Joe Hockey's speech about the 'age of entitlement being over' was greeted with distaste. His subsequent gaffe, telling ABC Radio on 13 August 2014 'The poorest people either don't have cars or actually don't drive very far in many cases,' excited derision.<sup>119</sup> Derision turned to something more when Hockey advised first-home buyers aspiring to enter Sydney's troublesome housing market to 'get a good job that pays good money.'<sup>120</sup> The comment took place against public debate

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<sup>114</sup> C. Small and T. Gilling, *Evil Life: The true story of the Calabrian Mafia in Australia*, Chapter 15, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2016.

<sup>115</sup> B. Katter, *An Incredible Race of People*, Pier 9 (Murdoch Books), Sydney, 2012, pp. 236-237.

<sup>116</sup> A. Swanson, Why some billionaires are bad for growth, and others aren't, *Washington Post*, 20 August 2015.

<sup>117</sup> P. Frijters and G. Foster, Battlers and plutocrats: How political connections reward Australia's super-rich, *The Drum*, 26 August 2015.

<sup>118</sup> D. Harrison, The great vanishing act: Macklin's dole comment disappears, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 2013.

<sup>119</sup> ABC, Fact check: Joe Hockey's 'poor people' don't have cars, don't drive far claim misleading, *ABC*, 28 October 2014.

<sup>120</sup> S. Medhora, Joe Hockey tells aspiring first home buyers: 'Get a job that pays good money', *The*

about the high cost of Australian housing, with politicians being noted as heavily invested in property, suggesting they have a vested interest in rising prices and a reluctance to legislate against negative gearing.<sup>121</sup> The matter of foreign ownership and its regulation simmered beneath the surface.<sup>122</sup>

### Foreign Affairs

Some Australian politicians or political players have openly been accused of treating with foreign states. ‘Doc’ Evatt, an opposition ALP figure of the 1950s, was an early casualty of allegations of improper communist leanings; Prime Minister Menzies orchestrated a royal commission, with the story repeatedly taken up by the right wing press.<sup>123</sup> Although Evatt’s manner gave the ‘commissioners a pretext in September for prohibiting his further appearance before them... Despite all the muckraking, it had been unable to furnish the basis for a single prosecution.’<sup>124</sup> ALP affiliate, David Coombe, was another political casualty after suggestions he was a target of KGB cultivation.<sup>125</sup>

Bob Hawke came into focus as

... by far the US Embassy in Canberra’s most highly placed and reliable informant, over the years 1973 to 1976, the most riotous period in Australian political history. It is not suggested Hawke betrayed Australia; but he routinely dished the dirt to the Americans ...<sup>126</sup>

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*Guardian*, 9 June 2015.

<sup>121</sup> See. F. Hunter and G. Hutchens, How property investing politicians have skin in the game on the negative gearing debate, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 2015, and; D. Lindsay, P. Soos and P. Egan, Aussie politicians and their \$300 million property portfolio, *Independent Australia*, 8 August 2014.

<sup>122</sup> M. West, Property sales dirty-money cycle end near, *The Age*, 11 May 15, pp. 21-28. Extract: ‘Credit Suisse is forecasting \$60 billion in new Chinese investment in Australia’s [overheated] housing market during the next six years, more than double the \$28 billion deluge of the past six years.’ Also see: Dylan Welch and Jodie Noyce, This is the mysterious billionaire property developer behind some of the largest political donations in Australia, *7.30 Report*, ABC TV, 10 June 2015.

<sup>123</sup> For example, A. McAdam, Reds under Canberra beds, *The Spectator*, 16 April 2011. As to source reliability, McAdam received a 15 month suspended jail sentence after pleading guilty to stealing \$100,000 dollars from the Victorian Branch of The Australian American Association, of which he was a former executive director. See: M. Russell, Suspended jail term for journalist Tony McAdam for stealing \$100,000, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 2014.

<sup>124</sup> G.C. Bolton, Evatt, Herbert Vere (Bert) (1894–1965), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 14, (MUP), 1996.

<sup>125</sup> D’Alpuget, B., The spy who trapped a mate, *The Australian*, 13 July 2010.

<sup>126</sup> P. Toohey, WikiLeaks: Bob Hawke dished the dirt to America, *News.com.au*, 13 April 2013.

Interested in American history and a firm supporter of the alliance, ALP figure Bob Carr reportedly ‘started talking to United States diplomats about internal Labor politics nearly 40 years ago.’<sup>127</sup> In 2010 ALP Senator Mark Arbib was revealed by Wikileaks as an American contact ‘with repeated requests [within the US system] that his identity as a “protected” source be guarded.’<sup>128</sup> A Sydney academic pointedly referred to Arbib’s ‘handlers at the US Embassy’.<sup>129</sup> Under the media spotlight, Arbib resigned and in yet another example of the links between politicians and corporations, lobbied on behalf of casino interests where “Packer’s successful mobilisation of the Labor mates” network has side-lined the NSW Greens, virulent opponents of more gambling and gaming...’<sup>130</sup>

Paul Barrett, a former Secretary of the Department of Defence, dismissed by the Howard Government in the domestic political imbroglio preceding the East Timor intervention, warned that the Wikileaks cables

...reveal that behind closed doors our political leaders deal incautiously with representatives of the United States and Israel ...so much so in Israel’s case that we are seen as a valuable part of its global PR battle?... that the United States and Israel can go about their affairs confident that Australia will never press them on any issue, and on most occasions will refrain from critical comment. Why would any country put itself in this situation, even with its friends?<sup>131</sup>

The end of the Cold War witnessed a focus shift, albeit temporarily, from the Russian and communist intelligence services. With the rise of China, their interest in and contacts with Australian politicians are of interest. Hugh White describes the softening Australian attitude to China, ‘steadily sliding China’s way’, that occurred under Howard.<sup>132</sup> Chinese intelligence interest in Australia is evidenced by their

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<sup>127</sup> P. Dorling, Bob Carr: Washington’s man in Australia, *The Age*, 8 April 2013. Also see: M. Hunter, Is Bob Carr a Spy? *Independent Australia*, 11 April 2013.

<sup>128</sup> P. Doling, P., Arbib revealed as secret US source, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 December 2010. Also see: J. Lynch, Arbib Keeps On Keeping On, *New Matilda*, 16 March 2011.

<sup>129</sup> Lynch, J., *Has The Pro-Israel Lobby Subverted Australian Democracy?* Transcend Media Services, 14 February 2011.

<sup>130</sup> I. Salusinszky, Packer plays it like a pro, *The Australian*, A Plus, 25 Oct 2012, p. 11. Former PM Keating is another Labour politician drawn into the complexity of Packer’s business interests, specifically the Barangaroo imbroglio. See B. Jabour, The rise and rise of Barangaroo: how a monster development on Sydney Harbour just kept getting bigger, *The Guardian*, 30 September 2015.

<sup>131</sup> P. Barrett, What the WikiLeaks cables reveal about Australia’s leaders, *Inside Story*, 23 Dec 2010.

<sup>132</sup> See, H. White, Powershift, *The Quarterly Essay*, Issue 39, 2010, Black Inc, pp. 7-9. Quote from p. 9.

electronic penetrations of the lower level DFAT (2001-2008), ASIO<sup>133</sup> and Bureau of Meteorology networks. ALP Defence minister Joel Fitzgibbon was pursued by the Opposition, media and allegedly a (denied) Defence investigation, over the supposed security risk of his friendship with Chinese businesswoman Helen Liu.<sup>134</sup> Fitzgibbon finally succumbed, resigning the day after Senate Estimates exposed a family member's seeking business opportunities in the ADF on behalf of US medical services company, Humana.<sup>135</sup>

The *Australian Financial Review* reported on Chinese cyber-attacks against the Australian Parliament:

... that penetrated Australia's [unclassified] parliamentary computer network in 2011 may have been inside the system for up to a year and had access to documents and emails that reveal the political, professional and social links across the political world, according to seven sources with knowledge of the breach. Security and parliamentary sources said Chinese agencies obtained remote, system administrator access to the Parliament's computer network, which 'effectively gave them control of it'.<sup>136</sup>

Rolex watches gifted in 2013 to Australian politicians by a Chinese businessman were returned after being found to be genuine. An insight into such informal links was the arrest in the US of the 'Australia-China social queen', Sheri Yan, who later pleaded guilty to 'funneling almost \$1 million in bribes to [John Ashe] the president of the UNGA General Assembly.'<sup>137</sup> There are unresolved and conflicting accounts of Ashe's death—heart attack or asphyxiation in a weightlifting accident—ten days before giving evidence in a wide-ranging UN bribery case. Yan is further reported to have 'deep connections in the Australian foreign policy establishment', and endorsed

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<sup>133</sup> C. Joye, Spy wars fuelled by territorial claims, *Australian Financial Review*, 28 April 14.

<sup>134</sup> E. Rodgers, No information to support Fitzgibbon spy claims, *ABC News*, 26 March 2009. Clive Hamilton covers the affair in pp. 163-165 of *Silent Invasion*.

<sup>135</sup> Australian Senate, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Legislation Committee, Budget Estimates, Hansard, 3 June 2009, pp. 115-122.

<sup>136</sup> C. Joye, A. Patrick, Chinese spies may have read all MPs' emails for a year, *Australian Financial Review*, 28 April 2014. Also see, C. Hamilton, *Silent Invasion*, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2018, pp. 168-172.

<sup>137</sup> D. Flitton, J. Garnaut, and C. Vedelago, Australia-China social queen Sheri Yan arrested for bribery, *Australian Financial Review*, 15 October 2015. These links are further explored in the context of a counter-espionage investigation, in N. McKenzie, S. Koloff and A. Davies, *Power and Influence, Four Corners*, ABC TV, broadcast 6 June 2017. Also see, Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

for trustworthiness from former Prime Minister Rudd's brother.<sup>138</sup> In a later iteration of a politician's contact with the Chinese, Liberal MP Stuart Robert resigned from the frontbench after a China trip with a party donor, the explanation for which was 'somewhere between threadbare and farcical.'<sup>139</sup>

On 5<sup>th</sup> June 2017 a joint ABC and Fairfax investigation revealed some of the scale and connections of Chinese donors to the major Australian political parties.<sup>140</sup> Four and a half hours before the program was broadcast, Victoria Police were called to the Brighton siege which culminated in the slaying of a violent criminal on parole known to the authorities for terrorist associations, Yacqub Khayre who had killed a man and taken a woman hostage.<sup>141</sup> The following day Turnbull appeared in a major press briefing concerning the Brighton 'terrorist' incident. In response to a journalist's question—and more than eighteen months after the DG ASIO Duncan Lewis reportedly briefed the major parties administrative heads on the danger of foreign political donations in 2015—Turnbull said:

... in early May [2017], I asked the Attorney-General to review our espionage laws, to review our laws relating to the activities of foreign governments in Australia and he is going to present a report on that as to what changes we may need to make. But we take it very, very seriously.<sup>142</sup>

The government strongly promoted counter-terrorism and more legal controls during the following week. These are classic cover-up moves: when cornered—in this case on corruption—impose delay by announcing an official inquiry, and distract with other 'threats', terrorism being ideal.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> D. Flitton, J. Garnaut, and C. Vedelago, D. Flitton, J. Garnaut, and C. Vedelago, Australia-China social queen Sheri Yan arrested for bribery, *Australian Financial Review*, 15 October 2015.

<sup>139</sup> B. Eltham, Stuart Robert's Own Words Speak Against Him, *New Matilda*, 11 February 2016.

<sup>140</sup> N. McKenzie, S. Koloff, and A. Davies, Power and Influence: The Hard Edge of China's Soft Power, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, broadcast 5 June 2017.

<sup>141</sup> L. Florence, Brighton Siege: Victoria's parole chair frustrated by Attorney-General George Brandis' 'misinformation', *ABC News*, 7 June 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Turnbull, PM, *Press Conference with Mr Michael Phelan APM, Acting Commissioner, Australian Federal Police*, 6 June 2017. Also see: N. McKenzie, D. Flitton, C. Uhlmann and R. Baker, ASIO Warns Political Parties Over Donations, *ABC News*, 6 June 2017.

<sup>143</sup> For the mechanics of a cover-up, see, L. Collins and W. Reed, *Plunging Point*, Chapter Ten, 250-280), HarperCollins, Sydney, 2005, pp. 250-280.

## THE BUREAUCRACY: CIVIL AND MILITARY

### **Sophists, economists, and calculators**<sup>144</sup>

The bureaucracy is a central exchange point between politicians, corporations, the public and overseas interests. For the purposes of the dissertation the military and intelligence services are treated as part of the bureaucracy, although their operating circumstances are different in extreme conditions. Police are treated separately under the administration of justice, although they too share many characteristics of bureaucrats.

Government officials of the bureaucracy should be an apolitical bulwark against undue foreign influence; thus its efficacy is of relevance to special interests. Literature on the Australian bureaucracy tends to come in waves—in the mid-90s before one change of government and a decade later after another. Some, from former bureaucrats, is self-promoting and defensive. In one example, former heads of the Defence Department and Howard's office did not mention the punitive smothering of intelligence and other scandals occurring on their watch.<sup>145</sup> A major trend in recent years is the politicisation of the public service where the 'main concern is with supposedly factual statements or evidence that contains deliberate falsehoods or misrepresentations of the truth, designed to serve the partisan interests of the government.'<sup>146</sup>

Indicators of such partisanship are supported by many journalists and academics covering the same events. Examples are Marr and Wilkinson's *Dark Victory* and James Cotton's study of foreign policy and intelligence pointing to the 'politicisation of intelligence' and 'poor management practice'.<sup>147</sup> In Hamilton and Maddison's study of politicisation of the public service under Howard, they cited senior bureaucrat Peter Shergold 'dismissing any suggestion of politicisation as "a product

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<sup>144</sup> 'But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has succeeded; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever.' Edmund Burke, 1729-1797.

<sup>145</sup> See chapters in, J. Wanna, S. Vincent and A. Podger, (eds) in *With the benefit of hindsight*, Australian National University, E Press, 2011.

<sup>146</sup> R. Mulgan, Truth in Government and the Politization of Public Service Advice, *Public Administration*, Vol. 85, No. 3, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2007 (pp. 569–586).

<sup>147</sup> J. Cotton, Australian foreign policy and the management of intelligence post-, September 11, Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, ANU, 2006.

of conspiratorial imagination ... a cop-out”<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, the Howard government Shergold served was noticeably heavy-handed, relying on the police to intimidate lantern-bearers and journalists alike.<sup>149</sup> Shergold was a proponent of the policy, his much-cited words entering Australian political folklore:

‘Leaking blows apart the Westminster tradition of confidentiality upon which the provision of frank and fearless advice depends. So if some people seem surprised that I have called in the police to deal with leaks, they shouldn’t be—I always have and I always will.’<sup>150</sup>

A former public servant remembered differently:

I’m glad, however, that I do not work in [‘impossible to shame’] Shergold’s service. The ATSIC I joined was frank, fearless and creative. The one I left ruled by fear and loathing. There was no faith, no trust and bucket loads of bull-dust.”<sup>151</sup>

The police are not the only agency available to senior bureaucrats to protect themselves and their masters. After media leaks in 2004 concerning an intelligence scandal in which he was involved, a Defence Security Agency (DSA) ‘inquiry was instigated by Deputy Secretary Intelligence and Security (Bonington, Defence Department) on his own authority.’<sup>152</sup> This tendency to authoritarianism has been noted specifically in foreign affairs, which in Australia is characterised by secrecy:

... though it adheres to the tenets of Western democracy, Australia follows the example of developing countries by having a very powerful Executive body, which

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<sup>148</sup> Shergold cited in, G Barker, The public service, in C. Hamilton and S. Maddison, *Silencing Dissent*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, p. 127 of pp. 124-147.

<sup>149</sup> M. Grattan, Government crackdown on leaks bad for democracy, *The Age*, 31 August 2005. The figures were provided to Senator Jacinta Collins.

<sup>150</sup> C. Warren, E. Walters, R. Di Marzo and A. Johnson, *Turning Up The Heat: The decline of press freedom in Australia 2001-2005*, Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance, 2005, Sect 3.1: Attacks on lantern-bearers, p. 9. Shergold’s speech was: Shergold, P (November 17, 2004) ‘A State of the “Unit” Address’ from a speech, *Plan and Deliver: Avoiding Bureaucratic Hold-up*, delivered at the Australian Graduate School of Management/Harvard Club of Australia at the National Press Club.

<sup>151</sup> B. Johnstone, Shergold panned in Never Never Land, *On-line Opinion*, 1 December 2004. Also see: M. Grattan, Watching the watchdogs, *The Age*, 3 May 2015. Johnstone in turn cites Veronica Burgess, writing in *The Canberra Times*.

<sup>152</sup> Robert Hill, Minister for Defence, [Answer to Senator Brown, Greens] *Senate Question No 3056*, originator undated, received 20 September 2004, Ref No 952. Defence personnel were subjected to lengthy interrogations of up to 12 hours. DSA was one of the agencies involved in the suicide of Mervyn Jenkins in Washington, the other being from DFAT. [Archive p. 839.]

controls the day to day foreign policy.<sup>153</sup>

This, taken with the use of coercive agents of the state to control and shape information, is reflective of the tendency towards authoritarianism in resource-based economies argued by Testas and cited in Chapter Two. This commitment to secrecy serves the interest of foreign operatives and lobbyists as it virtually guarantees their activities are concealed from the electorate.

### **The Form and Nature of Bureaucracy**

The bureaucracy is the principle fulcrum between power and policy, more so since corporations have increasingly assumed many hitherto public functions such as utilities and public transport. The term bureaucracy refers to persons employed at public expense in the branches of the Commonwealth or states and statutory authorities such as IGIS or the Human Rights Commissioner. An organisation is a bureaucracy only if it possesses the following characteristics: a) it is large and predominately impersonal; b) comprises mostly full-time workers dependent on the organisation for their income; c) hiring, promotion and retention are ‘theoretically’ merit-based; and d) major outputs are not market-based.<sup>154</sup> Although there is a common notion of an expanding bureaucracy, the number of Australian federal public servants varies. From 1969, 219,000 personnel expanded to 277,500 in 1975, declining to 113,500 in 2000 and rising to 146,500 in 2006; 52,000 of them in Canberra.<sup>155</sup>

The nature of bureaucracy was explored by Max Weber, who captured the pivotal and ideal function of the bureaucrat:

... no country and no age has ever experienced in the same sense as the modern Occident, the absolute and complete dependence of its whole existence, of the political, technical and economic conditions of its life, on specially trained officials. The most important functions of the everyday life of society have come to be in the hands of technically, commercially and above all legally trained government

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<sup>153</sup> T. Rezasyah, *Uncovering Australian Foreign Policy: The Prevalence of a Dominant Bureaucracy*, *The Indonesian Quarterly*, Vol XXIV, No 4, 1996, pp. 432-446.

<sup>154</sup> Downs, [op. cit. [Theory], pp. 2-3.

<sup>155</sup> R. Smith, Thirty-eight years toiling in the vineyard of public service, in J. Wanna, S. Vincent and A. Podger, (eds) in *With the benefit of hindsight*, Australian National University, E Press, 2011, p. 34 of pp. 29-41.

officials.<sup>156</sup>

Two issues emerge from Weber's statement. First, although true of many of the people employed within Anglosphere bureaucracies, it is easily neutered by the political appointment of partisan or careerist hacks to senior positions. Second, essential roles formerly performed by government employees are more frequently being performed by the employees of profit-driven corporations, often foreign owned.

Crozier and Downs have separately examined bureaucracy; the former highlights the spur of self-interest, noting that bureaucrats are 'dependent on their superiors for promotion'<sup>157</sup> and dividing them by motivation as detailed below.<sup>158</sup> Downs observes that the term 'bureaucracy' is commonly used as a term of scorn and explains 'that a man can be a bureaucrat even if he works for a non-bureaucratic organization', such as private corporations. He proposes a neutral term, 'official', to describe those civilians working in the public service and outrider organisations, such as the intelligence agencies.<sup>159</sup>

Downs discusses key motivations of bureaucrats, including: a) the drive for power, income, prestige, security, convenience; b) loyalty (to an idea, the institution, or the nation); c) pride in excellent work; and d) desire to serve the public interest (as the individual official conceives of it).<sup>160</sup> Downs specifies self-interest as a basic human characteristic and identifies several character types.<sup>161</sup> These include: a) purely self-interested officials (including climbers and conservers); and b) mixed motive officials (including zealots, advocates and statesmen).<sup>162</sup>

Once inside though, motivations tend to be dominated by 'more liberal pressures' there is still a requirement to conform to the 'impersonality, expertness and hierarchy

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<sup>156</sup> M. Weber, cited in: Andreski, S., (ed), *Max Weber on Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1983, p., 23.

<sup>157</sup> A. Downs, *Inside Bureaucracy*, [Inside] Real Estate Research Corporation, August 1964, p. 3. 1964.

<sup>158</sup> M. Crozier, *The Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, University of Chicago Press, 1964.

<sup>159</sup> Downs, op cit., [Inside] pp. 1-4.

<sup>160</sup> Downs, op cit., [Inside] p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 1964, p. 1-2. 'My theory is based on the fundamental hypothesis that bureaucratic officials, like all other agents in society, are motivated by their own self-interest at least part of the time.'

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

of the “ideal type”.<sup>163</sup> Through avoidance mechanisms—retreat from confrontation, internalising organisational goals, ritualism and pressure-releasing minor rebellion—many officials achieve a ‘fairly good combination of independence and security.’<sup>164</sup> The ‘more ambitious, seeking promotion and increased status and reward, struggle to satisfy the “two contradictory demands”: security and achievement.’<sup>165</sup>

Crozier notes the importance of power in personal and official relationships. The hierarchical nature of bureaucracy leads to a conflict between organisational efficiency and individual freedom; ‘a “vicious circle” that develops from the resistance of the human factor to the mechanistic rationalist theory of behaviour’ impressed upon it.<sup>166</sup>

Bureaucracies differ. Crozier, contrasting US and Soviet models, found the former characterised by ‘functional specialization and due process’, the latter by ‘hierarchy, suspicion and control’.<sup>167</sup> Crozier’s 1964 types are dated: the Soviet empire has passed and the American one is faltering. In the US and Australia, public service is now less workmanlike than Crozier saw it and tends towards the form of descending states as described in *Plunging Point*.<sup>168</sup> Crozier concludes, ‘a bureaucratic organization is an organization that cannot correct its behaviour by learning from its error.’<sup>169</sup> This leads to extending, not abandoning, flawed rules. The endless procession of new security legislation in Australia illustrates this point.

Older studies of bureaucracy dwell little on the modern phenomenon in the Anglosphere, where neither loyal opposition nor public-interest lantern-bearing are tolerated in civilian and military bureaucracies, or corporate structures. Such people are now commonly forced out, or coerced into silence; ‘drinking the Kool Aid’, as Colonel Lang described how a small group of neocon ‘bearers of a uniquely correct view of the world’ sought to dominate US foreign policy in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, and succeeded ‘through a practice of excluding all who disagreed with them from

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<sup>163</sup> Crozier, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid. p. 176.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 232.

<sup>168</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

<sup>169</sup> Crozier op. cit., pp. 186-187.

government.’<sup>170</sup>

The political-policy-enforcement in Anglosphere officialdom is aided by the coincidental deaths of meddlesome officials, including: a) Australian intelligence liaison officer Mervyn Jenkins in Washington (1999 over East Timor), b) the UK weapons inspector David Kelly (2003 over Iraq) and c) MP Robin Cook (2005) over the Iraq War and al-Qaeda, and Gary Lee-Rogers (SACL-security). A second-echelon manner of ridding the bureaucracy of principled officials is by forcing them from the system, such as the outing of CIA officer Valerie Plame by the Bush 43 Administration, in order to silence her husband who was critical of the regime (2003—also over the Iraq War).<sup>171</sup>

Marquand describes the privatisation and marketisation of the public sphere in Britain: public utilities and infrastructure passing into private hands, with profit the key motivator.<sup>172</sup> An Australian example of this is Australia Post, where 900 people faced dismissal by a banker CEO on a \$4.8 million salary.<sup>173</sup> ‘Slowly, gradually, but inexorably the language of the marketplace had displaced the language of service and citizenship.’<sup>174</sup> Civil servants and defence force personnel tried to do their duty but found ‘they were no longer guardians of the public realm; willy-nilly they were agents of the market state.’<sup>175</sup>

In 2015, Australian Public Service’ values are structured around desirable but conflicting relationships, behaviours and standards, such as being ‘apolitical’; ‘openly accountable’; and ‘responsive to the Government in providing frank, honest, comprehensive, accurate and timely advice and in implementing the Government’s policies and programs.’<sup>176</sup> After many years of conservative LNC governments in Australia, Labor governments took steps to dismantle the old model of a traditional

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<sup>170</sup> Lang, Colonel P.W., (US Army retired), *Drinking the Kool Aid*, Middle East Policy Council Journal, Blackwall Publishing, Oxford, Vol. XI, No 800, Summer 2004.

<sup>171</sup> For doubts about the official explanations of Cook’s death, see: Tap blog, Will there ever be an investigation into the death of Robin Cook, *The Tap Blog*, 22 August 2015, posted by Tapestry; and G. Brown, Lingering questions about Robin Cook’s death, *21<sup>st</sup> Century Schizoid Manna*, 15 May 2006.

<sup>172</sup> Marquand, D., *Mammon’s Kingdom*, Allen Lane, London, 2014, p. 76.

<sup>173</sup> L. Bourke, Critics of Australia Post’s decision to sack 900 staff questioning CEO Ahmed Fahour’s \$4.8 million salary, *ABC News*, 11 June 2014.

<sup>174</sup> Marquand, op. cit., p. 110.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p. 111-112.

<sup>176</sup> Australian Public Service Commission, *The APS—Defined by Values*, 7 August 2015.

British-style permanent bureaucracy with long-standing departmental heads. This was understandable after the extended organisational ambience consequent on Menzies long prime-ministership. The trend gathered pace under John Howard, ‘a master of the political art of deceiving without lying’,<sup>177</sup> with the purges resulting in a ‘public service more politicised, more compliant and less able to offer “frank and fearless” advice to ministers.’<sup>178</sup>

Occupying the decisive formal space between the agents of a foreign power on one hand and the Australian target set on the other are bureaucratic organisations including DFAT and Defence, the intelligence agencies and police forces. There are a range of other actors, unions for example, known to be of interest to US intelligence. An effective bureaucracy should neutralise a foreign state’s efforts at improper influence. The normative standards here are well understood and formalised. Should appeal to duty and values be inadequate, there are a range of coercive laws; particularly the ASIO Act, Crimes Act of 1914 and its amendments, along with the Defence Force Discipline Act (DFDA). This range of offenses and penalties explains the secrecy of deep state elements: their crimes dwarf the ‘unauthorised disclosure’ of information (penalty: two years imprisonment), the charge usually levelled against lantern-bearers.<sup>179</sup> The importance of the bureaucracy to the power clique, and thus foreign interests, is self-evident.

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<sup>177</sup> D. Marr and AM. Wilkinson, *Dark Victory*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2003, p. 51.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., (Marr and Wilkinson), pp. 38-39.

<sup>179</sup> For example: a) Imperilling success of operations DFDA Sect 15 G. Penalty 15 years; b) Intent to assist the enemy DFDA Sect 16B—Penalty Life imprisonment; c) Negligence in performance of duty—DFDA Sect 35, Penalty three months; d) Assists by any means whatever another country—Criminal Code Part 5.1 Div 80.1—Penalty Life imprisonment; e) Knowing that a person intends to commit treason, does not inform a constable—Criminal Code 80.1 (2) (b), Penalty Life—imprisonment; f) Intending to give advantage to another country’s security, Criminal Code Sect 91.1.(2) (b), Penalty 25 years; g) Intention of dishonestly influencing a public official—Criminal Code—Proper administration of government—Div 135.1 (7); h) Proper administration of Government—hinders, intimidates or resists an official in the performance of their function, Criminal Code Sect 149.1(1), Penalty 2 years; i) Criminal Code Chapter 8—offences against humanity; j) Attacks on Australia’s defence system—activities that are intended to, and are likely to, obstruct, hinder or interfere with the performance by the Defence Force of its functions—ASIO Act 1979 Sect 4; j) Destruction of documents, Crimes Act Sect 29 & 24 AB Archives Act; k) Interfering with political liberty, Any person who, by violence or by threats or intimidation of any kind, hinders or interferes with the free exercise or performance, by any other person, of any political right or duty, shall be guilty of an offense, Crimes Act 1914, Sect 28, Part II, Penalty—Imprisonment for 3 years; l) Gives false testimony with the intention of instituting any judicial proceeding—Crimes Act 1914 Sect 35, Penalty 5 years; m) Conspiring to bring false accusations, Crimes Act Sect 41 Penalty 10 years imprisonment; n) Conspiring to defeat justice—Conspiracy to defeat justice—conspires with another to obstruct, prevent, pervert, or defeat, the course of justice—Crimes Act 1914 Sect 42, Penalty—Five years imprisonment.

## Politicians' Relationship with Bureaucracy

Former diplomat Bruce Haigh describes the bureaucratic nature of politicians themselves: 'most Australian politicians are bureaucrats. They gain preselection through bureaucratic party machines...the person with a different approach to problem solving is selected out.'<sup>180</sup>

One of the dramas of public service is the dilemma of well-trained and junior officials who find their best facts and interpretations dissipated or disappeared by 'so many layers of politically astute managers'.<sup>181</sup> Why and how this happens is fundamental to an understanding of the policy climate:

The spirit of the [McCarthy era, US State Department security head] McLeod era is captured by a slogan in his bureau: "An ounce of loyalty is worth more than a pound of brains." An entire generation of officers learned that innovation and departure from norms were forms of bureaucratic suicide.<sup>182</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of McCarthyism, one US Christian Republican anti-New Deal senator, Frank Carlson of Kansas, through a routine Senate sub-committee on civil service employment, 'quietly' purged as 'security risks' thousands of officials guilty of no more than fidelity to the New Deal.<sup>183</sup> Suskind describes the subtlety of the policy enforcement process in the American system to 'guarantee that you'll get faulty, one-sided information.'<sup>184</sup>

There is a widespread naivety that Australian institutions are immune from these sorts of political practice and human nature responses. This gullibility is assisted by a carrot-and-stick managerial approach combined with short media cycles, political top-cover, and general public resignation or indifference (despite pockets of alarm and anger). An example is the ebb-tide of electoral anger over Choppergate once it was steered out of the public realm into the merry-go-round of the AFP and Jane

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<sup>180</sup> B. Haigh, *The Great Australian Blight*, Otford Press, 2001, p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Andrew Wilkie cited in R. Mulgan, *Truth in Government and the Politisation of Public Service Advice*, *Public Administration*, Vol. 85, No. 3, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, 2007, (p. 578 or pp. 569–586).

<sup>182</sup> D.P. Warwick, M. Meade and T. Reed, T., *A Theory of Public Bureaucracy*, Harvard University Press, Massachusetts, 1975, pp. 18-19.

<sup>183</sup> Sharlet, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-187, 200.

<sup>184</sup> Paul O'Neill [cabinet member in Bush 43 Administration] cited in, R. Suskind, *Faith, Certainty and the Presidency of George W. Bush*, *New York Times*, Magazine, 17 October 2004.

Halton's Finance Department.

By and large Australia has an effective bureaucracy, measurable by such standards as increased fire-fighting capability and environmental protection. For exceptions to the rule, an American writer used the term 'public serpent'.<sup>185</sup> Overall, the trend is for increasing pressure on public officials to conform to government ideology; that their loyalty should be to the 'government of the day', effectively a political party, rather than some vaguely defined notion of the nation's interest or common wealth.

Some senior civil servants are widely and highly regarded. At John Howard's behest, Paul Barrett took a substantial pay cut to join the bureaucracy. In echoes of the Woolcott-Pritchett divergence over East Timor in 1975, in 1998-99 Defence prudence was countered by DFAT's Calvert and others:

One senior source recalls Barrett saying he fronted the then head of the Prime Minister's Department, Max [The Axe] Moore Wilton, telling him: "I hope they [the PM's advisers] are aware it will be our people coming home in body bags, not theirs."<sup>186</sup>

Barrett was subsequently dismissed, losing an appeal in the Federal Court.<sup>187</sup> At the time, Defence was under security and police pressure for intelligence leaks damaging for the Howard government's 'rogue elements' dis-information campaign, aimed at forestalling international intervention and East Timorese self-determination.<sup>188</sup> Amidst these investigations, DIO's Washington liaison officer with the US DIA, Mervyn Jenkins, was driven to suicide after an interrogation by DFAT and Defence security staff.

Another official, Ken Henry, 'respected by all for his intellect and his passion',<sup>189</sup> and appointed by Howard to Treasury Secretary in April 2001, was not saved from LNC retribution. In opposition during the GFC, Malcolm Turnbull criticised Henry taking leave, abandoning a 'muddle-headed' treasurer—a derisive comment drawn from

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<sup>185</sup> T.J. Allen, Public Serpent: Iran-contra villain Elliot Abrams is back in action, *In These Times*, 6 August 2001.

<sup>186</sup> D. Snow, Difference of opinions, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 May 2004.

<sup>187</sup> L. Pullin and A. Haidar, *Dismissing a Departmental Secretary: An Overt Exercise of Power in Public Employment*, (PDF), Monash University, 9 May 2013.

<sup>188</sup> C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2004, pp.1-3,47-85.

<sup>189</sup> P. Daley, Henry in the middle, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 2010.

Henry's concern for wildlife.<sup>190</sup> The attack was continued by Tim Wilson, associated with the IPA and Liberal Party.<sup>191</sup>

Conversely, politicians can be generous with the rewards they bestow upon loyal supporters and minders. Tony Abbott installed Tim Wilson as Human Rights Commissioner, and Attorney General Brandis intervened to have no conviction recorded on behalf of Abbott's key staffer, Peta Credlin, charged with drink-driving.<sup>192</sup> Contrary to the futures of most who take the Queen's shilling, sinecures worth hundreds of thousands of dollars are showered upon a useful few after their public service.

### **Insiders and Secrecy**

The authoritarian-hierarchical structures may be accompanied by 'the informal structures of authority and communication inevitable in any co-operating group of human beings.'<sup>193</sup> Motives behind such informal structures could range from similar worldviews, loyalty not untouched by ambition, to personal reward of some kind, or to outside influences. As an example of the latter, the UK Parliament sought to examine Masonic penetration of national institutions, such as the police and judiciary. In 1999 it found 'there is widespread belief that improper masonic influence' plays a part in public life.'<sup>194</sup> The findings were supported by a case that came to public light, involving a case of Freemason's insider favouritism in job retention in the Royal Ulster Constabulary Reserve.<sup>195</sup> Gerard Henderson, in an article touching on the British investigation and undue government secrecy wrote:

This year the Brisbane Courier-Mail attempted a similar inquiry; it met a veritable wall of silence. There seems little justification for this state of affairs. Australians are entitled to know more about Freemasonry, its past and present.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> The remark, intentional or not, could be linked to *The Muddle Headed Wombat*, a children's radio program. See: A. Ramsay, A Sort of Financial Person, in, Ramsay, op. cit. [Opinion], p. 294 of pp. 293-296; and P. Daley, Henry in the middle, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 2010.

<sup>191</sup> T. Wilson, Speak out, Robert Manne: Ken Henry silences dissent, *Wilson's blog*, 25 June 2015,

<sup>192</sup> J. Cadzow, J., Ms Fix it, *The Age*, 5 Apr 2014.

<sup>193</sup> Downs, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>194</sup> UK Parliament Select Committee on Home Affairs, *Freemasonry in Public Life—Second Report*, House of Commons, 25 May 1999.

<sup>195</sup> BBC, 'Masonic bias' in police jobs move, 12 October 2006.

<sup>196</sup> G. Henderson, The secret we should all be let in on, *The Age*, 3 September 2002. [Secret]

Henderson was not alone. Amidst the plethora of internet sites dealing in the benign nature of Freemasonry, a Canadian journalist pondered the Masonchip DNA collection project.<sup>197</sup> British public life was not finished with the Freemasons—they emerged as a factor in the Murdoch press phone-hacking scandal:

Years ago, [the shadowy private investigator] Jonathan Rees became a freemason. According to journalists and investigators who worked with him, he then exploited his link with the lodges to meet masonic police officers who illegally sold him information which he peddled to Fleet Street.<sup>198</sup>

As the UK phone-hacking inquiry showed, the presence of closed groups in public service can lead to various forms of corruption, with the unofficial network enabling access and secrecy. Whereas police are readily deployed against lantern-bearers, another event with Liberal Party and American links—the curious case of Australian Defence Department bureaucrat Gillian Marks—is ‘one politicians and Defence officials do not want the public to know much about’; it is protected by ramparts of obfuscation, FOI denials and inferred threat of legal action.<sup>199</sup>

Whatever their hue, assignments with secret or private groupings complicate a two-person conversation where, as William James points out, six people are already present.

### **Bureaucratic Hubris**

One of the hallmarks of a number in the upper echelons of the bureaucracy is their ‘impossible to shame’ hubris: self-confidence, profound belief in the hierarchy, disdain for outsiders and the public, and the certainty of immunity that comes from proximity to political and financial power.<sup>200</sup>

A Federal departmental secretary’s attitude to the media and public interest is revealed in court by their dismissal of a public-interest scandal: ‘By the Wednesday

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<sup>197</sup> A. MacPherson, Why Are the Freemasons Collecting Our Children’s DNA? *The Huffington Post*, Canada, 26 September 2012.

<sup>198</sup> Davies, N., Phone-hacking scandal: Jonathan Rees obtained information using dark arts, *The Guardian*, 8 June 2011.

<sup>199</sup> R. Baker, Contracts probe official linked to Libs, Turnbull, *The Age*, 24 Jul 07, p. 3; R. Baker, Murky case for Defence, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 2008; R. Baker, Top Defence official also registered as migration agent, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 May 2008.

<sup>200</sup> See: Johnstone, op. cit. Also see: M. Grattan, Watching the watchdogs, *The Age*, 3 May 2015.

we had disposed of it ... It wasn't a major issue until it was published [in the mainstream media].'<sup>201</sup> Another exchange in the ACT Supreme Court, over the cut-off to military intelligence staff in East Timor, is indicative of the attitude.

[SC] ... you'd agree with me wouldn't you that it's an exceptionally grave matter to mislead the Australian people, that is Exhibit D1, the letter to the Sydney Morning Herald?

[Senior official] I don't agree with you that it is an exceptionally grave matter. I think it is to be regretted that they were misled in that way but I don't see it as being exceptionally grave.<sup>202</sup>

The authors of that letter never corrected the public record.<sup>203</sup> One of them wrote later that year: 'Being held to account means staff can be given credit for their successes as well as called to account for their failures' and boasted 'public accountability of the Defence business has never been higher.'<sup>204</sup> The other author was criticised in Parliament during tabling of the bipartisan Report of the Senate Inquiry into Military Justice in the Parliament in 2005.<sup>205</sup>

Political loyalty and reliability is another feature of senior officials. In 2011, then Victoria Police Chief Commissioner Overland 'accepted full responsibility for releasing misleading and inconsistent crime figures before last November's state election.'<sup>206</sup> Overland resigned under some pressure. He became Secretary of the Tasmanian Justice Department and remained so through a change of government.

Another Commonwealth official's scorn resonates in his criticising a contrary, and as it turned out more insightful, interpretation of foreign affairs that challenged long held policy preconceptions: 'I think that people who are, shall I say, in rather

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<sup>201</sup> R. Smith, in *LvACP*, op cit., 2007, pp. 501-502. Also see Defence SEC 243/04 and CDF 344/04 in response to an article by Janet Albrechtson, Defence whodunit must be solved, *The Australian*, 21 April 2004.

<sup>202</sup> *LvACP*, 3 March 2007, p. 402/15.

<sup>203</sup> P. Lindsay, *Cosgrove*, Random House, Sydney, 2006, p. 205.

<sup>204</sup> R. Smith, Accountability: you, me, all of us, in S. Foster, G. Griffin, A. Campbell, (eds), *Defence: the official magazine of the ADO*, Coordination and Public Affairs Division, Department of Defence, Canberra, October 2004, p. 6.

<sup>205</sup> 'General Cosgrove, you were wrong—dead wrong. The military justice system is a shambolic, dysfunctional mess and it is failing the young men and women who enlist in the ADF to serve their country.' Senator Chris Evans, Australian Senate Hansard, Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> June 2005, p. 15.

<sup>206</sup> J. Ferguson, Simon Overland facing questions after report finds Victorian crime statistics were distorted, *The Australian*, 16 June 2011. Overland was cleared of corruption the following year. AAP, Former police chief cleared of corrupt conduct, *The Age*, 24 Oct 2012.

subordinate positions in the broad bureaucracy...<sup>207</sup> The sentiment echoes through the ages, with the 11<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine bureaucrat Michael Psellus' disparagement of a rival as, 'not one with outstanding qualifications.'<sup>208</sup> Another Australian official recalled: "I don't have a reputation for missing my targets", was the type of statement I made to him.'<sup>209</sup>

Such politically encouraged behaviour provides an increasingly effective bulwark against inquisitive journalists, parliamentary inquiry, concerned citizens or the bureaucracy itself; particularly when buttressed by automated telephone switches, pass-card restricted access, email tracking and increasing multi-faceted state surveillance.

### **Case Studies—Power and Invulnerability**

What is remarkable is how some senior bureaucrats pass unscathed through circumstances that would see a corporal reduced to the ranks, or an ordinary citizen 'sacked'. A common excuse is that they were operating on the best information available at the time. Few perpetrators of the 2003 invasion of Iraq have faced formal or official sanction for their role in the regional upheaval, wrecked societies, non-combatant dead, maimed and refugees, multiplied by cost and casualties to the invading states. An exception was the high-ranking 'Scooter' Libby in the Bush 43 Administration, who was convicted on several counts after the investigation into the Valerie Plame affair. George W. Bush commuted the sentence, though the conviction remains on the record.

In Australia—and of relevance to a rationalised-nationalist deep state—service to the public has been replaced by fidelity to power, as the following examples demonstrate. Former intelligence analyst (now Senator) Andrew Wilkie, who resigned in protest from ONA before the 2003 attack on Iraq, noted the shaping of the 'military and intelligence services by vetting key appointments and installing trusted players into key positions.'<sup>210</sup> The decision to undertake an aggressive war is

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<sup>207</sup> Behm cited in Cronau, op. cit.

<sup>208</sup> Michael Psellus, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers*, (E.R.A. Sewter, trans), Penguin, 1966, p. 263.

<sup>209</sup> Lewincamp cited in, J. Lyons, Threats, Spies and Audiotape, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6240, 11 May 2004, p. 25.

<sup>210</sup> A. Wilkie, The Military and Intelligence Services, in C. Hamilton and S. Maddison, *Suppressing*

arguably the most serious action a country can take. This was particularly so for Howard's 2003 war on Iraq initiated without national or strategic intelligence estimates from ONA and DIO respectively, as even the insider Flood Report on Australia's intelligence agencies highlighted.<sup>211</sup> Three years later ONA Director Peter Varghese admitted that despite many 'assessments' it had been a year since a formal National Intelligence Estimate had been completed on Iraq and none had been initiated.<sup>212</sup> He was promoted to head DFAT, where he oversaw that department's hands-off report on the Ben Zygier case.<sup>213</sup> Varghese later remarked at a leadership forum;

Every now and then I just wonder whether this was a gathering of the Ancien regime and that we are all eating cake at Marie Antoinette's party. One day we might wake up and find the peasants are revolting.<sup>214</sup>

In 1999-2000 the Howard Government—with Alan Hawke as Secretary of the Defence Department—directed AFP and DSA investigations into leaks of East Timor related intelligence.<sup>215</sup> The investigation must be considered a witch-hunt and

*Dissent*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, p. 176.

<sup>211</sup> P. Flood, Report of the Inquiry Into Australian Intelligence Agencies, Australian Government, June 2004, p. 26.

<sup>212</sup> Australian Senate, Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, Prime Minister and Cabinet Portfolio—Office of National Assessments, 30 October 2006.

<sup>213</sup> B. Carr, (Min FA&T), 2010 Consular case—report: Report into the handling by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the consular aspects of the Zygier case, DFAT, Australian Government, Canberra, 5 March 2013.

<sup>214</sup> E. Bagshaw, 'We might wake up and find the peasants are revolting': Elites diagnose our political disease, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 July 2017.

<sup>215</sup> Hawke was a former chief of staff to Paul Keating. For a synopsis of this long-running Defence scandal, see: Brian Toohey, DIO on the defensive, *The Canberra Times*, Sunday Focus, 19 December 2004, p. 31. Excerpt: 'How on earth did Cosgrove and Smith have to stand corrected on such an important issue after they had promised to address seemingly endemic problems with accuracy in Defence. Getting to the bottom of the claims about the ... data base should not have been all that hard for either Blick or those who offered internal advice to Smith and Cosgrove. After all, only a few people needed to be interviewed and there was also an electronic message trail. One particular puzzle is why the head of DIO at the time, Frank Lewincamp, did not discover what happened in his organisation (even though Carnell said he did not issue a directive for the cut [of intelligence to Australian troops in East Timor in 1999]). Carnell succeeded without a massive investigation. Yet Lewincamp repeatedly denied the intelligence cut was deliberate. After taking over as Inspector General following Blick's retirement in March [2004], Carnell wrote to Hill on May 3, saying three people involved in the events were not interviewed. The case for further investigation was reinforced by the ABC radio Background Briefing program on May 30, which broadcast comments by a military officer who said he knew what happened but had not been interviewed by investigators. Carnell subsequently interviewed the officer and found strong supporting evidence for his claim that the cut was not due to a technical fault. The day after his brief statement on Carnell's findings, Hill announced that Lewincamp would be replaced as head of DIO but said this was not connected to Carnell's finding that the intelligence cut-off had been deliberate. Hill said Lewincamp would be offered a senior post elsewhere in Defence. Before this happens, the public—including all who served

warning, given the Downer-Woodside-Irvine links and since ‘ASIO says it never rated the leaks a threat to national security in the first place.’<sup>216</sup> In the course of these investigations, DIO’s Liaison Officer in Washington committed suicide<sup>217</sup>, another Defence civilian official entered long-term psychiatric care, and military officers were forced out of the armed forces. No one was ever charged in relation to the East Timor leaks investigation although its victims were punished in various extra-judicial ways.

In this affair, evidence relating to a death of an intelligence official—Mervyn Jenkins—was suppressed by networked officials who deliberately misled parliament. One consequence of the politically motivated East Timor leaks investigation was a classified letter in late 2000 from a targeted senior military intelligence officer to the Minister of Defence (then Moore), who directed IGIS (Blick) to investigate the matters raised, namely: a) the conduct of the security investigation into Jenkins resulting in his death, b) the fidelity to Jakarta’s foreign policy exhibited by some Australian bureaucrats, and c) the influence of the Jakarta Lobby on the strategic intelligence agencies.<sup>218</sup> With Ministerial delegation, IGIS tasked Defence to review the circumstance of Jenkins’ death. It fell to a career bureaucrat, Ron Bonighton,<sup>219</sup> who then wrote to the complainant referring to the previously issued Blunn Report, as though that closed the matter.<sup>220</sup> It was submitted in reply to Bonighton that the recent evidence was new material and post-dated Blunn with the reminder: ‘this has not been properly investigated despite a Ministerial direction to do so.’<sup>221</sup> Thirty months after the initial complaint and now under pressure from a separate military investigation, Blick and Bonighton issued another round of smothering documents.<sup>222</sup>

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in East Timor—are entitled to an explanation of why Lewincamp did not know the intelligence was deliberately cut and persisted in his denials that this was the case.’

<sup>216</sup> Jennet, G., Inquiry launched into claim of bugging Labor MP, *Lateline*, ABC, 30 April 2003.

<sup>217</sup> Fowler, A., Caught in the Crossfire, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, broadcast 16 April 2001.

<sup>218</sup> The claims are reiterated in: Collins, L., Lieutenant Colonel, Australian Intelligence Corps, Letter to The Honourable John Howard, MP, dated 18<sup>th</sup> March 2004. [Archive p. 425]

<sup>219</sup> IGIS 2002/326 File Ref 2000/065 dated 2 September 2002. [Archive p. 074]

<sup>220</sup> Defence Intelligence, I&S 118/02 dated 12 September 2002. [Archive 80-81]

<sup>221</sup> Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins, AIC, letter to Deputy Secretary I&S dated 21 November 2002. [Archive p. 161-165.]

<sup>222</sup> W.J. Blick, *Inquiry into concerns raised about DIO by LTCOL Lance Collins*, IGIS, May 2003, released vide Hill, Sen the Hon R., Letter dated 22 July 2003 [Archive pp. 134-145]. As a source, Blick cannot go unremarked upon. His nine page report was so poor that his successor, Ian Carnell, was tasked to cover the same material, making significantly different findings. See also *Defence I&S 143/03* dated 15 August 2003 [Archive p. 147]; in which Bonighton refers new material passed to him on to the Defence Legal Service and Australian Government Solicitor in case the material was a

In regard to the matter of undue sympathy for another power (Indonesia), ASIO—after an astonishingly short investigation—artfully labelled the matter as an assertion of espionage and assumed it away. Bonighton relied on this until pressed, when he wrote:

Once the allegations relating to misuse of classified information are set aside [by ASIO], I believe we are then in the realms of subjective speculation as to the motives of Australian officials. Quite frankly I do not see that an investigation of these matters is likely to come to any definitive conclusion.<sup>223</sup>

The refusal to investigate Jenkins' case was further exposed in FAD&T Estimates on 1 June 2004 by a question from Senator Falkner (ALP): 'this specific allegation [in relation to Jenkins—concerning a senior Defence Security bureaucrat's bragging that he had the power to drive people to suicide] was taken seriously and was investigated.'<sup>224</sup> Bonighton replied, misleadingly, it 'had been thoroughly investigated by Mr Blunn—the conduct of that Jenkins inquiry.'<sup>225</sup> Bonighton deliberately misled the Parliament.<sup>226</sup>

This deception should have been known by IGIS and Bonighton's superior, the departmental secretary, by this time former Ambassador to Jakarta Ric Smith.<sup>227</sup> The Hansard for 1 June 2004 records that the PM&C reaction to a letter that raised the matter directly with Howard was simply to coordinate a containment response.<sup>228</sup> The affair bespeaks action by officials who knew they would never be brought to account. Arthur Sinodinos<sup>229</sup> was Chief of Staff (1997-2006) to Howard during that period, when he telephoned ONA lantern-bearer Andrew Wilkie in March 2003, 'to claim Howard had no hand' in 'a member of Howard's staff' maliciously telling the

'discoverable' incident...' He did not mention this to the Senate on 1 June 2004 and mislead the Senate by stating that it was all investigated by Mr Blunn, whose report was completed before the new evidence was presented.

<sup>223</sup> *Defence I&S 143/03* dated 15 August 2003. [Archive p. 147.]

<sup>224</sup> Senator Falkner (ALP), Senate, Estimates, FAD&T, Hansard, APH, 1 June 2004, p 106.

<sup>225</sup> R. Bonighton, in Senate, Estimates, FAD&T, Hansard, APH, 1 June 2004, p 106-107.

<sup>226</sup> Bonighton already knew that: a) the new evidence he had been instructed to investigate *post-dated* Blunn's report, and b) he had passed the information to Defence Legal Services and the Solicitor General where it was apparently buried. See, *Defence I&S 143/03* dated 15 August 2003. [Archive p 147.]

<sup>227</sup> Lieutenant Colonel Collins, *Letter to DepSec S&I and Sec Def*, dated 30 August 2004. [Archive pp. 851-856]

<sup>228</sup> Shergold was Sec PM&C (Feb 2003- Feb 2008) at the time Sinodinos was COFS to Howard. Also see: *LvACP*, 2007, pp. 354-355.

<sup>229</sup> Video: Who chooses the AFR Magazine's Power list?

media that the measured Wilkie was ‘mentally unstable’.<sup>230</sup>

Bonighton was not the only Defence intelligence official to show disregard for the Parliament. Another was cautioned in writing by the Chair of a Senate Committee in relation to ‘a perception that he may have tried to improperly influence the testimony of a witness before a committee hearing.’<sup>231</sup> That official had used his time before Senate Estimates to launch a personal attack under Parliamentary privilege on that witness.<sup>232</sup>

Bonighton later came to mainstream media notice during a public spat with then Opposition Leader, Mark Latham, over the content of a briefing on the Iraq War.<sup>233</sup> After retirement from the shamed DSD, Bonighton was chosen by Victorian Liberal premier, Ted Baillieu, to wind-down the scandal-wracked Victorian Office of Police Integrity (OPI), and act as the first commissioner of the neutered Independent Broad-based Anti-corruption Commission (IBAC).<sup>234</sup>

Another example of inviolability and the power of possessing discomfiting information is DFAT official Dr Hyndes, ‘a diplomat with a long history of misconduct’ who had his security clearance revoked in the 1990s.<sup>235</sup> Hyndes was an informant in a \$346,000 Howard Government ‘witch-hunt’ against another DFAT officer accused of leaking information concerning decisions for the Iraq War. To regain his revoked security clearance, Hyndes allegedly threatened in 2002 to leak

<sup>230</sup> A. Wilkie, in Hamilton and Madison, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>231</sup> T. Allard, Spymaster cops a Senate caution, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 2004. See also: LvACP, pp. 443-444.

<sup>232</sup> Australian Senate, Budget Estimates, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade, 1 June 2004, Hansard, p. 123-124. The investigating officer’s response, dated 8 June, can be found appended at p. 126 of the 1 June Hansard.

<sup>233</sup> See: M. Latham, *The Latham Diaries*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2006, pp. 278-279.

<sup>234</sup> T. Nolan, Sex, spies and scandal, AM, ABC RN 26 September 2002; The allegations against senior DSD personnel included, “improper sexual behaviour by some of its managers, managerial incompetence, nepotism, illegal management procedures and a lack of clear direction and oversight.” Also see, AAP, Spy sex scandal dossier to be examined: Hill, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 September 2002; and for details of original press information, see, *Spies sex scandal: Australia*, The Kinetik, 25 September 2002. For the IBAC matter, see, Victorian [Baillieu] Government, *Commissioner Appointed to begin IBAC Operations*, Media Release, 28 June 2012; and Ferguson, J., Ron Bonighton to be acting head of Victorian anti-corruption commission, *The Australian*, 28 June 2012, Excerpt: “‘Mr Bonighton is the ideal candidate to establish IBAC and I am confident that he will deliver on the commission’s goal of ensuring the highest integrity across the entire Victorian public sector,’ Mr Baillieu said.”

<sup>235</sup> S. Smiles, Spy suicide: mother wants royal commission, *The Age*, 29 May 2007. Also see: S. Smiles, Diplomat threatened DFAT head, court told, *The Age*, 22 May 2007. Also see: G. Barker, A Tale of Two Diplomats, *Inside Story*, 12 February 2009.

sensitive documents about the security investigation that led to the death of Mervyn Jenkins. The security clearance was restored in five days and Hyndes ‘subsequently told the department he had destroyed the Jenkins-related documents’<sup>236</sup>: evidently notes relating to the conduct of DFAT investigator Darren Sharp.<sup>237</sup> Hyndes resumed his post as deputy high commissioner to Sri Lanka, and by 2011 was working ‘for the consular policy branch of the department in Canberra.’<sup>238</sup>

Jane Halton’s public service career survived the stormy waters of the refugee boats scandals and the Rudd-Gillard interregnum. A believer in the ““psychic capital” attraction of senior public service’,<sup>239</sup> Halton’s ethos is reportedly: ‘If you didn’t know, you had to say, “I don’t know”, because the one thing you could never do was mislead people.’<sup>240</sup> According to journalist Margo Kingston, Halton is ‘famous for shocking dithering blokes round a meeting table with, “Haven’t any of you got balls!”’<sup>241</sup> Her role in Howard’s 2001 election winning children overboard and Tampa incidents, is related in Marr and Wilkinson’s book, *Dark Victory*. In the ensuing Senate inquiries, there was a ‘lot of confusion as to who knew what about the misinformation surrounding the “children overboard” affair’, when her ‘evidence was contradicted by other officials’.<sup>242</sup> In Halton’s time before a Senate committee examining the sinking of SIEV X, she ‘perfected the art of giving testimony that was “not quite a lie”’.<sup>243</sup> Promoted in 2002 to Secretary of the new Department of Health and Ageing, Halton then went on to head Finance in June 2014. Later that year she was reportedly asked to cease use of the honorific ‘professor’ by the universities of

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<sup>236</sup> Polly Peck, *Capital Offences*, Justinian, 11 March 2008. Also see Australian Senate, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade, Hansard, 21 February 2008, Excerpt: Senator Ray citing Commissioner Deegan, ‘The email contained threats which were inconsistent with Mr Hyndes’ position as a public servant and I am frankly amazed at the manner in which it was dealt with by the department.’ See also: Nautilus Institute, *The death of Mervyn Jenkins*, 11 May 2009.

<sup>237</sup> See R. Baker, Spy case note gone, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 8 September 2008.

<sup>238</sup> J. Minus, Jury rejects Matthew Hyndes defamation claim, *The Australian*, Business Review, 17 September 2011.

<sup>239</sup> M. Kingston, The fall girl, [Fall Girl] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June 2002. For details of Halton’s role in the children overboard and Tampa incidents, see: Marr, D., and Wilkinson, M., *Dark Victory*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2003.

<sup>240</sup> Halton cited in, News.com *Meet Australia's most powerful public servants*, News.com, 31 October 2013.

<sup>241</sup> Kingston, op. cit. [Fall Girl].

<sup>242</sup> R., Ackland, Gadfly: Overboard professor now AO-kay, *The Saturday Paper*, 13-19 June 2015, p. 16.

<sup>243</sup> T Kevin, A Certain Maritime Incident: The sinking of SIEV X, Scribe, Melbourne, 2004, p. 236.

Melbourne and Sydney.<sup>244</sup> Later it required her intervention to sort out a ‘confused case for hundreds of millions of dollars being splashed on a new Canberra office building’.<sup>245</sup>

Finance is keen to keep key aspects of the deal shrouded in secrecy, insisting on confidential submissions to the committee, closing hearings off to the public and media and refusing to make public its cost-benefit analysis on the deal.<sup>246</sup>

In the wake of the Choppergate, the AFP ‘played pass the parcel, a complicated game of obfuscation that counts on confusing voters’, about Bronwyn Bishop’s expenditure to Halton’s Finance Department for investigation.<sup>247</sup> Halton reportedly told a ‘Women in Focus function in Canberra on 15 July the helicopter claim would not have been a story if it had involved a male MP.’<sup>248</sup> In August 2015 Finance announced it would ‘keep secret the outcome of its investigation into the questionable use of taxpayer-funded entitlements by three prominent federal politicians’.<sup>249</sup> By September the story was dead.<sup>250</sup>

Political loyalty is rewarded; inattention forgiven. One of those who provided legal justification for Howard’s 2003 invasion of Iraq<sup>251</sup>, Chris Moraitis, more recently became involved in the Abbott Government’s attacks on the Human Rights Commissioner Professor Gillian Triggs over the *Forgotten Children* report. When

<sup>244</sup> M. Mannheim, Universities tell Finance Department head Jane Halton to stop calling herself ‘professor’, *The Canberra Times*, 19 November 2014.

<sup>245</sup> R., Ackland, Gadfly: Overboard professor now AO-kay, *The Saturday Paper*, 13-19 June 2015, p. 16.

<sup>246</sup> N. Towel, Green light for Finance Dept’s swanky new building, *The Canberra Times*, 14 May 2015.

<sup>247</sup> M. Kingston, #choppergate ‘investigation’ Fact Check by @margokingston1, 25 July 2015. Kingston alleges both “AFP statements are false” regarding the Minchin protocol about MP fraud or repayment of allowances. For Halton on misleading, see: *News Limited*, Meet Australia’s most powerful public servants, News.com.au, retrieved 5 Nov 15. For a timeline of “choppergate” see: ABC, *Timeline: How Speaker Bronwyn Bishop’s travel entitlements scandal unfolded*, ABC, 3 August 2015.

<sup>248</sup> AAP, Bishop says sorry but won’t resign, *The Sunday Times*, Perth News Now, 30 July 2014.

<sup>249</sup> B. Shields, MP expenses: Department of Finance investigations to remain secret, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Aug 15.

<sup>250</sup> See B. Keane, It’s OK, Mal — no need to fear the lawman, *Crikey*, 29 September 2015.

<sup>251</sup> Bill Campbell (Attorney General’s Department) and Chris Moraitis (Department of Foreign Affairs), *Memorandum of Advice to the Commonwealth Government on the Use of Force against Iraq*, Canberra, 2003. The advice was contested by George Williams and Devika Hovell, *Advice to Hon Simon Crean MP on the Use of Force Against Iraq*; and Grant Niemann, *Advice to Hon Simon Crean MP on the Use of Force Against Iraq*. All in, Beth Midgley, Daniel Perkins and Heidi Stabb, (Eds), Special Feature on Advice On The Use Of Force Against Iraq, *Melbourne Journal of International Law*, Vol 4, May 2003.

the conduct of Attorney General Brandis in the matter was the subject of a looming complaint to the AFP, it fell to Moraitis to front Senate Estimates where he confessed to losing notes from the key discussion with Brandis, evidently in a misplaced briefcase.<sup>252</sup> As one disgusted correspondent noted in *The Conversation*:

Failing to make notes on your meetings, failing to keep the notes safe, failing to make notes on your decision making processes and thoughts are all misconduct. A junior Public Servant would be sacked for that. Moraitis needs to be questioned and if he can't "find" his notes he should be sacked. His total pay is \$504,810 and he conducts himself as if the dog ate his homework.<sup>253</sup>

This tale survived the media cycle for a time. A Queensland barrister requested FOI documents relevant to the Triggs and related cases. It was declined by an official in AG's Department on the 'practical' grounds that 'the search would involve too much work', but did 'advise that the Secretary, Mr Moraitis, did not lose a briefcase during the period ...'<sup>254</sup>

Despite Alan Hawke's reservations about performance-based pay, some senior bureaucrats are on half-million dollar remuneration.<sup>255</sup>

### **Going native**

Empathy and linguistic skill are desirable for diplomacy and other aspects of international relations. However, this rich but turbulent milieu can present inducements and traps for the unwary or self-interested.

As the calendar tripped towards the INTERFET D Day in September 1999, the possibility of conflict with Indonesian forces and their proxy militias was admitted

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<sup>252</sup> Australian Senate, Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee, Estimates, Hansard, 24 February 2015. Extract: "Mr Moraitis: As I said previously, Senator, I had taken some notes of my discussion with the Attorney and also annotated those notes after my discussion with Professor Triggs. I had those notes for a while and unfortunately I have travelled to three countries in two weeks and I have lost those notes, losing my briefcase by mistake. I am sorry"" Senator Brandis intervenes several times to protect Moraitis.

<sup>253</sup> G. Wilson, in 'Comments', to, B. Gogarty and H. Cockburn, Did Brandis break the law in requesting Triggs' resignation? *The Conversation*, 26 February 2015.

<sup>254</sup> R. Ackland, Gadfly, A case in point, *The Saturday Paper*, 18-24 April 2015, pp. 16-17.

<sup>255</sup> A. Hawke, Performance management and the performance pay paradox, in, J. Wanna, S. Vincent and A. Podger, (eds) in *With the benefit of hindsight*, Australian National University, E Press, 2011, pp. 15-28.

by a senior Government member to be a ‘dangerous operation’ where the ‘risk of casualties is a serious one’.<sup>256</sup> Five days before Senator Alston’s speech, Brian Toohey reported a hunt for a treasonous high-level Indonesian spy in the Australian government.<sup>257</sup> Astonishingly there was and remains corporate media and government silence on this story as the security agencies at the time engaged in the hunt for lantern-bearers.<sup>258</sup>

In October 1999 the author was standing outside HQ INTERFET in the still-smoking ruins of East Timor where non-combatants remained unaccounted for. There occurred a chance friendly meeting with a colleague, a military Bahasa Indonesia linguist. The latter was tasked as a liaison officer between INTERFET and the withdrawing Indonesian military. The memorable part of the conversation went thus.

Author: How are you?

Linguist: Great! I am doing a job I love in a country I love, and getting paid!

Author: (Somewhat intrigued, since they were standing in East Timor, a nation that had never surrendered to Indonesian occupation)  
Very good. Which country?

Linguist: (Seemingly surprised) Indonesia!

There is no intimation whatsoever this person was in any way disloyal to Australia, but they seemed curiously untouched by the surrounding tragedy. Their personal journey with Indonesia took centre stage, a form of ‘going native’—bearing in mind some of the most able soldiers and diplomats in history have been accused of that.

This ‘going native’ thread was reinforced when Tom Allard reported Australian diplomats in the Jakarta Embassy during 1976 mocked an [the annotated report from FALINTIL resistance sources, that]

... ‘says “the enemy are daily torturing, raping and executing the captured population” at a detention camp near Bacau. This phrase in the release is underlined

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<sup>256</sup> Australian Senate, HANSARD, 21 Sep 99, p. 34.

<sup>257</sup> B. Toohey, Hunt on for Indonesian spy, *The Australian Financial Review*, 16 Sep 1999, p. 1

<sup>258</sup> See, Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

by a diplomat, with the comment added “sounds like fun”. Another handwritten comment observes: “sound like the population must be in raptures.” Another handwritten annotation by a diplomat jokes: “This [Fretilin] report is internally inconsistent. If ‘the enemy was impotent’, as stated, how come they are daily raping the captured population? Or is the former a result of the latter?”<sup>259</sup>

This touches on issues raised in Chapter Two about an institutional, if not national, lack of empathy for the victims of Canberra’s foreign and domestic policies.

Foreign policy (to achieve harmony or maximise power, depending on the observer’s view) benefits from sharply honed strategic, cultural and personal understanding of other states. There is a point at which going native becomes counterproductive, a tendency noticed by Bill Hayden:

Soon after arriving as Foreign Minister in 1983, I detected a preference among some to be overly agreeable towards certain outside interests and accordingly not independent enough in catering for the national interest. At its worst this could manifest itself in a severe infection of ‘localitis’, where a diplomat serving too long at an overseas post came to be more identified with the host country’s interest than Australia’s.<sup>260</sup>

Ambassador Richard Woolcott’s advice to Canberra at the time of the East Timor invasion (‘to leave events to take their course’) might fit this category.<sup>261</sup>

Michael Thawley, ambassador in Washington during the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq, ‘is often paid the compliment of having been as close as any ambassador to the neocons.’ He had previously been involved with Ashton Calvert in preparing Keating’s defence treaty with Indonesia in 1996, and drafted the Howard letter to President Habibie in 1998. As Ambassador to Washington, Thawley supported the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq, smoothed the path for the contentious AUSFTA and ‘used his connections on Capitol Hill in 2004 to head off a congressional inquiry into the AWB scandal.’<sup>262</sup> By late 2014, he was appointed to run Abbott’s flailing PM&C. Thawley promoted the ‘public service opening its doors

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<sup>259</sup> T. Allard, ‘Sounds like fun’: Aussie diplomats mocked reports of Indonesian rape and murder of Timorese, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 2016.

<sup>260</sup> B. Hayden, *Hayden: An autobiography*, Angus and Robertson, 1996, pp. 387-388.

<sup>261</sup> P. Monk, Timor: Truth and Consequences, *Quadrant*, Jan-Feb 2000, p. 35. Article pp. 33-40.

<sup>262</sup> McDonald, H., Former diplomat Michael Thawley takes top govt job, *The Saturday Paper*, February 14-20, 2015.

to the outside world [“private sector, universities, think tanks, not-for-profits, state governments and other countries”].<sup>263</sup> Michelle Grattan notes the ‘snide and cynical’ media is missing from the list, as ‘not worth reaching out to or, more likely, it is thought too dangerous to do so’.<sup>264</sup> Grattan comments on a security obsessed bureaucracy where the quantity of information passed has ‘replaced quality, and fear has supplanted frankness.’<sup>265</sup> That is not to say Thawley cultivates fear, but hints of the insider worldview of outsiders may be gleaned from his dismissive comment in a Menzies oration about a ‘public thinking class’.<sup>266</sup>

Sydney-based academics Weiss *et al* record the hidden side of the United States Free Trade Agreement (AUSFTA) led to no ‘fewer than six former [Howard Government] staffers [being] appointed to rewarding jobs with US drug giants or their industry representatives.’<sup>267</sup> *Four Corners* asserted that Howard met with representatives of major pharmaceutical companies who complained of bias against the companies by some members of Australia’s Pharmaceutical Benefits Advisory Committee (PBAC), of which all but two subsequently were dismissed or resigned.<sup>268</sup> In 2015, Wikileaks released drafts of the closely guarded draft text of the intended Trans Pacific Partnership (TTP) trade arrangements; with experts ‘deeply concerned’ the agreement may undermine the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme (PBS).<sup>269</sup> While concerns about the TTP raised in Australia were denied by the government, former Clinton Administration Labor Secretary Robert Rice warned the TTP is ‘very much a corporate construction’, there was some correlation between corporate donations and US Congress voting outcomes on ‘fast tracking’, and ‘Australia should be

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<sup>263</sup> Grattan, op. cit. [Message]

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> M. Thawley, *More Power to Australia*, Sir Robert Menzies Lecture, Sir Robert Menzies Lecture Trust, Monash University, 4 November 2005. Excerpt: ‘Having watched it all from the Washington end for over five years, I have concluded that the efforts of our thinking public class to force us away from the United States come from a lack of confidence in the ability of their fellow Australians to manage our relationship with the United States. It is driven by timidity and condescension, not strength or a hard-headed assessment of our national interest.’

<sup>267</sup> L. Weiss, E. Thurbon, and J. Matthews, *How to Kill a Country*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2004, p. 82.

<sup>268</sup> ABC, A Bitter Pill, *Four Corners*, 26 July 2004.

<sup>269</sup> Dorling, P., Medicines up, care to suffer: Wikileaks, *The Age*, 11 June 2015. Also see, P. Martin, Free trade deals poorly assessed—Productivity Commission, *The Age*, 25 June 2015, p. 27.

concerned'.<sup>270</sup>

### **The Military and Intelligence Services**

The role of the military and intelligence services has been covered previously in Collins and Reed's *Plunging Point* and by Andrew Wilkie's chapter 'The Military and Intelligence Services' in Hamilton and Maddison's *Silencing Dissent*. Events since have seen an exacerbation of the trends discussed with the war on terror aggravating the insider tendency to secrecy and the dual lawfare-technological attacks on civil liberties and human rights. These have seen a slowing in the number of lantern-bearers breaking ranks since 1999-2004, when the political corruption of intelligence to justify Howard's failed policy to keep East Timor under Indonesian control and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq prompted a number of insiders to break ranks.

For decades there has been a military interest in Information Operations (of which the cyber world is a part): information security, propaganda, deception and net-crashing concepts all rolled into one. In a war to the knife against a real enemy such a capability is mandatory. However in the domestic realm of power and special interests, the electorate and journalists in particular are the much more immediate and dangerous threat to the power clique. 'Cyber troops' are an expanding element of the clique's agenda to control the public narrative.<sup>271</sup>

To this end, in a scandal involving the Australian Government effectively interfering with a carriage service, 'Defence computers were found to have made more than 5000 edits to Wikipedia entries, including to articles on the "9/11 Truth Movement", the Australian Defence Force Academy and even the Vietnam War-era Pentagon Papers.'<sup>272</sup> After the 2004 intelligence scandal broke, a Wikipedia article by an unknown author covered the issue and was complimentary about a number of Defence personnel involved, including Mervyn Jenkins, Captain Martin Toohey

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<sup>270</sup> C. Van Extel, interview with Robert Reich in, F. Kelly, (pres), US faces growing opposition to the Trans Pacific Partnership, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 12 June 2015.

<sup>271</sup> See Truepublica, Report: Armies of Cyber-Troops Manipulating Public Opinion, [Truepublica.org.uk](http://Truepublica.org.uk), 20 July 2017.

<sup>272</sup> A. Moses, PM's staff edited Wikipedia, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 August 2007. Also: A. Moses, PM's staff edited Wikipedia, *The Brisbane Times*, 24 August 2007. Moses won a Walkley award for the story.

RANR, Major Clinton Fernandes and others. After some interval, perhaps weeks, the Wikipedia article disappeared. Another observer noted:

Anyone that was paying attention back in 2004 would have noticed that the Lance Collins ‘matter’ appeared—along with detailed references to the dramatis personae—and suddenly disappeared in Wikipedia. The matter was causing some red faces in amongst Australia’s own intelligence community. Intervention or just coincidence?<sup>273</sup>

Who stood to gain? This disappearing act amounted to an attack on the reputations of a number of people. The ordinary rational observer might consider this a breach of the Criminal Code Act 1995: an ‘abuse of public office’ where a ‘Commonwealth public official commits an offence’ if they exercise ‘any influence’ in their capacity as a Commonwealth official or engage in any act ‘with the intention’ of ‘dishonestly causing a detriment to another person.’<sup>274</sup> On 10 March 2004, DSA blocked on the internet accessible RESTRICTED network, an article hosted on a German domain by George Aditjondro of Newcastle University. The article was about Suharto family connections which mentioned former Indonesian intelligence chief, Benny Murdani. The reason given for the block by DSA was ‘Adult Content’. Defence claimed to have ceased such practices. When it emerged in 2016 that interference with the internet continued by officials and political staffers, the DPM&C ordered an internal investigation.<sup>275</sup>

In early 2017 the LNC government attempted to pass legislation allowing the release of veterans’ personal information to the media in order to enforce Canberra’s version of the public record.<sup>276</sup> Responsibility was delegated to the departmental secretary

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<sup>273</sup> The author noted this at the time. The internet comment cited corroborates the incident: *Canberra observer of Brizzi* 7.55am August 17, 2007, Comment 18 of 76.

<sup>274</sup> Australian Government, *Criminal Code Act 1995*, Sect 142.2.

<sup>275</sup> J. Massola, Investigation launched after public servants, staffers caught making offensive Wikipedia edits, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 October 2016. Also see: J. Massola, Wiki mischief: staffers meddle with the entries, *The Age*, 27 October 2016, p. 5. The author has heard nothing further on this ‘investigation’.

<sup>276</sup> T. Iggulden and H. Belot, Labor rethinks support for bill allowing Government to release veterans’ information, *ABC News*, 3 March 2017. Also see: J. Norman, Jacqui Lambie seeks compensation after medical record publication fight, *ABC News*, 2 March 2017. Veteran’s Affairs Legislation Bill, (Digital Readiness and Other Measures) 2016, refers. Note: Blaming ‘misinformation in the community’ the government later backed down on this piece of legislation, See H. Belot, Government abandons plans to release veterans’ personal information, *ABC News*, 27 March 2017. [LC Comment: Opening to door to unauthorised leaks of veteran’s information, the Minister, Tehan, said, ‘The privacy safeguards that currently exist for protecting veterans’ privacy information are pretty

who could override the veteran's objections. As the sections above show, high-level bureaucrats are not to be trusted: it was yet another means to blackmail once-insiders into acquiescence.

There has been an escalating politicisation of the military and militarisation of politics, as retired military officers are knighted or gain pre-selection. This is partly because there are more of them due to recent conflicts; partly because increased nationalism has induced electorate acceptance of military public figures; and possibly, so that political parties manipulating Australian involvement in wars can avoid the opprobrium heaped upon the 'chickenhawk' proponents of the Bush 43 Administration over Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>277</sup>

Events have proved the futility of attempting to reform the Defence and Intelligence systems from within. This fact, combined with the digitisation of much of government analysis and communications, led to Wikileaks and Edward Snowden's actions, where no warning was given before public disclosure by people with a belief in Enlightenment values.

### **Malfeasance in Public Office**

Corruption is covered in more detail in Chapter Two, but the corruption of public officials, particularly where foreign interests are involved, is important to the dissertation.

In 2012 a former Commonwealth Ombudsman, Allan Asher, accused a minister of suppressing his report and underfunding the watchdog so it became ineffective. Asher warned: 'the federal bureaucracy might be more corrupt than was commonly believed.'<sup>278</sup> There are many examples of public sector corruption, ranging from taking bribes to awarding lucrative contracts without due process.<sup>279</sup> Almost a decade after the Lee-Rogers and Kessing affairs concerning the lack of security at Sydney Airport, discussed in Chapter Two, a ring of corrupt officers there included the

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feeble...There is not really any stick to go with them if someone decides to exploit a veteran's information.']

<sup>277</sup> Chickhawk Hall of Shame, *New Hampshire Gazette*.

<sup>278</sup> M. Mannheim, Minister halted report: claim, *The Age*, 6 Nov 12, p. 6.

<sup>279</sup> See: Richard Baker, Contracts probe official linked to Libs, Turnbull, *The Age*, 24 July 2007, p. 3.

brother of the head of Australian Border Force.<sup>280</sup> Ironically, given Cole and Tracey's Royal Commission into the Building Industry in Victoria, up to thirty officials in the consequent building industry watchdog were investigated for corruption.<sup>281</sup> The ripples of the Secrecy foreign bribery scandal extended to stonewalling at the Reserve Bank, and to a senior Austrade official's perhaps imprudent affair with a foreign senior intelligence officer accused of receiving substantial Australian bribes.<sup>282</sup>

While most officials are conscientious and honest, misconduct—poor judgement at best, malfeasance in office at worst—is clearly flourishing to high levels in Australia's public institutions. As evidenced earlier, there is rarely any serious investigation or penalty for protected individuals. Foreign actors would undoubtedly be aware of this and seek to exploit it.

## **SOCIAL CONTROL: THE JUSTICE SYSTEM**

### **Significance to the Dissertation**

The justice system is the state's method of social control. It comprises coercive agencies, most commonly the police, and a punishment arm, the courts. Both are of immense significance to the power clique, and by extension, foreign interests. Given their importance to and within the Australian polity, the efficacy of both will be examined in this section.

## **THE POLICE**

### **Why Police Matter in IR**

There are some 50,000 police in Australia, their ratio of 217 sworn officers to 100,000 citizens comparable with the UK and Canada, but below that of the US. Police are of considerable interest to foreign actors, for their political reliability as protectors of Australia's power clique and of foreign investment<sup>283</sup> and for their zeal

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<sup>280</sup> N. McKenzie, R. Baker, and J. Massola, Brother of Customs boss to be sentenced, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 June 2014.

<sup>281</sup> Baker, R., and McKenzie, N., Building watchdog shambles: dozens of officials under investigation, *The Age*, 4 April 2012, p. 1.

<sup>282</sup> B. Eltham, A Grubby Trail Of Plastic Money, *New Matilda*, 13 September 2012.

<sup>283</sup> For example, see, B. Brown, Arresting voices, *The Saturday Paper*, 19-25 March 2016, p. 3, for

or not in identifying and apprehending criminals. To domestic and foreign observers, police are a measure of a society's harmony. This is illustrated by the media coverage of American police shootings of black males, and in Australia black incarceration rates and deaths in custody. Australians regard police ambivalently, as guardians or predators.<sup>284</sup> The difficulty of the role for conscientious and empathetic police is evidenced by relatively high rates of reported bullying, resignation, sick leave and suicide.<sup>285</sup>

### **Police Corruption**

In Australia a constant trickle of police corruption cases come to public notice. This indicates that police culture does not create a microsystem so toxic to corruption that it cannot occur. The perception of police corruption reaches an alarming 60 percent in Marriot's study, with public perception of corruption amongst bureaucrats higher again.<sup>286</sup> Intriguing blogs give an even more dismal view of police corruption: the Hoser files name allegedly corrupt or adversely mentioned officials, lawyers and magistrates.<sup>287</sup> Former police, Simon Illingworth and Clive Small's books, along with Matthew Condon's trilogy on Queensland Police corruption, support the notion that a significant number of Australian police are corrupt with many more acquiescent about it.<sup>288</sup> Wayne Sievers, an AFP officer—deployed to East Timor before the 1999 ballot and targeted for his outspokenness—described high-level corruption in the AFP.<sup>289</sup> The assertions echo New York's Knapp (Serpico) Commission report into police corruption, outlined in Chapter Two. In a similar vein, Small and Gillings draw attention to the Mafia's infiltration of federal and state governments, judiciary and 'various law enforcement bodies'.<sup>290</sup> There are inexplicably contradictory reports, by the National Crime Authority (NCA) and its

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reference to Malaysian logging firm Ta Ann.

<sup>284</sup> A range of opinions about police are included in the comments section to: W. Verity, Our shameful silence on police suicide, *The Drum*, 6 March 2014.

<sup>285</sup> See *ibid.* and J. Silvester, Suicide crisis hits police, *The Age*, 2 Aug 2014, p. 1.

<sup>286</sup> Marriot, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>287</sup> R. Hoser, *The Hoser Files: The fight against official corruption*; and Australian Police Corruption, *The Expendable Project*, retrieved 3 March 2016.

<sup>288</sup> S. Illingworth, *Filthy Rat: One Man's Stand Against Police Corruption and Melbourne's Gangland War*, Fontaine Press, 2011. Small and Gillings, *op. cit.* pp. 171, 312-320. M. Condo, *Three Crooked Kings*, (2013); *Jacks and Jokers*, (2014); and *All Fall Down*, (2015); University of Queensland Press.

<sup>289</sup> N. O'Brien, Fortress of corruption where whistle-blowers were silenced and sidelined, *The Australian*, 16 June 2008.

<sup>290</sup> Small and Gillings, *op. cit.*, pp. 171, 312-320.

successor, the Australian Crime Commission (ACC), on Mafia crime in Australia.<sup>291</sup> Justice Stewart, a policeman before his legal career, comments on how much power police have and their readiness to ‘abuse it’, as well as how a leading organised crime figure was ‘protected by NSW Police at all levels.’<sup>292</sup> Paul Keating supposedly told Bob Hawke: ‘The police are corrupt and should never be given an inch when it comes to telephone tapping.’<sup>293</sup>

### Investigations of Deaths

Police have particular power in their opportunity to lead or mislead investigations; an initial police finding of suicide easily shapes a narrative. For example,

In 1984, Jennifer Tanner died from two bullets from a bolt-action rifle that required reloading. The bullets went through her fingers and into her brain. Police said it was suicide. In 1998, a Victorian Coroner found that Jennifer Tanner’s brother-in-law, Detective-Sergeant Denis Tanner, shot and killed her. The DPP did not charge Tanner.<sup>294</sup>

Tanner has maintained innocence over that and another murder and is seeking a third inquest.

Scepticism similarly lingers over the death by hanging of AFP Deputy Commissioner Audrey Fagan, whilst on holiday in Queensland, after media assertions of corruption in the AFP. Her death was reported as a suicide by the Queensland Police, but *Crikey* observed:

It beggars belief, however, that a 26-year veteran of front-line policing would be driven to suicide by an editorial and a cartoon ... the more improbable it seems that a squabble over media policy could have led to her death. It is beyond irony that in clamming up about her death, the AFP is following the secretive path of media control and manipulation ...<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> Small and Gillings, op. cit., pp. 171, 312-320.

<sup>292</sup> Stewart, op. cit., pp. 90, 194-195.

<sup>293</sup> Hawke, cited in, Wright, T., Bonfire of the Vanities, Good Weekend, *The Age*, 23 August 2014, pp. 30-31. Quote from p. 30. Discusses Gareth Evans’ book, *Inside the Hawke-Keating Government: a Cabinet Diary*, MUP.

<sup>294</sup> E. Whitton, Our corrupt legal system, p. 227-228. Also see: L. Porter, *Written on the Skin: An Australian forensic casebook*, Pan MacMillan, 2006, pp. 90-93.

<sup>295</sup> J. Griffiths, Thursday, ACT police mystery: see what happens when you call for transparency?

The 2002 mysterious death of Australian Protective Service Officer Gary Lee-Rogers, has been detailed in Chapter Two. Lee-Rogers complained to the Ombudsman about security and corrupt police at Sydney Airport; then to Whistleblowers Australia, about being in fear of his life. He was found dead a month before a trial, the coroner criticising the police investigation.<sup>296</sup>

Condon, in his trilogy on corruption in the Queensland police, explains how easy it is for suicide to be induced by psychological pressure. For corrupt police, findings of suicide or misadventure, are as convenient as ‘heart attacks’ are to international intelligence and security services, and for political murder.<sup>297</sup> In July 2007, years after the November 2004 Palm Island death in custody of Mr Cameron ‘Mulrunji’ Doomadgee, a key witness (Patrick Bramwell), about to give evidence before Justice Street, was found dead by hanging, a presumed suicide.<sup>298</sup> Almost a decade later, despite a coroner’s finding against a Queensland Police sergeant who was subsequently acquitted by jury, the matter dragged on.<sup>299</sup> Even Royal Commissioners can seemingly make little impact on the police ‘them and us’ culture, and codes of silence that echo in the abyss of police corruption.<sup>300</sup>

Frequently, under fleeting media spotlights, police are demonstrably secretive against any change to their culture driven from outside influences. Insider norms reinforced by assertions of corruption, racism, sexism and bullying persists because, ‘Police know better than any group how to exploit the accountability system and justify their actions.’<sup>301</sup>

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*Crikey*, 26 April 2007.

<sup>296</sup> ABC, Coroner rules whistleblower died of natural causes, *ABC News*, 21 April 2005.

<sup>297</sup> On heart attacks, see, Benazi Bhutto, cited in D. Whitmont, *The Nuclear Bazaar*, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, 26 April 2004.

<sup>298</sup> D. Donaghy, Custody death witness suicide, *The Daily Telegraph*, 17 January 2007. Also see: News.com, Police colluded to protect Senior Sergeant Chris Hurley over death in custody of Cameron Doomagee, coroner, 14 May 2010. For an academic review of the case, see, J. Ransley and E. Marchetti, *Justice Talk and legal perceptions of justice about a Palm Island death in custody*, Australian Indigenous Law Review, Vol 12, No 2, 2008.

<sup>299</sup> Brisbane Times, Palm Island probe: Police shared meal after death in custody, *Brisbane Times*, 7 March 2015. Sgt Hurley was later convicted of assaulting a motorist in 2013.

<sup>300</sup> Mr J.R.T. Wood, Royal Commission into the New South Wales Police Service, Vol 1 Corruption, May 1997, p. 155.

<sup>301</sup> G. Denham, Victoria Police will close ranks on reforms unless forced to reform by outside powers, *The Age*, 13 December 2015.

## Political Police

For this dissertation, the most significant police are those charged with quasi-security tasks such as assisting ASIO in preventing espionage, subversion, politically motivated violence and for foiling organised crime and international criminal activity. The AFP are charged with apprehending Commonwealth lantern-bearers thereby suppressing leaks from government departments. This task is more prevalent during periods of LNC administration, when convictions for deceptive business and government practices decline.<sup>302</sup> The political and politicised nature of the AFP can be gauged by their role in the ‘oppressive conduct’ and ‘robust discussion and considerable prompting’ during the Izur ul-Haque case.<sup>303</sup> Prime Minister Turnbull began and finished the 2016 federal election with AFP action against political rivals.<sup>304</sup> At a state level, close cooperation by Victoria Police with Melbourne’s Jewish community in the heavy-handed suppression of a BDS demonstration has been described.<sup>305</sup>

Conversely, the travails of honest police are revealed by the testimony of an AFP officer in the Federal Court that ‘he was offered a promotion in return for shutting down the probe [into the AWB scandal that was damaging to the Howard government].’<sup>306</sup> In another case AFP charges of alleged paedophilia by a high-ranking diplomat involving Cambodian children were dismissed despite the magistrate finding ‘although there was *prima facie* evidence of a crime being committed’ the ‘Magistrate’s decision did not adequately consider the cultural and

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<sup>302</sup> Marriot, L., *Are Australia and New Zealand corrupt?* Australian New Zealand Chartered Accountants, August 2015, p. 15.

<sup>303</sup> Adams, *Judgement*, 2007, paras, 99, 120.

<sup>304</sup> These involved action against Senator Conroy on NBN matters and Turnbull’s anger voiced on the 2016 election night over the ‘medifraud’ allegations. In late 2017 union offices were raided by the AFP that led to scandal about who leaked the intended raids to the media. Allegations flowed around the employment minister, Cash, and the Prime Minister himself as well as the AFP and particular elements of the corporate media. As journalist Mike Secombe explained it, ‘In the circus, when something unforeseen happens, when the trapeze artist falls or the lion tamer is mauled, they send in the clowns to distract the crowd. Within 48 hours of the raids on the AWU offices, the government announced there would be an investigation of the leak. Not an independent one, though: one conducted by the federal police themselves.’ See: M. Secombe, The true story of Michaelia Cash’s union raids, *The Saturday Paper*, No 181, 4-10 November 2018.

<sup>305</sup> B. Alhadeff, Protests are not the answer, *The Australian Jewish News*, 29 July 2011; T. Lapkin, The community can’t sit idly by, *The Australian Jewish News*, 29 July 2011; and K. Bullimore, Victory for Australia’s boycott campaign as charges of blockading chocolate store dropped, *The Electronic Intifada*, 27 July 2012.

<sup>306</sup> McKenzie, R. Baker, R. Top job ‘offered to end probe’, *The Age*, 7 Jun 2012.

language factors influencing the content and manner of the boys' evidence.'<sup>307</sup>

### **Social Control By Police**

Against this background of tainted police and other agencies that is backed by increasingly draconian legislation and intrusive state surveillance, the concentration of wealth, political power and legislation by the top one tenth of one percent has seen the 'shredding the remnants of political democracy' in the English-speaking West that will continue as 'long as the victims are willing to suffer in silence.'<sup>308</sup> The increasing militarisation of police has been chronicled beyond doubt.<sup>309</sup> One citizen noted: 'When I grew up, the police knocked on your door when they wanted to talk to you, not knock your door down and burst in with guns.'<sup>310</sup> Most shootings in Australia are now by the police.<sup>311</sup> This appears to reflect an American trend where Patrick Ball, examining the uncertainty in police homicide statistics, concludes that 'of all American homicide victims killed by people they don't know, approximately one-third of them are victims of the police.'<sup>312</sup>

Such are the shortfalls of the enforcement system that places individuals before the courts.

## **THE COURTS**

### **Role and Record of the Judiciary**

US President George Washington warned of the dangers posed by 'unprincipled political tactics, and political criminality' aimed at gaining 'control of the political system as a whole so that a program can be legislated, executed, and judicially sustained.'<sup>313</sup> The appointment of judges can bespeak similar worldviews and social

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<sup>307</sup> M. Brungs, *Abolishing Child Sex Tourism: Australia's Contribution*, Australian Journal of Human Rights, 2002.

<sup>308</sup> See closing remarks, N. Chomsky, *Changing Contours of Global Order*, public lecture for Deakin University, Melbourne, 4 November 2011.

<sup>309</sup> J. Green, (pres), S. Selemis, Police militarisation, *Sunday Extra*, ABC RN, 24 August 2014.

<sup>310</sup> J. Baglin, Is it any wonder that Muslims feel alienated, *The Age*, 23 April 2015, Letters, p. 16.

<sup>311</sup> See: M. Peacock, Are Australian police too trigger happy? Spike in fatal shootings raises questions, 7.30, ABC TV1, 9 December 2014. And: T. Goldsworthy, Shoot to kill: the use of lethal force by police in Australia, *The Conversation*, 25 November 2014.

<sup>312</sup> Patrick Ball, Violence in blue, *Granta Publications*, No 134, London, 4 March 2016.

<sup>313</sup> Washington cited in, L. de Haven-Smith, *Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government*, [Conspiracy Theory], *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, p

circles to the power clique. Some have a public sympathy with left or right political positions, others are unbranded—‘cleanskins’—apparently neutral and thus ideal for strategic cases. Maintaining an appropriate political escutcheon can also open up lucrative subsequent or parallel appointments.

That the judiciary is a key component of Western gubernatorial power is witnessed in the 2000 Bush v Gore case ‘resolving’ the contentious US federal election impasse; and in Lord Hutton’s inquiry into the mysterious death of UK weapons inspector, Dr David Kelly,<sup>314</sup> after which Greg Dyke, the former head of the BBC, ‘surmised months before the Hutton report was published’ that Blair would be cleared.<sup>315</sup> Dyke quoted one of Blair’s advisors:

Gould (now a lord) telling another Labour lord that everything was going to be OK with Hutton because “we appointed the right judge”. Initially, Gould not only denied the story but threatened to take legal action. The issue only went away when he discovered we could prove he had said it.<sup>316</sup>

Journalist Andrew Fowler highlights the ‘intricate relationships between the British judiciary and those who write the laws’ and the dubious moral authority of Swedish extradition attempts against Julian Assange in which ‘the judiciary appeared to have delivered the desired outcome.’<sup>317</sup> Geoffrey Robertson criticised the role of the ‘Bush lawyers’ in devising the legal ‘fraud’ of Guantanamo Bay, referring in the discourse to ‘corrupt [Nazi] lawyers who gave advice that they knew to be wrong.’<sup>318</sup> This dissertation has already noted the contested legal advice Howard accepted to justify Canberra’s role in the then-and-now discredited attack on Iraq. An Australian judge conceives the judiciary’s role as an arm of government:

The judge said that judicial power forms part of the system of representative government enshrined in the Constitution...and said that the Court emphasised the

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<sup>314</sup> James Brian Edward Hutton, Baron Hutton. Also see: I. Burrell, Hutton Inquiry: Alistair Campbell, Andrew Gilligan and Greg Dyke look back 10 years on, *The Independent*, UK, 27 April 2013.

<sup>315</sup> G. Cordon, London, Blair unleashed the dogs on BBC, says former head, *Sydney Morning Herald*, August 30, 2004.

<sup>316</sup> G. Dyke, Two years after the war, one year after Hutton. Why hasn’t Blair resigned yet? *The Independent*, UK, 28 Jan 2005.

<sup>317</sup> Fowler, op. cit. [War on Journalism], pp. pp. 18-19.

<sup>318</sup> Geoffrey Robertson, in T. Jones, Interview with Geoffrey Robertson, QC, *Lateline*, ABC TV1, 17 November 2008.

independence of the judicial arm of government as a fundamental principle of representative democracy... He said that the judiciary forms part of the third branch of government and that 'matters that may reflect adversely on the quality of the administration of justice are matters of proper public debate on which the community is entitled to be fully informed'...<sup>319</sup>

Janet Albrechtsen commented on the importance of the press that must be able to report on the conduct of judges:

For starters, a free, fearless and sceptical press must be able to report, analyse and criticise judicial decisions and the conduct of judicial officers when circumstances demand. The media must do so notwithstanding the stifling effect of incredibly complex defamation laws and despite overly sensitive judges who fling accusations of 'bully boys' at those of us who dare to question their decisions and their reasons.<sup>320</sup>

Australian judges Kerr, Mason and Barwick were involved to different degrees in orchestrating the fall of Whitlam's Government.<sup>321</sup> Kerr's wartime and subsequent quasi-intelligence links with the Americans has been widely covered. Greg Poulgrain mentions CIA chief Allan Dulles' pro-Jakarta briefings of Garfield Barwick during the Menzies era and a sudden change of policy against Papua.<sup>322</sup> Australia's recent prime ministers have overtly admired the rule of law.<sup>323</sup> Other observers are less enthralled with Australia's English system of adversarial law, in which 'lawyers question witnesses, and...have an incentive to spin the process out', rather than the European inquisitorial tradition where 'trained judges question witnesses and have no incentive to prolong the process.'<sup>324</sup> Brian Martin cites defamation law as a key

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<sup>319</sup> Justice Besanko cited in, Moles, op. cit.

<sup>320</sup> J. Albrechtsen, A question of legal standards, *The Weekend Australian*, 18-19 February 2012, p. 15.

<sup>321</sup> J. Hocking, *The Dismissal Dossier*, Melbourne University Press, 2015.

<sup>322</sup> For Barwick, see G. Polgrain, *Incubus of Intervention*, Strategic Information Research Development Centre, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, 2015, pp. 216-218. For Kerr, see, J. Pilger, *A Secret Country*, Chapter 5, and, P. Frazer, *Was the U.S. Involved in Bringing Down Australia's Government?* Updated, 19 December 2014, Alternet.

<sup>323</sup> J. Howard, *John Howard's Australia Day Address to the National Press Club*, 25 January 2006. Excerpt: '... the rule of law upheld by an independent and admirably incorruptible judiciary ...' K. Rudd, *The First National Security Statement to the Australian Parliament*, Address by the Prime Minister of Australia, The Hon. Kevin Rudd MP, 4 December 2008. A.J. Abbott, *Address to Parliament*, House of Representatives, Parliament House, 8 July 2014.

<sup>324</sup> E. Whitton, Our corrupt legal system only benefits lawyers and rich criminals, *Independent Australia*, 10 December 2011. The special advisor to the Director General of Defence Legal Services made a similar statement about reserve legal officers having 'no incentive to conclude the proceedings

method of suppressing research data.<sup>325</sup> American researcher George Pring has written on Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPP), also known as ‘Lawfare’, which

strike at a wide variety of traditional American political activities [including] among the most important political rights citizens have ... to stop citizens from exercising their political rights or to punish them for having done so. SLAPPs send a clear message: that there is a “price” for speaking out politically.<sup>326</sup>

The power clique in Australia similarly uses the law—Peter Bartlett’s comments on Canberra’s use of defamation are cited below. Gillian Triggs, President of the Australian Human Rights Commission (AHRC), ‘criticised politicians and the judiciary for failing to protect basic freedoms’, stating<sup>327</sup>:

Australia has become, in my view, isolated and exceptional in its approach to the protection of human rights...Parliamentary representatives are ill-prepared for their traditional and crucial role as the bulwark against the overreach of executive government and as the protectors of fundamental freedoms...Respective parliaments have failed to protect the fundamental human freedoms in Australia, and our judges sadly have not taken up the challenge to strike down legislation that violates common law rights that are as ancient as the Magna Carta... [Federal Parliament passed counter-terrorism laws] disproportionate to any legitimate aim to protect national security... Indeed Australia has been accused of hyper-legislating counter-terrorism laws, enacting far more such laws than comparable states like the United States and United Kingdom.<sup>328</sup>

Triggs marked 2001 as the plunging point where ‘something went terribly wrong.’<sup>329</sup>

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quickly.’ Australian Senate FAD&T Committee, Inquiry into Military Justice, Hansard, 10 August 2004, p. 9. Also see: Hot Topics, No 60, *Legal Issues in Plain Language*, Australian Legal System, Other influences, University of Tasmania, pp. 3-5, 2007; and W. van Caenegem, *Advantages and Disadvantages of the Adversarial System in Criminal Proceedings*, Law Faculty Publications, Bond University, 1 Jan 1999.

<sup>325</sup> B. Martin, *Suppressing Research Data: Methods, Context, Accountability, and Responses*, *Accountability in Research*, Vol. 6, 1999, pp. 333-372.

<sup>326</sup> P.W. Pring, SLAPPs: Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation, *Pace Environmental Law Review*, Vol 7, Iss 1, Fall 1989, Article 11, September 1989, pp. 5-6 of 21.

<sup>327</sup> Cited in, S. Kim, Human rights concerns in Australia at unprecedented levels, Professor Gillian Triggs says, *ABC, News*, 1 September 2016.

<sup>328</sup> Triggs cited in, S. Kim, Human rights concerns in Australia at unprecedented levels, Professor Gillian Triggs says, *ABC, News*, 1 September 2016.

<sup>329</sup> S. Kim, Human rights concerns in Australia at unprecedented levels, Professor Gillian Triggs says, *ABC, News*, 1 September 2016.

The problem may antedate this to the beginning of John Howard's prime-ministership, and in the aftermath of the Port Arthur massacre, the imprisonment without trial of Martin Bryant, on which Australia's judges were silent.

### **Honesty of and Impartiality of Judges**

The law is attended by displays of robe and ritual intended to reinforce the notion of balanced justice blind to other than the whole truth. British law academics Greenfield, Osborn and Robson, in their analysis of a popular TV courtroom series, describe a 'shadowy world of hidden levers of power and whispered words in the "right ear" to secure the "right result."' <sup>330</sup> Given the truism that truth is stranger than fiction and Greg Dykes' comments (above) about the British government arranging 'the right judge' for the Kelly inquiry, scepticism about the judiciary is merely prudent.

In Australia, Justice Stewart, who headed the Royal Commission into Drug Trafficking (1981-1983), is scathing of some law enforcement agencies and politicians, but finds dishonest judges 'rare indeed'. <sup>331</sup> Others are less optimistic. In 2015, the Fairfax press reported: 'Top-secret police intelligence reports revealed an Australian Mafia boss allegedly paid \$2.2 million in bribes to NSW judges to get lighter jail sentences.' <sup>332</sup> Small and Gilling describe Justice Dowd and Professor Vinson's scathing assessments of Judge Foord's history of handing light sentences to organised crime figures. They go on to note Foord was a 'vital part' of the marijuana and heroin industries. <sup>333</sup>

Outright criminality aside, other factors can influence the judiciary's approach to justice. Justice Finkelstein suggested class and worldviews influences sentencing: 'As a general rule the judge's rationale in sentencing [white-collar criminals] is different from sentencing true criminals ... imprisonment, when available, is

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<sup>330</sup> S. Greenfield, G. Osborn and P. Robson, *Judge John Deed: British TV Lawyers in the 21st Century*, (30 January 2009), in *Lawyers in Your Living Room*, ABA Press, 2009. The series is Judge John Deed, written by George Newman.

<sup>331</sup> D. Stewart, *Recollection of an Impossible Man*, ABC, Sydney, 2007, p. 180.

<sup>332</sup> M. Bachelard, N. McKenzie and R. Baker, Australian Mafia: the more it changes, the more it stays the same, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 July 2015.

<sup>333</sup> C. Small and Tom Gilling, *Evil Life*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2016, pp. 94-96, 112-113.

regarded as a last resort.<sup>334</sup>

### Political Appointments

The Australian judiciary is subject to ‘nothing new’ political interference by the very act of their appointment: ‘Ruddock has been cranking out appointments ... Various mysterious tappings and private nods and winks are used...[if a ] truly independent judiciary are to survive, the system has to change.’<sup>335</sup> It is doubtful these are absent-minded selections: ‘The Liberals have a long history of using the courts to destroy their political rivals...’<sup>336</sup> The politicisation continues with barrister Bernard Collaery noting ‘the perception that where judicial or administrative review cannot be abolished, eroded or excluded, the Government has been appointing, blatantly political allies, even a family solicitor to review bodies.’<sup>337</sup>

On occasion, Australian politicians receive fortune’s favour when matters that the bureaucracy cannot contain spill over into the courts. From swift, if tentative and ineffectual government action against Justice Adams over the Izur ul-Haque case, the denigration of Colonel Brown’s work in a Defence intelligence case, and Senator Heffernan’s accusation against Justice Kirby, it can be assumed the judiciary, and everybody else, knows when the government is unhappy with their work.<sup>338</sup> A former Commonwealth Solicitor General warned in 2017 of the ‘pressing issue of the law being used to suppress legitimate criticism of those who govern us.’<sup>339</sup>

### Defence Case Study

Canberra’s fortune in the appointment of its judges is appropriately illustrated by an

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<sup>334</sup> E. Whitton, Why white collar criminals love judges, *Independent Australia*, 1 November 2012. Whitton cites Garfield Barwick, who gave legal advice to John Kerr before the Whitlam dismissal, as a white collar criminal. See also: L. Ng, Injustice and the rule of law: the scope of the challenge, *Independent Australia*, 5 September 2015.

<sup>335</sup> R. Ackland, There must be a better way to appoint judges, *Crikey*, 15 September 2006. This system has continued under AG Brandis; see, R. Ackland, The Coalition’s legal appointments, *The Saturday Paper*, No 164, 8-14 July 2017,

<sup>336</sup> M. Kingston, The Dishonest Politics Club, *Independent Australia*, 3 January 2013.

<sup>337</sup> B. Collaery, *Creating a Just Society Under Rule of Law*, Address to the NT Legal Profession on the Opening of the 2017 Law Year.

<sup>338</sup> NSW judicial body backs judge in [Izur ul-Haque] terrorism case, *Lawyers Weekly*, retrieved 1 Jun 15. Colonel Brown’s case is discussed below.

<sup>339</sup> J. Gleeson, J., former Solicitor General of Australia, Lecture, *The Threat to Freedom of Expression*, Sydney Writer’s Festival, 27 May 2017; transcript at, Jennelle D., *Justin Gleeson Talks Threats to Freedom of Expression*, Pen Sydney, 1 June 2017.

intelligence scandal that began with the 1999 cutting off by DIO of intelligence to INTERFET in East Timor, through a five-year government cover-up, ending with a 2008 judgement on a defamation case in the ACT Supreme Court. Springing from the East Timor intelligence leaks investigation (1998 onward), the legal reviews and court case transcripts chronicle judicial involvement in a series of connected events where the power clique protected itself and punished contrary voices, particularly in regard to the 'Indonesia problem.' This closely-documented nine-year-long affair (1999-2008) is noteworthy because it: a) proves the involvement of politicians and bureaucrats at a high level, b) demonstrates the mechanics of a government cover-up, c) shows the immunity of senior officials, and d) indicates the worldview of some judges.

Justice Tracey, with a second career as an Army legal officer, had his Defence legal opinion noted, in a witness statement about the Army's denial of information, to a damning Senate inquiry into military justice.

To show the length that the Army will go to cover up ... [in the report into the suicide of a soldier in 2003] are 20 pages of paragraph numbers, and the rest is blank. What is the Army hiding? ... Despite our complaints in this regard, were told by the Army that the report was described by Colonel Tracey as comprehensive and that therefore, it must be good.<sup>340</sup>

In his civil career, Tracey was senior counsel, assisting Royal Commissioner Cole, another Defence Reserve legal officer, into the building and construction industry. It resulted in charges withdrawn and dismissed: Magistrate 'Hardy's finding contained implicit criticisms of both the part-time colonel and occasional commodore.'<sup>341</sup> In April 2004 *Workers Online* reported Tracey's speech to the right-wing H.R. Nicholls society.

Colonel Richard Tracey, QC, was a guest speaker at a conference that presented a medal to a Perth building magnate under police investigation for drawing up a hit list of 30 trade unionists... Tracey spoke to Society members about the work of the [Cole] Royal Commission into the Building and Construction Industry, and the rule

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<sup>340</sup> *Civilian witness statement*, Australian Parliament, Inquiry into the Effectiveness of Australian's Military Justice System, Senate References Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade 28 April 2004, p. 38.

<sup>341</sup> Weekend Warrior Outed, *Workers Online*, Issue 216, *Labornet*, 16 April 2004.

of law.<sup>342</sup>

The ambivalence of the law is highlighted by Tracey, who in 2004 was representing Peter Costello's treasury, arguing against releasing documents. His interpretation of law was questioned when 'Justice Downes agreed with John Griffiths SC, for McKinnon, who argued Tracey's was not a proper interpretation of administrative law.'<sup>343</sup>

In 2004, General Cosgrove was presented with an embarrassing—and already twice reviewed and supported<sup>344</sup>—military investigating officer's report<sup>345</sup> that was critical of aspects of Defence intelligence related to the 1999 INTERFET intervention into East Timor. He tasked Tracey to complete an extraordinary third review.<sup>346</sup> Based on Tracey's findings, Cosgrove deemed Toohey's report a 'nullity'.<sup>347</sup> When the story of the cover-up was revealed in the prestigious *Bulletin* magazine,<sup>348</sup> Tracey spoke publically to distance himself from the matter, saying that his view did not 'invalidate those allegations'.<sup>349</sup>

Tracey again came to public notice in the AWB scandal over breaching of UN sanctions against Saddam Hussein's Iraq. David Marr recorded:

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<sup>342</sup> Dick's got form, *Workers Online*, Issue 216, *Labornet*, 16 April 2004.

<sup>343</sup> E. Coleman, Court refuses to bar FOI applicant, *The Australian*, 14 July 2004, p. 2.

<sup>344</sup> By: the commissioning Army Legal Officer, Lieutenant Colonel T. Mathewson; and a review by Colonel R.A. Brown [Archive pp. 549-554.], *Legal Report on Investigation into Redress of Grievance submitted by 322067 Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins and Investigated by CAPT M. Toohey*, RANR, HQ Training Command, 22 September 2003. Brown, a senior NSW Magistrate, found: 'I have closely examined Ref A [Toohey Report] ... necessitated a very close examination of the supporting documents to ensure they are accurately reported. ... CAPT Toohey's advice in accordance with his terms of reference (TOR), and it definitely involved "a matter concerning a part of the Defence Force" so as to come within reg 69(1)... [the recommendations] are firmly supported on the evidence ...'

<sup>345</sup> Captain M.J. Toohey, *Report of Investigation—Redress of Grievance Submitted by 322067 Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins*, Legal Office, HQ Training Command, 7 September 2003. [Archive pp. 470-510]

<sup>346</sup> Colonel R.R.S. Tracey, Redress of Grievance—322067 Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins, vide Owen Dixon Chambers West, Melbourne, 4 February 2015. [Archive 511-536]

<sup>347</sup> CDF [Cosgrove] 303/04 dated 8 April 2004. [Archive 537-538]

<sup>348</sup> J. Lyons, Rotten to the Corps, *The Bulletin*, Australian Consolidated Press, 20 April 2004, pp. 30-36. Insert, the leaked Toohey Report.

<sup>349</sup> M. Forbes, Barrister disputes Hill's use of report, *The Age*, 16 April 2004, [Archive p. 546], p. 4. Excerpt: 'The barrister whose report was used [by Defence Minister Robert Hill] to deflect allegations of intelligence failings made by a senior military analyst says his views do not invalidate those allegations... Mr Tracey has told The Age "there is nothing in my report that is in any way critical of Collins and any suggestions, in any way, to the contrary are wrong". ... Contradicting Senator Hill, Mr Tracey said his review looked only at the legality of a limited number of recommendations to Defence Force chief Peter Cosgrove, and did not evaluate the Toohey report.' Also see: M. Forbes and M. Grattan, Spy probe to be limited, *The Age*, 15 April 2004.

For months we had no idea of his name. He was just the Melbourne senior counsel who had somehow given AWB a clean bill of health in the midst of its troubles. The company was telling the Australian Government, American wheat interests and United Nations officials it had a top QC's opinion that there was "absolutely no evidence" it had breached UN sanctions. By the time we learnt in April that the lawyer was Richard Tracey enough had been uncovered by the Cole inquiry to make his verdict read like farce. Yet three months later, with AWB sunk even deeper into the mire, Tracey was appointed to the Federal Court by the Attorney-General, Philip Ruddock. On the day of his installation, no one mentioned AWB. They spoke of the new judge's brilliant academic career, his textbooks and his late switch to the bar, where he carved out a career in administrative and industrial law. This was a man governments like to have on their side, and unions feared to find pitted against them. Tracey defended Work Choices in the High Court and was counsel assisting Terence Cole, QC's inquiry into the building industry. He got the Department of Defence off the hook in the notorious Lance Collins [Toohey] case.<sup>350</sup>

Tracey dismissed Save the Tarkine's bid to overturn a mining project by Venture Minerals, saying the environmentalist group 'had failed to prove any of its grounds for appeal.'<sup>351</sup> A mining magazine reported that Tracey deemed the activists' case as 'frivolous, declaring that the environmental group had failed to make good any of its grounds and should pay costs to the Commonwealth and Venture Minerals.'<sup>352</sup> At the culmination of his legal career, Tracey is a judge, major-general, Member of the Order of Australia and holds the Reserve Force Decoration.<sup>353</sup>

This Defence matter was to be passed to Justice Besanko, who in a case related to building workers' rights, 'ruled that the ABCC had the power to deny the worker the choice of lawyer during the secret interrogations.'<sup>354</sup> In 2007-08 Besanko presided over a defamation case brought by a Canberra bureaucrat, with circles<sup>355</sup> of senior Defence and military officers in support of the plaintiff. The court records show

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<sup>350</sup> D. Marr, AWB's backroom boys, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 September 2006.

<sup>351</sup> H. Kempton, Federal Court knocks back Save the Tarkine's appeal against Riley mine on Tasmania's West Coast, *The Mercury*, 16 May 2015.

<sup>352</sup> R. Spense, Iron Ore Mine Gets the Go-Ahead After Legal Delay, *Mining Global*, 19 May 2014.

<sup>353</sup> Bench and Bar on honours roll, *Lawyers Weekly*, 30 January 2014.

<sup>354</sup> CPA, Workers lose right to choose lawyers, *The Guardian*, Issue 1298, Communist Party of Australia (CPA), 8 November, 2006. *Workers Online*, Workers Lose Right to Choose Lawyers, *Workers Online*, Issue 328, 13 October 2006.

<sup>355</sup> See *LvACP*, p. 84 (para 20); p. 476, Gray refers to circles and 'immediate upper or inner circle', (paras 5, 15, 20); 506 (para 35);

Justice Besanko's attention to what 'an ordinary reader would understand'.<sup>356</sup> Then, evidently disregarding contrary, 'very, very strong evidence and contemporary evidence' from the reputable Colonel Bernard<sup>357</sup> and statements from Dr Kean of DIO<sup>358</sup>, Besanko instead accepted the plaintiff's version and deemed him 'an honest witness and [sic] gave his evidence in a straightforward and clear fashion...an impressive witness.'<sup>359</sup> In this manner a judge favoured a bureaucrat who:

- a. [The government Chair of a Senate Committee cautioned in writing "for what might be a contempt of power"<sup>360</sup>] "over a perception that he may have tried to improperly influence the testimony of a witness before a committee hearing..."<sup>361</sup>
- b. Whose subordinates withheld information from an IGIS (Blick), requiring a second inquiry by the subsequent IGIS (Carnell) only after a public scandal, an overall process of five years.<sup>362</sup>
- c. Who 'did not discover what happened in his organisation...[yet] repeatedly denied the intelligence cut was deliberate' as the second IGIS (Carnell) investigation found it to be.<sup>363</sup>

In the hearing, Besanko raised his bench relationship with Justice Tracey, whose review was pivotal in the government's response to the case he was hearing:<sup>364</sup>

Just before you go on, Mr Gray, that reminds me, I notice that there was a report done by Colonel Tracy(?) as he then was. He's now a member of the Federal Court,

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<sup>356</sup> Besanko, *LvACP, Judgement*, 2008, p. 70, para 233.

<sup>357</sup> Documents presented by ACP barrister, *LvACP*, 28 August, p. 104-105 (paras25-45); 6 September 2007, p. 719.

<sup>358</sup> *LvACP*, 2007, p. 434.

<sup>359</sup> Besanko, *LvACP, Judgement*, Para 109, ACT Supreme Court, 23 July 2008.

<sup>360</sup> See *LvACP*, Paras 45-15, pp. 443-444, pp. 449-450, 8 August 2007.

<sup>361</sup> T. Allard, Spymaster cops a Senate caution, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 June 2004. Also see *Archives* pp. 717-718.

<sup>362</sup> *LvACP*, paras 5-45, pp. 431-438, 31 August 2007. Also see: Did not miss his targets (Plaintiff, cited in, J. Lyons, Threats, spies and audiotapes, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6420, p. 25 of pp. 18-27.[Audiotape]); attempted to interfere with a military legal investigation (*LvACP*, 30 August 2007, pp. 331-333.); occasioned a number of internal inquiries and received 'counselling' by senior APS officers (*LvACP*, pp. 478-485); and was reminded he was on oath (*LvACP*, paras 5-40, pp 441-442, 21 Aug 2004.)

<sup>363</sup> B. Toohey, DIO on the defensive, *The Canberra Times*, Sunday Focus, 19 December 2004, p. 31.

<sup>364</sup> Colonel R.R.S. Tracey, Redress of Grievance—322067 Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins, vide Owen Dixon Chambers West, Melbourne, 4 February 2015, retrieved 11 Sep 05. [Archive 511-536.]

and I am a member of the Federal Court as well as being a member of this court.  
Does either party take any issue with that?<sup>365</sup>

There being no issues raised, Besanko then leaned heavily on the text of Tracey's review, which the author had already publicly qualified.<sup>366</sup>

Besanko's use of Tracey echoes the then Defence Minister, Hill.<sup>367</sup> Besanko dismissed Colonel Brown's review—which supported the military complainant and the ADF investigating officer's report—stating, 'It is no answer to say that Col Tracey's report is somehow balanced by Col Brown's report.'<sup>368</sup> In contrast to Tracey, Colonel Brown, a NSW magistrate with a Cambridge doctorate, had conducted 'a very close examination of the supporting documents to ensure they are accurately reported.'<sup>369</sup> Besanko, echoing Carnell's duplicitous initial review<sup>370</sup>, further used Tracey, finding 'there was no evidence that the three named [DIO] officers had a strong dislike for' the subject of an AFP investigation.<sup>371</sup> To reach this conclusion, Besanko curiously cites: an irate DIO official<sup>372</sup>, a senior Army officer describing 'ruffled feathers' in DIO<sup>373</sup>, another senior Army officer specifying 'a degree of irritation emanating from the Director of DIO'<sup>374</sup>, and Mr Bryan's (from IGIS) eight pages of notes that 'did not contradict LTCOL Collins' version of Mr Lewincamp's anti-Collins statements'.<sup>375</sup> The ACP defence also raised DIO letters of 19 August and 21 December 'as anything other than [DIO] attempts to muzzle' an

<sup>365</sup> Justice Besanko, *LvACP*, para 25, p. 5, 27 Aug 2007.

<sup>366</sup> M. Forbes, Barrister disputes Hill's use of report, *The Age*, 15 April 2004, p. 4.

<sup>367</sup> On 11 September 2015, Colonel Brown's report is unavailable on the Defence website, Tracey's is. See R. Hill, Media Release, *Interview with Tony Jones*, ABC television's Lateline program Wednesday, 14 April 2004.

<sup>368</sup> Besanko, Judgement, 23 July 2008, pp. 70-71 of 140, para 233.

<sup>369</sup> Colonel R.A. Brown, Legal Report on Investigation into Redress of Grievance submitted by 322067 Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins and Investigated by CAPT M. Toohey, RANR, HQ Training Command, 22 September 2003. [Archive pp. 549-554]

<sup>370</sup> I. Carnell, IGIS report to Minister of Defence (Hill), IGIS 2006/65, 2004/113, Question 4, dated 3 May 2004. Not released until 9 December 2004—just before the Christmas holidays. Carnell would have been aware of DDIO's statement, '...explicitly I said, "I have not sought to get you or to intervene in your career in any way." But what I did go on to say, "If I had done that you would have known about it." You know, I did make the statement, I probably went too far, in retrospect, but I did say, ... "I don't have a reputation for missing my targets", was the sort of statement I made to him.' See: Lewincamp in interview with Captain Toohey, RANR, cited in, J. Lyons, Threats, spies & audiotapes, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6420, 11 May 2004, p. 24 of pp. 18-27.[Audiotape]

<sup>371</sup> The author was one of the targets of this AFP investigation. Besanko, Judgement, 23 July 2008, p. 26-27, para 59.

<sup>372</sup> Ibid., 23 July 2008, p. 12, para 24.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

officer,<sup>376</sup> and presented proof of a five-year cover up.

In this case the tactics of Canberra's higher inner circles are revealed as: a judge downplaying association with another judge's opinion<sup>377</sup>; 'florid' personal attacks on military lawyers (Brown and Toohey)<sup>378</sup>; half-truths; falsehoods; evasions; memory lapses; redacted evidence<sup>379</sup>; reliance on the discredited first IGIS (Blick) report; and evidence of police/security agency bullying and harassment. In an attempt to bury the case, Cosgrove's office had re-classified Toohey's report and Tracey's review, from a lowly RESTRICTED to a grossly elevated SECRET (plus).<sup>380</sup> Had it not been for *The Bulletin's* actions, Howard's government would have succeeded in the cover-up, a point made by ACP's defence:

... the reason we did what we did; we published something that was confidential so to speak. That's what newspapers should do and there has been an awful lot of bureaucratic duck shoving about this report by this stage, including by General Cosgrove. The fact is that in publishing this report we brought an end to that bureaucratic duck shoving.<sup>381</sup>

There were consequences for speaking against power. In a 'noticeably high award',<sup>382</sup> Besanko gave \$375,000 damages against ACP's *The Bulletin*. Other media, including the ABC, folded without a fight showing 'the company town with a company mentality' was still 'a happy hunting ground for plaintiffs...'<sup>383</sup> The case was one of a number where

applying "Lange qualified privilege" ['implied freedom of political communication on Australian defamation law'] have been largely unsuccessful. Its promise at the

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<sup>376</sup> *LvACP*, 6 September 2007, p. 719, paras 15-20.

<sup>377</sup> *LvACP*, 27 August 2007, p. 52, paras 10-30. 'I won't waste time saying anything about that, your Honour.' Also see: Besanko, Judgement, 23 July 2008, pp. 25 (para 54); p. 26 (para 59; pp. 70-71 para 233. In respect of para 233: by the time of both hearing and judgement, Fernandes' *Reluctant Saviour* and Tanter, Ball and Van Klinken's, *Masters of Terror: Indonesia's Military and Violence in East Timor* had been published, revealing both Canberra's duplicitous policy and poor intelligence assessments.

<sup>378</sup> *LvACP*, 6 September 2007, p. 707-08..

<sup>379</sup> *LvACP*, 27 August 2007, p. 79.

<sup>380</sup> *CDF 303/04* dated 8 April 2004. [Archive 537-538]

<sup>381</sup> ACP barrister, *LvACP*, 6 September 2007, paras 5-25, p. 707.

<sup>382</sup> T. Kenyon, Six Years of Australian Uniform Defamation Law: Damages, Opinion and Defence Meanings, Law Journal, University of NSW, 2012, pp.31-69l, footnote 66.

<sup>383</sup> P. Bartlett, The Year in the Law, *Secrecy and Red Tape: The State of Press Freedom in Australia in 2009*, The Media, Arts and Entertainment Alliance, pp. 12-13. For 'company town', see, D. Stewart, Op cit., p. 214.

level of principle has not been fulfilled in practice.<sup>384</sup>

In April 2008 'Besanko declined to order a new inquiry' into David Eastman's controversial conviction for the murder of AFP Commissioner Colin Winchester.<sup>385</sup> Eastman's conviction has since been found to have been a miscarriage of justice and a new trial ordered. In other judgments, Besanko has found in favour of mining companies over applicants. He '... dismissed Uncle Kevin Buzzacott's challenge of the Federal approval of the Olympic Dam expansion. The judge did not discuss his reasons.'<sup>386</sup> Besanko was backed by the Federal Court in April 2015. An appeal was scheduled for 4 September 2015. He judged in favour of another mining company against allegations of fraud, when he

... threatened to throw the owner of an Australian website, wikifrauds.net.au, in jail unless he removes from the site a raft of allegations against an international mining company... In a written judgment delivered yesterday, Justice Besanko concluded that statements on Wikifrauds' website were capable of constituting the representations pleaded by Astra, or at least the bulk of them. ...Justice Besanko declined to determine—at this stage—if the representations were true or false.<sup>387</sup>

There is a pattern here of judges supporting politico-bureaucratic and corporate interests, in some cases not evaluating or establishing the truth of key documents or witnesses. This is not to say they are consciously corrupt or dishonest, but the flow of events may indicate an inherently sympathetic worldview, mentioned above by Justice Finklestein, that can be cynically exploited by powerful special interests.<sup>388</sup>

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<sup>384</sup> D. Rolph, Splendid Isolation? Australia as a Destination for 'Libel Tourism', *Australian International Law Journal*, 2012, p. 84 of pp. 79-95. For interpretations of Lange, see Gleeson, op. cit.

<sup>385</sup> R. Ackland, Wheels of justice continue to grind in David Eastman case, *The Age*, 30 May 2014. Winchester was murdered in 1989, the shooting death widely believed to be an organised crime hit after the botched AFP Operation SEVILLE. See: Mr Hatton (South Coast), *Mafia involvement with drug trafficking*, NSW Legislative Assembly, Hansard, 17 May 1990, pp. 3662-3681fn.

<sup>386</sup> Friends of the Earth Adelaide, Mining Giant seeks costs From Arabunna Elder after ruling on challenge to Federal Approval Of The Olympic Dam expansion, *Media Release*. Also see Olympic Dam legal fight continues, My Resources, 3 September 2015. 15.

<sup>387</sup> C. Thompson, Miner Muzzles Wikifrauds, *OnePerth*, 4 October 2013.

<sup>388</sup> E. Whitton, Why white collar criminals love judges, *Independent Australia*, 1 November 2012. Whitton cites Garfield Barwick, who gave legal advice to John Kerr before the Whitlam dismissal, as a white collar criminal. See also: L. Ng, Injustice and the rule of law: the scope of the challenge, *Independent Australia*, 5 September 2015.

## The Case of the Heydon Royal Commission

Justice Dyson Heydon came to national prominence when appointed by then Prime Minister Abbott to head a Royal Commission into alleged union corruption. It was evidently a well-paid appointment, and although the ‘government ... repeatedly refused to release Mr Heydon’s salary’ it is believed to be in excess of A\$3,000 a day; his hand-picked senior counsel, Jeremy Stoljar, collected A\$3.3 million.<sup>389</sup>

Heydon’s appointment was mired in controversy from the beginning. His links to the Liberal Party were canvassed in the press: a) from his membership of a panel granting Tony Abbott a Rhodes Scholarship; b) the 1993 ‘reported’ Abbott appointment of Heydon to a ‘legal committee to consider the legal implications of a move to a republic’; and c) to his elevation to the High Court by the Howard Government in 2003.<sup>390</sup> His conservative opinions were chronicled by Richard Ackland, one being his speaking critically in 2013 of the Rudd and Gillard governments.<sup>391</sup>

The contentious point about his conduct of the ‘unions’ royal commission centred around the ‘apprehended bias’ of Heydon’s agreeing, then withdrawing, from a speaking engagement at a Liberal Party Garfield Barwick fundraising event. Heydon’s excuse amounted to plea of negligence: ‘I glanced through the email noting the date, time and place of the dinner. I did not read the attachments.’<sup>392</sup> His personal attention to detail was rather less than his expectation of others. In a case of electoral changes, which involved the effective ‘disenfranchisement of some 100,000 people’, a dissenting Justice Hayden seemed unsympathetic to personal failings of some electors, stating they were ‘authors of their own misfortunes’ and that the electoral system worked ‘satisfactorily in relation to those who are not inefficient,

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<sup>389</sup> L. Scarr, Dyson Heydon gets paid close to \$1 million for Royal Commission work, *The Advertiser*, Adelaide, 19 August 2015. Also see: J. Lee and M., Whitbourn, Master of the ‘grill’ earns ire of Labor, *The Age*, 10 Jul7 2015, p. 4.

<sup>390</sup> H. Aston, Dyson Heydon was on panel that awarded Tony Abbott his prized Rhodes Scholarship, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Aug 15. Also see: T. Allard, The jury is out, *The Age*, 22 August 2015, pp. 26-27.

<sup>391</sup> See: Ackland, R., Judging Heydon, *The Saturday Paper*, No 74, 22-28 August 2015, p. 3; L. Bourke, Dyson Heydon slammed Rudd, Gillard governments as ‘non-substantive’ in 2013 speech, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 August 2015.

<sup>392</sup> M. Grattan, Heydon’s email trail for Barwick dinner made its Liberal connections clear from the start, *The Conversation*, 17 Aug 2015.

apathetic, or conscientiously indisposed to participate.<sup>393</sup> In the end, regarding accusations of apprehended bias pertinent to the royal commission, Heydon assumed himself unbiased and the hearings continued.<sup>394</sup>

Heydon's commission was supported by a police task force, the commissioner at pains to stress its supposed independence;

a police Taskforce was established *to assist the Commission* in its work. The Taskforce was *independent* of the Royal Commission. It was *autonomous*. It made its own *operational* decisions. Among other things the Taskforce *took a number of referrals* from the commission and *thereafter investigated those matters* on its own account; *assisted the Commission in some of the Commission's investigations*; and conducted investigations *entirely separately* from the Royal Commission.<sup>395</sup>

Contrary to these assertions of police autonomy; the *raison d'être* of the police task force is evident from the commissioner's own words.

The Opposition leader, Shorten, was called to give evidence and was, in a much-commented-upon episode, rebuked by Heydon who questioned his 'credibility as a witness'.<sup>396</sup> It was an 'extraordinary intervention' causing an Opposition spokesman to label the Commission a political 'witch-hunt'.<sup>397</sup> An announcement clearing Shorten was released late in the evening of Friday 6 November 2015, in accordance with common government practices of reducing the impact of unfavourable news.<sup>398</sup> That act dispelled any notion the royal commission was anything other than political.

## Summing Up

When the security apparatus and bureaucracy is unable to contain a problem for the

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<sup>393</sup> Justice Heydon cited in, G. Williams and A. Lynch, *The High Court on Constitutional Law*, The University of New South Wales Law Journal, Vol 34 (3), 2010 Term, 2011, p. 1011.

<sup>394</sup> Anna Olijnyk, Heydon rejects apprehended bias claim, stays on as royal commissioner, *The Conversation*, 31 August 2015. On legal assumptions see: I. Matthews, How Dyson Heydon ruled on himself: It's convoluted! *Independent Australia*, 4 September 2015.

<sup>395</sup> D. J. Heydon, *Report of the Royal Commission into Trade Union Governance and Corruption*, Vol 1, 28 December 2015, p. 24. LC emphasis in italics.

<sup>396</sup> A. Patty and J. Massola, Bill Shorten's credibility as royal commission witness questioned after lengthy answers, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 2015,

<sup>397</sup> A. Patty and J. Massola, Bill Shorten's credibility as royal commission witness questioned after lengthy answers, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 July 2015.

<sup>398</sup> See G. Carter, *What We've Lost*, Little, Brown and Co, London, 2004, p. 134; and Collins and Reed, *Plunging Point*, pp. 250-280.

power-clique and it spills over into the public domain, the courts are the third tine of the power structure. This is not to argue that all or most of the judiciary are intentionally biased or co-opted by sectional interests. Nonetheless, some appear in their views to exhibit conscious or unconscious sympathy with the official narrative.

The circumstances of ADF legal officers are more problematical. They are bound to two masters: the court, supposedly representing justice; and the needs of the service as dictated by the chain of command, making them in effect instruments of the power clique.

Australia had not been properly mapped (Aboriginal lore about country excepted) when Oliver Goldsmith wrote: ‘Law grinds the poor, and rich men rule the law.’ Centuries on there is adequate cause for disquiet about the judicial system and ample evidence to suggest that governments and corporations can still muster supportive judicial worldviews for strategic cases.

### **OBSERVATIONS ON THE POWER CLIQUE**

Richard Ackland openly referred to a ‘shadow government’ in Australia and Kim Beazley to an Australian deep state.<sup>399</sup> While the former under the guise of the war on terror is, by its actions, concerned with extending and enforcing the position of the power clique in a surveillance state, the latter is closely tied to Washington’s global strategy.

An examination of power in Australia, even from open sources, discloses an insider network of interlinked corporate and political interests lubricated by money and protected by elements of the bureaucratic and justice systems. Control of or influence upon society’s decisive points—despite the efforts of lantern-bearers, independent investigative journalism, and alert and curious citizenry—means much of the network remains hidden and untouchable.

When scandals break into the public arena, they can be contained—not all the time, that would be obvious—but strategically, by the police and magistrates: stereotypes

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<sup>399</sup> See: R. Ackland, We have an Orwellian ‘shadow government’ and your liberty is at risk, *The Guardian*, 6 May 2016; and Kim Beazley, Full text of 2016 Vernon Parker Oration, Australian Naval Institute, 9 August, 2016.

named McCrook and Larsney respectively in Xavier Herbert's *Capricornia*. Even when evidence is presented to it, as in the Mossack Fonseca scandal, the Abbott-neutered Australian Taxation Office (ATO) offered: 'penalties will be reduced significantly' for those who cooperate.<sup>400</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the Mossack Fonseca affair, the former British Ambassador, Craig Murray, describes Western media coverage protecting their one percent by drawing attention to Putin, Assad, North Korea and Zimbabwe, but warned: 'The dirty secrets of Western corporations will remain unpublished.'<sup>401</sup>

The defence force and civil police are purpose-designed instruments. The former has historically been honed to defend the nation from external aggression, or in the case of empires, to conquer other nations. The role of the police is to protect and serve the people, ideally through enforcing equitable laws. The war on terror—and with it the burgeoning neo-liberal, politico-corporate, surveillance-state with its militarised police—has blurred these distinctions and the roles of both instruments. In effect, citizens become the enemy. A notable global development of the last two decades has been the increased digitisation of the world and the growth of state surveillance staffed by 'useful idiots'<sup>402</sup>, seemingly unaware that '1984 is not an instruction manual, but a warning.'<sup>403</sup>

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<sup>400</sup> Deputy Tax Commissioner Michael Cranston, cited in; E. Worthington and L. Martin, Panama Papers: Tax office investigating 800 Australians identified in financial record leak, *ABC News*, 4 April 2016. Also see: P. Thomson, Australian Taxation Office slashes 4700 staff, brings in \$250,000-a-year spin doctor, *The Canberra Times*, 25 November 2014.

<sup>401</sup> Craig Murray, Corporate Media Gatekeepers Protect Western 1% From Panama Leak, blog, April 2016.

<sup>402</sup> A widely used descriptive term for political functionaries, often but inconclusively attributed to Lenin.

<sup>403</sup> Matthew, B., Creating martyrs, Letters, *The Age*, 10 Nov 2013, p. 16.

## CHAPTER FOUR: AN ASTRAYAN *ARCANA IMPERII*?

### SECRET STATES

Writing in *Quarterly Essay*, political advisor Jennifer Rayner cites Watergate, the dismissal of Whitlam, the Iraq War, Children Overboard and a ‘steady drip’ of scandals to assert ‘citizens of democracies don’t believe or trust their governments’.<sup>1</sup> This is symptomatic of the Anglosphere where the public tradition of open and transparent democracy clashes intellectually with hidden power. The ‘drip’ of incidents begs the question of how or why such institutional behaviour persists. The ‘bloody fool’ and ‘stuff-up’ explanations exhaust their potency over time.<sup>2</sup> In the face of public unease and intellectual opposition, a bureaucratic tendency to over-extend flawed rules, as proposed by Crozier, is also inadequate as an explanation of the growth of the surveillance state and erosion of civil liberties.<sup>3</sup>

In Australia a string of contentious events raises questions about: a) the manner in which officialdom resolves them or not, b) increasing state power, and c) assertions of foreign intelligence involvement. At the centre of these considerations are the issues: who exercises power and the will to increase that power? The questionable roles of politicians, the intelligence services, judiciary, corporations and police have already been examined. Their networked structures, functions, outcomes and ideology are of central concern to the conduct of Australia’s domestic affairs and international relations. Such matters would certainly be of interest to foreign agents, as Kumar’s article indicates in relation to the Chinese and Malaysians.<sup>4</sup>

### INTERPRETATIONS OF REALITY

#### Deep States

Until recently confined to the conspirasphere, deep state theory is now mainstream:

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<sup>1</sup> J. Rayner, Political Amnesia: Correspondence, *Quarterly Essay*, Issue 61, 2016, Black Inc, April 2016

<sup>2</sup> See, N. Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence*, Johnathan Cape, London, 1976. His analysis of incompetence has application to a much wider field than the military.

<sup>3</sup> For Crozier’s analysis, see, M. Crozier, *the Bureaucratic Phenomenon*, University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 186-186.

<sup>4</sup> Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia, beyond casinos and judges, *Malaysia Outlook*, 7 March 2017.

formulated in the works of Peter Dale Scott and commonly in terms of Donald Trump supposedly besieged by Washington's swamp. The nature of IR theory has been discussed, pointing to its inattention to internal power structures and incomplete investigation of international and domestic events. Analysis of Australian society points to large pockets of political indifference and social impotence, which in turn further strengthens the power clique: opaque flexican networks with information and money their lubricants.

The problem of unbridled power is neither recent nor confined to Australia. Lance deHaven-Smith argues the American founding fathers rebelled to forestall 'the king's tyrannical design': revolution and the Constitution based on a conspiracy theory.<sup>5</sup> Theodore Roosevelt warned of invisible power.

Behind the ostensible government sits enthroned an invisible government, owing allegiance and acknowledging no responsibility to the people. To destroy this invisible government, to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics is the first task of the statesmanship of the day.<sup>6</sup>

Eisenhower also presaged tyranny in his 'military industrial complex' speech. These sentiments today would be dismissed as conspiracist by ideologues associated with corporate and political power. C. Wright Mills and Chris Hedges argue such power has overwhelmed American society.<sup>7</sup>

Kim Beazley spoke openly of an Australian deep state closely integrated into global US warfighting strategy and capability.

Normally when you use the expression "deep state" what you're talking about is a quite evil process associated with dictatorships that mean that whatever the politics are that runs across the surface of a state, underneath it all is the real power that lies in the deep state which is usually a military/intelligence phalanx. Well we have a benign deep state and the people who are representative of that include many sitting in this room.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Lance deHaven-Smith, *Conspiracy Theory in America*, University of Texas, Austin, 2013, pp. 6-8.

<sup>6</sup> T. Roosevelt, Platform of the Progressive (Bull Moose) Party, 7 August 1912.

<sup>7</sup> C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, 2000, esp p. 4, 324 et seq; C. Hedges, *Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, pp. 9, 23-25, 103 et seq, 194.

<sup>8</sup> Beazley, K., (jnr) Full text of 2016 *Vernon Parker Oration to Australian Naval Institute*, 9 August, 2016. Beazley describes his version of a benign deep state of the military, intelligence and security

Richard Ackland warned of a ‘shadow government’ in Australia, identifying the police as a major problem with [in NSW] ‘wide powers to restrict the liberties of citizens without due process, in a regime that operates as a “rival” to the criminal justice system.’<sup>9</sup> The emergence of police fixated threat assessment centres, to forestall violent lone-wolf attacks, is prudent at one level; but it is a system ripe for political exploitation.<sup>10</sup>

An American academic, Moti Nissani, identified the lack of ‘any near-conclusive proof for the existence of the Invisible Government’, but attempted to fill the knowledge gap.

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the US—are governed behind the scenes by a coterie...[we ‘guess’] comprised of a few banking families and their allies and subordinates in the information, corporate, military, intelligence, secret society, and ‘religious’ worlds.’<sup>11</sup>

The proposition is not discordant from the notion of an Australian power list and Oxfam’s warning of the one percent controlling most of the world’s wealth.<sup>12</sup> Public ignorance of the power clique’s moves and motives may not be desirable in an egalitarian democracy, but for tyrannical Romans it was essential.

### **Power as a Hidden Thing**

The concept of *arcana imperii* is drawn from Tacitus’ *Annals*. It means, literally, empire or power as a hidden thing: ‘the unspoken basis for the preservation of

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apparatus as a structure to protect the nation. His speech points to Australia’s close involvement with the American military-industrial establishment that is not so benign. P.D. Scott’s correct definition of ‘deep state’ is very different – the hidden and markedly criminal cabal/s that operate within the public state structure. See Chapter Two

<sup>9</sup> R. Ackland, We have an Orwellian ‘shadow government’ and your liberty is at risk, *The Guardian*, 6 May 2016. Also see, U. Nedim, *In NSW We are Losing*, Sydney Criminal Lawyers, 15 February 2016.

<sup>10</sup> See: Go Fund Me, *You have the right to remain awesome: carry on – Barrister Needed for Fiona Wilson*, 20 February 2018, Excerpt: ‘Origin Energy executive and whistleblower Fiona Wilson has been detained by the new Queensland Fixated Threat Assessment Centre (QFTAC) and injected against her will and without any charges laid against her... [for] merely trying to contact the relevant Queensland Minister about the evidence that she was exposing. Instead of acting on Fiona’s evidence, the Minister referred her to QFTAC’; Z. Holmes U. Nedim, *NSW Police to target potential ‘lone wolf’ terrorists*, Sydney Criminal Lawyers, 18 February 2018; T. Mills, Centre to tackle lone-wolf attacks, *The Age*, 1 March 2018, p. 10; C. Nyst, *Fixated Folk*, Nyst Legal, 26 May 2017.

<sup>11</sup> M. Nissani, Who Rules the Anglosphere? *Veteran’s Today*, 5 August 2016.

<sup>12</sup> See: AFR, Power List 2015, *Australian Financial Review*, 24 September 2015; and D. Hardoon, *Having it all and wanting more*, Oxfam, GB, 19 Jan 2015.

power—a basis strictly removed from debate.’<sup>13</sup>

The *arcana* tradition elaborates the crucial point of secrecy: its potential, but also its profound ambivalence. Secrecy serves to protect and stabilize the state, but at the same time it opens a space of exception from the rule of law that breeds violence, corruption and oppression.<sup>14</sup>

Another Roman, Juvenal, asked a very modern question: ‘Who shall guard the guardians?’<sup>15</sup> The concepts of guardians and power concealed by or for Plato’s ‘noble lie’ are enduring human and civilisational questions.

The historian Christopher Beckwith, considering approaches to data and history, challenges modernist and postmodernist interpretations. With modernism, the old must always ‘unceasingly be replaced by the new, thus producing permanent revolution.’<sup>16</sup> Its logical heir, postmodernism, he argues, rejects [‘positivist’] analysis based on ‘specific agreed criteria’ to the point where history is reduced to ‘opinion’ so ‘no valid judgements can be made.’<sup>17</sup> Beckwith concludes:

...there is only a choice between religious belief in whatever one is told (ie, suspension of disbelief) or a total scepticism (suspension of both belief and disbelief). In both cases, the result, if followed resolutely to the logical extreme, is cessation of thought, or at least elimination of even the possibility of critical thought. If the vast majority of people, who are capable of only the former choice (total belief), are joined by intellectuals and artists, all agreeing to abandon reason, the result will be an age of credulity, repression and terror that will put earlier ones to shame.<sup>18</sup>

Chris Hedges expresses a similar sentiment.<sup>19</sup> Together their descriptions recall Karl

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<sup>13</sup> E. Horn, *Logics of Political Secrecy, Theory, Culture & Society*, 2011 (SAGE, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, and Singapore), Vol. 28(7- 8): p, 107.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-122. From p. 107: Drawn from Tacitus, the concept of *arcana imperii* means, variously, empire or power as a hidden thing, or ‘the unspoken basis for the preservation of power—a basis strictly removed from debate.

<sup>15</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> Cent, CE. Or ‘watchman’, depending on the translation.

<sup>16</sup> C. I. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2011, pp. ix-x.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. ix-x.

<sup>18</sup> Beckwith, *op. cit.*, p. x.

<sup>19</sup> C. Hedges, *Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, p. 194. ‘Corporate interests have seized all mechanisms of power, from government to mass propaganda. They will not be defeated through elections or influenced through popular movements. The working class has been wiped out. The economy is in ruins. The imperial expansion is teetering on collapse. The ecosystem is undergoing terrifying changes unseen in recorded history. The death spiral, which will wipe out whole

Rove's boast of creating, reality cited in the introduction to this dissertation. The point is, whatever differing interpretations are offered, there is an objective reality.

### **Contestability: Conspiracy Theories or Alternate Hypotheses?**

In the Australian Parliament's inquiry conducted after the Bali bombings, into the security of Australians in South-East Asia, Senator Brandis highlighted the essential issues of evidence and theory:

You do not want a uniform, sanitised, consensus, lowest common denominator ultimate view; what you want, if contestability is a value, is to have the different perspectives displayed right up to the top level.<sup>20</sup>

In intelligence analysis, alternate hypotheses are used to test explanations describing sets of indicators. They are standard and effective, though not infallible, intellectual tools. In keeping with Churchill's sentiment, that truth is so precious it must be attended by a 'bodyguard of lies', governments are adept at deception. In military history strategic surprise with deception at its heart has usually been effective. There is no reason to believe governments confine the practice to general war. The mix of truth and lies disseminated through a plethora of sources, some of which may be conspiracist, is called 'poisoning the well'. With an often compliant media, the suppression of lantern-bearers and explosion of 'fake news', facts are often confounded leaving apathy and time to obscure the truth.

Circumstances have combined to support the prominence of what are called conspiracy theories, defined as, 'when two or more people collude to abuse power or break the law. A conspiracy theory is a proposal about a conspiracy that may or may not be true; it has not yet been proven.'<sup>21</sup> Public confidence in official narrative has been eroded by: a) exposed conspiracies such as Watergate and the 'dodgy dossier' on Iraq's alleged WMD; b) the subterfuge and secrecy of many modern governments; c) its combination with public access to online information or

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sections of the human race, demands a return to a radical militancy that asks the uncomfortable question of whether it is time to break laws that, if followed, ensure our annihilation.'

<sup>20</sup> Senator Brandis, in: *Security threats to Australians in South-East Asia*, Senate Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee, Hansard, 27 November 2003, p. 329.

<sup>21</sup> Historian Kathryn Olmsted cited in, deHaven-Smith, op. cit., p. 39.

misinformation; and d) the exacerbation of the insider-outsider information gap.<sup>22</sup>

It is no accident that the term ‘conspiracy theory’ in common usage has pejorative overtones: CIA psychological operations (psyop) experts promulgated the label, vide *Despatch #1035-960 RE: Concerning Criticism of the Warren Report*, to neutralise criticism of the investigation into the murder of JFK.<sup>23</sup> This psyop was in response to increasing numbers of Americans ‘beginning to ask the basic question of crime investigation: *Qui bono?* Who benefits?’<sup>24</sup> Overall there is a pattern of attacking the credibility of conspiracists rather than weighing alternate hypotheses and addressing their credible arguments or evidence.

If I call you a conspiracy theorist, it matters little whether you have actually claimed that a conspiracy exists or whether you have simply raised an issue that I would rather avoid ... I twist the machinery of interaction so that you, not I, are now called to account. In fact, I have done even more. By labelling you, I strategically exclude you from the sphere where public speech, debate, and conflict occur.<sup>25</sup>

For example author and former Democratic Party political consultant, Naomi Wolf, was attacked for ‘unhinged, damaging and dangerous’ conspiracy theories.<sup>26</sup> As Kerry Bolton puts it, ‘The term is used to induce a Pavlovian reflex in nullifying dissident views on a range of subjects, like the words “racist,” “fascist,” “sexist,” etc.’<sup>27</sup> Concerns about physically possible socio-political events are placed on the same level of improbability as a flat earth. A *Scientific American* article equates people who believe that Britain’s royal family consists of ‘reptilian aliens’, or that the lost aviators Amelia Earhart and Fred Noonan ‘were abducted by aliens’, with 9/11 conspiracists, and infers they are all characterised by ‘distrust of authority’ and ‘low agreeableness’.<sup>28</sup> Like anti-Semite, ‘conspiracist’ is an easy slur, the modern equivalent of stocks and pillories or being tarred and feathered.

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<sup>22</sup> See, M. Dejevsky, So you thought Britain wasn’t corrupt? *The Independent*, UK, 22 Jul 2011.

<sup>23</sup> L. deHaven-Smith, op. cit., pp. 107-13.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>25</sup> Ginna Husting and Martin Orr, (2007), cited in deHaven-Smith, ibid., p. pp. 10-11.

<sup>26</sup> M. Fisher, cited in, S. Berry, Naomi Wolf slammed for ‘unhinged conspiracy theories’, *The Age*, 6 October 2014.

<sup>27</sup> K.R. Bolton, Conspiracy Theory as a Personality Disorder? *Foreign Policy Journal*, 5 May 2015. Bolton is noted for right wing views.

<sup>28</sup> S. Shure, Insight into the Personalities of Conspiracy Theorists, *Scientific American*, 1 September 2013.

Such insults seem to be losing some of their sting. Gordon Farrer wrote a critique of conspiracy theories as a ‘load of twaddle’ caused by ‘lizard brain’; it earned 15 ripostes in ‘comments’.<sup>29</sup> Farrar’s original article does not easily come to light on a routine Google search. It was reproduced nine days later, noticeably without the offending ‘comments’, in *Truth News Australia*.<sup>30</sup> Similarly the journalist Natalie Nougayrede wrote, ‘minds are sucked into half-baked conspiratorial versions ... no coincidence that conspiracy theories are often used by authoritarian systems to crush dissent.’<sup>31</sup> This was also met with reasoned responses.<sup>32</sup>

Physicist David Grimes, in a criticised article, differentiates between anti-science/medical, supernatural and political/social conspiracies. He notes:

It would be unfair then to simply dismiss all allegation of conspiracy as paranoid where in some instances it is demonstrably not so. There is also merit to charges that vested interests can distort and confuse public perception—in the case of climate-change, for example, conservative demagogues have succeeded in casting a perception of doubt on robust science in public discussion.<sup>33</sup>

Grimes appears to allow that political/social plots are more likely to succeed than scientific or medical models. He also highlights the number of plotters and passage of time as factors that determine the security or longevity of a conspiracy.<sup>34</sup>

In advancing the theory of state crimes against democracy (SCAD), deHaven-Smith explains:

In contrast to conspiracy theories, which speculate about each suspicious event in isolation, the SCAD construct delineates a general category of criminality and calls for crimes that fit this category to be examined comparatively.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> G. Farrer, Don’t get caught in the web of conspiracy theory truthiness, *The Age*, 5 November 2010.

<sup>30</sup> Truth News, reposting edited copy of; G. Farrer, Don’t get caught in the web of conspiracy theory truthiness, *The Age*, 5 November 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Natalie Nougayrede, Conspiracy theories threaten democracy, *The Guardian Weekly*, Vol 194, No 4, 1-7 January 2016, p. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Letters by Edward Butterworth and Marc Jachym, *The Guardian Weekly*, Vol 194, No 6, 15 Jan 2016, p. 23.

<sup>33</sup> D. R. Grimes, *On the Viability of Conspiratorial Beliefs*, PLOS ONE, Public Library of Science, 26 January 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Grimes, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> L. de Haven-Smith, Beyond Conspiracy Theory: Patterns of High Crime in American Government, *Behavioural Scientist*, Vol 53, No 6, February 2010, p 808. [Patterns]

Peter Dale Scott also argues for ‘studying deep events as a whole’.<sup>36</sup> DeHaven-Smith notes a government tendency to ‘silo’ contestable events in isolation and dispense with them through ‘superficial’ government inquiries characterised by attributing suspicious occurrences to ‘unpredictable, idiosyncratic forces’, hampered by inadequate budgets and ‘unrealistic deadlines’.<sup>37</sup> Such incidents can be ‘associated with foreign policy and international conflict’.<sup>38</sup> Assassins do not go after the likes of Joe McCarthy for his ‘accusations about communists’, or Janet Reno for the infamous raid on Waco. He cites George Washington’s warning about the nature of political parties:

‘their “team spirit” that blurs the distinctions among legitimate political action, unprincipled political tactics, and political criminality’... [in order that to gain] ‘control of the political system as a whole so that a program can be legislated, executed, and judicially sustained.’<sup>39</sup>

Such insider loyalty is also noted by Neal Katyal, who describes individuals acting against their own interest for group aims; conspiratorial groups having a framework of trust and specialisation that can extend to ‘crimes of diffusion’ where responsibility for a single crime is spread over many persons. These are orchestrated by ‘leaders’ who maintain their own ‘plausible deniability’ by using go-betweens. Diffusion inhibits moral guilt by actors playing minor parts, such as the getaway driver.<sup>40</sup> Reinforced by the threat of sanction, these factors go part-way to explaining one of the common criticisms of scepticism, which is if there was a conspiracy, someone would have broken ranks—a bold act in a landscape of fear. DeHaven-Smith answers that critique of conspiracy theory with reference to the security of the Manhattan atomic weapons project and successful allied codebreaking during WWII; tens of thousands of people were involved but the secrets were long-guarded.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> P. D. Scott, *American War Machine*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, p. 195. [War Machine]

<sup>37</sup> DeHaven-Smith, op. cit., [Conspiracy], p. 14; and op cit., [Patterns], pp. 795–825.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Washington, cited in, Ibid., p. 809.

<sup>40</sup> N. Kumar Katyal, Conspiracy theory, *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol 112, No 6, April 2003. See pp. 1320-1327 of 1307-1398.

<sup>41</sup> DeHaven-Smith, op. cit. [Conspiracy], pp. 34-36.

## EVENTS AND OUTCOMES

### Curiosities

Australia has its share of the contentiously events, which result in significant legislative and procedural change that enhance the coercive apparatus of the state. With police supposedly being the first hurdle against corruption and organised crime, it instils no confidence that a police insider alleged before a Royal Commission that 15 percent of the AFP were corrupt.<sup>42</sup> Another example is the mysterious disappearance of the Barwon Prison's Governor, David Prideaux, on a hunting trip in Victoria's high country during June 2011.<sup>43</sup> Prideaux' body has never been found: all the more inexplicable because police dogs found a fugitive deliberately hiding down a wombat hole in the same part of the continent at essentially the same time of that year!<sup>44</sup> It could pass as a curiosity except for the maximum security prison's role in Melbourne's gangland wars over drugs, and allegations of corrupt police.

This does not infer that most, or even many, of the personnel in Australia's institutions are corrupt. In their duties they see a limited perspective of events. Beyond that are: the institutional norms of silence; regulations against communication with outsiders, especially the press; and the human prudence of tight lips.

While the dismissal of the Whitlam Government still excites passion, other events have succumbed to inattention, if they are recalled at all. What follows, as Peter Dale Scott and deHaven-Smith suggest, is a summary of a succession of events in Australian political-social history. There are conventional accounts of each of them, but some unconvincing in various ways because they do not include, or deliberately omit, important considerations of power.

### Australia, Papua and a Kidnapping

Canberra's initial antipathy to any Indonesian military destabilisation and annexation of Papua (1960-1962) collapsed with an abrupt post-election policy change by the

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<sup>42</sup> G. Jacobsen, A long history of police corruption, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 August 2011.

<sup>43</sup> A. Shand, My brother's keeper: Paul Prideaux's relentless search for his missing brother David, *The Australian*, Magazine, 2 March 2013.

<sup>44</sup> ABC News, Wanted man found in wombat hole, *ABC*, 22 August 2011.

Menzies Government in response to US foreign policy.<sup>45</sup> American commercial acquisition of the future Freeport mine was at the centre of Washington's design. Australian foreign policy was formed in secret for the benefit of another state's mining interests. Canberra colluded in the Act of Free Choice (July-August 1969), which cemented Jakarta's control after years of Indonesian military conditioning of the local population. At this time, two West Papuan politicians, Clemens Runaweri and Willem Zongganau, attempted to travel through Australian-administered PNG to persuade the UN in New York that human rights violations were taking place under Indonesian control. Canberra detained them on Manus Island:

On a request from Adam Malik, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, the Australian, Dutch and US governments conspired to deny travel documentation necessary for their international movement between the period June-August 1969.<sup>46</sup>

Clinton Fernandes mentions the incident in his study<sup>47</sup> and the Australian intervention is verified in government and opposition primary sources.<sup>48</sup> Canberra went on to collude with US support for the bloody Suharto putsch in 1965.<sup>49</sup>

### **Menzies and the Ustasha (1960-1970s)**

With the Cold War underway, the LNC of Robert Menzies supported anti-communist Croatian émigré terrorist organisations in Australia. These went under the catch-all term 'Ustasha'. With ASIO monitoring writers, artists, intellectuals and students, the Australian government supported terrorism.<sup>50</sup>

Ustasha soldiers trained with the Australian Army near Wodonga, Victoria...This

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<sup>45</sup> G. Polgrain, *Incubus of Intervention*, Strategic Information Research Development Centre, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, 2015, pp. 216-218.

<sup>46</sup> P. King, and J. Wing, *Genocide in West Papua?*

<sup>47</sup> C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Indonesians: Australia, Indonesia and the future of West Papua*, Scribe, 2006, p. 61.

<sup>48</sup> Australian Embassy Djakarta, West Irian, Cablegram 1735 referencing Cable 1669, concerning Embassy officials calling on Malik regarding travel documents for 'the two' and the 'position of their wives and families', Department of External Affairs, 27.6.69; Australian Government [presumably Department of External Affairs, or Territories], Briefing for the Minister referencing Telegram 1913 approving policy determined by Mr Fairchild, to Djakarta, West Irianese: Zongganau and Runaweri, copy undated; Kim Beazley (snr), Telegram to Hon C E Barnes, protesting in 'strongest possible terms any Australian government action to block Christian Runawery [sic] and William Zonggonau presenting their case about West Irian to the United Nations.' Dated 11.6.69.

<sup>49</sup> P. Cronau, *Intelligence Wars, Background Briefing*, ABC RN, 30 May 2004.

<sup>50</sup> See: G. Rundle, Rundle: what we know about ASIO's 'deep-state' operations, *Crikey*, 16 October 2015.

first [1968] of several Ustasha gangs to be sent from Australia to Yugoslavia was rounded up and its members imprisoned.<sup>51</sup>

In 1964 ALP politician Jim Cairns accused Menzies of shielding an extreme Fascist organisation.<sup>52</sup> The government ignored the charge, simply labelling Cairns a communist propagandist. A recent investigation by Hamish McDonald indicates alleged anti-Yugoslav-government terrorists, gaoled in 1981, may have been unwitting dupes of Yugoslav intelligence service. The chief prosecution witness exhibited a history of psychological disturbance and contact with a foreign government (Yugoslavia). Australian officials denied information ‘which would have been significant in a major criminal trial’ to both the trial and to Prime Minister Fraser.<sup>53</sup>

### **Whitlam and the Intelligence Apparatus (1972-1975)**

The brief ALP interregnum under Whitlam brushed with intelligence authorities and the opposition under Malcolm Fraser. The first leftist government after 23 years found itself struggling with an opposition, and its legacy bureaucracy, unaccustomed to being out of power. Attorney General Murphy’s raids on ASIO in March 1973, purportedly seeking information on Croatian fascists, sent shockwaves through the Anglo intelligence establishments.<sup>54</sup> An early aggravation was ASIS cooperating with the CIA in Cambodia and Chile. Toohey and Pinwell detail the different explanations, noting that any version that counted ASIS as ‘pure’ in Chile was ‘ingenuous at best’.<sup>55</sup> ASIS Director Bill Robertson was dismissed as a result of the Favaro<sup>56</sup> episode in East Timor, then under attack by the Indonesian military.<sup>57</sup> Some describe Washington’s angst over assertions of subtle Soviet overtures and the

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<sup>51</sup> R. West, *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia*, New York, Carroll & Graf, 1995 (Originally published: London, Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994), chapter 15, pages 301—303.

<sup>52</sup> L. Clohesy, *Australian Cold Warrior: The Anti-Communism of W. C. Wentworth*, School of Social Sciences and Psychology, Faculty of Arts, Education and Human Development, Victoria University, June 2010, p.178.

<sup>53</sup> Ian Cunliffe, a senior legal adviser in the PM&C (1979-81), cited in H. McDonald, Framed: the untold story about the Croatian Six, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 2012. For assertions of continued LNP links with Croatian nationalists, see, B. Kampmark, Tony Abbott, the NDH and the Liberal Party’s fascist affair, *Independent Australia*, 23 April 2014.

<sup>54</sup> B. Toohey and W. Pinwell, *Oyster*, William Heinemann, 1989, p. 145

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142

<sup>56</sup> An Australian businessman based in Dili who was employed by ASIS. Nautilus, *ASIS—Favaro affair*, The Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability, 13 March 2009.

<sup>57</sup> Toohey and Pinwell, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

political reliability of the Whitlam government as a US ally.<sup>58</sup> Prescient of Jake Lynch's writing on US interest in the first Rudd term as prime minister, Toohey and Pinwell cite the CIA's National Intelligence Daily of 5<sup>th</sup> November 1975: 'The Whitlam Government seems willing to risk important relationships with Indonesia and the US in order to appease leftist forces within the Labor Party during the current political turmoil.'<sup>59</sup>

After Murphy's raid on ASIO headquarters, the Hope Royal Commission (1974-1977) was established to examine the security organisation. The head of ASIO was dismissed in September 1975, apparently on the word of Royal Commissioner Hope, in response to unproven allegations of 'minor nature' from MI6 and the CIA.<sup>60</sup> Hope found a 'politicised' ASIO recounting 'tittle tattle' sometimes released by the Menzies Government under parliamentary privilege: 'the agency's management as capricious, hierarchical and driven by the views and prejudices of senior staff.'<sup>61</sup> In 2014, some months after ASIO raided the offices of lawyer Bernard Collaery, Australians were reassured by its Director General, David Irvine, that ASIO's old transgressions would not occur again.<sup>62</sup>

### **The Dismissal of Whitlam (11 November 1975)**

By any standard the overthrow of the Whitlam Government is remarkable: an intractable opposition, foreign intelligence services and corporations all mentioned in differing accounts. Julie Marcos describes the dismissal as 'Malcolm Fraser's anti-democratic putsch that removed Whitlam's twice-elected government and ushered in the corporate, authoritarian political forms now [2006] reaching their ascendancy.'<sup>63</sup>

The official historian of ASIO, John Blaxland, in *The Protest Years* (1963-1975), 'says there is "circumstantial" evidence that the CIA and Ford administration was

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<sup>58</sup> There is also evidence of alarm in Australian and allied intelligence elements about the degree of influence Soviet intelligence had achieved over some ALP politicians and their penetration of the Australian Defence and Intelligence bureaucracy; see: H. Callaghan, Operation Official History: Titrated, Redacted, Incomplete and Fractional, *Quadrant*, No 525, Volume LX, No 4, April 2016, pp. 34-41.

<sup>59</sup> Toohey and Pinwell, op. cit., pp. 178-179

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., pp. 177-178

<sup>61</sup> L. Sales, Archive documents reveal ASIO workings, *ABC*, 27 May 2008.

<sup>62</sup> See: M. Grattan, Grattan on Friday: In Conversation with ASIO chief David Irvine, *The Conversation*, 15 August 2014.

<sup>63</sup> J. Marcos, Parallel lies, *Dissent*, No 21, Spring 2006, p. 14.

involved in the '75 coup.'<sup>64</sup> The sequence, actors and consequences of the dismissal have been recounted by Richelson and Ball, Pilger, Toohey and Pinwell and others.<sup>65</sup> Richelson and Ball cite the US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia being unable to vouch that the CIA did 'nothing improper' against Whitlam's government.<sup>66</sup>

In 2014, Max Suich raised the matter, centering on the 'curious' meeting between Whitlam and US official Warren Christopher, who reportedly undertook that 'the US administration would never again interfere in the domestic political processes of Australia'.<sup>67</sup> The Sydney Institute's Gerard Henderson, a former Liberal Party staffer, immediately denied 'evidence of any kind that the CIA had anything to do with Whitlam's dismissal.'<sup>68</sup> Henderson continued the line after the 2015 publication of Jenny Hocking's reference to Kerr's papers that demonstrated '...a highly significant network of political, legal and royal contacts on the possibility of dismissal...'<sup>69</sup> Henderson wrote in response: 'there has been no compellable challenge to the contemporaneous account left by Sir John Kerr.'<sup>70</sup> Professor Hocking is seeking, through the Federal Court, release of *the palace letters*, embargoed until 2017. Any involvement by the Palace infers attention by British intelligence; which has an interest in Australia.

Regarding American and British links to the dismissal, Engdahl, in his study of Anglo-US energy strategy, makes a passing and unreferenced mention of British mining corporation Rio Tinto, utilizing Friends of the Earth (with "friends" in very high places in London and Washington') in 1974 to oppose pending uranium/nuclear technology cooperation between Japan and the Whitlam government.<sup>71</sup> He proposes

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<sup>64</sup> G. Rundle, Rundle: what we know about ASIO's 'deep-state' operations, *Crikey*, 16 October 2015, [ASIO's deep state].

<sup>65</sup> J. Pilger, *A Secret Country*, Vintage, 1992, Chapter 5; Toohey and Pinwell, op. cit., Chapters 7-9; J.T. Richelson and D. Ball, *The Ties that Bind*, Unwin Hyman, Sydney, 1990, pp. 266-268.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>67</sup> Whitlam, cited in, Suich, M., Sacking doubts re-emerge, *The Australian Financial Review*, 31 October 2014, p. R1, R6-7.

<sup>68</sup> Henderson, G., Saint Gough's top 10 shockers; CIA conspiracy theory gets plug in AFR: Media Watch Dog 249, *The Australian*, 31 October 2014.

<sup>69</sup> J. Hocking, *The Dismissal Dossier*, Melbourne University, 2015, p. 25.

<sup>70</sup> B. Henderson, *book review*, The Sydney Institute, 2 February 2016

<sup>71</sup> F.W. Engdahl, F.W., *A Century of War: Anglo-American oil politics and the New World Order*, Pluto Press, 2011, p. 174.

a link between this and the ‘the fall of Whitlam’s Government.’<sup>72</sup> Justin O’Brien describes the resolve of Tanaka and Whitlam, with Rio Tinto eventually controlling the Ranger uranium mine.<sup>73</sup>

The views of politically affiliated Australians debating the dismissal are obvious. Adverse motives by US intelligence officers are harder to ascribe. Former CIA officer Ralph McGhee cited a number of senior agency officers stating the agency had a hand in the destabilisation and fall of Whitlam.<sup>74</sup> In 2014, Christopher Boyce clearly re-iterated his view of American involvement in the fall of Whitlam.<sup>75</sup> While the Australian debate has always been split along the left/right divide, a CIA officer’s words echo down the years: ‘I just don’t know why Australians can’t accept that.’<sup>76</sup> Investigative journalist Joseph Trento cites a CIA Deputy Director stating Kerr ‘did what the British told him to do.’<sup>77</sup> This reinforces Hocking’s account that Kerr kept the palace well informed of his intentions regarding Whitlam.

The degree to which Australian democracy was damaged in 1975 is debated, though passions have cooled in most quarters and evidence cannot be located.<sup>78</sup> Old ALP acolytes shy away from the notion of CIA involvement in the dismissal;<sup>79</sup> understandable perhaps in light of Malcom Fraser’s warning that to criticise the US alliance is to be unelectable.<sup>80</sup> What is obvious is that Labor governments have been loath to oppose US foreign policy since 1975.<sup>81</sup> LNC governments have been particularly anxious to please the US since Howard was revealed attempting to shield Jakarta from Washington in 1998-1999 over East Timor.

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> J. Obrien, Canberra Yellowcake: The Politics Of Uranium And How Aboriginal Land Rights Failed The Mirrar People, *Journal of Northern Territory History*, undated, pp. 79-80.

<sup>74</sup> Ralph McGhee cited in, T. Douglas, (compare), *The CIA in Australia, Part 1*, Transcript of a 5-part radio documentary. Watching Brief, Public Radio News Services, Melbourne, Australia, October-November 1986.

<sup>75</sup> M. Davis, The Falcon Lands, *Dateline*, SBS TV, Sydney, 18 February 2014.

<sup>76</sup> Ralph McGhee cited in, T. Douglas, op. cit.

<sup>77</sup> Pilger, op cit., p. 226.

<sup>78</sup> B. Toohey, Arthur Tange, the CIA and the Dismissal: a response to Peter Edwards, *The Strategist*, 18 January 2016.

<sup>79</sup> G. Boserio (prod); P. Adams, (pres), in conversation with Barry Jones, AC, The ‘eternal’ Gough Whitlam, Late Night Live, *ABC RN*, 21 October 2015

<sup>80</sup> P. Dorling, Cold War warrior was also foreign policy iconoclast, *The Age*, 21 March 2015, p. 2.

<sup>81</sup> See G. Peterson, The Dismissal of the Whitlam Government: One Politician’s Comments, *Illawarra Unity*, Vol 1, Iss 1, December 1996, p. 16, vide Research Online, University of Wollongong, Peterson, a state Labor politician, notes (p. 16), ‘Apart from the subsequent election defeat the most immediate effect was that never again would the ALP leadership present themselves as upholders of the banner of radicalism.’

Another matter arising from 1975 is whether troops would have been called-out to support Kerr and Fraser. Michael Head, citing the *Worker's News*, writes that Kerr 'secretly placed the armed forces on alert' though, 'No troops were seen on the streets'.<sup>82</sup> Murray Hunter, writing in *Independent Australia*, also notes: 'During the first week after the dismissal of the Labor Government, the army was on stand-by at their barracks in case there were mass demonstrations.'<sup>83</sup>

In the mid-1970s a foreign academic told a small group of Australian students that a friend in their national intelligence service in Canberra confided that, had Kerr not sacked Whitlam, the military would have intervened, using Duntroon officer-cadets in the first instance—a detail that lends credence to the third-hand story.<sup>84</sup> In the late 1980s a military colleague told the author that they, and another known to the author, had been tasked years earlier to investigate rumours of military involvement in a coup against Whitlam. They found no compelling evidence and put the matter down to bar gossip by senior officers. By 1980, after the Hilton Hotel bombing, the supposed reliance on officer-cadets-during-training was over. 'Aid to the civil power', as it is termed, was part of the routine training program for regular short-notice-deployment troops.

Australia is not the only Anglosphere state subject to speculation about military coups in the 1970s. Andrew Fowler describes a plot against the Wilson Labour government in the UK during 1974.<sup>85</sup> More recently, after Jeremy Corbyn won the Labour leadership in Britain, an unnamed general informed the media that the British Army 'would use whatever means possible, fair or foul' to protect the security of the UK.<sup>86</sup> There was no inquiry.

### **The Hilton Hotel Bombing (13 February 1978)**

The Hilton Hotel bombing in Sydney gave crucial, if largely unnoticed, impetus to

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<sup>82</sup> The Canberra Coup, in the *Worker's News*, (1976), cited in, Head, M., *The Military Call-Out Legislation—Some Legal And Constitutional Questions*, 2001, *FedLawRw* 12; (2001) 29(2).

<sup>83</sup> M. Hunter, Is Bob Carr a Spy? *Independent Australia*, 11 April 2013.

<sup>84</sup> The author witnessed this exchange.

<sup>85</sup> A. Fowler, *The War on Journalism: Media moguls, lantern-bearers and the price of freedom*, [War on Journalism], William Heinemann, Sydney, 2015, pp. 49-55. Also see, London Evening Post Ed, British army 'planned military coup' against Wilson's Gov't, *London Evening Post*, 10 July 2013.

<sup>86</sup> T. McTague, 'We won't stand for it': Army top brass warn there will be a MUTINY if Jeremy Corbyn becomes Prime Minister, *Daily Mail*, 20 September 2015.

the increase of coercive state power in Australia. The bombing ‘was the catalyst for the formation of the AFP’<sup>87</sup> and saw elements of the army called-out to occupy the township of Bowral. The event centred on a bomb exploding outside Sydney’s Hilton Hotel, the intended venue for that year’s Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting (CHOGRM).<sup>88</sup> Two garbage workers and a policeman were killed. Three men linked to the Ananda Marga religious sect were convicted and subsequently pardoned or acquitted. A fourth man, Evan Pederick, claimed responsibility and was gaoled, although his evidence was considered unreliable.<sup>89</sup> Rachael Landers in *Who Bombed the Hilton?* attests the significance of the case and blames the Ananda Marga, pointing to their international campaign of bombings.<sup>90</sup> Stephan Russell’s review of the book describes the motives, corruption, contradictions and chaos surrounding the case, noting Lander’s sympathy for the security services, ‘trying to keep people safe.’<sup>91</sup> Significantly, Malcolm Fraser reportedly attempted to dissuade Landers from the study.<sup>92</sup>

The socio-political climate against which the bombing occurred is significant. Prime Minister Fraser had been elected in 1975. There was an undercurrent of distaste for it in Australia among the left, underscored by his government’s *de facto* recognition of the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor. The bombing was and remains a landmark case in Australia with the ‘continued suggestion that the security services were in some way involved in the Hilton Bombing.’<sup>93</sup> Police and military personnel voiced disquiet at processes before and after the event, and a Southern Highlands newspaper likened the military occupation of Bowral to ‘Franco’s Spain.’<sup>94</sup> Michael Head has detailed the unanswered questions pertaining to a series of unsuccessful

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<sup>87</sup> Australian Federal Police, *Countering terrorism*.

<sup>88</sup> For a summary including conspiracy theories linked to it, see Wikipedia, *Sydney Hilton Hotel Bombing*, retrieved 5 July 2017.

<sup>89</sup> Parliament of NSW, *Hilton Hotel Bombing*, Legislative Assembly, Hansard, 9 December 1991. Also see, P. Garvey, Terrorist turned eco-warrior Evan Pederick now taking on coal, *The Australian*, 17 October 2004.

<sup>90</sup> See, S. Russell, Who bombed Sydney Hilton? *The New Daily*, 23 April 2016.

<sup>91</sup> Landers cited in, *Ibid*.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>93</sup> J. Hocking, Terror Laws, cited in: Cahill, D. and Cahill, R. (both University of Wollongong), The 1978 Military Occupation of Bowral, *Illawarra Unity*, Vol 6 Iss 1, January 2006.

<sup>94</sup> Southern Highlands News, 15 February 1978, p. 1, cited in: D. Cahill and R. Cahill, R. (both University of Wollongong), The 1978 Military Occupation of Bowral, *Illawarra Unity*, Vol 6 Iss 1, January 2015.

police ‘frame-ups’, unacceptable judicial reviews and political ‘cover-ups’.<sup>95</sup> Federal Governments have twice refused to re-open the inquiry.

### **Port Arthur Massacre (28 April 1996)**

The mass murder at Port Arthur is significant for high casualties, the subsequent imposition of stronger firearms laws, and the imprisonment of a citizen without coroner’s inquest or trial.<sup>96</sup> In the 15 years before the Port Arthur massacre, Australia suffered thirteen mass-shootings of more than five deaths. The remote Port Arthur Historical Site (PAHS) in Tasmania is centered on a former colonial panopticon prison.<sup>97</sup> In its environs an intellectually impaired Martin Bryant was judged to have murdered thirty five people and wounded twenty-three. He was arrested and sentenced to life in gaol. Federal and state governments portrayed Bryant as a deranged lone gunman; a trend continuing in the media to the twentieth anniversary when Channel Seven broadcast a documentary, *Martin Bryant—inside the mind of a monster*.<sup>98</sup> In the immediate aftermath of the massacre, the Howard Government introduced firearms laws that included a buyback scheme from which some supposedly destroyed firearms reportedly ended up in criminal hands.<sup>99</sup> Since Port Arthur, there have been no mass shootings and fewer firearm related suicides. There is broad agreement the nation safer as a result of the tougher legislation.<sup>100</sup>

Doubts about the government account fall into two broad categories: a) that there were shortfalls in the investigative and legal processes, and b) the mass murder was a false flag attack designed to muster public support for stricter firearms legislation.

In regard to the false flag version, some sources point to the government Standing

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<sup>95</sup> M. Head, Thirty years since Sydney’s Hilton Hotel bombing: unanswered questions, *Legal History*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 2008: 241-258.

<sup>96</sup> For the record, the author agrees with the firearms laws.

<sup>97</sup> The panopticon design by Jeremy Bentham allowed surveillance of the inmates at any time. Simultaneous surveillance of inmates was not possible with limited staff, but no prisoner could see the guard station and could not know then they were being directly watched. The supposedly reformist design replaced physical punishment (flogging) with mental punishment based on solitary confinement and constant surveillance.

<sup>98</sup> Martin Bryant—inside the mind of a monster, *Channel 7*, broadcast 6 March 2016.

<sup>99</sup> See: J. Ellicot, K. Glascott and AAP, Slaughter sparks call for federal gun laws, *The Australian*, 29 April 1996, p. 3; S. Chapman, What John Howard could teach the US about gun control, *Crikey*, 9 September 2008; and SMH, Buyback guns in hands of outlaws, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 February 2007.

<sup>100</sup> For the record, the author agrees with the firearms laws.

Advisory Committee on Protection Against Violence (SACPAV) being involved. The author had some experience of SACPAV counter-terrorist exercises in the late 1980s. They were of the siege-hostage scenario and practiced prudent global responses to terrorist attacks such those of the Baader-Meinhof Gang (Germany, 1973-95) and the murder of Israeli athletes by Palestinians of Black September at the Munich Olympics (1972). During the SACPAV sponsored exercises the author neither observed, read nor heard anything to indicate the false-flag fears of some critics, and always accepted without question the official account of the Port Arthur massacre.<sup>101</sup>

Nonetheless, discord lingers over the official story; demonstrated by the continued presentation of books and websites dealing with the matter.<sup>102</sup> This is quite in contrast to concurrence on the Hoddle Street shooting.<sup>103</sup> Shocking, discomfoting and contentious as Port Arthur is, it should be settled. The alternative is silence and here Herodotus might guide, 'Although it is incumbent on me to state what I am told I am under no obligation to believe it entirely ...'<sup>104</sup>

There are residual questions about: a) the incongruity of the killer's observed skill-at-arms against Bryant's lack of training and limited mental ability; b) discrepancies over firearms;<sup>105</sup> c) discrepancies in witness statements<sup>106</sup> whether Bryant was the shooter, or even at the historical site, though all sources agree he was at Seascap

<sup>101</sup> See some references in M. W. Maxwell (LLB and PhD) and D. McLachlan, *Port Arthur: Enough is Enough*, [Enough], 2016, ISBN: 978-0-9807627-4-7, pp. 203-204.

<sup>102</sup> See Section footnotes. Unknown author, Cairns Post, Startling new information proves Port Arthur massacre was planned by government, *Cairns Post*, 6 March 2016. The Newscorp *Post*'s primary assertion is that Port Arthur was a false flag operation in order to impose gun control in Australia. [Source note: No author listed, possibly copied from <http://crazzfiles.com/startling-new-information-proves-port-arthur-massacre-was-planned-by-government/>, retrieved 18 Feb 18.]

<sup>103</sup> Melbourne, 9 August 1987, resulting in seven dead, nineteen wounded. The incident was quickly resolved by Victoria Police; operating in a suburban area by night, arresting the offender, a failed army officer cadet who remains in jail.

<sup>104</sup> Herodotus, Holland, T., (trans) and Cartledge, P., (introduction and notes) *Herodotus, The Histories*, Penguin, 2013, Book VII, Para 152, p. 501. concerning accounts of Xerxes diplomacy with the Argives.

<sup>105</sup> C. Wernerhoff ?pseudonym?, *What's Going On?: A Critical Study of the Port Arthur Massacre*, 2006, pp. 59-69. MacGregor asserts the AR15 found at Seascap was handed-in to police and went through the police books as having been destroyed. MacGregor, op. cit. [Deceit], Part Three. Also see: Story of a Rifle Used in a Massacre. Woods attributes information about the rifle to a Sunday Telegraph ?Sydney? article published on 23 June 1996; N. Woods, The Port Arthur Massacre Conspiracy.

<sup>106</sup> K. A. Noble, PhD, *Mass Murder: Official Killing in Tasmania, Australia*, Big Work Books, 2013, pp. 399-499. [Murder]

cottage in some role;<sup>107</sup> d) the nature of Bryant's incarceration and psychiatric treatment;<sup>108</sup> e) and shortfalls in the justice system including the lack of a coronial inquest or trial.<sup>109</sup> Some allege the involvement of foreign intelligence or military personnel.<sup>110</sup>

Bryant, initially pleaded innocence – repeated in a ‘not guilty’ plea on 30 September 1997. After a change of lawyer to John Avery, he subsequently admitted guilt on 7 November 1996, thus foregoing any chance of an open trial, despite Section 80 of the Australian Constitution, ‘which appears to confer a right to jury trial.’<sup>111</sup> At the sentencing hearing (22 November 1996), Justice Cox, an Army Reserve officer, praised the ‘unchallenged account’ of law enforcement agencies.<sup>112</sup> In what little of the court transcripts have not been deleted, the court-appointed Avery did very little on behalf of his client.<sup>113</sup>

A retired Victorian policeman, Andrew MacGregor, indicates two shooters at the

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<sup>107</sup> James Laycock, a local who knew Bryant saw the shooter and ‘did not recognise him’ as Bryant. See: Witness statement taken by Sergeant L.F. Jones on 10 May 96 at, N. Smith, *Port Arthur Massacre Twenty Years On: The Secrecy Continues*. Smith also cites ex-Aircraftsman Graham Collyer who was badly wounded who offered to identify Bryant, but was refused.

<sup>108</sup> J. Vialls, *Deadly Deception at Port Arthur*, 17 p. 108. Note: MacGregor accuses Vialls of involvement in the massacre; see: A. Cristian, *Port Arthur Massacre - A Speech by Mr Andrew MacGregor*, 1 June 2008. Joe Vialls has been cited (F6) as a disposable (unverified report of his death due to a heart attack at Royal Perth Hospital 17 Jul 2005) pseudonym of the shadowy ex-Israeli intelligence official, Ari Ben Menashe who has written on conspiracist matters; see, Judicial-inc.biz, *Was Joe Vialls Really Ari Ben-Menashe?* Another blog, *Despatch*, makes a reasonable point that, ‘Vialls was an investigative reporter that specialized in Israeli “Black Ops”. If there was a major incident, and other sources started questioning Israeli involvement, Vialls soon appeared as “Johnny on the spot”, ready to lend his expertise. When he barged in on the Port Arthur Massacre investigation, others that were investigating became suspicious, and referred to him as a disinformation agent. They claim that Vialls just seemed to fog up any creditable theories, and made everyone look like conspiracy nuts. Vialls seemed to mix 90% fact with 10% fiction, the hallmark of a true disinformation artist. He seemed to have way too much information.’

<sup>109</sup> Maxwell and McLachlan cite the Tasmanian Attorney General, Vanessa Goodwin, stating in 2010 that a coronial inquests ‘were formerly opened’ but cancelled after Bryant’s guilty plea because ‘The Coroner could not make any findings that were contrary to the defendant’s pleas of guilty to multiple counts of murder which were accepted by the Supreme Court of Tasmania.’ See: Maxwell and McLachlan, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42. Bryant was imprisoned by sentencing hearing, often wrongly described as a trial. Some sources point to John Howard’s role in ensuing there was no coronial inquest to spare the victims from trauma: see Noble, *op. cit.* [Murder], Part 2, Truth, p. 18.

<sup>110</sup> Maxwell et al, *op. cit.* [Enough]. Also, *15 Facts About the Port Arthur Massacre You Need to Know*, The Prison Planet Forum.

<sup>111</sup> G. Graham Fricke, *Trial by Jury*, Research Paper 11, Parliamentary Library, Australian Parliament, 1996-1997. Also: The Prison Planet Forum, *op. cit.*

<sup>112</sup> *Regina v Martin Bryant, Comments on passing sentence*, Justice W. Cox, Supreme Court, Hobart, 22 November 1996.

<sup>113</sup> Transcripts of Court Hearings: *The Queen v Martin Bryant*, Supreme Court, Hobart, 19 November 1996, pp. 3, 333, 336..

Seascope Cottage (reportedly an armed offender on top of an adjoining building and another firing from inside the dwelling), together with the overall carnage, signifying a possible terrorist attack rather than a lone gunman.<sup>114</sup> The rapid deployment of Victorian Police special operations group, ASIO elements and the use of SACPAV equipment indicates at least some consideration of a terrorist incident beyond the ability of state resources to contain.<sup>115</sup>

Justice Cox in his sentencing remarks alleged it was Bryant who set fire to the stolen BMW and Seascope Cottage.<sup>116</sup> MacGregor states a Task Force member investigating the massacre said it was the police who fired both the BMW (to prevent its use for escape) and the Cottage (potentially a badly aimed illumination flare).<sup>117</sup> Significant evidence was destroyed by: the stripping of the Broad Arrow Café<sup>118</sup> after Bryant's guilty plea, the destruction of the BMW, and of Seascope Cottage.

Port Arthur story has its coincidences. The two local police were despatched away from the area on a drug tip-off to find, as the shooting started at Port Arthur, soap powder and no informant. A Pacific Rim media event with seven hundred attendees was gathering in Hobart at the time but the evidently increased potential for media coverage was not mentioned in presentations by police or CNN spokesmen at the 1997 Port Arthur Seminar.<sup>119</sup> A 20-22 berth mortuary truck was fabricated before the massacre, and having proved its worth<sup>120</sup>, was dispensed with two years later.<sup>121</sup> At the 1997 seminar, the former Tasmanian policeman, funeral director and future senator, Stephen Parry, delivered The Embalming Team Report on the massacre in which he stated:

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<sup>114</sup> A.S. MacGregor, *Conspiracies and Coverups: Deceit and Terrorism, Port Arthur Massacre*, Part One, Hidden Mysteries Archive. [Deceit] Also see, Maxwell et al, op. cit. [Enough], p. 141.

<sup>115</sup> See: R McCreadie Commissioner of Police, Port Arthur – An Overview of the Police Response, pp. 4-13. *Port Arthur Seminar Papers: A Record of the Proceedings of the Port Arthur Seminar, Emergency Management Australia*, 11-12 March 1997, ISBN 0 642 27136 4 [EMA-PASP]

<sup>116</sup> W. Cox, Comments on Passing Sentence R v Martin Bryant, reproduced in EMA-PASP, 22 November 1996, p. 15 of 14-17.

<sup>117</sup> MacGregor, op. cit. [Deceit], Part Two.

<sup>118</sup> Unknown, It Will Pass, Port Arthur Massacre.

<sup>119</sup> See G. Easton, Manager Public Affairs, Tasmania Police, Port – Media Management, pp. 120-122; and J. Raedler, reporter, CNN, Media Coverage of the Port Arthur Massacre – A View From the Media Side, pp. 123-127, in, *Port Arthur Seminar Papers: A Record of the Proceedings of the Port Arthur Seminar, Emergency Management Australia*, 11-12 March 1997, ISBN 0 642 27136 4.

<sup>120</sup> I. R. Matterson, Chief Coroner's Delegate, Coroner's Responsibilities at Port Arthur, pp. 90-91 of pp. 90-95.

<sup>121</sup> Noble, op. cit. [Murder], pp. 301-304.

I was particularly impressed by the quick response and initiatives by some of the team members in packaging and collecting equipment. The response time and the amount of equipment quickly relocated was fantastic.

One firm in particular, Nelson Brothers, had organised for an embalming machine box and a special large equipment case to be manufactured ready for the incident.

These two containers were the envy of all embalmers and worked extremely well.<sup>122</sup>

While critics are marginalised as conspiracy theorists, flag-bearers for the government account have come to public notice. During the 2017 parliamentarian's citizenship crisis, Senator Parry properly 'confided his doubts [about his eligibility to sit over dual citizenship] to a cabinet minister in mid-August and was told not to go public because advice from the solicitor-general was that the court would clear coalition members.'<sup>123</sup> Bryant's second lawyer, John Avery, who urged the guilty plea, was sentenced in September 2008 to 'to four-and-a-half years of porridge' for fraud.<sup>124</sup> In 2011, a professional American conspiracy debunker who turned his attention to the Port Arthur sceptics was also jailed for fraud over an unrelated case.<sup>125</sup>

Two decades after the mass-murder the world has changed. Government is less trusted in the wake of Canberra's excuses for invading Iraq, Howard's AFP investigations into the East Timor leaks, and Turnbull both beginning and ending the 2016 election by urging AFP action against political opponents. It would take a properly constituted and open inquiry, as well-resourced as the Heydon Royal Commission with an in-support investigative task force, to untangle the claims and counterclaims about the massacre. Much of the evidence trail is cold or was destroyed. This could have been obviated in 1996 by a proper coronial inquest and open trial of Bryant in September when he was evidently deemed fit to plead. Instead, Port Arthur remains a question mark.

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<sup>122</sup> S. Parry, Port Arthur Massacre 1996 – AFDA National Embalming Team – Detailed Report, p. 112 of 104-117, in, Port Arthur Seminar Papers: A Record of the Proceedings of the Port Arthur Seminar, Emergency Management Australia, 11-12 March 1997, ISBN 0 642 27136 4. '...manufactured ready for the incident', is an interesting phrase. Parry has been challenged on it by Keith Noble, apparently without response (Cairns News Special, Senator's report reveals prior knowledge of Port Arthur incident, *Cairns News*, 6 March 2006. According to Parry's presentation to the Seminar, (Para 5.1-5.4) the alert for embalming support went out on Sun 28<sup>th</sup> April, 'requisites, machines and supplies were transported to Hobart on Mon 29<sup>th</sup> and the first of the deceased were transported to Hobart on 1<sup>st</sup> May. There was perhaps time to manufacture such containers.

<sup>123</sup> AAP, Parry 'told minister of citizenship doubt', Nine News, 2 November 2017.

<sup>124</sup> Hellfire Club, Avery Scales, *Justinian*, 13 May 2009.

<sup>125</sup> See B. Dunning, The Port Arthur Massacre, *Skeptoid*, 12 April 2011. FBI, *Laguna Niguel Man Pleads Guilty to Defrauding eBay*, US Attorney's Office, 18 April 2013.

### **The Bugging of Brereton: Operation ARBITE/KEEVE (1999-2003)**

ALP Opposition Foreign Affairs Spokesman, Laurie Brereton, was the pivotal politician who broke Canberra's 24 year bi-partisan support for the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor, throwing Howard and Downer's time-wasting strategy into disarray and recasting the Timor Gap oil deals as detailed in Paul Cleary's *Shakedown*. In response to intelligence leaks damaging to the government's pro-Jakarta cover story on East Timor, Foreign Minister Downer ordered an AFP investigation, KEEVE, in February 1999; Defence followed in April with Operation ARBITE.<sup>126</sup> The two were combined. Phillip Dorling, a member of Brereton's staff, was listed on the Federal Police warrant served on Captain Clinton Fernandes and others in September 2000 during the 'East Timor leaks' investigation, although 'ASIO says it never rated the leaks a threat to national security in the first place.'<sup>127</sup>

A number of media organisations carried reports that the investigating team—a mix of AFP, Defence security personnel and 'contractors'—had 'eavesdropped on Labor's former affairs spokesman, Laurie Brereton...'<sup>128</sup> The inclusion of 'contractors', retired or seconded police or security officials, some of whom may have had technical expertise, muddled the waters. The IGIS (Blick) took it upon himself to investigate. Basing his findings on statements from senior security officials, Blick exonerated ASIO and DSD. After the publication of Blick's report, Dorling wrote to Blick informing him of specific assertions from a US Embassy official that Brereton's office had been subjected to intelligence collection by 'technical means'.<sup>129</sup> 'Blick's written response to Dorling did not address the US diplomat's claims.'<sup>130</sup> The factors in play surrounding the bugging of Brereton, which coincided with the wider East Timor leaks investigation, include corporate fossil fuel deals, sensitivity about links with Jakarta, and political power.

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<sup>126</sup> P. Doling, Secrets, lies and perils of a whistleblower, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 February 2012.

<sup>127</sup> ABC, 'Inquiry launched into claim of bugging Labor MP, *Lateline*, ABC TV, 30 April 2003.

<sup>128</sup> IGIS (Blick), citing *The Australian* of 30 April 2003, in Public Reports 2003, The Brereton Inquiry.

<sup>129</sup> P. Daley, Timor: envoy claims US kept in dark, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6419, 4 May 2004, pp. 24-25.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

### **Anthrax Scares (post 9/11/2001) — A Case for the Invasion of Iraq**

In aftermath of 9/11, anthrax scares in the US contributed to the mood for war against Iraq which was blamed for the incidents, including by Australia's Richard Butler who accused Saddam Hussein, with Russia mentioned as the source.<sup>131</sup> David Kelly, the UK weapons inspector who allegedly committed suicide on 17 July 2003, was cited as stating a US firm had supplied anthrax—believed to be a different strain of spores—to Saddam Hussein from 1985.<sup>132</sup> The source of both the anthrax scare spores and the allegations of Iraqi culpability for their release in the US was later found to be a US government biological defence laboratory at Fort Detrick.<sup>133</sup> Two of the US citizens targeted in the potentially lethal attack were Democrat Congressmen initially sceptical of the Patriot Act; they subsequently changed their minds.<sup>134</sup>

Anthrax scares occurred simultaneously in Australia where police 'investigated more than 1000 anthrax hoaxes' between 9/11 and February 2002.<sup>135</sup> In 2011, BioPrepWatch, an internet news-based organisation, reported 16 scares in Australia 'involving anthrax or other biological agents' during the weeks after 9/11.<sup>136</sup> The US government continued the Iraqi anthrax narrative, including Colin Powell's brandishing a test tube before the UN in 2002, to argue for war against Iraq. There was 'not a germ of truth' in the deception.<sup>137</sup> John Howard made much of Saddam Hussein's supposed '8,500 litres of anthrax' in his speech to the house on Iraq.<sup>138</sup> While stupidity and copycat hoaxes cannot be ruled out to explain the Australian domestic scares, they were a convenient support for Howard's case for war.

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<sup>131</sup> See also: R. Butler, Who made the anthrax, *New York Times*, 18 October 2001.

<sup>132</sup> J. Lauria, (Vancouver Sun), Iraq Purchased Anthrax from US Company, *Global Policy Forum*, 22 October 2001.

<sup>133</sup> P.D. Scott, *American War Machine*, Rowman and Littlefield, NY, 2014, p. 195. [War Machine]. Also see, deHaven-Smith, op. cit. [Conspiracy], p. 17.

<sup>134</sup> Scott, op. cit., [War Machine], pp. 194-195. Also see: deHaven-Smith, Conspiracy Theory in America, Austin, 2010, p. 16-17, 152-154, [Conspiracy].

<sup>135</sup> Australian Parliament House, Criminal Code Amendment (Anti-hoax and Other Measures) Bill 2002.

<sup>136</sup> BioPrepWatch, Anthrax scares in Australia, *BioPrepWatch*, 8 August 2011.

<sup>137</sup> N. Mills, The anthrax scare: not a germ of truth, *The Guardian*, 16 September 2011,

<sup>138</sup> See: John Howard, *Address To Parliament On Iraq*, APH, 4 February 2003, Australian Politics; and Downer refer to '8,500 litres of biological warfare agent'. The Hon Alexander Downer, MP, Foreign Minister, *Speech to the House, Statement to Parliament on Iraq*, 4 February 2003.

### **The Bali Bombing (12 October 2002)**

Occurring after the INTERFET intervention into East Timor and before the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Bali Bombings killed 202 people including 88 Australians, and wounded another 209. The attack was blamed on the Islamist terror organisation Jemaah Islamiyah. Indonesian citizens Imam Samudrea, Amrozi Nurhasyim and Huda bin Abdul Haw were found guilty of the bombings and executed in 2008. Three theories have emerged about the agents and purpose of the attack: a) Indonesian Islamist terrorists planned and conducted the bombings in response to Western attacks on Islam; b) Indonesian security services were responsible; and c) (this from the shadowy conspiracist, Joe Vialls) US and Zionist extremists planted bombs with the aim of pushing Australia into the coming invasion of Iraq.<sup>139</sup> Each theory has implications for Australian foreign policy and the forces shaping it.

First, the official explanation offers Islamist punishment for Australia's war on Muslims and the conquest of 'Muslim' East Timor. Australian domestic unease about the supposed lack of warning and 'media suggestions that there had been such intelligence' caused the matter to be referred to IGIS.<sup>140</sup> Blick found no evidence that there could have been prior warnings and recommended no changes. A parliamentary inquiry was also conducted into the lack of warning; its report split along party lines.<sup>141</sup> The government members, swayed by Blick, refused Green and Democrat calls for a royal commission into the intelligence agencies, ostensibly because there was nothing more to be found and to allow compassionate 'closure' for the victims.<sup>142</sup> American warnings from late 2001 of increasing Islamic radicalisation in the Indonesian archipelago were countered by Australians denying the severity of the

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<sup>139</sup> *Bali Bombings: The Truth* -Joe Vialls et al., By Joe Vialls and Others, Feb 14, 2010—6:54:16 am.

<sup>140</sup> B, Blick, *Bali Bombing Report*, December 2002. Others allege Vialls was a Mossad agent named Ari Ben Menashe (<http://forum.prisonplanet.com/index.php?topic=57030.0> retrieved 20 Apr 15) and Andrew MacGregor (reportedly a retired Victorian Police Officer), Joe Vialls, Ari and Jim Stone in the 'Mouse that Roared', *Rebel News*, 5 Oct 2013, The Truth Seeker. Also see, W. Scurr and A. MacGregor, *Deception Down Under*; video, A. MacGregor, *The Port Arthur Massacre, Part 1*, Sunrise AV Productions; *A Question of Guilt—The Massacre at Port Arthur* (Full), Sunrise AV Productions.

<sup>141</sup> Australian Senate, Inquiry into threats to the security of Australians in South East Asia during the period 11 September 2001 to 12 October 2002, Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade,

<sup>142</sup> Australian Senate, *Bali 2002: Security threats to Australians in South East Asia*, Completed Report, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade References Committee, April 2002, p. 117.

threat.<sup>143</sup> Canberra's sensitivity over Bali was displayed during the prosecution and imprisonment of ex-ASIO official, James Sievers, for unauthorised release of documents. He was acquitted on appeal in May 2010.<sup>144</sup>

Second, former Indonesian President Abdurrahman Wahid has explicitly blamed the Indonesian security forces for the bombings:

Abdurrahman Wahid: Amrozi was involved in the lighter bomb. That's a problem always. Even though I agree that he should be given a stiff punishment, but it doesn't mean that he is involved. No, no, no.

Reporter: So you believe that the Bali bombers had no idea that there was a second bomb?

Wahid: Yeah, precisely.

Rep: And who would you suggest planted the second bomb?

Wahid: Well, it looks like the police.

Rep: The police?

Wahid: Or the armed forces, I don't know.<sup>145</sup>

A motive for police and or military involvement could have been to restore their former privileged position in Indonesian politics and society. The Indonesian military absolved themselves of involvement in the attack; a military spokesman releasing a statement through the state news agency days after the blasts.<sup>146</sup>

Third, the mysterious Joe Vialls, a Port Arthur conspiracist, portrayed the Bali Bombings as a Zionist-US attack with 'mini-nukes' aimed at coercing Australians into 'slavish obedience to Ariel Sharon and George W. Bush in their ruthless quest to

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<sup>143</sup> For example, H. Crouch, No Proof of Indon link with Al-Qaeda, *Organisation of Asia Pacific News Agencies*, 25 May 2002; Voice of America, *Skeptics Say No Proof of al-Qaida Links in Indonesia*—2001-12-13; H. Crouch, Qaida in Indonesia? The Evidence Doesn't Support Worries, *International Herald Tribune*, 23 October 2001.

<sup>144</sup> AAP, Former ASIO officer James Paul Sievers has conviction quashed by court of appeal, *The Australian*, 18 May 2010.

<sup>145</sup> O'Shea, op. cit. Also see: G.R. Copely, *The Bali Bombing: Messages within messages*, Defence and Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy, Vol. 30, Iss 9, International Media Corporation, 1 September 2002; H. Marconi, Indonesia: The Bali Bombing, *Pravda*, 17 October 2002; and Stewart, C. and Powell, S., Bali mob want Amrozi dead, *The Australian*, 13 October 2005 for the role of BIN agent, Hasri.

<sup>146</sup> P. S. Suryanarayana, Jakarta pledges anti-terror drive. *The Hindu*, 17 October 2002. Also see, H. Marconi, Indonesia: Bali Blast Suspect Arrested? *Pravda*, (Sydney), 16 October, 2002. For a chronology of the events leading to the bombings and alleged Indonesian military involvement, see, History Commons, Complete 911 Timeline.

loot and destroy the Middle East.’<sup>147</sup> Two mainstream news articles cover this but cannot be located online.<sup>148</sup> Dmitri Khalezov, a former Russian nuclear intelligence officer, claimed he was contacted in Thailand by a Mossad agent who tried to recruit him for the Bali bombing.<sup>149</sup> The challenge with improbable theories is that they are rarely assessed by publically acknowledged credible sources. A history of government deceit compounds the analytical dilemma; therefore, the proposition can be noted with doubt.

The outcomes of the bombing were: a) reinforcement of Canberra’s rhetoric about Islamist terrorism; b) the Indonesian and AFP gained unprecedented access to each other; and c) elements of the Australian public were further conditioned to accept the need for the invasion of Iraq the following year.

### **Australian Wheat Board (AWB) Scandal, (1999-present)**

The AWB scandal was one of a number involving the bribery of foreign officials by Australians for the profit of corporations. What was different about the AWB was its breach of UN sanctions, its scale and Australia’s involvement in a war against Iraq. Following the First Gulf War, Australia continued a lucrative long-standing wheat trade to Saddam’s Iraq. In 2005 Paul Volker, a former head of the US Federal Reserve, led a UN investigation that revealed Australian bribery and kickbacks to the Iraqi regime. A Royal Commission, under Defence Reserve legal officer Justice Terrance Cole, ‘decided that John [Howard] and his mates do not deserve detention.’<sup>150</sup> Cole pointed the finger at a number of AWB employees, but ‘not one of the so-called “dirty dozen”—the now former AWB officials ... has faced criminal charges.’<sup>151</sup> The AFP coordinator of the investigation reported being offered an inducement to drop the case.<sup>152</sup> After learning of an AWB \$900 million dollar wheat deal in January 2005, US officials intervened to sabotage the deal. Iraq bowed to US

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<sup>147</sup> J. Vialls, [Source note—unreliable], Bali Micro Nuke—lack of radiation confuses ‘experts’.

<sup>148</sup> Search: Casimir, J(on)., 1998). Losing the plot, *Spectrum*. *Sydney Morning Herald*. 12 September 1998, p. 1; and Forbes, M., Most of us think the Port Arthur massacre was the work of one crazed individual. But within the twilight zone of the lunar right, one man’s madness is actually a global conspiracy, *The Sunday Age*, Agenda. *Sunday Age*. 30 August 1998, p. 13.

<sup>149</sup> G. Duff, IAEA Source: Trump Fires Accused Israeli Nuclear Spy, Tom Countryman, *Veterans Today*, 29 January 2017.

<sup>150</sup> D. Carrick, Cole and the AWB inquiry, *The Law Report*, ABC RN, 28 November 2006.

<sup>151</sup> McKenzie, N., and Baker, R., Scandal? What Scandal? *The Age*, 7 June 2012, p. 15.

<sup>152</sup> McKenzie, N., and Baker, R., Top job ‘offered to end probe’, *The Age*, 7 June 2012, p. 1.

pressure and called off the deal, to the profit of American farmers.<sup>153</sup> US farmers sued AWB but the case was dismissed in 2010, although another threat was reportedly made in 2012, evidently using US ‘racketeering laws’.<sup>154</sup> The Australian ambassador in Washington evidently had enough influence to finally have the case dropped.

### **The Refugee Boats<sup>155</sup>**

In the lead-up to the 10 November 2001 Australian Federal Election, the Howard coalition made national security and border control key election issues: the promotion of fear and loathing in order to maintain political power. The episodes cemented the armed forces as enforcers of civil law and illustrated the government’s contempt for parliamentary inquiries.

On 26 August 2001 the Norwegian MV Tampa, alerted by Australian authorities, rescued 438 Afghans, mostly persecuted Hazara, who were attempting to reach Australia by boat. A standoff with the Australian Government ensued and on 29 August, when the Tampa’s captain Arne Rinnan attempted to sail to the vicinity of Christmas Island to secure aid, his ship was seized by SASR elements and the refugees incarcerated on Nauru.<sup>156</sup> The Defence-heavy Operation RELEX swung into operation to ‘decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.’<sup>157</sup>

On 7 October 2001 HMAS Adelaide intercepted SIEV 4 and during the drama rumours began that children had been thrown overboard.<sup>158</sup> In the heat of the election campaign, the acting CDF denied this to Defence Minister Reith, but the ‘genuine miscommunication’ compounded by ‘deliberate deception motivated by political expediency’<sup>159</sup> was maintained until after the election when Senate inquiries were

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<sup>153</sup> Richard Baker, US sabotaged Australian wheat deal in Iraq, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 Nov 06.

<sup>154</sup> K. Landers, *US farmers threaten to sue AWB over Iraq scandal*, Radio Australia, 30 March 2012.

<sup>155</sup> MV Tampa (29 Aug 01–3 Sep 01); SIEV 4 (*Olong*), Children Overboard—7 Oct 01; SIEV X (‘the Quassey boat’), 19 Oct 01.

<sup>156</sup> See: D. Marr and M. Wilkinson, *Dark Victory*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2003.

<sup>157</sup> J. Howard, *Election Speech 2001*, delivered Sydney 28 October 2001.

<sup>158</sup> Majority Report—Chapter 3—The ‘Children Overboard’ Incident: Events and Initial Report, Select Committee on A Certain Maritime Incident, 23 October 2002

<sup>159</sup> G. Barker, The Public Service in, C. Hamilton and S. Maddison, *Silencing Dissent*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, pp. 134–135.

stymied by the victorious Coalition.

Twelve days after the ‘children overboard’ incident, SIEV X sunk in the RELEX surveillance zone. 353 asylum seekers drowned and 44 survivors were rescued by Indonesian fisherman who chanced on the scene. Tony Kevin, a former public servant of 30 years who wrote the most detailed account of SIEV X, found the matter had

... shaken my trust in the integrity of Australia’s machinery of government... there was some bedrock of honour that would impose moral limits on what government agencies might do...[now] practically anything is possible at the national security level.<sup>160</sup>

There were consequences beyond the incidents when the ‘official lack of cooperation [with inquiries became] more brazen and confident.’<sup>161</sup> There was obsessive secrecy, closed inquiries subverted<sup>162</sup> and demonisation of the powerless, with the Solicitor-General David Bennett and Defence Minister Peter Reith claiming that ‘terrorists might be lurking among the asylum seekers.’<sup>163</sup> The subservience of the military to cynical expediency, ‘made them accessories in a political exercise’ where Howard ‘brilliantly combined absolute opposites—the western world’s stand against the Taliban and Australia’s military blockade of refugees fleeing the same enemy—into a single potent [electoral] campaign.’<sup>164</sup>

### **Downer and East Timor’s Oil (2004-present)**

Oil and gas were cornerstone considerations in Canberra’s attitude to the Indonesian military invasion and occupation of East Timor (1975-1999). The history of the oil and gas relationship has been addressed in Humphry McQueen’s *Japan to the Rescue* and Paul Cleary’s more recent *Shakedown*. As noted in Chapter Seven, the Howard Government, with Alexander Downer as foreign minister, struggled fruitlessly to maintain Indonesian control of East Timor in contravention of extant UN resolutions. After the 1999 INTERFET international humanitarian intervention ended Indonesian

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<sup>160</sup> T. Kevin, *A Certain Maritime Incident*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2004, p.14. .

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>162</sup> D. Marr and M. Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 290-291.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

military occupation of East Timor, a treaty between East Timor and Australia was signed on 20<sup>th</sup> May 2002. It is the events of this process that are of specific interest. Despite Canberra's protestations of free-market, ASIS 'bugged' East Timor government cabinet rooms and the president's office in 2004 under the guise of civil contractors renovating the building; an act that 'not only constituted criminal conduct but fell outside the proper functions of ASIS under its legislation.'<sup>165</sup> At the time the Greater Sunrise field was being negotiated: 'After [reluctantly<sup>166</sup>] helping to liberate the Timorese the Australian government was now out to plunder its resources...'<sup>167</sup>

Bolstered by the A\$20 billion-plus war on terror<sup>168</sup>, ASIS, under the directorship of David Irvine and political control of Downer, spied on impoverished East Timor for the advantage of corporate interests. Under the same David Irvine, ASIO later raided the lantern-bearer's lawyer in an apparent attempt to interfere with East Timor's case before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.<sup>169</sup> The ASIS official in question

became aggrieved after he found out that former foreign minister Alexander Downer began working as a consultant to resources giant Woodside after leaving Parliament. Woodside had the rights to develop the Timor Gap reserves, and it was Mr Downer who allegedly ordered the eavesdropping.<sup>170</sup>

This is symptomatic of the Siamese twin connection between the state and corporations. The ASIS officer was first turned away from the proper line of redress, IGIS, his passport seized and his lawyer raided.

### **Operation NEWPORT and the Arrest of Izhar ul-Haque (15 April 2004)**

The arrest of Pakistani medical student Izhar ul-Haque to relieve pressure on Canberra exemplifies the methods the power clique use to confound public scrutiny.

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<sup>165</sup> B. Collaery, *National security, legal professional privilege, and the Bar Rules*, Address at Australian National University, 11 June 2015, para 19.

<sup>166</sup> See C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour*.

<sup>167</sup> P. Cleary, *Shakedown: Australia's grab for Timor oil*, Allen and Unwin, 2007, p. 58.

<sup>168</sup> Nicholson, B, 'War on terror costs us \$20 billion, *The Age*, 25 Nov 2013. In an earlier article, (A vast cost in feeling just a little more secure, 14 Sep 2011) Ross Gittens puts the figure at \$30 billion. This does not include the total number of people: murdered, maimed and missing.

<sup>169</sup> T. Allard, ASIO raids lawyer on eve of Hague spying case, *The Age*, 4 Dec 2013, p. 5.

<sup>170</sup> T. Allard, Intelligence agency failed to investigate spying claims, lawyer Bernard Collaery claims, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 December 2013.

When RANR Captain Martin Toohey's report on an intelligence scandal relating to military operations in East Timor broke in *The Bulletin* on 14 April 2004<sup>171</sup>, it was followed the next day by the well-publicised 'anti-terror' arrest of ul-Haque. Canberra intimated that the intelligence system was working smoothly for the protection of citizens. Operations against ul-Haque had been running for months under anti-terror laws refined in 2003. It involved several 'interviews' and a 10 hour raid on the ul-Haque home on 6 November 2003 by '30 plainclothes officers'.<sup>172</sup> *The Australian* reported:

'At the time, [of ul-Haque's arrest, the Federal policeman related] we were directed, we were informed, to lay as many charges under the new terrorist legislation against as many suspects as possible because we wanted to use the new legislation,' he testified.<sup>173</sup>

More than three years after the arrest, the charges were dismissed, the NSW Supreme Court judge Michal Adams referred to 'tyranny', 'criminal' behaviour and 'significant moral turpitude' by Howard's agencies:

The common law of Australia knows no *lettre de cachet* or executive warrant pursuant to which either citizen or alien can be deprived of his freedom by mere administrative decision or action...these basic matters are not the stuff of empty rhetoric. They are the very fabric of the freedom under the law which is the *prima facie* right of every citizen and alien in this land. They represent a bulwark against tyranny...I do not have to be satisfied beyond reasonable doubt that the ASIO officers committed the offences that I have mentioned. Nevertheless, an adverse finding that they did so should not be made without carefully examining the evidence, bearing in mind that the issue to which it is directed is the commission of a criminal offence or conduct involving significant moral turpitude. Bearing in mind this caution, I am satisfied that B15 and B16 committed the criminal offences of

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<sup>171</sup> J. Lyons, Rotten to the Corps, *The Bulletin*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 30-36. P. Daley, Breach of Trust, *The Bulletin*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 36-37. Insert *The Toohey Inquiry—The Restricted Report*, 20 Apr 04, pp. 1-36. Also: See Editorial.

<sup>172</sup> T. Allard, ASIO interrogators were grossly incompetent: judge, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 November 2007.

<sup>173</sup> S. Neighbour, Charge suspects to test terror laws, *The Australian*, 13 November 2015. Excerpt: "At the time, we were directed, we were informed, to lay as many charges under the new terrorist legislation against as many suspects as possible because we wanted to use the new legislation," he [Special Agent federal agent Kemuel Lam Paktsun (AFP)] testified. "So regardless of the assistance that Mr Ul-Haque could give, he was going to be prosecuted, charged, because we wanted to test the legislation and lay new charges, in our eagerness to use the legislation."

false imprisonment and kidnapping at common law and also an offence under s86 of the Crimes Act 1900. It follows, *a fortiori*, that they committed the tort of false imprisonment. Their conduct was grossly improper and constituted an unjustified and unlawful interference with the personal liberty of the accused. So far as their conduct in his parents' home is concerned, it also constituted an unlawful trespass against the occupants, since they gained admittance under colour of the warrant which did not authorise what they did: keeping the accused incommunicado in a bedroom, let alone subjecting him to compulsory questioning.<sup>174</sup>

Canberra's networks reacted swiftly: a letter from the Commonwealth's Attorney General complaining about Justice Adams<sup>175</sup> and the Liberal Party acolyte IGIS, Ian Carnell<sup>176</sup>, initiating an inquiry into the conduct of ASIO officers that exonerated them. Carnell did not draw attention to the non-coincidental date of Izhar ul-Haque's arrest the day after the unfolding Toohey defence intelligence scandal hit the media, a case Carnell was well aware of. When the media dust had settled, the IPA's Gerard Henderson depended on Carnell's report to support the security system.<sup>177</sup> In a critique, Johathan Gadir noted that the 'cold war warrior Gerard Henderson assured us that Australia's national security laws have "worked well"', but Carnell's report 'contained more fruit than a Margaret Fulton Christmas cake.'<sup>178</sup>

### **Monis and the Lindt Cafe Siege (15-16 December 2014)**

On 15 December 2014 the Lindt Cafe in Martin Place, Sydney was held-up by a lone illegally-armed perpetrator carrying a prohibited sawn-off pump-action shotgun. The gunman, the Iranian migrant/refugee Man Haron Monis, 'a dangerous deviant'<sup>179</sup>, was on bail for 43 sexual assault charges and as an accessory to the murder of his former wife.<sup>180</sup> Eight staff and ten customers were held hostage for about 16 hours. Besieging authorities treated the incident as terrorism that culminated when NSW

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<sup>174</sup> Adams, M., *Judgement in R v Ul-Haque* [2007] NSWSC 1251 (5 November 2007), paras 60-61.

<sup>175</sup> NSW judicial body backs judge in terrorism case, *Lawyers Weekly*.

<sup>176</sup> Ian Carnell worked in Ruddock's Attorney General's Department until appointed IGIS. He conducted a cover-up-of-the-cover-up into the Collins/Toohey matter, exonerating the Howard's government and Defence by blaming junior officials.

<sup>177</sup> G. Henderson, Sorry saga of Hicks supporters, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 November 2008, p. 2.

<sup>178</sup> J. Gadir, Blundering spooks cleared by the right people, *Justinian*, 5 December 2008.

<sup>179</sup> M. Barnes, NSW Coroner, *Inquest into the deaths arising from the Lindt Café siege*, 4, Part C, Coroner's Opening Remarks, 8 November 2014.

<sup>180</sup> News.com.au, Prosecutors try to gag siege inquiry about why Lindt Cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was on bail, retrieved 19 Nov 15. Monis reportedly accused ASIO and the AFP of his wife's murder. See Maxwell, *Inquest*, ISBN: 978-0-9807627-1, 2017, p. 225.

para-military police attacked the premises after Monis' execution of Tori Johnson, the store manager. A customer, Katrina Dawson, was killed by ricocheting police bullets during the noisy assault. Others were wounded including a policeman.<sup>181</sup>

Federal and State governments made much of Monis' political motivation, in particular the spectre of ISIL. More national security legislation followed. The formal inquiry concentrated on the police action; however much of the string of connected incidents have characteristics of false-flag operations.<sup>182</sup> First there was the lone-gunman well known to authorities.<sup>183</sup> On 9 December there were 18 calls to the National Security Hotline about Monis; all apparently forwarded to ASIO, the AFP and some state police forces.<sup>184</sup> ASIO reportedly warned a prominent Muslim community member, Mamdouh Habib

... against speaking to, or even attending, the inquest...a clear indication that powerful forces are determined to ensure the mandatory inquest is a cover-up, specifically of ASIO's involvement with the siege perpetrator...<sup>185</sup>

The coroner's report was largely closed on ASIO's involvement with Monis,<sup>186</sup> and was vague about how Monis obtained the names and addresses of the families of service personnel killed in action—an operations security breach—in order to write harassing letters to them.<sup>187</sup>

Lawyers and Muslim community members who offered to negotiate early in the siege were turned away by police, seemingly a move that would doom the

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<sup>181</sup> The 5.56mm ballistic ammunition used is notorious for fragmenting and causing multiple internal injuries.

<sup>182</sup> See: M.W. Maxwell, *Inquest: Siege in Sydney*, ISBN: 978-0-9807627-1, 2017.

<sup>183</sup> B. Trembath, ASIO concluded Man Monis was no national security threat, *The World Today*, ABC, 18-19 November 2015.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. Also see: Inquest into the deaths arising from the Lindt Café siege, *Opening address for third segment (ASIO)*, Jeremy Gormly SC and Sophie Callan, 18 November 2015, NSW Government. Includes details ASIO involvement with Monis.

<sup>185</sup> C. Isherwood, *Is Sydney Siege inquest covering for ASIO?* Citizens Electoral Council of Australia, 25 August 2015.

<sup>186</sup> M. Barnes, *Inquest Into the Deaths Arising from the Lindt Café Siege*, Coroner's Court of NSW, 24 May 2017, p. 97 para 29. Excerpt: '...the majority of analysis concerning ASIO's activity in relation to Monis from 2008 to 2014 must be dealt with in a closed Chapter of this report.' The public version judged ASIO's 2008-Nov 2014 'assessments' and 'consideration of Monis, were in my view, adequate and appropriate.' Chapter 18, p. 38, para 220.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., p. 64, para 102.

negotiation phase of the siege.<sup>188</sup> During the assault the police fired 22 rounds, 13 hitting Monis. In common with the characteristics of false flag operations, the primary witness, Monis, was killed before any open judicial hearing. The overkill recalls the death of an innocent Brazilian electrician, Jean Charles de Menezes, in the London tube during 2005: shot seven times in the head and once in the shoulder by British plain-clothes police.<sup>189</sup>

The police assault was criticised for being too late and there were calls for the Army to take the lead in armed resolution of terrorist incidents. Alan Orr has raised the complex and potentially problematical issues of society, law, training and resources involved in such moves.<sup>190</sup> While the author of this dissertation is adamant that under present and foreseeable arrangements they would rather be rescued by the Army than police; historically, Praetorian Guards have almost always come to dabble in political power. The works of Peter Dale Scott pose pertinent questions about the conduct of the CIA and America's Special Forces.<sup>191</sup> In the aftermath, Turnbull, framed by helmeted and respirator-masked commandos, announced an increased Army role in counter terrorism, as state police forces established Fixated Persons Assessment Centres.<sup>192</sup>

### **ANZAC Day and Mother's Day Plots (18 April, 8 May 2015)**

Before ANZAC Day 2015, British police warned Victoria Police of internet chat indicating an ISIL-inspired plan to murder a police officer and inflict multiple casualties at an unspecified commemoration ceremony. In a preventative Operation

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<sup>188</sup> See: P. Malone, Police turning away family members in a siege can be short-sighted, *The Age*, 31 January 2015; J. McCarthy, Lindt Café siege inquiry report confirms police failure to respond to offers of help, *Newcastle Herald*, 27 May 2017; R. Feneley, Sydney siege: Mamdouh Habib claims he could have stopped hostage deaths, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 December 2014.

<sup>189</sup> R. Norton-Taylor, New special forces unit tailed Brazilian electrician, *The Guardian*, 5 August 2005.

<sup>190</sup> A. Orr, Counter-terrorism 'lawfare' and the ADF's covert security warfare, *Independent Australia*, 30 November 2016, <https://independentaustralia.net/politics/politics-display/counter-terrorism-lawfare-and-the-adfs-covert-security-war,9791>

<sup>191</sup> For the nature of the Praetorian Guards and their public auction of the Roman world to the highest bidder, see E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol 1, Everyman, 1993, pp. 116-127.

<sup>192</sup> M. Turnbull, Defence support to domestic Counter-Terrorism arrangements, *Media Release*, 17 July 2017, and L. Yaksley, Terrorism: Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull gives Defence Force power to help police during attacks, *ABC News*, 17 July 2017.

RISING, ‘200 heavily armed [police] officers stormed properties’ in Melbourne.<sup>193</sup> The resulting alert led to armed police accompanying the marchers, and Victoria Police being ordered to: a) abandon single constable patrols, significant for rural Victoria; b) wear side arms and bullet-proof vests unless excused; and c) not park marked police cars at private residences. ASIO claimed credit, through a member of the public calling-in, for warning of the following Mother’s Day plot that saw areas closed off and raids in Melbourne on the afternoon of Friday 8<sup>th</sup> May 2015. Bomb making materiel was seized and a number of teenagers arrested.<sup>194</sup>

What is significant is the militarisation of police and increasing state surveillance that does not appear particularly effective against criminals. In response to the ANZAC and Mother’s Day plots, Victorian police, with faces obscured by balaclavas, appeared with assault rifles in suburban Melbourne with at least one Bushranger-style internal security vehicle.<sup>195</sup> Whether from operational necessity, over-reaction, or deliberate show of force, Australians are increasingly being conditioned to this type of control operation.

Coincidentally an American social/political/internet furore blossomed over a US Special Forces internal security exercise, Operation JADE HELM (July-September 2015) encompassing between six and nine states.<sup>196</sup> Extraordinary theories, ranging from the imminent imposition of martial law to a Chinese invasion, have been listed by the urban-legend/conspiracy investigation site, *Snopes*.<sup>197</sup> The size, timing and scope of the training exercise are noteworthy, as was the public disquiet.

### **Operation FORTITUDE (Melbourne—28 August 2015)**

Australian Border Force (ABF) was created in July 2015 by a ten million dollar bureaucratic amalgamation and rebadging of Customs and Immigration personnel.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> C. Stewart and R. Baxendale, R., Two held as Melbourne terror attack thwarted by ASIO, *The Australian*, 10 May 2015.

<sup>194</sup> Stewart and Baxendale, op. cit.

<sup>195</sup> Bucci, N., Full force of the law, *The Age*, 9 May 15, p. 1.

<sup>196</sup> For different interpretations of Jade Helm, with its slogan of ‘master the human domain’, see: N. O’Malley, Party is losing its way in conspiracy zone, *The Age*, 2015, p. 23; and G. Motroc, The similarity between pre-Nazi Germany and the U.S. today, *Australian National Review*, 8 May 2015, pp. 4, 6. It is interesting that the activity is designated ‘Operation’, meaning real; rather than ‘exercise’, meaning training.

<sup>197</sup> K. LaCapria, Jade Helm Concludes, *Snopes*, 15 September 2015.

<sup>198</sup> See, R. Flanagan, Australia’s treatment of asylum seekers was bound to lead to something like

This provoked ‘the public service’s greatest executive brain drain since the 1980s’ with employees ‘facing cuts to pay and entitlements’.<sup>199</sup> The reorganisation occurred after the Abbott Government promoted the success of Operation SOVEREIGN BORDERS to curb the entry of small-boat asylum seekers. Retired Defence personnel, advising on the operation, sought or gained endorsement for political careers.<sup>200</sup>

ABF announced its debut on 28 August 2015 with participation in the planned Operation FORTITUDE, a public order crackdown in Melbourne’s CBD by a mix of federal, state and corporate agencies. ABF’s media release indicated the intended operational concept:

... Metro Trains, Yarra Trams, the Sheriff’s Office, Taxi Services Commission and the ABF will join Victoria Police as part of the inter-agency operation. With a particular focus on people travelling to, from and around the CBD, the group of agencies will work together to support the best interests of Melbournians, targeting everything from anti-social behaviour to outstanding warrants ...<sup>201</sup>

Public and political reaction was swift. Andrew Wilkie likened it to something Stalin would be ‘proud of’.<sup>202</sup> Tim Wilson—six weeks after public ridicule for little return on his \$77,000 in airfares, \$15,000 expenditure on taxis in addition to \$332,000 base salary<sup>203</sup>—called ABF’s media release a ‘chilling statement’.<sup>204</sup> Retired MP Tony Windsor was more pointed:

I’ve got no doubt that the strategy here—and the giveaway context in relation to this was only a few weeks ago, when the Government was calling upon the security people to have something ready every week for them... It is to create fear in the eyes

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Border Force, *The Guardian*, 31 August 2015.

<sup>199</sup> N. Hasham, \$10 million splurge to rename Australian Border Force, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 august 2025.

<sup>200</sup> P. Gourley, Operation Sovereign Absurdity is destroying the military’s credibility, *The Canberra Times*, 1 April 2015.

<sup>201</sup> Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, *Media Release, ABF joining inter-agency outfit to target crime in Melbourne CBD*, 28 August 2015. ABF press release link retrieved through, P. Farrell, Australian Border Force blames farcical events in Melbourne on ‘low level’ official—live, *The Guardian*, 28 August 2015.

<sup>202</sup> P. Donald, (rep), Border Force operation shut down on same day of announcement after community reaction, *PM*, ABC RN, retrieved 31 Aug 15.

<sup>203</sup> R. Ackland, Taken for a ride, *The Saturday Paper*, Gadfly, 18-24 July 2015, p. 17.

<sup>204</sup> Tim Wilson, (Australian Human Rights Commissioner), Border Force: preserving freedom doesn’t sit with governments, *The Age*, 29 August 2019.

of the community.<sup>205</sup>

Early ABF bellicosity turned to farcical retreat. ABF changed their story in the face of political, media, legal challenges and outrage on social media, culminating in a noisy impromptu demonstration in the Melbourne CBD. An unnamed junior official was blamed for the intemperate tone of the media release<sup>206</sup> and Victoria Police cancelled the ‘standard police operation’.<sup>207</sup> The responsible minister, Dutton, was unavailable for comment for some days as officialdom retreated quickly and dismissed the incident as a mistake to be investigated internally.

The episode fits the pattern of weekly national security-related ‘announceables’ Abbott demanded leading to the next election.<sup>208</sup> By the Monday after FORTITUDE, much of the media and commentary was upbeat about the triumph of Australian values over authoritarianism. The optimism was premature: the lesson governments learned was to do such things quietly.<sup>209</sup> As the Murdoch press’ columnist Andrew Bolt came out in support of the government,<sup>210</sup> Fairfax FOI requests later revealed a ‘plan to detain’, the speed of protests ‘a shock to staff’ and the Australian Government Crisis Co-Ordination Centre’s warning about ‘snap-action by protestors’.<sup>211</sup> In a post-script to FORTITUDE, within three weeks the LNC dismissed Tony Abbott from leadership. A more telling epilogue was Abbott’s successor, Turnbull, on 18 July 2017 forming a super Home Affairs ministry—of

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<sup>205</sup> E. Jackson, Operation Fortitude part of an agenda to create fear: Tony Windsor, *AM*, ABC RN, 29 August 2015.

<sup>206</sup> Excerpt: ‘Mr Quaadvleig said the press release was “released at the lower levels of the organisation”, indicating that he and other senior officials were not to blame for the farce. But he confirmed Mr Smith signed off on the quotes attributed to him. Mr Smith is the head of the Border Force in Victoria and Tasmania—surely not someone considered to be at the “lower levels of the organization”. The Guardian Australia has reported that the border force assistant secretary for communications and media, Mark Jeffries, also cleared the statement.’ N. Hashem, Border Farce: eight ways the government and bureaucratic spin is riddled with holes, *The Canberra Times*, 31 August 2015.

<sup>207</sup> Premier’s Department Victoria, *Statement from Minister for Police Wade Noonan*, 28 August 2015.

<sup>208</sup> L. Tingle, Abbott determined to lead the Whitlam government of our time, *Australian Financial Review*, 13 August 2015.

<sup>209</sup> Within days of FORTITUDE, the author observed from a passing tram, three protective service officers, one with his hand on his pistol butt, who had a Caucasian couple in their early forties bailed-up against railings outside Flinders Street Railway Station. The man was slouched against the railings with an open paperback; the woman looked worried. Another three dark-uniformed, fluoro-vested figures—police or protective service—were grouped some 10 metres away.

<sup>210</sup> Bolt, A., Border Force Protestors Lose Plot over Tony Abbott, *The Australian*, 31 August 2015,

<sup>211</sup> N. O’Brien, Border force officers planned to detain ‘non-citizens’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 October 2015.

ABF, AFP ASIO and a new coordinating Office of National Intelligence (ONI)—concentrating the power under Dutton, the minister responsible for FORTITUDE.<sup>212</sup>

### **OBSERVATIONS ON HIDDEN POWER**

The escalation of state and corporate security has become increasingly obvious over the last forty years. It coincides with the weakening of organised labour, decline of the middle class, and hardening of neo-liberal values and confidence, along with a government cult of secrecy.

Peter Dale Scott and Lance de Haven-Smith have advanced theories of criminal activity by governments while Janine Wedel has described the methods of flexicans and Eva Horn the application of secret power. In a higher form of security, Churchill allowed the Nazi bombing of Coventry to protect the secret of critical British intelligence-based air defence capability. This is different from ‘deep state’ theory, which focuses on criminal acts by elements associated with or within state power.

Shrouded in claim and counter-claim, Australia’s chain of secretive and or violent events illustrates a pattern of: a) ineffectual investigations, b) procedural unfairness, c) refusal to submit to open inquiries and d) lack of accountability by state and corporate actors. There have been assertions of the involvement of foreign intelligence services, which begs questions about the secrecy surrounding these incidents and the access of foreign interests to Australia’s power clique.

This chapter and the preceding one have summarised the progressively coercive and unaccountable power of the Australian state. The existence of an Australian intelligence/security/military benign ‘deep state’ has been referenced by Kim Beazley in a misleading use of the term; those elements, properly constituted, tasked and accountable, are part of democratic government, or the ‘public state’.<sup>213</sup> Richard Ackland openly refers to a police-based ‘shadow government’ emerging in NSW. These developments cannot be ascribed to political and bureaucratic absent-mindedness, random events, coincidence or the official tendency to make a poor law ‘better’ by rendering it more complex and voluminous. Taken together with the

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<sup>212</sup> See L. Yaksley, Malcolm Turnbull announces Home Affairs super-ministry run by Peter Dutton, *ABC News*, 18 July 2017.

<sup>213</sup> See, Scott, *op. cit.*, [War Machine], pp. 21-22.

indicators of state-corporate networks outlined in Chapter Three, the indicators point to the increasing risk of an Australian *rationalised-nationalist deep state*, where the network of interests extends abroad.

For the purposes of IR, ‘deep state’ refers to something hidden, predatory and criminal. It is entirely possible for conspiratorial deep-state-like elements to hide within and subvert the public state. Albert Camus in *The Rebel*, and William Shirer in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* describe how easily gangs infiltrated and subverted a democratic state. The Nuremberg war crimes trials demonstrated to nations the applicability of the ‘legal concept of conspiracy’ to a state’s political leaders and organisations alike.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>214</sup> DeHaven-Smith, op. cit., p. 54. [Conspiracy]

## CHAPTER FIVE: TIES THAT BIND<sup>1</sup>

### STRATEGIC DIRECTIONS

Australia always depended on great powers to underpin both defence and trade; the current overt relationship with Washington cloaked in the ANZAC Treaty and neo-liberal economics. Canberra's switch from reliance on the UK to dependence on the US began with the fall of Singapore (1941) and was clenched when Allen Dulles' links with the Indonesian military culminated in the UN recognised annexation of West Papua. Menzies changed policy to accord with Washington after the narrowly won 1961 election. The American alliance became the great assumption of Australian strategy.

In the near distant future, global strategy is likely to be influenced by four key factors. First is the relative decline of US hegemony reflected in increasing Chinese confidence, Russian determination and newly elected President Trump's stated (if perhaps not actual) preference to avoid foreign wars. A danger—with obvious implications for Australia—emerging from the threat to American supremacy is that Washington may be tempted to wage a war of dominance while they still believe they can win, as the British were tempted before WWI.<sup>2</sup> Second is the burgeoning importance of Eurasia; its central regions relegated to insignificance since the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Ottoman's blockage of the Silk Roads and consequent Euro-American sea control. The renewed importance of Eurasia was highlighted by the British strategist Halford Mackinder early in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, and more recently by Zbigniew Brzezinski's 'grand chessboard' strategy for Eurasia.<sup>3</sup> Central Asia may well become 'the central pivot around which the global economy will revolve' and where 'Russia, China and Iran are laying down the foundations for developments that will make the US irrelevant in its struggle to extend its unipolar moment.'<sup>4</sup> The third

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'ties that bind', as Richardson and Ball point out in the frontis quotes to their book of that title, is drawn from song lyrics by Bruce Springsteen and a statement by George W. Bush in 1982.

<sup>2</sup> J.F.C. Fuller, *Decisive Battles of the Western World*, Vol. 3, Spa Books, Stevenage UK, 1994, pp. 171-175.

<sup>3</sup> Summarised in, L. Collins and W. Reed, *Plunging Point*, HarperCollins, 2004, Chap 8.

<sup>4</sup> F. Pierraccini, Eurasia: The Strategic Triangle that Is Changing the World, *Global Research*, 11 March 2017.

factor is the emergence of refugees as a force in international relations. The UNHCR estimates there are 65 million ‘forcibly displaced’ people globally; 21 million refugees including five million Palestinians registered by UNRWA; and ten million stateless people, with only 107,000 resettled in 2015.<sup>5</sup> Such numbers create ‘facts on the ground’ and are variously blamed on, depending on sources and bias, the West’s continuing imperialism or the MENA’s particular political, cultural and social conditions. Anthropogenic climate chaos and environmental degradation is the fourth factor that could impact on international relations resulting in conflict over resources and increased refugee flows.

As Gough Whitlam remarked over the initial public reaction to the Vietnam War, ‘History shows the public like a good war.’<sup>6</sup> Australia’s wars have formed part of a powerful myth used to support political power; a central tenet being that the conflicts have been necessary and just. There are alternate views that warrant recollection as war-rhetoric now increasingly permeates the foreign policy of the Anglosphere. Australia’s defence policy was founded on imperial policy and transferred to Washington during the eras of the Cold War, decolonisation and the ‘new world order’ consequent on the neocon ascendancy in US politics. As for the future, two past commanders of the ADF have forecast peril ahead: Australia as a ‘glittering strategic prize’ that ‘will be invaded’.<sup>7</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to detail the ambiguous meaning of America in IR terms, discuss strategic, formal and informal aspects of the Australia-US association, note the wider implications of the US alliance, and highlight the means by which Australian compliance is assured. In this context, a range of Australian views of the American alliance will be determined.

### **GREAT AND POWERFUL FRIENDS**

By the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, the terms and resolve of Canberra’s American alliance are strongly influenced by China. In Australian conversation the

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<sup>5</sup> UNHCR, *Refugees at a Glance: Global Trends 2015*, UN Refugee Agency.

<sup>6</sup> B. Hayden, *Hayden: An autobiography*, Angus and Robertson, 1996, p. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Respectively: General John Baker cited in P. Rees, Australia ‘faces invasion’, *Sunday Telegraph*, Sydney, 24 Nov 1996, p. 17; and Admiral Chris Barrie cited in S. Grant, Are We Sleepwalking to World War III? *The Link*, ABC, 16 July 201.

dilemma is characterised by Australia's security relationship with the US versus an economic association with China; optimists believe it is 'in Australia's national interest to ensure that there is no time in the future where we make that choice.'<sup>8</sup> By contrast a Chinese strategist warned: 'Australia must find a "godfather" to protect it and cannot juggle its relationships with the US and China indefinitely.'<sup>9</sup> Four years later, a senior American military officer voiced similar sentiments; quickly rebutted by US officialdom.<sup>10</sup> Bill Pritchett's 1975 national assessment of the Australia-Indonesia relationship could equally apply to China: '...ultimately, and most importantly at stake in relations with Indonesia is the defence interest...of far greater moment than...trade and investment...'<sup>11</sup>

Washington's pivot to Asia actually reflected American strategic thinking before the incursions into Afghanistan, Iraq, Ukraine and Syria. Collins and Reed mapped the development of American strategy from its theoretical antecedents to its concept for Eurasia.<sup>12</sup> In 2005 they noted: a) as early as 1996, US force development planners' identification of China as a global adversary by 2020; b) PRC identification of Washington's strategy of containment; c) Beijing's long-term strategic planning; and d) a Chinese law professor, Yuan Hongbing's, warning that one of Beijing's intelligence aims was to 'turn Australia into a political colony of China.'<sup>13</sup> Thus the extent of Chinese political donations, \$5.5 million to the Labor and Liberal parties between 2013-15, came as no surprise with the Dastyari affair in the spring of 2016.<sup>14</sup> In the wake of Donald Trump's electoral victory in November 2016 with its implied isolationism and protectionism, Prime Minister Turnbull and Foreign Minister Bishop were quick to highlight the stability offered by Australia's trading relationship with China and reiterate the soundness of defence ties with Washington.

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<sup>8</sup> John Howard cited in, G. Elliott and C. Methieson, Phil Scanlan and the American connection, Business Review, *The Australian*, 16 May 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Song Xiaojun, cited in, Wen, P., Canberra must pick strategic godfather, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 May 2012.

<sup>10</sup> A. Greene, South China Sea: Pentagon denies Australia under pressure to take sides in dispute, *ABC*, 3 September 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Bill Pritchett, cited by Paul Monk, East Timor: Truth and Consequences, *Quadrant*, Jan-Feb 2000, p. 34–35 of pp. 33-40.

<sup>12</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., pp. 213-19.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp.195, 206-209, 213-217, 227-228. Also see, AAP, China wants Australia as a 'political colony', *The Age*, 15 June 2005.

<sup>14</sup> C. Uhlmann, A. Greene and S. Anderson, Chinese donors to Australian political parties: who gave how much, *ABC News*, 21 August 2016.

## THE PAX AMERICANA

### Defining America

It is necessary to identify what exactly Australia is allied to; the nature of America depends on the perspective of the observer. Regarding its power clique and against the background of the Scott's 'deep state' and deHaven-Smith's 'state crimes', the bitterness and disunity occasioned by Trump fighting to assert authority are illustrative. James Petras describes a divided 'parallel state' where

Factions of the military elite and business oligarchy face off in the domestic and international arena. The oligarchs debate and insult each other. They falsify charges, plot and deceive. Their political acolytes, who witness these momentous conflicts, are mute, dumb and blind to the real interests at stake.<sup>15</sup>

Domestically, the class divisions in America are obvious: a plutocracy spurning the people Hillary Clinton described as 'deplorables', with a vanished working class and evaporating middle class rather vaguely referred to as 'populists' and 'progressives', geographically living in heavily urbanised coastal areas separated by the 'flyover states'.<sup>16</sup>

Internationally there are two broad conflicting accounts of the *Pax Americana*; the distinction is important for Australian society, economy and defence. The first is the mainstream narrative of the war on terror: a democratic and peaceful America attacked without warning on 9/11, and Washington, with its faithful allies—London, Tel Aviv, Saudi Arabia, Canberra, Ottawa and Brussels (NATO)—defending the free world and global 'commons' against multiple dangers (including Islamist terrorists, repugnant Putin, overreaching Beijing along with latently nuclear North Korea and Iran). The second view is of a belligerent corporate America with Israeli and Saudi allies seeking endless war for their own financial and messianic ends through proxy destabilising Islamist militants; Russia and China both ultimately in the crosshairs.<sup>17</sup>

Despite fleeting apparent rapprochement with Iran and Trump's ostensible warmth

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<sup>15</sup> J. Petras, Intra-elite Warfare: Oligarchs Succeed! Only the People Suffer! *Global Research*, 31 May 2017.

<sup>16</sup> For an analysis of American society, see, C. Hedges, *Death of the Liberal Class*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, p. 194.

<sup>17</sup> For earlier work on the containment of China, see Collins and Reed, op., pp. 206-219.

towards Moscow, the latter view is given some mainstream credence by: a) General Wesley Clarke's highlighting a Pentagon 'memo that describes how we're going to take out seven countries in five years'<sup>18</sup>; b) General Petraeus' comments on the consequences of US ties to Israel<sup>19</sup>; and c) Mearsheimer and Walt's book on the influence upon Washington of the Israeli Lobby. From Australia, Hamish McDonald notes the US and Japanese maritime containment in the South China Sea,<sup>20</sup> provoking the PRC's island building program—something akin to the Washington's US Monroe Doctrine (1823), expelling Spain from the Caribbean (1898) and annexing Hawaii in 1898 for its strategic position—while Alexandre Trudeau points to Chinese oil interests in Libya as Gaddafi was deposed by a US/NATO intervention.<sup>21</sup>

Both views of America are too simplistic. The America of Abraham Lincoln or FDR is not that of Richard Nixon or G.W. Bush. America's intellectuals are prepared to critique their state in a way that Australians are reluctant to; the opprobrium against John Pilger—forced 'to cope with a higher burden of proof than do his opponents'—a warning.<sup>22</sup> In its stated aims the war against terror is not going well. US and allied aims in Syria have effectively been blocked; Putin is defiant and Russian defence assets in Syria and Iran preclude what used to be open skies for the IDF. In defiance of international law, Beijing has achieved a *fait accompli* counter-surveillance screen on artificial islands out from its southern coast, with the ADF at risk of being drawn into the dangerous game of testing the waters of the South China Sea.<sup>23</sup> Islamist terrorism has both spread and morphed into home-grown variants, the global economy has faltered and American prestige has declined.

Lewis Lapham, the former editor of *Harper's Magazine*, in a 2005 discussion with the authors of *Plunging Point*, told them that to really understand America one

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<sup>18</sup> W. Clarke citing an unnamed US general, in A. Goodman, *Global Warfare*: "We're going to take out 7 countries in 5 years: Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Somalia, Sudan & Iran." *Democracy Now*, 2 March 2007.

<sup>19</sup> M. Hasan, General Petraeus's leaked emails about Israel, *New Statesman*, 5 July 2010.

<sup>20</sup> McDonald, H., Japan's undersea spy battle with China, *The Saturday Paper*, 18-24 April 2015, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Trudeau, A., *The Great Game*, 2012, transcript, Media Education Foundation, retrieved 2 Mar 15.

<sup>22</sup> See I. Syson, Review of John Pilger, *The New Rulers of the World*, *The Age*, 2002.

<sup>23</sup> For an assertion of a top-secret chapter of the 2009 Defence White Paper considering combined AS-US air-sea battle against China see: D. Uren, *The Kingdom and the Quarry*, Black Inc, Melbourne, 2012, p. 129 and; J. Cogan, US – Australia Plans for War on China, *Global Research*, 4 June 2012.

should read Evan Connell's *Son of the Morning Star*.<sup>24</sup> At one level the non-fiction book is an account of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century American frontier centred on Custer's blunder at Little Bighorn (1876). At another, the history explores the complexity of frontier mythology and describes a nation-shaping landscape and climate of forbidding extremes, crushing boredom, corrupt speculators and merchants provoking Indian wars for the army contracts, driven personalities, alcoholic veterans, broken treaties, guns, and the manner of brushing aside 270,000 Native Americans that Hitler evidently noted with approval.<sup>25</sup> A marker of things to come, those few understrength frontier regiments provided the kernel of the army of empire, carried to the world stage at the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the powerful US Navy. It was a formative period reinforcing imperial 'manifest destiny', the notion of rugged individualism, guns and unfettered capitalism. Lapham's insight is not without merit for this dissertation. The US, Australia, Israel and Indonesia are all in some respects settler societies occupying conquered land from which the original inhabitants, in Israel's occupied territories and West Papua, are still being replaced.

### **The China Question**

The ascent of China threatens US supremacy. Although this was not unforeseen by American planners, Washington has stumbled with damaging wars, rising debt, the hollow triumph of finance capitalism and consequent degradation of much of America's real economy.<sup>26</sup> Between the wars and GFC, Washington has squandered much of the global goodwill it once enjoyed. In the short term it seems unlikely Washington will voluntarily surrender global pre-eminence to adopt more pragmatic alternatives: offshore balancing or power-sharing. Unless the looming consequences of climate chaos or appeals to reason demote international petulance to a third or fourth tier of consideration, either (or both) a US pre-emptive war against China, or withdrawal from west of Hawaii are quite possible.

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<sup>24</sup> E. S. Connell, *Son of the Morning Star: General Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn*, Pimlico, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> L. Mandelbaum, *Hitler's Inspiration and Guide: The Native American Holocaust*, Jewish Journal, 18 June 18, 2013. The 270,000 figure refers to the Plains Indians of the 1860-90 ('the West') era; see, R. Utely, *Frontier Regulars*, University of Nebraska Press, 1973, p. 4. Estimates of the North American pre-Columbus native population range from two million to 18 million. Figures of up to 100 million indigenous Americans dying in genocide are widely promulgated on the internet coincident with the Standing Rock protest in late 2016-17.

<sup>26</sup> See Collins and Reed, op. cit., Chapter Eight.

In *Powershift*, Hugh White sketches Canberra's choices in the event of an inevitable US relative decline: 1) stick with Washington for as long as tenable; 2) a new alliance with a regional power such as China, India or Japan if the Americans are unavailable; 3) 'armed neutrality' that 'would be neither easy or cheap'; 4) 'regional defence' with the littoral and maritime states of SE Asia, arguing that close ties to Indonesia provide a 'real chance' for Australia to avoid major conflicts; and 5) 'unarmed neutrality' relying on 'remoteness'.<sup>27</sup> White's outline choices are quite standard, though he is optimistic on Washington's capability or will to 'easily be capable of defending Australia's air and sea approaches',<sup>28</sup> particularly given the failure of US air defences in the heavily protected Washington DC area on 9/11.<sup>29</sup> He is too credulous about the good offices of Jakarta and the protection of 'remoteness'.<sup>30</sup> West Papua and East Timor proved not remote enough.

Adam Lockyer has recently summarised the history of and choices facing Australian defence policy in light of the transfer of global power eastwards; proposing an independent Australian defensive 'Corbettian maritime strategy' as mentioned below.<sup>31</sup>

## INSURANCE—THE BASEPLATE ASSUMPTION

### Outline of the Assumption

Australia's subaltern role as an American 'deputy sheriff' is taken from an interview remark by Howard about Australia being a 'deputy peacemaker' and amplified by George W. Bush's quip about Australia being his deputy sheriff.<sup>32</sup> Before

<sup>27</sup> White, H., *Powershift*, *The Quarterly Essay*, Issue 39, 2010, Black Inc, pp. 60-71.

<sup>28</sup> White, op. cit. [*Powershift*], p. 60. For a different perspective on the geo-strategy of this, particularly if the US is under a determined direct attack, a NORAD air defence map of North America, and the Hawaii Air Defence Identification Zones are instructive.

<sup>29</sup> D.R. Giffin, 9/11, the American Empire, and Common Moral Norms, in D.R. Griffins and P.D. Scott, *9/11 and American Empire: Intellectuals Speak Out*, Olive Branch Press, Massachusetts, 2007, pp. 7-10 of pp.1-18

<sup>30</sup> See: Geoffrey Blainey who refers to a 'waterbirds' analogy in his, *The Causes of War*, Sun Books, Macmillan Company of Australia, 1988, pp. 57-67. The essence of this is that as waterbirds squabble over fish, the fisherman will catch plenty due to the lack of competition. See also, White, op. cit., pp. 64-66.

<sup>31</sup> A. Lockyer, *Australia's Defence Strategy: Evaluating Alternatives for a Contested Asia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2017, pp. 269-272. Julian Corbett was a late 19<sup>th</sup> C – early 20<sup>th</sup> C British civilian naval historian who influentially proposed strategies of local sea control rather than decisive naval battles to gain command of the oceans.

<sup>32</sup> This description stuck after Howard used the notion of 'Australia acting in a deputy peacekeeper

considering Australian views of the defence relationship, it is prudent to revisit: a) the continuum of conflict between states, and b) Canberra's baseplate assumption about the US alliance—the US as the insurance policy philosophy.

The continuum of conflict is usually portrayed as ranging from peace and stability on one hand, through trade tensions, hostile propaganda, interference in domestic politics, subversion, and border incidents to limited and then general war on the other.<sup>33</sup> While falling far short of war, tensions between the sheriff and deputy are manifest in trade disagreements or action, the AWB in Iraq case for example, through to assertions of Washington's influence in the dismissal of Whitlam.

The insurance policy argument is that if Australia proves itself a dutiful ally in America's troubles, then Washington will come to the rescue should Australia be threatened. This is the major reason given for Canberra's participation in many of Washington's frequent wars; John Howard famously invoked the ANZUS Treaty immediately after 9/11 and despatched troops to a pre-ordained war in Afghanistan.<sup>34</sup>

Washington appeared to uphold the agreement with its authoritative diplomatic and specialist military support during the 1999 East Timor intervention. Nothing should be assumed from this. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and before the rise of China became topical, the US 'hyper-power' faced no pressing issues elsewhere. Very few US communications and intelligence troops deployed to East Timor in 1999, but their implied threat, heightened by accompanying warships, was decisive. Nonetheless, Washington did not risk mass casualties; understandable given Canberra's duplicity in covering for Jakarta during the preceding 18 months.

The fate of small nations caught between warring greater powers is evident throughout history. These are lessons that should be considered when viewing

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capacity to the global policing role of the US' in an interview with *The Bulletin*. See M. McKew, (pres), Australia as regional police doctrine puts Howard in damage control, *7.30 Report*, ABC TV.

<sup>33</sup> See Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 186.

<sup>34</sup> See: J. Steele, E. MacAskill, R. Norton-Taylor and E. Harriman, Threat of US strikes passed to Taliban weeks before NY attack, *The Guardian*, 23 Sep 2001; G. Arney, US 'planned attack on Taleban', BBC News, 18 September 2001; G. Vidal, *Dreaming War*, Nation Books, NY, 2002, pp. 15-16, 41-44; M. Klare, *Blood and Oil: How America's Thirst for Oil is Killing US*, Hamish Hamilton (Penguin), London, 2004, p. 7; Charles Q. Choi, \$1 Trillion Trove of Rare Minerals Revealed Under Afghanistan, *Live Science*, 4 September 2014. Also see: M. Chossudovsky, "The War is Worth Waging": Afghanistan's Vast Reserves of Minerals and Natural Gas, *Global Research*, 16 June 2010; Malalai Joya, Afghanistan's occupational hazard, *The Age*, 30 August 2011.

Canberra's role in current American tension with Russia and China. There is an historical pattern in the fate of small states: from fabled Achilles' pillaging of Troy's neighbours and the Hellenization of Asia Minor, through the fate of medieval Armenia, the European 'succession wars', to the Kurds, Kashmir, West Papua and East Timor.

Elements of the insurance policy philosophy were already evident in Australia from Alfred Deakin's invitation to the Great White Fleet in 1908, although then regional trade was a significant factor. Even after the rape of Nanking, Australia traded with Japan; Menzies overriding unionised waterside workers who refused to load scrap iron for Japan in 1938.<sup>35</sup>

### **Doubts About the Insurance Policy**

Published in 1973 just as the Pine Gap Treaty was coming into focus, Russell Weigley's study of American strategy paid only cursory attention to Australia, principally as a base; however, he noted that the hard pressed British agreed 'the priority of the European war over the Pacific could not become effective until [British] India and Australia and the lines of communications thereto were secure against Japan.'<sup>36</sup>

At the realist strategic level, the Americans are quite justifiably less committed to the notion of an Anglosphere than the old empire may have been. Engdahl and Yeaden *et al* chronicle the long and bitter financial rivalry between London and Washington; where the world wars crippled the former.<sup>37</sup> Australia welcomed America's entry into WWII but MacArthur gave blunt advice to Curtin: the geo-strategic position of the landmass made it a useful base, 'irrespective of the American relationship to the people who might be occupying Australia.'<sup>38</sup> The truth of MacArthur's statement is demonstrated by Brzezinski's Eurasian geostrategy, which underscores by omission

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<sup>35</sup> See: L. Rhiannon, Australia's great union activist "Pig Iron Bob" campaign remembered, *Australian Greens*, 8 April 2015.

<sup>36</sup> R.F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A history of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, Macmillan Publishing Co., New York, 1973, p. 270.

<sup>37</sup> See: F. W. Engdahl, *F.W. Gods of Money: Wall Street and the Death of the American Century*, Progressive Press, Joshua Tree US, 2009, [Money]; F. W. Engdahl, *A Century of War: Anglo-American oil politics and the New World Order*, Pluto Press, 2011, [Century]; and Yeadon, G., and Hawkins, J., *The Nazi Hydra in America*, Progressive Press, Joshua Tree, 2008.

<sup>38</sup> Cited in I. Pfenningwerth, *A Man of Intelligence*, Rosenberg Publishing, Dural, 2006, p. 197.

Australians' insignificance<sup>39</sup>; so does the PNAC's neocon *Rebuilding America's Defences*, which outlines the requirement for 'large, "full-spectrum" forces that are necessary to conduct the varied tasks demanded by a strategy of American pre-eminence for today and tomorrow.'<sup>40</sup> In this close-to-power 76-page document, Australia receives six cursory mentions, three of them in regard to basing of US forces.<sup>41</sup> The current significance of US basing in a maritime strategy against China is that 'Australia-based forces enjoy the luxury of entering the South China Sea at points of their choosing'.<sup>42</sup>

The relative irrelevance of Australians to Washington is evident from books on American power and strategy. Australia's 'deployable capability' is fleetingly overestimated in Campbell and O'Hanlon's *Hard Power*.<sup>43</sup> In Michael Klare's *Blood and Oil* Armenia has five index listings; Indonesia three; Australia none. Australia receives momentary mentions in Stiglitz and Bilmes' *The Three Trillion Dollar War*, and no index listing or memorable mentions in either Rasor and Baumann's *Betraying Our Troops* or Bacevich's *The New American Militarism*.

In Huntington's *Clash of Civilisations*, Australia is fleetingly noted as: a) Western 'spacious settler-populated lands', b) 'dialogue partner', c) 'delinking' from the West, d) a 'torn-country-in-reverse', e) a 'major marker in the decline of the West' because of trade links with Asia, and f) having a tacit counter-China element in the 1995 security pact with Suharto's Indonesia.<sup>44</sup> Peter Dale Scott's study of the *American War Machine* similarly pays scant regard to Australia, which is missing from the index, but he notes that an Australian law enforcement agency's investigation into the Nugan Hand bank was foiled by 'one of the chief culprits in its arms trafficking,' who fled the country assisted by an 'unnamed American'.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, A Geostrategy for Eurasia, *Foreign Affairs*, Council for Foreign Relations, September/October 1997.

<sup>40</sup> Kagan, D., Schmitt, G., and Donnelly, T. *Rebuilding America's Defences*, The Project for the New American Century, Washington, September 2000. See, pp. v, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Kagan et al, op. cit., pp. 14, 19, 21, 35, 44.

<sup>42</sup> J.R. Holmes, Strategic Features of the South China Sea, *Naval War College Review*, Vol 67 No 2, US, Spring 2014, p. 49 of pp. 30-51.

<sup>43</sup> Campbell, K.M. and O'Hanlon, M.E., *Hard Power: The new politics of national security*, Basic Books (Perseus), NY, 2006, p. 91.

<sup>44</sup> Huntington, S.P., *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon and Schuster, NW 1996, pp. 84, 132, 139, 153.

<sup>45</sup> P. D. Scott, Scott, P.D., *American War Machine: Deep Politics, the CIA Global Drug Connection*,

Singer and Cole's *Ghost Fleet*, published in 2015, is a plot-based novel by two Washington insiders about a near-future war between China and America.<sup>46</sup> It is further proof of Australia's irrelevance: a marginally useful ally left to its own fate as the US struggles to recapture Hawaii and turn the tables on the Chinese. Indonesia is dismissed as a failed state as Australia is effectively isolated by the PRC Navy.

Canberra has some role in American indifference. Canberra's intellectual dependence on the alliance, together with a history of providing only token forces to the Americans, allowed the reduction of ADF combat and logistic forces to the point where a un-opposed deployment to nearby Timor stretched capability and needed international combat and American logistic and diplomatic support. When called upon to support the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Australian 'cupboard, it turned out, was not particularly full' and the Army unprepared to 'fight against "even a mildly competent opponent."'”<sup>47</sup> The disgusted Americans gave up asking and accepted a token 'series of headquarters.'<sup>48</sup>

### **A Credible Alliance?**

A reference to the credibility of the alliance appears in Clinton Fernandes' *Reluctant Saviour*. Fernandes' describes Washington's reluctance, mindful of its Indonesia investment, to actively engage militarily in the intervention force into East Timor. Australian public unease at the 'feeble' US response worried Washington that 'the alliance was in jeopardy'.<sup>49</sup> A senior American official explained: 'We don't have a dog running in the East Timor race, but we have a very big dog running down there called Australia and we have to support it.'<sup>50</sup> This is a credible view, particularly as the belated East Timor intervention exposed much about Canberra's diplomacy and Australia's capability.

The example needs some qualification. By September 1999 Washington would have been aware of Canberra's duplicity in favour of Jakarta; the reduction of useful

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and the Road to Afghanistan, Rowman and Littlefield, Maryland, 2014, p. 118..

<sup>46</sup> P.W. Singer and A. Cole, *Ghost Fleet*, 2015.

<sup>47</sup> D. Wroe, The Secret Iraq Dossier, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Feb / early March 2017. Wroe cites a report by Dr Albert Palazzo from Defence's Directorate of Army Research and Analysis.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Saviour: Australia, Indonesia and the independence of East Timor*, Scribe, Melbourne, 2004, p. 97 of 95-104.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

Australian intelligence and the Mervyn Jenkins affair would have seen to that. *Sub rosa* murmurs—credible sources, possibly true—hint that as a panicked Howard attempted to form a ‘coalition of the willing’, a piqued Washington under Bill Clinton allowed Canberra to dangle for a while in a breeze of its own making; a form of diplomatic chest poking.

## AUSTRALIAN INTERPRETATIONS OF THE US RELATIONSHIP

### Australian Public Opinion

Since the Vietnam War Canberra has maintained a mostly bi-partisan pro-American stance in foreign policy and military deployments, unease over the Pine Gap treaty and the Whitlam dismissal notwithstanding. Exceptions were the ALP (under Brereton’s influence) breaking ranks with the LNC in 1999 over East Timor, and under Latham opposing the 2003 invasion of Iraq.<sup>51</sup> With Canberra currently in lock-step with the American Rome, as Lewis Lapham describes Washington, the consequences of a misstep loom larger over: Ukraine, ISIL/Syria and Chinese island-building in the South China Sea.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout this Australian public opinion has been supportive of close links with Washington. Surveys show little deviation from about 90 percent of Australians perceiving the US as an unlikely security threat; it rose to 93 percent in 2001 coinciding with 9/11 and fell marginally to 89 percent in 2004 reflecting some public unease with dismal progress in the wars.<sup>53</sup> Support for the ANZUS alliance has remained consistently high, between 79–86 percent in the ten years from 1993; it rose with the East Timor intervention (1999) and 9/11, levelling to 85-86 percent from 2004-2013, conceivably in response to the Iraq War.<sup>54</sup> Faith in the US ‘coming to Australia’s defence’ reached a high of 80-83 percent coinciding with INTERFET and 9/11, falling thereafter to 73 percent in 2003, coincidental with the invasion of Iraq, then rising again after 2010—possibly in response to a swing to the right in

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<sup>51</sup> In the case of East Timor the Americans under Bill Clinton and inspired by Stanley Roth were inclined to East Timorese self-determination.

<sup>52</sup> Lewis Lapham wrote an article by that name. A satirical chapter describing the similarities, When in Rome, is included in his collection, *30 Satires*, The New Press, NY, 2003, pp.233-241.

<sup>53</sup> Ian McAllister Sarah M. Cameron, *Trends in Australian Political Opinion: Results from the Australian Election Study, 1987-2013*, School of Politics and International Relations, College of Arts and Social Sciences, ANU, February 2014, p. 69.

<sup>54</sup> McAllister and Cameron, op. cit.

Australian domestic politics and increasing discourse about the rise of China (though the surveys show a dip to 38 percent in belief that China represents a security threat to Australia).<sup>55</sup> These figures indicate: a) Australia's Washington lobby has little real work to do with a supportive public, b) Malcolm Fraser's accuracy in assessing support for the alliance as essential for survival in Australian politics<sup>56</sup>, and c) the electoral safety of bipartisanship.

### **A Lobby?**

Washington is so heavily integrated into Australia's foreign policy and economics, with Americans so generally well accepted, that a lobby in the sense of the Israeli and Jakarta lobbies is hardly needed. Few questions are asked.<sup>57</sup> Weiss *et al.* detail how the Howard government opened doors for Washington's foreign and defence policy as well as business. They describe degrading effects on Australian defence, culture, energy policy, the arts, agriculture and medical products.<sup>58</sup> The characteristic is not limited to the LNC; Julia Gillard welcomed the increased American military presence in Darwin. Politicians, bureaucrats, journalists and business figures are regulars in defending the American alliance and frequenting the lobby groups that represent informal American access and influence.

### **Conceptual Frameworks for the Alliance**

There are five general—not necessarily mutually exclusive—Australian interpretations of the relationship which provide lenses to the thinking of politicians and others about the alliance. These are: a) the special relationship; b) provincial adolescent; c) astute opportunists; d) Galvanised Yankees; and e) an independent Australia.

These broad views of the alliance share common assumptions: a) the continuation of Washington's preferred strategy of dominance rather than balancing or power sharing, b) a measured rather than precipitant decline of relative American power, c)

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<sup>55</sup> McAllister and Cameron, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 69.

<sup>56</sup> P. Dorling, Cold War warrior was also foreign policy iconoclast, *The Age*, 21 March 2015, p. 2.

<sup>57</sup> S. Burchill, Gillard's fawning over Obama a bad start on diplomatic front, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 June 2010.

<sup>58</sup> L. Weiss, E. Thurbon and J. Matthews, *National Insecurity: The Howard Government's Betrayal of Australia*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007.

gradual rather than escalating rate of climate chaos with accompanying environmental degradation, and d) the current globalised, neo-liberal world political-economy not collapsing or undergoing revolutionary change.

### **Special Relationship**

The *special relationship* view has the US and Australia as true democracies with common values cemented in war extending back to a shared British heritage: allies in the fight against militarism and totalitarianism. Wesley repeats a view that John Howard's commitment to Washington was 'not so much a rational calculation as a matter of profound belief.'<sup>59</sup> That assessment is too generous to be unchallenged and has to be tempered with his attempts to thwart early American peacekeeping suggestions for East Timor, and the duplicity of the AWB scandal in Iraq. Weiss *et al.* suggest 'status affirmation is sought from an important external actor,' and a 'political calculus' for 'alliance enhancement for domestic political' power.<sup>60</sup> Whatever the motive, the fawning was continued by successive governments. The special relationship view has defence, cultural, economic and religious aspects that can conceal political pragmatism.

The realm of the believers, steeped in British tradition<sup>61</sup> and widely reinforced in audio-visual media, has made American history, society, products and mores familiar to Australians. Des Ball describes Australian personnel posted to various ASCANZUKUS elements, including the CIA, during the Vietnam War coming to 'perceive their ultimate loyalties as lying with the UKUSA community more than their own governments: "to the West as a whole."'<sup>62</sup> The comradeship is often reciprocal with American personnel extending warm hospitality to Australian and New Zealand military attachments. This idealism is exemplified by former American intelligence officers who spoke out about Washington's role in the dismissal of

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<sup>59</sup> Robert Garren, cited in M. Wesley, *The Howard Paradox*, ABC Books, Sydney, 2007, pp. 109-110.

<sup>60</sup> L. Weiss, E. Thurbon and J. Matthews, *National Insecurity: The Howard Government's Betrayal of Australia*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, pp. 234-5.

<sup>61</sup> Used for social/political glue, tradition has benefits and risks, as the German novelist Hans Kirst pointed out: 'Tradition is, amongst other things, the finest excuse in the world for the lazy-minded, a blank cheque for those half-wits who conceal their own incompetence under the dead weight of all that has been handed down to them.' H.H. Kirst, *Officer Factory*, Fontana, London, 1964, p. 104.

<sup>62</sup> J.T. Richelson and D. Ball, *The Ties that Bind, Intelligence Cooperation between the UKUSA Countries—the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand*, Unwin Hyman, Sydney, 1990, p. 305.

Whitlam, and the American diplomat who approached an Australian political staffer about the interception of Laurie Brereton's communications 'by technical means'.<sup>63</sup> This sentiment of being among friends and a belief in its ideals is, at the grassroots and muddy boots level, one of the great strengths of the alliance.

Pragmatically, there is little special about the relationship. Australian 'yellow horde' jitters after WWII led to Liberal External Affairs minister, Spender, agitating for a Pacific Pact and defence relationship with the US. Despite the Korean War indicating a global response to perceived communist aggression which enhanced Australia's defence position, the US and UK acquiesced to Spender's initiative, largely because 'The British and American strategy in the case of the outbreak of a major international war required Australian defence of the Middle East.'<sup>64</sup> The ALP response was lukewarm, with one of the few outspoken voices—Kim Beazley Snr—stating there was little chance of the US being required to honour the treaty.<sup>65</sup>

Nonetheless LNC prime ministers, Holt then McMahon, were unctuous in their deference to Washington; then Hawke promised 'Australia and the USA would be together forever'.<sup>66</sup> Not all Australian leaders have been enamoured of the relationship; the 'very Australian' iconoclast, Prime Minister John Gorton (LNC), 'warned of the dangers of the "forward defence" policy once Britain had withdrawn from the near region.'<sup>67</sup> The ALP under a number of leaders opposed the Vietnam War and both the war and bases became an issue during Whitlam's government. The ALP leader Mark Latham opposed the 2003 invasion of Iraq. In contrast, Kim Beazley claims membership of a 'benign deep state' joined with Washington in 'protecting the global commons'.<sup>68</sup> Under the accepted view of the special relationship, Australia has participated in more uniquely American wars than the UK or Canada, which are not so geographically isolated from 'comfort within the organic

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<sup>63</sup> P. Dorling, cited in, P. Daley, Timor: envoy claims US kept in dark, *The Bulletin*, Vol. 122, No. 6419, 4 May 2004, p. 24 of 24-25.

<sup>64</sup> Penrose, D., Percy Spender And The Origins Of Anzus: An Australian Initiative, Refereed Paper presented to the Australian Political Studies Association Conference, University of Adelaide, 29 September—1 October 2004, p. 7.

<sup>65</sup> Kim Beazley, Snr, cited in, <sup>65</sup> Hayden, B., *Hayden: An autobiography*, Angus and Robertson, 1996, pp. 437-438.

<sup>66</sup> Hayden, *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>68</sup> Kim Beazley, *Vernon Parker Oration*, Australian Naval Institute, 9 August, 2016,

solidarity of Anglophone democracies'.<sup>69</sup> The special relationship school sits easily with the insurance policy model, despite the known ambiguities of the ANZUS Treaty and the track record of the wars.

### **Provincial Adolescent**

The second view is of Australia as the *provincial adolescent*: insular, uncertain and concerned with domestic politics rather than world affairs. It is illustrated by Peter Hartcher's description of domestic under-reaction, to Kevin Rudd's part in addressing the GFC and gaining a non-permanent seat on the UNSC, as ranging from indifference to scorn.<sup>70</sup> This leads to a default position of widespread acceptance of the received wisdom from the 'Archbishops of the Alliance' [the US lobby] praise of insurance policy dues to Washington, and the economic system and wars that accompany it.<sup>71</sup> John Howard and Tony Abbott were initially perceived as weak on foreign policy: Howard lacked enthusiasm to resolve the 1998-1999 East Timor crisis and initially attempted to sideline Washington in favour of Jakarta. With US approval he finally basked in the reflected success of INTERFET and committed forces to the US invasion of Iraq. As Prime Minister, Tony Abbott became hawkish over Ukraine and ISIL. Beyond domestic inattention to foreign policy, there is an element of not overstepping boundaries: for example US displeasure at the Iraq wheat scandal and early Australian initiatives for APEC encountering 'strong opposition' from President Bush so the US and Canada were included.<sup>72</sup>

### **Astute Opportunist**

Some see Australia as an *astute opportunist*, exploiting the shelter of the US umbrella for its own purposes: to keep the US engaged in the region, thereby minimising both the risk to and cost of the defence of Australia. This interpretation of the alliance differs from the special relationship in that it places less importance on the trappings of the Anglosphere. Instead this view portrays Australia's foreign

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<sup>69</sup> See Wesley, op. cit.

<sup>70</sup> P. Hartcher, *The Adolescent Country*, Lowy Institute/Penguin Special, Melbourne, 2014, pp. 2-3, 7-8, 16-17.

<sup>71</sup> Curren, J., speech, Fighting with America: Why Washington Needs a More Discerning Ally, Lowy Institute, 9 December 2016.

<sup>72</sup> Liang, Q. and W. Xiangsui, W., *Unrestricted Warfare*, Pan American Publishing Company, Panama, 2002.

policy as pragmatic and self-serving. Cox and O'Connor outline this school with their description of Canberra's 'hound dog' hawkishness over Vietnam.<sup>73</sup> That 'this approach is strategic and enduring rather than contingent and opportunistic' is less convincing.<sup>74</sup> In the mid-1960s, Canberra was outmanoeuvred by Washington over Indonesian military control of West Papua and the anti-communist Vietnam War suited Menzies' domestic politics.<sup>75</sup> James Curren notes instances of Australian leaders defying Washington's ire over trading with China during the Vietnam war, and 'Marshall Green welcoming a healthier spirit of Australian independence in the 1970s' as the still murky dismissal of Whitlam unfolded.<sup>76</sup>

The interrelationship of Australian domestic politics and foreign policy rhetoric should not be missed. Canberra's suppression order regarding regional political figures and the note-printing scandal<sup>77</sup> provided the backdrop to a *Malaysia Outlook* article slating Australian politicians and judges involved in corrupt dealings with the Chinese, and citing Australia's Foreign Minister as a 'source of interest to China.'<sup>78</sup> Within days, the Foreign Minister, speaking in Singapore, called on Trump's America to 'play an even greater role as the indispensable strategic power in the Indo-Pacific.'<sup>79</sup> Juxtaposed against Canberra's attempts to blindside the Americans over East Timor (1997-99) and AWB bribery of Iraqi officials (1994-2005), Canberra's current haphazard involvement in the Obama-Clinton and Trump Syrian designs and in the South China Sea theatre appear more craven than calculated. Most US-Australian business interactions would fit into the opportunist model, which would not be at odd with reservations about Washington's foreign policy or society.

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<sup>73</sup> L. Cox and B. O'Connor, *Australia, the US, and the Vietnam and Iraq Wars: 'Hound Dog, not Lapdog'*, Australian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 47, No. 2, Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, June 2012, pp. 174-175.

<sup>74</sup> See Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> See, G. Polgrain, *Incubus of Intervention*, Strategic Information Research Development Centre, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia, 2015, pp. 216-218.

<sup>76</sup> Curren, op.cit.

<sup>77</sup> Wikileaks, Australia bans reporting of multi-nation corruption case involving Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam, 29 July 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia, beyond casinos and judges, *Malaysia Outlook*, 7 March 2017.

<sup>79</sup> P. Coorey, Bishop calls on US to ward off China threat, *Australian Financial Review*, 14 March 2017, p. 5. Bishop spoke Singapore on Mon 13 Mar 17.

### Galvanised Yankees<sup>80</sup>

The concept of *Galvanised Yankees* interprets a fourth alternative view of the US alliance. Although the position has no public champions, it is reasonable to conclude that the type exists. It describes Australians of public profile and aspiration who have private doubts about the alliance, but hold their own counsel in view of the widespread belief that to question the US-Australian link is tantamount to political death. The Latham diaries portray an American view of Australia as a ‘colony, not an ally’; and Bob Carr and unnamed ALP figures appear privately critical of the Iraq war but ‘scared of our great and powerful friends.’<sup>81</sup> Carr later wrote of a lunchtime address to the American Australian Association: ‘You don’t need much. A joke, an anecdote, a bit of praise for the Yanks. For what? American creativity. American Resilience. That always works.’<sup>82</sup> The comment lingers with the air of nothing weighty being discussed, the architecture already in place.

### An Independent Australia

The less popular fifth view is for an *independent Australia*, which indeed would require a truly nation-centric, opportunistic and flexible strategy. A later convert to this school was Malcolm Fraser, who described the military relationship with the US as dangerous.<sup>83</sup> In a chapter dealing with the undermining of Australia’s self-defence capability under Howard—‘to make Australian defence strategy an increasingly subordinate element within US global strategy’—Weiss *et al.* touch on the relinquishment of much of Australia’s research, technical and manufacturing capability.<sup>84</sup> Similar points with different emphasis about Australian self-sufficiency are made by Bob Katter, who argues: ‘the primeval fear of invasion never pervaded the Australian consciousness.’<sup>85</sup> That is debatable—it could be argued Australians have always obsessed about invasion—but the portrayal of indecision about what to do is correct. The current Defence White Paper states:

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<sup>80</sup> The original Civil War term described Confederate prisoners of war who were paroled by the Union to fight Indians on the frontier under US colours.

<sup>81</sup> M. Latham, *The Latham Diaries*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2006, p. 281

<sup>82</sup> B. Carr, *Diary of a Foreign Minister*, Newsouth, 2014, p. 3. [Diary]

<sup>83</sup> Fraser, M., *Dangerous Allies*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2014.

<sup>84</sup> L. Weiss, E. Thurbon and J. Matthews, *National Insecurity: The Howard Government’s Betrayal of Australia*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2007, p. 137 of 133-173.

<sup>85</sup> B. Katter, *An Incredible Race of People*, Pier 9 (Murdoch Books), 2012, p. 102 of pp. 99-177.

Australia cannot afford to equip, train and prepare our military forces solely for the unlikely event of a major attack on our territory. This would leave Defence much less capable of addressing the wide range of more likely threats and challenges we face to 2035.<sup>86</sup>

Between the lines there is denial. Adam Lockyer refers to Australian defence policy as a ‘tight ball of contradictions’ and the ‘different directions’ of the ‘big authors in the field—Dibb, White and Dupont’.<sup>87</sup> Lockyer’s recommendation of a ‘Corbettian maritime defence’ has elements of strategic independence but infers (with reservations) a close relationship with Jakarta<sup>88</sup>, maintaining a reduced, ‘boutique’ or constabulary army that is nonetheless capable of helping ‘unwind a [hostile] great power’s “string of pearls” [bases, which are] likely to be only lightly defended, but will still require the Australian Army to insert land forces on contested shores.’<sup>89</sup>

A truly independent national strategy, bigger than Defence on its own, with subordinate foreign affairs and military preparedness, would require major re-appraisals across a range of policy areas: population, decentralisation, energy, industry, manufacturing, information technology, economics; and if necessary, shifting rather than fixed alliances. The breadth of any independent national deliberate planning and effort required to meet a defence emergency is indicated by an NRMA analysis of the consequences of a disruption to an offshore-dependent fuel supply:

Within three days, we would have no fuel in petrol stations...there would be an obvious panic...[and] a lot of the fuel used up in security forces and essential services...in three days, we wouldn’t have any hospital pharmacy supplies, because it’s just-in-time management. In seven days, retail pharmacy supplies would be gone. Seven days, chilled and frozen food stocks would be gone. Nine days for dried

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<sup>86</sup> Australian Government, *Defence White Paper 2016*, para 1.20, p. 34.

<sup>87</sup> Gail Boserio, (prod), Adams (pres) in conversation with Adam Lockyer, Australia’s Defence Strategy, *LNL*, ABC RN, 9 February 2017.

<sup>88</sup> See Lockyer, op cit. [Australian Defence] p. 242. In this Lockyer references Benjamin Schreer who promotes old chestnuts: citing the CDF (Hurley) intimating a ‘true “strategic partnership” between the two countries in which the possibility of armed conflict is virtually non-existent’; and reinforcing the decades old notion of ‘efforts to further strengthen the bilateral defence relationship.’ See: B. Schreer, *Moving Beyond Ambitions? Indonesia’s Military Modernisation*, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Canberra, 2013, pp. 11, 29.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, pp. 178, 191, 272. The fate of Australian troops deployed during WWII—on *forlorn hopes* to Rabaul, Ambon, West Timor and Java—needs to be recalled at this point.

goods stocks. Now, that's just on that side. The social disruption...<sup>90</sup>

The vulnerability of SE Australia to bushfire for up to six months of the year—as the heavily armed Israel found itself unable to fight a bushfire in 2010<sup>91</sup>—should alone cause all but the rashest adventurers to hesitate before looking for trouble. For politicians and policy-makers the attractions of a great and powerful security blanket are thus self-evident.

A balanced, independent strategy should give Australia: a) the defence preparedness and time to react to events, rather than the reflexive obedience evident in so many previous deployments, and b) convey the international moral authority that being widely seen as attached to Washington's or some other power's coat tails, does not.

An independent approach does not preclude intelligence sharing or other bilateral defence measures, and would create a more measured space to counsel rather than encourage imperial excess. This is significant as Australia would have nothing to gain from the mutual exhaustion of US and China; that would only give other ambitious powers a free rein in the region.<sup>92</sup> Islam sprung from such mutual exhaustion and distraction of squabbling waterbirds: victorious Byzantium and humbled Sassanian Persia (610-628CE). Some awareness of this danger is evident in Canberra's attempts to walk a line between Washington and Beijing. It has not translated into the demanding reality of an independent military strategy.

## BUSINESS

The US is the largest investor in Australia with 28.4 percent of the total; almost twice the figure of the second largest, the UK.<sup>93</sup> The American Chamber of Commerce states the 'US is Australia's biggest two way investment partner, with two-way investment stock reaching over \$1.1 trillion in December 2013.'<sup>94</sup> The Chamber states that US investment 'increased substantially' after the AUSFTA of 2005, to be worth

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<sup>90</sup> G. Blight, cited in, P. McGath, P., (reporter), NRMA warns of looming fuel crisis, *The World Today*, ABC RN, broadcast 24 February 2014.

<sup>91</sup> M. Blumenthal, Chapter 34: There are No Facts, *Goliath*, Nation Books, NY, 2010, pp.183-189

<sup>92</sup> Geoffrey Blainey refers to a 'waterbirds' analogy in his, *The Causes of War*, Sun Books, Macmillan Company of Australia, 1988, pp. 57-67.

<sup>93</sup> DFAT, Which countries invest in Australia? 2015.

<sup>94</sup> American Chamber of Commerce, *Australian-US Trade*.

160 billion US dollars by 2013.<sup>95</sup> There are 1,813 majority American-owned businesses operating 8,500 sites in Australia.<sup>96</sup> The US surplus in the trade of goods was US\$11,505 for 2016.<sup>97</sup>

The AUSFTA was heavily criticised when forced through by John Howard.<sup>98</sup> A DFAT-commissioned enabling study was described by economist Ross Garnaut as not passing ‘the laugh test’.<sup>99</sup> The Productivity Commission report noted the AUSFTA was driven by strategy and politics; Howard’s pushing Australia into the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, rather than economics, resulting in poor outcomes in ‘areas of major interest such as agriculture.’<sup>100</sup> Shiro Armstrong summarises the data showing the two countries ‘reduced their trade with the rest of the world by US\$53 billion and are worse off than they would have been without the agreements.’<sup>101</sup> The scale of the trade is significant for two key reasons: a) it furthers the web of Anglosphere soft power informal worldviews, networks and personal contacts, and b) it is another reason for Washington to diplomatically and militarily intervene, regardless of treaties, against any attack on Australia.

## THE TAPESTRY OF AUSTRALIA—US LINKS

### Networks

American influence is demonstrated by soft and hard power, informal and formal arrangements: carrot-and-stick. Through what Henry Luce called ‘The American Century’, America’s soft power swept much of the world. This strength includes: the dominance of its economy, advanced technology, the reach of its culture, self belief and the promotion of ideals of freedom and democracy. For a long time America’s influence was hardly dented, even by the Vietnam War, nurturing Suharto’s dictatorship in Indonesia and acquiescing in Israel’s treatment of Palestinians. By the

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<sup>95</sup> American Chamber of Commerce, *Australian-US Trade*.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> US Census Bureau, Foreign Trade, *Trade in Goods with Australia*.

<sup>98</sup> For example: L. Weiss, L. Thurbon, E. and Matthews, J., *How to Kill a Country: Australia’s Devastating Trade Deal with the United States*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2004.

<sup>99</sup> S. Armstrong, The Costs of Australia’s “Free Trade” Agreement with America, *Inside Story*, 28 April 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Productivity Commission, *Bilateral and Regional Trade Agreements: Product Commission Report*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, November 2010, p. 208.

<sup>101</sup> Armstrong, op. cit.

second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the strains are evident. Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan betrayed Washington's brutality and vulnerability; and in the GFC, the corrosive influence of its neo-liberal agenda. The absurdity of the 2016 American election betrays the depth of an American unease that will influence its relationship with Australia. Soft power is more effective when the recipient is aware of the force at hand; a moot point whether it commands respect or fear. Therefore it is appropriate to examine the web of hard power first.

### **Hard Power—Formal Arrangements**

There are a number of bilateral understandings with the US.<sup>102</sup> In relation to defence, these include the ANZUS Treaty and offshoots such as the command and control instructions for the 'joint facilitates', status of visiting forces agreements, and annual Australia-United States Ministerial (AUSMIN) consultations resulting in Joint Statements on Defence Cooperation<sup>103</sup>. An additional US-Australia Force Posture Agreement was agreed in August 2014 and finalised in principle during 2016. It covers cost-sharing and measures to 'expand cooperation, increase opportunities for combined training and exercises and deepen the interoperability of our armed forces.'<sup>104</sup> Within the Anglosphere these ties extend to multilateral agreements such as the ASCANZUKUS 'five eyes' agreements, which include procedures for intelligence cooperation.

From 1971, the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) from 1971 has coordinated the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia in defence matters, originally centering on the air defence of latter two. There are also a plethora of administrative links, for example the standardisation procedures for tactics and equipment. The latter is largely based on NATO agreements, a courtesy extended to other non-European US allies.

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<sup>102</sup> In concept these generally date from the Cold War and have changed over time. For example The anti-communist South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO—1954-1960), comprised the US, UK, France, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan) preceded Britain's 'withdrawal from East of Suez' (1968-1971); although the Empire returned to reinforce the Persian Gulf in concert with the US pivot to Asia. See: UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *UK-Bahrain sign landmark defence agreement*, UK Government, Press Release, 5 December 2014.

<sup>103</sup> Such as, the 2015 Australian Department of Defence- U.S. Department of Defense Statement on Defense Cooperation in the 21st Century, 2015.

<sup>104</sup> Department of Defence Ministers (sic), *Cost Sharing Negotiations for Force Posture Initiatives Conclude*, Department of Defence, Canberra, 6 October 2016.

The Australian-US agreements can extend to specific trilateral engagements which might lead to sudden decisions and consequences, such as the Joint Statement of the Japan-United States-Australia Trilateral Strategic Dialogue, which implicitly coordinates (amongst other matters like terrorism and cyber security) the containment of China in the South China Sea.<sup>105</sup> Hamish McDonald's comments on the implications of this scenario have been previously mentioned in Chapter One.<sup>106</sup>

Formal arrangements do not preclude independent Australian participation in regional bodies—such as ASEAN Regional Forum and the ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting—in addition to Australia's Pacific Maritime Security Program, regional cooperation, and dialogue on security issues.

### **Bases**

Washington's hard power has over a thousand military bases around the world, not counting US secret installations in embassies, corporate contractors and so forth.<sup>107</sup> By contrast, China has one military base in Djibouti with some islets in the South China Sea. Russia possesses some ten bases, mostly in former Soviet republics.<sup>108</sup> Australian politicians quibble that there are no US bases in Australia; merely access to 'joint facilities', but the reality is different. The most significant US bases in Australia for US global warfighting capability are: a) Pine Gap near Alice Springs, b) separate US elements inside the Australian Defence Satellite Communications Station at Kojarena near Geraldton, c) North West Cape near Learmonth, d) the basing of what amounts to a Marine Air Ground Task Force in Darwin, and e) apparent US desire to base a carrier task group at HMAS Stirling near Perth.<sup>109</sup> There is no doubt this continues to integrate Australia into Washington's global battlespace, as Beazley confirmed to the Naval Institute in 2016.<sup>110</sup> The ASCANZUKUS

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<sup>105</sup> *US State Department Media Note*, Joint Statement of the Japan-United States-Australia Trilateral Strategic Dialogue, *US Government*, 25 July 2016. Also see: J. Cogan,

<sup>106</sup> H. McDonald, Japan's undersea spy battle with China, *The Saturday Paper*, 18-24 April 2015, p. 1.

<sup>107</sup> R. Tranter, The US Military Presence in Australia. The "Asia-Pacific Pivot" and "Global NATO", *Global Research*, 11 November 2013.

<sup>108</sup> Russian has military bases in: Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Syria, Tajikistan, Ukraine (Crimea), Vietnam

<sup>109</sup> R. Tranter, Memo Stephen Smith: there are US bases in Australia and they are expanding, *The Conversation*, 7 August 2012, [Memo]. J. Dufour, The Worldwide Network of US Military Bases, *Global Research*, 1 July 2007.

<sup>110</sup> Kim Beazley, *2016 Vernon Parker Oration*, Australian Naval Institute, 9 August, 2016.

arrangement provides excellent raw intelligence from around the world and is invaluable in arms control verification for example, particularly when combined with global open-source reporting. Complications develop when intelligence is fused with politically charged special interests to produce skewed policy.

### **Washington's Assertiveness**

Washington's approach has been to use a combination of soft and *smart power*, but there is a hard edge to it. Canberra and Washington customarily profess close relations, but there have been tensions, occasionally thrown into the spotlight by the increasing power and military capability of Russia and China. For Australia, the relationship with the US is widely seen as of primary importance on its own merits. It has also brought the nation into the same orbit as Israel and Indonesia. Washington shaped Canberra's attitudes positively to those two states, among others, as it negatively shaped Australia's attitudes to the USSR and other communist or potentially communist regimes. Unlike other ASCANZUKUS partners Australia has always fronted up for wars. For public consumption, cover stories of democracy in peril are produced.

While the Anglosphere ties are symbolically close, their importance should not be overestimated. A common language did not prevent the Boston Tea Party or the American Civil War. The Americans are realist and nationalistic. From the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Washington formulated, among others, War Plan RED against the British as they in the 1920s cooperated with the UK to balance Japanese naval forces in the western Pacific. An auxiliary Plan SCARLET was drafted against Australia and New Zealand. By the time the guidelines of War Plan ORANGE were brought to bear on Japan, the US had a dismal view, unfairly, of Australian fighting spirit and capability.<sup>111</sup> Even in the war with Japan, tensions with the British were evident, one of Roosevelt's closest advisers noting: 'To hear people talk...you would think the British were our potential enemies.'<sup>112</sup>

Australia fell into line over Korea and West Papua. However, during the Vietnam War, the LNC's trade minister, Jack McEwen, defied a US trade embargo to supply

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<sup>111</sup> See, Hastings, M. *Nemesis: The Battle for Japan, 1944-45*, Harper Press, 2007, Chapter 14.

<sup>112</sup> Hastings, op. cit., p. 469.

wheat to China during their 1960 great famine, a trade that continued, with wool exports, as the Vietnam War played out.<sup>113</sup>

With much made of linguistic-cultural links with America, the 1998-2000 East Timor interlude illustrates the limits of language. Washington noticed the Howard government's failed attempt to deceive them regarding Jakarta. Since 1999 the LNC record since has been one of petulant obedience. As with the Anglophile Menzies' fidelity to the British link long after its realistic usefulness, LNP practice has waxed and waned with the temper of the Prime Minister. Howard's administration committed Australians to the war on terror and the misjudged invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, but attempted to conceal sanctions-breaking Australian wheat sales to Saddam Hussein's regime. The resulting AWB scandal took a smothering Cole Royal Commission and the diplomatic skill of Michael Thawley to circumvent.<sup>114</sup> Alexander Downer's reluctance to commit to hypothetical ANZUS military operations against China over Taiwan in August 2004 brought a sharp riposte from Richard Armitage who said: 'But I don't think you can pick like an a la carte menu.'<sup>115</sup> Some American academics pass the hawkish message.

Well I think in a scenario where China is more powerful than it is today, and the United States is consumed putting together a balancing coalition to contain China, any country in East Asia that does not cooperate with the United States—and this would be especially true of a country like Australia—would feel the white heat of anger from Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam would go to great lengths to coerce the Australians, or the Japanese, or the Filipinos, whoever, into working with the United States to deal with China. The United States would be very angry if the Australians tried to sort of cut a side deal with the Chinese and cooperate with the Chinese and not with the United States to contain China.<sup>116</sup>

Malcolm Fraser, Army Minister during Australia's commitment to the Vietnam War, and bellicose Prime Minister when the Soviets entered Afghanistan, has stated the

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<sup>113</sup> D. Uren, *The Kingdom and the Quarry*, Black Inc, 2012, p. 28.

<sup>114</sup> McDonald, H., Strategic Command, *The Saturday Paper*, 14 February 2015, p. 9.

<sup>115</sup> M. Malik, The China Factor in Australia-US Relations, Publication: China Brief, Volume: 5 Issue: 8, *Global Research and Analysis*, The Jamestown Foundation, 2005. Also see: H. Fitzsimmons, Downer questioned over ANZUS comments, *Lateline*, ABC TV1, 19 August 2004.

<sup>116</sup> Mearsheimer in conversation; T. Switzer, (comp), M. Christensen, (prod), Is American foreign policy misdirected? *Big Ideas*, ABC RN, 6 August 2015.

centrality to Australian politics, of fealty to the US.<sup>117</sup> This reality brings a great deal of tacit self-restraint and censorship by Australian public figures: the Galvanised Yankees noted above. There is good reason for this, given Washington's record of signposting its will; hence, the ALP's general support for the alliance since the Whitlam dismissal.<sup>118</sup>

### **Less Formal Mechanisms**

Informal mechanisms exist to heighten relations. These include the common international types of cultural exchanges, such as the Goethe Institute and Alliance Française. While some might be used as cover for intelligence purposes, on the face of it they present as what they are. US associations fostering routine nation-to-nation links in Australia include the American Institute for Foreign Study that sponsors education and cultural exchange, while the Australia–America Association coordinates trade, sporting and cultural events, supporting the annual Battle of the Coral Sea commemorations. Exchange students are administered by the respective governments under the auspices of the Fulbright Commission. The American Chamber of Commerce' has five offices in Australia that offer 'connections and access to opportunity.'<sup>119</sup>

Other associations are more select and purposeful. The Australian American Leadership Dialogue (AALD) was formed in 1992 by Melbourne businessman and (later) Rudd-appointed consul-general to the US, Phil Scanlon.<sup>120</sup> He wished to maintain close links with that generation of American leaders who had seen WWII service in the Pacific theatre and moved on from formal public life. What is striking about the AALD is its elitism, reminiscent of the Cliveden Set, and the open secrecy of its private diplomacy.

The AALD comprises 'about 150 delegates and observers, a political and policy

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<sup>117</sup> Fraser cited in P. Dorling, Cold War warrior was also foreign policy iconoclast, *The Age*, 21 March 2015, p. 2.

<sup>118</sup> R. Phillips, Australian Labor leader Crean backs Iraq war, *World Wide Socialist Web*, 1 April 2003.

<sup>119</sup> American Chamber of Commerce, *Australia*.

<sup>120</sup> H. McDonald, World's a stage for softly, softly diplomats, *The Gippsland Times and Maffra Spectator*, 22 July 2011.

class from corporate, diplomatic and government circles.’<sup>121</sup> The selection and cultivation of a younger generation for the group ‘is in good shape for decades to come.’<sup>122</sup> Membership is by invitation and nomination, which sets the scene for intense and private networking: insider status, soirees, international travel; all in an atmosphere of discrete exclusivity. The duchessing is ‘essential for ambitious local polities keen to show the Americans they can be trusted.’<sup>123</sup> The public are not invited and discretion is valued amongst the ‘matrix of close personal relationships at the highest level.’<sup>124</sup> As Antony Lowenstein puts it, ‘if journalists criticise the meeting, invitations from the US lobby tend to get lost in the mail.’<sup>125</sup>

On the face of it the AALD espouses commendable ideals across ‘seven key themes: economics and trade, security and defence, foreign policy, domestic politics, innovation and technology, energy and climate and education, health and social inclusion.’<sup>126</sup> However the messages are mixed, those from the AALD’s founding fathers including:

Australians need to heed the prescient warning...to avoid permanent entanglements with foreign powers...[and]...For many decades, successive Australian governments have failed to acknowledge or account for the wealth transfer from American to Australian taxpayers by way of the defence subsidy.<sup>127</sup>

The position reflects US policy. With defence contracts at stake as Australia’s economy weakened, the controversial Richard Armitage accused Australia of free-riding at Gillard’s reduction of the defence vote to 1.58 percent. Greg Sheridan, a founding member of the AALD, aired the issue in Murdoch’s mainstream media on two consecutive days.<sup>128</sup> The comment about the wealth transfer from American taxpayers might be surprising, given the price tag of the controversial Joint Strike

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<sup>121</sup> S. Loosley, The ties that bind, *The Australian*, 17 May 2013.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Will Glasgow, Will Turnbull save Scanlan’s Australian American Leadership Dialogue with a DD? *Australian Financial Review*, 9 March 2016.

<sup>124</sup> P. Westmore, review of, *The Partnership*, by Greg Sheridan, *News Weekly*, 28 October 28, 2006.

<sup>125</sup> A. Lowenstein, Of course Australia is going back to Iraq. That’s how a US client is expected to behave, *The Guardian*, 23 Sep 2014.

<sup>126</sup> Australian American Leadership Dialogue (AALD), Home Page, *History, Lessons from the Founders*.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> G. Sheridan, Armitage attacks defence cuts, *The Australian*, 18 July 2012, p. 1. Also: G. Sheridan, US hawk slams cuts to defence, *The Australian*, 17 July 2012, p. 5.

Fighter, and the cost to Australia of wars others chose not to be involved in.<sup>129</sup> There are less charitable views of Sheridan's support for US policy: 'an ideologue, a crusader and an apologist for [Washington].'<sup>130</sup>

A curious development is the formation of a rival, or parallel, organisation to the AALD—the tax-exempt American Australian Council (AAC) around Hillary Clinton acolytes, 'so senior political and business figures can strengthen the US-Australia alliance outside of Scanlan's orbit.'<sup>131</sup> The AAC gives as its 'parent foundation' the American American Australian Education and Leadership Foundation (AAELF), founded in 1993, which is closely aligned with the State Department, although the exact relationship is unclear.<sup>132</sup> Also, curiously, a Google search for the AAELF opens a home page for the AALD.<sup>133</sup> AAC's Director is listed as Richard Woolcott.<sup>134</sup>

AAC's Chairman is Tony Podesta, the brother of John Podesta, Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign manager and the subject of Wikileaks' email revelations.<sup>135</sup> Tony Podesta was counted as one of Washington's leading lobbyists, allegedly with links to the Saudi government and the major Russian bank, Sberbank.<sup>136</sup> The remainder of the board are senior American business types with interests across 'defense & security, technology, trade (TPP, RCEP and other), mining and resources and agriculture.'<sup>137</sup> The site is coy about which 'visiting Australian officials' it regularly assists. Salacious rumours, 'spirit cooking' and such, about prominent Americans in this Clinton-Podesta network circulate online and might have gone largely unnoticed, although *The Washington Post* drew attention to some rumours by seeking to dispel

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<sup>129</sup> S. Dingle, Is the Joint Strike Fighter the right plane for Australia? *Background Briefing*, ABC RN, 6 March 2016.

<sup>130</sup> M. Hirst and R. S Schütze, Getting the Story Straight: Greg Sheridan in the Shifting Moral Sands of Iraq, undated, checked 6 Feb 17.

<sup>131</sup> Glasgow, op. cit.

<sup>132</sup> John D. Negroponte, *Speech to Leadership Dialogue Dinner*, American Australian Education Leadership Foundation, Washington DC, 24 June 2008.

<sup>133</sup> American Australian Council (ACC). An Australian American Education and Leadership Foundation lists itself as private public relations counsellors with a staff of two, the Director, Richard Woolcott. Its office is at 63 Ross Street, Toorak. The AALD gives its address as PO Box 1387, Hawksburn Victoria, not too far from Toorak.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> WikiLeaks, The Podesta Emails.

<sup>136</sup> A. Griffie, *Tony Podesta. This is who Hillary works with?* 6 Nov 2016, DMI (Dennis Michael Lynch).

<sup>137</sup> American Australian Council, *homepage*.

them.<sup>138</sup> Writing in *The Guardian*, Benjamin Lee described a right-wing internet conspiracy furore about allegedly Satanic Democrats that erupted days before the US 2016 election.<sup>139</sup>

### American Organised Crime

The deep state concept touches on American intelligence-related crime in Australia. The Vietnam War and the dismissal of Whitlam point to extraordinary American involvement in Australian domestic affairs. The Nugan-Hand Bank and the financier Tirath Khemlani, a CIA connection<sup>140</sup>, flit across Australia's political and social history.

Peter Dale Scott and Joseph Trento have written on high-level corruption and US intelligence involvement with the drug trade. Trento states the CIA was 'in business with the mob'<sup>141</sup> while Scott argues narcotics were a central feature of American deep state operations in Indo-China.<sup>142</sup> An Australian study observes Sydney's role as an R&R centre for US servicemen and the rise in domestic heroin use from the Vietnam War period.<sup>143</sup> In 2014, a blog by Florida-based investigative journalist, Daniel Hopsicker—his interest piqued by the widely reported Australian police intercept of heroin on an American registered aircraft at a NSW regional airport—alleged continuing US intelligence involvement in Australian illegal narcotics trade.<sup>144</sup> An Australian Crime Commission report notes the continued involvement of

<sup>138</sup> A. Ohlheiser, No, John Podesta didn't drink bodily fluids at a secret Satanist dinner, *Washington Post*, 4 November 2015. Also see, Lynch, D. M., Wikileaks—The Most Disturbing Email to Date, DML, 4 November 2016.

<sup>139</sup> B. Lee, Marina Abramović mention in Podesta emails sparks accusations of Satanism, *The Guardian*, 5 November 2015.

<sup>140</sup> See: G. Rundle, Rundle: proving the CIA-backed conspiracy that brought down Whitlam, *Crikey*, 25 November 2015, <https://www.crikey.com.au/2015/11/25/rundle-proving-the-cia-backed-conspiracy-that-brought-down-whitlam/>

<sup>141</sup> Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, Chapter 44: The CIA and the Drug Lords, Chapter 45 Losing Vietnam; also pp. 142, 337 and 345.

<sup>142</sup> P.D. Scott, *American War Machine*, pp. 25, 102-106. After the US withdrawal from Laos, opium production dropped from 200 tons per annum (1975) to 30 tons (1984). On p. 13, Scott provides figures for the increases in heroin production in the vicinity of Burma, from 80 tons of opium per year, to a Golden Triangle output of 1,200 tons a year. Jeff Sharlett, (*The Family*, University of Queensland Press, 2008, p. 202,) corroborates Scott to a degree, mentioning suggestions to 'use Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Korea.'

<sup>143</sup> A. Gibson, L. Degenhardt, L. Topp, C. Day, W. Hall, P. Dietze, & R. McKetin, *Global and Australian Heroin Markets*, Technical Report Number 167, National Drug and Alcohol Research Centre, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2003, p. 45.

<sup>144</sup> D. Hopsicker, D. CIA Plane in Big Aussie-American Heroin Bust, *Mad Cow News*, 12 September 2014. Extract: 'The discovery of an American-registered plane delivering drugs at an Australian

US (amongst others) ‘serious and organised crime groups’ in the Australian drug trade.<sup>145</sup> While only noted in the dissertation, American organised crime and any influence in Australian politics is a subject requiring further research.

### OBSERVATIONS ON US-AUSTRALIA TIES

Australians and Americans generally get along well; an association underscored by the genuine influences of popular culture, shared sacrifice and English-speaking heritage. Influential circles in both states further depend on elements of ‘soft power’: local ‘lobbies’, and the socialisation of future leaders through ‘dialogues’ such as the AALD. The formal alliance is more closely cemented by Australia’s feelings of vulnerability through isolation from the Anglosphere, exacerbated by perceived civilisational threats from ‘others’. Australia’s hard power is enhanced by ASCANZUKUS intelligence-sharing and technology transfers, together with military technology, doctrine, training, and—significantly—experience. When the ADF faced the test of liberating East Timor, it did not do so alone. The Anglosphere was there; in small numbers admittedly, but it was not lost on the East Timorese that the first relieving troops in their different uniforms spoke English. The gestures conveyed considerable diplomatic and military pressure on the Indonesian military.

Despite this, there is an extraordinary naivety amongst Australia’s US lobby that Washington primary interests are actually its own. The alliance with the US has strong political and public support in Australia but is now coming under objective scrutiny. The direct cause of this is the rise of China; Australia’s trading relationship with Beijing is seen as incongruous with the security alliance with Washington. Commentators from both quarters have broken with diplomatic nicety and put it bluntly to Canberra; ‘fence sitting’ is not a long-term option.

While the obvious strengths and potential and actual weaknesses of the alliance have been discussed, what comes through strongly is the preparedness of Washington to

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airport heralded, according to Australian law enforcement, a “sophisticated drug network” that had begun using the tiny Illawarra Regional Airport, 60 miles south of Sydney, to import guns and drugs. The purchase in the U.S. of the Merlin III, and the plane’s subsequent two-month long saga on its journey “home” to Australia, an Australian law enforcement official told the Sydney’s *Daily Telegraph*, were actions undertaken at the behest of a “major international crime syndicate.”

<sup>145</sup> Australian Crime Commission, *The Australian Methyldamphetamine Market: The National Picture*, 2015.

use various degrees of coercion to maintain its strategic grip on Australia. In the face of realism under pressure, the shared cultural and historic ties count for very little.

With Washington's relative decline, various future security options for Australia have been lethargically considered in Australia. These range from finding another protecting 'great power' (China), through multilateral defence agreements with regional middle powers (Japan or/and India), to mutual defence with littoral powers, the most significant of which is Indonesia. Unarmed neutrality is lightly considered. An Australian independent strategy has received such little real consideration that it becomes a default policy of unarmed neutrality or colony of somewhere else.

Canberra's association with Washington has brought Australia into the same American orbit as Israel and Indonesia. These will be discussed in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER SIX: A CHOSEN FRIEND—ISRAEL

### INTRODUCTION

The Tel Aviv–Canberra association is more complex than those with Washington and Jakarta. The latter two loom large in Australia’s strategic reality; in population and geo-strategic calculation. By contrast, Israel has a small population and is far away. Its international relations are contentious, comprising: a) dogmatic religious undercurrents and divided loyalties<sup>1</sup>, b) differing historical narratives, c) the moral push of the Holocaust versus the dispossession of Palestinians, d) continual clashes with the UN over human rights and the colonisation of Palestinian land, and e) the changing nature of Israel, from socialist refuge to a ‘fascist’ state that young Israelis are deserting because ‘the government had failed to ameliorate the deepening economic and social problems plaguing Israel.’<sup>2</sup> Understanding the Israel-Australia relationship requires examination of the precursors: Palestine’s history, Israel’s genesis in the imperial strategies of London and Washington that drew in Australia and the contextual framework provided by the structure and functions of the Israeli lobby in the US.

It is problematic to discern any critical Australian national interest in Canberra’s support for Israel. What might be called condescendarii-class appeals to combatting terrorism and casting Israel as a democracy in a swamp of Islamo-fascism ring hollow against Canberra’s long indifference to the fate of the Timorese and continuing blindness to Jakarta’s treatment of West Papuans. The Holocaust is as familiar in Australian public perception as the Holodomore<sup>3</sup>, Bengal Famine<sup>4</sup> or the Armenian Genocide are unnoticed; the latter displaced by Gallipoli battlefield tourism.<sup>5</sup> Canberra’s silence on Israel’s nuclear arsenal contrasts with condemnation of Saddam Hussein’s supposed possession of WMD before 2003 and actual French

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<sup>1</sup> Mearsheimer, J.J., and Walt, S.M., *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, Penguin, London, 2007, pp. 146-150. [IS Lobby]

<sup>2</sup> Blumenthal, M., *Goliath: Life and Loathing in Greater Israel*, Nation Books, NY, 2013, pp. 407-408.

<sup>3</sup> Ukraine famine (1932-1933) leaving 2 – 10 million dead. The casualties and causes are contended.

<sup>4</sup> The Bengal Famine (1943) for which Churchill is much blamed, is the best known of a long series of devastating and unusual famines in India under the British Raj.

<sup>5</sup> For the Turkish lobby in Australia, see: S. Tatz, The deniers club: bowing to Turkey and Sri Lanka, *The Drum*, ABC, 16 April 2014.

nuclear testing in the Pacific. The barrister James O'Neill has highlighted the 'puzzle' of Australia's support for Tel Aviv's transgressions of human rights and international law.<sup>6</sup> Rawan Arraf, a human rights lawyer, is similarly perplexed: 'It makes no sense why Australia is in step with successive Israeli governments.'<sup>7</sup> Shahram Akbarzadeh is similarly mystified, commenting that Canberra's support for Netanyahu and the settlements has 'little logical basis' and it makes Australia 'look bad in the international community, it undermines the country's image as an independent and serious international player'.<sup>8</sup>

An Israeli dissident and veteran of the 1973 war, Israel Shamir wrote:

The Jews can be a formidable enemy: devoid of scruples, they hunt in packs. Like aunts in P G Wodehouse' fiction, they do not stoop to fair play: they go for the jugular. The hunt for disobedient leaders is their favourite national sport; and woe to a politician who crosses their path. They occupy commanding heights in the US media and finance and they can undermine politicians susceptible to pressure.<sup>9</sup>

Zionist William Koenig explained, 'We have eyes everywhere...In the US, in Europe in Australia. With the internet it is so much easier. The moment one of our people sees something negative about Israel we jump.'<sup>10</sup> Israel is not alone in identifying strategic pressure points. Writing on high-level corruption in Australia, Raj Kumar Gopal indicates both the Chinese and Malaysian governments closely monitor Australia's power clique to uncover personal vulnerabilities against which pressure can be applied.<sup>11</sup>

Prudent statecraft might suggest keeping such distant international affairs at arm's length, but Canberra has chosen the deep end of the pool. The mostly uniform bi-partisan support for the state of Israel is a matter of record. The relationship goes beyond mutual expressions of support; more one way than the other. This is

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<sup>6</sup> J. O'Neil, Australian foreign policy and Israel: an enduring disgrace, *John Menadue: Pearls and Irritations*, posted, 5 March 2017.

<sup>7</sup> R. Arraf, Australia encourages Israel's occupation of Palestine, *Al Jazeera*, 3 March 2017.

<sup>8</sup> S. Akbarzadeh, Rethinking Australia's Position On Israeli Settlements, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 13 March 2017.

<sup>9</sup> I. Shamir, *The Secret of Identity Politics*, 26 July 2016, Writings. Also see J. Lyons, *Balcony Over Jerusalem*, HarperCollins, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Koenig cited in Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia, beyond casinos and judges, *Malaysia Outlook*, 7 March 2017.

exemplified in the UNSC vote on 23 December 2016, which demanded 14:1 a halt to Israeli settlement in the occupied territories. In a bellwether move US Ambassador Samantha Power abstained, reflecting Barack Obama's refusal to veto the motion. Tel Aviv reacted angrily, vowing to ignore the ruling and singling out New Zealand for its anger.<sup>12</sup> In response, Canberra turned its back on the Anglosphere and much of the rest of the world and stood by Israel; Julie Bishop stated: 'Australia did not support "one-sided resolutions targeting Israel"' and reiterated the two-state solution.<sup>13</sup> The question for Australians is: why?

For this chapter some review of the dual historical narratives of chosen people and rights of conquest is necessary. The Anglosphere's imperial role of drawing Australia into the Middle East quagmire is important for shaping past Australian policy. The chapter will address some history, the Israeli Lobby in the US, and analyse the structures and functions of the Israel lobby in Australia. A number of intelligence related cases will be discussed to highlight Tel Aviv's close interest in Australia.

### DEFINING THE JEWISH STATE

Israel is complex by language, religion and culture. The Jewish world population is 13.5 million: some .02 percent of the total.<sup>14</sup> In July 2014 Israel's population was a little under eight million of whom 1.5 million are Arabs. There are some 350,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank, 19,000 on the Golan Heights and approximately 196,400 in East Jerusalem.<sup>15</sup> Other significant Jewish groupings are in the US (approximately 5.5 million) and in Australia (an estimated 112,800).<sup>16</sup> There are some 4.5 million Palestinians in the now scattered enclaves of the occupied West Bank where Israel controls all movement; and a further 1.5 million in Gaza.

Reflecting the ancient diaspora, the Jewish people ethnically/culturally comprise: *Ashkenazi* from Europe and North America who make up some 85 percent of the

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<sup>12</sup> Al Jazeera, Netanyahu rejects 'shameful' UN vote on settlements, *Al Jazeera*, 25 December 2016, retrieved 3 January 2016. See below on NZ passports.

<sup>13</sup> Guardian Staff, Julie Bishop: Australia would not have backed UN resolution on Israel, *The Guardian*, 30 December 2016.

<sup>14</sup> S. Linde, World's 50 most influential Jews, *Jerusalem Post*, 21 May 2010.

<sup>15</sup> CIA Fact Book, *Israel*.

<sup>16</sup> S. DellaPergolla, Current Jewish Population Reports, No 14, 2015, *Berman Jewish Databank*, The Jewish Foundation of North America, pp. 67-68.

world Jewish population<sup>17</sup>; *Sephardi* (Hispanic) Jews from Israel, North Africa and the western Mediterranean; and *Mizrahi* Jews from the eastern Mediterranean who in modern usage are grouped with the Sephardi. In religious observance, Jews are normally considered Orthodox when they maintain traditional rites in Hebrew; Ultra-Orthodox often distinguished by archaic dress and sometimes noted for seeking ecstasy in prayer; Conservative Judaism, which reflects a 20<sup>th</sup> Century Western modernity; Progressive (also Liberal or Reform) reflecting changes in religious doctrine, including the role of women; and Secular, who acknowledge the history and customs of Judaism rather than religious belief.<sup>18</sup> Beyond that there are Jewish non-Zionists and non-Jewish Zionists.

The Jewish peoples' contribution to global knowledge and intellectual, literary and artistic endeavour is astonishing given the relative size of the baseline population. A short list might include: Baruch de Spinoza, Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Claude Levi-Strauss, Karl Marx and the astronomer Vera Rubin. As there are ugly Americans or Australians, there are ugly Jews. The Israeli newspaper, *Haaratz*, carried the story of the Anti-Defamation League's criticism of an ultra-Orthodox rabbi, Ovadia Yosef, for declaring in a sermon, 'Goyim [non-Jews] were born only to serve us. Without that, they have no place in the world—only to serve the People of Israel.'<sup>19</sup> A rabbi and senior official opined: 'A Jew always has a much higher soul than a gentile, even if he is a homosexual.'<sup>20</sup>

Karen Armstrong points to Solomon Ibn Verga (1460-1554CE), the first major Jewish historian since Josephus (37-100CE), continuing a tradition of self-criticism, concluding: 'Jews were partly responsible for their own misfortunes...brought up too late and educated too narrowly...should learn a greater balance and preach toleration of the *goyim*, who were not *all* bad.' She quotes Verga having a 'wise man say':

I have never seen a man of reason hate the Jews and there is none who hates them except the common people. For this there is a reason—the Jew is arrogant and

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<sup>17</sup> For review of the contentious hypotheses on Ashkenazi origin see, Eran Elhaik, *The Missing Link of Jewish European Ancestry: Contrasting the Rhineland and Khazarian Hypotheses*, Society for *Molecular Biology and Evolution*, Oxford University Press, 14 December 2012.

<sup>18</sup> See, *Variants within Judaism*, *Israel and Judaism Studies*, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, undated.

<sup>19</sup> Ovadia Yosef cited in, N. Mosgovaya, *ADL Slams Shas Spiritual Leader for Saying non-Jews 'Were Born to Serve Jews'*, *Haaratz*, 20 October 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Ben Dahan in *Maariv* newspaper, cited in Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 342.

always seeks to rule: you would never think they are exiles and slaves, driven from people to people. Rather they seek to show themselves lords and masters. Therefore the masses envy them.<sup>21</sup>

The delineating IR events in the modern history of the Jews and Israel are: a) the Dreyfus Affair (1894-1906) leading to the Zionist Movement; b) British imperial support for the Zionist return to Palestine and the consequent immigration during the 1920-30s; c) the Holocaust; d) the war for Israeli independence in 1948—alternatively the *nakba*, the clearance of Palestine, and; e) the morphing of Israel into an religious-nationalist, expansionist regional power in dispute with the UN over the colonisation of occupied territories.

There are four perennially contentious issues arising from these events. First there is the matter of Israel's right to exist within defensible borders. For Tel Aviv, this means annexation of both the Golan Heights and West Bank of the Jordan Rift Valley for the commanding high ground.<sup>22</sup> Another opinion, not favoured in Tel Aviv, is that Israel might be more secure with greater operational depth if it conformed to the 1949-67 boundaries; an elastic Byzantine rather than fixed Roman strategy.<sup>23</sup> Second, the location and architecture of illegal Israeli settlements disclose their utility as tactical redoubts: bulwarks of state-sanctioned militarised colonisation. Subsidiary matters are the status of Jerusalem and the Palestinian right of return. Third is the consequent fate of the Palestinians. Fourth, is Israel's declining international reputation and isolation in the UN that underscores Tel Aviv's cultivation of Washington and Canberra for their UN votes and other support.

The centre of gravity of these is the settlement program and Tel Aviv's intransigent commitment to Israel's expansion.<sup>24</sup> An indicator of Tel Aviv's designs and lack of real fear of their neighbours is their rejection of any capable international peacekeeping forces in a buffer zone. Before independence the Jewish Agency was

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<sup>21</sup> Soloman Ibn Verga (d., 1525) cited in, Armstrong, K., *Holy War*, Anchor Books, NY, 2001, p. 466.

<sup>22</sup> See: *Israel's Critical Requirements for Defensible Borders*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, undated; and E. Aslan-Levy, The Case for Israeli Sovereignty in the Golan Heights, *The Tower*, Iss. 38, May 2016.

<sup>23</sup> See: G. Friedman, Israel's borders and National Security, *Geopolitical Weekly, STRATFOR*, 31 May 2011.

<sup>24</sup> See, I. Shahak, "Greater Israel": The Zionist Plan for the Middle East: The Infamous "Oded Yinon Plan", *Global Research*, 23 April 2016. Also see Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], et passim and for early US support for settlement, p. 237.

reluctant to ‘be explicit about what they meant by “a viable state in an adequate area.”’<sup>25</sup> Wizemann and other Israeli leaders such as Moshe Dyan have constantly reiterated the imperative to ‘create facts’.<sup>26</sup> Thus the settlement program is an exercise in the age-old aggressive military technique of the *offensive-defensive*: advancing to a position upsetting to one’s opponent, compelling them to attack.

To delineate Israel by its boundaries is geographically elusive and politically fraught. Tel Aviv has neither defined Israel’s boundaries, nor limited itself to the previously determined Mandate (1949) or 1967 demarcation lines. Zionist hotheads cite the Biblical ‘from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates’, which continues in succeeding paragraphs to list the people to be displaced.<sup>27</sup> Maps show the growth of Israel at the expense of Palestinians since 1948.<sup>28</sup>

Given the instability of the MENA and intractability of the Israel-Palestine question, it would be facile to attempt understanding of the Israeli state and Canberra’s policy toward it without some understanding of the history of Judaism—‘the most famous, the most influential, and also perhaps the most unhappy’ of the diasporas; cherishing ‘its separate identity because it believes itself to be the depository of a religious revelation of unique significance and value.’<sup>29</sup>

## HISTORY AND NARRATIVE

### The Chosen People Narrative—Theoretical Basis

There are two sets of assertions defining Israel. The first and most familiar is the ‘universal’ narrative of the *chosen people*:

God made a covenant with a particular people that it should be His priesthood. To this people, the seed of Abraham, the slaves he had just redeemed from Egypt, He revealed the Torah, the Law which they were to obey, as the particular burden of the

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<sup>25</sup> Wilson, E.M., *A Calculated Risk: The US Decision to Recognise Israel*, Clerisy Press, Cincinnati, 2008, p. 206.

<sup>26</sup> Wilson, op. cit., p. 260.

<sup>27</sup> *Holy Bible*, Genesis 15:18-21, Authorised King James Version, The British and Foreign Bible Society, William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., Edinburgh, 1959, pp. 12-13. [Holy Bible]

<sup>28</sup> What Really Happened, Israel & Palestine: The Maps Tell the True Story.

<sup>29</sup> A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 65. The decline of *comparative history*, represented by Toynbee amongst others, is beyond the scope of this dissertation but might be noted.

Jews and as the sign of their unique destiny in the world. He chose the land of Canaan as His inheritance and that of His people, the Holy Land which would remain the place in which He would most clearly be manifest.<sup>30</sup>

A variation of this is a ‘particular’ assertion where ‘The Talmud contains a vision of the end of days, in which the holiness that is particular to the land of Israel will “spread out” to encompass all the lands.’<sup>31</sup> For the purpose of the dissertation, the central tenet of the chosen people narrative is that God gave Canaan—roughly ancient Palaestina—to the Jews.<sup>32</sup> This narrative is pivotal to the Zionist claim on Palestine:

However, the Jewish people base their claim on God’s promise. It is a moral claim because God is God and God is by definition truth, and God is by definition morality. God gave the Jewish people the Land of Israel. Without that, the only claim the modern State of Israel can make is it is stronger and was able to win all its wars with the Arabs. This is an extremely important point that is often lost on modern Israeli politicians and those who seek to defend the State of Israel—which is not a religious state and often far removed from Jewish values—to realize that the Bible gives the Jews their only moral claim to the land.<sup>33</sup>

The assumption of the existence of God is the centre of gravity of these narratives.

Tradition has it that Abraham journeyed to Canaan in about 1850BCE with Hebrew and other peoples overrunning Palaestina/Canaan from circa 1350BCE. Despite the fire and brimstone of the Old Testament, some sources absolve the followers of Joshua of genocide—the ‘myth that the early Hebrews waged wars of extinction against Canaanites.’<sup>34</sup>

In 586 BCE the Babylonian conqueror, Nebuchadnezzar, carried Jerusalem and other Judean cities and exiled many of the survivors (the legendary ten lost tribes) such that, ‘From 586 BCE Jewish history no longer involves one land.’<sup>35</sup> The chosen

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<sup>30</sup> A. Hertzberg, *Judaism*, Simon and Shuster, NY, 1991, p. 21

<sup>31</sup> Hertzberg, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

<sup>32</sup> The term Palestine appears in, T. Holland, (trans) *Herodotus, The Histories*, Penguin Classics, 2013, Book 3.5, p. 191. Excerpt: ‘...city of Cadytis belongs to Syrians who are known as “Palestinians”;...’

<sup>33</sup> Spiro, Rabbi Ken, *History Crash Course #5: The Promised Land*, Aish.com (an Orthodox Jewish organisation), 23 December 2006.

<sup>34</sup> D. Dawson, *The First Armies*, Cassell and Co., London, 2001, p. 206.

<sup>35</sup> A. Falk, *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews*, Associated University Presses, Inc., New Jersey,

people were again expelled some seven centuries later by the Romans after the Second Jewish Revolt (132-135CE). Common history is largely silent about the Jews until 1096 when, during the prelude to the First Crusade, Jews were massacred at Spier, Worms, Mainz, Cologne and other German towns as well as Prague and in Hungary. This seemingly unprovoked First Holocaust is attributed to the Jews being seen as aliens and the killers of Christ<sup>36</sup>, the massacres described as ‘clearly associated with [‘the perpetrators’] love of, and desire for, gold.’<sup>37</sup>

Over centuries, marginalisation in Europe, pogroms in Eastern Europe and French anti-Semitism of the Dreyfus Affair led to the 1897 formation of Theodore Herzl’s Zionist Movement aiming to re-establish a Jewish state in Palestine.<sup>38</sup> There had long been British and American Christian evangelical ‘backing “a Zionist State around Jerusalem”’.<sup>39</sup> WWI led to the Balfour Declaration, WWII to the Holocaust and the 20<sup>th</sup> Century immigration (popularly described in Leo Uris’ 1958 novel *Exodus* and the film starring Paul Newman). James Michener’s novel, *The Source*, continued the theme, portraying heroic, outnumbered Jews fighting off the Arab hordes. The narratives continues that the victors formed the only Westernised, democratic nation in the Middle East and a front against Islamist terror.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Right of Conquest Narrative**

The *right of conquest* narrative is not dependent on a deity, but describes the infiltration and conquest of Canaan circa 1200 BCE, a predominantly military operation where the major Canaanite cities were destroyed and people massacred.<sup>41</sup> ‘Surviving Canaanites were assimilated into Israelite society and Israelite culture

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1996, p. 182

<sup>36</sup> ‘In the Middle Ages, Jews were hated for their religion.’ J. Sacks, [Emeritus chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth], Rising anti-Semitism a threat to all faiths and free societies, *The Australian*, 7 October 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Jones, T., and Dreira, A., *Crusades*, BBC Books, London, 1994, p. 31.

<sup>38</sup> Sacks, op. cit.

<sup>39</sup> Theodore Roosevelt cited in Montefiore, S.S., *Jerusalem*, Phoenix, London, 2012, p. 514. Also see Chapters 37, 45, 46.

<sup>40</sup> In fact the Jews were well prepared by 1948. 30,000 Palestinian Jews were enlisted, organised and armed into the British Army during WWII, largely performing rear area security tasks. A Jewish all-arms Brigade group of the British Army was formed and fought in Italy. This was a powerful nucleus for the Israeli fighting capability.

<sup>41</sup> Hebrew is commonly referred to as a Canaanite language. Canaanite languages, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

took over Canaanite culture.’<sup>42</sup> Chomsky describes the Bible as ‘the most genocidal book in the literary canon’, mentioning the fate of the Amalekites.<sup>43</sup> Book I of Josephus’ *The Jewish War* details the constant internecine fighting between Jewish factions and against neighbours in the period before the Roman occupation.<sup>44</sup> An early Jewish diaspora, fleeing the constant upheaval at home, integrated quite well into the wider Roman Empire. Entreated by both Jewish rivals (Hyrcanus II and Aritobulus II),<sup>45</sup> Pompey the Great captured Jerusalem in 63CE, either depending on the sources: to complete control over the eastern Mediterranean; or by invitation to stabilise Judea. The Roman occupation heralded the end of Jewish independence. When it came, the Jewish revolt (66-73CE) was characterised by brutality: the massacre of Romans in the countryside<sup>46</sup>, annihilation of the Roman garrison at Jerusalem after laying down its arms upon promise of safe-conduct<sup>47</sup>, and slaying of the Roman guards of Masada fortress after its capture by stratagem.<sup>48</sup> In part this was a civil war, with insurgents fighting pro-Roman elements and at one point burning the archives;

eager to destroy the money-lenders bonds and to prevent the recovery of debts in order to win over a host of grateful debtors and cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity.<sup>49</sup>

The second major Jewish Revolt (132-135CE) was bitterly fought with an estimated 580,000 killed at the expense of heavy Roman casualties. It was the end of any Jewish state or homeland, with the survivors dispersed throughout the Empire. Many went to Babylon. Although subject to a measure of discrimination, by the Dark Ages

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<sup>42</sup> C.D. Hargus, *Theories of the Israelite Occupation of the Land of Canaan*, University of Texas, Austin, May 2000, p. 125.

<sup>43</sup> Chomsky interviewed by Wallace Shawn, in Chomsky’s office, The Department of Linguistics and Philosophy at MIT, 7 September 2004, p. 14, in W. Shawn, *Final Edition*, Vol 1 No 1, Autumn 2004.

<sup>44</sup> Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Books 1&2, The Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press, 1997. Henderson, J., (ed) and Thackeray, H. St. J., (trans).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Many Jews were massacred by Syrians and others, 20,000 at Caesarea for example, p. 501.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 499.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 483, mentions the slaying of guards, but the massacre of the garrison seems implied and explains the Jews’ desperation not to be taken alive when the Romans recaptured Masada in 74CE. A modern, pro-Israeli source merely mentions, ‘Jewish rebels overcame the Roman garrison of Masada.’ *Archaeology in Israel: Masada Desert Fortress*, Jewish Virtual Library, American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, undated. Also see, Brook, S., *Winner Takes All*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1990, pp. 306-307.

<sup>49</sup> Josephus, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

(400-800 CE) Jews were shipowners, physicians and landowners, but ‘the immense majority were engaged in commerce, and above all in lending money at interest...[many] of them were slave-merchants...’<sup>50</sup> After the early Islamic conquests (7<sup>th</sup> Century), Jewish merchants reputedly maintained the major links between East and West, across and around the Mediterranean dealing in all manner of goods from fabric and spices to horses; but ‘their great speciality, as we have already seen, was their trade in slaves.’<sup>51</sup> This money-lending and slaving might explain if not condone the pogroms in Europe by the time of the First Crusade (1095-1099CE).<sup>52</sup>

By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some Western political and Christian religious sympathy for the return of Jerusalem to the Jews coincided with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, pogroms in Eastern Europe and the French persecution of Dreyfus. Among a number of proposals for an alternative Jewish homeland, including one in East Africa offered by the British in 1903, the Zionists embarked on a strategy of infiltration into Palestine with land purchases a central tactic<sup>53</sup>, though, ‘In the whole of Palestine at the time UNSCOP issued its report, Arabs owned 85 percent of the land, while Jews owned less than 7 percent.’<sup>54</sup> Part of the Jewish defence capability through the 1920-

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<sup>50</sup> Pirenne, H., *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, Dover Publications, Inc., NY, 2001, p. 85. The slavery (esp trans Atlantic) is much contested by Jews.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 258, specifically as listed on Pirenne’s previous page, citing Ibn-Kordadlbeh (*Book of Routes*), ‘from the Occident eunuchs, women slaves, boys, silk furs and swords’. [Comment: A note on Pirenne as a source with regard to Jewish involvement in the Mediterranean slave trade. See S.R. Ehrenhalt, Anti-Semitism and France: Charlemagne to De Gaulle, *The Jewish Press*, 17 June 2009. Ehrenhalt notes of the Jews, ‘Henri Pirenne, the great Belguin medievalist, sees them as indispensable.’ Ehrenhalt paraphrases Pirenne on many aspects of the Jewish role in commerce, without mentioning slavery.] Pirenne, on page 82, notes that the authors’ of the *Lex Wisigothorum* mention Jews in the context of forbidding ‘them to undertake propaganda.’

<sup>52</sup> Alon Ben-Meir similarly points to underlying reasons for increasing ‘anti-Semitism’ in Europe in 2014: ‘No honest observer can deny that the upsurge of violent attacks against Jews is connected to the rise of anti-Semitism, which has not occurred in a vacuum. It is a direct result of growing anti-Israeli sentiment due to Netanyahu’s misguided policies toward the Palestinians and the continuing occupation.’ A. Ben-Meir, Netanyahu must understand enough is enough, *ON-LINE Opinion*, 2 March 2015.

<sup>53</sup> Extract: ‘Politically, the Zionist aims in Palestine began to coalesce in the direction of statehood, and Arab anti-Jewish riots placed isolated settlements in physical jeopardy. For both reasons, acquisitions had to be as contiguous as possible. Indeed, JNF purchases of the Hefer Plain in the late 1920s created virtual contiguity in the coastal area from south of Rehovot to Haifa. By 1929, an almost uninterrupted chain of towns and villages stretched from Metulla in the north to Be’er Tuvia in the south. Additional villages and collective/cooperative settlements filled out the area in the 1930s. Purchases that controlled water sources had high priority.’ Greenwood, N., *Immigration to Israel: “The Redeemers of the Land”*, Jewish Virtual Library, American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, undated.

<sup>54</sup> Hammon, J.R., The Myth of the U.N. Creation of Israel, *Foreign Policy Journal*, 26 October 2010.

30s was drawn from Zionist members of the disbanded Jewish Legion of the British Army raised during WW1.

### **Israel in British Imperial and Oil Strategy**

Several aspects of the right of conquest narrative warrant special attention for their impact on the development of Western relations with Israel.

First is Israel's role in imperial and oil strategy. British support for a Jewish homeland was not based on Christian charity.<sup>55</sup> Without specifying the technology jump to oil then in progress, Mearsheimer describes the British 1914-18 'buck-passing' where they attempted to have France and Russia defeat the German army while preserving their own strength.<sup>56</sup> The war brought other imperatives. Churchill asked the chemist and influential Zionist, Chaim Wisemann, for 30,000 tons of acetone for the manufacture of cordite<sup>57</sup> while British strategists wished to draw the US into the war and keep Russia in it.<sup>58</sup> Another consideration was guarding Suez. Despite offering (vide the McMahon-Hussein letters) independence to the Arabs in return for military support against the Ottomans the British issued the Balfour Declaration granting a Zionist homeland in Palestine, to guard the Suez Canal:

The Jewish national seat in Palestine will be one of the most important outcomes of the war. That is a subject on which we can now afford to speak the truth...the Suez Canal carries the rich traffic between the Indies and Europe to within striking distance of an army based in Palestine, and already the trunk railway is being built through the coastal plain by Jaffa, which will connect the Southern with the Northern Heartland.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> See, Renton, J., The Balfour Declaration: its origins and consequences, *The Jewish Quarterly*, Spring 2008, No 209. Extract: 'From the end of 1915, a number of politically-engaged Jews successfully identified and manipulated the British Government's misconceived pre-occupation with securing Jewish influence, eventually convincing the Government that a pro-Zionist agenda was the best means by which to do so.'

<sup>56</sup> J.J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, W.W. Norton and Company, NY, 2014, p. 159. [Tragedy]

<sup>57</sup> Montefiore, op. cit., p. 493

<sup>58</sup> For the confluence of Russian and British war aims regarding Constantinople—that is until the Bolshevik Revolution—see: A. Ponsonby, (1st Baron Ponsonby of Shulbrede), *Falsehood in War-time: Propaganda Lies of the First World War*, Chapter 20, first published by Allen and Unwin, 1928.

<sup>59</sup> British strategist Halford McKinder cited in: F. William Engdahl, *A Century of War, Anglo-American Oil Politics and the New World Order*, Progressive Press, Palm Desert, 2012, p. 57 [Century]. The American correspondent, Thomas Lowell, gave some support to this notion in quoting Lord Cuzon, 'If only we could raise a local army ...' See: *With Lawrence in Arabia*, Hutchinson,

Karen Armstrong points to the strategic imperative, coupled with Christian sentiment and anti-Semitism, being motivating factors for British Zionists who would happily settle Jews in Palestine rather than England; contrary to strong advice from eminent British Jews and in disregard of the wishes of 700,000 Arab inhabitants.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, a substantial part of Britain's war effort was diverted from the defence of France and Belgium to the Middle East. On the day Australian cavalry charged the Ottoman garrison of Beersheba, the British Cabinet voted to give the Jewish people a homeland in Palestine. The resulting Balfour Declaration, issued two days later as the extent of Allenby's victory at Gaza became apparent, was aimed at gaining international Jewish support for the war against the Central Powers. Egypt-Suez—over which British controlled Palestine now stood sentinel—was the lynchpin of the British Empire: its old wealth based on the diamonds and Rothschild's gold mines of South Africa and the jewel in the crown (India), to the new oil-power and treasure it now controlled in the Levant.<sup>61</sup> The usefulness of Israeli arms to British designs was later demonstrated in the ill-fated combined British-French-Israeli attack on Nasser's Egypt in 1956. Britain's stocks in the Middle East were diminished by, strategic exhaustion, the impossible hypocrisy of the Balfour declaration, the cost of futile colonial wars and the abortive Suez Crisis.

### **Continuing Role of US Finance—Oil Strategy**

The French followed suit. President Nasser of Egypt ordered the UN Emergency Force (UNEF), supervising the 1948-56 ceasefire lines, to withdraw. Nasser formed alliances with Syria, Jordan and Iraq, then in early 1967 moved forces into Sinai. France had been supplying Israel with military equipment, but De Gaulle counselled against an Israeli pre-emptive strike.<sup>62</sup> Israel struck first in the Six Day War of 1967,

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London, 26<sup>th</sup> impression, ?1926? p. 279.

<sup>60</sup> Armstrong, op. cit., pp. 520-524. Also see: Lord Montagu's note, *Memorandum of Edwin Montagu on the Anti-Semitism of the Present [British] Government – Submitted to the British Cabinet*, August 1917, Jewish Virtual Library, American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise,

<sup>61</sup> In a footnote to history, a branch of the never completed Cape to Cairo Railway designed to provide Britain's African corridor, suffered a temporary 1898 setback when two man-eating lions stalked workers. The incident was dramatized in the 1998 film, *The Ghost and Darkness*, based on Lt Col Patterson's book, *The Man-eaters of Tsavo*. A cavalry officer, Patterson was a colourful character: soldier, hunter and author, he commanded Jewish troops in World War I and became a Zionist after suffering anti Jewish slurs from the British establishment.

<sup>62</sup> I. Black and B. Morris, *Israel's Secret Wars*, Grove Press, NY, 1991 p. 234.

seizing the Gaza Strip and Sinai, East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Golan Heights, creating over a million refugees.<sup>63</sup> The decisive pre-emptive strike was carried out by the IDF using French-made aircrafts. It damaged relations with de Gaulle, who embargoed weapons sales. Hitherto cordial relations with France collapsed following Israeli theft of French-manufactured equipment and plans using dummy third parties.<sup>64</sup> This cleared the space for Washington, already intelligence allies of Tel Aviv. American officialdom was impressed by Mossad's theft of an Iraqi MiG-21 and susceptible to their 'rising anxiety' about Soviet intentions in the region.<sup>65</sup>

Despite a history of American evangelism, Washington had been hesitant about close relations with Israel. With little mention of Palestine in the 'voluminous wartime correspondence between Roosevelt and Churchill', one insider doubted 'that Israel would have come into existence if Roosevelt had lived.'<sup>66</sup> By 1946 'Jewish terrorism and illegal immigration' were making Palestine ungovernable as the Zionist leadership sought to 'create facts' on the ground.<sup>67</sup> The massacre of Europe's Jews—their numbers falling from 9,740,000 to 3,642,000—increased the importance and influence of five million American Jews 'who would spearhead the drive for a state.'<sup>68</sup> An American envoy predicted 'a very bloody conflict in the making' that would inflame the Muslim world; Roosevelt 'agreed that a Jewish state in Palestine could be installed and maintained only by force.'<sup>69</sup>

Despite the Anglo-American Committee set up to examine the Palestine question being 'greatly impressed' by the eloquence of Azzam Pasha of the Arab League, and the State Department's inability to provide evidence of bloodless establishment of a Jewish state; Truman was 'largely responsible for bringing the state of Israel into

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<sup>63</sup> For the significance for Israeli society of the Six Day War see: N. Finkelstein, 'To Live or to Perish: The Six-Day-War and its mythology (transcript of conversation with John North and Phil Weiss), *The Unz Review*, 3 June 2017; and for Israeli veterans' accounts of war crimes and forced mass-removals of Arab civilians, see the documentary film by Mor Loushy, *Censored Voices: Six-Day War*, Medalia Productions with kNow Productions, June 2015.

<sup>64</sup> Black and Morris, op. cit., p. 234-35.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 234-35.

<sup>66</sup> Wilson, op. cit., p. 122-123.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp.208, 260.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 2008, p. 70. For world Jewish population, see, Statistics of Jews, *American Jewish Year Book*. The number of Jews in Palestine increased from 35,000 (1880) through 85,000 (1914) to 547,346 in September 1945.

<sup>69</sup> Wilson, op. cit., Colonel Hoskins and FDR cited, pp. 84, 115.

being.<sup>70</sup> Wilson argues: a) for the next 20 years Washington remained ‘standoffish’ and denied Israel both arms and a ‘blank cheque’, b) although a powerful Zionist Lobby influenced Truman’s decision in 1948, c) it was ‘hardly anything’ compared to ‘today’s well-organised and well-financed lobby’.<sup>71</sup> Wilson records that presidents heard what they wished and doubters in the bureaucracy were replaced by those ‘completely sympathetic to Zionism.’<sup>72</sup>

Israel’s success in the Six Day War (1967) which, according to Mearsheimer and Walt, Israel had a key role in starting, was the turning point for an incrementally increasing level of US support.<sup>73</sup> During 2007, in contempt of UN Resolution 242 statement on the ‘inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war’, the US House of Representatives passed House Concurrent Resolution 152 congratulating Israel for its forcible ‘reunification of Jerusalem’ and its ‘victory in the June 1967 war.’<sup>74</sup> The precedent set by thirty-four dead and 171 wounded by the IDF attack on the USS Liberty were forgotten.<sup>75</sup> Western interests (particularly oil-related) have continued to be served by the relative military prowess of Israel, which offered a ‘strategic advantage in the Middle East that would offset the decline of British power in that area.’<sup>76</sup> Israel thus came under the American umbrella.

In the 1973 Arab-Israeli War (6-27 October), Egypt, in concert with Syria on the Golan Heights, mounted a capable surprise attack across the Suez Canal and breached the forward Israeli defences along its eastern bank. Sadat’s Egypt had the limited aim of forcing Israel back to the negotiating table. Although ultimately victorious, Israel was surprised by the improved performance of Arab troops. Black and Morris attribute Israel’s initial strategic and tactical failures to their ‘overwhelming contempt for the Arabs.’<sup>77</sup> Israeli researchers Isabella Ginor and

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<sup>70</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp.208, 260

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., p. 289.

<sup>73</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

<sup>74</sup> S. Zunes and J. Feffer, Jerusalem: Endorsing the Right of Conquest, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 8, 2007.

<sup>75</sup> For a socio-political interpretation of the Israeli action, see Finkelstein, op. cit. For US war planes turned back on Johnson’s order and Soviet offer of assistance refused see. P. Giraldi, Remembering the USS Liberty, *The Unz Review*, 6 June 2017; and Americans for Middle East Understanding, *The USS Liberty Timeline*, If Americans Only Knew, December 2002.

<sup>76</sup> US Joint Chiefs of Staff, cited by N. Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New*, Pluto Press, London, 1994, [Orders], p. 204.

<sup>77</sup> Black and Morris, op. cit., p. 290.

Gideon Remez describe the wider implications of the war as the escalation of tension between the US and USSR against a backdrop of negotiation and détente, so the ‘three-way (Soviet-Egyptian-American) web of pretenses, double-dealing, ulterior motives, confluences and conflicts of interest...next to impenetrable.’<sup>78</sup> Israel Shamir proposes instead, based on documents from the Soviet Ambassador to Cairo Vladimir Vinogradov, that the war was a conspiracy between Sadat, Washington and Golda Meir to strengthen the US presence in the Middle East.<sup>79</sup> The outcomes could support the premise.

Another event linked to the 1973 war was the first oil shock: the OPEC oil embargo against the US and other Israeli allies. Engdahl, highlighting a Bilderberg Group meeting in Sweden in May 1973, argues that the war was not the result of miscalculation of the three belligerents, but of President Nixon’s National Security Advisor, Kissinger, misrepresenting ‘to each party the critical elements of the other, thus ensuring the war and its Arab oil embargo.’<sup>80</sup> The consequent recession hit the US, but also its major trading competitors in Europe and Japan. Engdahl notes the ‘fortuitous coincidence’ of investment pouring into the ‘risky’ North Sea oil development and reaping the benefit of rising prices.<sup>81</sup> Chomsky also states: ‘part of the apparent American effort to maintain and raise oil prices can only be understood as an attempt (successful in this case) to punish and control our competitors, namely Europe and Japan.’<sup>82</sup> Peter Gowan argues the significance of background financial manoeuvrings, noting the move ‘to try and ensure that international financial regulations should be taken out of the control of state central banks and should be increasingly centred upon private financial operators...through exploiting US control over international oil supplies.’<sup>83</sup> He contends the Nixon administration planned for

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<sup>78</sup> I. Ginor and G. Remez, *Origins of a Misnomer: The “Expulsion” of the Soviet “Advisers” from Egypt*, 8 December 2007. Describing the machinations around the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, they use the wisdom of a fictional Soviet detective: ‘It’s like an orgy in a dark room. Everybody is screwing somebody, but nobody knows who is screwing whom.’

<sup>79</sup> I. Shamir, What Really Happened in the “Yom Kippur” War, *Counterpunch*, 22 February 2012.

<sup>80</sup> F.W. Engdahl, *Gods of Money*, Progressive Press, 2009, pp.263-272[Money]. Also: F.W. Engdahl, *A Century of War*, Pluto Press, 2011, p. 164 [Century].

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>82</sup> N.Chomsky, *Oil Imperialism and the US-Israel Relationship*, Interviewed by Roger Hurwitz, David Woolf & Sherman Teichman, *Leviathan*, 1:1-3, Spring (March) 1977, pp. 6-9, 86.

<sup>83</sup> Gowan, P., *The Global Gamble: Washington’s Faustian Bid for World Domination*, Verso, London, 1999, p. 21.

the OPEC price increase two years before it occurred.<sup>84</sup> Conservative financial journalist Kimberley Amadeo states the ‘oil embargo was really caused by President Nixon’s decision to take the United States off of the gold standard in 1971.’<sup>85</sup>

Surging Israeli confidence in the aftermath of the 1973 war represents a turning point in their domestic politics and foreign policy. In 1977 the Labour party (in power since 1948) with its somewhat egalitarian and defensive worldview was replaced by Menachem Begin’s Likud which brought to power a ‘nationalist-messianic programme for a Greater Israel with Jerusalem as its capital.’<sup>86</sup>

### Israel in the Club

The period since 1973, when Israel was effectively let into ‘the club’, has been characterised by ultra-nationalism, expansionism and Israel’s ‘immunity’:

And so to the mass killing of civilians in the 2008-9 Gaza war. And after Sabra and Shatila, there were inquiries, and after Qana there was an inquiry and after Gaza in 2008-9, there was an inquiry and don’t we remember the weight of it, somewhat lightened of course when Judge Goldstone did his best to disown it, when—according to my Israeli friends—he came under intense personal pressure.<sup>87</sup>

The discrepancy in relative casualties speaks for itself. An American activist site lists 1,206 Israelis and 9,439 Palestinians killed since September 2000.<sup>88</sup> *The Jewish Virtual Library* lists 36,360 Israelis and 91,000 Arabs/Palestinians killed since 1860.<sup>89</sup> *Palestinian Genocide* indicates 510,000 Palestinians killed since 1948 and by the standard of Article 2 of the UN Genocide Convention, millions of deaths across Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan in recent decades.<sup>90</sup>

Israeli war hero Moshe Dayan’s 1956 radio speech enunciated ‘the essence of his

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<sup>84</sup> Gowan, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>85</sup> K. Amadeo, OPEC Oil Embargo: Causes and Effects of the Crisis, *The Balance*, updated 6 August 2016.

<sup>86</sup> Montefiore, op. cit., p. 607.

<sup>87</sup> Fisk, R., Eight hundred dead Palestinians. But Israel has impunity, *The Independent*, UK, 26 July 2014. [Eight hundred]

<sup>88</sup> If America Only Knew, *Israelis and Palestinians Killed in the Current Violence*. The site also lists suicide, accidents and illness as by far the greatest killer of Israel troops in the period.

<sup>89</sup> *Jewish Virtual Library*, Vital Statistics: Total Casualties, Arab-Israeli Conflict (1860—Present).

<sup>90</sup> *Palestinian Genocide*.

country's settler-colonial mission', six months before Israeli forces massacred 386 civilians in Khan Younis and Rafah:

Who are we that we should bewail their mighty hatred of us. For eight years they have been sitting in refugee camps in Gaza, and before their eyes we have been transforming the lands where they and their fathers dwelt, into our estate...hundreds of thousands of eyes and hands that pray for our weakness, that it may come, so that they may rip us to shreds—have we forgotten this?<sup>91</sup>

Tanzil Chowdhury argues 'history is a very important concept in law' and chronicles that Israel is sanctioned by a record 223 UNSC resolutions condemning aggression against Palestine and other Arab states.<sup>92</sup> History is evidence; that is why it is so important. By 2016, with Israel's international stocks falling, Zionist hardliners are becoming strident in their denial of history. In defence of Israel's rights of conquest, an Australia Israel Jewish Affairs Committee (AIJAC) article proclaims circumstances of the *nakba* irrelevant to understanding the Arab war to 'prevent the Jewish people from realising its right of self-definition in its homeland—that war isn't over yet.'<sup>93</sup>

Continued Israeli expansion and settlements echo the sentiments of some Zionists to expand Israel beyond the 1967 boundaries to include the territory encompassed by the Biblical empires of David and Solomon.<sup>94</sup> Despite the reassurance of Israeli officialdom, the language of ethnic cleansing—Ben Gurion's 'cleaning up'—is pervasive. Max Blumenthal cites the Jewish National Fund planning of the *Nakba*, the dispossession of the Palestinians.

There is no way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them, save perhaps for [the Palestinian Arabs of] Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the old Jerusalem. Not one village must be left, not one tribe.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Dayan cited in Blumenthal, *Op cit.*, p. 90-91.

<sup>92</sup> T. Chowdhury, *A Radical Interpretation of Individual Self Defence in War*, University of Manchester, 2013, pp. 176-180.

<sup>93</sup> Einat Wilf & Adi Schwartz, *A Refugee Problem with a Message*, AIJAC, 23 December 2016, Also see, Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, Chapter 34.

<sup>94</sup> On settlements, see, UN Officer of the Commissioner for Human Rights, Report of the independent international fact-finding mission to investigate the implications of the Israeli settlements on the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of the Palestinian people throughout the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem, 2013, Annex II—Map.

<sup>95</sup> Yosef Weitz cited in Blumenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

## An Uneasy Alliance After 9/11

If it was The Six Day War that enticed Washington into embracing Israel, and the 1973 Arab Israeli War that clenched it, then the end of the Cold War finessed it. After 9/11 Israel became the tar-baby. Washington's 9/11 Commission confirmed that US support for Israel and the latter's treatment of Palestinians were key motivations for Bin Laden, Khalid Sheikh Mohammad and many in the wider Muslim world.<sup>96</sup> It is a view mirrored by the veteran MENA journalist Robert Fisk.<sup>97</sup> The attack on 9/11 was the flint that sparked the dry powder: pro-Israel neo-cons, corporate greed, military unfinished business with Saddam, political opportunism and the mob's baying for blood. Fisk admits doubts about 9/11 while drawing attention to the consequences:

Journalistically, there were many odd things about 9/11...Spare me the plots. But like everyone else, I would like to know the full story of 9/11, not least because it was the trigger for the whole lunatic, meretricious "war on terror" which has led us to disaster in Iraq and Afghanistan and in much of the Middle East.<sup>98</sup>

Israel's Netanyahu was an enthusiastic supporter of the immediate post-9/11 war on terror, remarking: 'It's very good. Well, not very good, but it will generate immediate sympathy.'<sup>99</sup> Against a backdrop of rumours of Mossad involvement in 9/11<sup>100</sup>, and after a decade of Middle East wars that eroded Washington's treasury and international reputation, attitudes hardened.

In their Preface, Mearsheimer and Walt detail the difficulties in getting their original article on the Israel Lobby published in America between 2002 and 2005. Their book was finally published in London in 2007. On 16 January 2010 a CENTCOM<sup>101</sup> briefing team under orders from its commander, Gen. David Petraeus, 'stunned' the Joint Chiefs of Staff by briefing on the ambivalence of Arab allies about Israel's

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<sup>96</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., p. 60-70.

<sup>97</sup> R. Fisk, For 10 years, we've lied to ourselves to avoid asking the one real question, *The Independent*, 2 September 2011, [10 years].

<sup>98</sup> R. Fisk, Even I question the 'truth' about 9/11, *The Independent*, 20 August 2007, [On 9/11].

<sup>99</sup> J. Bennett, A Day of Terror: The Israelis; Spilled Blood Is Seen as Bond That Draws 2 Nations Closer, *The New York Times*, 12 September 2001.

<sup>100</sup> For examples for and against, see: M.O. Cathail, Myth-Debunking Snopes Obscures Israel's Role in 9/11, *Veterans Today*, 21 July 2010; and D. Mikkelsen, Absent without Leave, *Snopes*, updated 10 September 2016.

<sup>101</sup> US Central Command (CENTCOM), known as the 'oil command', covers much of the Middle East.

‘intransigence [and how the] Israeli-Palestinian conflict was jeopardizing U.S. standing in the region,’ at the risk to US strategy and personnel.<sup>102</sup> Admiral Mullen, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, was despatched to convey the message to the Israelis and urge them

to see its conflict with the Palestinians ‘in a larger, regional, context’ — as having a direct impact on America’s status in the region. Certainly, it was thought, Israel would get the message.<sup>103</sup>

Tel Aviv did not. During Vice-President Joe Biden’s visit in March 2010, on 9<sup>th</sup> March the Israelis announced 1,600 more Jewish homes in East Jerusalem, leading to an angry exchange between the allies. The Israeli press reported Biden as criticising Tel Aviv’s breach of trust and telling the Israelis bluntly:

This is starting to get dangerous for us. What you’re doing here undermines the security of our troops who are fighting in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. That endangers us, and it endangers regional peace.<sup>104</sup>

After this a 2001 comment on the malleability of Washington’s power, attributed to an unaware Netanyahu, was reported in the Israeli media: ‘Addressing potential US opposition to Israeli expansionism, Netanyahu says, “I know what America is. America is a thing you can move very easily, move it in the right direction. They won’t get in the way.”’<sup>105</sup> Ariel Sharon reportedly expressed a similar sentiment:

Every time we do something you [Peres] tell me Americans will do this and will do that. I want to tell you something very clear, don’t worry about American pressure on Israel, we, the Jewish people control America, and the Americans know it.<sup>106</sup>

The right-wing Canadian born British commentator, Mark Steyn, telegraphed Western hawkishness in 2006, advocating war with Syria ‘for Israel and for America

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<sup>102</sup> S. Horton, “This is Starting to Get Dangerous” Browsings, *Harper’s Blog*, 15 March 2010.

<sup>103</sup> M. Perry, The Petraus Briefing: Biden’s embarrassment is not the whole story, *Foreign Policy*, 14 March 2010.

<sup>104</sup> J. Biden, cited in, L. Rozen, Biden gives ‘hardest truth’ in Israel, *Politico*, 12 March 2010.

<sup>105</sup> The statement was reportedly filmed in 2001 during a conversation with West Bank settlers. Apparently without Netanyahu’s knowledge it was aired on Israel’s Channel 10 on 16 July 2010. See; D. Eastman, *Netanyahu Mocking US Video Airs On Israeli TV*, *rense.com*, 18 July 2010. Also see, *Democracy Now*, Netanyahu in 2001: US “Won’t Get in the Way” of Israeli Expansionism, Headlines, *Democracy Now*, 19 July 2016; and Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 334.

<sup>106</sup> Ariel Sharon in discussion with Simon Peres, reportedly broadcast over Radio KolYisrael, in IAP, 3 October 2001, cited in D. Eastman, op. cit.

and Australia and the United Kingdom and all of the countries involved in this present [anti-terror, *sic*] conflict'.<sup>107</sup> The Syrian proxy-war came to pass and brought tensions between Washington and Tel Aviv. By 2014 American officials were describing Netanyahu as 'chickenshit'.<sup>108</sup> Michael Oren, Israeli ambassador to Washington from 2009 to 2013, saw the alliance in tatters from the failure of Obama's 'red line' threat to Syria over alleged chemical weapons in 2013, or Iran over the nuclear issue. Oren rues: 'Everyone understood at that point that that [US military strikes on Assad's Syrian and Iranian nuclear facilities] was not an option, that we're on our own.'<sup>109</sup> Oren sees hope not in the US administration, but in the Congress; the subject of so much lobbying and political donation.<sup>110</sup> In the meantime the US weapons sales, intelligence sharing and other support continues. None of this indicates the marriage is on life-support, but that the honeymoon is over; which means the counselling will become more intense.

## ISRAELI LOBBYING IN THE US

### The Main Lobby Groups

In his analysis of the public policy leading to US recognition of Israel in 1948, Wilson notes the effective Zionist use of personal contacts in lobbying, a bureaucracy stripped of Arabists and its vetting for those with the correct view.<sup>111</sup> He further describes their targeting of specific groups in the American polity during the 1940s and their top-down astroturf lobbying, so the 'White House, Congress and the State Department were buried under an avalanche of paper.'<sup>112</sup>

An estimated 75 organisations make up the pro-Israel lobby in America, which Mearsheimer and Walt define as 'the loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively work to shape U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction.'<sup>113</sup> That aim

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<sup>107</sup> Steyn cited in T. Jones, (pres), We must brace for years of violence in the Middle East: Steyn, *Lateline*, ABC, 9 August 2006.

<sup>108</sup> J. Goldberg, The Crisis in U.S.-Israel Relations Is Officially Here, *The Atlantic*, 28 October 2014.

<sup>109</sup> D. Horowitz, Michael Oren sees a US alliance in tatters, and Israel 'on our own', *The Times of Israel*, 18 June 2015.

<sup>110</sup> See Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony] citing Jodi Rudoren (*New York Times*) on AIPAC's ability 'to influence every single congressional district.'

<sup>111</sup> Wilson, op. cit., pp. 17,19, 289-90.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 2008, pp. 80-81.

<sup>113</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., pp. 113, 115.

would indicate political direction from Tel Aviv.

The lobby has a 'core' comprising the leaders of groups such as the Zionist Organisation of America (ZOA), the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organisations which lobbies the executive, American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WIMEP), the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and Christians United for Israel (CUFI). The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA) lobbies the Congress on Iran's nuclear potential.<sup>114</sup> Journalists and scholars who regularly and predictably present news or opinions favourable to Israel are also considered part of the lobby, while the occasional letter writer, or those who provide a little money, are not.

The most powerful and successful of these, AIPAC which lobbies Congress, boasts a reach of 100,000 supporters.<sup>115</sup> Founded in 1897, the ZOA claims 25,000 members.<sup>116</sup> Numbers are not discernible for the Washington Institute, but its instructions for donations from American citizens, corporations and institutions are clear.<sup>117</sup> The largest organisation is acknowledged to be CUFI, which implies a membership of three million, but lists 1.2 million Facebook fans and 22,400 Twitter followers. These are not a big following in the context of the US population of 320 million, its Jewish component of between five and a half to eight million and an expatriate Israeli community of an estimated 500,000-800,000. Roughly a third of American Jewish people 'do not identify Israel as a particularly salient issue.'<sup>118</sup> Many who do identify with Israel are unmoved by the policies of the various lobby groups.<sup>119</sup>

The US is not alone in having an Israel lobby: Britain has one, as do Canada, France and other states.<sup>120</sup> A major factor in the Israel Lobby's fortunes is the character of political leadership: from Obama to Trump in late 2016, to Australia's reversion to right wing politics in 2013 after an ALP interregnum.

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<sup>114</sup> JINSA home page, <http://www.jinsa.org/>

<sup>115</sup> AIPAC home page.

<sup>116</sup> ZOA home page.

<sup>117</sup> The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, homepage.

<sup>118</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> See: M.B. Hillel, The truth about the UK's pro-Israel lobbies, *The Independent*, UK, 1 September 2014; and E. Jones, The Israel Lobby and French Politics, *Counterpunch*, 9 July 2014; and P. Giraldi, The Lobby Is International, *anti-war.com*, 21 November 2013.

Money is the object and lubricant of influence with Israel. Mearsheimer and Walt detail that Congress is the centre of US support for Israel; US taxpayers funded Israel to the tune of at least US\$154 billion to 2005.<sup>121</sup> They note the scale and importance of political donations; for example, 46 AIPAC directors donating over US\$3 million between 1997-2001.<sup>122</sup> There are also serious private donations, for example American billionaires Haim Saban and Sheldon Adelson, who together backed the newly formed (2007) Israeli-American Council.<sup>123</sup>

Levine and Hitchens argued that Mearsheimer and Walt overstate the case and that AIPAC in particular is losing its political clout.<sup>124</sup> This seems so at the end of 2016, but directions under Trump remain to be seen, although the indicators appear to be in Tel Aviv's favour.

In his description of the power of the Israel Lobby in the American press and universities, Fisk references 'the all-purpose slander of "anti-Semitism"' ever increasingly used in an attempt to muzzle opponents.<sup>125</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt describe the policing of universities by the Israeli lobby: 'Pro-Israel groups and individuals have fought a multi-front [including cyber-attack and slurs of anti-Semitism] battle—against students, professors, administrators and the curriculum itself—to shape discourse on campus.'<sup>126</sup> Another factor in favour of the Israel Lobby in Washington is America's estimated 50 million 'fundamentalist evangelical Christians', who believe the end is near and to enable the 'rapture' for them of rising and joining Christ, Israel must reoccupy the furthest extent of its biblical territory.<sup>127</sup>

### **Biting the Hand that Feeds**

One of the defining characteristics of empires is their intolerance of disobedience; in the case of allies exacerbated by the sting of disloyalty. With Washington, Tel Aviv

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<sup>121</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, pp. 152, 24.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>123</sup> See, B. Dreyfuss, Haim the Israel Lobby, *The Nation*, 11 May 2010. and; M.J. Rosenberg, Sheldon Adelson and Haim Saban Want to Be the Koch Brothers for Israel, *The Nation*, 8 December 2014.

<sup>124</sup> A. Levine, Who's afraid of the Israel lobby? *Counterpunch*, 13 March 2015; and C. Hitchens, Overstating Jewish Power, *Slate*, 27 March 2006.

<sup>125</sup> R. Fisk, How to shut up your critics with a single word, *The Independent*, 21 October 2002.

<sup>126</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., pp. 182-3, 185.

<sup>127</sup> See, P. Boyce, *Australia, Israel and Palestine*, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 14 March 2014.

has tested the limits: from the attack on the USS Liberty, to disdain of US requests to refrain from building more settlements, to insulting representatives. While there is no such thing as a friendly intelligence service, between allies as amongst thieves, some trust is desirable. In breach of this Israel has been spying on the US for decades.<sup>128</sup> A number of damaging espionage cases strangely appear not to have degraded the influence of the Jewish lobby until the last inconsequential days of the Obama 44 Administration.<sup>129</sup>

George Weisz was a Hungarian Jew recruited by US intelligence after WWII. A KGB mole, he was found dead, apparently—but suspiciously—of suicide in November 1982. Trento argues ‘Weisz was probably the spymaster behind a long list of Israeli spies’ and passed on US ‘nuclear information’ and weapons technology to Beijing.<sup>130</sup> In 1987 an intelligence analyst, Jason Pollard, was sentenced to life for passing secrets to Israel. Under investigation Pollard and his wife attempted to seek asylum at the Israeli Embassy but were ejected into the grasp of the FBI.<sup>131</sup> Tel Aviv made several attempts to gain an early release and granted him citizenship in 1995.<sup>132</sup>

The ‘Mega’ case flickered in 1997 after breaking in *The Washington Post*. One of the suspects was former Australian ONA analyst then twice US Ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk. The FBI and NSA undertook a spy hunt that was cancelled after some weeks, allegedly because Israel blackmailed the Clinton Administration with threats of releasing telephone intercepts pertinent to the Lewinsky case.<sup>133</sup> What emerged from the little known scandal is that Israeli communications equipment from Verint Inc. (aka Comverse Infosys) and Amdocs Ltd. provide major telephony wiretap, billing and record keeping for the US and some 50 other countries.<sup>134</sup> The consequence is ‘Israeli penetration of the entire US telecommunications system means that NSA’s warrantless wiretapping actually means Israeli warrantless

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<sup>128</sup> P. Knightly, *The Second Oldest Profession: The Spy as Patriot, Bureaucrat, Fantasist and Whore*, Pan, London, 1986, p. 382. Kirkpatrick was a former inspector general and executive director of the CIA.

<sup>129</sup> For a summary of Israeli espionage cases against the US, see: What Really Happened, *Israeli Spying: The Mother of all Scandal*.

<sup>130</sup> J. Trento, *The Secret History of the CIA*, Carroll and Graf, NY, 2005, p. 463.

<sup>131</sup> Black and Morris, op. cit., p. 416.

<sup>132</sup> See Black and Morris, op. cit., pp. 416-426.

<sup>133</sup> See J. Steinberg, Israeli Spies: ‘Mega Was Not an Agent; Mega Was the Boss’, *Executive Intelligence Review*, 31 August 2001.

<sup>134</sup> C. Ketcham, An Israeli Trojan Horse, *Counterpunch*, 27 September 2008.

wiretapping.’<sup>135</sup> As explored below, this has major implications for the security of Australia’s telecommunications.

In another American espionage case that ended with a whimper, the State Department’s Lawrence Franklin was sentenced to 13 years prison in January 2006 for passing classified information through AIPAC to Israel. Franklin worked for the prominent neo-cons Douglas Feith and Paul Wolfowitz and served only 10 months house arrest.<sup>136</sup> The arrest and eventual release of five ‘dancing’ Israelis—reported by the public as acting suspiciously on 9/11—still lingers in the public sphere, if not in the mainstream politico-media milieu.<sup>137</sup> In the context of the Trump ascendancy proclaiming support for Israel, the resignation of a senior State Department arms control official (Tom Countryman) has been accepted, accompanied by rumours of his ‘role in passing nuclear weapons secrets to Israel’.<sup>138</sup>

Black and Morris point out that the Israelis, like intelligence organisations from other states, cultivate ‘selective links with journalists who are grateful for whatever snippets of secret information are released from the nether world.’<sup>139</sup> This fits neatly with the open operations of the wider Israel Lobby in its attempts to influence American public opinion. US counterintelligence officials have complained about Israel’s ‘unrivaled and unseemly’ incessant spying, something now openly mentioned in the mainstream media.<sup>140</sup>

### **Trump and Israel**

Trump had declared preferences for a one-state solution and the movement of the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. These are widely seen as supporting the Likudists and running counter to the failed US indefinite ‘two-state’ solution of past decades, which has enabled the Israeli incremental swallowing of the West Bank and isolation of Gaza. Israeli journalist Akiva Eldar remarked: ‘Without the two-State

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<sup>135</sup> Former CIA case officer, Robert Steele, cited in, Ketcham, *ibid*.

<sup>136</sup> For a credible interpretation of this see, A. Amr, Fixing the Son of Pollard, *Nile Media*, 1 September 2004.

<sup>137</sup> ABC News (US), Were Israelis Detained on Sept. 11 Spies? *ABC News*, 21 June, undated.

<sup>138</sup> G. Duff, IAEA Source: Trump Fires Accused Israeli Nuclear Spy, Tom Countryman, *Veterans Today*, 29 January 2017.

<sup>139</sup> Black and Morris, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

<sup>140</sup> See J. Stein, Israel’s Aggressive Spying in the U.S. mostly hushed up: From spies in air ducts to debriefing students on tour, Israel wants to know what the U.S. knows, *Newsweek*, 8 May 2014.

solution Zionism is kaput.’<sup>141</sup> Israel Shamir, a one-state, one-vote, one-value dissident, is optimistic about Trump’s policy, arguing it effectively ends the ‘hoax’ of the two state solution in favour of

better strategy leads through annexation of Palestinian territories and full equality for all dwellers of historical Palestine. The Jews do not like to give, but can’t restrain themselves from taking. The result can be the same.<sup>142</sup>

That may be, but with reports of drone strikes in Yemen and US ground forces in Syria it is difficult to assess exactly what Trump’s foreign policy is.

The well-aided discourse about the Israeli Lobby in the US provides an effective contextual framework in which to examine the form and function of the Israel Lobby in Australia.

### **AUSTRALIA, THE JEWS AND ISRAEL—HISTORICAL ATTITUDES**

Australia has the world’s ninth largest Jewish population with a low but increasing instance of intermarriage. Eighty-five percent of Australia’s Jewish people live in Melbourne and Sydney.<sup>143</sup> The 2011 Census determined 97,300 Australians claimed Judaism as their religion, compared with 476,300 who declared they were Muslims.<sup>144</sup>

Jews were early migrants to Australia and were culturally and economically well integrated into the community; the wide acceptance and lack of anti-Semitism led to intermarriage that in turn caused ‘a drop in synagogue attendance, and a lack of affiliation with Judaism in general.’<sup>145</sup> Despite general acceptance, hysterical pro-war propaganda about Commonwealth intervention in the Russian Civil War caused anti-Jewish riots.<sup>146</sup> Famous Australian Jews include the Zionist General Sir John Monash, and jurist Sir Isaac Isaacs, the anti-Zionist and frugal Governor General

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<sup>141</sup> Cited in Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 244.

<sup>142</sup> I. Shamir, Trump Sets the Cat Among the Jewish Pigeons, *Veteran’s Today*, 8 December 2016, <http://www.veteransnewsnow.com/2016/12/18/trump-sets-the-cat-among-the-jewish-pigeons/>

<sup>143</sup> DellaPergolla, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>144</sup> ABS, Cultural Diversity in Australia, Reflecting a Nation: Stories from the 2011 Census, 2012–2013, 21 June 2012.

<sup>145</sup> The Jewish Virtual World, *Australia*.

<sup>146</sup> See M. Challinger, ANZACS in Arkhangel: The Untold Story of Australia and the Invasion of Russia 1918-19, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2010, pp. 127-135.

(1931-6) who agreed to a reduced salary during the Great Depression. Sir Zelman Cowan was another Jewish Governor General (1977-82).

WWI provided Australians with their first 'national' contact with Arabs and Jews. The official history of Sinai and Palestine campaigns, first published in 1923, is cognisant of the power relationship behind the scenes, mentioning the 'Rothschilds and other Jewish millionaires' who had funded much of the migration to Palestine.<sup>147</sup> The history mentions 'the all-powerful Semitic bankers' prompted Germans and Austrians to mitigate Ottoman treatment of the Jews, but the 'long arm of the Jewish money-lender was their [local Jewish communities'] efficient bulwark' against Turkish and Arab excesses.<sup>148</sup> Jews were seen as Westerners.<sup>149</sup> Trooper Idriess, later a prolific author and OBE, reflects in his diary a similar view of Jews, though noting they 'charge us a hefty price for brown bread, honey and tobacco.'<sup>150</sup> In contrast, Idriess expresses a commonly felt contempt for the Bedouins.<sup>151</sup> This 'positional superiority'<sup>152</sup> of the Australians over Arabs is hinted at in the *Official History*.<sup>153</sup>

However the *History* in its description of the crowd observing the Allied entry into Jerusalem bespeaks sympathetic awareness of the Arabs and concerns for the future of the region:

And, intermingling with the demonstrative Christians and Jews, sullen and calculating, rejoicing as little in the arrival of the British as they had in the occupation of the Turks, were the Arabs who make up so large a part of the population. In their presence and their aloof, stolid bearing, they stood for the interests of a great people of far more concern to Britain than the Jew or all the persecuted Christians under Turkish rule. They were the representatives of the Moslems of British India and of Egypt, and of many other countries where England's influence is chiefly due to her reputation for religious tolerance and scrupulous impartiality in dealing with peoples of hostile faiths. These silent Arabs served to remind the representatives of the Government in London that Jerusalem is

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<sup>147</sup> Gullett, H.S., *The Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, Vol VII, The A.I.F., in Sinai and Palestine, University of Queensland Press, 1984, p. 477. [Official History]

<sup>148</sup> Gullett, op. cit. [Official History], p. 477-479.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 479.

<sup>150</sup> Idriess, I.L., *The Desert Column*, Angus and Robertson, 1982, pp. 283-284.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 203. There are frequent references to their dirty appearance and thieving.

<sup>152</sup> The term is Said's. See, Said, E., *Orientalism*, Penguin, London, 1995, p. 214.

<sup>153</sup> Gullett, op. cit., p. 476.

sacred to others beside Christian and Jew; that the Arab race is the parent of both the Hebrew and the Christian faiths; that in a war for the right of self-determination it had the master-claims to all Palestine; and that the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem is one of the most sacred of all Moslem shrines. All the trouble which was to follow after the Armistice in the settlement of the Arab claims was foreshadowed as General Shea drove through the streets of Jerusalem.<sup>154</sup>

In the surge of centenary books about the light horse and the charge at Beersheba, a 'special relationship'<sup>155</sup> between Israel and Australia is mentioned, with some attributing religious significance to it.<sup>156</sup> Although it was actually Megiddo (1918) that broke the Ottomans, the Israeli Embassy's Canberra website specifically mentions the light horse and battles at Gaza and Beersheba.<sup>157</sup> The link is political and symbolic. London promised Lord Rothschild a Jewish homeland in Palestine on the same day the 4<sup>th</sup> Light Horse Brigade captured Beersheba. The Balfour Declaration came days later. A monument and park in the Israeli suburb of Beer Sheva was dedicated by the Australian philanthropic Pratt Foundation. Antony Lowenstein notes Richard Pratt as a major donor to the Liberal Party, and the foundation's chief executive officer, the journalist Sam Lipski, as part of Australia's Israel Lobby.<sup>158</sup>

In his article on Australian-Israeli historical links, the AIJAC's Colin Rubenstein dwells on the legacy of the wars and, selectively, Gullett's official history on Australian attitudes to the region's Jews (while omitting Gullett's insight, cited above, into the Arabs). Idriess' diary reflects a deep awareness among many of the troops about the history of the lands over which they campaigned, with regimental padres often showing particular interest; but there is little intimation of religious devotion. Similarly the *Official History* notes Jerusalem, for example, as being the last Canaanite stronghold and subsequently a centre of Jewish power without mention of a deity.<sup>159</sup> The lobby and their Australian friends notably politicians, stress this supposed relationship in almost mystical terms. Rubenstein wrote:

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<sup>154</sup> Gullett, op. cit., p. 517.

<sup>155</sup> Perry, R., *The Australian Light Horse*, Hachette, 2009, p. 510.

<sup>156</sup> See, P. Daley, *Beersheba*, Melbourne University Press, 2009, pp. 189, 193 and 209.

<sup>157</sup> See Embassy of Australia in Israel, *Bilateral Relations*.

<sup>158</sup> A. Lowenstein, *My Israel Question*, Melbourne University Press, 2009, pp. 7, 204, 206, 314.

<sup>159</sup> Gullett, op. cit., p. 515.

Only by including certain affinities of national personalities and values can the ongoing vigor of the relationship be fully explained...Something in their respective cultures, national outlooks, and personalities tends to draw them together.<sup>160</sup>

He is more accurate in noting

...the influence of the small but significant Australian Jewish community with its history of successful access to the national decision-makers, in part owing to the community's comparatively high historical level of coherence and focused leadership...In recent years, Israeli policymakers who are aware of it have come to regard the degree of Australian support and understanding for Israel with something akin to amazement.<sup>161</sup>

Tel Aviv's amazement is understandable. Australia's relationship with Jewish people was not always that special. In line with Australia's White Australia Policy from Federation, Australia had a restrictive policy on Jewish immigration, which reflected tolerant if not enthusiastic community attitudes. This was strengthened in the 1930s, when Jewish refugees from the Nazis were discouraged in support of Britain's appeasement of Hitler.<sup>162</sup> Reports of Kristallnacht brought the media into conflict with government policy and community attitudes softened.

A proposal by a Jewish refugee from Lenin, Isaac Steinberg, was to settle Jewish refugees in the Northern Territory or the Kimberley. Steinberg represented the US-based Freedland League for Jewish Territorial Colonisation, a non-Zionist socialist-refugee model. When the Kimberley Plan was shelved by Menzies and rejected by Curtin, a philanthropic Tasmanian, Critchley Parker proposed a Jewish settlement in the state's southwest but died alone in 1942 on his visit to the intended site.<sup>163</sup> Different reasons for the rejection of the scheme are presented: the threat of Japanese invasion, mixed public attitudes, and reluctance to countenance exclusive ethnic settlements in White Australia. The International Refugee Organisation's (IRO) efforts to get more refugees accepted by the post-WWII Australian Government saw

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<sup>160</sup> C. Rubenstein, A Distant Affinity: The History of Australian Israeli Relations, *Jewish Political Studies Review* 19:3-4 (Fall 2007), Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> See Kepple, L., Jewish Immigrants in Australia Before, During, and After WWII, *The Monitor: Journal of International Studies*, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, Winter 2009, undated, p., 26, from pp. 25-33.

<sup>163</sup> P. Hopf, Tasmania: The New Jerusalem, *Jews Down Under*, 11 February 2015.

only 500 places out of 168,200 awarded to Jews.<sup>164</sup>

Britain's Zionist project in Palestine was greeted with little enthusiasm in Canberra. In 1939, concerned over the threat to imperial communications caused by the violence in Palestine consequent on the increasing Jewish migration, Prime Minister Lyons warned London of 'any decision over Palestine which might be regarded as unduly favourable to the Jews.'<sup>165</sup>

The balance of the Rubenstein's piece describes the pattern of mostly pro-Israeli support provided by Canberra since 1948. Rubenstein, in the section on Australia through Israeli Eyes, writes Australia has

rarely been a major focus of policy efforts in Jerusalem. However, Israel has sought, often with intensity, to maintain and build the relationship and to solicit Australia's support for various foreign policy priorities, especially in terms of advocating fair play at the United Nations and international institutions, and gaining access to diplomatic and economic opportunities in Southeast Asia and the Pacific.<sup>166</sup>

In general this matches the Australian Parliament's description of the period,<sup>167</sup> although Rubenstein states 'Australia had provided Israel with top-secret information from Nurrungar warning of the Iraqi Scud launches against Israel, based on satellite infrared detections.'<sup>168</sup> From 1948, bipartisan Australian politics coalesced around commitment 'to Israel's security, but also recognises the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.'<sup>169</sup> After a 1992 visit to the Middle East, Foreign Minister Evans reported 'the continuation unabated of the massive program of settlement building in the Occupied Territories' and 'oppressive' Israeli occupation policies.<sup>170</sup>

Rubenstein describes the Israel-Canberra connection rising to 'new height' under

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<sup>164</sup> Kepple, op. cit., p. 30.

<sup>165</sup> V. Kenway, Why the Australian state supports Israel so stridently, *Marxist Left Review*, Winter 2013.

<sup>166</sup> Rubenstein, op. cit.

<sup>167</sup> M. Harris, Australia and the Middle East conflict: a history of key Government statements (1947–2007), Background Note, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security Section, Parliament of Australia, 13 February 2012. [Statements]

<sup>168</sup> Rubenstein, op. cit.,

<sup>169</sup> Prime Minister Keating; *Speech to the Zionist Federation of Australia*, May 1992, cited in, Harris, op. cit. [Statements]

<sup>170</sup> Harris, op. cit.

Howard, notes Australia's UN votes more markedly favouring Israel, and lists the Israeli honours and awards bestowed upon Howard. It was Howard that finessed Woodside's (February 2014) \$2.7bn bid for shares in the controversial (in terms of seabed boundaries, international claims et cetera) Israeli offshore Leviathan fields.<sup>171</sup> Woodside withdrew from the deal in May 2014, citing disputes with Israeli taxation authorities.<sup>172</sup> Rubenstein specifies increasing trade to almost \$500 million per annum, 85 percent from Israel of '[notably—see Mixed Signals section below] IT and telecommunications equipment, precious stones and metals, chemical products, and plastics.'<sup>173</sup> He also refers to additional trade in 'substantial military cooperation and trade in equipment and knowledge'.<sup>174</sup>

The interaction of some Jewish community leaders with Australia's power clique—if indeed they are not part of it—and the emphasis on trade recall the top-down approach to policy formulation and the nexus between states and corporations as discussed in Chapter One. Much of this is at odds with international and Australian community attitudes, including liberal Jewish Australians.<sup>175</sup> Bob Carr pointed out that 'only 8% believed Australia should vote against an independent Palestinian state. The public are way out in front of their political leadership.'<sup>176</sup>

## ISRAELI LOBBYING IN AUSTRALIA

### The Scope of Israeli Lobbying

Mearsheimer and Walt point out 'the Israel Lobby is the antithesis of a cabal', operates in the open and proud of its influence.<sup>177</sup> This is only partly true in Australia where: 'The Israel lobby in Australia is the most powerful lobby in the world in terms of impact it has it has within its own country.'<sup>178</sup> The furtherance of Tel Aviv's aims here are characterised by both; a) opaque Israeli diplomatic engagement and

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<sup>171</sup> M. Thurin, Woodside-Leviathan deal moves ahead in a milestone for Australia-Israel ties, AIJAC, 12 February 2014.

<sup>172</sup> The Economist, Woodside pulls out of Leviathan, *The Economist*, Energy, 23 May 2014.

<sup>173</sup> Rubenstein, op. cit.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> See Green Left Weekly, An appeal from Australian Jews to the Australian Jewish community: 'We cannot remain silent', *Green Left Weekly*, Iss 1021, 14 August 2014.

<sup>176</sup> Carr, B., Australia's UN vote on Palestine does a disservice to all sides, including Israelis, *The Guardian*, 14 January 2015.

<sup>177</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>178</sup> A senior Israeli army officer cited in Lyons, op. cit., [Balcony], p. 261.

intelligence operations, as well as; b) sectional Jewish community lobbying that is discreet if not secret. The lobby is quietly boastful of its access and influence, wider knowledge of the power being power itself. Its approach has elements of secret lobbying: appeals to sentiment and ideology, the quiet word, raising shared interests, as well as threats and intimidation. John Lyons has endured its attentions and described its *modus operandi* in some detail.<sup>179</sup>

In 2008 then Prime Minister Kevin Rudd introduced a motion to the House of Representatives commending the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of the Israeli state and acknowledging ‘the unique relationship which exists between Australia and Israel, the rights and liberty of our citizens and encouragement of cultural diversity’, and commended ‘Israel’s commitment to democracy, the Rule of Law and pluralism’.<sup>180</sup> The diplomatic niceties conceal a deeper level of interest and cooperation not matched by geo-strategic circumstances. In the world’s population ranking, Israel is listed as 98<sup>th</sup>, below Austria and Switzerland and above Honduras and PNG. This begs the question of why Canberra has been so accommodating.

The aims of the Israel Lobby in Australia—sitting on ‘the far right of the Israeli political spectrum’<sup>181</sup>—mirror those identified by Mearsheimer and Walt for the lobby in the US: to shape foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction.<sup>182</sup> A key Israeli aim is to secure Australian support at the UN: solidly pro-Israel, usually falling into line with the US<sup>183</sup> while showing some swing between LNC and ALP governments.<sup>184</sup> The favour was returned, with Tel Aviv noticeably abstaining from key UN votes on Indonesia and East Timor, while Washington and Canberra either opposed or occasionally abstained.<sup>185</sup>

### Grouping and Numbers

Antony Loewenstein describes the general structural composition of the ‘Zionist

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<sup>179</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], pp. 261 et passim but especially pp.16-19, 38-41,91-103,260, 269-275, 274-288.

<sup>180</sup> Harris, op.cit. [Statements]

<sup>181</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 260.

<sup>182</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, op. cit., pp. 113, 115.

<sup>183</sup> Jewish Virtual Library, *Voting Coincidence with the US*, July 2016.

<sup>184</sup> M. Harris, ‘Diplomatic terrorism’: Palestinian statehood, the United Nations, and Australia’s voting record, APH, 12 May 2014, [Dip Ter]

<sup>185</sup> East Timor and Indonesia Action Network (ETAN), *UNRHR Resolutions*.

lobby' in Australia. The Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) and the Zionist Federation of Australia (ZFA) vie as the 'unified' lead on 'Israel and anti-Semitism.'<sup>186</sup> The NSW Jewish Board of Deputies and Jewish Community Council of Victoria (the largest components of the ECAJ) influence communities in their respective states and lobby government and the media, particularly Fairfax and public broadcasters.<sup>187</sup> The most powerful, organised and 'aggressive' Jewish lobby group in Australia is the Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council (AIJAC), whose executive director is Dr Colin Rubenstein. Melbourne-based and privately funded it 'is not accountable to the community through elections'.<sup>188</sup> Office bearers are appointed by the board led by John Howard's lawyer, Mark Leibler, while the news and current affairs magazine, the *AIJAC Review*, boasts public figures on the editorial board.<sup>189</sup> Lowenstein lists the Australian Jewish Democratic Society as a 'marginal' group encouraging a 'more inclusive and questioning debate'.<sup>190</sup>

At the base of the pyramid are Jewish community organisations, such as schools and synagogues, which mirror those of other multicultural communities. Many are innocuous, some less so. The Australasian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS) offers an 'academy' which involves a trip to Israel and might include 'Gadna' which simulates 'the basic training of a future soldier on IDF.'<sup>191</sup>

Such community groups engender cascading levels of commitment, indicatively comprising: a) the *hard core* of extremely active and committed people who must have or be provided adequate funds to support their activity; b) an echelon of *dependable insiders* who provide time, money and other services or skills as needed; c) *semi-supporters* who provide cash or show up to the occasional rally, or whose interest spikes with specific events, such as war; d) *sympathisers* who barely read the newsletters; and e) people ethnically or emotively affiliated with the group, but are *outsiders*; politically or and intellectually opposed to beliefs, actions or the mores of the leadership and majority.

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<sup>186</sup> A. Lowenstein, *My Israel Question*, Third Ed, Melbourne University Press, 2009, p. 202. [My Israel]

<sup>187</sup> Lowenstein, op. cit. [Israel Question], pp. 202-203.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>189</sup> At one time including ALP politicians Mark Dreyfus, Michael Danby and Supreme Court Justice Howard Nathan. Lowenstein, op. cit. [My Israel] p. 203.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>191</sup> Australasian Union of Jewish Students (AUJS), Homepage.

The numbers are hard to gauge. The fairly small leadership group have enhanced public profiles. The Sydney Community Security Group claims it ‘retains hundreds of valued volunteers.’<sup>192</sup> The AUJS-sponsored change.org online petition calling for the removal of Jake Lynch from Sydney University mustered 6,304 supporters; 1,196 short of its target.<sup>193</sup>

### International Connections

Former CIA officer Phillip Giraldi describes ‘something that equates to a coordinated Israeli effort to influence opinion by exploiting Diaspora Jewish communities’.<sup>194</sup> Isi Leibler, the brother of Mark Leibler, served from 1978-1995 as leader of the ECAJ and held posts with the World Jewish Congress, causing some angst within the body by pointing out what looked like financial irregularities. He has regular columns in the *Jerusalem Post* and New York-based *Algemeiner*. Bob Carr describes an attempted media moment arranged in Isi Liebler’s home in Jerusalem.<sup>195</sup>

AIJAC’s home page states it has ‘an active association with the American Jewish Committee in a global partnership’ for world Jewry. A journalist visiting Mark Leibler’s Melbourne office of the self-described ‘simple tax lawyer’ remarked on the number of photographs of the world’s most powerful, ‘This is the world of Mark Leibler: a citadel of covert power and influence in not only Melbourne, but in Australia and far across the world in Israel and beyond.’<sup>196</sup> Leibler was amongst the select few who attended John Howard’s barbeque for George W. Bush in 2003. The New York writer Nima Shirazi details Mark Leibler’s international Zionist connections and contrasts his support for indigenous rights in Australia with the incongruity of his role of ‘increasing Jewish immigration to and the continued

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<sup>192</sup> Ian Sandler, Security of Sydney’s Jewish Community, *J Wire*. Two of three comments were by volunteers for security work who had served in the IDF. For the power of Jewish security committees in the occupied territories see, Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 162. A recent case—needing FBI intervention to be prosecuted and having hallmarks of a false-flag operation for stoking international Jewish community fears of anti-Semitism in the US, Australia and NZ—could in turn lead to increased support for community security groups; see T. Pileggi, and AP., Jewish Israeli-US teen arrested for phoning in JCC bomb threats, *Times of Israel*, 23 March 2017.

<sup>193</sup> AUJS, Remove Assoc Prof Jake Lynch after his continual harassment and intimidation of Jewish Students. Change.org, 2015.

<sup>194</sup> Giradi, op. cit.

<sup>195</sup> Carr, op. cit. [Diary], pp. 133-134.

<sup>196</sup> D. Kitney, Power is all in a day’s work for top legal eagle Mark Leibler, *The Australian*, 9 November 2013.

colonization of historic Palestine.’<sup>197</sup>

The Australian Israel UK Leadership Dialogue had its genesis in 2009 when Albert Dadon took a group of Australian political, business, academic and media figures under the leadership of then deputy PM, Julia Gillard, to Israel. In 2012 the Australian contingent included politicians Michael Danby, Mike Kelly, Bernie Rippoll (all ALP), and Kevin Andrews, Josh Frydenberg, George Brandis, Kelly O’Dwyer and Christopher Pyne (all Lib).<sup>198</sup> The 2012 Australian contingent included Greg Sheridan, a foundation member of the AALD. In 2009 Sheridan—along with News Limited columnists Andrew Bolt and Allan Howe—accompanied the Julia Gillard-led, 40-strong delegation to Israel<sup>199</sup>, organised by the Australia Israel Cultural Exchange.<sup>200</sup> The exchange was chaired by Albert Dadon, whose property group employed Gillard’s partner.<sup>201</sup> In December 2015 The Australia Israel UK Leadership Dialogue hosted five British politicians, ‘over ten’ Australian MPs<sup>202</sup> and ‘dozens of Knesset members’ with ‘legislators, business leaders and opinion formers’ for their annual meeting.<sup>203</sup> This is top-down policy influence.

The Australian Israel Chamber of Commerce is a lower profile but significant—as will be seen—networking element in ‘pulling power’ with Australian business.<sup>204</sup> Israeli innovation and technology are cited as major drawcards for Australian interest.

### **Lobbying Strategy and Tactics**

At face value, the Lobby’s major aim is to have Canberra’s foreign policy conform

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<sup>197</sup> N. Shirazi, The Hypocrisy of Mark Liebler: indigenous rights activist denies rights to indigenous Palestinians, *Wide Awake in America*, 22 January 2012.

<sup>198</sup> A. Lowenstein, *How the Australian Zionist lobby corrupts political process (and politicians and reporters join in)*, 20 December 2012, [Zionist Lobby] For Sheridan’s attendance, see, <https://www.jewishnews.net.au/bibi-blair-headline-at-leadership-forum/24364>

<sup>199</sup> A. Jackson and J. Koutsoukas, Gillard to lead delegation to Israel, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May 2009.

<sup>200</sup> A. Jackson and J. Koutsoukas, Gillard to lead delegation to Israel, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 May 2009.

<sup>201</sup> AAP, Gillard defends partner’s job, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 June 2010.

<sup>202</sup> Including Christopher Pyne, Bronwyn Bishop, Tim Wilson (then AHRC) and Tim Watts. See, R. Blum, Palestinian Education Minister Fumes at Australian Delegation’s ‘Rude Questions’ about PA Practice of Honouring Terrorists, *The Algemeiner*, 17 December 2015.

<sup>203</sup> Australia Israel UK Leadership Dialogue, Conservative Friends of Israel [UK], 17 December 2015.

<sup>204</sup> See, P. Manning, Israel still pulls business heavy hitters, but Palestine off the table, *Crikey*, 29 July 2014.

with Tel Aviv's, while minimising any Palestinian, Arab or Iranian influence on the Australian polity. Subsidiary aims are likely to be opening the Australian and regional economies for Israeli business as well as protection of the local Jewish community. Although the international Jewish community is diverse, and even the structural architecture is not monolithic or united in its views, a degree of state controlled coordination as outlined by Giraldi is obvious: a 'section' of the Israeli Foreign Ministry is charged with promulgating the Israeli narrative and encouraging Diaspora Jews to act against critics.<sup>205</sup>

Australia's Israel Lobby is structurally and functionally integrated into this. In his thesis on extreme right wing activism James Saleam cites Jewish academic, Chanan Reich, to describe Isi Leibler's 'Research Services' spying on Australian neo-Nazis in 1969 because of Jewish concerns about Liberal Party contact with Ustasha, the League of Rights and Nazis.<sup>206</sup> Leibler further warned against splinter groups 'whose activities frequently ran counter to...[our JBD]...interests...and undermine the Board's Defence activity.'<sup>207</sup> This, together with the NSW Community Security Groups, indicates quasi-intelligence and security functions inside the Israel Lobby.

Tactically the Lobby employs the full range of carrot-and-stick methods available: a constant flow of propaganda and commentary to reinforce the narrative; private bullying; public chastisement or praise; political donations and sponsored trips to Israel. The duchessing encompasses politicians, business and the media. Giraldi highlights Israeli government-sponsored 'Lawfare', where 'international efforts to tie up critics in court...also pressuring national and local governments to delegitimize or even declare illegal all criticism of Israeli government actions.'<sup>208</sup> Two high profile legal cases occurred in Australia, both involving the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel. The first was the Shurat HaDin-Israel Law Center's Federal Court of Australia race hate case against Sydney academic Jake Lynch for refusing to endorse an Israeli academic for a sponsorship in Australia. The

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<sup>205</sup> Giraldi, op. cit.

<sup>206</sup> James Saleam, *The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry into Australian Extreme Right Wing Ideology, Politics and Organisation 1975- 1995*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Sydney, 1999.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., p. 93, citing Isi Leibler in, *Government To Act Over Nazis?* *Australian Jewish Times*, 4 Feb February 71, p. 1.

<sup>208</sup> Giraldi, Op cit.

case was withdrawn.<sup>209</sup> The second involved the arrest and charging of sixteen BDS protesters outside a Max Brenner's outlet in Melbourne on 29 July 2011. The charges were dismissed and it emerged in the hearing that police sworn evidence was contradicted by video footage and they had used unreasonable force. Significantly:

Victorian Police confirmed that the decision to arrest activists was made before the demonstration and that this decision had been made after discussion with Zionist organizations, the Victorian government [Baillieu, LNC], QV Center management and the management of Max Brenner.<sup>210</sup>

Although there is disagreement in the Jewish community about how to react to the BDS program, then AIJAC political analyst Ted Lapkin—former IDF intelligence officer<sup>211</sup>, former research fellow at the IPA<sup>212</sup>, former LNC ministerial advisor, one-time communications director to US Republicans<sup>213</sup>, prolific opinion writer in Australia and the US<sup>214</sup>—writing in the *The Australian Jewish News*, confirmed his strategy to deal with ‘barbarian’ demonstrations of ‘leftie/jihadi rabble’ is developed by ‘engagement’ with politicians, ‘cooperation with police’ and ‘endorsed by counterparts abroad and Israel’s Foreign Ministry.’<sup>215</sup> Writing of the same Max Brenner incident, Lapkin disclosed a tip-off from ‘a friend in the Victoria Police Intelligence Unit’ asking that his planned counter-demonstration be cancelled because the ‘police didn’t want us caught up in the middle of what they expected—and what actually turned out—to be a small riot.’<sup>216</sup> The article indicates the international coordination of the lobby and the highly partisan role of the Victoria Police in the affair.

Bob Carr, as Foreign Minister, gives an insight into some of the Lobby’s tactics from someone not without power on the receiving end: ‘This lobby must fight every inch. The old story. What *do* they want?’<sup>217</sup> He describes Mark Leibler’s belligerence in a

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<sup>209</sup> G. Narunsky, Shurat HaDin drops case against Lynch, *The Australian Jewish News*, 21 July 2014.

<sup>210</sup> K. Bullimore, Victory for Australia’s boycott campaign as charges of blockading chocolate store dropped, *The Electronic Intifada*, 27 July 2012.

<sup>211</sup> T. Lapkin, bio/CV, Online Opinion, undated.

<sup>212</sup> T. Lapkin, CV, Institute of Public Affairs.

<sup>213</sup> T. Lapkin, CV, articles, ABC.

<sup>214</sup> Lapkin, op. cit., *Online Opinion*.

<sup>215</sup> See: B. Alhadeff, Protests are not the answer, *The Australian Jewish News*, 29 July 2011; and T. Lapkin, The community can’t sit idly by, *The Australian Jewish News*, 29 July 2011.

<sup>216</sup> T. Lapkin, The community can’t sit idly by, *The Australian Jewish News*, 29 July 2011.

<sup>217</sup> Carr, op. cit. [Diary], p. 5.

meeting that covered the settlements and fate of Ben Zygier. Carr countered defensively:

‘This is incredible,’ I told Liebler, ‘I downplayed the [Zygier] affair as much as possible. Did everything to understate it. The only alternative to my approach would have been a bare-knuckled fight with the Israeli government over how they treated an Australian citizen.’<sup>218</sup>

Carr described the characteristic ‘rudeness’ and ‘arrogant tone’ of AIJAC’s Colin Rubenstein at the AALD Gala Dinner in August 2013.<sup>219</sup> The Hanan Ashwari affair, when the lobby’s attempted to stop her being awarded the Sydney Peace Prize, revealed the ‘bullying and harassment’ of politicians’ wives amongst others.<sup>220</sup> The lobby’s hectoring included former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser after he wrote an article defending the Palestinian case. From Jerusalem, Isi Liebler heavily criticised Fraser for succumbing to a ‘malevolent spirit’, and at some length repeated the standard Israeli line, ending with an invitation for Fraser to return to the fold with ‘a more rational and open-minded approach.’<sup>221</sup>

Money, frequently laundered as political donations, is a major incentive for the Australian target set. Antony Lowenstein argues the Liberal Party is most adept at securing Jewish funding, with ‘hundreds of thousands of dollars to Liberal Party coffers’; one of the donors, Frank Lowey, is described as ‘exceptionally close’<sup>222</sup> to Howard.<sup>223</sup> The ALP also received a share from Jewish businessmen including Lowy. Bob Carr cites Kevin Rudd stating twenty percent of the funding he received for the 2007 election came from ‘the Jewish community.’<sup>224</sup>

The duchessing extends to the media, with Michael Brull citing a journalist who said the AIJAC sponsored trips to Israel have ‘attained almost legendary status in media circles’.<sup>225</sup> Brull states Australian media all but ignore the Palestinian side of the

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 2014, p. 340.

<sup>219</sup> Carr, Ibid., p. 428

<sup>220</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], pp. 276-277.

<sup>221</sup> I. Liebler, Israel loses an old friend in Fraser and we long for his return, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 October 2011.

<sup>222</sup> Ron Walker, former Liberal Party fundraiser, cited in, Lowenstein, op. cit. [My Israel], pp. 204-205.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., pp. 204-205.

<sup>224</sup> Carr, op. cit., [Diary], p. 232.

<sup>225</sup> M. Brull, Jews, Journalists And Junkets: Why Australian Media Covers Palestine So Badly, *New*

story. Eulalia Han examined the importance of the media in shaping public opinion and thereby influencing policy. Concentrating on Murdoch's *The Australian* and Fairfax's *The Sydney Morning Herald*, she notes the former's focus on Israel's independence in 1948:

The events that led up to the creation of Israel and the consequences of its establishment, however, are rarely addressed. This portrayal also omits the historical experience of the Palestinians in whose narrative expresses the events of 1948 as the al-Nakba or 'the catastrophe.'<sup>226</sup>

Compared to the penetration and influence of the strongly established, well-funded and highly organised Israel Lobby, Palestinian attempts at activism have been stymied by a range of factors. The most prominent of these is the Western narrative on terror. The Australia Palestine Advocacy Network (APAN) is the national umbrella organisation for Palestinian Lobbying. Although its patron is (retired) Major General Ian Gordon who served with UNTSO in the Middle East, APAN does not enjoy the public profile, organisational or financial strength of the Israel Lobby.

Moammar Mashni, the founder of Australians for Palestine, was not heartened by the ethnic and cultural stereotypes that influence the contest for wider Australian sympathy.<sup>227</sup> The media reporting of Middle Eastern criminal gangs and the abduction and violent gang rapes of young women in Sydney during 2000 formed part of the background to the Cronulla race riots of 2005. Thus the notion of the 'Arab other' emerges; so 'the chains of association, "Arabic-ness" and Islam and "MiddleEastern-ness" are seen to be the same thing and are seen to be essentially and pathologically evil, inhuman, violent and criminal.'<sup>228</sup>

The absence of the Palestinians from the Australia-Israel narrative was sharply interrupted by Bob Carr. In his memoir he describes the ructions in the ALP, then in government, over how to vote on the forthcoming 2012 UNGA Resolution 67/19 on Palestine's Non-Member Observer status. The resolution was passed

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*Matilda*, 7 April 2016.

<sup>226</sup> E. Han, *Australian Policy on the Israel-Palestine Peace Process: Influences and Implications*, Griffith University, 2011.

<sup>227</sup> D. Flitton, *Influence and intimidation in war of words*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 November 2012.

<sup>228</sup> J. Collins, *Ethnic Minorities and Crime in Australia*, Paper to a Public Seminar organised by the Office of Multicultural Interest, Perth, 8 November 2005.

overwhelmingly with Australia abstaining, despite the Israel Lobby and the PM pressing for a 'no' vote. The increasing sophistication of Palestinian lobbying and importance of Australian Muslim demographics comes through in his account.<sup>229</sup> At one level, the debate was based on some parliamentarians' self-interest, something positive for the 'bursting Arab and Islamic populations in their (Sydney) electorates' versus Victorians with 'an umbilical attachment to the cause of Israel.'<sup>230</sup> At another level there was genuine concern about past Australian voting patterns in the UN and a growing moral concern for the Palestinians.

## TEL AVIV'S INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS

### The Intelligence Services

Israel's intelligence services have their cultural and operational origins with attempts to coordinate the political Jewish Agency and military Haganah in 1930s Palestine. Organisational structures have been increasingly formalised and specialised since independence and Israel has the usual spread of intelligence services: a) *Mossad* for foreign espionage, subversion and planning special operations; b) *Shin Bet*, the security service; c) *Aman*, the armed forces intelligence branches; and d) a national *signals intelligence* service—it or one of its elements referred to as Unit 8200. The police also have an intelligence branch. There is reportedly a *Centre for Political Research* subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which would probably have some representation or role in selected embassies. Parliamentary supervision, not command and control, is by a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

The reputation of Israel's intelligence services is used to justify close relations with Tel Aviv; the rationale being that Israel's knowledge and penetration of the Arab world is indispensable to both the war on terror and wider Western interests in the MENA. Measheimer and Walt consider estimates of Tel Aviv's intelligence contribution and military capability overblown and costly. While IDF tactical combat intelligence is 'first rate', political intelligence was 'laughably bad ...gossip' and their regional level military utility, in the allied contingency of a Soviet thrust into

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<sup>229</sup> Carr, op. cit., pp. 231-241, 250-251, 232.

<sup>230</sup> Carr, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

the area for example, ‘grotesquely exaggerated’.<sup>231</sup> They note also that Israel provided ‘faulty or misleading intelligence on several occasions’ for their own ends.<sup>232</sup> The Israelis are noted for demeaning and underestimating the Arabs and exploiting friend and foe alike. In intelligence terms, the thread of ethno-religious-nationalism and messianic expansion in their geo-strategy should sound warnings for both Tel Aviv’s intent and the reliability of their intelligence product.

Despite its successes and ruthlessness, Israel’s intelligence services have had embarrassing failures, such as strategic inability to anticipate the Arab attack in the 1973 War, and the bungled assassination attempt to poison Hamas leader Khaled Meshaal in Jordan in 1997. Fake Canadian passports were used in the botched operation. The Pollard and Franklin cases in the US leave no doubt that Tel Aviv’s agents are manipulative in their use of friendly states; further proven by use of fake or stolen passports together with identity theft from British, Canadian, New Zealand and Australian nationals.

A hallmark of Mossad’s intelligence and special operations is its use of the Jewish diaspora for support, basing and recruitment. *Sayanim* is the term for ‘helpers’ amongst the Jewish diaspora. These are local Jews providing a range of services, including talent spotting, information collection, safe houses, transport and so forth; ‘an on-call undercover corps and force-multiplier that can be deployed on short notice.’<sup>233</sup> The anti-Jewish and Holocaust denial site *Radio Islam*, founded by a former Moroccan army officer, Ahmed Rami, cites the former Mossad officer Victor Ovstrovsky (*By Way of Deception*) and British author Gordon Thomas (*Gideon’s Spies*) to elaborate that *sayanim* might be ‘Judges, Court Clerks, Expert Witnesses, Child Protective Service Workers, Assistant District Attorneys, Police Officers, or anyone with a great degree of power over people’s lives, and will do anything for Israel.’<sup>234</sup> This could be construed as simple anti-Semitism except for the Franklin and Pollard cases in the US, and that of Tony Resnick, a New Zealand ambulance para-medical who allegedly identified a cerebral palsy sufferer as a suitable target for

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<sup>231</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, citing various US officials, in, *The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy*, Penguin, London, 2007, p. 55-56.

<sup>232</sup> Mearsheimer and Walt, citing various US officials, in, op. cit., p. 55.

<sup>233</sup> J. Gates, Sayanim: Israeli Operatives in the U.S., *Veterans Today*, 19 July 2010.

<sup>234</sup> Radio Islam, Sayanim—Israel’s and Mossad’s Jewish helpers abroad, Radio Islam.

identity fraud.<sup>235</sup> The Ben Zygier case, discussed below, provided a window into ‘the ways in which young Jews are groomed by an Israeli intelligence service to commit acts of terrorism and subterfuge across the world’.<sup>236</sup> A former Australian ambassador

says that ASIO and ASIS work hand in glove with the Israeli government, including the assistance of grooming potential spies on Australian soil at universities such as Monash in Melbourne and military academies like Duntroon. Australia long ago outsourced much of its military and intelligence, as well as foreign affairs sovereignty, to Israel and America. ‘There’s little we [Australia] would not do to please them.’<sup>237</sup>

A number of Australian cases support this view.

### **Ari Ben Menashe (1986)**

Ari Ben Menashe is a former Israeli intelligence official (1977-1987) who claimed ‘Certain arms were shipped through Australia to Iran from the Israelis with the intervention of the Americans.’<sup>238</sup> He elaborated that the weapons, part of the Iran-Contra scandal, were shipped through Perth with ALP figures receiving payment (\$8.5 million) to facilitate the transfers that ‘wound up’ in 1987. Senior ALP politicians Beazley and Danby ridiculed the suggestion.<sup>239</sup> Ben Menashe believed ministerial approval would have been required, ‘but his direct dealings with Australian intelligence officers form the cornerstone of his first-hand allegations’.<sup>240</sup> Australian officialdom and politicians, including John Howard who had ‘at least three extensive meetings’ with him, were at pains not to pursue Ben Menashe’s evidence despite his presence in Australia from 1991-1992, and some sources say Sydney from 1991 to 2002.<sup>241</sup>

Ben Menashe elaborated on the Australian connection to the arrest of lantern-bearing

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<sup>235</sup> F. O’Sullivan, Israel—a stormy relationship: Passports fraud an excusable war tactic, *New Zealand Herald*, 22 September 2004.

<sup>236</sup> New Matilda, Israel’s Public Image Takes Another Hit, *New Matilda*, 18 February 2013.

<sup>237</sup> A former ambassador cited in, *Ibid.*

<sup>238</sup> Ari Ben Menashe cited in, M. Davis, Guns and Money, *Dateline*, SBS, 23 August 2013.

<sup>239</sup> Davis, *op. cit.*

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>241</sup> For confirmatory information see, S. Malloy, Fact or fiction? The claims of Ari Ben-Menashe, *Green Left Weekly*, 5 February 1992; The Almost Vanunu, *Consortium News*, 19 February 2013.

Israeli nuclear technician, Mordechai Vanunu, lured to Rome by a honey trap and kidnapped by Israeli agents in September-October 1986. After leaving Israel in 1986, Vanunu worked in Sydney where he was persuaded by a wandering Colombian freelance journalist, Oscar Guerrero, to sell his story. Approaches to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Age* failed,<sup>242</sup> but according to Menashe, information about Guerrero's 'approach was passed on to the internal intelligence service, the Australian Security Intelligence Organization, then to the external service, the Australian Security Intelligence Service, which mentioned it to Israel.'<sup>243</sup>

### **Australian/NZ Passports and the Assassination in Dubai (2003-13)**

Two Israeli intelligence personnel, Kelman and Cara, were arrested and gaoled in NZ in 2004 for attempting to fraudulently obtain NZ passports.<sup>244</sup> Their controller, Zev Barkan, fled through Sydney and avoided arrest. A fourth man, a NZ Jewish *sayanim* and talent spotter, Tony Resnick, also reportedly escaped through Australia to Israel. Resnick was a Zionist who had lived in Israel, served in the IDF and held a dual NZ/Israeli passport.<sup>245</sup> *The Sydney Morning Herald*, citing a New Zealand aid worker with intelligence links in Asia, reported the shadowy Barkan had 'been dealing with Asian criminal gangs to obtain Australian and other passports stolen in Asia'.<sup>246</sup> Tel Aviv reacted with hubris to NZ ripostes led by Prime Minister Helen Clark and there was a period of diplomatic tension between the states.<sup>247</sup> The AIJAC condemned Helen Clarke in Lapkin's 'peel the onion' piece.<sup>248</sup>

The Mossad operation appears to have been mounted out of Australia with minimum if any interference from Canberra; NZ Greens MP Keith Locke referred to 'prima

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<sup>242</sup> D. Jenkins, Two tries, two misses on the great nuclear weapons scoop, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 April 1990.

<sup>243</sup> A. Ben Menashe, *Profits of War: The Sensational Story of the World-Wide Arms Conspiracy*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney 1992, pp. 200-202 as summarised by, activist/blogger, Peter Myers, 21 November 2015. Black and Morris downplay the Australian media and government connections in their account, op.cit., pp. 437-443.

<sup>244</sup> Cara had resided in Australia. His Turrumurra home was reportedly raided by ASIO in March shortly before his arrest. Fairfax implies ASIO had some role in the arrest. See C. Skehan, Mossad agent linked to Asia scam, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 2004.

<sup>245</sup> A. Hallel, At home with the Mossad men, *New Zealand Herald*, 2 October 2004.

<sup>246</sup> C. Skehan, Mossad agent linked to Asia scam, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 19 July 2004.

<sup>247</sup> D. Fickling, 'Mossad spies' jailed over New Zealand passport fraud, *The Guardian*, 16 July 2004.

<sup>248</sup> T. Lapkin, Ted Lapkin: PM's priorities somewhat odd in Israeli 'spies' affair, Comment, *NZ Herald*, 22 July 2004. Also see: N. Turner, Tactic of intimidation by smear utterly repugnant, *NZ Herald*, 26 July 2004.

facie evidence the Mossad operation was run out of Australia’ and he demanded ‘the New Zealand Government must not be caught up in an Australian government cover-up of the affair.’<sup>249</sup> Jim Dean of US news site *Veterans Today* named Australia as a Mossad ‘base’.<sup>250</sup> One of the NZ fugitives, Zev Barkan, was later named as a suspect in the assassination of Hamas senior figure Mahmoud al-Mabhouh in Dubai on 19 January 2010.<sup>251</sup> ASIO commenced an investigation into an undeclared Israeli spy ring—a tougher target than writers, artists and activists—in Australia after the fracas erupted in New Zealand.<sup>252</sup> On ASIO advice, Amir Laty, an Israeli Embassy official connected with the New Zealand case, was expelled in December 2004.<sup>253</sup>

Both NZ authorities and media were now sensitive to Mossad and reacted during the Christchurch earthquake of 2011 when a number of Israelis were caught-out in the disaster. Israel’s Ambassador, Shemi Tzur travelled to Christchurch, specifically the morgue, and Israel’s civil defence chief visited some time later.<sup>254</sup> A private Israeli search and rescue arrived uninvited and was reportedly escorted from the controlled Red Zone by armed NZ security personnel.<sup>255</sup> Israeli forensic experts were flown in and assisted NZ authorities. Reports of a NZ SIS whistle-blower circulated with assertions the national police database had been hacked. A media storm erupted but this time Prime Minister John Key, of part Jewish ancestry<sup>256</sup> and a trouper of the global finance industry, determined not to push the issue.<sup>257</sup> The AIJAC weighed in with the Israeli press, criticising New Zealand’s media for its paranoia.<sup>258</sup> This time, in the face of conflicting information and official denials, the public fuss died down.

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<sup>249</sup> K. Locke, MP, Govt must investigate Israeli diplomat’s expulsion, Press Release, *Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand*, 6 February 2005.

<sup>250</sup> J. Dean, Australia hiding Israeli espionage complicity, *Veterans Today*, 12 March 2013. Also see: T. Vance, (uploaded by), Mossad and CIA Control of Australia: Zygier and Mervyn Jenkins, *Scribd*, 11 March 2013.

<sup>251</sup> AP, Mossad assassination suspect linked to New Zealand scam, *New Zealand Herald*, 7 May 2010.

<sup>252</sup> L. Wright, Hunt on for Israel Spy Ring in Australia, *The Herald-Sun*, 17 April 2004.

<sup>253</sup> R. Epstein, *Prisoner X*, Melbourne University Press, 2014, p. 588.

<sup>254</sup> Stuff, Investigation cleared Israelis of spy claims: PM, *Stuff*, Politics, 20 July 2011, [Investigation cleared]. Also see P. Chapman, (in Wellington), The Telegraph, Mossad spy ring uncovered because of Christchurch earthquake’, *The Telegraph*, 20 July 2011, UK, 2

<sup>255</sup> The leader of this team was reportedly a retired Israeli soldier with some link to the intelligence community. See M. Taylor, [blog], *The National Interest of Foreign Espionage*, 25 July 2011; and Cryptogon [blog], *Israel, the Christchurch Earthquake and 5 passports on a Dead Mossad Agent*, 20 July 2011.

<sup>256</sup> Key was reported as ‘the son of a Jewish refugee from Austria who has family living in Israel’, in D. Goldberg Israeli Embassy in NZ to Reopen, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 12 March 2010. Wikipedia reports his mother as a Jewish immigrant [to NZ] from Austria.

<sup>257</sup> Stuff, op. cit. [Investigation cleared]

<sup>258</sup> See: G. Levin, New Zealand’s Mossad Paranoia, AIJAC, 21 July 2011.

A year later, Kerry Bolton compiled much of the available open source data to write a summary of reported/alleged Israeli intelligence operations from the arrest of Israelis in New York on 9/11 to Christchurch; a narrative of backpackers, art students, travel and removals front companies, vans, passports, electronics and arrests.<sup>259</sup>

In early 2013 the *Cook Island News* reported the strange case of ‘the floating man’: an Israeli, Benjamin Nachshon, claiming a lost German passport, swimming out to sea with a life vest and his possessions, including electronics, in waterproof containers. As Nachshon was fished out of the water by his unwelcome rescuers, a ‘mystery yacht’ sailing towards him veered away and was never seen again.<sup>260</sup> The incident coincided with the August 2012 Pacific Islands Forum summit and a ‘rare’ visit to Cook Islands by Shemi Tzur in the same week Nachshon was retrieved from the water.<sup>261</sup>

Canberra had previous experience with Tel Aviv’s preference for stolen British, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand passports. In the wake of the 2004 New Zealand affair, a Palestinian representative in Australia briefed the media that a Mossad officer in Sydney had ‘obtained 25 false Australian passports’ and was ‘counterfeiting’ Australian passports as early as 2003; his warning to Canberra had evidently fallen on deaf ears.<sup>262</sup>

Australia had its own more public, politically-led passport scandal—Australian passports being ‘gold’ for Mossad<sup>263</sup>—with Tel Aviv in the wake of the assassination of senior Hamas commander, Mahmoud al-Mabhouh, in Dubai (19 Jan 2010). The twenty-six strong Mossad team carried forged foreign passports including ten British and four Australian, according to the list of suspects relayed through INTERPOL. Australian Defence Minister Smith (ALP) later announced: ‘the government is in no doubt that Israel was responsible for the abuse and counterfeiting of these

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<sup>259</sup> K.R. Bolton, Mossad Down Under—Again? *Foreign Policy Journal*, 23 July 2011.

<sup>260</sup> Administrator, ‘Floating Man’ chapter, *Cook Islands News*, 3 February 2013.

<sup>261</sup> W. Madsen, Mossad operation in the Cook Islands targeted the Pacific Islands Summit, *Intrepid Report*, 24 January 2013.

<sup>262</sup> M. Dodd and P. Maley, Warning on passport forgery ignored, says former diplomat, *The Australian*, 26 February 2010.

<sup>263</sup> Lyons, op. cit., p. 72. Lyons’ experience illustrates the danger to Australia by Israel’s identity theft and misuse of Australian passports.

passports.’<sup>264</sup> He explained London had reached the same conclusion.<sup>265</sup> An Israeli diplomat Eli Elkoubi was consequently expelled by the Rudd Government on 24 May 2010.

It was not an insignificant move. The following day, Greg Sheridan—writing three weeks before the demise of Rudd—excoriated his policies on (amongst other things) the UNSC bid, Elkoubi’s expulsion, and settlements in East Jerusalem, while warning of political consequences.<sup>266</sup> There was no bipartisanship or even unity. In condemning the expulsion over the passports, the ALP Zionist Michael Danby referred to ‘some obscure previous incident’ and a ‘wrong policy response.’<sup>267</sup> Deputy Opposition Leader Julie Bishop labelled the expulsion an ‘over-reaction’. In her exoneration of Tel Aviv by admitting that Australia also forged passports she: a) made a mockery of Canberra’s selective and hackneyed policy of not-commenting-on-intelligence-matters; and b) committed a security breach that would have junior officers cashiered.<sup>268</sup> In 2009 Julie Bishop had criticised the ALP for curbs on visiting Israel.<sup>269</sup> Former Foreign Minister Downer labelled the Rudd Government’s decision to expel Elkoubi as a ‘triumph of politics’ and a ‘folly’, ‘suggesting perhaps that the Howard Government would not have chosen this path.’<sup>270</sup> Jewish groups also labelled the expulsion an ‘over-reaction’.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Steven Smith to the House of Representatives, 24 May 2010, cited in, M. Harris, *The Rudd and Gillard Governments and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: November 2007–May 2012*, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security Section, Parliament of Australia, 13 August 2012, [Govts].

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> G. Sheridan, Badly misjudged action will have a political cost, *The Australian*, 25 May 2010. Interestingly, this online version does not contain the words attributed to Sheridan by Enden (below) in November 2010, ‘The Earth moved between Israel and Australia this week, with Kevin Rudd’s government expelling an Israeli diplomat over the Dubai passports affair, and it may be that the Earth moved in Australian politics as well.’

<sup>267</sup> Michael Danby cited in, F. Enden, Australian Democracy on the Israel Lobby’s Leash: Australia’s ‘Faceless Men’, *Dissent Voice*, 29 November 2010.

<sup>268</sup> In 2015 Julie Bishop received the ‘Torch of Learning’ award from the Hebrew University. See: T. Lester, Australia forges passports too, says Bishop, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 2010; and AIJAC, *Foreign Minister Julie Bishop’s powerful words on Australia-Israel Relations at Hebrew University award ceremony*, AIJAC. The page is undated. The award took place on 22 November 2015.

<sup>269</sup> C. Kerr and T. Ackerman, Julie Bishop calls for Bill Shorten to stop ALP ban on Israel visits, *The Australian*, reproduced undated in, NSW Jewish Board of Deputies, Media Release, 2009.

<sup>270</sup> Harris, op. cit. [Govts]

<sup>271</sup> AAP, Diplomat expulsion an over-reaction: Jewish groups, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 May 2010.

### Prisoner X—Ben Zygier (2010-2013)

In June 2010 rumours, of an unknown Prisoner X, incarcerated in Israel's Ayalon Prison, surfaced briefly on the Israeli news site Ynet.<sup>272</sup> It was immediately subject to a state gag order and withdrawn. US blogger Richard Silverstein retold the story citing a tip from an undisclosed commentator that Prisoner X was a Mossad officer suspected of espionage.<sup>273</sup> On 11 December 2010 (significantly four days before the reported death of this Prisoner X), Silverstein, mindful of the possibility of misinformation, cited a curiously timed 'confidential Israeli source' revealing Prisoner X was the former Iranian general and nuclear scientist Ali-Reza Asgari who disappeared in Turkey in early 2007.<sup>274</sup> Various rumours about Asgari had swirled around the mainstream media: he was a valuable defector, run by the CIA, or MI6, or Mossad, or all, and was living comfortably somewhere.

Canberra had been informed of the arrest of this Prisoner X, Australian citizen Ben Zygier (aka Ben Allen, Ben Alon and Benjamin Burrow), through intelligence links on 24 February 2010. Zygier was forgotten until a 2013 ABC *Foreign Correspondent* program revealed his identity and death, allegedly by suicide on 15 December 2010.<sup>275</sup> Ben Zygier was the son of a leading Melbourne Jewish family: Israeli soldier (1996-97) and Mossad operative (?2000/2003-07?). The official story is he committed suicide, hanging himself, while in solitary confinement, in a suicide-proof cell, because one of three surveillance cameras was not working and the prison guards were inattentive. Jim Dean scorns the official narrative of suicide.<sup>276</sup> So does author Stephen Lendman.<sup>277</sup> The Shin Bet informed Zygier's widow, family and ASIO as well as DFAT on the 16 December 2010.<sup>278</sup> Canberra's officialdom remained silent; there was none of the public anger and action of New Zealand's

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<sup>272</sup> Zygier was not the first Prisoner X or disappearance. Motke Kedar was a 'famous "prisoner X" of the 1950s and 1960s' and Professor Klingberg from a chemical-biological warfare establishment disappeared in 1983, supposedly from a 'nervous breakdown'. See Black and Morris, op. cit., p. 442; and Lendman article referenced below.

<sup>273</sup> R. Silverstein, The Strange Case of Israel's Mr. X, the Prisoner With No Name, *Tikan Olam*, 13 June 2010.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> T. Bormann, Prisoner X: The Secret, *Foreign Correspondent*, ABC TV, 5 July 2013.

<sup>276</sup> J.W. Dean, Israeli, Australian and International Pressure are Forcing Cracks into the Real Story, *Veterans Today*, 22 February 2013.

<sup>277</sup> S. Lendman, Disappearing Prisoners—Official Israeli Policy, 15 February 2013.

<sup>278</sup> R. Epstein, *Prisoner X*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2014, p. 163.

Helen Clarke.

Conflicting theories emerge about why Zygier was imprisoned and died in such circumstances: he was not up to the job and failed badly trying to recruit a Hezbollah double agent<sup>279</sup>; or was detected engaging in loose talk about Israeli operations against Iran whilst on study leave in Melbourne in 2009.<sup>280</sup> Epstein describes probably unauthorised outing by Australian intelligence insiders to journalist Jason Koutsoukis in order to disclose what they considered disloyalty to Australia.<sup>281</sup> ASIO investigated Zygier for his misuse of Australian passports.<sup>282</sup> Phillip Dorling reported Zygier

may have been about to disclose information about Israeli intelligence operations, including the use of fraudulent Australian passports, either to the Australian government or to the media before he was arrested.<sup>283</sup>

John Lyons also reported that ‘a senior Israeli official’ stated Canberra was ‘deeply involved’ in the Zygier affair and he may ‘have been about to divulge details of his dealings in Australian passports to either Australian intelligence authorities or the media.’<sup>284</sup> Zygier’s family were later paid A\$1.1 million for their silence, and the expulsion of a Mossad officer, Eli Elkoubi, was announced in the Parliament on 24 May 2010 in relation to the Dubai passports affair.<sup>285</sup> Prime Minister Kevin Rudd had reportedly ‘vowed to get to the bottom of it.’<sup>286</sup> Thirty one days after the announcement of Elkoubi’s expulsion, Rudd was replaced by the more Israel-friendly Julia Gillard and the silence over Prisoner X resumed. There was a report by Peter Varghese, the bureaucrat who failed to demand an intelligence estimate on Iraq.<sup>287</sup> Andrew Probyn, *The West Australian*’s political editor, concluded that

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<sup>279</sup> Epstein, op. Cit., p. 79. See also: R. Silverstein, Ben Zygier Compromised Major Mossad Operation to Retrieve Remains of IDF MIAs from Lebanon War, *Tikan Olam*, 8 May 2013.

<sup>280</sup> Epstein, op. cit., pp. 86-88.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p. 97 of pp. 89-98.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., pp. 97, 113.

<sup>283</sup> P. Dorling, Zygier ‘planned to expose deadly use of passports’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 February 2013. [Passports]

<sup>284</sup> J. Lyons, Israeli officials say ASIO knew all about Ben Zygier case, *The Australian*, 16 February 2013.

<sup>285</sup> Doling, op. cit., [Passports]

<sup>286</sup> US Embassy cable cited in, Doling, op. cit., [Passports]

<sup>287</sup> For the DFAT Zygier Report, see, B. Carr, (Min FA&T), 2010 Consular case—report: Report into the handling by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the consular aspects of the Zygier case, DFAT, Australian Government, Canberra, 5 March 2013; also Chapter Six fn 212-213. For the

Varghese's report 'exposes serial bureaucratic arse-covering in its contents, chronology and conclusions...key government and agency personnel seemed to know all about the case but not know about it at the same time.'<sup>288</sup>

### **Mixed Signals**

In this age of cybercrime and cyberwar, signals intelligence is of increasing importance and Israel is believed to have a formidable capability. Australian business leaders extol the virtues of emulating Israel, for example the former CEO of Telstra, David Thodey, praising Israel as the 'epicentre of world innovation.'<sup>289</sup> He went on to acclaim the benefits to Telstra of incorporating Israeli technology:

It's interesting when you look at Telstra, and you look at the number of software companies that we actually use that come from Israel. We've already talked about Verint, all our provisioning systems come from a company called Amdocs, which is critical to the operation of Telstra every day. And I could go through a list of about 10 companies...that had their genesis in Israel, some of them now based in New York, that we use and are absolutely dependent on, on a daily basis.<sup>290</sup>

Thodey was speaking six years after US counterintelligence officers had outed 'systemic communications security breaches at the Department of Justice, FBI, DEA, the State Department, and the White House.'<sup>291</sup> Several of the breaches, the sources claimed, could be traced to Verint Inc. and Amdocs Ltd, two Israeli telecommunications providers, whose systems are integral to Telstra. Rafael Epstein links Verint, and another system, Narus, to both Israel's Unit 8200 and the NSA.<sup>292</sup> An Israeli police cybercrime expert warned: 'Trojan horse espionage is part of the way of life of companies in Israel. It's a culture of spying.'<sup>293</sup> American counterintelligence and police officials have issued blunt warnings about Israeli electronic intrusion, control and intelligence collection on supposedly secure US

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Iraq reference, see Australian Senate, Standing Committee on Finance and Public Administration, *Prime Minister and Cabinet Portfolio—Office of National Assessments*, 30 October 2006.

<sup>288</sup> A. Probyn, Still in the dark over spy case, *The West Australian*, 8 March 2013, p. 23.

<sup>289</sup> David Thodey, then CEO Telstra, speaking to the AICC, March 2014, cited in P. Manning, op. cit.

<sup>290</sup> Thodey, cited in P. Manning, op. cit.

<sup>291</sup> See Ketcham, op. cit.

<sup>292</sup> Epstein, op. cit., p. 88. For the use of Israeli NSO Group surveillance technology by some Latin American states against journalists and activists, see T. Fox-Brewster, Everything We Know About NSO Group: The Professional Spies Who Hacked iPhones With A Single Text, *Forbes*, 25 Aug 2016.

<sup>293</sup> Boaz Guttman, cited in, Ketcham, op. cit.

communications circuits, so that law-enforcement officials were themselves compromised.<sup>294</sup> A former CIA officer warned of Israeli ‘warrantless wiretapping’.<sup>295</sup> The implication is that Australia’s communications system could effectively be run by Israeli intelligence.

As Telstra chief executive, Thodey did not defend his high remuneration—‘over \$27 million in cash and vested shares in the three years to July 2014—\$12.84 million of which was during financial year 2014 alone.’<sup>296</sup> He has since been appointed to Chair the Board at the troubled CSIRO, as it ‘plays an increasingly central role in maximising our economic opportunities and industry growth.’<sup>297</sup> CSIRO would be one of the richest prizes in Australia for Tel Aviv’s technical intelligence collection.

### **Israeli Organised Crime (ISOC)**

The intelligence services of some states use criminal networks from time to time; indeed, that is one of the main contentions of Peter Dale Scott’s deep state and related theories. John Lyons reported the recruitment of ‘Palestinian crime groups’ by Israel’s security services.<sup>298</sup> For such reasons criminal networks are of interest.

ISOC emerged in the 1960s and was strengthened in the 1990s by the influx of Soviet Jews who brought with them some Russian mafia connections. The Jewish ‘Kosher Mafia’ intersected with the Russian Mafia but were not precisely the same thing, although US authorities noted:

There is not a major Russian organised crime figure who we are tracking who does not also carry an Israeli passport. An obvious attraction of such a travel document is the relationship between Israel and the U.S and limits on extradition laws with Russia.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Ketcham, op. cit.

<sup>295</sup> Former CIA case officer, Robert Steele, cited in *ibid*.

<sup>296</sup> D. Ramli, I can’t defend my high salary, says Telstra CEO David Thodey, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 April 2015.

<sup>297</sup> Ian Macfarlane, Minister for Industry and Science, cited in, *Mr David Thodey appointed to run CSIRO Board*, Ministerial Press Release, Australian Institute of Geoscientists, 9 August 2015.

<sup>298</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Balcony], p. 156.

<sup>299</sup> Jonathon Winer (the former US Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement), cited in P. Bell and J. Keane, *A Case Study Analysis of Israeli Organised Crime (IOC) 1990 -2005: Applying the Crime Business Analysis Matrix (CBAM)*, Mustang Journal of Law and Legal Studies, Vol 5, 2013, p. 82 of pp. 79-93.

The main ‘stock in trade’ was the drug ecstasy.<sup>300</sup> Soon, ‘extensive’ IOC networks were entrenched in Europe, the US and were ‘growing in Asia and Australasia’ with ‘IOC networks’ steadily increasing their ‘operating base in Australia.’<sup>301</sup> While ‘synthetic drug trafficking’ is the main activity, there is also a ‘noted involvement in sex trafficking and harvesting and sale of human organs’.<sup>302</sup> Perhaps related to sex trafficking, a number of uncorroborated reports refer to Zev Barkan—of the NZ passports scandal and suspected of participation in the Dubai assassination—being involved in criminal activity, including passport theft, in Asia and luring Australian and New Zealand girls into pornographic movies in Cambodia.<sup>303</sup>

Bell and Keane note a fairly low incidence of detected ISOC corruption of public figures but highlight the military training and experience of many members, leading to its ‘vigilance and response to threat’, including disinformation to authorities and rival criminals.<sup>304</sup> While information is limited, the intersections of ISOC and Israel’s national intelligence could be a factor in their influence and requires further research.

### THE REVOLVING DOOR: LEADERSHIP CHANGES (2010-12)

In 2009-10 a series of events raised the political temperature around the Israel-Palestine question. These included: a) the release of the UN Report on Gaza resulting in presiding South African Jewish judge, Goldstone, being condemned as a ‘self-hating Jew’ (September 2009)<sup>305</sup>; b) the announcement of 1600 new settlers in East Jerusalem during Joe Biden’s visit (which provoked a hardening of Obama 44 Administration attitudes to Israel (March 2010); c) the assassination of Mahmoud al-

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<sup>300</sup> Bell and Keane, op. cit., p. 79.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., p. 79. The involvement of Israeli citizens in organ trafficking and harvesting is quite widely reported. See: Associated Press, Interpol Hunts Two Israelis for Kosovo Organ Trafficking, *Haaretz*, 12 Nov 2010; H. Zaken, 10 Israelis suspected of organ trafficking, *Times of Israel*, 22 May 2012; US Department of State, *2016 Trafficking in Human Persons Report: Israel, Office To Monitor And Combat Trafficking In Persons*; INTERPOL: four Israelis Arrested for trafficking Human organs in Bulgaria, a Rabbi among suspects, *Watsupic*, 7 May 17; M. Specter, Contraband Women, *New York Times*, 11 January 1998; Mona Alami, Slave Trade Heads to Israel, *Asia Times*, 5 October 2017; Simona Weinglass, Israel becoming a Mafia State? *Times of Israel*, 7 September 2017.

<sup>303</sup> See: J. Morgan, Dubai murder-accused had Kiwi link, *Stuff*, Politics, 20 July 2011. Also see: N. Thayer, The odd tale of a lone Israeli spy and North Korea, *NK News*, 20 June 2013. The *NZ Herald* had, in 2005, cast some doubt on a source of some of these stories; see, E. Bingham, P. Taylor, Real story is hard to spy, *NZ Herald*, 14 January 2005.

<sup>304</sup> Bell and Keane, op cit., pp. 88-89.

<sup>305</sup> C. Urquhart, The Goldstone Report: A history, *The Guardian*, 14 April 2011.

Mabhough, in Dubai (19 January 2010); d) the expulsion of the Mossad officer from Canberra over the fraudulent use of Australian passports (late May 2010); and e) the IDF's sanguinary raid on the Gaza flotilla (31 May 2010).

During this period, Prime Minister Rudd had been moving away from Canberra's 'reflex pro-Israel position under John Howard'.<sup>306</sup> In the background Rudd was preparing for another tilt at a UNSC seat in 2013 and there was the hint of support from Arab states. It was noticed; Robert Groot of the ECAJ was 'concerned' and the Jewish community 'too busy' to engage in ALP fundraising.<sup>307</sup> In the context of a political, media and Israel Lobby backlash, Kevin Rudd and Steven Smith, spurred by Jewish rebuffs on fundraising, entertained leading members of the Jewish community at The Lodge on the 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2010.<sup>308</sup> The group included Israel lobbyist Albert Dadon, Michael Danby (ALP), Mark Dreyfus (ALP), Mark Leibler (AIJAC), Robert Groot (ECAJ) and Phillip Chester (ZFA).<sup>309</sup> Some differences remained unresolved.

Wikileaks later revealed NSW ALP Senator Mark Abib was an informant and 'protected source'<sup>310</sup> of the Americans, and was 'briefing his handlers at the US embassy on Rudd's travails, and the credentials of his deputy to take over.'<sup>311</sup> With Arbib one of the main plotters, Julia Gillard replaced Rudd as PM and

coincidentally or not, important elements of Australia's foreign policy have shifted in Washington's favour since Gillard took over. Canberra returned to the fold as one of the pro-Israel group of nations at the UN General Assembly,<sup>312</sup>

In the face of a relentless negative campaign by opposition leader Tony Abbott, Julia Gillard's tenure as prime minister (2010-13) was tempestuous, though arguably

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<sup>306</sup> Lynch, J., Has The Pro-Israel Lobby Subverted Australian Democracy? *Transcend Media Services*, 14 February 2011.[Lobby]

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

<sup>308</sup> Peter Hartcher notes the importance of the Jewish community for ALP funding in 2007: a lunch in Sydney brought in \$100,000 and a Toorak party attended by Rudd and Gillard fetched more. P. Hartcher, What am I, chopped liver? How Rudd dived into schmooze mode, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 22 June 2010.

<sup>309</sup> Enden, op. cit., Also present were, 'Yachad Accelerated Learning Project convenor Helene Teichmann, Jewish Labour Forum founder Bruce Solomon, Australia Israel Cultural Exchange founder Albert Dadon and Jewish Community Council of Western Australia representative Steve Lieblich.' See Naomi Levin, Rudd reaches out to leaders, *Australian Jewish News*, 10 June 2010.

<sup>310</sup> New Matilda, Arbib Keeps On Keeping On, *New Matilda*, 15 March 2011.

<sup>311</sup> Lynch, op. cit. [Lobby]

<sup>312</sup> New Matilda, op. cit. [Arbib]

being the most legislatively productive government in Australian history.<sup>313</sup> A decisive point in her declining authority as the party faced electoral oblivion was the ALP internal fracas over the 2012 UNGA vote to determine Palestine's status as a non-member observer. The Israel Lobby wanted a 'no' vote, which according to Bob Carr, Julia Gillard was inclined to push but was defeated by a Cabinet revolt based partly on moral judgments, recognition of the international sentiment moving against Tel Aviv, and fear of losing the Muslim vote in Western Sydney.<sup>314</sup> John Howard was quick to condemn the ALP's resulting decision to abstain from the UNGA vote.<sup>315</sup> Both Gillard and Abbott subsequently received honorary doctorates from Israeli universities.<sup>316</sup>

The swing back to pro-US and Israel policies accelerated with the 2013 return to government of the LNC under Tony Abbott, who although in turn deposed, called for a move of the Australian Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Surprisingly after the furore over passports and identity theft during the preceding years, in November 2013, 'Israeli citizens were last week officially granted fast-tracked electronic access to visas for short-term visits to Australia, fulfilling a pre-election promise.'<sup>317</sup> The Assistant Minister for Immigration and Border Protection, Michaelia Cash, boasted: 'Citizens of Israel will find the process for applying for a visitor visa for travel to Australia faster than ever.'<sup>318</sup> Australia's UN voting record has returned to support for Israel.<sup>319</sup> In 2015 Foreign Minister Julie Bishop received the 'Torch of Learning' award from the Hebrew University.<sup>320</sup> When the US abstained from a critical 23 December 2016 UNSC vote denouncing the settlements, Julie Bishop stood by

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<sup>313</sup> N. Evershed, Was Julia Gillard the most productive prime minister in Australia's history? *The Guardian*, 28 June 2013.

<sup>314</sup> Carr, op. cit. [Diary], pp. 223-250. For the increasing influence of the Muslim vote, see, G. Winestock, Power of the Muslim vote rises, *Financial Review*, *The Weekend Australian*, 1-2 December 2012, p. 8.

<sup>315</sup> M. Sainsbury, S. Maher, UN backdown an 'embarrassment', *The Australian*, 29 November 2012, p. 1. Also see, T. Branston, The day Carr won Mid-East conflict, *The Australian*, 29 November 2012, pp. 1-2.

<sup>316</sup> See F. Hunter, Tony Abbott and Julia Gillard to receive honorary doctorates in Israel, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 May 2017.

<sup>317</sup> Narunsky, G., Coalition changes anti-Israel votes at UN, *The Australian Jewish News*, 21 November 2013.

<sup>318</sup> Narunsky, op. cit.

<sup>319</sup> See Harris, op. cit. [Dip Ter]

<sup>320</sup> AIJAC, Foreign Minister Julie Bishop's powerful words on Australia-Israeli relations at Hebrew University award ceremony, AIJAC, the page is undated, the award was on 22 November 2015.

Israel.<sup>321</sup>

The ALP remains torn on Palestine. During Netanyahu's 2017 visit to Turnbull in Australia, the Melbourne-based Bill Shorten, leader of the parliamentary Labor party, avoided the issue as a handful of past Labor luminaries including Hawke, Rudd, Evans and Bob Carr 'declared it was time to give diplomatic recognition to the Palestinian state'.<sup>322</sup> Shorten, 'leader of the pro-Israel faction in his party,' will not be comforted by such opinions.<sup>323</sup>

## **OBSERVATIONS ON THE ISRAEL LOBBY IN AUSTRALIA**

### **Strategic Aims and Private Purposes**

Tel Aviv's strategic aims emerge clearly from the data. Using the Jewish community as a firm base they seek to: cause Canberra to support Tel Aviv's foreign policy, particularly in the UN; utilise Australia as a base to encourage domestic and regional trade for Israeli commerce, and provide intelligence cooperation as desired. This is achieved through a network based on the Jewish community, and allied organisations such as The Parliamentary Friends of Israel.<sup>324</sup>

Tel Aviv uses the carrot-and-stick approach, as detailed above. It is problematic to determine an upside for Australia in this arrangement between Canberra and Tel Aviv. The ructions include: a) the intractability of the Israel-Palestine conflict; b) Israel's declining reputation such that even the US failed to stand by them in the UNSC Resolution 2334 in December 2016; c) their unenviable reputation for espionage, identity theft and terrorism; and d) Australia's unfavourable balance of trade with Israel.

The religious bent of some politicians was noted in Chapter Three and this might explain some of Canberra's zeal, such as Tony Abbott's call for the Australian Embassy to be transferred from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The power-clique's self-

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<sup>321</sup> Guardian Staff, Julie Bishop: Australia would not have backed UN resolution on Israel, *The Guardian*, 30 December 2016.

<sup>322</sup> H. McDonald, Russian ties to US property deals; Benjamin Netanyahu's Australian visit, *The Saturday Paper*, 25 February 2017.

<sup>323</sup> See: Tony Walker, Netanyahu visit historic—and potentially fraught—for Australia, *The Conversation*, 17 February 2017.

<sup>324</sup> Flitton, op. cit.

interest was touched upon in Chapters Two and Three: the thirst of politicians for money, the scandal of political donations and the refusal by main party politicians to countenance the establishment of a Federal ICAC were all covered. The Director of ASIO, Duncan Lewis, warned in 2015 of the dangers posed by politicians accepting foreign political donations, especially from firms associated with the Chinese government.<sup>325</sup> In the midst of the 2016 Dastyari scandal over a personal loan from a Chinese company with links to Beijing, the Attorney General, Senator Brandis, employed logical somersaults to distinguish between Dastyari's undeniably stupid 'personal loan' on one hand, and acceptable 'foreign politician donations' and 'sponsored travel' on the other, stating the latter two had something to do with the recipients' 'function as a senator.'<sup>326</sup> Brandis' representation of the matter completely ignored the benefits to the recipients of free travel and the attendant duchessing, networking, enhanced public and media profiles, and most of all, the funding so essential to getting re-elected. With lobbying 'pitches' routinely up to \$500,000, foreign political donations and sponsored travel are valuable favours, presumably not bestowed lightly.<sup>327</sup>

The Israeli Lobby boasts of ready access to senior politicians, which can bring them close to allegations of improper conduct. Alan Ramsay points out how prominent Jewish businessmen found 'Howard's door was open' during the National Textiles affair involving his brother, Stan.<sup>328</sup> The Prime Minister's brother was linked to a range of other financial and American contacts as detailed in Chapter Two.

The Imperial designs of first Britain and then Washington in the Middle East have drawn Australia into Tel Aviv's orbit. The strategic ties with Washington are strongly supported by a majority of Australians and the bases attract little public alarm. Thus there is usually little to do for the US Lobby to tilt foreign policy Washington's way. By contrast, the Israel Lobby in Australia is overwhelmingly based in the Jewish community and is tightly coordinated with Tel Aviv and the

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<sup>325</sup> C. Uhlmann, Domestic spy chief sounded alarm about donor links with China last year, *ABC*, 1 September 2016.

<sup>326</sup> G. Borshmann, (prod), F. Kelly, (pres), Australian intelligence agencies 'very conscious' of foreign political donations: George Brandis, *Breakfast*, ABC RN, 2 September 2016.

<sup>327</sup> Fitzgerald, J., *Lobbying in Australia*, Rosenberg, Dural, 2006, p. 19.

<sup>328</sup> A. Ramsay, Obscene and Vulgar Behaviour, in *A Matter of Opinion*, Allen and Unwin, 2009, p.153 of pp. 151-154.

Israel Lobby in the US. What is apparent is that many of the names that are associated with Washington's diplomacy, or Australia's power clique, are again linked with the Israel Lobby. News Limited's Greg Sheridan is associated with both the AALD and AILD. The Israel lobbyist Ten Lapkin is associated with the AIJAC, IDF intelligence, the IPA, LNC and the US Republicans. The indicators are that the Israeli lobbying of Australia's power clique has been very successful and remains so, particularly in the LNC camp.

Many Australians voice concerns about the settlement agenda and Tel Aviv's treatment of their neighbours, while still viewing Israel and the Jewish community positively and supporting the comfortingly remote chimera of a two-state solution. The Israel Lobby is thus able to exercise power and influence over its Australian target set by 'hiding in the open', unnoticed by mainstream Australia.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: SHADOWS OF PUPPET MASTERS

### INTRODUCTION

#### History and Geography

After 70 years the quasi-fascist and militaristic character of the Indonesian state is set for the foreseeable future.<sup>1</sup> Hundreds of thousands of lives have been sacrificed to it. The remnants of the old military hardliners, Prabowo, Wiranto and Hendropriyono for example, who remained dormant under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, have re-emerged during Joko Widodo's presidency accompanied by a new generation symbolised by General Gatot Nurmantyo.

Canberra has missed three chances to truly assist democratic reform in Indonesia: first by neglecting, then going along with Allan Dulles' strategy for the takeover of Freeport through controlling the TNI; then by adopting Woolcott's policy of support for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor over Pritchett's strategy of dissuasion; and finally by failing to decisively engage with grassroots democracy that emerged after the fall of Suharto and relief of East Timor.

Derek McDougall treats Australian foreign relations in terms of 'history versus geography' and 'the interaction between realism and 'complex interdependence'.<sup>2</sup> The most succinct outline of geography versus history is from the anti-colonialist revolutionary-turned-dictator Porfirio Diaz's observation of his country's plight: 'Poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States.' John McCarthy observes: 'In Indonesia, Australia is seen primarily as a part of a West, now in decline.'<sup>3</sup> That is Australia's dilemma, a predominantly Western nation neighbouring

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<sup>1</sup> For US President Trump's association with elements of Jakarta's power clique see: P. Cronau and M. Davis, *The Company He Keeps: Unearthing Trumps Business Dealings on Our Doorstep*, *Four Corners*, ABC TV, broadcast 3 July 2017; and A. Nairn, *Trump's Indonesian Allies in Bed with ISIS-backed Militia seeking to Oust Elected President*, *The Intercept*, 19 April 2017. Also see (PS): T. M. Lubis, *Is Indonesian Democracy in Decline?* Indonesia at Melbourne Melbourne University, 31 October 2017; and B. Sommer, (prod), G. Doogue, (pres), *No sign of promised progressive reform in Indonesia*, *Saturday Extra*, 2 December 2017.

<sup>2</sup> D. McDougall, *Australian Foreign Relations: Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, Pearson Education Australia, Sydney, 2009, p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> J. McCarthy, *Shifts in Australia—Indonesia Relations*, *Australian Outlook*, Australian Institute of

the fourth most populous country that is forecast to be the world's fifth largest economy by 2050.<sup>4</sup> Australia's relations with Indonesia verify the 'complex interdependence' over simple realism: differing cultures, state-corporate mix on both sides, Washington's relations with both capitals and networks of private contacts complicating the analytical picture.

Australian links with Indonesia have, since 1969 at least, been dominated by select and discreet relationships of political, bureaucratic, military and business insiders: the Jakarta Lobby. It has been and remains a key factor in engineering Australian policy and public acquiescence tempered with indifference: the acceptance of widespread and brutal human rights abuses in neighbouring nations for the sake of regional stability and business. The lobby have assisted the emergence on Australia's borders, of a historically authoritarian, militaristic expansionist state whose way of war is genocide.<sup>5</sup>

Washington's role of inveigling Australia into supporting the Indonesia strategy of Allen Dulles is covered by Greg Poulgrain in *Incubus of Intervention*.<sup>6</sup> The Lobby, since the Suharto putsch, has shaped Australian foreign policy along pro-Jakarta lines. Prime Minister Keating elevated the relationship to new heights, culminating in the Australian—Indonesian Security Agreement of 1995. He explained:

I was completely determined to establish a totally new and durable basis for our relationship with Indonesia other than the one we had which saw everything through the prism of East Timor.<sup>7</sup>

Jakarta withdrew from the agreement four years later over the 1999 INTERFET

International Affairs, 3 October 2016.

<sup>4</sup> C. Praeger, Science Diplomacy with Indonesia, *Australian Outlook*, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 25 October 2016.

<sup>5</sup> Timor Leste's commission of inquiry describe the deaths of an approximate third of the nation's 1975 population as amounting 'to extermination as a crime against humanity committed against the East Timorese civilian population.' Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR), *Chega!*, *The Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation*, Executive Summary, Dili, 2005, p. 147.[Chega]

<sup>6</sup> For additional information on British and American pressure on Sukarno, see: Te Putatara [pseudonym for a retired NZ military officer who was a participant in Confrontation, known to the author], *New Zealand's Quiet War in Malaya & Borneo 1964 -1966: Did the British and Americans start Confrontation?* (Book Review: "The Genesis of Konfrontasi, Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia 1945-1965", by G. Poulgrain, Strategic Research & Development Centre (SIRD), Malaysia, 2014), 18 January 2016.

<sup>7</sup> P.J. Keating, *Asia in the New Order: Australia's Diminishing Sphere of Influence*, Keith Murdoch Oration, State Library of Victoria, 14 November 2012.

intervention into East Timor. The Howard Government acquiesced to military action only under the punishing weight of Australian public anger.

### **Chapter Content and Context**

This chapter will examine the composition of the Jakarta Lobby and detail the manner in which it seeks to influence Canberra's foreign policy to the Indonesian state's advantage. The influence of Jakarta's intelligence system will be recounted and shortfalls in Australian intelligence at a critical juncture described.

The underpinning assumption of much of the chaff about Australia's foreign relations, domestic politics and the national security measures flowing from them is that Australia is an advanced, honest, clever, free, open, democratic, peaceful society. Conversely, the Indonesian nation is often viewed as backward and anti-democratic; a simplistic and unfair generalisation. This can partly be racism. Often it is borne of ignorance.

## **DEFINING INDONESIA**

### **Historical Association**

The precursor Australian document to the Lombok Treaty, DFAT's *National Interest Analysis* (NIA), states common goals:

Australia and Indonesia maintain a shared goal of peace, security and cooperation in the region and recognise the importance of continuing close cooperation on matters affecting their common security as well as their respective national security.<sup>8</sup>

This key statement mentions peace, security and prosperity—but for whom and from what? In fact, Indonesia's armed forces, known by their acronym, TNI, have been directly responsible for most of the lack of peace and security in Australia's close approaches. The anti-colonial and new world order wars Canberra chose to enter have similarly incurred significant non-combatant death, about which officialdom is silent.

Before the Suharto takeover in 1965, Australian troops defended British interests in

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<sup>8</sup> DFAT, *National Interest Analysis* [2006], ATNIA 43, tabled 6 December 2006.

the region from the Indonesians in a campaign called ‘Confrontation’ (1963-66). A change to extreme right-wing politics in Indonesia did not significantly alter the aggression of the Indonesian military, but did change Australian government attitudes. Canberra cheered from the side-lines during the Suharto takeover, as the Indonesian military killed some 800,000 Indonesian citizens, perhaps as many as a million and a half.<sup>9</sup> TNI has continued killing those deemed to be Indonesian civilians with impunity, including during the Tanjung Priok riot of 1984, the ‘mysterious killings’ campaign of extrajudicial executions (1983-85) and in Aceh. Australia was a willing accomplice in the subjugation of West Papua (1962-ongoing), resulting in the deaths of at least 100,000 people, and of the 1975 invasion of East Timor causing another 183,000.<sup>10</sup> Those are the dead. Many more have been and remain deeply traumatised. There might have been co-operation, but peace was hardly the goal.

### Perceptions

Australian trust in Indonesia has shrunk over the years, from less than one in ten during the late 1960s, down to three percent before 1975.<sup>11</sup> Trust decreased to one in five after the Dili Massacre (1991), and again to three out of ten following the post-ballot violence in East Timor (1999).<sup>12</sup> A Lowy Institute poll in 2006 found both Indonesians and Australians wary of Washington’s ‘global policeman’ role while viewing China favourably.<sup>13</sup> Some Indonesian antipathy to Australian meddling was matched by Australian fears of Indonesia-based Islamist terror and ‘negative feelings towards its military.’<sup>14</sup>

According to a 2016 study for the Australia-Indonesia Centre by the market research company EY Sweeney, Indonesians are ‘generally optimistic’ while Australians felt ‘a genuine undercurrent of anxiety’ and were ‘subdued’ about Australia’s

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<sup>9</sup> See: P. Cronau, Intelligence Wars, *Background Briefing*, ABC Radio National, 30 May 2004, [Int Wars].

<sup>10</sup> According to the UN authorised *Final Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor*, released in January 2006. The figure of 183,000 East Timorese does not include the 5,000 to 10,000 Indonesian troops killed or maimed during the occupation. The upper level of estimates for the number of dead in West Papua from 1963 is 500,000.

<sup>11</sup> M. Grattan, Australians grow more wary of threat from Indonesia, *The Age*, 22 August 2004.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> C. Skehan, Mutual suspicions in Jakarta relations, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

prospects.<sup>15</sup> The report shows 87 percent of Indonesians have a favourable view of Australia, with only 10 percent expressing negative views; overall 43 percent of Australians have a favourable view of Indonesia, while 47 percent hold unfavourable views.<sup>16</sup> These reservations are based on lack of awareness of trade and other links, concerns about the live cattle trade and other matters, unease about becoming reliant, and ‘lack of trust and rapport’.<sup>17</sup>

On the face of it, while Australians are cognisant of bad news from Indonesia, largely attributed to either the military or corruption, the growing wariness is backgrounded by a perception of the declining social, economic and political circumstances at home: a creeping lack of confidence. In Indonesia, despite economic advances and overall growing confidence, Oppenheimer’s films on the sanguinary aftermath of the Suharto putsch indicate that while the immediate terror has passed, fear still stalks the killing fields.

## **THE JAKARTA LOBBY**

### **Origins, Character and Strength**

The term ‘Jakarta Lobby’ was first used decades ago to describe a group of academics who were interested about, specialised in, and sympathetic to Indonesia.<sup>18</sup> The term has since come to refer to Australians in politics, the bureaucracy, military, the universities and business who have special interests in or support Jakarta’s foreign policy at the expense of other values such as human rights.

Scott Burchill describes the Lobby as

a long-standing group of academics, journalists, bureaucrats and others who have informally lobbied for maintaining a good relationship with Jakarta at all costs over the last 40-odd years, regardless of the crimes committed by the government in Jakarta, crimes which in particular in relation to East Timor, Australia bears some moral complicity for. So it’s not surprising that the people who make up the Lobby

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<sup>15</sup> EY Sweeney, *Indonesia and Australia*, A Research on: The Perceptions of Indonesians and Australians, Australia—Indonesia Centre, 2016, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> EY Sweeney, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> P. Rogers, The trouble with the Jakarta lobby conspiracy, *The Age*, 9 August 2004.

deny its existence.<sup>19</sup>

Burchill sees the empowerment of the lobby from the Cold War relief at the rise of Suharto: ‘This was appreciated, and the West generally and Canberra in particular, believed that Soeharto’s longevity was an important national interest for Australia.’<sup>20</sup>

Peter Cronau describes Canberra’s satisfaction, citing then Prime Minister Harold Holt: ‘With 500,000 to one-million communist sympathisers knocked off, I think it is safe to assume a reorientation has taken place.’<sup>21</sup>

Like the US Lobby, with which it has been closely aligned, the Jakarta Lobby is mostly comprised of Australians possessing some degree of influence or power, or access to them. Unlike the US Lobby (which can draw on generally favourable Australian attitudes to America and Americans), or the Israel Lobby (which is underpinned by a cohesive and well-funded Australian Jewish community), the Jakarta Lobby’s positions are often at cross-purposes with Australian community attitudes. As with the US and Israel lobbies, it is a meeting of power cliques seeking a top-down influence on Australian foreign policy, preferably conducted beneath the radar of public curiosity. By contrast, community-to-community grassroots links are not widely supported. An example is Eko Waluyo’s Sydney-based Indonesian Solidarity, which focuses on social justice issues.

There is no official roll call of the Jakarta Lobby. Its active strength probably numbers fewer than three hundred people scattered throughout politics, business and finance, the bureaucracy, military, press and the universities. Its real power comes from the cohorts of employed conscripts who simply do what they are told in an increasingly fraught employment environment, encompassed by an atmosphere of increasing state and corporate surveillance.<sup>22</sup>

### **East Timor 1974—The Turning Point**

Australia’s failed East Timor policy of 1974-75 probably represented the last occasion where there was real dissent and perceived choice in Canberra’s Indonesian policy. In January 2009, released cabinet documents revealed the content of some of

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<sup>19</sup> Scott Burchill cited in Cronau, *op. cit.* [Int Wars]

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Cronau, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> See Gilens and Page reference at Chap Three, fn 13.

the forty-five secret Indonesian briefings given to the Australian Embassy in Jakarta between 2 July 1974 and June 1976. They revealed the influence of a pro-Jakarta line in Australian policy determination from at least 1974. Jakarta was quite open with Canberra on its designs for a destabilising campaign, to be backed by invasion if necessary. The Ambassador, Bob Furlonger reported the invitation to dialogue and recommended a clear response.<sup>23</sup> Graham Feakes, First Assistant Secretary South East Asia and PNG, responded that some ambiguity would be preferable because of the 'risk of exposure.'<sup>24</sup> By December 1974, Canberra's Defence and intelligence officials were warning Fretilin could mount an effective resistance. Nonetheless, Feakes, supported by others, recommended a policy of 'studied detachment', the tacit agreement that had earlier been identified as so dangerous to long-term Australian interests.<sup>25</sup>

In the dying months of the Whitlam government, Ambassador Richard Woolcott recommended supporting Indonesia's strategy:

we are dealing with a settled Indonesian policy to incorporate Timor...Indonesia is simply not prepared to accept the risks they see in an independent Timor and I do not believe that we will be able to change their minds on this...What Indonesia now looks to from Australia in the present situation is some understanding of their attitude and possible action to assist public understanding in Australia rather than action on our part which could contribute to criticism of Indonesia...[Canberra's] policies should be based on disengaging ourselves as far as possible from the Timor situation...[and] leave events to take their course; and if and when Indonesian does intervene act in a way which would be designed to minimise the public impact in Australia and show privately understanding to Indonesia of their problems...<sup>26</sup>

Woolcott's 1975 advice was not the only advice the Whitlam Government received. Bill Pritchett from Defence responded:

It is submitted that what is ultimately, and most importantly at stake in relations with Indonesia is the defence interest...These and associated considerations are of far

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<sup>23</sup> P. Monk, *Secret intelligence and Realpolitik: Reflections on the Declassified East Timor Archive*, citation needed. [Realpolitik]

<sup>24</sup> Monk, *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Monk, *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Woolcott on 17 Aug 75 cited by Paul Monk, *East Timor: Truth and Consequences*, *Quadrant*, Jan-Feb 2000, [Truth], p. 34 –35 of pp. 33-40.

greater moment than other aspects of Australia's relations with Indonesia, such as trade and investment...Even were Fretilin to crack and weaken, we would have to expect that a significant residue of opponents of Indonesia would take to the hills in guerrilla operations. Woolcott refers to other political groupings; but the status and attitude of Fretilin appear basic realities to which Indonesian policy, and our own, must adjust. Woolcott argues in his cable that Australian domestic pressures can be contained, and should be contained, in the interests of preserving "our long-term national interest". It is precisely the practicability of this course that we have queried in Defence, and would query the more today...Because of the essential dilemma of the situation and the likely prospect of difficulty with Indonesia if Australian policy were not realistically based, we advocated in Defence very early on a line of policy that appeared to offer reasonable prospects of meeting the basic requirements of all parties, namely acceptance of an independent state in Portuguese Timor.<sup>27</sup>

Woolcott had his way; it reflected Whitlam's own preference for East Timor to be incorporated into Indonesia as a 'genuine act of self-determination', already knowledgeable this was not Jakarta's intent.<sup>28</sup> The avoidable TNI invasion occurred, Whitlam fell for other reasons and Malcolm Fraser granted de jure recognition, knowing 'it was in breach of international law when it recognised Indonesia's takeover of East Timor—but bowed to pressure from the Suharto regime and oil companies.'<sup>29</sup> The episode was the triumph of dogma over reason; the same faults were repeated in 1998-99 when Howard attempted to keep East Timor under Indonesian control.

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<sup>27</sup> Pritchett cited, *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35 of pp. 33-40.

<sup>28</sup> Monk, *op. cit.* [Realpolitik]. LC Comment: Whitlam's stance on the Indonesian invasion of East Timor is debated, usually but not entirely, along partisan lines. Whitlam's defenders point to his references to self-determination and ultimately barren efforts to engage regional heads of state in a multi-lateral dialogue to achieve an agreeable result; against Fraser's clear policy of support, which Fraser still justified in 2014 along spurious anti-communist fears (Fraser, *Dangerous Allies*, p. 243). Whitlam's detractors point to intimations of support to Suharto, his belief that East Timor was not politically and economically viable, and the lack of reaction to the deaths in Balibo and ultimately his endorsement of Woolcott's appeasement over Pritchard's dissuasion. The spoiling effect of the 11 Nov 75 dismissal on Whitlam's influence should not be under-estimated. For recent summaries see: J. Embury, *The Great Australian Minerals & Energy Resources Rip-Off*, Ascendant Publishing, Australia, 2017, Chapter 16: pp. 305-389; A. Lowenstein, If Gough Whitlam was a saint at home, he was often a sinner abroad, *The Guardian*, 6 November 2014; and New Matilda, Whitlam, Timor, And the Great Men of History Myth, *New Matilda*, 17 November 2014. Also see Whitlam's evidence to the Senate FAD&T, 6 December 1999 and H. McDonald, Whitlam's East Timor policies 'chilling', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 May 2007.

<sup>29</sup> L. Shanahan, Fraser cabinet's recognition of Timor takeover defied legal advice, *The Age*, 1 January 2009, p. 1.

## The Lobby's Existence Denied

Any consideration of Australian Government policy-making regarding Indonesia must consider the power and influence of the Jakarta Lobby.<sup>30</sup> This lobby group is well covered in the writings of a number of prominent academics and journalists.<sup>31</sup> Many of the lobby have invested significant intellectual, career, and emotional or financial capital in their commitment to supporting Indonesia. This reached a high point in the secretive 1995 Defence Treaty between Australia and Indonesia<sup>32</sup> and the overwhelming prominence given to the bilateral relationship, although it was a relationship without any recognisable measures of merit.<sup>33</sup>

The mechanics of special interest groups and how they operate, as well as the dynamics of organisational bias, are well researched in the disciplines of counterintelligence, sociology and policy studies. The assumed exemplar model of Australian polity is that decision-making is meritocratic, open, unbiased, rational, intellectually rigorous, accurate, and seeks to further the public interest: that is, it is not subject to organisational bias, corruption, special interests or obsessive private ambition. Inherent in this exemplar model is the assumption that any indication of the latter group of characteristics would be immediately and thoroughly investigated by competent and honest watchdogs. Chapters Two to Four demonstrate this is not the case in Australian public life.

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<sup>30</sup> Other states have lobby groups active in Australia, the Americans, British and Israelis being influential. Other nations have their own lobby group problems—Americans speak in exasperation of Israeli and Turkish lobby groups.

<sup>31</sup> For example, see: B. Toohey, '...long held Foreign Affairs view that media "hysteria" must not be allowed to undermine good relations with Indonesia...how far [PM Howard has to go] before he can throw off the dead weight of 25 years of presenting a policy of appeasement...' Howard's moment of truth, *Australian Financial Review*, 24-25 April 1999, p. 28[H Mom]; H. McQueen, describing ... 'an "Indonesia lobby" of academics, diplomats and scribes [which has] been as subservient towards the Suharto regime as Australian governments have been to US strategies...', *Japan to the Rescue*, William Heinemann, Port Melbourne, 1991, pp. 99 and 342. The academic, Peter King, points to another former diplomat's 'exonerating Indonesia over Timor is an important sub-plot in the larger drama of celebrating President Suharto's "New Order"', in, *Breaking Deadlocks*, [Deadlocks] in Clements, K. (ed), *Peace and Security in the Asia Pacific Region*, UN University Press, Tokyo, 1993, p. 83—King previously cited in, Previously cited in, L. Collins, Indonesian Security, DU essay, 1996-97; and Burchill, S., 'The Jakarta Lobby', mea culpa, *The Age*, 4 Mar 1999, [ mea culpa] p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Secret Defence Treaty with Indonesia. See: D. Lague, Treaty negotiations surrounded by secrecy, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Dec 95, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Mr Allan Behm, DoD, in the Senate: 'If I could interpret your [Senator Hogg's] question as meaning the purposes of the bilateral defence relationship [with ID], I am not sure that we have set specific benchmarks. There are things we are going to do and we propose to do them at a certain time.' Australian Parliament, Hansard, FAD&T, 8 June 1999.

Canberra's officialdom and its think-tank confederates are always animated in denying the existence of a Jakarta Lobby. Noting this, Scott Burchill, a former DFAT official stated: 'The only people who raise doubts about the existence of the Jakarta Lobby are people who I would regard as comprising it.'<sup>34</sup> Brian Toohey reasoned, in an article written before Canberra's East Timor policy collapsed entirely in mid-1999, that Prime Minister Howard and Foreign Minister Downer did not make the crisis, but inherited it and continued to rely on bad advice.<sup>35</sup> He named several officials. Lenore Taylor described the Lobby's ideology and also named several leading figures.<sup>36</sup>

Richard Woolcott, who championed Canberra's support of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, denies the existence of a Jakarta Lobby:

Let me say that I find the idea of a pro-Indonesia lobby in the former Department of Foreign Affairs, of which I was supposedly one of the leaders, offensive.<sup>37</sup>

Defence policy insider Alan Behm, thought the 'Jakarta Lobby criticism comes from people who don't have to make the hard choices':<sup>38</sup>

People who are, shall I say, in rather subordinate positions in the broad bureaucracy, may interpret decisions that are taken either by government or things that are said or written by former public servants, former diplomats, as representing too soft a line with Indonesia, and their personal preference might be for a much tougher line. But at the end of the day, governments have got to weigh up toughness against effectiveness.<sup>39</sup>

General Peter Cosgrove, the INTERFET Commander, stated on oath: 'I didn't think that the—there was any truth to the notion that there was a pro Indonesia lobby or group or collection of people that I—whose—I just did not agree that that was the

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<sup>34</sup> Burchill, cited in Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars]

<sup>35</sup> Toohey, op. cit. [H Mom].

<sup>36</sup> Taylor, L., The Lobby that Loved, *Australian Financial Review*, 16 Oct 1999. [That Loved] Taylor's article names politicians, and media identities who espoused or followed the ideology: Prime Minister Keating, Foreign Minister Evans, Richard Woolcott, Rawdon Dalrymple, Ashton Calvert, from DFAT, academics [particularly Australian National University scholars] like Jamie Mackie, Harold Crouch, Heinz Arndt and Hal Hill, Paul Kelly (who was also on the Australia Indonesia Institute's board and the Government's foreign affairs advisory council), and Greg Sheridan, both writing for *The Australian*.

<sup>37</sup> Woolcott cited in Cronau, op cit. [Int Wars]

<sup>38</sup> Alan Behm, cited in, Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Behm, cited in, Ibid.

case.’<sup>40</sup> The Director of DIO during the INTERFET intervention simply avoided the question of a Jakarta Lobby during a Defence internal investigation.<sup>41</sup> An official in DIO at the time referred to disapproval from a Woolcott school during a 1998 telephone conversation with a military intelligence officer about East Timor.<sup>42</sup> Kevin Rudd was asked about a Jakarta Lobby during a television interview. He admitted: ‘That term’s been kicked around from time to time...these are serious matters being raised by serious people and they should be addressed...’<sup>43</sup> Defence and Intelligence insider Carl Ungerer denied the existence of a Jakarta Lobby, labelling it conspiracist, prompting a riposte from Brian Toohey:

DR CARL UNGERER: Can I just say a couple of things about this allegation of a pro-Jakarta lobby within the major policy departments in Canberra. I feel it just smacks of some sort of conspiracy theory frankly and it doesn’t stack up when you look at the whole situation. The fact is a lot of sensible people looked at the Australia-Indonesia relationship over a long time and came to some sound, strategic assessments about where our national interests lay. And they didn’t ...

BRIAN TOOHEY: What, our interests lay with supporting a dictator who wasn’t going to last forever? It is not a conspiracy theory to state what is plainly a fact and that is that policy changed in Canberra over a period of 20 or so years from which very sound advice was given, particularly under defence, for what Australian policy should be, to a policy completely supportive of a particular brutal dictator. Now, that’s not a conspiracy theory to say that, that is the facts.<sup>44</sup>

Peter Rogers also derides the notion of a Jakarta Lobby as a conspiracy theory.<sup>45</sup>

Alan Hawke, the Defence Department Secretary during the INTERFET intervention and IGIS (Blick’s) partial and flawed investigation (2001-04), was evasive. Hawke admitted hearing of a Jakarta Lobby but dismissed the notion, saying: ‘whenever I’ve sort of enquired about it, nobody can tell me who these mysterious people

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<sup>40</sup> Lewincamp v Australian Consolidated Press, (LvACP), 29 Aug 2007, p. 192.

<sup>41</sup> Lewincamp in interview with Captain Toohey, RANR, cited in, J. Lyons, Threats, spies & audiotapes, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6420, 11 May 2004, p. 24 of pp. 18-27.[Audiotape]

<sup>42</sup> For documentary evidence of DIO references in 1999 to a ‘Woolcott/Renouf’ school, see LvACP, 2007, p. 85, para 40. Comment: the official was probably mistaken in grouping Woolcott and Renouf together on the East Timor issue.

<sup>43</sup> T. Jones, (pres), Rudd ‘appalled’ by images of prisoner mistreatment, *Lateline*, ABC TV, 29 April 2004.

<sup>44</sup> T. Jones, (pres), Intelligence experts welcome inquiry call, *Lateline*, ABC TV, 13 April 2004.

<sup>45</sup> Rogers, op. cit.

supposedly asked [*sic*—are]?’<sup>46</sup> Given his position and the implications, ‘sort of’ enquiring about such an influential lobby was a negligent rather than professional response.

In contrast, a former Australian ambassador to Jakarta, Bill Morrison, verified the existence of the lobby to Alan Ramsay.

A letter arrived this week from Bill Morrison, a former Whitlam government minister and ambassador to Jakarta in the late 1980s. It said: “Dear Alan, re [the author’s] criticism that longstanding intelligence dating back to mid-1998 of Indonesian military atrocities in East Timor was overlooked due to a pro-Jakarta lobby in Defence and Foreign Affairs. A couple of years ago I sent you a report I had written whilst ambassador in Jakarta. In that report I was highly critical of the role of the Indonesian Army. I told the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, bluntly of my concerns...Defence have always thought they had a special ‘in’ with the Indonesian military and didn’t want to rock the boat. The end result was I got absolutely no response from Canberra. The pro-Indonesian lobby had prevailed. The rest is history.”<sup>47</sup>

As Morrison mentioned, there was once and may still exist, a fanciful school of thought within Defence that, given their own martial virtues, they would wield more influence over the militarised Jakarta regime than other governmental approaches.

Dispelling any remaining doubt, Paul Monk reinforced the existence of a Jakarta Lobby:

Could it be that the larger scheme of things, in terms of world affairs and Australia’s national interest, *dictated* that such a policy be followed. Listening to the arguments of the ‘Jakarta lobby’ over many years up to and including 1999, one could be forgiven for thinking so, I believe.<sup>48</sup>

The Jakarta Lobby has been and is well covered in open sources.<sup>49</sup> A Google search on ‘Jakarta Lobby’ in January 2009 revealed 480,000 results in seconds. Even

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<sup>46</sup> DOD Secretary, Allan Hawke, cited in *LvACP*, Transcript, p. 542.

<sup>47</sup> A. Ramsey, The spy chief left out in the cold, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 April 2004.

<sup>48</sup> Monk, op. cit., [Truth] p. 35.

<sup>49</sup> For an indicative sample: Burchill, op.cit. [mea culpa]; King, op. cit. [Deadlocks] p. 83; McQueen, op. cit. [Japan Rescue] ], pp. 99 & 342; J. Pilger, How Australia Betrayed East Timor, *Green Left Weekly*, 24 February 2016 [Betrayal]; Taylor, op. cit. [That Loved];

subtracting a proportion referring to hotel lobbies, it is still a significant result. It is maleficent for ADF, DFAT, intelligence bureaucrats, politicians and academics to mislead the public even to its existence, let alone influence.

### **Mindsets and Methods**

Some of the world-views and attitudes of the Jakarta Lobby are evident from the statements above; they claim special knowledge and insider access to secret and greater truths. This allows, in the softer range of sanctions, freely rebuking people as racist, ill-informed, or anti-Indonesian. Greg Sheridan referred to ‘...whatever fantasies the professional hysterics may wish to indulge in...’, and Richard Woolcott to ‘...a heady brew of fear, latent racism, a genuine—but often obsessive—preoccupation with the disturbing situation in East Timor...’<sup>50</sup> Clinton Fernandes cites columnist Andrew Bolt both attacking ‘our fat-bottomed “Free Papua” critics’ and selectively quoting from a US State Department report concerning human rights in Indonesia.<sup>51</sup> In mid-1998, military intelligence analysts in Sydney first warned of increased instability in East Timor: a resurgent resistance, the possibility of an international peacekeeping force, and the need to wrest analysis of the problem from the Jakarta Lobby.<sup>52</sup> One of the authors received a ‘friendly’ warning from a DIO official that there were people of the Woolcott School still in the system who would not like the intelligence estimate.<sup>53</sup> This was rapidly followed by a stiff note of condemnation from Strategic and International Policy Branch, effectively DFAT’s minders in Defence<sup>54</sup>, which warned:

[the] estimate fails to understand some of the fundamental drivers behind our strategic relationship with Indonesia and contains several assessments about Australian Foreign and Defence policy...What also worries me is the criticisms in the paper may lead operational planners to the conclusion that our government

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<sup>50</sup> For example: ‘...whatever fantasies the professional hysterics may wish to indulge in...’ Sheridan, op. cit. [Go gently]. Also: ‘...a heady brew of fear, latent racism, a genuine—but often obsessive—preoccupation with the disturbing situation in East Timor and human rights issues and distaste for what is seen by them as a corrupt, authoritarian, military government in Jakarta.’ R. Woolcott, Indonesian tiger sprints ahead, *The Canberra Times*, 11 August 1994, p. 11.

<sup>51</sup> C. Fernandes, *Reluctant Indonesians*, Scribe, 2006, pp. 6-7. [Saviour]

<sup>52</sup> Australian Defence Force, *Intelligence Estimate on East Timor*, HQAST J2, 445-17-4, 8 July 1998.

<sup>53</sup> For documentary evidence of DIO references in 1999 to a ‘Woolcott/Renouf’ school, see LvACP, op. cit., p. 85, para 40. The official was wrong about Renouf who opposed the integration policy.

<sup>54</sup> There is some confusion in Canberra that the democratic notion of civilian control of the military actually means citizen-political control, rather than civilian-bureaucratic control.

policy is wrong...<sup>55</sup>

Government policy underwent a volte-face fifteen months later on the back of public uproar. A number of the serving military contributors to the estimate were later named on an AFP warrant, and one was detained for a day while his home was searched.

Departments and inquiries are staffed by ideological fellow travellers or compliant officials. During a 2004 scandal about the quality of intelligence product on Indonesia, the already-commissioned Flood Inquiry into Australian Intelligence Agencies was further tasked to investigate new claims.<sup>56</sup> A recipient of the Indonesian Order of Merit and close to the LNC, Phillip Flood, had been Deputy Head of Mission in Washington, a former Director General of ONA, Ambassador to Indonesia—during the Santa Cruz Massacre in Dili—and Secretary of DFAT. He was appointed by Alexander Downer to Chair the Australia Indonesia Institute (AII) in 2001, ‘a government-controlled and funded agency whose central purpose is to defend and extend the political and business interests of Australian corporations.’<sup>57</sup> Kevin Rudd raised issues of conflict of interest when Flood’s appointment to the inquiry was announced.<sup>58</sup> Greg Sheridan came out in support of Flood. With some prescience, he wrote, ‘We can rest assured that nothing very scandalous will be revealed by this inquiry.’<sup>59</sup> Sheridan has been a member of the AII board since 2006.<sup>60</sup>

Not all in the media were convinced. The ABC’s Peter Cronau reported, ‘It will be hard for Flood to be seen as independent.’<sup>61</sup> Another journalist wrote:

There is little comfort to be drawn from the government’s decision to accept the [Jull] committee recommendations that an independent assessment of the

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<sup>55</sup> M. Scafton, Defence SIP Div REEP 417/98 Response to HQAST Int Estimate of 9 Jul 98.

<sup>56</sup> Collins, L., Lieutenant Colonel, Australian Intelligence Corps, *Letter to The Honourable John Howard, MP*, dated 18<sup>th</sup> March 2004.

<sup>57</sup> R. Phillips, Australian government tries to censor Indonesian film festival, *World Wide Socialist Web*, 15 December 2005. The origins and actives of the AII are detailed in, Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Australia’s Relations with Indonesia*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, November 1993, pp. 5,140-142.

<sup>58</sup> L. Yaksley, Phillip Flood to head Intelligence Inquiry, *PM*, ABC RN, 4 March 2004.

<sup>59</sup> G. Sheridan, Right choice to reach intelligence potential, *Weekend Australian*, 6 March 2004, p. 17.

<sup>60</sup> See Australia Indonesia Institute (AII) webpage.

<sup>61</sup> Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars]

intelligence agencies should be conducted by ‘an experienced former intelligence expert’ [Flood]. This is a recipe for a whitewash: a former member of the intelligence community will assess the present intelligence community in private and report quickly to the national security committee of cabinet so that the matter will be out of the way before the federal election.<sup>62</sup>

A military member of Flood’s Inquiry had previously headed Army Security when Major Clinton Fernandes’ house was raided by Defence Security and AFP in 2000. Predictably, Flood reported ‘no evidence of any pressure on either [ONA or DIO], or pressure within either organisation to produce pro-Indonesian assessments or to tone down any criticism of Indonesia.’<sup>63</sup> Geoffrey Barker wrote of ‘Flood’s contemptuous treatment of claims [of a] whistleblower...’<sup>64</sup> James Cotton, after examining Flood’s treatment of the issue noted: ‘The seriousness of ...[the ‘whistleblower’s] allegations should not be underestimated...[he] was especially in a position to cite chapter and verse.’<sup>65</sup> With Flood’s report the Jakarta Lobby was again exonerated. The following year, Howard’s government tried to censor an Indonesian film festival by withdrawing funding through Flood’s Institute.<sup>66</sup>

The punishment is not limited to slurs; from 1999 to the early 2000s the AFP, DFAT security staff and Defence Security Branch ‘contractors’ were employed against DFAT, ADF and Defence civilian personnel who had incurred the ire of the Lobby, forcing a suicide, another into long-term psychiatric care, and a number of resignations.<sup>67</sup> At the harsher end, under the guise of national security, the Jakarta Lobby have employed unaccountable departmental security sections to conduct ‘investigations’.<sup>68</sup>

What is perplexing is the Jakarta Lobby’s attitude to the victims of TNI’s excesses.

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<sup>62</sup> Geoffrey Barker, Howard fails intelligence test, *AS Fin Review*, 2 March 2004, p. 53.

<sup>63</sup> P. Flood, Report of the Inquiry Into Australian Intelligence Agencies, Australian Government, 20 July 2004, p.48.

<sup>64</sup> G. Barker, Limited reform in Flood report, *Australian Financial Review*, 23 July 2004, p. 19.

<sup>65</sup> J. Cotton, *Australian foreign policy and the management of intelligence post-September 11*, Discussion Paper, 06-03, Asia Pacific School of Economics and Government, Australian National University, Canberra, 2006, pp. 10, 22-25.

<sup>66</sup> Phillips, op. cit.

<sup>67</sup> See: Hansard, FAD&T Estimates Committee, 23 November 2000, p. 93; Hansard, FAD&T, Mon 4 June 2001; Senate Hansard, 23 November 2001.

<sup>68</sup> A. Fowler, *Caught in the Crossfire*, 2001. Also see, Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars]. B. Hawkins, Burnt By the Sun, 2005; and B. Toohey, DIO on the defensive, *Canberra Sunday Times*, Sunday Focus, 19 December 2004, p. 31.

During 1990-1991 a military briefing team from DIO, in response to a question from a senior officer, stated the death toll of Timorese under the occupation was about 50,000.<sup>69</sup> At that time, activist organisations such as ETAN had assessed the death toll at 150,000, much closer to the truth as evidenced by the post-intervention investigations. Activists generally give the death toll in West Papua as somewhere between 100,000 and 500,000. Despite all the indicators, in May-June 1999 Howard's key advisors maintained the 'violence [in East Timor] could be contained', that Canberra's Defence relationship with Jakarta would be 'a sobering influence' on Indonesian behaviour', and that any 'external assistance should come from Australia rather than the United Nations.'<sup>70</sup> It was this context that underscored General Baker's mid-1998 comment: 'You don't have to worry about that [completing an intelligence estimate on East Timor] because we have a plan with the Indonesians to keep everybody else out of East Timor.'<sup>71</sup>

The investigative journalist Tom Allard reported documentary evidence that 'Australian diplomats in the Jakarta embassy mocked reports of the rape, torture and execution of East Timorese after Jakarta's invasion, remarking that it "sounds like fun" and "the population must be in raptures"'.<sup>72</sup>

Few amongst the Lobby, or those drawn into its orbit, admit regrets. Common demeanours range from unconcerned ebullience for bigger trade or political issues to defensive anger. In private it may be different; Greg Poulgrain recounts an interview with Garfield Barwick a year before the latter's death:

When we were talking about Netherlands New Guinea, or Iran Jaya as it became known, he acknowledged his role in contributing to the outcome and to my surprise he acknowledged his responsibility for the continuing presence of the Indonesian army. He was aware of the absolute brutality that had taken place. Full of regret, he put his hands over his face and leaned forward in his chair for several long seconds, saying, 'I didn't know they were going to kill so many people.'<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> The author observed this exchange in Darwin.

<sup>70</sup> Cited in, Ball, op. cit. [Silent], in McDonald et al., op. cit. [Masters], p. 249 of pp.239-261.

<sup>71</sup> Baker said this to the author. His remark is cited in Lyons, op. cit. [Audiotape], p. 21 of pp. 18-27.

<sup>72</sup> T. Allard, 'Sounds like fun': Aussie diplomats mocked reports of Indonesian rape and murder of Timorese, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 February 2016.

<sup>73</sup> G. Poulgrain, *The Incubus of Intervention*, p. 218, fn. 7.

Andrew Peacock admitted, 'The political and defence question may lead you to one conclusion and the moral may lead you to another...they can sometimes tear you apart.'<sup>74</sup> Gareth Evans confessed some contrition during the shambles of 1999, 'I think I got the substance wrong ...'<sup>75</sup>

### **THE ORTHODOXY OF THE JAKARTA LOBBY<sup>76</sup>**

Much of the Australian official position, particularly before the INTERFET intervention of 1999, is arguably influenced by a mythology taken by its authors to be obvious. Some of these narratives are noted below.

The Jakarta Lobby confused the Suharto regime and its successors with the ordinary Indonesian people, to the point that Australia placed '...all its diplomatic and strategic eggs in the Suharto basket.'<sup>77</sup> The Canberra-Jakarta relationship is generally confined to the business-military elite who run the country. There was and is little regard for Indonesian liberal academics, writers and intellectuals jailed, tortured or hounded by the Suharto regime and its successors.<sup>78</sup> Nor was or is there any noticeable expression of Lobby support for millions of poor Indonesians, East Timorese or West Papuans, who were and remain victims of the regime's excesses. This doctrine was and remains the centre of gravity of the Indonesia Lobby: that it is a *relationship so important and sensitive* it can only be handled by insiders with intimate knowledge of Indonesia. As Sheridan put it as Jakarta lost its grip on East Timor, 'The relationship needs astute management to get through this period.'<sup>79</sup>

The notion of a *special bi-lateral relationship* reflects decades old thinking, which viewed Indonesia as an increasingly and permanently powerful, stable and somewhat democratic state within the region. The political, economic and ideological changes

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<sup>74</sup> Andrew Peacock cited in, L. Shanahan, Classified Paper showed Timor shift denied Advice, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 January 2009.

<sup>75</sup> Gareth Evans, cited in, M. Colvin, Gareth Evans warns of shaky Asian relations, *PM*, ABC RN, 28 September 1999.

<sup>76</sup> This section draws on unclassified supporting notes to a Defence internal paper, *Beyond Credulity*, by Lieutenant Colonel L. Collins, 1999, which in turn drew on another Defence internal paper, *The Credulous Few*, by Major Clinton Fernandes.

<sup>77</sup> Walker, G., cited in Sherlock, S., *The Politics of change in Indonesia: Challenges for Australia*, Parliamentary Research Service, Canberra, Current Issues Brief, 3/1997, 19 Aug 1996.

<sup>78</sup> See, H. McQueen, *Indonesia's noble Solzhenitsyn*, *The Australian*, 22 February 1992, and; P. Walters, Academics lead rights struggle in Indonesia, *The Australian*, 29-30 October 1994, p. 13.

<sup>79</sup> Sheridan, op. cit., [Go gently].

that swept Indonesia in the late 1990s should have caused a critical review of the circumstances surrounding regional relationships. The bi-lateral relationship is portrayed as a good thing in itself like courage or mercy. It has never been subjected to public scrutiny or accountability. This is exemplified by the sham public consultation on the Lombok Treaty conducted by the Joint Standing Committee on Treaties (JSCOT) where before all the public submissions had been heard, the prime minister's department wrote that the government had 'no intention of amending the treaty.'<sup>80</sup>

The Canberra circles have long batted away any questioning of the worth of the relationship. As the East Timor crisis disintegrated beyond the Jakarta-Canberra ability to control it in June 1999, Senator Hogg asked in Estimates: 'What benchmarks were set for the bilateral defence relationship?' The Senator was told by Allan Behm of Defence's Strategic and International Policy Division (SIPDIV):

If I could interpret your [Senator Hogg's] question as meaning the purposes of the bilateral defence relationship, I am not sure that we have set specific benchmarks. There are things we are going to do and we propose to do them at a certain time. If that is what you mean by benchmark, then each one of the items in the program has an achievement date to it. But basically they are all designed to do two things. They are designed to enhance the quality of the bilateral relationship between the two defence forces and to enhance the professionalism of the Indonesian armed forces.<sup>81</sup>

In the SIPDIV perspective, the success of the bilateral relationship was defined by itself. The maritime border negotiations with Indonesia<sup>82</sup>, the one-way flow of public money, undue influence on Australia's decision making process and the constant barbs and threats from Jakarta have never been subjected to an independent, open cost-benefit analysis.<sup>83</sup>

The nature of the bi-lateral relationship with Indonesia and the forces behind it should have come under increasing international and domestic scrutiny as the East Timor situation unfolded. Given the clear Indonesian deceptions and past anti-

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<sup>80</sup> PM&C letter, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2006, to Ian Melrose.

<sup>81</sup> Parliament of Australia, Senate Estimates, Hansard, FAD&T, 8 Jun 99.

<sup>82</sup> H. McQueen, Tangled up over Timor, *Weekend Australian*, 6-7 Feb 1993, p. 22.

<sup>83</sup> For the barbs, see, '...Alatas is seriously fed up and grumpy with Australia', and: 'But Jakarta is sick and tired of what it sees as Australian lecturing and meddling. The relationship needs astute management to get through this period.' Sheridan, op. cit., [Go gently].

Australian rhetoric and actions by General Murdani—who ordered expulsion of Australian tourists from Bali in response to David Jenkins' 1986 article about Suharto family corruption—and others, it is difficult to define compelling reasons why Indonesia should be considered a friendly state, rather than a rambunctious neighbour with its power clique having their own interests.<sup>84</sup>

Another dogma is that friendly relations with Indonesia will see *Australia more readily accepted* as an equal partner in the region. An example to the contrary was Indonesia's failure to support Australia's attempt to join the Asia-Europe Meeting (April 1998), a snub that occurred after Australia had put together an economic rescue package with the IMF in response to the Asian Financial Crisis (1997) that devastated Indonesia's economy. Richard Woolcott reverse-engineered this argument to suggest we could use Australia's influence in Washington to finesse their relations with regional states.<sup>85</sup>

One of the foundation narratives of the Jakarta Lobby is that there is a strongman in Indonesia *with whom Canberra can negotiate*. This has variously been Malik, Mochtar, Suharto, Murdani, Prabowo, Alatas, Habibie or Wiranto. In every case, the enthusiasm has been misplaced. For example, Wiranto was involved in the deception over TNI's use of militias in East Timor. This dogma has resulted in no real power system or decision-making process being decisively engaged. Australia's Indonesia watchers ineffectually pondered the 'Suharto succession' for years, and finally scrambled to deal with the manner and aftermath of his going.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was merely the latest in a succession of people Canberra could do business with, yet his administration (2004-14) was marked by indicators to the contrary. President Yudhoyono was recorded on camera receiving advice from a military 'minder' who suggested to him: 'It might be better if you didn't admit that [the terrorist group] Jemaah Islamiyah exists.'<sup>86</sup> There was consistency in President Yudhoyono's approach. Two years earlier, in the immediate

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<sup>84</sup> See, L. Collins, Indonesia was given a free kick and used it, *The Drum*, 2 December 2013. [Free kick]

<sup>85</sup> 'If our standing in Washington is strengthened, we can hopefully, use this to influence the US to avoid confrontational economic policies towards Japan, divisive and acrimonious policies towards China and excessively intrusive policies towards other important countries.' R. Woolcott, A Mature Alliance, *The Australian*, 3-4 August 1996, p. 22.

<sup>86</sup> S. Ferguson, Love Thy Neighbour, *Sunday*, Channel 9, 14 November 2004.

aftermath of the Bali Bombings, an Indian newspaper reported: ‘Following the talks with Mr Downer, Mr Susilo Yudhoyono affirmed that “Jemmah Islamiyah (JI) does not exist” in Indonesia.’<sup>87</sup> Justice over the murder of civil rights activist Munir Said Thalib, on a Garuda flight in September 2004, remained a running sore through Yudhoyono’s administration, although he famously stated solving the Munir case was ‘a test of our history’.<sup>88</sup> Two Garuda officials were found guilty of Munir’s murder, but the key suspect escaped any censure.<sup>89</sup>

Yudhoyono’s government engaged in suppressing historical awareness and analysis by burning at least 30,000 Indonesian textbooks that described the 1965 coup attempt, and slaughter of hundreds of thousands of alleged communists.<sup>90</sup> Taylor and Brown note Yudhoyono’s administration has looked aside allowing Islamist ‘violence and killings [to] increase unchecked’, and there has been ‘no thorough cleansing of his [Suharto’s] political influence...’<sup>91</sup> Yudhoyono extended the ban on terrorism expert Sydney Jones, of the International Crisis Group, originally expelled on the advice of Indonesian intelligence czar Hendopriyono.<sup>92</sup>

In a similar vein, under Joko Widodo (2014-present), some of the old guard have returned to positions of power and influence. General Wiranto, who oversaw the final months of TNI rule in East Timor, has been appointed Coordinating Minister for Politics, Law, and Security. General Hendopriyono, the former head of the state intelligence organisation BIN—who once boasted of bugging Australian politicians and military, and smirked noticeably when denying they had recruited Australian traitors—was appointed to Widodo’s transition team.<sup>93</sup> While the overall trend is a nascent democracy, the shadow of denial and repression still looms large. Oppenheimer’s films on the post-Suharto killings did not enjoy public showing and

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<sup>87</sup> P.S. Suryanarayana, Jakarta pledges anti-terror drive, *The Hindu Times*, 17 October 2002.

<sup>88</sup> S.L. Wayuningroem, Solving Munir’s murder case, a test for Indonesia’s president-elect, *The Conversation*, 9 September 2014.

<sup>89</sup> See, *US Emb Jakarta, Cable 08JAKARTA1825\_a, Munir Case—Testimony Continues in Case of Murdered Human Rights Activist*, dated 26 September 2008. Also see: M.A. Sapiie and A. Admindoni, Jokowi Should Ask Hendopriyono for Munir Report: Lawmaker, *The Jakarta Post*, 14 October 2016.

<sup>90</sup> M. Forbes, Indonesia burning ‘bonfire of liberty’, *The Age*, 9 August 2007.

<sup>91</sup> R. Taylor and C. Brown, *Democracy still a risky business*, News, Indonesia Institute, 17 January 2012.

<sup>92</sup> A. Burrell, Indonesia extends ban on leading terror expert, *Australian Financial Review*, 27 January 2005.

<sup>93</sup> S. Ferguson, Love Thy Neighbour, *Sunday*, Channel Nine, broadcast, 14 November 2004.

in 2015 sessions related to the murders were banned by Indonesian authorities from the Ubud Writers & Readers Festival, South-East Asia's largest.<sup>94</sup> It was the first time in the festival's 12-year history that such action had been undertaken.

The line that to challenge the prevailing policy is *to be 'too political'* is one of the central tenets and most commonly used methods of the Lobby's influence. This is the argument used to sway analysis, muzzle contestability and encourage self-censorship. In fact, the contrary is true: to remain silent is to be very political indeed. This develops an organisational view in which 'consensus: certain things, certain types of statements, certain types of work' seem correct.<sup>95</sup> One of the ways states censure other states is to leak things to the media as officials on both sides issue statements of denial; one group with egg on their face, the other with tongues in their cheeks. Media headlines such as *CIA raps Australia over spy secrets*, and from the UK, *Australians covered up East Timor terror plot*, hardly make inspiring headlines.<sup>96</sup>

Another contention of the lobby is that *personal contact with Indonesian officials provides insight and influence*. Such was the case with Bob Fulonger's local intelligence and advice to Canberra in 1974; the opportunity spoiled or foiled. This narrative too has proved to be a chimera: the myth, the insight and influence were mostly one-way, through the Jakarta Lobby into the heart of the Australian decision-making process. Despite the contacts, Canberra has constantly been wrong-footed: no more so than in relation to the unseen hand of Indonesian strategy in East Timor (1998-99), despite Jakarta's strategy being obvious to activists around the world. Jakarta's propagandists can whisper into Canberra's ears, while on the other hand dissident groups and Indonesian intellectuals based in Australia are shunned.

Elements of the lobby argue that Australian decency will rub onto Jakarta. This view

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<sup>94</sup> G. Moodie, (prod), Indonesia's bloody past axed from writer's festival, Books and Arts, ABC RN, 28 October 2015.

<sup>95</sup> E.W. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin, London, 1995, p. 202. Although Said's statement referred to Orientalism, his sentiment is applicable to the Jakarta Lobby. Said is previously cited in, L. Collins, *Said's Orientalism*, essay for AIA 715, MA, DU, 1996/1997, p. 3, fn 5.

<sup>96</sup> L. Wright, CIA raps Australia over spy secrets, *Canberra Times*, 17 Apr 2001 and; R. Lloyd Parry, R., Australians covered up East Timor terror plot, *The Independent*, UK, 17 March 2002. The ABC also reported the CIA, 'complained to the embassy about liaison with Australia's ONA. Four Corners has learned that the CIA was concerned about the way ONA conducted its business.' A. Fowler, Caught in the Crossfire, *Four Corners*, ABC Television, 16 Mar 2001.

has been used to justify training the TNI and was still posited in Senate Estimates as TNI-controlled militia violence escalated in East Timor in mid-1999:

We have for a long time made a point of making clear to Indonesia and TNI in particular, through many aspects of our defence relationship, how we conduct ourselves and of drawing their attention to points where we think they could be doing better. The Australian government as a whole has for a long time had a very strong focus on making very clear representations on human rights issues, including, of course, in relation to East Timor.<sup>97</sup>

Indeed it has been the other way: the insider running of the bilateral relationship; the government secrecy surrounding the 1995 Australian-Indonesian Security Agreement; and the suppression of real debate over public policy; are all hallmarks of authoritarianism.<sup>98</sup> Keating said at the time: 'If there had been a more public process, there probably wouldn't have been a treaty.'<sup>99</sup> Events in East Timor and West Papua betray the veneer of humanity with which some Australian officials have tried to paint the Suharto regime and its remnants. The too-close-for-comfort SASR—KOPASSUS relationship did not noticeably mitigate Jakarta's special operations into East Timor and West Papua, or provide decisive insight into their operations.<sup>100</sup> In Senate Estimates, a Defence official explained their corporate view:

On the one hand, I think it would be fair to say that ABRI, now TNI, has taken in some ways quite remarkable steps towards becoming—viewing the Indonesian political situation as a whole—a politically neutral and constructive partner with other elements of Indonesian society in seeking to genuinely reform the Indonesian political structure...On the other hand, in relation to East Timor itself, there are significant difficulties. We believe that Indonesian armed forces have been actively engaged in support and in encouraging the pro-integration movements and that that has contributed significantly to the security problems in East Timor. That has been the subject of repeated and very high-level representations by the Australian

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<sup>97</sup> Hugh White cited in, DepSec S&I, Hugh White, in Senate Estimates (FAD&T), Hansard, 8 June 1999.

<sup>98</sup> See: D. Jenkins, Secret Treaty, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 December 1995, p. 13; D. Greenlees, Jakarta treaty: how it works, *The Australian*, December 1995, p. 1; and D. Lague, Treaty negotiations surrounded by secrecy, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 December 1995, p. 6.

<sup>99</sup> Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars]

<sup>100</sup> 'Australian military officers close to KOPASSUS claim to have had no inkling that its commander, General Prabowo, was responsible as recently as last year for kidnapping and torturing innocent civilians who opposed his father in law.' B. Toohey, East Timor hurt by lost Anzac ideals, *Sun-Herald*, 25 April 1999, p. 25.

government to Indonesia.<sup>101</sup>

The appeals were to no avail.

Another idea proposed by the lobby is that the breakup, or Balkanisation, of Indonesia is that independence for East Timor, or West Papua, would initiate the *break-up of Indonesia causing regional instability*, which would be harmful to Australia's security. Richard Woolcott exonerated Jakarta by invoking Cold War fears 'that if an independent East Timor were to emerge it might be recognised by the Soviet Union or China...[to] become a South East Asian Cuba.'<sup>102</sup> The record shows much of the instability in the region can be laid at Jakarta's door, supported by the US and Australia.

Nor has it been conclusively argued that a strategically weakened Indonesia would be detrimental for Australia's long-term security. An alternate view is that a strategically weakened Indonesia would be beneficial for regional security. The Indonesian military are extremely aware of this; thus their hard line on West Papua.<sup>103</sup> The long-lived Roman and Byzantine empires sought to keep their aggressive neighbours weak, as did the English long maritime strategy. Europeans who bemoan the long list of strife in the Balkans have forgotten the reality of Ottoman armies encamped around Vienna.

Claims of East Timor's poor economic prospects were often heard in support of Canberra's efforts to keep East Timor within Indonesia. East Timor has natural resources and other potential wealth, such as tourism. The Suharto clique were heavily invested in East Timorese coffee, oil, cement and marble.<sup>104</sup> After four centuries of sustainable harvesting, the sandalwood was all but logged out soon after the invasion. The East Timor diaspora have produced a generation of Western-affiliated, educated people with a wide range of contacts with access to global institutions. While the traumatised society has its own problems, Australia's

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<sup>101</sup> Hugh White, op. cit. [FAD&T, 8 Jun 99]

<sup>102</sup> Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars]

<sup>103</sup> For Indonesian military sensitivity on this, see: Gopal Raj Kumar, Corruption in Australia is deeply rooted, *Malaysia Outlook*, 17 January 2017.

<sup>104</sup> G.H. Aditjondro, *How the Suharto family and their cronies are profiting from East Timor's land, air and maritime resources*, University of Newcastle, 17 August 1997; The Soeharto clan's Timorese connections, *The Age*, News Extra, 8 May 1999; and C. Marr, *Digging Deep: The Hidden Costs of mining in Indonesia*, Down to Earth and Minewatch, London, 1993.

unseemly official and corporate actions to appropriate East Timor's oil, described by Paul Cleary in *Shakedown*, bespeak little effort to ameliorate Dili's woes.<sup>105</sup>

## STRATEGIC AIMS AND SPECIAL INTERESTS

### Jakarta's Aims

Jakarta's national aims from the relationship can be assumed. At one level, they desire friendly general relationships that foster trade, the arts and mutual assistance, as Indonesia provided to Australia during Cyclone Tracey and Australia returned during the 2005 Boxing Day tsunami. As an occupying power in West Papua (effectively and morally) and for a time in East Timor, Jakarta logically had additional wishes from the relationship: support in the UN, and a soothing Western face to assuage international concerns about its appalling human rights record. Linked to this is the contentious military training, particularly of KOPASSUS: Hugh White's contention in the Senate<sup>106</sup> that our special forces somehow had a civilising effect has been proved wrong often enough to be discounted. Frequent Indonesian requests for intelligence cooperation point to an understandable interest in Australia's intelligence capability, including that consequent on the Five Eyes arrangement. A shopping list of technical and scientific intelligence can also be assumed, as it would for most states. Canberra has seemingly been too eager to comply, including combined surveillance with the JINDALEE system discussed.<sup>107</sup>

At the formal level, Canberra seeks regional stability and cooperation, with Indonesia's geo-strategic significance obvious. Behind the scenes there are business interests.

### 'Zillions' of dollars<sup>108</sup>

The DFAT Annual Report 2013-14 specifies (2013) Australian \$560.6 million aid to

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<sup>105</sup> P. Cleary, *Shakedown: Australia's grab for Timor oil*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 2007.

<sup>106</sup> FAD&T, 8 June 1999.

<sup>107</sup> D. Greenlees, Defence forces to share information with Indonesia, *The Australian*, 23 May 1996, p. 1; and Senate, FAD&T, 8 June 1999.

<sup>108</sup> A remark on the profitability of the Timor Gap Treaty (1989) attributed to Gareth Evans, often by John Pilger; also Gomin Dayasri evidently citing *Indonesia News*, February 1991. See, G. Dayasri, Who's Afraid of Gareth Evans, *Asia Tribune*, Vol 12, No 1730, World Institute for Asian Studies, 31 August 2007.

Indonesia: an estimated 45 percent of Australian Overseas Development Aid in 2013-14.<sup>109</sup> Imports from Indonesia were valued at \$8522 million and exports to Indonesia at \$6364 million.<sup>110</sup> These are large sums, delivered to a state that ranks 88<sup>th</sup> on Transparency International's *Corruption Perception Index* for 2015.<sup>111</sup>

The Australia Indonesia Institute (AII) was formed in 1989 under the Hawke government to further Australian Indonesian business relationships, with Brian Toohey noting by 1998 Indonesia had become a 'happy hunting ground for former Labor ministers pursuing consulting careers.'<sup>112</sup>

No other prime minister has established such questionable business relationships with key Indonesian figures as Paul Keating...It is not every day of the week that you can borrow \$430,000 to buy into a piggery that gets into serious financial strife and then find an Indonesian tycoon willing to pay you \$4.4 million to get out.<sup>113</sup>

Toohey then noted the inadequate provisions for dealing with assertions of serious misconduct against Federal politicians.

Fossil fuels were the centre of gravity between Jakarta and Australia over East Timor, Canberra gaining oil in exchange for its international support for the subjugation of East Timor. When Malcom Fraser visited Indonesia in 1976 he was accompanied by a senior executive of BHP which had just acquired a controlling share in the Woodside-Burmah company (then drilling for oil in the Timor Sea).<sup>114</sup>

Ambassador Woolcott's pre-invasion cables refer to the oil riches of the Timor Gap; Canberra and Jakarta later signed the Gap Treaty on 11 December 1989 with the clink of wine glasses over the Timor Sea. Paul Cleary has detailed how Australian diplomatic and oil interests rapidly engaged Xanana Gusmao as Jakarta's grip on East Timor weakened: the former guerrilla leader was visited by Australian oil

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<sup>109</sup> DFAT, *Annual Report, 2013-2014*, Section Two, Australian Government, Canberra, p. 151.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 36.

<sup>111</sup> For a scandal involving the Trump organisation, Freeport McRoran and the Indonesian Speaker, Setya Novanto, see, R. Maddow, *Rachel Maddow: Trump & Carl Ichan's Ties to Corrupt Indonesian Officials—Blackmail & Bribery*, MSNBC, 3 January 2017.

<sup>112</sup> B. Toohey, Australian Cronies and Other Capitalists, *Australian Financial Review*, 7, November 1998.

<sup>113</sup> B. Toohey, Piggery involvement warrants scrutiny, *Australian Financial Review*, 23 March 1999.

<sup>114</sup> J. Pilger, *Timor Conspiracy: Australia's role*, transcript abridged from a speech at a public meeting at the University of NSW, 17 July 1999, organised by the National Council for Timorese Resistance and Action in Solidarity with Indonesia and East Timor.

interests in his Java jail cell in August 1998.<sup>115</sup> Pilger estimated in the 17 years from 1975, Canberra took almost \$5 billion in oil and gas revenue.<sup>116</sup> The dollar figures in corporate Canberra's ongoing dispute with East Timor are substantial, Cleary citing 2006 figures of US\$24 billion in resource lifetime pay-outs to Dili.<sup>117</sup>

It subsequently emerged that Alexander Downer ordered the 2004 ASIS 'bugging', under Director David Irvine, of Timorese offices to give an unfair advantage to Australian negotiators.<sup>118</sup> After electoral defeat in 2007, Downer became associated with Woodside Petroleum, which had a stake in Timor Gap oil. This is an example of the corporate-state links covered in Chapter One. This came to the media's attention in late 2013, when ASIO, now under the same David Irvine, detained Witness K, the ASIS officer who had led the bugging operation. The security agency also raided the Canberra offices of his lawyer, Bernard Collaery shortly before a hearing in the International Court of Justice on the maritime boundary dispute between Canberra and Dili. It transpired that Witness K had approached the IGIS (Carnell) who gave approval for them to seek independent legal advice in a workplace dispute.<sup>119</sup> The Turnbull government in 2018 is still refusing to return Witness K's passport.<sup>120</sup>

## INTELLIGENCE

### Indonesian Intelligence Operations

Tim Scott, the translator of a biography of Benny Murdani, made an observation in the story of the former TNI Commander, career intelligence officer and architect of the invasion of East Timor. Scott referred to *Bima*, the mythical son of the Wind God, 'who represents for the Javanese, the epitome of sheer will-power and physical strength...bluff honesty, unswerving loyalty and enormous perseverance against all adversity.' He continued:

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<sup>115</sup> Cleary, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>116</sup> Pilger, op. cit. [Betrayal]

<sup>117</sup> Cleary, op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>118</sup> T. Allard, ASIO raids lawyer on eve of Hague spying case, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 December 2013.

<sup>119</sup> B. Keane, Open and shut: ASIS' crime, and the Labor-Liberal cover-up, *Crikey*, 12 June 2015.

<sup>120</sup> "The refusal of a passport to witness K long after the director-general of Asio cleared him for a passport is pure retaliation," Collaery told Guardian Australia. "It is unbecoming our nation to treat a loyal veteran, a patriot [in this way]." C. Knaus, Australian spy who revealed bugging of Timor-Leste cabinet under 'effective house arrest', *The Guardian*, 7 March 2018.

In Indonesia, certainly, it is precisely for the same sorts of character traits of *Bima*, that the professional intelligence officer is placed more than a cut above your average person, above your average bureaucrat and above your average military officer. The same probably applies, for that matter, to all of Hindu-Buddhist Asia. In the case of Indonesia, which today is the world's largest (sic) country, there was a strong earlier cultural heritage of Hindu-Buddhism which is still detectable today. Compared with the Asian intelligence officer, his western counterpart pales into grey and insipid insignificance beside the Indonesian intelligence officer despite Ian Fleming's colourful and racy efforts. More accurately, these westerners tend to be redolent of John le Carre's more complex characters.<sup>121</sup>

The pre-eminence given to and attitude of intelligence within the Indonesian system is obvious; as it was with the links to the CIA during the Suharto putsch; in the subjugation of East Timor and continuing repression in West Papua.

In 1986 the author was a desk officer (Indonesian Army) in the Joint Intelligence Organisation, today's DIO, when the David Jenkins Affair broke out. Ignited by the journalist's article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that discussed Suharto family corruption, the affair involved a major diplomatic rift.<sup>122</sup> The Commander TNI (then ABRI) General Murdani turned around a plane full of Australian tourists from Denpasar. Hawke made comments about a 'capricious neighbour'; Suharto intervened and neutralised Murdani's power base. In the midst of this, the story went around that the frustrated Murdani had remarked bitterly about Australia in words to the effect of: 'Corruption? Look in the mirror.' Given his position, Murdani—who had once worked undercover as a Garuda employee in another south-east Asian state—would have known. He died in 2004, his secrets with him; perhaps. There are enough indicators of Indonesian intelligence and 'influence' operations against Australia to warrant caution.

In contrast to the supposed Western ethical 'do unto others' and 'legal notions of due process', 'Asian moral codes tend to coalesce around ideas of reciprocity: every favour entails an obligation...favours done and favours repaid.'<sup>123</sup> Jakarta has long

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<sup>121</sup> Tim Scott, (trans), in Julius Pour, *Benny Moerdani: Profile of a Soldier Statesman*, Yayasan Kejuangan Punglima Besar Sudirman, Jakarta, 1993, pp. viii.

<sup>122</sup> D. Jenkins, After Marcos, now for the Suharto billions, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 April 1986, read into APH, Senate Hansard, 17 April 1985, p. 1926.

<sup>123</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 103.

been keen to establish intelligence links with Canberra, and a high-level Indonesian delegation visited in 1971 for that purpose.<sup>124</sup> Despite warnings of the dangers from former ASIO Director, Alan Wrigley, such links have been increasingly normalised.<sup>125</sup>

Collins and Reed touch on the case of an Australian intelligence officer in ‘a system he could no longer trust’, who became aware of a ‘betrayal [that] had become so blatant’ he had no ethical choice other than ‘release an entire stable of agents in order to save their lives’ and then resign.<sup>126</sup> Indonesian counterintelligence proved adept enough to unmask an ASIS agent meeting, possibly an Indonesian ‘sting’ in a Jakarta carpark.<sup>127</sup> In the same *Bulletin* article, former ASIS officer and author Warren Reed ‘insisted that ASIS had been compromised’

...from a number of quarters, prime among which is Indonesian intelligence. The findings of the Cook inquiry<sup>128</sup>, Australia’s widest ranging investigation of this topic—and not just focussing on Indonesia—have never been revealed. Why not? <sup>129</sup>

Toohy and Pinwill described a CIA tip-off about Bakin (now BIN) running an Australian ASIS officer in the early 1980s; one that inflicted undisclosed, but probably significant, damage on ASIS, MI6 and CIA operations.<sup>130</sup> The ASIS head, Ryan, reportedly demanded an explanation from the accused official, but became a casualty of the Sheraton Hotel scandal—that some sources<sup>131</sup> allege was part of an internal palace coup against him—and was forced out in December 1983, dying four years later. Toohy and Pinwill state their sources are unclear whether two subsequent directors were told of the CIA report to Ryan. The officer in question, ‘retired receiving a handsome superannuation payment’, allegedly protected by “‘cronyism” within ASIS.’<sup>132</sup> Awareness of the incident was allowed to wither as the

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<sup>124</sup> B. Toohy, Pitfalls of trading intelligence, Sun-Herald, 24 July 1994, p. 31.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Collins and Reed, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>127</sup> T. Allard, Spycatching caused Jakarta rift, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 March 2004. Also see: J. Lyons, Out of the Shadows, *The Bulletin*, Vol 122, No 6415, 6 April 2004, p. 17 of pp. 16-22. [Shadows]

<sup>128</sup> A 1994 report on the penetration of ASIO by former diplomat Michael Cook. Still most closely guarded and not spoken of.

<sup>129</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Shadows], p. 21. of pp. 16-22. See also: P. Monk, Chinese Spies and Our National Interest, *Quadrant*, 22 May 2014.

<sup>130</sup> B. Toohy and W. Pinwill, *Oyster*, pp. 243-244.

<sup>131</sup> The candidate’s sources in this case.

<sup>132</sup> Toohy and Pinwill, op. cit., p. 244.

Hawke government made much ado over allegations the KGB was trying to recruit his associate David Coombes.<sup>133</sup>

In this instance Bakin's recruitment employed amongst other lures, gay sexual preferences, as it often did worldwide through the 20<sup>th</sup> century because of the social stigma. With more tolerant social attitudes toward LGBTI rights, spymasters turned their attention to paedophiles. The 1996 acquittal of a DFAT official on child sex charges is mentioned in Chapter Three.<sup>134</sup> The following year Foreign Minister Downer tabled the *Report of the Commonwealth Paedophile Inquiry*, which 'examined fifteen allegations against ten officers within the portfolio', cleared DFAT, introduced a code of conduct and strengthened the convention that all allegations were to be referred to the AFP.<sup>135</sup> The report stated:

It is outside my terms of reference to make any findings in relation to Paedophile activity by any officer or former officer of the Department or Austrade and no such findings are made. Moreover, the definition of Paedophile activities given to the Inquiry was broad and encompassed activity which would not be recognised as Paedophile behaviour in some other contexts.<sup>136</sup>

The extent of paedophilia uncovered by recent limited royal commissions, disclosing organisational cover-ups, lacklustre police responses, combined with an inquiry into sexual harassment in the AFP, all point to the vigilance needed backstage of Australia's international relations.

The months leading to the September 1999 INTERFET D-Day were high-stakes times for Jakarta and its intelligence services. As time, space, chance and opportunity all collapsed inwards on Jakarta through August and September 1999, Indonesia's intelligence collection assets and agents of influence in Australia would have been spurred to greater efforts and thus been more vulnerable to Australian counterintelligence. Days before the initial ADF deployment to East Timor in September 1999, *The Australian Financial Review* reported the search an Indonesian

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<sup>133</sup> Toohey and Pinwell, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

<sup>134</sup> Chapter Three, fn 307.

<sup>135</sup> Downer, The Hon, *Report of the Commonwealth Paedophile Inquiry*, Media Release, 15 May 1997.

<sup>136</sup> Downer, op. cit. [*Commonwealth Paedophile Inquiry*], Overview. Also see, M. Forbes, Government hid claims against ex-diplomat, *The Age*, 22 January 2004.

spy in the Australian government.<sup>137</sup> Astonishingly, the story was doomed by the silence of politicians, bureaucrats and the media. No traitor was ever brought to public justice.

At the time, Australia's counterintelligence agencies, including the AFP, were mis-directed by the Howard Government into 'the biggest operation of its type ever mounted',<sup>138</sup>—the serious business of pursuing Australians for telling the truth about the doomed policy of keeping East Timor under Indonesian military control. 'ASIO says it never rated the leaks a threat to national security in the first place.'<sup>139</sup> The episode exemplifies a classic symptom of a society in decline: the use of security services and police for regime protection rather than actual national security.<sup>140</sup>

Constraining examples to those already in the public arena, media reports point to Indonesian interference in Australia's political system:

In the lead-up to the party conference, Brereton had shown a copy of his Timor draft to the Indonesian ambassador in Canberra, Mr Wiryono Sastrohandono. Jakarta responded brusquely, warning that Brereton's proposed wording would put Australian and Indonesia on a "collision course". When the Indonesians tried to drag Beazely into the dispute, the Opposition Leader stuck by Brereton. However Evans had also been in touch with the Indonesians. Before the conference he passed through Jakarta and held a one-on-one meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, whom he knew well from his own days in the job. (Alatas made no secret of opposing Timorese independence). Only Alatas and Evans know for sure what was said at the meeting. But Brereton has formed the view Evans deliberately undermined him.<sup>141</sup>

On his last day in office in 2004, the Indonesian intelligence chief during 1999, General Hendropriyono, boasted of 'bugging' Australian politicians and military personnel in the lead-up to and throughout the East Timor intervention.<sup>142</sup> Ferguson's program was revealing. Combined with Brian Toohey's exposé of an Indonesian spy

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<sup>137</sup> B. Toohey, Hunt on for Indonesian spy, *The Australian Financial Review*, 16 September 1999, p. 1.

<sup>138</sup> D. Lague, Soldier's home searched over leaks, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 September 2001, p. 1.

<sup>139</sup> G. Jennett, (rep), T. Jones, (pres), Inquiry launched into claim of bugging Labor MP. *Lateline*, ABC TV1, 30 April 2013.

<sup>140</sup> Collins and Reed, op cit., pp. 3-6.

<sup>141</sup> D. Snow, Laurie's Last Stand, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Spectrum, 17 Jul 99, pp. 6-7.

<sup>142</sup> S. Ferguson, *Love Thy Neighbour*, Sunday, Channel Nine TV, 14 November 2004.

in Canberra; this should have provoked a media and political response. Instead, the Howard Government simply stonewalled for a day until the issue went away. Howard closed the subject by saying ‘he could neither confirm nor deny claims about national security.’<sup>143</sup> Conversely Howard was happy to speak about national security when it suited him: refugees, terrorists, Barack Obama, the French, WMD, anthrax, the list goes on. Six days after Canberra’s refusal to comment on boasts by General Hendropriyono, the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Howard and Yudhoyono had agreed on intelligence arrangements.<sup>144</sup>

Even, or particularly, on the vexed subject of deciding who comes to Australia and the circumstances in which they come, Jakarta raised its head:

At the precise moment the Prime Minister told the House of Representatives the new [‘border protection’] laws had “nothing to do with listening to Indonesian politicians”, Senator Vanstone gave a different interpretation to the Senate. “We have a lot of co-operation from Indonesia in relation to border protection and, yes, this Government does not want to put that at risk,” Senator Vanstone said...Pressed on ABC television last night, she conceded: “It is indisputable that we have taken into account the concerns of Indonesia.”<sup>145</sup>

Jakarta’s harassment of people in Australia under Australian ‘protection’ was formally raised with the Parliament by Adam Henry.<sup>146</sup> Louise Byrne, a West Papuan activist, provided Australian authorities with detailed evidence of Indonesian intelligence operations against West Papuan activists in Australia and other countries including Japan.<sup>147</sup> Some Australian academics have been sanctioned by Jakarta. RMIT received ‘significant’ and successful pressure to remove a West Papua forum from the campus. Dr Peter King ‘got to the top of their hate list’.<sup>148</sup> Jakarta’s influence is such that Tony Abbott ‘had West Papuan activists, who’d arrived in the Torres Strait claiming asylum, quietly returned to Papua New Guinea.’<sup>149</sup> The benefit of this arrangement for Jakarta is easily discernible. Any advantage for Australians or

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<sup>143</sup> B. Nicholson, Indonesia ‘bugged’ Australia, *The Age*, 15 November 2004.

<sup>144</sup> T. Allard, Yudhoyono, Howard set up set up spy deal, *Sun Herald*, 21 November 2004, p. 5.

<sup>145</sup> M. Gordon, Vanstone admits Indonesian influence, *The Age*, 15 June 2006.

<sup>146</sup> Henry, op. cit.

<sup>147</sup> Byrne, op. cit.

<sup>148</sup> C. Woodman, How Indonesia silences West Papuan independence supporters overseas, *Asia Pacific Report*, 20 April 2016.

<sup>149</sup> T. Abbott, Abbott: I Was Right on National Security, *Quadrant*, 26 March 2016.

people under Canberra's protection is less obvious.

### **Indonesian Organised Crime**

Although Indonesia is noted for its high levels of official corruption, porous borders and gangs that deal in people trafficking (and timber and drugs for example) there is a lack of substantial open-source material pointing to Indonesian intelligence-criminal links that impinge on Australia's foreign policy, that have not been mentioned elsewhere within the dissertation. Official publications—while describing the general characteristics and threat of organised crime and highlighting intergovernmental efforts to fight it—reveal little of any real substance. This also is a subject requiring further research.

### **Australian Intelligence Operations and Reporting**

Obviously Australia collects secret intelligence on Indonesia; it would have been assumed anyway, but was publicly revealed in the carpark incident where an agent meet was uncovered in Jakarta, and the tension over Snowden leaks revealing Australia's intercept of Yudhoyono's wife's mobile phone.<sup>150</sup> It is something all states do. Being discovered is untidy, but the real test of an intelligence system is the accuracy of its assessments and reporting.

In order to assess the efficacy of the Australian intelligence assessments on which policy is supposedly based, it is first necessary to demonstrate that politically driven intelligence is not a rare phenomenon, but is endemic and one of its characteristics. To illustrate this point, the US National Security Council made

dramatic shift from its last review in 2004 [under George W. Bush] which confidently predicted 'continued US dominance...most major powers have forsaken the idea of balancing the US'...The council's conclusions about the emerging multipolar worlds are in accord with Mr Obama's stated preference for multilateralism.<sup>151</sup>

Intelligence bureaucrats may have trouble assessing the world, but they have an instinctive sense of the prevailing dogma and interests in their capitals. Canberra is

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<sup>150</sup> Collins, op. cit. [Free kick]

<sup>151</sup> See: J. Borger New world order has US sharing centre stage, *The Age*, 22 Nov 2008.

no different. One insider ‘...told the *Sydney Morning Herald* that there’s often pressure to produce “nuanced” analysis...You have to write for your political masters. There’s a form of implicit self-censorship there.’<sup>152</sup>

### **Strategic Intelligence and the East Timor Crisis (1999)**

Because of the contentiousness of the East Timor issue, public interest, government duplicity and the heavy-handedness of Canberra’s punishment, an Australian intelligence official committed suicide after interrogation. The episode provides a reasonable measure of the lobby’s mind-set. Canberra’s strategic policy was easily discernible from the statements of officials. For example:

But you see, Senator, a very important part of our thinking at the time that the Prime Minister despatched his letter [to President Habibie] was that Indonesia had only one last chance to keep East Timor as part of Indonesia.<sup>153</sup>

Hugh White understated TNI’s role in the violence in East Timor over 1998-1999.<sup>154</sup> Canberra’s strategic analysis during the lead-up to the INTERFET intervention was noticeably equivocal. With world attention on the ‘stillborn nation’<sup>155</sup> and UN observers and international journalists in-country reporting at length, Canberra pretended puzzlement, placing the blame for much of the violence on ‘rogue elements’—in effect Jakarta’s state-sponsored terrorists. Andrew Wilkie noted ‘the reluctance of ONA and DIO to push hard against the Howard Government’s prevarication’ which ‘helped to delay foreign intervention.’<sup>156</sup> Although the archives remain secret, it seems there was little enough protest at senior levels in 1999—Paul Barrett aside—compared to that from Bill Pritchett and Gordon Jockel in 1974-75.

Illustrating this, an ADF intelligence estimate warning of trouble in East Timor and a possible Australian military deployment, was sent to DIO in July 1998 on the orders

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<sup>152</sup> David Wright Neville, cited in, N. Barrowclough, *Trouble in Spyland*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Good Weekend, 5 Apr 2003, p. 15.

<sup>153</sup> J. Dauth, (DFAT Deputy Secretary), to the Senate FAD&T Reference Committee on *Economic, social and political conditions in East Timor*, [FAD&T, 9 Dec 99], p. 1028.

<sup>154</sup> See, Australian Parliament, Hansard, FAD&T, 8 June 1999.

<sup>155</sup> The term is James Dunn’s. J. Dunn, *The Stillborn Nation*, Visa, Melbourne, 1978.

<sup>156</sup> Andrew Wilkie, *The Military and Intelligence Services*, in Hamilton, C., and Maddison, S., *Silencing Dissent*, Allan and Unwin, 2007, p. 185.

of a previous Director DIO,<sup>157</sup>, but was immediately censured by bureaucrats:<sup>158</sup>

Certainly one of the Assistant Secretaries in my Division, communicated with Headquarters Australian Theatre at the time, suggesting that they might be better off keeping their Intelligence assessments within the boundaries of the sort of operational needs and operational demands of the Australian Defence Force, and leave the business of policy to the government.’<sup>159</sup>

The Australian Defence Association stated bluntly to a parliamentary inquiry on intelligence:

When it [the contentious East Timor estimate] was briefed in Canberra, however, senior policy-making officials refused to believe it because it so starkly contradicted their own opinions and desired policy outcomes. They tried to have the estimate suppressed and...ADF and DFAT lives were endangered by the structural and cultural failures involved.<sup>160</sup>

In the lead-up to and during the East Timor crisis of 1999, DIO was responsible for preparing the forward-looking strategic intelligence estimate that should have detailed the aims, strategies and courses open to all the belligerents and bystanders in the crisis. DIO did not attempt this intellectual necessity and doctrinal requirement; instead, it issued a series of ambiguous current intelligence reports which mostly described what had already happened. In the face of criticism, Canberra’s ‘circles’ simply closed ranks to punish the messengers.

Strategic assessments were lacking in depth and analytical rigour. As Des Ball notes, ‘DIO reports included less detail about particular militia atrocities, were fairly sanguine about the prospects for large scale violence and presented a more benign assessment of the role of the Indonesian military.’<sup>161</sup> DIO continually promoted the ‘factions’ argument, portraying TNI as largely a bystander. DIO reported on 4 March

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<sup>157</sup> HQAST, *Intelligence Estimate on East Timor*, HQAST J2, 445-17-4, 8 July 1998, forwarded to Canberra on the order of Major General J.M. Connolly.

<sup>158</sup> DoD SIP Div REEP 417/98 Response to HQAST Int Estimate, 20 July 1998.

<sup>159</sup> See Behm comments in, Cronau, op. cit. [Int Wars] and; Defence, Scrafton, M., DoD SIP Div REEP 417/98, *Response to HQAST Estimate of 9 Jul 98*,

<sup>160</sup> See Para 28 d. of Australian Defence Association (ADA) Submission of 11 Aug 2003 to; (Jull) Inquiry into Intelligence on Iraq's Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), House References Committee, 1 Mar 2004. See also: Also see, ADA, *Intelligence inquiry [IGIS, Carnell] has generated more questions than answers*, ADA, undated ?2005?

<sup>161</sup> Ball, op. cit. [Silent], p. 249.

1999 that ‘ABRI personnel in East Timor are condoning the activities of pro-Indonesian militants...’ and, ‘We don’t know if these activities are the results of local initiative, or are being directed from Jakarta’; furthermore,<sup>162</sup>

‘Unless Jakarta takes firm action, ABRI elements will continue to support intimidation and violence, or at least won’t prevent it.’<sup>162</sup> Such equivocal statements seemed absurd at the time and more so with hindsight.

A salient DIO Assessment was given at the end of April 1999 when one official analysis opined:<sup>163</sup>

TNI paradoxically provides a moderating influence on both sides by decreasing the likelihood of widespread and serious conflict. Its presence serves to restrict [pro-independence militia] operations and it has some control, when it chooses to exercise it, over the pro-Indonesia militant groups.<sup>164</sup>

The intelligence reporting that Ball cited (above) was a misrepresentation of what was occurring in East Timor: TNI ‘...paradoxically provides a moderating influence ...’ meant nothing; only Canberra’s covering for TNI. The reality was stark: no TNI, no militia. It was that simple.<sup>165</sup>

DIO notably continued the flawed analysis, so that they, as Des Ball states:

severely under-estimated the extent of the violence, and repeated the strange notion that TNI might serve as a restraining influence on the pro-autonomy militia groups...The failure to foresee the magnitude of the killings and deportations that occurred in the first two weeks following the announcement of the ballot result on 4 September was the greatest and most critical mistake made by the intelligence community during the course of the year.<sup>166</sup>

Downer, then Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, and Daulth, then Deputy

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<sup>162</sup> DIO CIB cited in Ball, op.cit. [Silent] p. 247.

<sup>163</sup> Ball, op. cit. [Silent], p. 249. He cites Defence Intelligence Report, *The Ingredients of Conflict East Timor*, of 30 April 1999.

<sup>164</sup> Defence Intelligence Report, *The Ingredients of Conflict East Timor*, of 30 April 1999.

<sup>165</sup> See: G. van Klinken, D. Bourhier and D. Kammen, *The Key Suspects*, in McDonald et al., op. cit., [Masters] p. 175. Excerpt; ‘However, [TNI General] Zacky’s activism in East Timor before 4 June makes the [TNI General] Wiranto letter appear more like a cover than a change of strategy. The militia strategy had been running for more than six months by that stage—it was a mainstream Indonesian government project’.

<sup>166</sup> Ball, op. cit. [Silent], pp. 257-258.

Secretary of DFAT, who bear some responsibility for the flawed policy, both openly criticised intelligence reporting on East Timor.<sup>167</sup> As the intervention force—predominantly Australians and New Zealanders in the first waves—assembled in its mounting bases, the requirement for detailed tactical intelligence on TNI and East Timor escalated precipitously. The much-vaunted SAS-KOPASSUS links, like so much else, failed to deliver. Instead, the liberators depended on a long-term activist medical Doctor Andrew McNaughton and others, for their tactical intelligence and insights.<sup>168</sup>

All the while, ‘circles’ of officials in Canberra denied the Jakarta Lobby influenced assessments and pronounced themselves satisfied with the intelligence. During the Howard years, Canberra choreographed a number of ‘inquiries’ into the intelligence system: Jull, Blick, Flood, Carnell. All were conducted in secret by government appointees with strong links to the political parties they were minding and the ‘circles’ they were supposedly investigating. Their facile findings were later contradicted by a seemingly bemused Alexander Downer, who told *The Australian*’s John Lyons that the Howard Coalition Government, in office, was constantly surprised by regional developments because of poor intelligence.<sup>169</sup>

Bill Blick, the IGIS, was the government’s first option to smooth over wrinkles in the intelligence system in 2000-2004. Even Blick’s absurd inquiry into East Timor-related intelligence (taping some conversations and not others; denying legal representation and thus corroboration to a complainant; contradicting in his conclusions evidence he presents in the main body) concedes the confusion and ambiguity that characterised Canberra’s intelligence reporting. Blick reported: ‘...there were instances where that interpretation [a “pro-Jakarta line”—his words]

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<sup>167</sup> SBS, Australia’s East Timor Secret, *Dateline*, 9 May 2001. Downer said that the leaks were ‘very selective’. Once out of government, Downer was more forthright. ‘The effect [of ASIS cuts] was not knowing enough about any of the problems of the region.’ Downer cited in John Lyons, Spy agencies run down: Alexander Downer, *The Australian*, 9 September 2008, [Dark], p. 1. Lyons comments on Downer’s laughter through the interview. Daulton, op.cit. [FAD&T 9 Dec 99] told the Senate [Hansard, *Senate Estimates—Economic, Political and Social Conditions in East Timor*—Canberra, 9 Dec 99, p. 1025] that: ‘The information [intelligence on which he based an answer given in Senate Estimates on 13 Aug 99] about KOPASSUS activity in East Timor] was both inadequate as to clarity and more than adequate in terms of volume.’]

<sup>168</sup> Fernandes, op. cit. [Saviour], pp.126-129.

<sup>169</sup> Lyons, op. cit. [Dark].

might be available.’<sup>170</sup> Blick supportively described DIO assessments such that some ‘...might say were optimistic about Indonesian government or military intentions, or possible eventual outcomes in East Timor, [while] there are others that display scepticism and concern.’<sup>171</sup> Even in hindsight and without time constraints, Blick was not able to discern what the strategic intelligence organisation was stating about TNI intentions and strategy in East Timor.

### **Trusting Jakarta**

One of the pathetic passages of Patsy Adam-Smith’s *The ANZACs* describes how Australian troops in the assembly area before the Battle of Fromelles were subjected to German artillery harassing fire directed by German agents with signals disguised as washing strung out to dry.<sup>172</sup> There are other examples from our military history. This naivety is not confined to the Defence and Foreign Affairs sectors, but seems to be a national characteristic; Clive Hamilton points out the ‘amazing naivety with which Australians view all things Chinese.’<sup>173</sup> Gullibility about the Washington and Tel Aviv lobbies has been described in Chapters Five and Six. Three Sydney academics, after analysing the dangers to Australia’s pharmaceutical industry and distribution from the Australia-US ‘Free Trade Agreement’ point out that:

No less than six former [Howard Government] staffers have been appointed to rewarding jobs with the US drug giants or their industry representatives...[and shortly after the PM met with major pharmaceutical companies to hear their concerns] all but two of the PBAC [PB Advisory Committee] were either dismissed or resigned in protest.<sup>174</sup>

Des Ball wrote of the August-September 1999 period: ‘Believing the Indonesians, at this stage in the process, was a fundamental misjudgement.’<sup>175</sup> General Cosgrove, in the midst of an intelligence scandal, denigrated the usefulness of the intelligence link to his headquarters in Dili that was severed by DIO in 1999. He stated in a 2007

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<sup>170</sup> Inspector General of Intelligence and Security (IGIS), *Inquiry into concerns about DIO raised by LTCOL Lance Collins* [The Blick Report], May 2003, p. 8. [Blick Report]

<sup>171</sup> [Blick Report], Para 47.

<sup>172</sup> Adam-Smith, P., *The Anzacs*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1991, p. 241.

<sup>173</sup> C. Hamilton, *Silent Invasion*, Hardie Grant, Melbourne, 2018, p. 164.

<sup>174</sup> Weiss, L., Thurbon, E., and Mathews, J., *How to Kill a Country: Australia’s Devastating Trade Deal with the United States*, Allan and Unwin, Sydney, 2004, pp. 82-83.

<sup>175</sup> Ball, op. cit. [Silent], p. 258.

defamation case he would have known about Indonesian troop movements in West Timor, because, ‘General Syahnakri would probably have told me...’<sup>176</sup> While TNI might have disclosed the locations of infantry on the border to avoid recordable contacts with INTERFET, it is most improbable they would have disclosed the locations or actions of the all-important KOPASSUS, intelligence or signals troops. Moreover the key to duplicity is to let a little truth out—every corrupt official running a cover-up and any staff officer planning a deception operation in war knows that. The gullibility of Australians hangs like something from Proust—the same mistakes, over and over.

### WEST PAPUA

Greg Poulgrain in *Incubus of Intervention* and Clinton Fernandes in *Reluctant Saviour* have added greatly to the literature on West Papua, analysing the subordination of Australian strategy to American corporate interests in the 1960s and the need to reduce the authoritarian militaristic nature of the Indonesian state rather than encourage it.

While politico-corporate Australia talks of commerce, without either country desiring it, West Papua has become the strategic centre-of-gravity between Australia and Indonesia. It echoes of Bill Pritchett’s 1975 briefing of Australia’s relationship with Indonesia:

It is submitted that what is ultimately, and most importantly at stake in relations with Indonesia is the defence interest...of far greater moment than other aspects of Australia’s relations with Indonesia, such as trade and investment...<sup>177</sup>

West Papua is the flash-point that would lead to a real breakdown of relations. Timor was liberated in spite of Canberra’s attempts to prevent it. East Timor was liberated to save the Howard Government from a media scorching and public backlash it had not before experienced and to which there was no end in sight.<sup>178</sup> The objective conditions favoured East Timor in 1999: Jakarta was weakened by the Asian financial flu provoking a collapsing economy and regime change. Most importantly,

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<sup>176</sup> Peter Cosgrove in *LvACP*, 2007, p. 259.

<sup>177</sup> Pritchett, cited by, Monk, op. cit. [Truth], p. 34 –35 of pp. 33-40.

<sup>178</sup> See Fernandes, op. cit. [Reluctant], pp.86-95.

it had exhausted its stocks of international goodwill and the world was not at that moment distracted by pressing problems elsewhere.

It is a forlorn hope that Canberra would be able to back away at the last minute from a conflict in Papua by summoning the UN. This could have been done in February 1999 over East Timor, but Canberra in order to assist Jakarta's control chose to stymie the peacekeeping force suggested by the US State Department's Stanley Roth. On Canberra's current trajectory, with the Jakarta Lobby intact and unchastened by the Timor experience, they would do the same thing again over West Papua. As an indicator (despite a Newspoll which indicated that over 75 percent of Australians supported self-determination for West Papua), Howard's government stubbornly proceeded with the Lombok treaty.<sup>179</sup>

Given the outcome with East Timor and the mythology that Howard cultivated around it, the Australian electorate would be even more insistent next time around. That is a recipe for diplomatic disaster leading to armed conflict. Indonesia's strategic reverse in 1999 meant they had to learn serious lessons. Canberra emerged complacently from the experience. Next time around there would be no guarantee the objective conditions would be as favourable.

Pressure is building. In May 2000, President Wahid allowed a Congress in Jayapura which, unsurprisingly for everyone except Jakarta, called for independence.<sup>180</sup> This primed eternal pressure-release-pressure mechanism that triggers revolution. Although committed to peaceful measures, the movement for West Papuan self-determination is now more exercised than it has been for decades; the internet enables the rapid broadcast of information, while politicians with their corporate donors are manifestly distrusted in the West. Verrier, drawing on the work of Coral Bell, points out,

...a new international focus on minorities and on issues like the environment which reduces what was the absolute sovereignty of nation states to act at will at least inside their own borders. Taken to its logical conclusions, this suggests that neither

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<sup>179</sup> See: ABC Radio National, PM rejects Australian support for Papuan independence, *The World Today*, ABC RN, 19 April 2006.

<sup>180</sup> J.R. Verrier, *Is West Papua another East Timor, Current Issues Brief 1 of 2000-2001*, Parliamentary Library, APH, Canberra, 27 July 2000.

Indonesia nor Australia will be able to ‘manage’ the WNG problem away, largely by denying it exists, as they have been inclined to do in the past.<sup>181</sup>

Minorities from Kurds to Indigenous Americans are in the news and gaining traction.

Countering this is Indonesia’s growing economic strength and military power. Jakarta could afford to lose East Timor; it had become too heavy and they had no recognised legal claim. West Papua is different: Jakarta has never wavered from declaring it part of Indonesia based on the extent of the former Dutch East Indies. Jakarta has great symbolism invested in West Papua: its sovereignty (for which it has spurious legal claim), but more practically, the Freeport Mine—its largest source of revenue. After INTERFET, resentment of Australia showed ‘little signs of abating’ particularly in TNI.<sup>182</sup> This may well be kept smoldering with a rash of books by Indonesian actors in the East Timor atrocity.<sup>183</sup>

Like Tel Aviv, Jakarta has succeeded in creating facts: the destabilising of Dutch West Irian, the Act of Free Choice on which its claim to sovereignty is based, the colonising reality of the transmigration project, the deaths of at least 100,000 Papuans and the subjugation of the remainder are open secrets. In both cases, lobby groups in Australia have successfully sought to influence Australian foreign policy in their favour.

### **OBSERVATIONS ON THE JAKARTA LOBBY**

The existence of a Jakarta Lobby and the basic tenets of its motivation and worldview are undeniable. Because the unlooked-for East Timor intervention was successfully achieved without Australian casualties of violence, Australians—largely unaware of the decisive American diplomatic and over-the-horizon military pressure on Jakarta—basked in self-congratulation without asking too many questions. Consequently the role of the lobby and the top-down state-corporate links went largely unexamined.

One indicator of the Jakarta Lobby’s return to business was the vengeful pursuit of

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<sup>181</sup> Verrier, op. cit.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> For example: Wiranto (Pegulatan Mengungkap Kepenaran), Eurico Guterres (Melintas Badai Politik Indonesia), Domingos Soares (Timor Timur and Konspirasi Internasional), Tono Suratman, (Untuk Negarku).

those they considered had caused them some strife: departmental security sections, the AFP, investigative ‘contractors’, Australia’s notorious defamation laws and the right wing media were all used in the punishment. An additional indicator of the lobby’s return to business and normality was another round of (only partly true) admonitions that Indonesia was now a different place. An anonymous comment about an article concerning Australia-Indonesian relations in *The Drum*, illustrates the point:<sup>184</sup>

airen: [the author’s] opinions about the way Indonesia is reacting and will react in the future are simply wrong. His analysis is based on an Indonesia that no longer exists. He is typical of commentators whose experience of Indonesia is limited to either the period before Reformasi or to East Timor or both. [The author’s] narrative dwells entirely in that period. Not only has the domestic political system and atmosphere in Indonesia changed but also its approach to international affairs. It is more confident in its place in the world, is no longer in awe of Australia or prepared have its foreign policy dictated by us. It is not going to get over this [revelations of Australian intercept of SYB’s wife’s mobile phone] quickly because it sees its basic interests continuing to be ignored unless there is change of attitude in Canberra.

The most significant indicators of things returning to ‘normal’ are: a) the imprisonment of Jakarta’s Christian governor for ‘blasphemy’; b) Canberra’s reengagement with TNI, despite the re-emergence of old military figures in Indonesian politics and new identities such as General Nurmantyo, and c) the continuing human rights abuses in West Papua. Fernandes raised the new justification of the war on terror for training the TNI and suggests isolation of Indonesian military rather than rewarding their stained record. Obviously language training, cultural awareness and the ability to coordinate where necessary are laudable, but the free-wheeling un-measured approaches promoted to the FAD&T Committee of Parliament on 8 June 1999 need to be a thing of the past.

The basis of Canberra’s justification for training the TNI, apart from supposedly encouraging them to be more empathetic, is that Indonesia provides a strategic sheltering screen behind which Australia can take refuge. With the rise of China, there have been calls for Australia to forge even closer defence ties with Jakarta.

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<sup>184</sup> Anonymous comment appended to, L. Collins, Indonesia was handed a free kick and used it, *The Drum*, ABC TV, 2 December 13.

Leaving aside Jakarta's history of brutal military aggression (Confrontation, the Suharto putsch killings, West Papua, East Timor), Canberra's dogma rests on the assumption that there is some state power out there that threatens to mount an overwhelming conventional attack on Indonesia, destroy TNI's means and will to resist, occupy and subdue a country of 260,000,000 people (which found nationhood in anti-colonial resistance), and then have the spare military capability to establish and defend bases from which to launch a decisive attack on Australia. This is the central plank of Canberra's justification. It is not in prospect in the foreseeable future.<sup>185</sup>

Indonesian security sector reform has far to go and the pace of reform has slowed. The only outcome of Australia's training the TNI will be to make them more efficient killers. Instead, the surest path to sound relations with Indonesia is wider community engagement, concentrating on defending democracy against the encroachment of the surveillance corporate state in both nations.

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<sup>185</sup> What Jakarta might do to protect itself—in response to future unlikely but conceivably possible Chinese maritime flanking assault through the Pacific and Micronesia against Australia's east coast—is open to conjecture.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION**

This final chapter will review the purpose of the dissertation, sketch Australia's geo-strategic position in the world in relation to the three lobbies analysed, and propose a framework encompassing similarities and differences of structure and method. The research has shown that the examples have sufficient differences, for example whether there is a foundation community or not, to allow for different models in a more inclusive framework. This will highlight some measures that may limit the current efficacy of the lobbies, and identify areas for further research.

### **Australia's Foreign Affairs**

In Chapter Seven, analysis of the East Timor crisis (1998-99) was instructive, for it unmasked Canberra's dilemma when Washington and Jakarta differed sharply on how to resolve the diplomatic impasse that resulted from a downturn in Indonesia's economic misfortunes. Notwithstanding Canberra's deceptions since, the suicide of an Australian intelligence officer in Washington revealed: a) Canberra's initial support for Jakarta; b) attempted deceiving of the US by limiting the flow of intelligence; and c) DFAT's forestalling the early American proposal for peacekeepers. A similar dynamic unfolded with the Downer-Armitage exchanges over Australian military support for the US in the event of a regional conflict with China over Taiwan. Within Australia, the growing Muslim vote has started to encroach on what has been a long supremacy by the Israel Lobby. That Lobby's continuing influence was demonstrated in December 2016—after the UNSC vote condemning Israeli settlements in the West Bank from which the US abstained—when Australia's foreign minister distanced Canberra from the result.

The question that emerges and is answered in this dissertation is how other states seek to influence Canberra's foreign policy and what models of foreign lobbying emerge, using the US, Israel and Indonesia as the case studies. In this analysis, structure refers to the organisational overlay and its components, for example ANZUS and the various institutions stemming from it, embracing elements like the intelligence-sharing arrangements or the less formal AALD. Methods refer to how the lobbies go about identifying and applying pressure to selected vulnerable points in order to achieve their policy aims.

In the sense of *arcana imperii*, hidden power,<sup>1</sup> Canberra's foreign policy choices occur against the backdrop of emerging 'deep state' and 'state crimes against democracy' theories. These compound the complexity of international relations with notions of shadow governments and secret deals which may be influenced by world views and flexible networks of special interests.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on the works of Peter Dale Scott and Lance deHaven-Smith with Albert Camus' analysis of rational and irrational state terror, the dissertation proposes an American style *messianic global model* of the militarised-corporatised deep state, exemplified by a leading neo-con: '...just wage a total war...our children will sing great songs about us years from now.'<sup>3</sup> Some writers characterise an Israeli deep state as having similar messianic aims in a regional sense<sup>4</sup>; a model that might have been applied to Indonesia over East Timor and West Papua.

By contrast, Australia, middle and declining power, has a *rationalised-nationalist deep state* that assumes a limited aim of protecting and promoting the interests of the power clique and its foreign and domestic networks. This in turn influences the international relations outlook of the power clique.

### Geo-Strategy

Throughout the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Australia's foreign and domestic policy was determined by subordinating the former to the ANZUS alliance and the latter to the neo-liberal Washington Consensus economic doctrine of privatised free markets. The only challenge of the American alliance was by Gough Whitlam's ALP Government until its sacking by the CIA's 'our man Kerr', with British interests possibly engaged, installing a conservative government in Canberra.<sup>5</sup> John Howard tried subterfuge against Washington, attempting to conceal Canberra's support for Jakarta

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<sup>1</sup> See E. Horn, *Logics of Political Secrecy, Theory, Culture & Society*, 2011, Vol. 28(7- 8): pp. 103-122.

<sup>2</sup> For 'flexicans' and 'flex nets', see Janine Wedel, *Shadow Elite*, Basic Books, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Pearle, cited in, J. Pilger, A new Pearl Harbour, *New Statesman*, 16 December 2002, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/192545>

<sup>4</sup> For Tel Aviv's messianic designs, see: S.S. Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, Phoenix, London, 2012, p. 607; I. Shahak, "Greater Israel": The Zionist Plan for the Middle East: The Infamous "Oded Yinon Plan", *Global Research*, 23 April 2016; and J. Lyons, *Balcony over Jerusalem*, HarperCollins, Sydney, 2017, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> See: Christopher Boyce, citing CIA Resident, Joe Harrison, in M. Davis, M., *The Falcon Lands*, *Dateline*, SBS TV, Sydney, 18 February 2014; and J. Hocking, *The Dismissal Dossier*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 2015.

in the retention of East Timor and in the AWB wheat scandal with Iraq. Both were unmasked by Washington and Howard was most accommodating thereafter.

By the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, America's hegemony is in relative decline as other powers gain in economic strength and confidence. China has wider ambitions, though not foreseeably in the messianic sense of Washington's neocon project for global dominance. With the 19<sup>th</sup> Century tide of European imperialism receding, Australia's fortunes are the consequence of geography and history. It finds itself a European outpost on the edge of Asia, much like 11<sup>th</sup> Century Byzantium, the emergent Russian civilisation from Viking-Rus trading posts at Kiev and Novograd, and the late 13<sup>th</sup> century Crusader states in Palestine. Of them, only the Russians have survived.<sup>6</sup>

Washington shows no sign of relinquishing dominance in favour of power-sharing or balancing, leaving Australia with uncomfortable choices ranging from: a) finding a new 'godfather', as one Chinese general put it, b) through leaning on China or Indonesia, to c) collective security arrangements, or d), going it alone. Anglo-American imperialism has left Canberra two particular legacy issues: Israel and Indonesia. Australia's links with Israel are legacy-historical, not geographic and immediate as they are with Indonesia. Without jeopardising the standing of individuals and communities within Australia's fairly tolerant and cosmopolitan society, a review of how these states operate in shaping foreign policy provides a template for a wider review of Canberra's foreign relations. Actors from other states are merely furthering their own interests; exactly what would be expected of them. The extent to which they are willingly assisted by Australians—as this dissertation has shown they are—is the intriguing question.

## **Washington**

Washington wields a leather fist in a velvet glove against Canberra, achieving strategic bases, significant financial investment and a trade surplus. Despite warnings about a dangerous alliance from Malcolm Fraser and others, in general Australia's power clique and citizens are happy with the arrangement, maintaining faith in the

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<sup>6</sup> The ancient Armenia and Georgia, subjugated by Seljuks, Mongols and Ottomans in turn, have re-emerged as states into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century through Russian protection.

security blanket of ANZUS. Washington's agents and friends thus have little to do, which does not imply they are idle in the flex nets that connect the various political, bureaucratic, corporate and lobby groups. Washington's main challenge here is to maintain geo-strategic primacy using Australia as a practical military basing area, while keeping the Chinese at bay.

Structurally, the US Embassy is the hub of influence. Australians were warned in the 1970s of the danger the bases posed to our communications by monitoring, amongst other things, commercial communications, the product from which found its way to American competitors of Australian firms. As methodology, American soft power is decisively exercised through cultural-linguistic and historical associations. 'Flexicans' move in the milieu of diplomacy, the AALD and AAC, reflecting top-down insider policy formulation and networking. Familiar names emerge: Greg Sheridan, on occasion backing American aims in the Murdoch Press, and Woolcott in the shadow of the AAC. Where the bonhomie fails, then there are sterner measures, such as Richard Armitage's terse exchanges with Alexander Downer over Washington's expectation of direct military support in any conflict with China. The shadow of 1975 looms beyond the curtain of common belief that endorsement of the American alliance is vital for political life in Australia.

### **Tel Aviv**

As Mearsheimer and Walt proposed in the US, the Israel Lobby here (through the wealth and organisation of its community) has achieved access to politicians and, reportedly, penetration of the police, military, intelligence services and universities. In terms of structure, the small Jewish community in Australia, with its grassroots around civic institutions such as synagogues and schools, is dominated by a powerful over-structure of Zionist organisations with close ties to the Israeli state, particularly its military and intelligence services. That there is a link between the Israeli Embassy and intelligence operations in Australia and New Zealand, and conceivably further afield in the region, is proven by the New Zealand passports matter and the Ben Zygier affair. Israeli technical intelligence operations here are indicated by Telstra's use of integrated Israeli Verint, Narus and Amdocs technology: systems which have been criticised for their potential role in both Tel Aviv's espionage against Washington, and in the Zygier affair in Australia. Accepting Israeli surveillance

electronics within the Telstra system is naïve of Australia, particularly given concerns amongst the US counterintelligence community. Jewish community security groups and organised counterdemonstrations have the attributes of a semi-clandestine network capable of ‘helping’ their intelligence services. As the Zygier case made public, Israel actively recruits in Australia for Mossad and the IDF, with identity theft noted. Although the standard nomenclature is Israel Lobby, a more correct term would be Tel Aviv Lobby. This is because the Australia-based lobby has established links with Zionist organisations in the US, their intense political lobbying in both Canberra and Washington, together with Tel Aviv’s coordination of lobbying and active recruitment of Australian Jews for the IDF and Mossad. Their Lobby’s ability to identify and exploit an Australian target set would be assisted by their intelligence assets here.

Tel Aviv makes effective use of the usual range of carrot-and-stick approaches. The former worldwide sympathy for Holocaust victims is now being touched by growing awareness—including by Israeli dissidents and Jewish world community—of the Israeli state’s intransigence in its colonisation of Palestine. In Canberra the provision or denial of political funding is a pivotal factor, with the duchessing effect of sponsored trips to Israel effective for garnishing sympathy. Punitive measures designed to influence foreign policy comprise withholding political donations and public rebuke of leading figures that criticise Israel’s actions. The slur of anti-Semitism is still used, though it is losing its effectiveness, particularly when juxtaposed with ‘goyim’—a term that never comes across as an endearment. Outspoken non-Zionist Jews are derided as ‘self-loathing Jews’ and coordinated action against academics has been noted. ‘Lawfare’ has also been attempted.

### **Jakarta**

In contrast to the Israel Lobby which is firmly established in the Jewish community, the Jakarta Lobby consists mostly of Australians who claim a uniquely correct and enlightened view of Indonesia. This Lobby has its firm base amongst politicians and business figures, in the civil and military bureaucracy and the universities. As with the other lobbies examined, the Jakarta Lobby bases itself close to power and operates in a top-down approach: in contrast to the bottom-up, community-to-community grassroots network of, for example, Indonesian Solidarity. While there

are true believers, for bureaucrats, academics and journalists, the benefits are rice-bowl rewards: status, published articles, access, travel, jobs, and sinecures. For the politico-corporate level, the interests are wrapped around commerce; the monetary rewards appear to be handsome. As with Washington and Israel, Indonesian intelligence services operate from the Embassy and consulates in the state capitals, as one would expect. Their claims to have ‘bugged’ Australian politicians and military, during the East Timor crisis of 1998-99, indicate technical collection of some kind, as the Americans and Israelis do. From time to time they have openly monitored and harassed West Papuan activists and their Australian supporters—as was submitted to the JSCOT regarding the Lombok Treaty.

Many Australians, forgetful of the Aboriginal story, are wary of the Indonesian state with its sanguinary history and continuing reputation for corruption. This in turn leads to a subtlety in the conduct of the real business of the Lobby. Much of it is hardly hidden, as the press coverage cited throughout the dissertation indicates; but it is cloaked by positive opinion columns and sheltered by a good deal of public inattention. Trade with Indonesia is touted by some of the business community as the key to good relations. This is true in part with trade statistics indicating a balance in Indonesia’s favour. In an area requiring further research, listening to Australian business figures from time to time it seems the prevailing view has Australia as a non-value-adding feeder of goods and materials into the Indonesian economy, for further development and wider distribution throughout Asia. The live cattle trade has been mentioned as an example. This trend toward Australia trading non-value added material for Indonesian industrial exports was confirmed during Jokowi’s trip to Australia in February 2017, when it was announced that military ties would return to ‘normal’ after another intelligence fracas in January. It was also announced that Indonesia would reduce tariffs on Australia’s sugar in return, as Canberra would ‘reduce barriers to imports of Indonesian pesticides and chemical products.’<sup>7</sup> Given the warnings by Piketty and Testas, cited in Chapter Two, of the social, political and anti-democratic consequences of a decline in manufacturing and the growth of resource extraction, the nature of trade deals between Australia and other states should be most carefully examined.

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<sup>7</sup> S. Anderson and D. Conifer, Australia, Indonesia to restore military ties in wake of talks between Turnbull and Widodo, *ABC News*, 26 February 2017.

There are noticeable great silences and vicious personal attacks that characterise this Lobby's activity. One continual theme, persisting for decades, is that Indonesia is different now. The Jakarta Lobby pay the merest lip-service to the killings and human rights violations of Indonesians, Papuans, Timorese and a handful of Australian journalists. Critics are labelled as ignorant, racist or anti-Indonesian—echoes of Tel Aviv's attitudes to unfavourable comment. In Australia, the Lobby has no hesitation in using the police and departmental security staff to settle scores—proof enough of their proximity to power.

After seventy years, the authoritarian-militaristic nature of the Indonesian state is set. Canberra supported the nascent Indonesian state and the returned good will lingered for a generation. Canberra helped install a military dictatorship in Jakarta by following Washington's lead in supporting the Suharto putsch and killings that followed. There was a lost opportunity in 1975 to soften Jakarta's foreign policy by dissuading them from invading East Timor. The last apparent chance to soften Jakarta's overall policy was in the upheavals following the fall of Suharto, when—apart from Howard being driven to military intervention by an Australian visceral public outrage—Canberra remained a bystander as old hardliners were protected by Yudhoyono and reappeared under Jokowi. The Lobby that denies its own existence had a hand in all this.

West Papua looms as the flash-point issue between Indonesia and Australia. Rather than heightening of tension, true democracy on both sides of the moat offers the best solution. Pritchett's timely and ignored warning from 1975 should be recalled:

It is submitted that what is ultimately, and most importantly at stake in relations with Indonesia is the defence interest...of far greater moment than other aspects of Australia's relations with Indonesia, such as trade and investment...<sup>8</sup>

The implications are too important to be left to the unchecked notions of insider, top-down lobby groups.

### **The Foreign Influence Framework: Structure and Method**

Good relations between nations are dependent on bottom-up, cultural open

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<sup>8</sup> Pritchett, cited by Monk, op. cit. [Truth], p. 34 –35 of pp. 33-40.

mindedness and communication—if not similarity, as in the Anglosphere—linguistically, technically and in trade. Therefore, there is a necessary and desirable space for community-to-community links, academic interest and democratic international diplomacy and cooperation.

It is precisely these forms of links that the lobbies oppose: promoting commerce over human rights and ‘stability’ over peace. What is of interest for the dissertation are those individuals or groups that, through design or naivety, put the other state’s interests before Australia’s, as Weiss *et al.* have demonstrated. Although not a one-size-fits-all framework, the activity of the lobby groups discussed offer certain similarities that form the basis of a model or models in terms of structure and function or method.

First, structurally, the lobbies analysed are all power-clique-to-power-clique, insider, flex-net models seeking top-down policy outcomes. The Australian community is little engaged. Second, the three lobbies have their embassies and intelligence assets—evidently including some signals intelligence capability, probably including hacking—as influential contact points. This comes through very strongly in the cases of the Whitlam dismissal and stolen passports affair. It is also mirrored in the 2005 revelations about Chinese intelligence informant networks from the walk-in Cheng Yonglin.

Third, while the Washington and Jakarta lobbies are mostly home-grown, the Israel lobby has an Australian and dual-passport community from which to draw, as do the Chinese. In Tel Aviv’s case, they have an established structure of community groupings with an overarching Zionist organisation that can rely on community security groups (with numbers in the ‘hundreds’) forming a semi-clandestine organisation. These could provide the *sayanim* or helper support to Mossad: feeder routes for service in the IDF or Mossad, or local muscle to mount counter-demonstrations, against BDS protesters for example—in one case dissuaded by the Victoria Police, who then earned the ire of a magistrate in their conduct against demonstrators.

The methods employed by the lobbies comprise a range of positive and negative inducements. While cultural, political and religious convictions may have a role, the prominence given to various forms of duchessing (political donations, sponsored

travel, honours and awards, invitations to events) all serve to highlight the self or organisational interests and rewards involved. Of these, the research strongly indicates that direct or indirect financial reward is the most effective inducement that the lobbies can offer to their Australian target set.

### **The Australian Dimension**

The Australian target set often mask their sympathies or actions with altruistic intentions: peaceful relations, shared development or the need to cooperate in diplomacy. Many have significant financial or intellectual capital invested; in business, or in the need for access to the other country to further bureaucratic or academic careers. Thus the compass points to financial gain in some form being the main motivation; though for some there is a genuine cultural 'going native' affinity with the other society. The ready acceptance of foreign political donations and 'sponsored travel' suggests that foreign capitals have a sound understanding of what works in duessing Australians. Further down the scale is blackmail or bribery by foreign intelligence services, in the ways and for the reasons detailed in *Plunging Point*. This is an area requiring further research.

Lobbyist rhetoric aside, it is difficult to quantify what the benefit of this largely closed lobbying is for Australia. On the face of it, the quantifiable downsides for these niche influences include: the compromise of our politics, intelligence and law enforcement agencies; interception of our electronic communications; trade imbalances; decline in manufacturing capability associated with increased authoritarianism; unnecessary military operations; and being out of step with world opinion on key issues such as human rights and the environment. Weiss *et al.* chronicle the damage to Australian agricultural, medical, defence and cultural interests by an overly close relationship with the US.

The research suggests that the relative free rein these lobby groups have to influence Australian foreign policy stems from a weakening of grassroots democracy and disengagement of much of the electorate. Several practical and shorter-term measures could be considered to reduce the efficacy of foreign lobbying. The establishment of a Federal ICAC would be an immediate start, as would bolstering the Tax Office and other financial regulatory bodies, and reforming the associated laws. This would offer some means to reduce the power and inviolability of the flex

nets that are largely money-based—as the Panama Papers indicated.

In the final analysis into the relationship of these lobby groups and their Australian target set, there is the uncomfortable and farcical sense of *Noises Off*—things going on backstage as Canberra struggles to accommodate special interests and electoral chance.

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