



REPORT

The Christchurch **Attacks:** Blight on New Zealand's Secret Services

Khalil Dewan

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research
centre

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"ZSIS begin by saying 'you're not working for us', but then force you to travel to different places and report on people", Abdullah Haytham, 32, Auckland¹

"As soon as I converted to Islam in 2008, the ZSIS wanted to speak with me. I'm not sure whether they get a notification or how they find out about people converting – maybe they're monitoring social media!" Daud Lane, 38, Auckland²

"Muslims in New Zealand feel vulnerable because of Islamophobia, even from the justice system. Muslims feel it even in clinics, hospitals, schools, work, public space and all venues of interaction", Yousuf Ibrahim, member of the Muslim community.³

"Islamophobia has been an integral part and parcel of the lives of Muslim New Zealanders since 9/11. The difference is that in the New Zealand context where once it (Islamophobia) was subtle in nature it has now got to a point where terrorism such as the Christchurch attack is the reality", Tayyaba Khan, New Zealand based Muslim, and founder of KLN.⁴

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1. Executive Summary

"It is important that no stone is left unturned to get to the bottom of how this act of terrorism occurred and what, if any, opportunities we had to stop it," Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's Prime Minister.

"We can tackle racism and discrimination, which we must. We can review our security and intelligence settings, and we are", Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's Prime Minister.

On March 15, two Mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand were attacked during the weekly Friday prayers by the suspect Brenton Tarrant. Some 51 Muslim worshippers were massacred with military grade weapon systems, injuring 39 others. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's intuitive response to the massacre is yet to be matched and should set an example for world leaders based purely on the genuine humanity shown to the impacted communities.

But we must be honest and pragmatic about how New Zealand reached this juncture, and where hard national security choices may have cost the lives of its own citizens. New Zealand for nearly two decades has acquiesced a system of discrimination, racism and disenfranchisement via the War on Terror framework. This context in turn has constrained New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS) in monitoring threats such as White Supremacy and the Far Right.

The Christchurch massacre has triggered New Zealand's highest form of inquiry: The Royal Commission. In response TRT World Research Centre launched its investigation into New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS) counter-terrorism practice on Muslim communities to ensure the voices of the victims of the massacre is heard.

For nearly two decades in New Zealand, the government's focus on the so-called War on Terror has preoccupied its intelligence and law enforcement agencies: over-focusing on Muslim suspect communities. A review of New Zealand's counter-terrorism instruments reveals that a blind eye is turned to 'other' non-Muslim threats of violence such as White Supremacy and the Far Right.

What will be seen is that counter-terrorism measures in New Zealand are specifically engineered to focus on violence related to the Muslim communities. As buttressed in TRT World's Policy Outlook paper, there is an inherent-architectural design flaw in counter-terrorism that has existed since 9/11, whereby political violence perpetrated by non-Muslims is not catered for within the War on Terror framework (TRT World Research Centre, 2019).⁵ This was an intended outcome, framing Muslim political violence as terrorism, adding a layer of legitimacy in convicting crimes which are already publishable by domestic criminal law.

As it stands, Tarrant has been charged with 50 counts of murder, but the question still looms whether Terrorism Legislation will be applied. Muslim communities worldwide including in New Zealand have endured an unnecessary and disproportional framework of laws and policies created in a state of frenzy to deal with Muslim-related political violence abroad. This dynamic following 9/11 marks an expectation among the Muslim communities to apply the same framework for attacks of a similar nature – this time against White Supremacy and the far right.

2. Introduction

This report focuses on the inner-workings of New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS), in response to the terms of reference for the Royal Commission inquiry. TRT World Research Centre is concerned that the ZSIS and law enforcement operate with a disproportional focus on Muslim communities, which has paved the way for oversight on the Far-Right and White Supremacist political violence.

With the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Christchurch mosque attacks due to start in May 2019, New Zealand's government must not sidestep the Muslim communities experience for the past 18 years of the War on Terror. This would grossly ill-inform the inquiry when attempting to understand why the ZSIS failed to prevent the massacre at Christchurch.

The purpose of this report is to record some of the abuses in counter terrorism against the suspect Muslim communities. This area remains under-investigated against the backdrop of International Human Rights and National Security Law scholarship. TRT World Research Centre has come across a plethora of cases involving a spectrum of human rights violations from police and the border force agency, however, the scope of this endeavour will remain focused on New Zealand's Security Intelligence Services operational activities and the over-focus on Muslim communities.

3. Royal Commission of Inquiry

"What I can say today is there will be a focus on whether our intelligence community was concentrating its resources appropriately and whether there were any reports that could or should have alerted them to this attack... I want recommendations on how any such attack in the future could be stopped", Jacinda Ardern, Prime Minister of New Zealand.

"It is important that no stone is left unturned to get to the bottom of how this act of terrorism occurred and what, if any, opportunities we had to stop it," Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's Prime Minister.

New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern announced a Royal Commission of Inquiry into New Zealand's security agencies following the massacre at Christchurch on March 15. It is the highest level of inquiry, reserved for matters of the 'gravest public importance'. It will be led by Justice William Young, which will have a window between May 2019 and December 2019 to complete his investigation with the report due to be completed on Human Rights Day (December 10). The agencies that will be taking part in the inquiry include ZSIS, GCSB, Police, border agencies and other agencies of the government.⁶

Terms of Reference

New Zealand must concentrate its resources on the following two terms of reference:

Whether there were any impediments to relevant state sector agencies gathering or sharing information relevant to the attack, or acting upon such information, including legislative impediments, and

Whether there was any inappropriate concentration or priority setting of counter terrorism resources by relevant state sector agencies prior to this attack.

The design of the Royal Commission lacks a separation from state influences, including its Ministers and Executives. As a result, there may not be a complete impartial analysis of the issues at hand. The inquiry must ensure that the voices of the impacted communities are heard, including the victims, families and New Zealanders concerned.

A coronial inquest would have been better suited to deal with the Christchurch massacre, similar to that of the London Bombings in 2005. This would provide a better mode of inquiry and limiting any influence from the executive branch of New Zealand's government. If New Zealand do not execute this inquiry properly, it will remain a blight on its history.

TRT World Research Centre recognises the importance of any sovereign government to protect its citizens, residents within its jurisdiction and territory. Human security is a human right, and must be ensured by all agencies part of any government. In doing so, New Zealand must ensure that the human rights guarantees are adhered to at all times, including those relating to due process, fair trials, rights to privacy, freedom of expression and free movement of people vis-à-vis counter terrorism measures.

Why is this important? Human rights is a central component to upholding due process and to ensure a healthy society remains in place amid tough national security decisions that need to be made. This much is recognised under the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.⁷

On the ground, the same sentiment was shared by Tayyaba Khan, member of the Muslim community in New Zealand and Founder of Khadija Leadership Network (KLN):

The emphasis on Brenton Tarrant's movements and actions leading up to the attack seem an unnecessary use of inquiry resources, when they would form part of the court case. It is also concerning that the invitation to contribute to evidence for the inquiry has been limited to a few in the Muslim community, who aren't necessarily wrongfully impacted by the existing terrorism legislation. It is critical that the opportunity to redress the systematic discrimination purported by legislative tools is also given to those directly impacted, but not necessarily in positions of power.

4. Methodology

The research for this report was conducted between March 2019 and April 2019 using primary research fieldwork and secondary research. TRT World Research Centre investigated and documented 11 testimonies of New Zealand based security intelligence service coercion, blackmail or harassment that took place between 2008 and 2017.

Three of the cases did not provide consent to include in the report, though it informed the inner-workings of how the ZSIS operate in practice. In addition, 2 British cases were used to contextualise the abuses in counter terrorism.

For investigative casework gathering, a snowball methodology was adopted to acquire subjects for interview, which permitted a triangulation and verification process with local community leaders and organizations in New Zealand.

TRT World Research Centre reviewed existing counter-terrorism law and policy documents available on open source platforms. Due to the lack of scholarship

and human rights fieldwork on New Zealand's counter terrorism in practice, there was no substantive scholarship to review or corroborate. The contents of this investigation remains unique in understanding how New Zealand's intelligence service implements counterterrorism in practice.

All the names of the interviewees have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect their identities. TRT World Research Centre retains the names on file of all interviewees. Some official case names were used in the report, as they have already attained public attention.

It is not the purpose of this report to document a comprehensive record of legally questionable intelligence service practices or any other agency working for the New Zealand government. The purpose is to demonstrate the unnecessary and disproportional focus on the Muslim communities in New Zealand under the pretext of the War on Terror. This over-focus may have contributed to New Zealand's failure to monitor threats posed by the Far Right or White Supremacy as seen with the massacre at Christchurch in March 2019.

Acknowledgement

TRT World Research Centre would like to thank all the interviewees who agreed to be interviewed for this report. It is an act of bravery to agree to speak about state-perpetrated abuses in counter terrorism. We hope that the concerns of all interviewees will be under consideration by the New Zealand government.

TRT World Research Centre consulted widely in preparing this report with New Zealand based legal professionals, journalists, community leaders, religious clergy and community based organizations. This report has been authored by Researcher Khalil Dewan.

5. Background

Pre-9/11: Political Violence in the form of Land & Race

Terrorism and conflict was not an issue in New Zealand pre-dating the War on Terror. The majority of the violence was shaped through the lens of race and land issues in the 19th century (J. Battersby, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 2017). In one applicable incident in 1977, New Zealand's police conducted a raid in North Canterbury, Lower Hutt and Palmerston North against a Christian sect otherwise known as the Full Gospel Mission. The raids captured some 200 firearms, 50,000 rounds of ammunition and gun powder. The then head of the ZSIS at the time made a rare public statement over the large quantity of fire arms acquired by the Christian sect – referring specifically to the potential hostilities that could have occurred, based on the military training the group was receiving.¹⁰ Perhaps most concerning for the intelligence service and law enforcement was the fact that the group had a number of members serving in New Zealand's military.

Restricting arms procurement: history repeating itself?

Following the raid on the Christian sect in 1977, the New

Zealand government called for the restriction on accessing small arms. However, the group reverted back to acquiring fire arms, forcing them to better conceal their activities across New Zealand. Thus, it is very clear from this case that the government did not adequately tackle the threat, or the access to lethal weapon systems in the possession of violent entities.

Is history repeating itself again? Before conducting the mosque massacre, Brenton Tarrant claims that he obtained blessings for the attack from a clandestine entity called the 'Reborn Knights Templar' – suggesting a wider support network for the attack. The same groups have claimed that members of the police and army across Europe and America support the Far Right and White Supremacist ideology. Currently there is no empirical evidence to suggest this is the case, although some investigative media reporting claims there are traces of White Supremacy ideology within various police forces in the United States.¹¹

Post-9/11: Muslims as the 'Quintessential Other'

"The hypersensitivity for potential terrorism from Muslim communities is exacerbated by western media. Muslims in New Zealand feel vulnerable because of Islamophobia, even from the justice system. Muslim feel it even in clinics, hospitals, schools, work, public space and all venues of interaction. The intelligence and enforcement authorities have more attention and focus on Muslims, while partially ignoring other forms – the 'other' threats were just not given the same security priority", Yousuf Ibrahim, Muslim community member.⁸

Since 9/11, Muslim communities around the world have been subjected to unnecessary and disproportional counter terrorism laws and policies. Western

nation-states including the United States, United Kingdom and other European countries shifted from a normative criminal law and law enforcement approach to a new phenomenon: counter-terrorism (CT). This securitization of the Muslim communities equated to nearly two decades of questionable stop and search practices on mainland and ports; detention without trial; rendition; and the worst of them all extrajudicial killings via targeted killings.

The second phase of the War on Terror paved the way for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) policies, which effectively seek to police the belief system of Muslims in what can best be understood as a pre-crime space. Some states have even introduced CVE on a national

level seeking to engineer how Muslim communities in the Western societies should think. This is implemented with full support of law to enforce a state-led "good

Muslim, bad Muslim" model (TRT World Research Centre, 2019).⁹

6. Inherent design problems

"Islamophobia has been an integral part and parcel of the lives of Muslim New Zealanders since 9/11. The difference is that in the New Zealand context where once it (Islamophobia) was subtle in nature it has now got to a point where terrorism such as the Christchurch attack is the reality, as well as many other Islamophobic incidents across the country. The Muslim community is therefore left to confront their internalized racism, systematically introduced over almost two decades, and hence what their sense of belonging means in this country", Tayyaba Khan, New Zealand based Muslim, and founder of KLN.

Adopting the language of terrorism: Terrorism Suppression Act 2002

In what looks like a bid to be seen as dependable partners in the fight against terror, New Zealand created legislation that can only be described as a 'knee-jerk' reaction. The Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 focuses on "Al-Qaeda and the Taliban" and any other entity "associated with Usama bin Laden".¹² The 150-page peculiar piece of legislation fails to mention any other group or entity – leaving out the Far-Right and White Supremacists. Why was such a framing adopted by New Zealand? Additionally, why does its terrorism designation list (designated entities) only include Muslim-affiliated groups?

Problematic Definition: Counter Terrorism Project Exposed

What is terrorism? This has been subject to critical assessment throughout the years of the War on Terror. Any attempt to seek an agreed-upon definition of terrorism has only lead to increased verbal gymnastics and more ambiguity. The Terrorism Suppression Act 2002 is no exception to this. The designated terrorist list associated with such a definition becomes problematic in application. New Zealand's counter-terrorism legal architecture only equates terrorism with Muslim related violence.

Under Part 1 (5) of the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002, New Zealand's definition of 'terrorism' is an act "carried out for the purpose of advancing an ideological, political, or religious cause and to induce terror in a civilian population; or to unduly compel or force a government or an international organisation to do or abstain from doing any act".

The second legal clause is problematic, as it does not require a violent act or intention for terrorism to qualify as per New Zealand's definition. This also prematurely paves the way for Countering Violent Extremism measures programmes – although not an official policy or measure of the New Zealand government, its implementation has been captured through casework testimonies by the TRT World Research Centre.

No Terrorism Trial: Signalling Double Standards

Charging Tarrant with mere murder would be a serious understatement for killing 50 Muslim worshippers -including children, women -and 39 attempted murder counts. Several media outlets have reported that New Zealand will not charge Tarrant with terrorism because it does not fulfil the requirement of attaining a "political

or ideological" motive as per New Zealand's Terrorism Laws (Daily Sabah, 2019).

This selective application of terrorism legislation will send a clear signal that the government adopts double stand.

TRT World Research Centre interviewed Tayyaba Khan¹³, a member of the Muslim community in New Zealand:

"It would bring to question the need for the Terrorism Suppression Act and the Countering Terrorist Fighters Act if now is not when we use these legislative mechanisms to test their standing and validity within our judicial system. The fact that under multiple murder convictions he gets a longer minimal parole period only confirms that these bills were passed without rigorous consideration of the application of law in the case of an actual terrorist incident. What Tarrant committed was an act of terrorism, and that is what he should be charged with."

Khan's view resonates throughout New Zealand's Muslim communities, especially after enduring nearly two decades of the War on Terror and its consequences as

'suspect communities'. Therefore, Tarrant's actions may only be accepted within the framework of terrorism.

In another interview with TRT World Research Centre, Yousef Ibrahim¹⁴, a community member said:

"The act is an act of terrorism. Saying that, the definition of terrorism activities traditionally is linked to political [violence] and thus it will be very interesting if we see New Zealand being the first county to define terrorism on a platform that excludes politics and religion from its workings."

There are some voices in New Zealand advocating that Terrorism Law should not feature in Tarrant's trial, as it would "add length to the trial" without influencing the sentencing powers.¹⁵ This type of thinking, even if it may be well-intentioned in some quarters, effectively engineers nothing short of discrimination against the Muslim communities impacted by the attacks. Justice must not be rushed, especially with the high threshold of criminality involved in this terrorist attack.

There are some clear merits as to not applying the questionable Terrorism Law framework which erodes basic human rights protections. New Zealand should consider using this point in history in steering away from a politicised terrorism framework, and administering justice through an independent court of law that will uphold the rule of law objectively.

Unfortunately, as New Zealand has adopted the legal framework of the War on Terror - moving away from

Criminal Law and creating Terrorism Legislation - applying Terrorism Legislation in New Zealand would be considered normalised and 'equality before the law' as per the Human Right Act 1993 and the Bill of Rights Act 1990.¹⁶ Muslim communities would not expect anything short of their attackers being treated with the very same judicial tools that has been applied against them since the beginning of the so-called War on Terror.

Designated Terrorist List: No Trace of Far Right or White Supremacy

A cursory review of New Zealand's Police 'Designated Terrorist Entities' list reveals the disproportional nature of proscribing Muslim groups. The list is associated with the United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1267, 1989, 2253 and 1988, which includes just under 2,000 individuals and 455 groups listed, none of them include the Far Right or White Supremacists.¹⁹ This is highly telling of New Zealand's over-focus on Muslim political violence, without any trace of the threats posed by White Supremacy or the Far Right.²⁰

The same language was used by the United States' 9/11 law – more formally known as the Authorization for the Use of Military Force (AUMF) 2001 – which declares "al-Qaeda, Taliban and associated forces" as the main threat. The AUMF 2001 continues to be the primary underpinning of the all military activity under the pretext of the War on Terror, which continues to justify military operations across Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Yemen and others.

The Countering Foreign Fighters Bill

"Foreign fighters taking part in, or returning from any sort of conflict zone are a concern for many countries.¹⁷ Our intelligence agencies are aware of the risk and are focused on addressing it. We know that a small number of New Zealanders have travelled overseas to engage in the fighting. We're also aware of people within New Zealand who have a desire to travel and fight for the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL)" Former Prime Minister John Key.

On 14 October 2014, New Zealand's cabinet announced the need to create legislation to monitor foreign fighters. Lawmakers rushed the Counter Foreign Fighters Bill on 11 December, only permitting 48-hours for external parties to review the piece of legislation. Without a clear justification why such a law should be rushed through Parliament without adequate consultation. The then Prime Minister attested that the number of foreign fighter is "modest compared with the actual numbers of our partners".

The Bill at the time made amendments to the Customs and Excise Act 1996, the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service Act 1969, and the Passports Act to stop

New Zealanders from travelling to join Islamic State fighters in Syria and Iraq.¹⁸

The government's approach was in simple terms: over-reach. It proposed that the intelligence agencies could conduct visual surveillance of private properties for investigations, access personal customs information for counter terrorism purposes – all without a warrant for 24 hours. The measures also included the suspension of passports for 10 working days and cancellation of passports for up to three years.

But what is interesting is that he claimed "from time to time we see specific threats emerge that we deal with on a case by case basis". How this specific threat intelligence was captured is of importance to the Royal Commission, as it would shed light on how the ZSIS prevented a potential criminal act.

Instead of amending or including new provisions within existing Criminal Law – the government sought to create a new framework to deal with a perceived threat. The legislation provides the ZSIS with greater power on surveillance against suspect communities.

ZSIS Change of Approach on Foreign Fighters

Based on testimonies documented by TRT World Research Centre, the ZSIS approached the Muslim community regarding Muslims travelling to conflict zones. The Muslim community organisations - which cannot be named in this report- explained to the ZSIS and

police that an issue of foreign fighters was peripheral and no threat was posed. One Muslim organisation expressed the idea that perhaps 'psychological' sessions where youth could speak about their concerns would provide an avenue to vent their frustration.

Abdullah Haytham told TRT World Research Centre:

"The Muslim community acknowledged that there may have been some disillusioned youth that were emotionally driven by the conflict in Syria. Some of these youth had a gang background, and others addicted to drugs or from broken families. Their Islamic knowledge was also very basic. ZSIS came to us with their names".

There were less than five youth of concern, but the security services wanted to punish the whole Muslims community in New Zealand", Abdullah Haytham continued.

Based on the responses received during the uptick of violence in the Syrian conflict in 2011, the ZSIS "lost trust" in the Muslim community and its leaders. It resulted in the ZSIS operating a spying campaign targeting the community. TRT World Research Centre is concerned that several human rights violations have taken place during this time.

Instead of working with the Muslim community, the ZSIS decided to shut-down communication with the Muslim communities, and treat everyone as a potential suspect. This is a trend witnessed with intelligence and law enforcement entities in the UK and US among others.

A Question of Engagement: Grievances

There are serious concerns about the way communities will engage with the Royal Commission, particularly when there are pre-existing grievances with sections of the Muslim community. Based on testimonies gathered for this report, it is clear that there is some mistrust

between the community that the New Zealand security and intelligence community. These sentiments are not unfounded, and were acquired very early on with the mishandling Ahmed Zaoui and other cases in the years following the enactment of anti-terrorism legislation.

Five Eyes Alliance

In 2013 Edward Snowden, a whistle-blower and former CIA employee made it clear to the world by releasing classified information that communication surveillance was being conducted by the Five Eyes Alliance – an intelligence sharing alliance between the United States, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand – led by the US' National Security Agency (NSA).

This mass-scaled collection of data contravenes the very essence of the rights to privacy in the digital age, a position advanced by the a UN General Assembly in the adoption of resolution 68/167, 'The right to privacy in the digital age'. A report by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in June 2014 noted "deep concerns" over policies and practices that exploit vulnerability communications for surveillance across the globe.

It is concerning that several human rights and national security considerations may have been violated, including the Freedom of Expression, Right to Privacy and principles of transparency, necessity and proportionality. These matters are protected under the Universal Declaration on Human rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

What is of concern for this report is whether New Zealand failed to act on threat intelligence on the Far Right and White Supremacy vis-à-vis the intelligence agencies and law enforcement. A question which must be answered in the Royal Commission with full transparency for the best interest of the public.

It is reasonable to question then, how both New Zealand and the FIVE Eyes Alliance failed to pick up on the following 'shitposting' remarks, allegedly by Tarrant:

'Shitposting': Ignored evidence

Brenton Tarrant engaged in 'shitposting': a strategy used to upload large amounts of information with irony to provoke an emotional response (Bellingcat 2019). Tarrant used various platforms including the '8chan' platform and Twitter, to upload white supremacist propaganda online. Tarrant even uploaded pictures of the weapons he would later use to commit the attacks in Christchurch.

The following open source intelligence capture shows Tarrant notifying his online community that he will conduct the attack: "Well lads, it's time to stop shitposting and time to make a real life effort post. I will carry out and attack against the invaders, and will even live stream the attack via Facebook." Tarrant's followers, then go on to encourage the attack:

File (hide): 8b867149e7cb3a4...jpg (70.33 KB, 904x711, 904:711, Screw your optics.jpg) (h) (u)



[–] ▶ **'ahem' Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:28:41 ID: c800e3 No.12916717 >>12916719 >>12916726 >>12916730 >>12916748 >>12916763 >>12916770 >>12916773 >>12916784 >>12916807 >>12916835 >>12916870 >>12916924 >>12916954 >>12916981 >>12917041 >>12917103 [Watch Thread] [Show All Posts]

Well lads, it's time to stop shitposting and time to make a real life effort post.
I will carry out and attack against the invaders, and will even live stream the attack via facebook.
The facebook link is below, by the time you read this I should be going live.
[https:// www. face book . com/brenton.tarrant.9](https://www.facebook.com/brenton.tarrant.9)
It's been a long ride and despite all your rampant faggotry, fecklessness and degeneracy, you are all top blokes and the best bunch of cobbles a man could ask for.
I have provided links to my my writings below, please do your part by spreading my message, making memes and shitposting as you usually do.
If I don't survive the attack, goodbye, godbless and I will see you all in Valhalla!
https://www.mediafire.com/file/3vcjr5ll3r6xte/The_Great_Replacement.docx/file
https://www.mediafire.com/file/u153u4aqvafb3y/The_Great_Replacement.pdf/file

<https://meqa.nz/#!e0tQ2Y4K>

► **Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:49:08 ID: 75abab No.12916763

File (hide): [d189a5fb93ed177...png](#) (1003.99 KB, 1100x1250, 22:25, [itstoobright.png](#)) (h) (u)



>>[12916717](#) (OP)
Good luck shitposter
Rolling for many dead
chinks and niggers

► **Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:51:34 ID: 137b9f No.12916777 >>[12916781](#) >>[12916782](#) >>[12916789](#) >>[12916850](#)

not larp, actually happening. delete this thread now or its gonna be the end of 8pol

► **Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:51:47 ID: 0586e9 No.12916779

holy lfuck
<https://www.facebook.com/brenton.tarrant.9/videos/2350426065176752/>
OP fucking delivered I just saw him kill so many fucking hajis.

► **Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:52:07 ID: 754463 No.12916781

>>[12916777](#)
HOLY SHIT!!! THE DIGITS OF GOD!

► **Anonymous** 03/15/19 (Fri) 00:52:07 ID: cec9a9 No.12916782

>>[12916777](#)
Ominous digits there friend.

Just hours before the Christchurch massacre took place, Tarrant pasted his manifesto, titled "The Great Replacement" on seven different sites.²¹

Tweets **Tweets & replies** **Media**



Brenton Tarrant @BrentonTarrant · 2h

mediafire.com/file/3vcjr5ll...

mediafire.com/file/u153u4aqv...

mega.nz/#ie0tQ2Y4K

mega.nz/#iC80myA7B

solidfiles.com/v/4ad3yeXyn4PrZ

solidfiles.com/v/AngzB845g2gBM

www111.zippyshare.com/v/dSteQcu/fil...



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It is reasonable to question why New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS) or the Five Eyes Alliance did not act on this intelligence. One possible conclusion is that Tarrant's white supremacy threat was not on the threat radar.

7. Rights Violations: Case Studies

This section of the report provides case studies on how New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS) has focused on the Muslim communities in New Zealand on what amounts to an unnecessary and disproportional basis.

Drawing on the following testimonies with primary source interviews, this report identifies a number of cases which demonstrates ZSIS and law enforcement over-reach.

Algerian Refugee turns National Security Risk Case: "Ahmed Zaoui"

In what should have been a straight forward immigration control case, turned into a four and half year national security ordeal in New Zealand. Ahmed Zaoui²², a Professor of Sociology and former democratically elected representative of the Algeria Islamic Front for Salvation in December 1991 became New Zealand's counter terrorism litmus test. In 1992, the new government in Algeria was overthrown in a military coup, prompting Zaoui to relocate to Europe. Allegations were levied against Zaoui of being associated with Islamic-inspired armed groups despite categorically denying the allegations. Zaoui was then deported from

France to Burkino Faso, West Africa where he feared for his personal safety and left for South Africa and then Asia.

Zaoui sought refuge in New Zealand in 2002, having claimed that he would be subject to torture and inhuman treatment if sent back to Algeria. Zaoui spent two years of his life in New Zealand in prison including 10 months in solitary confinement due to ZSIS labelling him as a security threat without ever presenting the evidence. Zaoui continues to categorically deny that he was ever a security threat to New Zealand.

In 2003, Zaoui was declared a refugee in accordance to the Refugee Status Appeals Authority, and finally released in December 2004. Despite the official refugee status following the ruling, the ZSIS Director Warren Tucker conceded that the initial decision to hold Zaoui was justified based on intelligence they possessed. In addition, the former Intelligence and Security Inspector Justice Laurie Grieg, who supported the initial ruling against Zaoui resigned in 2004 after the High Court ruled "[Grieg] should not participate further in this review".²³

Based on Zaoui's meticulous legal counsel, it was made clear to New Zealand's judiciary system that the case was based on unreliable information that was not verified by the ZSIS. Zaoui's detention was based on an 'er-

ror' gathered by New Zealand's customs at the airport on behalf of the ZSIS.

Despite the clear disproportional handling of Zaoui's case, the ZSIS, Crown, Ministers and the then Prime Minister continued to allege that Zaoui was a threat to New Zealand. It must be questioned then, why an environment of human rights abuse as part of New Zealand's legal and political infrastructure permitted such human rights violations to take place.

It is imperative that New Zealand adopts greater checks and balances over its intelligence agencies to ensure rights violations are not taking place.

TRT World Research Centre interviewed Ahmed Zaoui²⁴, about the Christchurch attacks, to which he said the following:

"There have been some police mishandling reports by survivors but these claims shall be investigated to ascertain their credibility. This experience is not normal for police to handle and thus can produce some inconsistencies that could be truly or falsely deemed as police shortcomings".



New Zealand's Security Service Harassment (ZSIS)

Following the adoption of the War on Terror framework, the ZSIS implemented a plethora of means and methods to effectively spy on the Muslim communities. The securitization of the suspect communities led to excessive and disproportional surveillance. New Zealand's government made a clear decision: to scrutinize all Muslim community members for potential terrorism

links, particularly those of Middle Eastern descent. This disproportional and unnecessary focus led to a plethora of rights violations, including harassment, as well as coercion to work for the ZSIS. General informal talks with young Muslim males in coffee shops quickly transformed into coercion to operate for the ZSIS as informers.

'Recruiting' Young Muslims

Based on testimonies gathered as part of TRT World Research Centre's investigation, it is clear that the ZSIS sought to recruit young men who shared anti-western sentiments on social media as a result of conflicts in the Middle East. Some of these young men, where not religiously devout while others were experiencing turbulent life events. Regardless of the stage these men were in their life, it should not detract from the fact that

they are entitled as per the law to voice an opinion or share sentiments on Middle Eastern conflicts. The ZSIS exploited these individuals and used personal issues as pressure points as leverage to work for them. Others were offered monetary compensation and advanced spying equipment – though it is unclear if they accepted.

Bellal Hisham²⁵ said about his interaction with ZSIS:

"We're scared, because they [ZSIS] can take the information and flick it back on to you. Interviews are chat, chat, chat and then at the end they bring in a Facebook post – didn't expect it! I felt very shocked. That's when it hit me, they're here for me"²⁶

What is clear from the ZSIS's interaction with young Muslims in New Zealand is that ZSIS are using social media as a tool to monitor what is being said in the community – effectively mapping their worldviews. Though one can argue that it is normal for the intelli-

gence service to monitor such sentiments, it becomes problematic when it is only used against targeted communities and then used as leverage to pressure youth into spying on their own communities.

Double Quagmire: 'Pressure'

Young Muslim men coerced into spying against Muslim communities experience a double quagmire of pressure: First, they are subject to a carefully planned approach to coerce them into cooperating with the ZSIS. This pressure is supported by the ZSIS using the potential informer's social media comments about international affairs as leverage. Second, many Muslim

communities in Western countries, as a result of the War on Terror experience, have developed a peripheral 'us and them' psyche. As a result, they have alienated those known to be informers and adopted a suspicious attitude towards outsiders. In one case, one of the informers left New Zealand to relocate in Australia to escape the pressure.

Harassment – Youth Worker 'Fatigued' with ZSIS Demands Feature Case: Abdullah Haytham

TRT World Research Centre interviewed Abdullah Haytham²⁷, a former youth worker based in New Zealand. Haytham's case demonstrates how the ZSIS wanted to recruit a community youth worker and initiated several

meetings to talk about five young Muslim youth who made it onto the radar of the ZSIS based on their social media posts:

"In 2007, ZSIS approached me to talk generally about the Muslim community. I didn't think much of it, and spoke to them. I thought I was obliged to talk with them."

"Just before the Hajj (pilgrimage) season [in 2013], many people were approached by ZSIS, called up and even visited by ZSIS. One time, the ZSIS demanded that I give them names of Muslims that may pose a threat to New Zealand. I was shocked! I didn't give anyone's name! They didn't contact me again..."

"Towards the end of 2014, ZSIS approached me again nearly every single week because I was a youth coordinator with [redacted Muslim organisation]. They wanted to know about the Muslim youth, their religious beliefs and global thinking on The Islamic State in Syria / Iraq. They would call me on my phone seeking information- but I'd try to avoid because I wasn't interested to talk to them. The ZSIS was pressuring me to cooperate and work for them."

"As a youth coordinator, I can tell who's working for ZSIS. Strange questions are being asked in the mosques and community places on conflict, Jihad and other issues. The Muslim community reject these people."

"ZSIS begin their approach by saying 'you're not working for us', but then the ZSIS force you to travel to different places and report on people."

Based on this part of the testimony, it becomes clear that the ZSIS are involved in coercing informers to work for them, using a similar strategy that has been seen as part of the War on Terror in the United States and United Kingdom. It is common for communities impacted by the War on Terror to not be fully aware of their rights when interacting with agents of the state. These types of interactions are out of the ordinary for most members of society. Furthermore, it differs stark-

ly to interactions with law enforcement as oversight for the intelligence service is minimal. Due to the sensitive nature of the activities of the ZSIS, it is possible that activities such as this may never be officially made public. If anything, ZSIS and other associated agency activities would never be made public in an inquiry, as their inner-working would be deemed as sensitive and covered by national security protections.

ZSIS Social Media Monitoring Pre-Christchurch

TRT World Research Centre interviewed Abdullah Haytham28, a former youth worker based in New Zealand. Haytham's case demonstrates how the ZSIS wanted to recruit a community youth worker and initiated several

meetings to talk about five young Muslim youth who made it onto the radar of the ZSIS based on their social media posts:

"Many people were watching ISIS propaganda videos in 2014 – they were also played on the news! This prompted the SIS to spy on the Muslims. Shortly after, New Zealand started arresting and charging people for watching these videos and saw it as a path to extremism and terrorism", Abdullah said.

"Some youth expressed support for ISIS on Facebook – early on in the conflict. In one meeting with ZSIS, they told me the names of five people that wrote statuses on Facebook in support of the conflict in Syria. They wanted more information on them, but how did they know [about them]?"

What is clear from this part of the testimony, is that the ZSIS were monitoring social media accounts in order to capture any statements of support for Islamic State in Syria and Iraq. Based on the specific questions asked about certain individuals in the Muslim community, it is clear they were qualitative in nature vis-à-vis statements made on Facebook.

Monitoring other threats?

It is reasonable to question why the ZSIS and other law enforcement agencies in New Zealand did not monitor the threat by Tarrant who was responsible for killing over 50 Muslim worshippers at Christchurch. Tarrant posted a plethora of white supremacist propaganda online – including on Facebook – and live-streamed the massacre. Yet, the ZSIS and law enforcement failed to capture the threat.



Police

"I was also contacted by the police – they were a little more professional and had a better understanding of the Muslim culture and religion. The police asked to work with the youth as part of our community outreach project - so we organized this – there was soccer games and BBQs. In contrast the ZSIS were just collecting intelligence and just removed passports for those few that went to join ISIS."

"ZSIS didn't have any problem with me doing the youth outreach. They just wanted to know who is a threat...this is how our counter terrorism experience began after this intelligence gathering process"

Although these youth were less than 5, the security services cast a shadow of suspicion on all 50,000 members of the Muslim communities.

Do you pray in a local Mosque?

ZSIS would ask Muslim youth questions which were very telling of the simplistic nature of their investigation on any threats.

"ZSIS asked the young Muslims whether they pray Fajr (dawn prayer) and whether they attend a local mosque, Abdullah told TRT World Research Centre. ZSIS asked Muslim youth about their views on American foreign policy in the Middle East, especially the Syria conflict". This evidences that ZSIS are focused on applying US's War on Terror framework.

"Before the emergence of ISIS, most of the meetings were with the community leaders. But after ISIS emerged, SIS began approaching general Muslims about Middle Eastern conflicts. The community leader's kept on saying there's no problem within the community with ISIS, so the ZSIS stopped asking them – didn't believe the community anymore", Abdullah Haytham said.

It's important to attain transparency on where and how these ZSIS interview responses are used, as it is a concern that the statements obtained through these interactions could be shared with various other security bodies including customs and border protection agencies potentially leading to disproportional stop and search measures .

Government Funded CVE Programmes: Caution Required

Some parts of the Muslim community in New Zealand are seeking government funding for social and community projects to deal with ZSIS concerns of home-grown terrorism. However, it is not clear how government funding would be used and whether the funding

would be attached to any controversial counter-terrorism and counter violent extremism (CVE) agendas – as seen in the context of the United Kingdom's PREVENT programme.

The Muslim communities in New Zealand should approach such endeavours with caution: acquiring government funding for community projects in the context of the War on Terror is a risky option. There is no denying that critical thinking is required before committing to government projects. Ultimately, recent history has shown that the counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism (CVE) agenda's in places such as the US and the UK have demonstrated an inordinate focus and their hostility towards Muslim communities.

Similar experiences where communities have engaged in government funded projects under the guise of community outreach have resulted in the violation of basic human rights – for example in the United Kingdom with the government's PREVENT de-radicalisation programme. What has been witnessed is that the UK sought regular 'results' from the funding to feed into the counter-terrorism framework and justify national security measures.

Why?

CVE projects funded by the government within the suspect communities are designed to monitor and even control the thoughts and beliefs of Muslims in a pre-crime space. The characteristics of CVE programmes lead one to the conclusion that they are effectively a type of social-engineering projects, designed to shape the accepted forms of beliefs for Muslim communities living in the West. The implementation of it is threatening over time, with the force of law and policy, applying

a state-led "Good Muslim and bad Muslim" model (TRT World Research Centre, 2019).

CVE projects undermine basic human rights of the suspect community, including the Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion – all guaranteed protections as per New Zealand's human rights framework and international law.

Abdullah Haytham told TRT World Research Centre that government funding will not work for community outreach projects:

"At one stage a government funded outreach was a good thing for young Muslims thinking about going to Syria. But they [young Muslims] found themselves isolated because of the media attacks (Islamophobia) against Muslims – and the entire terrorism discourse."

Muslim communities are arguably better off seeking private funding for social and community projects – independent from external and particularly state influence. In this manner, the projects will be objectively separated from any CVE agendas which has been proven to be incessant in basic human rights violations elsewhere.

Although New Zealand do not have an officially pronounced CVE policy, there is no denying that TRT World Research Centre has monitored its preliminary workings on the ground. Ultimately, communities have a choice if they want to engage in these flawed architectural counter terrorism designs.

Entrapment Case: Charles Wardle

Charles Wardle, a 28 year-old spy working for the ZSIS in 2011 attempted to engineer entrapment cases within New Zealand's Muslim communities. Wardle was in the borders of Pakistan during the 9/11, and tried to join non-state armed groups fighting in Afghanistan. He reportedly has a background in martial arts. Wardle accepted Islam reportedly with the leader of Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Righteous) in Pakistan and

was apparently sent to fight in Iraq with Ansar al-Islam (Partisans of Islam). According to one report, Wardle was sent for explosive device training in United Arab Emirates, and then expelled by the authorities and sent back to New Zealand in 2003.²⁹ This is when Wardle came in contact with ZSIS and agreed to work with the intelligence and received \$450 per week as a tax free salary.

In describing Wardle's clandestine activities in the Muslim communities in New Zealand, Abdullah Haytham told TRT World Research Centre:

"ZSIS sent a new convert as a spy [Wardle] – he travelled to all problematic countries and then started working with ZSIS. He was teaching Muslims karate. After one year, he mentioned that he didn't get a salary from the ZSIS. He was clearly involved in ENTRAPMENT!!!!" Abdullah Haytham said.

"The spy use to bring MMA fighting videos to the Mosque. I warned him that it wasn't allowed to play them here. When the prayer time came in, he didn't care about praying..." Abdullah Haytham

"I was suspicious of him and had many questions around him – for example who was sponsoring his trips and living costs to these sensitive conflict zones. The spy would talk openly about meeting many armed groups, openly in the mosque with the youth", Abdullah Haytham said.

Muslim communities in New Zealand would recognize informers purely based on the sensitive topics spoken about including: Middle Eastern conflicts and Jihad in terms of offensive armed conflict. These interactions

would often lead to the shunning of the individual suspected of being an informer and, consequently, leave a negative impression of the government and authorities in the targeted communities.

"Strange questions are being asked in the mosques and community centres by these informers on conflict, Jihad and other issues. The Muslim community reject these people", Haytham said.

Damaging Impact on 'Suspect' Communities

New Zealand's strategy in the use of informants and spies in counter terrorism operations is disingenuous. Such a strategy is riddled with violations of basic human rights and disrupts trust between communities and government. What can be seen from Wardle's spying activities is that Muslim communities, in the wake of such incidents, lose trust in the state. This in turn triggers a negative reverberating impact with community cohesion. Naturally, it disrupts the perception of young Muslims: as a normal interaction with the local police then becomes a potentially hostile situation. Instead of using a clandestine manner to monitor potential threats, the government should reach out to the Muslim communities and discuss any concerns over beliefs and worldviews.

Fearful of practising faith and expressing political beliefs

As seen with experiences of the War on Terror in the United Kingdom and United States, Muslim communities are forced to curtail their right to conscience, thought and practice of religion as a result of intrusive strategies adopted by the state. All political discussions are then shut down and not spoken about in mosques and community events in fear of being misconstrued by intelligence agencies or law enforcement. This clearly violates the communities' right to the Freedom of Thought, Conscience, and Religion under New Zealand's Bill of Rights Act 1990.³⁰

British Experience: Entrapment CASE: Munir Farooqi

The UK based case of Munir Farooqi is a worthy comparison, whereby undercover police and other agents were placed within the British Muslim community with the sole purpose of facilitating convictions vis-à-vis terrorism legislation.³¹ Munir Farooqi, a British national and Muslim man who would engage in propagation of the Islamic faith in a peaceful manner within the boundaries of the law in Manchester, northern England was sentenced to approximately 10 years in prison.³² He provided free leaflets, documentaries and engaged in conversation with interested pedestrians. However, in 2008, two undercover police officers approached the stall and gradually attained the trust of Farooqi and his family.

The Farooqi family as a whole invited the two undercover agents into their home on many occasions, where friendly discussions would take place in addition to lunches and dinners over time. The spies initiated conversations of a political nature and 'how to join the jihad in Afghanistan and Iraq' against British and American troops. The undercover agents according to the Farooqi family even 'cried' over the wars in Muslim majority countries. The case surrounds Farooqi encouraging the undercover agents to fight in Afghanistan. But the difficulty with the case was that there was no material evidence to prosecute Farooqi. After the court verdict, Tony Porter, head of the North West Counter Terrorism Unit, (NWCTU) said: "This was an extremely challeng-

ing case, both to investigate and successfully prosecute at court, because we did not recover any blueprint, attack plan or endgame for these men".³³

What was not known at the time of these frequent visits, was that hundreds of hours of conversations were recorded in the family home, which was then used to form a conviction. Munir Farooqi in 2011 was sentenced for his comments under the conditions of entrapment and found guilty in 2011 by the British courts for preparing for acts of terrorism, soliciting murder and disseminating literature. Farooqi was given four life

sentences and to serve some nine years as a minimum in prison before review for parole.

There are some severe concerns around using informants and undercover agents within suspect communities. It violates basic human rights to privacy and triggers concerns over due process. The use of agents in this manner not only would result in questionable convictions, but more importantly impact the trust of suspect communities when the state should be protecting them and treating individual cases on the basis of equality before the law.

New Muslim Convert Harassed by ZSIS & Police Case: Daud Lane

"As soon as I converted to Islam in 2008, the ZSIS wanted to speak with me. I'm not sure whether ZSIS get a notification or how they find out about people converting to Islam – maybe they're monitoring social media. But they wanted to speak to me about working with them! – that's when I freaked out", Dawud Lane, Auckland.

The testimony of Daud Lane³⁴, documented by the TRT World Research Centre demonstrates how the ZSIS approached a new convert to Islam in New Zealand and used his self-proclaimed 'personal life disadvantages' as leverage to spy on his own new religious communities.

"The president of a Muslim community organisation [REDACTED] told me that ZSIS wanted to speak to me and left a number behind. Later that day I called ZSIS, and asked them: what the hell is up? Why are you looking for me? All they [ZSIS] said was: "Can we meet you?" I declined, but then they turned up outside my house!"

ZSIS then approached Daud to speak to him about working as an informant. "ZSIS knew I was a poor student. They wanted me to provide intelligence on the Muslim community and gather information. Every now and then, I would come home to see a few bags of groceries waiting for me at my home door, my mobile phone topped-up by them or a meeting at the nicest restaurants in town!. I felt like I was being bribed in doing all of this. They'd call it 'strengthening of ties' to work with ZSIS – but It was definitely bribery", Daud said.

Shortly after Daud declined to work for the ZSIS, the Criminal Investigation Branch part of New Zealand's Police turned against him and started investigating him for terrorism links. This strategy has been seen before in the War on Terror, especially in the United States and United Kingdom whereby Muslims who refuse to work for the intelligence agencies are then subject to counter terrorism investigations.

Criminal Investigation Branch – Police

"I moved away from Hamilton, and moved up north. The ZSIS were only interested in Muslims in Hamilton, so they didn't contact me for nearly one year. But In 2010, the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) contacted me and that's when they started investigating me for terrorism!"

"I received a phone call: 'Hello is this [Daud]'...yes I said [Daud]. 'Where are you, we're here outside your house'? I opened the door, and they were waiting in a car – the CIB. They then started asking me several questions in an aggressive manner:

"Do you believe in Jihad?"

"Are you connected to terrorists?"

Are you interested in going to the Middle East and fight?"

"Why was I being monitored in this way in 2010, when they couldn't stop a White Supremacist on the loose at Christchurch? Newly converted Buddhists, Jews or Rastafarians wouldn't get called up by the intelligence agencies like this! Why Islam? We're seen as a threat. It's the constant demonization of Muslims in the Media that has allowed this to occur. Which is why our government's monitoring us like this – targeting young Muslims".

Coercion

Coercing Muslims to spy on their own communities is nothing unique to New Zealand – it is a known strategy used by intelligence agencies around the world. More often than not, this approach equates to a systematic violation of human rights in the pursuit of counter terrorism. This is precisely the lens these incidents should be viewed through.

The following British case is an example of how the intelligence agency MI5 coerced a group of men to spy on their own communities, and when they refused were subject to a systematic process of degradation by treating them like terrorism suspects.



British Experience: Work for British Intelligence or Face Detention & Harassment CASE: Hashi & others in Northwest London

The Royal Commission of Inquiry is an opportunity for the ZSIS and the government to come together and assess whether the intelligence approach applied on the so-called suspect Muslim communities is pragmatic. The following case is what New Zealand could replicate and is clearly heading towards if ZSIS's unnecessary and disproportional approach is not addressed. The ZSIS has been displaying similar behaviors compared with the British intelligence, but not yet the scale outlined below.

Five community workers with the Kentish Town Community Organisation (KTCO), aged between 19 and 25 at the time, based in North London came forward in 2009 when MI5 attempted to blackmail them to work as informants in their own communities³⁵ The five men were told by MI5 that if they do not spy on their own communities, then they will be harassed as terrorism suspects in the UK and abroad.

After lodging complaints to their local Member of Parliament, the British Police, the UK Investigatory Powers Tribunal and human rights organizations, they decided to make their experiences public.

Three of the men were detained in airports abroad, sent back to the UK and then questioned by MI5 in various London airports. Two other men were approached by intelligence officers posing as postmen – asking them to spy on Muslims in London. One of the men described the moment MI5 approached him as a postman: "The MI5 agent said, 'Mohamed if you do not work for us we will tell any foreign country you try to travel to that you are a suspected terrorist.'"

All of the men were subject to stop and search, otherwise known as 'Schedule 7'. This permits officers to stop and search, question and detain individuals for a number of hours without charge. All five of the men refused to work with MI5, and consequently received threatening and intimidating phone calls from MI5.

One of the men, Mehdi Hashi, while travelling to Djibouti was stopped in the airport and held in detention for

16 hours on the orders of MI5. Hashi was then forced to return to the UK, where he was detained upon return. MI5 officers then escorted Hashi to retrieve his luggage and then taken to an interrogation room. The MI5 agent told Hashi that his "suspect" status and travel restrictions would be lifted if he agreed to spy on the Muslim community.

Hashi replied, "This is blatant blackmail". "No, it's just proving your innocence. By co-operating with us we know you're not guilty", the MI5 agent responded.

Hashi alleged that MI5 asked that he speaks about 'Jihad' in Middle Eastern conflicts with the Muslim community.

"I looked at him and said 'I don't ever want to see you or hear from you again. You've ruined my holiday, upset my family, and you nearly gave my sick grandmother in Somalia a heart attack", Hashi said.

The cases of Hashi and others demonstrates a clear nexus with Daud Lane's security service harassment ordeal in New Zealand. The strategy employed by the agencies is threatening to Muslim citizens of each country. TRT World Research Centre is concerned that such activities adversely alienates youth within the so-called suspect communities who are not engaged in any crimes as per domestic Criminal Law – the intelligence agencies are in full knowledge of this fact.

What is more damaging, and telling of each countries justice system, is that the courts are prepared to consider information gathered by the ZSIS which should be questionable by any upright court of law. It is thus important to view these experiences as potential means that destroy communities and break trust in a fragile environment.

The following British case is an example of how the intelligence agency MI5 coerced a group of men to spy on their own communities, and when they refused were subject to a systematic process of degradation by treating them like terrorism suspects.

8. Conclusion

This report has set out a picture of New Zealand's counter terrorism instruments, and evidence of its inner-workings in Muslim communities vis-a-vis ZSIS and law enforcement. The relevance of this to the Christchurch attacks lies in the scope of investigation that may or may not be undertaken as per the terms of reference for the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the attacks of March 15th, 2019. References of violations of human rights protections the New Zealand government owes to individuals have been documented: due process, fair trials, equality before the law, rights to privacy, freedom of expression and free movement of people.

What is certain from TRT World Research Centre is that the ZSIS operate with a disproportional focus on Muslim communities, which has arguably paved the way for oversight on the threat of white supremacy and the far right.

New Zealand's Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS) implemented a plethora of means and methods to effectively spy on the Muslim communities. The securitization of the Muslim suspect communities led to excessive and disproportional spying. New Zealand's government made a clear legal and policy decision: to scrutinize and treat the Muslim community as a whole as potential threat.

Brenton Tarrant's online activity and threatening propaganda, on the other hand, was not actioned or prevented by the ZSIS. TRT World Research Centre has documented evidence of some Muslims in New Zealand who were harassed by ZSIS and Police based purely on their personal social media activity. This demonstrates the meticulous focus the ZSIS had on the Muslim suspect community.

Muslim communities in New Zealand have endured a 'knee-jerk' securitisation approach since the inception of the War on Terror, allowing the political and media structures to ferment anti-Muslim sentiment. This reality must not be ignored by the Royal Commission, as the government has acquiesced to a framework constituting human rights abuses by adopting the War on Terror framework.

Anti-Muslim sentiment is an often daily feature for Muslims in New Zealand, whereby some New Zealanders think the initial subtle nature of anti-Muslim sentiment has developed to lead to the Christchurch attacks. TRT World Research Centre has documented testimonies whereby Muslims feel "vulnerable" and feel the impact of anti-Muslim sentiment in their everyday lives, including in schools, hospitals, and the work place and in the public space.



9. Recommendations

Despite the attention the Christchurch attacks have received on a global level, the following recommendations are required to redress rights of victims and to seek a prevention of another attack by the likes of Brenton Tarrant.

New Zealand's Government

The government's duty to protect the safety and human security of all its citizens – including those it treats as suspect communities – should not be compromised based on any form of impediments as per government policy, framework or directive. Protection is guaranteed by International Law and International Human Rights Law.

An independent and impartial review must be conducted on the operational activities of the ZSIS to ensure rights abuses are not being committed – including the duty to protect human security.

New Zealand possesses a strong reputation for human rights and social justice. However this perception has been shifting not only in light of the Christchurch attacks, but also amid an increasing mismanagement over threats of concern posed to national security. New Zealand is in an important position where it can create sound legislation to incorporate hard security decisions and comply with international human rights protections. It should not adopt the flawed legal-architectural design of the War on Terror framework in a bid to be seen as equals in the fight against terrorism triggered by the US and others – critical thinking is required to manage threats pragmatically.

All threat entities, whether individuals, ideologies or groups must be included in the scope of the ZSIS and law enforcement priority under the purview of the Terrorism Suppression Act 2002. The Prime Minister has the ability to enlist any entity it considers to be a terrorist organisation or individuals under Part 2, Section 20 of the Act.

Royal Commission

The Royal Commission must frame the victims at the centre of the inquiry, to understand from a grass-roots level the impact of anti-Muslim sentiment and counter-terrorism in practice on Muslim communities in New Zealand. This would better inform the government on the extent it acquiesces a system of abuse amid the rise of anti-Muslim sentiment fermented through the political, media and judicial structures in society.

The design of the Royal Commission lacks a separation from state influences, including its ministers and executives. As a result, there may not be a complete impartial analysis of the issues at hand – especially related to the Security Intelligence Service (ZSIS). The inquiry must ensure that the voices of the Muslim communities impacted are heard, including the victims, their families and the wider New Zealand community. .

A coronial inquest would have been better suited to deal with the Christchurch massacre, similar to that of the London Bombings in 2005. This would provide a partially better mode of inquiry, erasing any influence from the executive branch of New Zealand's government. If New Zealand do not execute this inquiry properly, it will remain a blight on its history.

Security Intelligence Service & Law Enforcement

More clear provisions are needed to scrutinise the operational activities of the ZSIS that directly impact human rights and security.

Harassment, coercion and blackmailing of the suspect community represent violations of basic human rights under international and domestic law. Using such strategies will only alienate the targeted communities, causing disenfranchisement and resentment.

All sources of threat – including far right and white supremacist political violence – must be on the radar.

If there are any impediments in the ZSIS's operational activities, it is encouraged to openly participate in the Royal Commission. It will only pave the way for greater protection of New Zealand's national security.

All information relating to the ZSIS failure in stopping the attack by Brenton Tarrant must be made public with full transparency as a matter of public interest. Including whether members of the Five Eyes Alliance

shared any threat intelligence regarding Brenton Tarrant. The victims, their families and impacted communities in New Zealand and abroad have a right to know the truth as a matter of public interest.



Appendix: Security Service Harassment, Coercion, Entrapment & Blackmail Cases Documented by TRT World Research Centre

Year of Incident	Name	Location of Incident	Issue	Sections of Report Where Mentioned
2003 – 2007	Ahmed Zaoui	New Zealand	Algerian refugee was treated as a national security threat without any evidence – New Zealand's first counter-terrorism litmus test case. Zaoui was placed in solitary, deprived of liberty and denied due process.	P.12, 15, 16
2014	Bellal Hisham	New Zealand	Coerced to work for ZSIS and blackmailed with a sensitive social media post as leverage.	P.17
2007 – 2014	Abdullah Haytham	New Zealand	Feature case in report: Full spectrum of harassment by ZSIS, coercion and harassment	P.1, 12, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22
2011	Charles Wardle	New Zealand	ZSIS undercover tried to entrap Muslims in New Zealand	P.22
2008	Daud Lane	New Zealand	New Muslim Convert Harassed by ZSIS & Police	P. 1, 24, 26
2008	Munir Farooqi	United Kingdom	British experience: entrapment case and due process.	P. 23, 24
2019	Yousuf Ibrahim	New Zealand	Community member and leader experience of anti-Muslim sentiment and disproportional use of counter-terrorism	P. 1, 8
2019	Tayyaba Khan	New Zealand	Community member and leader experience of anti-Muslim sentiment and disproportional use of counter-terrorism	P.1, 6, 9, 10
2009	Hashi & Others	United Kingdom	British experience: security service harassment, coercion and blackmailing.	P.26
2016	Imran Patel	New Zealand	Case assisted background research: Social media posts - case represents how ZSIS monitored internet / mobile telecommunications for CT purposes.	N/A
2011	FR	New Zealand	No consent given to include: Stop and search of a New Zealand national at Airport – disproportional and unnecessary measures against suspect community.	N/A
2016	AH	New Zealand	No consent given to include: Stop and search of a New Zealand national and approached by ZSIS	N/A
2017	IK	New Zealand	No consent given to include: Stop and search by Police. Unnecessary and disproportional – profiling.	N/A

Endnotes

- 1 Pseudonym – real name changed. Interview with TRT World Research Centre, March 2019.
- 2 Pseudonym – real name changed. Interview with TRT World Research Centre, April 2019.
- 3 Pseudonym – real name changed. Interview with TRT World Research Centre, April 2019.
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