



SOUTHEAST ASIA AND NEW ZEALAND

A HISTORY OF REGIONAL AND
BILATERAL RELATIONS



EDITED BY
ANTHONY L. SMITH

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The **Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS)** was established as an autonomous organization in 1968. It is a regional centre dedicated to the study of socio-political, security and economic trends and developments in Southeast Asia and its wider geostrategic and economic environment.

The Institute's research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

ISEAS Publications, an established academic press, has issued more than 1,000 books and journals. It is the largest scholarly publisher of research about Southeast Asia from within the region. ISEAS Publications works with many other academic and trade publishers and distributors to disseminate important research and analyses from and about Southeast Asia to the rest of the world.

CONTRIBUTORS

Michael Green was New Zealand's Ambassador to Indonesia from 1997 to 2001, after which he was a Deputy Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Wellington for three years. He began a posting as High Commissioner in Fiji at the end of 2004.

Gary Hawke is Professor of Economic History and Head of the School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand. He is also Chair of the Board of the New Zealand Committee of the Pacific Economic Co-operation Council (NZPECC).

Gerald Hensley was a former New Zealand High Commissioner to Singapore. He also served as Permanent Head of the Prime Minister's Department (1980 to 1987) and as Secretary of Defence (1991 to 1999).

Stephen Hoadley is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Studies, University of Auckland.

Ian McGibbon, general editor (war history) in the New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage's History Group and managing editor of *New Zealand International Review*, has written extensively on New Zealand's defence and foreign policies.

Roberto Rabel is Director of the International Office, University of Otago and author of the forthcoming volume *New Zealand and the Vietnam War: Politics and Diplomacy* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005).

Rhys Richards is a Pacific maritime historian, writing on Pacific arts and artifacts. Until he retired in 1999 he served with the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, including as High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands (1996–99) and as a diplomat in the first New Zealand Embassy in the Philippines (1972–75).

Jim Rolfe is an Associate Professor at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, Hawai'i.

Mark G. Rolls is a Senior Lecturer in Asian politics in the Department of Political Science and Public Policy, University of Waikato.

Anthony L. Smith is an Associate Research Professor at the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies, Hawai'i and an Associate Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.

Guy Wilson-Roberts is a member of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) New Zealand national committee and a former public servant.

GLOSSARY

1RNZIR	1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADAF	Asia Development Assistance Facility
AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Area
AMDA	Anglo-Malayan Defence Arrangements
ANZAM	Australia, New Zealand, Malaya
ANZUK	Australia, New Zealand, United Kingdom
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASA	Association of Southeast Asia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
ASPAC	Asian and Pacific Council
BFI	Bukidnon forest project
BSPP	Burma Socialist Programme Party
CEP	Closer Economic Partnership
CER	Closer Economic Relations (between Australia and New Zealand)

CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CIET	Committee for an Independent East Timor
CPM	Communist Party of Malaya
CSR	Commonwealth Strategic Reserve
DA	Defence Attaché
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
ECAFE	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FALINTIL	Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor Leste (Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FEALAC	Forum for East Asia and Latin America
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária do Timor Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor).
FPDA	Five-Power Defence Arrangements
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCKD	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
GRUNK	Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
HOM	Head of Mission
IADS	Integrated Air Defence System
ILO	International Labour Organization
INTERFET	International Force East Timor
Malphindo	Malaysia, Philippines, Indonesia
MAP	Military Assistance Programme

MFA	Minister for Foreign Affairs
MFAT	New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
MFN	Most-Favoured Nation
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NAFTA	New Zealand Australian Free Trade Agreement (later also North American Free Trade Area)
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NEI	Netherlands East Indies
NGO	non-governmental organization
NLD	National League for Democracy (Myanmar)
NUP	National Unity Party (Myanmar)
NVA	North Vietnamese Army
NZAID	New Zealand's International Aid and Development Agency
NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force
<i>NZFAR</i>	<i>New Zealand Foreign Affairs Review</i>
<i>NZFATR</i>	<i>New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade Review</i>
NZHC	New Zealand High Commission
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
ODA	official development assistance
OPM	Free Papua Organisation
PAFTAD	The Pacific Trade and Development Conference
PAP	Peoples' Action Party (Singapore)
PAVN	People's Army of Vietnam
PBEC	Pacific Basin Economic Council
PECC	Pacific Economic Co-operation Council
PKI	Indonesian Communist Party
PM	Prime Minister
PMC	Post-Ministerial Conference (ASEAN)

PRC	People's Republic of China
RAF	Royal Air Force
RNZAF	Royal New Zealand Air Force
RNZN	Royal New Zealand Navy
RUSI	Republic of the United States of Indonesia
RVN	Republic of Vietnam
SAS	Special Air Service
SD	Secretary of Defence
SEACDT	South-East Asian Collective Defence Treaty (Manila Pact)
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SFA	Secretary of Foreign Affairs
SLORC	State Law and Order Restoration Council (Myanmar)
SOC	State of Cambodia
SPDC	State Peace and Development Council
SSEA	South and Southeast Asia Division, New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Tatmadaw	armed forces, Myanmar
TIPP	Trade and Investment Promotion Program
TradeNZ	Trade New Zealand
UDT	União Democrática Timorese (Timorese Democratic Union)
UMNO	United Malays National Organisation
UNAMET	United Nations Mission in East Timor
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNMISSET	United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Authority
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
WTO	World Trade Organization

PREFACE

I would like to acknowledge the strong support that this project has received from the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs (NZIIA), especially its former research committee chair, Bruce Brown, who played a leading role in guiding this project through. I am grateful too for the support given to this volume by the Institute's Director, Brian Lynch, and the current research committee chair, Associate Professor Rod Alley. I would also like to thank Historical Research Grants Advisory Group of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), particularly its successive chairs, Ian Kennedy and James Kember, for the necessary funding for aspects of this project. Appreciation also goes to John Mills at MFAT for his efforts in locating primary archives for the authors in this volume. Thanks also go to Triena Ong, Head of the Publications Unit at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, for the publication of this project.

The various authors that have contributed to this volume have done so in their personal capacities. The views expressed in each chapter are the personal judgements of the authors, and, in the case of those in government employment, do not represent any official government views.

The chapters in this volume are written from New Zealand's point of view. Most chapters have made extensive use of archival files kept by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Unless otherwise noted, file numbers found in the notation refer to these archives. It

should be noted that MFAT has undergone several name changes over the years: Department of External Affairs, 1949 to 1969; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1970 to 1987; Ministry of External Relations and Trade, 1988 to 1991; and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 1992 to the present time. All figures given in this volume are in New Zealand dollars unless otherwise stated. Some earlier figures are given in New Zealand pounds as New Zealand did not adopt the decimal currency system until 10 July 1967.

Anthony L. Smith

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INTRODUCTION: THE EMERGENCE OF NEW ZEALAND'S RELATIONSHIP WITH SOUTHEAST ASIA

A N T H O N Y L . S M I T H

New Zealand's relationship with Southeast Asia has evolved significantly since the end of World War II (WWII). With the exception of New Zealand and Australian pressure on Great Britain to shore up the Singapore base prior to WWII New Zealand did not have interests in Southeast Asia beyond the continuation of British power in the region. The end of the War in the Pacific dragged New Zealand into a relationship with the countries of Southeast Asia. This interest was based on meeting future threats that might come through a weak and unstable Southeast Asia. In the 1950s a New Zealand Minister of External Affairs, T.C. Webb, characterized Southeast Asia as "like so many stepping stones leading down to Australia and New Zealand".¹ Asia as a whole appeared to be a large threatening continent, in which communism was taking hold. Furthermore, New Zealand's policy-makers believed the Southeast

Asian region was being destabilized through external subversion as part of a Cold War confrontation with China and the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the immediate post-war decades, New Zealand foreign policy in Southeast Asia was concerned with security in Southeast Asia. The stability of struggling regimes throughout the region was of grave concern throughout the first half of the Cold War. Wellington went along with a two-pronged plan formulated by the western allies to promote regional stability. First, New Zealand's contribution to the Colombo Plan, initially designed to channel aid to commonwealth Asia and later to much of non-communist Asia, assisted with developmental aid projects in South and Southeast Asia in order to provide social cohesion and economic security for the emerging post-colonial nations. In 1951, F.W. Doidge, Minister of External Affairs, observed that giving aid to the wider region emerged from New Zealand's desire to "stem the tide of Communism".² While force had been necessary in some contexts (like Korea), Doidge argued, helping the "teeming masses" out of their poverty was a better means to check communism in the long term. Secondly, New Zealand signed an array of regional defence arrangements including the Canberra Pact with Australia, the Commonwealth Strategic Reserve, ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, United States) and the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). New Zealand's military strategy in Southeast Asia did mean contact with the countries of Southeast Asia, but was primarily concerned with maintaining Britain and the United States in the region to guarantee the security buffer. Thus, due to Cold War concerns, New Zealand's initial post-war contact with Southeast Asia became embedded in a framework of collective security and official development assistance.

Although Wellington saw domestic resilience within each country as more useful than foreign military intervention, New Zealand did participate in various military campaigns in Southeast Asia. New Zealand armed forces took part in the Malayan Emergency, the Borneo Confrontation and the Vietnam War, as well as having garrison troops in Singapore and briefly in Thailand. This was all part of New Zealand's "forward defence" regional security strategy, or the strategy to meet, and attempt to curb, any threat from the north.

The notion of "forward defence" was dropped in the 1970s with