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**NEW ZEALAND AND THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY
1944-1954:
'A modest and moderate collaboration'**

Thesis presented in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

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Abstract

In the decade which followed the Second World War, New Zealand foreign policy was preoccupied with issues of national security. The war had revealed not only that New Zealand could be threatened by Asian hostility, but also that British power could no longer be relied upon for protection. Successive New Zealand governments therefore looked for ways to reinforce the security of New Zealand. Their central objective was to seek a modest and moderate collaboration with key allies.

As a result of this search for security, New Zealand foreign policy was transformed in the decade 1944-1954. Not only did politicians and officials engage in an ever-increasing round of international meetings and conferences, but the formal international obligations of the Dominion grew at a remarkable rate. New Zealand began the decade signing the Australian - New Zealand Agreement, and ended the decade a member of the South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. In the intervening years the Dominion had become party to the ANZAM arrangement and the ANZUS treaty, and had joined the Colombo Plan. New Zealanders also played a not insignificant part in the formation and operation of the United Nations, the occupation of Japan, the Japanese peace treaty, and the Korean war.

This rapid growth in the complexity of New Zealand foreign policy sprang from two sources. The first was the policy of collaboration, which involved the Dominion in a range of international activities at which New Zealand leaders would have balked had they not been in the company of key allies. The second source was a sense of institutional confidence and growing expertise. New Zealand officials and politicians had learned diplomatic skills and acquired international recognition during the Second

World War, and the creation of the Department of External Affairs in 1943 meant that Dominion had both the experience and the machinery to take a much wider interest in world affairs.

By 1954, links with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth, although cherished and still very important, were no longer predominant. New Zealand's main strategic commitment remained in the Middle East, but the shifting frontiers of the cold war and the prospect of regional rather than global conflict had forced New Zealand policymakers to take greater account of events in the Pacific. This was reinforced by New Zealand's traditional policy of collaboration: both the United Kingdom and the United States had also become more involved in Pacific affairs. And as the focus of New Zealand foreign policy shifted increasingly to the Pacific region, so the relative importance of the United States as an ally increased. But New Zealand's interests remained world-wide, and this was reflected in the policy of collaboration. There was never any question of reducing links with the United Kingdom and Europe in favour of those with the United States and the Pacific. Instead, in what was sometimes to prove a delicate balancing act, New Zealand policymakers looked to accommodate both old allies and new as they adapted to the succession of the United States to Britain's position of pre-eminent world power.

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Preface

Apart from the large gaps which still exist in the published historical record, the task of the diplomatic historian in New Zealand is made difficult by the fact that there is no statutory thirty year rule governing the removal of government records to the National Archives. There is no good reason why this should be so, and the lack of a formal thirty year rule means that the researcher is deprived access to essential parts of the national historical record.

The Ministry of External Relations and Trade, which offered me every possible assistance in researching this thesis, continues to hold a number of files from the period 1944-1954. I was never given access to a register of these files: perhaps none exists. Of the files which I was able to trace to the Ministry, some could not be found. I stumbled across others purely by accident, and was referred to yet others by word of mouth. Some of the files in this final category had been borrowed from the Ministry, and no record kept of the borrower or the date of return. A similar story could be told about the Ministry of Defence, where the valiant efforts of Ministry staff were thwarted by a system in which files had been misplaced or their numbers changed.

Such problems may well be grist to the historian's mill, but many could have been avoided by the application of a formal thirty year rule. All files older than thirty years should automatically be placed in the National Archives where they can be professionally registered and curated. If necessary, sensitive files can have a restriction placed upon them, as is sometimes the case now.

But gaining access to material is only one of the many challenges facing the historian, and in completing this work I received the help and support of a large number of people. The first debt I owe is to Professor Nicholas Tarling. When I was an undergraduate, he asked the most interesting and the most difficult questions. As a supervisor he has continued gently to question, to guide and to challenge with an intelligence of enviable subtlety and depth. Despite his remarkable (and all too often unacknowledged) work-load in the service of the university, he has offered me unwaning encouragement and was always available when I needed help or advice. I could not have wished for a better teacher, or a more supportive friend. Throughout this work I have tried to do justice to his high standards of scholarship.

I have also benefitted greatly from the friendship and generosity of Malcolm McKinnon and Ian McGibbon. Both have made significant contributions to the study of New Zealand foreign policy, and to me they gave unstintingly of their time and knowledge. As well as reading parts of this work, they provided an environment of intellectual and social collegiality which was most welcome: their interest and support has contributed greatly to this thesis, and has helped me to avoid more than one error. John Crawford of the Ministry of Defence was also invariably helpful. Professor David McIntyre generously lent me materials. I am also grateful for the access I was given to the correspondence between Alister McIntosh and Carl Berendsen.

I also owe many institutional debts. From the the staff of National Archives in both Auckland and Wellington, I had nothing but unfailing professionalism and courtesy. In particular I should like to mention

Michael Hodder and Ray Grover. I also benefitted from the professionalism of the staff at the Public Records Office in Kew and the Australian Archives in Canberra. This thesis began in the convivial surroundings of Auckland University, but for much of its life I have had the privilege of working for the Ministry of External Relations and Trade. My experience of what it is to be part of the policymaking process has enriched my thinking immeasurably. In addition to providing the best of company, most of my colleagues are people of considerable talent and dedication, and I would like to pay due respect to their standards of professionalism and intellectual rigour. They should be proud of the job which they do in the promotion and protection of New Zealand's interests abroad. As this thesis shows, they are inheritors of a noble tradition.

I also owe thanks to those, who by their generosity, ensured that I had no debts. The Auckland University Research Committee granted me funds to do research in England and in Australia. The Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs was also most generous, awarding me two sizeable grants.

Finally, there are debts of a more personal kind. The first is to my parents, who never doubted. The second is to my friends Megan Hutching, Matthew Jansen, and Sarah Dalton who provided me with considerable support and encouragement, always taking a keen interest in my progress while politely ignoring the passing of yet another year. The third is to Paul Hayward, who always demonstrated warm friendship and high scholarship. My children, Samuel and Luke, kept me happy with their energy and their sense of fun. And my wife, Gill, uncomplainingly put up with the absences, the tiredness and frustrations, and the seven years of

preoccupation. In return she offered love, support, and patience. It is to her that I gratefully dedicate this thesis.

Abbreviations

AA	Australian Archives, Canberra
<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives</i>
ANZAM	Australia, New Zealand and Malayan Region
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand and United States security treaty
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library
AustHC, Lon	Australian High Commissioner, London
Aust MinEA	Australian Minister of External Affairs
CanHC, Well	Canadian High Commissioner, Wellington
CINCPAC	Commander-in-Chief Pacific (US)
CM	Cabinet Minute
COS	New Zealand Chiefs of Staff
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
DEA	New Zealand Department of External Affairs
DepSecEA	Deputy Secretary of the New Zealand Department of External Affairs
<i>DNZER</i>	<i>Documents on New Zealand External Relations</i>
DO	Dominions Office

<i>EAR</i>	<i>External Affairs Review</i>
FO	Foreign Office
<i>FRUS</i>	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i>
MERT	Ministry of External Relations and Trade
MinEA	New Zealand Minister for External Affairs
NA	National Archives, Wellington
NZAmb, Wash	New Zealand Ambassador, Washington
NZHC, Cba	New Zealand High Commissioner, Canberra
NZHC, Lon	New Zealand High Commissioner, London
NZMin, Wash	New Zealand Minister, Washington
<i>NZPD</i>	<i>New Zealand Parliamentary Debates</i>
NZPM	New Zealand Prime Minister
OS, Canb	Official Secretary, Canberra
PhilAmb, Wash	Philippines Ambassador, Washington
PRO	Public Records Office, London
SEACDT	South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SecEA External	Secretary of the New Zealand Department of Affairs
SoS	United States Secretary of State

SSCR	Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations
SSDA	Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs
UKHC, Well	United Kingdom High Commissioner, Wellington
USAmb, Well	United States Ambassador, Wellington
USMin, Cba	United States Minister, Canberra

Notes:

1. It is a practice of the New Zealand foreign service that memoranda and cable traffic between posts, unless of a clearly personal nature, is always sent or received in the name of the head of mission or the Secretary of the Department. For example, a memorandum drafted by Corner in Washington and sent to Wade in Wellington would be sent in the name of the Ambassador and addressed to the Secretary of the Department. This also applies to cables. Throughout this work, therefore, all cables and memoranda have been identified by this format. Wherever possible, however, the name of the sender and recipient have been identified in brackets.
2. Until 1948, New Zealand had a legation in Washington. The head of mission was titled New Zealand Minister in the United States. In 1948 the post was upgraded to an Embassy, and the head of mission designated Ambassador.