

Chapter 1

Introduction—The Policy Background and the Policy Framework

Defence decision-making, whilst from time to time making newspaper headlines, is rarely the subject of prolonged debate in New Zealand. Notable exceptions to this would be the controversy over access for nuclear-capable US warships, or the purchase of ANZAC frigates, during the 1980s. It was clear from this time that much of the equipment of New Zealand's defence forces was going to require replacement or significant upgrading. How decisions on defence acquisitions have been made since that time constitutes the research topic under investigation in this volume.

The Historical Background

Before moving on to investigate recent acquisition case studies, it is important to set the historical background against which more recent policy decisions have been made, and describe the foreign and defence policy framework within which decisions for defence acquisitions are developed and implemented.

Prior to the Second World War, New Zealand defence planning revolved essentially around the expectation that the Royal Navy (RN) and the British fleet would ensure New Zealand's protection. At the Imperial Conference of 1937 New Zealand Prime Minister Michael Savage was firm in his desire to have Britain promise to send a fleet to the Far East. He received a qualified promise from Sir Samuel Hoare, First Lord of the Admiralty, who indicated that it would be possible in the current circumstances to send the fleet, while still retaining sufficient ships to fulfil European requirements. New Zealand defence planning continued on this understanding.

On 1 September 1939 Germany entered Poland, and two days later Britain declared war, followed almost immediately by New Zealand. On 5 September 1939 Savage broadcast from his sick-bed what was to become an immortal speech:

Both with gratitude for the past and with confidence in the future we range ourselves without fear beside Britain. Where she goes we go. Where she stands we stand.¹

These sentiments were given substance only a week later, when the New Zealand Government offered an army division for service in Europe, and put over 500 personnel at the disposal of the Royal Air Force (RAF). The Naval Division had already come under RN command. By June 1940 the second echelon

of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force was in the south of England, training to repel the expected German invasion. That same month Britain told New Zealand that she might not after all be able to send the fleet to Singapore if Japan entered the war.

This was devastating news for New Zealand, and it became clear that the only nation who could assist in the region was the United States. Peter Fraser, by now Prime Minister, told the British that he wished to establish diplomatic relations with Washington, and in January 1942 Walter Nash arrived there as New Zealand Minister. US support for New Zealand was quick to follow, with two divisions landing in New Zealand in June 1942.²

The US presence in New Zealand, coupled with public sentiment and pressure from Britain resulted in the decision to keep the 2nd Division in the Middle East, where it had been in action since the previous November.³ This decision received a less than favourable response from the Australians, who had already moved two of their divisions from the Middle East. Relationships with Australia became even cooler the following year when, in May 1943, New Zealand once more decided to leave the 2nd Division in the Middle East.⁴ The development of the 3rd Division in the Pacific, with postings first to Fiji, then New Caledonia and the Solomon Islands, did not seem to ameliorate the concern.⁵

Despite the forging of the ANZAC spirit in the First World War, the Second World War saw each country, for the most part, operating in separate theatres. However, as is so often the case between rivalrous cousins, both countries saw advantages in banding together to ensure that a post-war world would take account of them. Each country particularly had concerns about US intentions in the Pacific following the end of the war.

In order to explore closer trans-Tasman relations, in January 1944 Peter Fraser met with the Australian Prime Minister John Curtin, and his Minister for External Affairs, Dr Herbert Vere Evatt. The outcome of a series of meetings that took place during the Canberra conference was the Australia–New Zealand Agreement, which established both a formal treaty between the two countries, and the continuous Australia–New Zealand Secretariat. The document declared: 'It would be proper for Australia and New Zealand to assume full responsibility for policing or sharing in policing such areas in the Southwest and South Pacific as may from time to time be agreed upon.'⁶

The Agreement also stressed that the construction of wartime bases gave no basis for territorial claims, and insisted that no change in the sovereignty of any Pacific island territory occur without their agreement. Both the Americans and the British were concerned about the tenor of the Canberra Pact, and Sir Alister McIntosh noted: 'Care was taken henceforth to exclude New Zealand forces from any very effective role in the fighting against Japan.' Whilst McIntosh went on

to comment that, 'so far as New Zealand was concerned, it was a diversion',⁷ John C. Beaglehole thought that in the Canberra Pact New Zealand:

most clearly announced its independence of mind, its intention of pursuing a policy in the Pacific, intelligible in terms not of subordination to British hesitations and abstraction, but of the strategic needs, enlightened self-interest and duty to Polynesian peoples of a quite independent power.⁸

That independent stance was to be to the fore once more during the development phase of the United Nations.

Developing Nationhood: The inception of the United Nations, and the adoption of the Statute of Westminster

New Zealand had not originally been a strong supporter of the League of Nations, but this situation had changed by the mid-1930s. Bill Jordan, Labour's High Commissioner in London, spoke passionately to the League Council in September 1937:

My nation is a small one; you may say, if you please, that it is insignificant in size and perhaps in strength; but it will stand by the Covenant and the policy of collective security in order to maintain peace, or to restore it when it is broken, and to give safety to the people of our generation.⁹

By 1938 however it was becoming clear that the League did not have the authority to intervene meaningfully in the deteriorating international situation, and that its mandate could not be fulfilled. Whilst the League, springing out from the aftermath of the First World War, had failed, New Zealand was determined to help ensure that its successor, the United Nations, developed in the closing stages of the Second World War, would not.

In February 1943, UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill sent his thoughts on post-war security to US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, proposing the creation of a world organisation for the preservation of peace. The following month in a broadcast Churchill declared that he favoured the establishment after the war of a world institution representing the United Nations (the wartime coalition), and eventually to include all nations of the world.¹⁰

By August of that year the Americans had developed a set of proposals that they wished to discuss amongst the Big Four—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and China. On 21 August 1943 a conference was held at Dumbarton Oaks outside Washington, DC, and the form of a United Nations Organisation was established.¹¹ It was over a year later when the draft proposal was made more widely available, and it was considered by the Australia–New Zealand meeting in November 1944. A number of resolutions were drawn up,

which were approved by both Cabinets. New Zealand's Prime Minister Peter Fraser was concerned to ensure that small states could play an effective part in the new organisation. At the San Francisco conference held in April 1945, at which the final version of the United Nations Charter was drawn up, 'the New Zealand Delegation played a useful role quite disproportionate to the country's size'.¹² This was to become the hallmark of New Zealand in the international arena in subsequent years. As Sir Alister McIntosh observed:

New Zealand had become an active member of the middle and smaller powers arraigned against the great, while staunchly advocating the United Nations as the best means of securing universal peace and justice and placing the fullest insistence on its organs for the solutions of international problems. New Zealand's chief concern, always, was the peace-keeping role of the United Nations; hence its stubborn adherence to the concept of collective security.¹³

Whilst New Zealand was a charter member of the United Nations, paradoxically it was not yet a sovereign nation. Whilst Britain had enacted the Statute of Westminster in 1931 in order to give complete independence to the dominions of the British Empire, it was not to apply to the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand or Newfoundland until adopted by their respective parliaments. New Zealand had considered adopting the Statute during the Second World War, as the Australians had done, but were concerned that it might send the wrong message to the Germans. The Statute was finally adopted in 1947. Even then, Frederick Widdowson Doidge of the National Party spoke out against adoption, "on grounds of sentiment", noting that "loyalty to the Motherland is an instinct as deep as religion".¹⁴

Developing Alliances: The ANZUS Pact, ANZAM and the South East Asia Treaty Organisation

In 1949 the National Party was returned to power in New Zealand, and loyalty to Britain and the Commonwealth remained paramount. It was with Britain and Australia that defence planning was developed. New Zealand's defence forces held traditions that were inherently British, and new equipment for the armed forces continued to be procured from Britain until the mid-1960s. The Royal New Zealand Navy (RNZN) had only been formed in 1941¹⁵ and a British admiral remained in charge of the fleet in the 1950s. Up until 1960, at least one of the three Chiefs of Staff was a British officer on secondment.¹⁶

ANZUS

However, the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula on 25 June 1950 was to see a rapid development in New Zealand/US relations. New Zealand's response to a call from the United Nations for assistance in the conflict was to commit two

frigates.¹⁷ As the situation continued to deteriorate, New Zealand decided to commit ground troops despite there being apparent reluctance on the part of Australia and Britain to do so. Nevertheless, Britain did announce on 25 July 1950 that it would send ground forces, and New Zealand made its offer that same day.¹⁸ New Zealand forces were to remain in Korea well beyond the armistice of July 1954, with a final withdrawal of troops in 1957.

At the time of outbreak of hostilities, there was still no official peace treaty with Japan. The United States now saw this as an urgent issue to be resolved, as it moved to halt the spread of communism in Asia.¹⁹ This wish provided Australia and New Zealand with some negotiating power in their desire for a formal defence alliance with the United States, and the Pacific Security (ANZUS) Treaty was formally signed on 1 September 1951.²⁰ A month before the war in Korea began, Frederick Doidge, who was by now Minister of External Affairs, opined, 'I regard an American guarantee of our security as the richest prize of New Zealand diplomacy', though he added cautiously that, 'in embarking on any formal step in this direction we must be certain that we are not appearing to be turning away from Britain'.²¹ This dual relationship with Britain and the United States, tempered by New Zealand's commitment to the United Nations, continued to be central to New Zealand's foreign and defence policy for the following 33 years.

ANZAM

Notwithstanding fighting alongside the United States in Korea, the New Zealand forces along with their Australian counterparts were part of a British Commonwealth division. Traditional ties with Britain would continue throughout the 1950s.

After the Second World War, the Australians had developed a Commonwealth defence contingency plan known as ANZAM—The Anglo-New Zealand-Australia-Malaya area. In 1955 New Zealand was to respond to its responsibilities under ANZAM, when the British asked for support during the Malayan Emergency. New Zealand promised to commit two frigates, a fighter bomber squadron, half a transport squadron and a Special Air Service (SAS) squadron. In announcing New Zealand's support, Prime Minister Sidney Holland commented that New Zealand needed to pull its weight 'in the British boat ... That, is a British thing to do.'²² No. 14 Squadron RNZAF was withdrawn from Cyprus in April 1955 to be based in Singapore, and they were re-equipped with de Havilland *Venoms* leased from the British. The Squadron's first offensive action took place on 1 May when five of the Squadron's original *Vampires* attacked terrorist positions.²³ The Squadron continued to fly until 1958, when it was replaced by 75 Squadron which was equipped with English Electric

Canberra bombers. These aircraft flew alongside no. 45 Squadron RAF until the Emergency in Malaya ended in July 1960.²⁴

The SAS squadron of 133 personnel was attached to the British 22nd SAS Regiment early in 1956, and was replaced by the 1st Battalion, the New Zealand Regiment consisting of 740 personnel. This in turn was replaced by the 2nd Battalion in 1959.²⁵

South East Asia Treaty Organisation

Whilst communist forces were becoming an increasing problem for the British in Malaya, the United States in 1954 was concerned, especially after the events of the Korean War, about the possibility of French defeat in Indochina, and a communist regime being established. Emergency meetings of ANZUS were called and the United States called for united action to support the French. Fortunately a settlement was reached before the Americans could bring more pressure to bear, but it highlighted the importance of collective defence for the region.²⁶ New Zealand remained concerned that any collective treaty should include Britain, and in the event it did. New Zealand became a signatory to the Manila Treaty (the South East Asia Collective Defence Treaty) along with Britain, the United States, Australia, France, the Philippines, Pakistan and Thailand, on 8 September 1954. New Zealand was pleased that the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) would reinforce New Zealand's connections with Britain and the United States, along with the United Nations. Clifton Webb, the Minister of External Affairs, commented: 'The Treaty gives great emphasis to the prime import of the United Nations as the principal body charged with maintaining peace and security.'²⁷ The connections with Britain and the United States, which had taken New Zealand into action in Korea and Malaya in the 1950s, would lead New Zealand into action again during the 1960s. Involvement on active duty first came in 1962, when Bristol Freighters of no. 41 Squadron supported SEATO's response to communist insurgency on Thailand's border. Engagement with the region was about to expand considerably.

Collective Security in Action: Confrontation, and the Vietnam War

The 1961 *Review of Defence Policy* spelt out clearly the importance of collective security to New Zealand:

If our policy is one of collective security we must retain the confidence and support of the countries on whose assistance we rely: these are principally the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia. To do this we must join them in defending what they regard as *their* [sic] vital interests as well as our own, and make the best contribution we can. ... New Zealand's 'area of primary strategic interest' thus includes, as well

as our more immediate neighbourhood the South Pacific Region, the SEATO treaty area in South-East Asia.²⁸

It was to be no time at all before that commitment was to be called upon. Southeast Asia continued to be the focus of Government concern, and in the White Paper the Government confirmed its plans for a greatly enhanced Army. Presaging the *Defence Policy Framework* of June 2000, it said:

The Government has continued to place emphasis on ‘forces in being,’ but has decided to place greater emphasis on ground forces with adequate provision for reinforcement, believing that this is the most appropriate and useful contribution it can make in South-East Asia. *It has therefore given priority to the maintenance of fully trained regular ground forces and the means of transporting them to possible theatres of operations.*²⁹

When the period of ‘Confrontation’ between the newly formed State of Malaysia and Indonesia reached crisis point in 1964, the New Zealand Army was early on the scene. The 1st Battalion, Royal New Zealand Infantry Regiment became part of the 28th Commonwealth Infantry Brigade Group from August 1964 until August 1966. In 1965 and 1966 New Zealand SAS detachments served once more with the British 22nd SAS Regiment. The Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) deployed six *Canberra* bombers in September 1964, and the RNZN crewed two British mine sweepers, which were commissioned into the RNZN for 16 months from April 1965.³⁰

Whilst New Zealand had readily committed forces in Malaysia, a request from the United States to send forces to the growing conflict in Vietnam was met less enthusiastically. As early as 1961 the observation had been made in Wellington that ‘the vital issue for Australia and New Zealand was not to restore stability in South Vietnam, but to preserve our position with the United States as our major ally’.³¹

Cabinet eventually agreed in May 1963 to send a non-combatant field engineer team, although it was a year later before they went. US President Lyndon Johnson again asked New Zealand to commit further troops in December 1964, arguing that he could not ask the American people to make sacrifices if its closest allies in the area would not support them. Cabinet once more decided that it would not contribute combat troops, and that its first priority was Malaysia.³² However, by May 1965 Cabinet had approved the commitment of 161 Battery, Royal New Zealand Artillery. Initially under American command, the Battery joined the 1st Australian Task Force in June 1966. In May 1967 a small rifle company from the 1st Battalion was added, complemented by a second in December 1967, both companies forming part of an ANZAC battalion.³³

The commitment of the New Zealand Army to Vietnam was New Zealand’s first expedition without British involvement, and spoke to the importance of

the ANZUS alliance at the time. New Zealand troops remained involved in a combat role until December 1971, and the first and second Army Training Teams were withdrawn after the election of the Labour Government, in December 1972.

The New Zealand Army was supported throughout its time in Vietnam by the RNZAF, with no. 40 Squadron deploying the first troops in July 1965. From 1968 until 1971 no. 40 Squadron ran weekly flights into South Vietnam, eventually evacuating New Zealand Embassy staff during the fall of Saigon in April 1975.³⁴

Growing Independence: 1971–84

During the 1970s New Zealand's international relationships underwent significant change. Britain had already indicated that it would be withdrawing forces from east of Suez, although the new conservative government of 1970 indicated that Britain would retain a small presence. In anticipation of the British withdrawal, the five nations involved in the AMDA (the Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement)—Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore—entered into the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) on 1 November 1971.³⁵ At the same time Britain was in the final stages of negotiation for entry into the European Economic Community (EEC).

The following year a new White Paper was released which spoke of the need to take account of 'the changes apparent in the last few years in the policies and attitudes of New Zealand's major allies, the United States, Britain, and Australia'.³⁶ It went on to add:

The keystone of New Zealand's security since 1952 has been ANZUS ... the ANZUS Treaty is basic to New Zealand's defence policy. In the changing international situation, it is more than ever desirable that the signatory states work, individually and collectively to enhance the reciprocal benefits deriving from the treaty.³⁷

Within weeks, the Third Labour Government came to power, intent on establishing a new sense of New Zealand independence. It did not initiate a new defence review, but acting on its election manifesto withdrew the final troops from Vietnam, and ended National Service.³⁸ In proclaiming the Government's new position, Prime Minister Norman Kirk said:

New Zealand for its part intends to follow a more independent foreign policy. It has emerged from the phase in its national development where it allowed its policies to be determined by the views and interests of its most influential ally: at one time Britain, more recently the United States. From now on when we have to deal with a new situation, we shall not say, what do the British think about it, what would the Americans want us to do? Our starting point will be, what do we think about it?³⁹

As if to emphasise this renewed independent spirit, the Labour Government established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.⁴⁰

At the same time there was determined opposition to French nuclear testing in the Pacific. The French had begun atmospheric tests in French Polynesia in 1966, and the Labour Party indicated that it would 'run up the New Zealand flag' on a frigate and take it to Mururoa Atoll to protest.⁴¹ In 1973 Prime Minister Norman Kirk said: 'What we want to do is publicise what is happening in this remote part of the world so as to stimulate world opinion still further and attract wider support for the rights of small nations.'⁴²

New Zealand and Australia had both protested to the International Court of Justice, and they joined together to protest in the Pacific, with HMNZS *Otago* and the Australian tanker *Supply* sailing together to Mururoa. HMNZS *Otago* stayed on station for three weeks, relieved by HMNZS *Canterbury* which stayed for another two.

To reinforce its opposition to nuclear weapons, the Government in 1975 promoted a resolution at the United Nations which called for the development of a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific.⁴³ This was to be achieved a decade later when eight South Pacific countries signed the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty on 6 August 1985.⁴⁴

However, by this time explosions of a different kind had occurred, as changes in New Zealand's foreign and defence policy changed significantly the nature of longstanding relationships with its major ally the United States. Whilst the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty allowed for the transit of nuclear weapons and port visits in the area, the policy of the Labour Government, elected in 1984, did not.

1984: ANZUS and Beyond

Walter Nash had spelt out a vision in 1958, during the term of the Second Labour Government, which was to be pursued a quarter of a century later, by the Fourth Labour Government: 'We stand for the suspension of nuclear tests, a complete ban on further production of nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stocks with facilities for inspection in all fields by agreement by the powers concerned.'⁴⁵

Bill Rowling speaking at the Labour Party annual conference in May 1982 said that 'nuclear weapons will not be allowed into New Zealand ports under a Labour Government, and that's the message'.⁴⁶ In June 1984 Labour MP Richard Prebble introduced a private member's bill into Parliament calling for the prohibition of nuclear weapons. On 13 June 1984 Marilyn Waring, a National MP, crossed the floor to support the bill. Although the bill was defeated, Prime

Minister Robert Muldoon claimed he could no longer command a majority and called a snap election.⁴⁷

At the time of the election, 58 per cent of the population opposed visits by nuclear-powered ships and Labour had promised to ban both nuclear-propelled and nuclear-armed vessels.⁴⁸ David Lange had argued for a review of the Party's wish to ban nuclear-powered vessels, fearful of the impact on the relationship with the United States if both nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed vessels were banned. He commented:

Shutting out their nuclear-powered ships for the same reasons we shut out their nuclear weapons seemed to be offering an unnecessary affront to the Americans. If we continued to lock propulsion and weapons together and did not distinguish them, I was not sure how I could persuade the United States of the essential rationality of our policy.⁴⁹

The argument, however, was not to be won. Nonetheless, David Lange was keen to ensure that the essence of the ANZUS Treaty should remain, convinced that Labour could not fight the election successfully if the future of ANZUS was to be called into question. Bill Rowling, now foreign affairs spokesman, offered a solution to the controversy surrounding ANZUS: 'The Labour Party should fight the election on an undertaking to seek a review of the ANZUS alliance. ... [seeking] to broaden the scope of the ANZUS Treaty.'⁵⁰ This was seen as an option that would be easily accepted by those within the party who saw the importance of ANZUS to the electorate. Labour fought the election with a promise to ensure a nuclear-free New Zealand and to renegotiate the terms of association with Australia and the United States. Labour won, though the new Prime Minister, David Lange, acknowledged that the nuclear-free policy was not decisive.

In January 1985 the United States requested that the USS *Buchanan* be allowed to visit New Zealand. As the vessel was capable of carrying nuclear weapons the request was declined, and New Zealand asked that the United States substitute a *Perry*-class frigate. Lange was later to comment: 'It was our policy to make the attempt to reconcile what proved to be irreconcilable, but when a choice had to be made between ANZUS and the nuclear-free policy I advised my cabinet colleagues to give the nuclear-free policy precedence.'⁵¹ The United States would not agree to the substitution and the visit did not proceed. Whilst Lange was to say in the same month as the USS *Buchanan* crisis that 'our commitment to ANZUS and the broader Western community remains firm',⁵² the United States was to subsequently withdraw from most of its military and intelligence cooperation with New Zealand.

Although the Australian response was initially cool, the Australian Government indicated that it did not wish to see the trans-Tasman relationship

affected by the dispute. The 1987 *Defence Review* highlighted very clearly the continued and growing importance of the trans-Tasman relationship.⁵³ It is against this background of strained and changing relationships that the first case study, the ANZAC ship project, is set.

The Fourth Labour Government was to lose the 1990 election, but by this time, although the electorate had firmly turned against Labour, it had nonetheless embraced New Zealand's nuclear-free policy: 'In 1989, when it was getting hard to find anyone who'd admit to being a Labour voter, over eighty percent of the population declared themselves to be in favour of the nuclear-free policy. ... There wasn't any going backwards.'⁵⁴

Through the 1990s and into the Twenty-First Century

In the 1991 Defence White Paper, *The Defence of New Zealand*, the new National Government sought to move New Zealand towards a defence strategy of 'Self-Reliance in Partnership':

Before the election we signalled that New Zealand's defence policies were too isolationist in their thrust and that we would bring New Zealand back to its correct place in the international community. This statement of defence policy sets out my Government's commitment to an internationalist approach to New Zealand's foreign and defence policies rather than a purely regional outlook.⁵⁵

Jim Bolger, now Prime Minister, was determined to see New Zealand's relationship with the United States improve, and took that sentiment with him when he went to New York in September 1991 to address the United Nations General Assembly. Afterwards he was to have a private meeting with US President George H.W. Bush, at which the issue of New Zealand's anti-nuclear stance was discussed. At the meeting Bush said that he would 'soon be making an announcement that would help the New Zealand problem'.⁵⁶ Four days later the United States announced that it intended to remove all nuclear weapons from surface naval vessels. The next day, the British followed suit, and British naval vessels would once again visit New Zealand waters. This was not, though, to become the case with the United States.

Two years later Bolger was to speak with US President Bill Clinton, this time at the 1993 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting, held in November in Seattle, Washington. Notwithstanding Bolger's own observation to Clinton that the Somer's Committee on Nuclear Propulsion had concluded that essentially nuclear-powered vessels were safe, he noted that there had been no change in the public's attitude towards nuclear-propelled ships. Public opinion was to ensure that New Zealand's anti-nuclear legislation remained intact. Although Clinton undertook to have officials review the presidential directive on nuclear ships, US policy also remained unchanged.

In 1993 New Zealand was to take its place on the world stage, having been elected to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in October 1992. Amongst the reasons cited for New Zealand's success in the election were the nation's consistent support for collective security; its significant contribution to peacekeeping operations; and its independent voice—characteristics which had been developed over more than half a century.⁵⁷ The significant contribution to peacekeeping was about to grow during New Zealand's term on the UNSC.

Following the end of the Cold War, there was optimism for a time that the world was entering a new era of peace. That optimism was ill-founded as ethnic conflicts erupted around the globe. Europe saw the greatest conflict since the end of the Second World War, as the former Yugoslavia disintegrated. In March 1994 the United Nations approached New Zealand informally to request that combat troops be sent to Bosnia. There was significant public debate on the issue, and senior defence officials and foreign policy advisors disagreed publicly about whether troops should be sent.⁵⁸ However, wishing New Zealand to be seen as a good international citizen re-engaging with the international community, the National Government committed New Zealand peacekeepers to the conflict area. When 250 New Zealand troops arrived in the former Yugoslavia in September 1994, their Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Colonel Graeme Williams described the deployment of Kiwi Company as 'the largest number of troops in one deployment that the Government has committed to active service since the Korean War of the 1950s'.⁵⁹

By May 1995 public support for New Zealand troops to be involved in United Nations peacekeeping operations had increased, with 78 per cent of those polled indicating support.⁶⁰ It was also apparent, however that peacekeeping was an increasingly dangerous activity. The 1997 White Paper noted the changing nature of peace support operations. The history of peacekeeping for over 40 years had been one requiring lightly-armed forces, usually deployed at the agreement of both parties to a conflict. During the 1990s this situation changed, and the White Paper acknowledged this:

Since the end of the Cold War, however, peace missions have increasingly been launched during hostilities. The consent of the warring parties has been neither complete nor continuous. These peace enforcement missions are a higher-order task than peacekeeping as they involve conventional high-intensity operations.⁶¹

Recognising the dangers involved, the Government committed to equipping the defence forces for their task:

The Government's first priority will be to rectify the most critical deficiencies in those capabilities where there is more likely to be a need

in the short term, that is re-equipping the Army so that it can undertake the more demanding peace support operations.⁶²

The New Zealand Army was to be committed to a significantly demanding peace support operation sooner than might have been anticipated at this time. In September 1999, New Zealand hosted the APEC summit. Events close to home, in East Timor, were to dominate the agenda. Initially it had been thought that East Timor would be a side issue at the meeting, but by the time Clinton arrived the stakes had increased. Clinton had warned that if the violence in East Timor did not end, Indonesia ‘must invite—it must invite—the international community to assist in restoring security’.⁶³ At first New Zealand had considered sending a company of about 120 troops, as part of an international force, but ultimately a battalion group was committed, working alongside the Australians in a highly demanding environment. This was to be a much larger commitment than that made in Bosnia and, with six rotations of a battalion group, almost 3500 Service personnel were committed to the East Timor operation from 1999–2001.⁶⁴ Resources and manpower were stretched to the limit, and shortcomings in equipment—the lack of a logistic support ship and poor reliability of the Armoured Personnel Carriers (APCs) among them—highlighted once more the difficulties facing the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF), and the importance of planning for new acquisitions.

The New Zealand Government changed once more in 1999, with a Labour-led coalition coming to power. The importance of peacekeeping was highlighted by the Labour-led Government when it was elected in 1999, and a new approach to defence was one of the Labour Party’s key priorities. In its *Defence Policy Framework*, the Government in June 2000 spelt out the importance of peacekeeping to New Zealand’s role in the world:

The Government considers peace support operations are important for maintaining security and stability. New Zealand will make as full a contribution to such actions as is reasonably possible. We will continue to base our global engagement on active support for, and participation in, United Nations and appropriate multi-national peace support operations.⁶⁵

The new Government’s policy was to have a significant impact almost immediately on decisions made about all of the acquisitions under consideration; no further frigates were to be purchased; HMNZS *Charles Upham* was to be sold; the F-16 lease was to be cancelled, as was Project *Sirius*; and the number of light armoured vehicles (LAVs) to be purchased was to be increased. The events surrounding each of these decisions will be explored in detail in the following chapters.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1 introduces the book and provides a background context for the case studies. Chapters 2–7 focus on the six case studies chosen for analysis. Chapter 2 explores the process that led to the decision in 1989 to purchase two ANZAC frigates. The choice of the ANZAC frigates was controversial and caused much public discussion and debate. What lay behind the choice of the ANZAC frigates? Why did a Labour Government pursue the purchase of further frigates, when the defence policy of the previous National Government indicated that alternatives to frigates should be explored?⁶⁶ What were the alternatives and why were they not pursued? Now that New Zealand has two in service, what are the tangible benefits that can be identified?

Chapter 3 examines the events surrounding the acquisition of HMNZS *Charles Upham*. The agreement in 1994 to purchase the heavy lift ship HMNZS *Charles Upham* was not originally surrounded by public controversy, but was the subject of long delays, and subsequently became headline news. What factors were taken into account in the final decision-making process? Once the vessel had been bought, why were adequate funds for its conversion not made available?

Chapter 4 reviews the second and third ANZAC frigate decision-making processes of 1997 and 1998. Having committed to the purchase of two ANZAC frigates with an option to purchase two more, why, when strong arguments were made that a minimum three frigate force was necessary to fulfil New Zealand's policy requirements, was the subsequent decision made not to purchase even a third vessel?

Chapter 5 explores the events surrounding the controversial decision to pursue the opportunity to lease F-16 strike aircraft from the United States, at a time when no such plans had been signalled in previous defence reviews. The first 14 of the RNZAF's major maritime strike and ground support aircraft, the A-4K *Skyhawks*, were originally purchased in 1968, and entered service in 1970. Notwithstanding the significant sums that were spent to upgrade both the airframe and the avionics of the aircraft, it was clear by the 1990s that the aircraft would need to be replaced by 2007 at the latest. However, the decision to lease the F-16s was made some eight years prior to this deadline. How did the decision to lease the F-16s in 1999 come about—and how was the decision to abandon the lease made?

Chapter 6 explores the P-3 *Orion* upgrades. The P-3 *Orions* have been an essential part of New Zealand's maritime patrol capability for many years now. Why and how have these aircraft continued in service for so long? What has influenced the decisions which have been made about upgrading them to maintain their viability? In particular, what led to the cancellation of Project *Sirius* (the plan to significantly upgrade the anti-submarine warfare (ASW) capability of the aircraft), and how was the decision taken to develop the current

new suite of avionics? The chapter recounts the early upgrade under Project *Rigel*, and the re-winging of the aircraft under Project *Kestrel*. It then goes on to analyse the events leading up to the decision taken by a National-led Government to proceed with Project *Sirius*; the subsequent events leading to the Labour decision to cancel the project; and then finally analyses the processes which led to the decision to upgrade the aircraft's sensor and avionics equipment under Project *Guardian*.

Chapter 7 reviews another controversial decision—taken in August 2000 by a Labour-led Government—to buy 105 LAV IIIs. Whilst capital expenditure in the Army has been significantly less than in the other Services, the sums spent remain considerable. Nevertheless, it was apparent from deployments to Bosnia and East Timor, among others, that the Army was facing an equipment crisis. When it came to reviewing armoured equipment needs, what led to the purchase of the LAV III armoured vehicles? What alternatives were considered, and why did the Army have some of their most pressing needs met when, some would argue, the other two Service branches did not?

Chapter 8, the Conclusion, draws together the observations arising from the case study chapters. It answers the following questions:

- What conclusions can be drawn from the case studies examined in detail in this book?
- What can be learned about the way defence decision-making is undertaken in New Zealand?

The Policy Framework

Before moving on to the case studies themselves, it is appropriate to briefly set out the framework within which defence acquisition recommendations are developed and then actioned.

The major actors involved in defence decision-making processes are the Minister of Defence and his Cabinet colleagues, the Secretary of Defence and staff of the Ministry of Defence, and the Chief of Defence Force and appropriate staff from each of the three Services. The Acquisition Division of the Ministry of Defence is responsible for the acquisition of equipment for the three Services of the NZDF. Following receipt of a 'user requirement' developed by the NZDF, the Division takes responsibility for seeking Government approval, develops and prepares the strategy for acquisition, and undertakes the tendering and evaluation process. Once the equipment has been acquired, the Division manages the acquisition through the delivery and warranty period.⁶⁷

Defence policy-making and defence decision-making have in the past been challenged by the relatively rapid pace of change of personnel involved, both politicians and senior bureaucrats. Whilst in the United Kingdom there were 22

Ministers of Defence during the 40 years after the Second World War,⁶⁸ New Zealand saw 11 Ministers of Defence in the 20 years after 1972. Over that period there were also six changes to the Chief of Defence Staff/Chief of Defence Force, and five changes of Secretary of Defence.⁶⁹ In the past 10 years there have been four Ministers of Defence, three Secretaries, and four Chiefs of Defence Force.

As the actors have changed over time so also have the processes and the framework. The Fourth Labour Government made wide-sweeping changes to the structure and function of many parts of the Public Service during the years after it gained office. Separating policy advice and purchasing from daily management of services was central to its philosophy, and Defence was subject to scrutiny just as were other elements of the public sector.⁷⁰ Derek Quigley and the other directors of Strategos Consulting were commissioned at this time to undertake a *Defence Resource Management Review*, which was published on 4 December 1988. In commenting on the *Review*, the Ministers of Finance and Defence noted: '1989 will see the beginning of substantial changes in the Ministry of Defence. ... Resource Management in the Ministry of Defence has to be improved.'⁷¹ The recommendations of the Strategos Report were to abolish the Defence Council; to separate policy from operations; and to have the Ministry of Defence responsible for the former, and the NZDF responsible for the latter. Those recommendations were implemented in 1989. Some 12 years later *Jane's Defence Weekly* was to comment:

The resulting structure rather than separating operations from policy, as was the intention, has left both institutions without the resources to fully carry out their respective functions, while at the same time providing two conflicting streams to the government.⁷²

The 'two conflicting information streams' were to come rudely to public attention during the debates over the acquisition of the LAV III, and these events among others were to lead the Government to call for a review of accountabilities and structural arrangements between the Ministry of Defence, the NZDF and the three Service arms.

When the review, to become known as the Hunn Report, was published in September 2002, it recommended a number of significant changes, not least that the two arms be re-established as a single organisation. The *Review* noted: 'Neither of these organisations has been working effectively. The NZDF has been riven with internal dissent.'⁷³

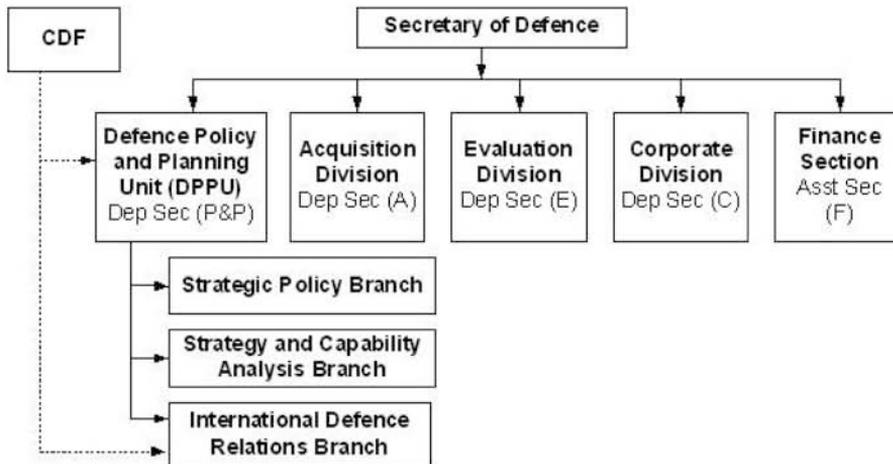
Despite the clear recommendation for a single organisation, the Government decided against it. Minister of Defence Mark Burton indicated that changes had already been made to help achieve a greater degree of 'jointness' between Services and between agencies. He advised that steps would be taken to ensure that duplication would be eliminated; that the three Service Chiefs' roles would be

to ‘raise, train and maintain’ their respective Services; and that the roles and responsibilities of the Secretary of Defence and Chief of Defence Force would be clarified.⁷⁴ The roles of the Ministry of Defence remain, therefore, to:

- provide timely, high-quality advice to help the Government make well-informed decisions about the defence of New Zealand and its interests;
- conduct audits and assessments of the NZDF and the acquisition activities of the Ministry of Defence; and
- arrange for the acquisition of significant items of military equipment needed to meet NZDF capability requirements.

In order to carry out these roles, the Ministry remains organised as follows:

Figure 1.1: Organisational structure of the Ministry of Defence



(Source: The Ministry of Defence: Organisational Structure of the Ministry, available at <<http://www.defence.govt.nz/reports-publications/election-brief-2005/roles-org-mod.html>>, accessed 12 March 2009)

Forward Planning

In order to ensure fiscally responsible forward planning and decision-making, it is common to expect that financial forecasting will form a central part of the decision-making process. However, James Rolfe noted in his 1993 text that no White Paper since 1970 had spelt out the financial requirements for the defence proposals contained within them, and added that this ‘seems to be a major omission for a policy document which often makes a point of the long-term nature of defence planning’.⁷⁵

Up until 1989, Defence had maintained an *Indicative Defence Resource Plan* which provided the framework for force development over both the short and long term, but it ceased to function from 1989 because of organisational changes and changes in fiscal guidance. In its place was introduced the Defence Planning

System (DPS). The aim of the DPS was to 'enable [the] CDF [Chief of Defence Force] and Sec Def to provide high quality advice to Government in respect of funding choices for investment in the NZDF'.⁷⁶ Rolfe raised the prospect of the DPS providing greater certainty for planners, reducing the need for White Papers being written to try and match funding and policy. In the event, the DPS never functioned comprehensively because it was 'too complex and not use-friendly'.⁷⁷ Despite ongoing attempts to revive the DPS, it ultimately failed.

The DPS was replaced by the *Capability Management Framework*, approved on 22 April 2004. It allowed for the development of two new bodies—the Executive Capability Board (comprising the Secretary of Defence and Chief of Defence Force) and the Integrated Capability Management Committee (adding second tier staff).⁷⁸ Linked with the Defence *Long-Term Development Plan* (LTDP), first released in 2002 and updated regularly, the *Capability Management Framework*

is a governance and management system designed to support Defence and Government decision makers in developing effective, long-term investments in defence capabilities. It provides clarity in responsibility, accountability and process for defence policy development, capability definition and acquisition through to the introduction into service and the disposal of capabilities.⁷⁹

The LTDP is described as

a planning tool to enable decisions on defence acquisitions to be taken in the context of the Government's defence policy, the priority of projects and affordability ... The LTDP has a role in forward focus over 10 years and was constructed as an active document, to be updated regularly.⁸⁰

There have been four updates of the LTDP to date. Of the case studies analysed in this book, the P-3K *Orion* upgrade is the only one to fall within the orbit of the LTDP.

Conclusion

For over more than half a century New Zealand has been developing an increasingly independent voice in foreign and defence policy. This chapter has outlined the development of New Zealand's modern defence and foreign policy history, and has sketched out how the policy process works within a contemporary setting. Having established some fundamental aspects of New Zealand's approach, the following chapters move on to explore the acquisition decision-making process and impinging factors in detail. The implications of changes of government, and changes in policy, public opinion and the international security environment, as well as other external pressures, and the part played by individual actors, among others, will be considered as each case

study is analysed and as the book moves towards developing a greater understanding of defence decision-making processes.

Whilst the planning process in Defence has been reviewed and refined in recent years, and the Defence Policy and Planning Unit was reported as having improved coordination in the planning process, this is but one element in the acquisition decision-making process.⁸¹ The following chapters explore in detail the range of elements which impact on those processes.

ENDNOTES

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⁸ John C. Beaglehole, 'The Development of New Zealand Nationality', p. 8, cited in McKinnon, *Independence and Foreign Policy: New Zealand in the World since 1935*, p. 55.

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Timing is Everything

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- ²⁷ T.C. Webb cited in McKinnon, 'From ANZUS to SEATO', in *New Zealand in World Affairs, Volume 1, 1945-1957*, p. 138.
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