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# **New Zealand: Background and Relations with the United States**

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## Summary

New Zealand is a close partner of the United States and welcomes a U.S. presence in the Asia-Pacific region. U.S.-New Zealand ties are bolstered by shared cultural traditions, values, and common interests. New Zealand and the United States engage each other across a broad spectrum of policy areas including South Pacific and Antarctic regional issues and intelligence cooperation. Issues for Congress related to New Zealand include oversight and appropriations related to international security cooperation, international trade, countering violent extremism, and intelligence cooperation among the so-called “Five Eyes” nations, which include New Zealand.

New Zealand is a stable and active democracy that supports liberalizing trade in the Asia-Pacific region. New Zealand supported the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade grouping, from which former President Trump withdrew in January 2017, and is a member of the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), a trade agreement which evolved from the Trans Pacific Partnership. The CPTPP became effective in 2018. In 2008, New Zealand was the first developed country to sign a Free Trade Agreement with China, and in January 2021 the two nations upgraded that agreement. New Zealand is also a member of the 15 member Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which was agreed to in November 2020. New Zealand has a history of fighting alongside the United States in major conflicts including World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. New Zealand is a regular contributor to international peace and stability operations, and contributed troops to fight Islamist militants in Afghanistan, where New Zealand had a Provincial Reconstruction Team in Bamiyan Province, and in Iraq, where it trained Iraqi military personnel. New Zealand’s foreign policy supports a rules-based international order, collective approaches to promote stability, and the peaceful resolution of disputes.

The bilateral relationship between the United States and New Zealand was strengthened significantly through the signing of the Wellington Declaration in November 2010. The Wellington Declaration, and a subsequent Washington Declaration (2012), opened the way for increased military exchanges and joint participation in military exercises. With the Wellington Declaration, then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and former New Zealand Prime Minister John Key signaled that differences over nuclear policy would no longer define the relationship. New Zealand is now a participant in the U.S.-hosted Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) naval exercise, the world’s largest maritime military exercise, which seeks to promote interoperability among participating militaries.

New Zealand has shown a commitment to humanitarian assistance and conflict resolution in the South Pacific and beyond. In the South Pacific, it provides foreign assistance and disaster relief and promotes regional stability. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern’s Labour Party government, first elected in 2017, placed renewed emphasis on the Pacific Islands through its Pacific Reset policy. New Zealand’s commitment to promoting regional security is also demonstrated by its past role in helping to resolve conflict in places such as Bougainville, Timor Leste, and the Solomon Islands. New Zealand has also contributed to peace operations in places outside its region, such as Bosnia, Sierra Leone, and Kosovo. On issues related to China, New Zealand sometimes takes a different tack than the United States, driven in part by economic considerations and its robust trade relationship with China.

Prime Minister Ardern’s government was returned to power with what was described as a landslide victory in the 2020 election. Ardern’s effective handling of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, and what is described as her compassionate leadership style, which was demonstrated by her handling of events following a white supremacists’ 2019 attack on two Mosques in Christchurch, are generally viewed as key factors that contribute to her popularity with voters.

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## Overview

The United States and New Zealand work together in bilateral, regional, and global contexts to address common interests in the areas of defense, foreign affairs, and trade. Bilateral and multilateral military-to-military exercises involving the two countries have increased in number since the signing of the Wellington Declaration of 2010 and the Washington Declaration of 2012. The two nations were both part of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade negotiations until former President Trump withdrew the United States from the TPP in January 2017. Congressional interest in New Zealand includes international security cooperation, New Zealand's role in regional trade architectures, broader Indo-Pacific strategy, intelligence cooperation, and issues related to the South Pacific and Antarctica.

The 2016 New Zealand Defence White Paper described New Zealand's engagement with the United States as having "reached a depth and breadth not seen in 30 years."<sup>1</sup> The Strategic Defence Policy Paper of 2018 noted that "United States strategy focuses on affirming security commitments to United States allies," but also noted that the United States had withdrawn from the TPP, "which marks a significant step back from involvement in regional trade and economic rule-making."<sup>2</sup> The 2019 Defence Capability Plan described the purchase of the Boeing P-8A aircraft as enabling New Zealand to carry out operations independently and, when required, to "work effectively with partners including Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States."<sup>3</sup> Past differences over nuclear policy, discussed below, were largely put to rest by the Wellington (see **Appendix**) and Washington declarations.<sup>4</sup> The shift to normal relations between the two nations

### New Zealand at a Glance

**Government:** A Mixed-Member-Proportional (MMP) democracy with an approximately 120-seat unicameral parliament. Members are elected by popular vote in single member constituencies. Proportional seats are selected from party lists. Members serve three-year terms of office.

**Head of State:** Queen Elizabeth II, represented by Governor General Dame Patricia Lee Reddy.

**Head of Government:** Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.

**Natural resources:** Natural gas, iron ore, coal, timber, hydropower, gold, limestone.

**Natural hazards:** Earthquakes

**Terrain:** Mountainous and coastal plains, with 41% in pasture and 31% in forest.

**Land Area:** About the size of Colorado

**Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ):** At over 4,000,000 sq km est. New Zealand has one of the world's largest EEZs

**Capital:** Wellington (metro area pop. 415,000) (2020)

**Population:** 5 million, with 1.6% growth rate (2020)

**Life expectancy at birth:** 81.86 years (2018)

**Ethnic groups:** European 70.2%, Maori 16.5%, Asian 15.1%, Pacific Islander 8.1% (2019 est.) (Respondents could identify with more than one group.)

**Export Commodities:** Dairy products, meat, wood and wood products, fruit, oil, and wine.

**Major Export Markets:** China 28%, Australia 14.6%, U.S. 9.4%, Japan 6.9%. (2020)

**Per Capita GDP:** \$42,084 ppp (2019)

**GDP by Sector:** Services 69.8%, industry 26.3%, agriculture 3.9%. (2016)

**GDP growth:** -0.3% 2020 est, 5.4% 2021 forecast

**Sources:** CIA World Factbook, Economist Intelligence Unit, Statistics New Zealand, and media reports.

<sup>1</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016*, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/publications/publication/defence-white-paper-2016#:~:text=The%20White%20Paper%20also%20provides%20the%20blueprint%20for,and%20equipment%20it%20needs%20to%20undertake%20these%20effectively.>

<sup>2</sup> New Zealand Government, "Strategic Defence Policy Statement," 2018. <https://www.defence.govt.nz/publications/publication/strategic-defence-policy-statement-2018.>

<sup>3</sup> Defence Capability Plan 2019. <https://www.defence.govt.nz/publications/publication/defence-capability-plan-2019.>

<sup>4</sup> Murray Hiebert, "The Next Stage in US-New Zealand Relations," Center for Strategic and International Studies,

was marked by a U.S. naval ship visit to New Zealand in November 2016. This was the first such visit since 1983.<sup>5</sup>

Labour Party Leader Jacinda Ardern became the youngest Prime Minister of New Zealand in 150 years following the September 23, 2017, election. She became Labour Party Leader two months prior to the election. Ardern's 2017 Labour-led coalition government followed nine years of center-right rule by the New Zealand National Party. Ardern is New Zealand's third female prime minister and her Labour government was returned with an outright majority in what was described as an "historic landslide victory" in the 2020 general election.<sup>6</sup>

## Background

### History

New Zealand's population of approximately 5 million shares common historical roots with the United States as settler societies of the British Empire.<sup>7</sup> The two nations also share democratic values and a belief in human rights and the rule of law.<sup>8</sup> New Zealand, also known to New Zealanders as Aotearoa, or "the land of the long white cloud" in Maori, was first settled by the Polynesian-Maori people around the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Dutch navigator Abel Tasman discovered the western coast of New Zealand in 1642, but it was English Captain James Cook who, over three expeditions in 1769, 1773, and 1777, circumnavigated and mapped the islands. (See **Figure 1**, "Map of New Zealand.") Cook raised the British flag on the Coromandel Peninsula in 1769 and claimed the area for King George III.<sup>9</sup> The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, between the British Crown and Maori Chiefs, serves as the basis for relations between the Maori and Pakeha (European) communities. Subsequent conflict over land rights led to the New Zealand Wars (1845-1872) between colonial forces and Maori fighters.<sup>10</sup> In 1893, New Zealand gave all women the equal right to vote, making New Zealand the first country to do so.<sup>11</sup>

New Zealand attained Dominion status in relation to Britain in 1907. It gained full political independence from Britain under the Statute of Westminster Adoption Act of 1947, and in 1951 entered into an alliance with Australia and the United States, known as ANZUS. New Zealand

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September 30, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> "New Zealand," *The Economist*, November 8, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Charlotte Graham-McLay, "Jacinda Ardern to Govern New Zealand for Second Term After Historic Victory," *The Guardian*, October 17, 2020.

<sup>7</sup> While the United States and New Zealand share many values, there are important differences as well. For example the concept of "fairness" appears to be relatively more important in New Zealand when compared with the concept of "freedom" which is relatively more important to Americans. See David Hackett Fischer, *Fairness and Freedom: A History of Two Open Societies: New Zealand and the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> New Zealand, Integrated Country Strategy, [https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ICS\\_EAP\\_New-Zealand\\_Public-Release.pdf](https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ICS_EAP_New-Zealand_Public-Release.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> New Zealand History, "Cook Observes Transit of Mercury," <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/captain-cook-observes-transit-of-mercury>.

<sup>10</sup> James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland; University of Auckland Press, 1988).

<sup>11</sup> A. E. McQueen, "New Zealand: Physical and Social Geography," in *The Far East and Australasia* (Surrey: Europa Publications, 2002), p. 889.

remains a member of the British Commonwealth,<sup>12</sup> and is a member of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) along with Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the United Kingdom.<sup>13</sup>

New Zealand's demographic makeup defines it as a Pacific nation that is still largely European in character. New Zealand's Pacific identity stems from its geographic location, its indigenous Maori population, and other more recent Pacific Island immigrants. Maori represent 16.5% of the population while Pacific Islanders comprise 8.1%. People of Samoan descent are the largest group of Pacific Islanders in New Zealand.<sup>14</sup> Pacific Islanders account for approximately 15.5% of the population of Auckland, New Zealand's largest city.<sup>15</sup>

## Government and Politics

The British Monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, is the constitutional head of state of New Zealand. Her representative, the Governor General, acts on the advice of the New Zealand Prime Minister's Cabinet.<sup>16</sup> New Zealand is a unicameral, mixed-member-proportional (MMP), parliamentary democracy. Elections must be held every three years. MMP was introduced in New Zealand in 1996 following a referendum in 1993.<sup>17</sup> There are approximately 120 seats in parliament of which some are electorate member seats while other seats are selected from party lists.<sup>18</sup> Each voter casts both an electorate vote and a party vote. Under the MMP system, a political party that wins at least one electorate seat or 5% of the party vote gets a share of the seats in parliament. (See **Table 1.**) A referendum on the MMP system in 2011 returned a 58% endorsement of the system.<sup>19</sup> The center-right National Party and the center-left Labour Party are the two main political parties.

In March 2016, New Zealanders were asked to choose whether to keep their current national flag, which was adopted in 1907 and includes Britain's Union Jack at the upper left corner, or to adopt a new flag, which would not include Britain's Union Jack. The referendum chose to keep the current flag. Some who favored a change contended that the new flag would better reflect a more multicultural and independent New Zealand.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Fifty-three countries are members of the Commonwealth. These nations ascribe to the values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law as articulated in the Commonwealth Charter and meet every two years at the Commonwealth heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). The Commonwealth, "Member Countries," and "Our Charter," <http://thecommonwealth.org>.

<sup>13</sup> Hon Peeni Henare, "Five Power Defence Arrangements Defence Ministers' Joint Statement," November 27, 2020. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/five-power-defence-arrangements-defence-ministers%E2%80%99-joint-statement>.

<sup>14</sup> "The Profile of Pacific Peoples in New Zealand," September 2016. <https://pasefikaproud.co.nz/assets/Resources-for-download/PasefikaProudResource-Pacific-peoples-paper.pdf>.

<sup>15</sup> Auckland Plan 2050, "Pacific Auckland," <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/auckland-plan/about-the-auckland-plan/Pages/pacific-auckland.aspx>.

<sup>16</sup> "By convention, the Governor-General acts on the advice of the Prime Minister." Office of the Governor-General, "The Role of the Governor-General," <https://gg.govt.nz/news/role-governor-general>.

<sup>17</sup> New Zealand History, "The Road to MMP," updated August 5, 2014, <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/fpp-to-mmp>.

<sup>18</sup> A New Zealander's electorate vote is cast for an individual candidate. The candidate in an electorate with the most votes wins. They do not have to win a majority of votes. A New Zealander's second vote is for their preferred political party. MPs selected on the basis of party preferences are drawn from the political party lists. New Zealand Electoral Commission, "MMP Voting System," <https://elections.nz/democracy-in-nz/what-is-new-zealands-system-of-government/what-is-mmp/>.

<sup>19</sup> Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "New Zealand Country Brief," <http://dfat.gov.au/geo/new-zealand/Pages/new-zealand-country-brief.aspx>.

<sup>20</sup> E. Roy, "New Zealand Votes to Keep Its Flag After 56.6% Back the Status Quo," *The Guardian*, March 24, 2016.

## Jacinda Ardern's Labour Government

The current government, first elected in 2017 and reelected in October 2020, is led by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern of the New Zealand Labour Party. Ardern's government, with 65 of 120 seats in parliament, is the first to rule in its own right since the institution of MMP. Labour's political position is further strengthened by a cooperation agreement with the Green Party.<sup>21</sup> The opposition center-right National Party is led by Judith Collins. The next election is scheduled for September 2023.

Ardern achieved high approval ratings attributed to her government's effective handling of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) pandemic<sup>22</sup> as well as her earlier handling of the Christchurch massacre and efforts to address climate change.<sup>23</sup> New Zealand has one of the lowest COVID-19 mortality rates in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Ardern lifted all COVID-19-related restrictions except border controls after reporting zero active cases on June 7, 2020. On April 19, 2021, New Zealand reopened air travel from Australia without a two-week quarantine restriction.<sup>24</sup> New Zealand began vaccinating its people in February 2021 and expects that it will take a full year to vaccinate its entire population of 5 million.<sup>25</sup> As of April 2021, New Zealand had experienced 2,583 cases, most of which had recovered, and 26 deaths due to COVID-19.<sup>26</sup> In 2019, a 28-year-old Australian described as a white supremacist attacked the Al Noor Mosque and Linwood Islamic Centre in Christchurch and killed 51 people.<sup>27</sup> Following the attacks, parliament passed legislation outlawing military style semi-automatic weapons and assault rifles. The Ardern government also won praise in 2019 for passing the Zero Carbon Act with cross-party support and committed New Zealand to reduce carbon emissions to zero by 2050. In December 2020, New Zealand declared a climate emergency and committed the government to become carbon neutral by 2025.<sup>28</sup>

The previous election of September 23, 2017, left no political party with an outright majority of seats in parliament. While the National Party had the most seats, it was Labour that, at that time, formed a government in coalition with the populist New Zealand First Party with the support of the Green Party.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit, *New Zealand Country Report*, March 2020.

<sup>22</sup> P. Menon, "New Zealand PM Ardern's Ratings Sky High Ahead of Election," Reuters, July 26, 2020.

<sup>23</sup> "New Zealand PM Ardern's Approval Rating Rises to Highest Since Taking Office," Reuters, April 15, 2019. "New Zealanders Vote for Climate Ambition of Jacinda Ardern and Greens," *Climate Change News*, October 19, 2020.

<sup>24</sup> R. Pannett and A. Taylor, "New Zealand Opens Up Travel Bubble with Neighboring Australia," *Washington Post*, April 6, 2021.

<sup>25</sup> "New Zealand Begins COVID-19 Vaccinations Programme, Australia Starts Monday," Reuters, February 19, 2021.

<sup>26</sup> "New Zealand," Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Research Center, <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/region/new-zealand>.

<sup>27</sup> Nick Perry, "New Zealand Mosque Shooter Sentenced to Life Without Parole," AP, August 27, 2020.

<sup>28</sup> New Zealand Climate Action Tracker, Country Summary, <https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/new-zealand/>.

<sup>29</sup> "Ardern Sworn in as New Zealand's Prime Minister," *DPA International*, October 25, 2017.

**Table I. Selected New Zealand Political Parties 2020 Electoral Performance**

Party	Percentage of Vote	Seats in Parliament
NZ Labour Party	50%	65
National Party	25.6%	33
Maori Party	1.2%	2
Green Party	7.9%	10
ACT NZ	7.6%	10
Total		120

Source: New Zealand Electoral Commission, “2020 General Election—Official Result,” <https://elections.nz>.

## Bilateral Relations with the United States

In November 2020, President-elect Biden congratulated Prime Minister Ardern on her reelection and expressed his intent to strengthen the U.S.-New Zealand partnership.<sup>30</sup> In January 2021, Prime Minister Ardern congratulated President Biden on becoming President and stated “we have common investment in the international rules-based order and I welcome President Biden’s intentions for the U.S. to rejoin the Paris Agreement” on climate change.<sup>31</sup> Ardern described her call with Biden as “positive and warm.”<sup>32</sup> Prime Minister Ardern was also quoted as saying that it is easier to work together with foreign leaders “when you have a few more shared values.”<sup>33</sup>

For many years after the mid-1980s, differences over nuclear policy<sup>34</sup> rather than shared values or common interests largely defined relations between the United States and New Zealand, and in 1986 the United States suspended its alliance commitments to New Zealand over those differences. In 1984, after successfully campaigning on an anti-nuclear platform, newly elected Prime Minister David Lange banned nuclear armed or nuclear powered ships from entering New Zealand ports or waters. This ban had the effect of barring United States ships from docking in the country. In 1987, New Zealand’s Labour Government passed the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Control Act that made the country nuclear-free.<sup>35</sup> The United States had, and still has, a policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on U.S. Navy ships. These differences significantly constrained the relationship for many years.

The relationship has now largely moved beyond past differences over nuclear policy. This change was marked by the Wellington Declaration of 2010 and the Washington Declaration of 2012. In 2016, the USS *Sampson*, which went to New Zealand to participate in the New Zealand Navy’s

<sup>30</sup> “Biden, New Zealand’s Ardern Discuss COVID-19, Other Issues in Congratulatory Call,” *VOA News*, November 23, 2020.

<sup>31</sup> G. Forrester, “PM Jacinda Ardern Congratulates President Joe Biden,” *Stuff*, January 21, 2021.

<sup>32</sup> Phil Taylor, “Joe Biden Wants to ‘Reinvigorate’ US-New Zealand Ties, Says Ardern After Phone Call,” *The Guardian*, November 23, 2020.

<sup>33</sup> H. Cooke, “Joe Biden Brings the United States Closer to New Zealand in First Day in Office,” *Stuff*, January 22, 2021.

<sup>34</sup> Henry Cronin, “New Zealand’s Anti-Nuclear Legislation and the United States in 1985,” Wilson Center, August 26, 2020.

<sup>35</sup> New Zealand History, “Nuclear Free New Zealand,” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/nuclear-free-new-zealand>.



75<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations, ultimately diverted to Kaikoura, New Zealand, to assist in evacuating civilians following a 7.8 magnitude earthquake which blocked roads, isolating the town of Kaikoura.<sup>36</sup>

New Zealand and the United States seek a stable and secure international architecture that supports open trade and a rules based legal framework.<sup>37</sup> The two nations also share a commitment to promoting security and development in the South Pacific. They coordinate their support to Pacific Island states in patrolling their Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) to try to prevent poaching of fisheries resources.<sup>38</sup> The two countries participate in joint humanitarian and disaster relief exercises with Pacific Island states.<sup>39</sup> They are also long-standing partners in Antarctic scientific research. Christchurch, New Zealand, is used to support U.S. Antarctic operations.<sup>40</sup> This is one area of bilateral cooperation that was apparently not affected by differences over nuclear policy.<sup>41</sup>

Several organizations and groups, some involving Members of Congress, help promote bilateral ties between the United States and New Zealand, including the bipartisan Friends of New Zealand Congressional Caucus and its New Zealand parliamentary counterpart.<sup>42</sup> United States goods and service trade with New Zealand totaled an estimated \$13.8 billion in 2019. The U.S. had a goods and services trade surplus with New Zealand of \$570 million in 2019.<sup>43</sup> The United States was also the third largest source of FDI in New Zealand in 2018 and the United States and New Zealand have had a bilateral Trade and Investment Framework Agreement in place since 1992.<sup>44</sup>

## Defense and Security Ties

Close bilateral defense and security ties between the United States and New Zealand began during World War II, when U.S. military personnel were stationed in New Zealand as they prepared for battle against Japan in places such as Guadalcanal and Tarawa. Between 1942 and 1944, New Zealand hosted between 15,000 and 45,000 U.S. military personnel at any given time.<sup>45</sup> Between 1950 and 1957, New Zealand forces served in Korea. In 1951, the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) alliance was formed, and from 1963 to 1975 New Zealand forces served in Vietnam.<sup>46</sup>

In 1956, New Zealand joined the UKUSA Agreement, governing signals intelligence cooperation. The agreement is often referred to as the “Five Eyes” alliance. The Five Eyes countries are

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<sup>36</sup> Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, “U.S. Relations with New Zealand,” U.S. Department of State, January 21, 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Ernie Bower and Brian Lynch, *Pacific Partners: The Future of U.S.-New Zealand Relations*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> New Zealand Defence Force, “High Seas Fisheries Patrol Completed,” September 17, 2019.

<sup>39</sup> Bruce Vaughn, “The United States and New Zealand: Perspectives on a Pacific Partnership,” Ian Axford (New Zealand) Fellowships in Public Policy Paper, August 2012.

<sup>40</sup> “The United States and New Zealand: Forward Progress,” *The Scoop*, June 20, 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Kevin Clements, “New Zealand Paying for Nuclear Ban,” *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, July/August 1987.

<sup>42</sup> New Zealand Parliament, “Parliamentary Friendship Groups,” <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/parliamentary-relations/friendship-groups/new-zealand-north-america/>.

<sup>43</sup> Office of the United States Trade Representative, “New Zealand,” <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/southeast-asia-pacific/new-zealand>.

<sup>44</sup> U.S. Department of State, “U.S. Relations with New Zealand,” January 21, 2020.

<sup>45</sup> New Zealand History, “US Force in New Zealand,” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/us-forces-in-new-zealand>.

<sup>46</sup> New Zealand History, “Vietnam War,” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/vietnam-war>.

Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. New Zealand's responsibilities under Five Eyes, which are handled by the New Zealand Government Communications Security Bureau (GCSB), include the South Pacific.<sup>47</sup> The GCSB

ensures the integrity and confidentiality of government information, and investigates and analyses cyber incidents against New Zealand's critical infrastructure ... collects foreign intelligence bearing on New Zealand's interests, and ... has two communications interception stations: a high frequency radio interception and direction-finding station at Tangimoana, near Palmerston North, and a satellite communications interception station at Waihopai, near Blenheim.<sup>48</sup>

During the mid-1980s, the United States suspended its alliance commitments to New Zealand due to differences over nuclear policy, as mentioned above.<sup>49</sup> New Zealand in the mid-1980s wanted to distance itself from nuclear weapons but not from the United States or the ANZUS alliance. In one poll in 1987, 70% of New Zealanders wished to maintain a ban on nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships porting in New Zealand while 66% wanted New Zealand to be in an alliance with Australia and the United States.<sup>50</sup>

Bilateral defense ties began to be reestablished following New Zealand's military contribution to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>51</sup> New Zealand's commitment of Special Forces and regular troops and other assistance, particularly the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Bamiyan Province, Afghanistan from 2003 to 2013,<sup>52</sup> demonstrated to many U.S. policymakers New Zealand's value as a political, diplomatic, and military partner.<sup>53</sup> In February 2021, New Zealand announced that it would conclude its deployments to Afghanistan by May 2021.<sup>54</sup>

The Wellington Declaration of 2010 (see **Appendix**) was a key turning point in United States-New Zealand relations.<sup>55</sup> It built on ongoing improvements in the relationship to enable a reorientation of bilateral relations. The Wellington Declaration established in a public way the evolving strategic partnership. It stated that "our shared democratic values and common interests" would guide the two nations' collective action:

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<sup>47</sup> Government Communications Security Bureau, "UKUSA Allies," <https://www.gcsb.govt.nz/about-us/ukusa-allies/>, and Murray Hiebert, B. Schare, and C. Doyle, *In from the Cold: U.S.-New Zealand Ties Returning to Normal*, National Bureau of Asian Research, December 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Government Communications Security Bureau, "About Us," <https://www.gcsb.govt.nz/about-us>.

<sup>49</sup> B. Gwertzman, "Shultz Ends U.S. Vow to Defend New Zealand," *New York Times*, June 28, 1986.

<sup>50</sup> Kevin Clements, "New Zealand Paying for Nuclear Ban," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, July/August 1987.

<sup>51</sup> Murray Hiebert, B. Schare, and C. Doyle, *In from the Cold: U.S.-New Zealand Ties Returning to Normal*, National Bureau of Asian Research, December 2014.

<sup>52</sup> New Zealand's PRT in Bamiyan ended in 2013. "NZ Troops to Leave Afghanistan After 20 Years, 10 NZ Lives Lost," *New Zealand Herald*, February 16, 2021. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/nz-troops-to-leave-afghanistan-after-20-years-10-nz-lives-lost/KWRNDEAA6VDN4TIOQHNEBF3ZEM/>.

<sup>53</sup> According to one study, bilateral relations began improving in the early 2000s when New Zealand sent special forces to support the U.S.-led war in Afghanistan in 2001 and a contingent of military engineers to support the U.S. mission in Iraq in 2003. See Murray Hiebert, B. Schare, and C. Doyle, *In from the Cold: U.S.-New Zealand Ties Returning to Normal*, National Bureau of Asian Research, December 2014.

<sup>54</sup> Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern, "New Zealand to Conclude its Deployment to Afghanistan in 2021," February 17, 2021.

<sup>55</sup> U.S. Department of State, "US Relations with New Zealand," February 14, 2017, <https://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35852.htm>.

Our governments and peoples share a deep and abiding interest in maintaining peace, prosperity and stability in the region, expanding the benefits of freer and more open trade, and promoting and protecting freedom, democracy and human rights.<sup>56</sup>

The declaration reaffirmed close ties and a “strategic partnership to shape future practical cooperation and political dialogue.” The agreement pointed to the need to address regional and global challenges including enhanced dialogue on regional security, practical cooperation in the Pacific, foreign ministers meetings, political-military discussions, and joint cooperation on climate change, nuclear proliferation, and Islamist extremism.<sup>57</sup>

The 2012 Washington Declaration on Defense Cooperation, which opened the way for further enhanced strategic dialogue and defense cooperation, attested to the degree to which the Wellington Declaration improved bilateral ties. This positive momentum in the relationship was sustained by subsequent developments such as then-U.S. Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta’s September 2012 lifting of a ban on New Zealand naval ship visits to the United States, announced during a visit to New Zealand.<sup>58</sup>

Military exercises and cooperation in the fight against Islamist extremists also bolstered practical aspects of the two nations’ bilateral defense and security cooperation. A 2014 White House fact sheet noted common objectives and welcomed New Zealand’s participation in RIMPAC.<sup>59</sup>

Former Secretary of Defense Hagel in 2014 “praised the growth of the bilateral defense relationship and expressed appreciation for New Zealand’s support.”<sup>60</sup> One study in 2014 went so far as to state that improvements in relations between the United States and New Zealand “suggest that a defacto alliance has been restored.”<sup>61</sup>

New Zealand’s contribution to the global coalition to counter the Islamic State included the deployment of troops begun in May 2015 to Taji, Iraq, where they trained Iraqi soldiers alongside Australian troops. New Zealand withdrew its troops from Taji in March 2020.<sup>62</sup> The training covered basic weapons skills and combat operations as well as medical and logistical skills.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Wellington Declaration on a New Strategic Partnership Between New Zealand and the United States of America,” press release, November 4, 2010, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/11/150401.htm>.

<sup>57</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Wellington Declaration on a New Strategic Partnership Between New Zealand and the United States of America,” press release, November 4, 2010, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/11/150401.htm>. “The Wellington Declaration,” *The New Zealand Herald*, November 4, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> Thom Shanker, “Panetta Announces Warmer Military Ties on New Zealand Trip,” *New York Times*, September 20, 2012.

<sup>59</sup> “The United States and New Zealand share in joint efforts to build and sustain a peaceful, secure, and prosperous Asia-Pacific region. The United States welcomes New Zealand’s participation in RIMPAC (Rim of the Pacific Exercise), the world’s largest multinational naval exercise. This marked the first time a New Zealand navy ship will dock at Pearl Harbor Naval Base in over 30 years, a symbol of our renewed engagement on mutual defense and security, especially in the Asia-Pacific region.” The White House, “Fact Sheet: The United States and New Zealand: Forward Progress,” June 20, 2014, <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2014/06/20/fact-sheet-united-states-and-new-zealand-forward-progress>.

<sup>60</sup> U.S. Department of Defense, “Readout of Secretary Hagel’s Meeting with New Zealand Minister of Defence Gerry Brownlee,” November 24, 2014, <https://www.defense.gov/News/News-Releases/News-Release-View/Article/605292/readout-of-secretary-hagels-meeting-with-new-zealand-minister-of-defense-gerry/>.

<sup>61</sup> Murray Hiebert, B. Schare, and C. Doyle, *In from the Cold: U.S.-New Zealand Ties Returning to Normal*, National Bureau of Asian Research, December 2014.

<sup>62</sup> V. Molyneux, “New Zealand Withdraws All Military Personnel From Camp Taji in Iraq,” *Newshub*, March 30, 2020.

<sup>63</sup> Gerry Brownlee, “Government Approves NZDF Training Mission to Iraq,” Government of New Zealand, February 25, 2015, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/government-approves-nzdf-training-mission-iraq>.

In discussing the ANZAC Spirit of New Zealand and Australian troops (see “Australia” section below), United States Deputy Secretary of Defense Bob Work stated in 2015 that

For over 60 years ago, American, Australian, and New Zealander troops have served far from home, risking their lives to ensure the safety and security of their countries, and advancing peace and stability around the world. The partnership between the United States, Australia and New Zealand has led to rapid responses to the world’s worst threats and crises, no matter where they erupt.

In channeling the tenacity of the Allied troops at Gallipoli, our partnership has served as a model, galvanizing others to participate in struggles around the world. In Afghanistan, our militaries have worked side-by-side for over a decade.... And now, in Iraq, both Australia and New Zealand have become invaluable partners in the international coalition against ISIL. Proving—yet again—that our partnership is not bound by any particular geography, conflict, or adversary. This acute sense of responsibility for global well-being has required no small sacrifice from the people of Australia and New Zealand, and we are grateful for your continued friendship.<sup>64</sup>

New Zealand also opened a consulate in Hawaii in 2015 to engage more regularly with the United States Pacific Command.<sup>65</sup> The continuing positive trajectory of the bilateral relationship was further highlighted in April 2016 testimony before the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee, by former Commander of the Pacific Command Admiral Harry Harris when he stated the following:

Despite differences over nuclear policy, our military-to-military relationship with New Zealand, underpinned by the Wellington and Washington Declarations, is on solid footing. The New Zealand military has fought, flown, and sailed with U.S. forces since the beginning of Operation Enduring Freedom. New Zealand continues to be a respected voice in international politics and a recognized leader in the South Pacific that shares common security concerns with the U.S., including terrorism, transnational crime, and maritime security. Military-to-military relations and defense engagements with New Zealand remain strong.<sup>66</sup>

In July 2020, then-United States Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs David Stilwell and then-New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Secretary Chris Seed held a virtual Strategic Dialogue. “The Dialogue, reflecting the strong relationship and shared values between the two long-time partners, provided an opportunity to review the breadth of cooperation across the bilateral relationship.” The Dialogue also provided an opportunity to discuss “the strategic and economic architecture of the Indo-Pacific; the global impact of COVID-19; the U.S. New Zealand strategic partnership, including security cooperation and the economic relationship; cooperation in regional and multilateral fora, and in Antarctica.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Speech by Deputy Secretary of Defense Bob Work, “ANZAC Centenary,” The Pentagon, April 22, 2015.

<sup>65</sup> Murray Hiebert, “The Next Stage in US-New Zealand Relations,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, September 30, 2015.

<sup>66</sup> Testimony by Harry Harris, Commander, United States Pacific Command, Before the House Appropriations Defense Subcommittee, April 14, 2016.

<sup>67</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Joint Statement on United States-New Zealand Virtual Strategic Dialogue,” July 23, 2020.

## New Zealand Defense Policy

Current New Zealand defense policy and procurement plans are articulated in the 2018 Strategic Defence Policy Paper and the 2019 Defence Capability Plan. The 2018 Strategic Defence Policy Paper updates New Zealand's defense policy to reflect changes in the strategic environment since the publication of the 2016 Defence White Paper. The 2018 paper emphasized New Zealand's responsibilities as a Pacific nation, the impacts of climate change, the importance of maintaining the international rules-based order to promote New Zealand's interests, and the importance of contributing to New Zealand's key security partnerships.<sup>68</sup> The 2019 Defence Capability Plan aligns "defence policy and planned investments with the Coalition Government's priorities" to provide the capabilities necessary to fulfill the objectives of the 2018 Strategic Defence Policy Statement and covers capability investments out to 2030.<sup>69</sup>

New Zealand's has a history of supporting Great Britain. It sent troops to fight in South Africa in 1899 and to Gallipoli and elsewhere in World War I. The fall of Singapore in World War II "shook New Zealand's confidence that Britain could guarantee the country's security."<sup>70</sup> As noted above, in 1951 New Zealand joined Australia and the United States to form the ANZUS Treaty. In recent years, New Zealand's more independent defense policy has focused on contributing to international peace operations, protecting New Zealand's maritime environment (including its Exclusive Economic Zone [EEZ] and the Southern Ocean), promoting stability in the South Pacific supporting scientific research in Antarctica, and enhancing cybersecurity.

New Zealand armed forces made a significant contribution in support of the allied cause in World War I and World War II. Approximately 100,000 New Zealand troops (out of a total New Zealand population of 1.1 million in 1914) went to fight in battles such as Gallipoli, Passchendaele, and the Somme as part of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. This represented about half of the eligible male population.<sup>71</sup> Several thousand more served with British and Australian forces in World War I.<sup>72</sup> By comparison, the American Expeditionary Force in Europe numbered over 1 million troops in 1918 when the total population of the United States was 103.2 million.<sup>73</sup> Approximately 140,000 New Zealand troops served in World War II out of a total New Zealand population of 1.6 million in 1940. They fought and served in places like Crete, El Alamein, and the Pacific. As noted above, New Zealand troops also fought alongside American and allied troops in Korea and Vietnam.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Hon. Ron Mark, Minister of Defence, "Strategic Defence Policy Statement 2018 Launched," July 2018, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/8958486b29/Strategic-Defence-Policy-Statement-2018.pdf>.

<sup>69</sup> Hon. Ron Mark, Minister of Defence, "Defence Capability Plan 2019 Released," June 11, 2019, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/defence-capability-plan-2019-released>.

<sup>70</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Business, Innovation, and Employment, "A Brief History," <https://www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/live-in-new-zealand/history-government/a-brief-history>.

<sup>71</sup> "New Zealand, Army WWI Casualty Lists, 1914-1919," Ancestry.ca, <https://search.ancestry.ca/search/db.aspx?dbid=1835>.

<sup>72</sup> New Zealand History, "First World War: Overview," <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/first-world-war-overview/introduction>.

<sup>73</sup> East Sussex County Council, "American Soldiers Arrive in Europe," The First World War Project, <http://www.eastsussexww1.org.uk/american-soldiers-arrive-france/index.html>.

<sup>74</sup> Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000).

The New Zealand 2016 Defense White Paper placed “renewed focus on New Zealand’s own backyard”<sup>75</sup> and places relatively more emphasis on protecting Southern Ocean resources, the South Pacific, and Antarctica than previous Defence White Papers. It also states,

The New Zealand Defence Force must be flexible and able to conduct concurrent operations, from humanitarian and disaster response, operating in the Southern Ocean and supporting Antarctic operations, to participating in international coalition deployments.... These challenges [for the defence force] include maintaining an awareness of and an ability to respond to activities in New Zealand’s Exclusive Economic Zone, supporting New Zealand’s presence in Antarctica and the Southern Ocean, as well as increasing cyber threats to Defence Force networks.<sup>76</sup>

The White Paper further signaled “a commitment to a portfolio of planned Defence capability investments valued at close to \$20 billion over the next 15 years.” One observation on the White Paper points out that many specifics have been left to the Defence Capability Plan.<sup>77</sup>

## The Pacific, Antarctica, and the Southern Ocean

### The Pacific

New Zealand’s Pacific identity, derived from its geography and growing population of New Zealanders with Polynesian or other Pacific Island backgrounds,<sup>78</sup> as well as its historical relationship with the South Pacific, informs its relationship with the region. New Zealand views its well-being as “closely linked to the well-being of the Pacific region.”<sup>79</sup> Further, one of the principal roles of the New Zealand defense force is to “conduct a broad range of operations in the South Pacific, including leading operations when necessary, to protect and promote regional peace, security and resilience.”<sup>80</sup> New Zealand has played a key role in promoting peace and stability in the South Pacific in places such as the Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, and Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, through peacekeeping operations, provision of security assistance, and by providing development and disaster assistance to the region.

New Zealand works closely with Pacific Island states on a bilateral and multilateral basis through the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF). New Zealand is a member of the PIF, which has in recent years focused on regional security, sustainable fisheries resources, and climate change. The PIF is based in Fiji. In February 2021, in a move that could undermine regional cohesion, Micronesian members of the PIF announced plans to withdraw their membership over a leadership dispute that they perceived as benefiting the Polynesian sub-region.<sup>81</sup> Some analysts have viewed the move by Palau, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, Kiribati, and Nauru as “likely to

<sup>75</sup> “Defence Shopping List Reflects a Resources Hungry World,” *Sunday Star Times*, June 12, 2016.

<sup>76</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016*, June 2016, <https://defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/defence-white-paper-2016.pdf>.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Ayson, “A Force to Defend, Deploy and Protect,” *Dominion Post*, June 10, 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Statistics New Zealand, “Demographics of New Zealand’s Pacific Population,” [http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse\\_for\\_stats/people\\_and\\_communities](http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities).

<sup>79</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, “Australia and the Pacific,” <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/australia-and-pacific/>.

<sup>80</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Strategic Defence Policy Statement 2018*, July 2018, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/8958486b29/Strategic-Defence-Policy-Statement-2018.pdf>.

<sup>81</sup> B. Carreon, “Pacific Islands Forum in Crisis as One Third of Member Nations Quit,” *The Guardian*, February 8, 2021.

strengthen China's influence in a region where Beijing is steadily increasing its economic and political sway."<sup>82</sup>

New Zealand also works with Pacific Island Countries to help strengthen the administration and monitoring of Pacific fisheries.<sup>83</sup> Illegal, Unregulated, and Unreported (IUU) fishing is estimated by one source to be worth \$616 million each year or 20% of the catch in the Pacific.<sup>84</sup> Other sources report that IUU fishing accounts for 34% of the total catch in the Western Central Pacific.<sup>85</sup>

New Zealand presented its Pacific Reset policy, which included increases in foreign assistance to the South Pacific, in 2018 as China's influence in the region was growing. In March 2018, Prime Minister Ardern's former Foreign Minister Winston Peters gave a speech "Shifting the Dial, Eyes Wide Open, Pacific Reset," in which he set out a reset of New Zealand's foreign policy direction in the Pacific. In that speech, he described the Pacific as "an increasingly contested strategic space, no longer neglected by Great Power ambition, and so Pacific island leaders have more options. This is creating a degree of strategic anxiety."<sup>86</sup> In April 2018, it was reported that China had approached Vanuatu "about building a permanent military presence in the South Pacific."<sup>87</sup> When asked about this development, Prime Minister Ardern stated that "New Zealand is opposed to the militarization of the Pacific."<sup>88</sup> Observers viewed New Zealand's Pacific Reset as motivated by strategic anxieties with China's growing influence in the South Pacific, a region where Australia and New Zealand historically "have been the most dominant and influential players."<sup>89</sup>

New Zealand, along with Australia, the United States, and Japan, has traditionally been one of the largest aid donors in the South Pacific. Over 60% of New Zealand's Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) goes to the Pacific region. Over the period 2018-2021, New Zealand anticipates providing NZD\$1.33 billion in ODA to the Pacific region.<sup>90</sup> In recent years, China too has become a significant aid donor in the region. While much of China's assistance is bilateral, it also provides assistance to the Pacific Islands Forum. Approximately 80% of Chinese assistance to the region is reportedly in the form of concessional loans.<sup>91</sup>

According to a report the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), which uses foreign assistance data from the Lowy Institute, Australia provided roughly \$6.5 billion in foreign aid to the Pacific Islands region between 2011 and 2018, while China pledged or committed \$5.8

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<sup>82</sup> Alexander Gray, "Why a Crisis in the Pacific Islands Matters for Washington and Beijing," *The Hill*, February 16, 2021.

<sup>83</sup> New Zealand Defence Force, "NZDF Boards 26 Vessels in Pacific Fisheries Patrol," August 9, 2017.

<sup>84</sup> Michael Field, "How China's Illegal Fishing Armada Is Plundering the South Pacific," *The Spinoff*, March 30, 2016, <https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/30-03-2016/how-chinas-illegal-fishing-armada-is-plundering-the-south-pacific/>.

<sup>85</sup> "Illegal Fishing," *World Ocean Review*, <http://worldoceanreview.com/en/wor-2/fisheries/illegal-fishing/>.

<sup>86</sup> Rt Hon Winston Peters, "Shifting the Dial, Eyes Wide Open, Pacific Reset," Lowy Institute, March 1, 2018.

<sup>87</sup> David Wroe, "China Eyes Vanuatu Military Base in Plan with Global Ramifications," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 9, 2018.

<sup>88</sup> I. Davison, "PM Responds to Reports China Is Seeking Military Presence in the South Pacific," *The New Zealand Herald*, April 9, 2018.

<sup>89</sup> Ruben Steff, "New Zealand's Pacific Reset: Strategic Anxieties About Rising China," *The Conversation*, May 31, 2018.

<sup>90</sup> New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Our Aid Partnerships in the Pacific," <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/aid-and-development/our-aid-partnerships-in-the-pacific/>. On May 12, 2021, one New Zealand dollar equaled 0.72 U.S. cents.

<sup>91</sup> S. Warwick, "Chinese Aid to the Pacific," Australian Institute of International Affairs, August 6, 2018. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/chinese-aid-to-the-pacific-what-are-the-concerns/>.

billion and spent \$1.3 billion. New Zealand and Japan provided approximately \$1.2 billion and \$900 million in foreign assistance, respectively.<sup>92</sup> Although, according to some sources, China has begun to rival Australia in terms of pledged economic assistance to the Pacific Islands region, between 70% and 80% of PRC assistance is estimated to be in the form of non-ODA loans, and is concentrated in the region's large economies (e.g., Papua New Guinea, Fiji, and Vanuatu).<sup>93</sup>

## **The Solomon Islands**

New Zealand demonstrated its resolve to help maintain peace and stability in the Pacific Island region through participation in operations such as the Australia and New Zealand-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI). RAMSI was first undertaken in 2003 under a Pacific Islands Forum mandate to address civil unrest and lawlessness in the Solomon Islands by restoring civil order, stabilizing governance, and promoting economic recovery.<sup>94</sup> Differences between the people of Guadalcanal and Malaita over land and natural resources and the migration of people within the country were viewed as some of the underlying causes of the conflict in the Solomon Islands.

## **Timor-Leste**

New Zealand, along with Australia, played a critical role in helping to stabilize Timor-Leste, which gained its independence from Indonesia following a 1999 referendum that turned violent. Over 1,100 New Zealanders were deployed to Timor Leste in 1999 as part of a U.N. peacekeeping operation.<sup>95</sup> The law and order situation deteriorated again in 2006, leading the Timorese government to issue a call for international assistance to which the U.N. and New Zealand responded. New Zealand Defence Force personnel served alongside their Australian (and other) counterparts as part of several U.N. peacekeeping, stabilization, and administrative missions in Timor-Leste between 1999 and 2012.<sup>96</sup>

## **Bougainville**

New Zealand played a key role in helping to facilitate peace between the Government of Papua New Guinea and rebels on the island of Bougainville in 1997. Secessionist sentiment and conflict over the Panguna copper mine on Bougainville from 1988 to 1997 led to a low-intensity conflict between the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and Papua New Guinea Defense Force that ultimately claimed over 10,000 lives.<sup>97</sup> The Burnham I and II dialogues hosted by New Zealand played an important part in the process that culminated in the Bougainville Peace Agreement of 2001. Under the terms of the agreement, a referendum on self-determination was held in 2019. Over 98% of voters supported independence in the non-binding referendum. Ishmael Toroama, a

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<sup>92</sup> Amy Searight, Brian Harding and Kim Mai Tran, "Strengthening the U.S.-Pacific Islands Partnership," Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Charis Chang, "Map Shows Changes in How Much Aid China Provides to the Pacific Region," *News.com.au*, August 9, 2018; Stephen Dziedzic, "Which Country Gives the Most Aid to Pacific Island Nations?" *ABC News*, August 8, 2018.

<sup>94</sup> New Zealand Government, "New Zealand Support to RAMSI Acknowledged," July 25, 2013. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-zealand%E2%80%99s-support-ramsi-acknowledged>.

<sup>95</sup> The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, "Bougainville and East Timor," <https://teara.govt.nz/en/peacekeeping/page-4>.

<sup>96</sup> "Australia Aims to Begin Troop Withdrawal from E. Timor Next Year," *Kyodo News*, April 15, 2011.

<sup>97</sup> Bede Cory, "The Bougainville Peace Process," in Bruce Vaughn, ed., *The Unraveling of Island Asia? Governmental, Communal, and Regional Instability* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2002).



former commander in the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, was elected President of Papua New Guinea's autonomous Bougainville region in September 2020. This was viewed by observers as a further step in the region's push for independence.<sup>98</sup>

## **New Zealand's Island Relations**

New Zealand has a set of relationships with South Pacific islands that is in some ways similar to the relationships between the United States and various island nations in the Western Pacific, such as the Freely Associated States.<sup>99</sup> In the past, New Zealand had colonial and trusteeship relationships with the Cook Islands, Niue, and Western Samoa. Samoa became independent in 1962, while the Cook Islands and Niue became self-governing in 1965 and 1974 in "free association" with New Zealand. Tokelau and the Ross Dependency fall within the jurisdiction of New Zealand.<sup>100</sup> These islands are concerned about the impact of projected sea level rise due to global warming.

## **Antarctica and the Southern Ocean<sup>101</sup>**

New Zealand has historically had a strong interest in Antarctica due to its geographic proximity and involvement in early Antarctic exploration.<sup>102</sup> New Zealand has made a territorial claim to a significant portion of the continent's landmass, and maintains Scott Base, a research station at the southern end of Ross Island in Antarctica.<sup>103</sup> The 2016 Defence White Paper notes that New Zealand has a strong interest in the preservation of the natural environment and stability in the Antarctica and Southern Ocean.<sup>104</sup> The 2018 Strategic Defence Policy Statement notes that pressure on key elements of the Antarctic Treaty System, such as the prohibition on mineral extraction, may increase. The document also notes that "difficulty in distinguishing between allowed and prohibited activities under the Antarctic treaty system could be exploited by states seeking to carry out a range of military and other security related activities."<sup>105</sup>

Increased international activity in Antarctica, and particularly China's expanding presence, has attracted the attention of analysts in New Zealand.<sup>106</sup> Antarctica is increasingly contested by relative newcomers like China, which is developing its scientific presence in Antarctica by enhancing its research capabilities, building research bases, and launching ice breakers.<sup>107</sup> In one

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<sup>98</sup> Ben Dougherty, "Bougainville Independence High on Agenda," *The Guardian*, September 23, 2020.

<sup>99</sup> The Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Republic of Palau, and the Federated States of Micronesia are Freely Associated States with the United States. For further information on the Freely Associated States, see CRS Report R46573, *The Freely Associated States and Issues for Congress*, by Thomas Lum. For more information on U.S. policy towards the Pacific Islands see Office of the Spokesperson, "U.S. Engagement in the Pacific: 2020 Pacific Pledge," October 1, 2020, <https://2017-2021.state.gov/u-s-engagement-in-the-pacific-islands-2020-pacific-pledge/index.html>.

<sup>100</sup> "Territories Overseas," *The Statesman's Yearbook 2016* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2016).

<sup>101</sup> See CRS Report R46708, *Antarctica: Overview of Geopolitical and Environmental Issues*, by Pervaze A. Sheikh, Bruce Vaughn, and Kezee Procita.

<sup>102</sup> New Zealand History, "Antarctica and New Zealand," <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/politics/antarctica-and-nz>.

<sup>103</sup> Antarctica New Zealand, "Scott Base," <https://www.antarcticanz.govt.nz/scott-base>.

<sup>104</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016*, June 2016, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/publications/publication/defence-white-paper-2016>.

<sup>105</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Strategic Defence Policy Statement*, July 2018, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/8958486b29/Strategic-Defence-Policy-Statement-2018.pdf>.

<sup>106</sup> Anne-Marie Brady, *China as a Polar Great Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

<sup>107</sup> "China to Expand Presence in Antarctica with New Research Bases," Reuters, December 19, 2013.

analyst's view, "The newer players are stepping in to what they view as a treasure house of resources."<sup>108</sup>

## Other Key External Relations

New Zealand conducts its external affairs through international fora, such as the United Nations and the Commonwealth (the Commonwealth was established in 1949 to maintain an association between countries that were once part of the British Empire),<sup>109</sup> as well as through bilateral ties and other multilateral arrangements. New Zealand has traditionally had particularly close ties with the United Kingdom and Australia and is a member of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA) of 1971 (discussed below). New Zealand has sought to expand its traditionally close relationships by reaching out to develop closer ties with other countries, particularly through expanded trade, including China and other Asian states.

### Australia

New Zealand enjoys very close relations with Australia, its neighbor across the Tasman Sea. These trans-Tasman ties are based, to a large extent, on the two nations' common origin as British colonies. Their ties were strengthened as the two nations fought together in the Australian and New Zealand Army Corp (ANZAC) in places like Gallipoli in World War I.<sup>110</sup> This relationship evolved into what is known as "the ANZAC spirit" of close defense cooperation. This ongoing defense cooperation was demonstrated through the Joint Australia-New Zealand Building Partner Capacity mission in Iraq.<sup>111</sup> Economic ties between New Zealand and Australia are formalized in the Closer Economic Relations (CER) agreement, which prohibits trade tariffs between the two nations.<sup>112</sup> Close economic, people-to-people, and cultural ties, including the shared popularity of rugby, cricket, and other sport, further reinforce bilateral relations between these two states. Over 568,000 New Zealanders, out of a population of 5 million, live in Australia.<sup>113</sup>

### China

New Zealand, like many countries in its region, has benefited economically from the rise of China while at the same time found itself in a period of increasing geopolitical uncertainty that has resulted from China's rise and its growing assertiveness in the Pacific. The 2021 *Protocol to Amend the New Zealand-China Free Trade Agreement* upgrade to the New Zealand-China FTA signals the continuing importance of trade with China to New Zealand.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps because of its

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<sup>108</sup> Anne Marie-Brady, University of Canterbury, as quoted in "Global Politics Arrive at the Bottom of the World Nations Rushing to Have Foothold in Antarctica," *The Plain Dealer*, January 4, 2016.

<sup>109</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "The Commonwealth," <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/peace-rights-and-security/the-commonwealth/>.

<sup>110</sup> P. O'Brien and B. Vaughn, eds., *Amongst Friends: Australian and New Zealand Voices from America* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005).

<sup>111</sup> New Zealand Government, "Joint Statement Australia-New Zealand," February 20, 2016, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/joint-statement-%E2%80%93-australia-and-new-zealand>.

<sup>112</sup> Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Australia-New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement," <https://www.dfat.gov.au/trade/agreements/in-force/anzcerta/Pages/australia-new-zealand-closer-economic-relations-trade-agreement>.

<sup>113</sup> "New Zealanders in Australia: A Quick Guide," February 13, 2020, [https://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick\\_Guides/NZAust](https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/NZAust).

<sup>114</sup> New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, *Protocol to Upgrade the New Zealand-China Free Trade Agreement*,

relatively remote geographic position, New Zealanders' perceptions of China have tended, relative to others, to reflect the benefits of trade rather than security concerns.

New Zealand's economy has grown in recent years while its trade with China has expanded rapidly. New Zealand in 2008 was the first Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) country to sign a Free Trade Agreement with China. Overall, New Zealand exports to China grew from less than 3% of all exports in 2000 to approximately 28% of exports in 2020.<sup>115</sup> Growing ties to China have boosted New Zealand's dairy, tourism, and education sectors, and Chinese investment in New Zealand has increased significantly.<sup>116</sup> According to some observers, New Zealand's growing economic relationship with China has "changed New Zealanders' perceptions of where their economic future now lies."<sup>117</sup>

Those focused on security take a somewhat different view of China. The overarching security context articulated in the 2016 Defence White Paper views the rise of Asia as central to shifting global power dynamics:

By 2030 Asia is expected to have surpassed North America and Europe combined in terms of global power, a measure defined by gross domestic product, population size, military spending and technological investment. Nowhere is this shift, driven primarily by three decades of sustained economic growth in China, more striking than in North Asia.<sup>118</sup>

While the 2018 Strategic Defence Policy Statement asserts that "New Zealand continues to build a strong and resilient relationship with China" it also notes that China is "more confident in pursuing its aims," has "not consistently adopted the governance and values championed by the order's traditional leaders," and "seeks to restore claimed historical levels of influence in its periphery as well as an enhanced global leadership role." The 2018 statement also noted that China presents "an alternative model of development," and is enhancing its influence and presence in the Pacific region and in Antarctica.<sup>119</sup>

New Zealand's desire to have a foreign policy that secures its economic interests while remaining true to its values has become increasingly difficult in recent years as relations between China and Australia, the United States and others in the Indo-Pacific and beyond have become strained. Some observers argue that the Ardern Government is quietly rebalancing New Zealand's relationship with China, which some viewed as previously having been relatively uncritical.<sup>120</sup> This "calculated correction" has been described as seeking to address New Zealand "perceived reluctance to join with other states to speak up on matters of concern with China."<sup>121</sup>

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<https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/trade/free-trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements-concluded-but-not-in-force/nz-china-free-trade-agreement-upgrade/>.

<sup>115</sup> "New Zealand Country Report," Economist Intelligence Unit 2021, and "New Zealand's China Policy: Building a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership," New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, July 2015.

<sup>116</sup> Jason Young, "New Zealand's China Policy," *Policy Forum*, July 14, 2015.

<sup>117</sup> "New Zealand's China Policy: Building a Comprehensive Strategic Partnership," New Zealand Contemporary China Research Centre, Victoria University of Wellington, July 2015.

<sup>118</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Defence White Paper 2016*, June 2016, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/daac08133a/defence-white-paper-2016.pdf>.

<sup>119</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *Strategic Defence Policy Statement 2018*, July 2018, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/8958486b29/Strategic-Defence-Policy-Statement-2018.pdf>.

<sup>120</sup> Anna Fifield, "Under Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand Pivots on How to Deal with China," *Washington Post*, July 6, 2020.

<sup>121</sup> Anne-Marie Brady, "New Zealand's Quiet China Shift," *The Diplomat*, July 1, 2020.

New Zealand's foreign policy with regard to Huawei and Hong Kong are illustrative of New Zealand's foreign policy approach. Prime Minister Ardern has taken the view that New Zealand's Telecommunications Interception Capability and Security Act "is a framework that is agnostic to vendoring countries but it undertakes analysis via the GCSB" (Government Communications Security Bureau).<sup>122</sup> GCSB reportedly blocked Huawei from New Zealand's 5G network after finding "a significant network security risk was identified."<sup>123</sup> New Zealand also joined its Five Eyes partner countries in urging China's authorities "to reconsider their actions against Hong Kong's elected legislature" in November 2020.<sup>124</sup> In January 2021, New Zealand decided to refrain from joining its Five Eyes alliance partners Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States in expressing serious concern about the arrest of democracy advocates in Hong Kong.<sup>125</sup> In March 2021, Australia and New Zealand expressed their "grave concern" over human rights abuses in Xinjiang and joined calls by the United States, Canada, the UK, and the EU for China to respect the rights of the Uyghur people.<sup>126</sup> In April 2021, Foreign Minister Mahuta affirmed that New Zealand values its Five Eyes relationship but added that "we are uncomfortable with expanding the remit of the Five Eyes."<sup>127</sup>

## The United Kingdom, The Commonwealth, and the Five Power Defence Arrangements

New Zealanders' affinities for the United Kingdom (UK) remain strong despite the UK's decision to sever its preferential trade relationship with New Zealand in order to join the European Community in 1972 and its earlier strategic decision to largely withdraw from East of Suez by 1971.<sup>128</sup> The decline of trade with the United Kingdom led New Zealand to search for new foreign markets. New Zealand's proactive and successful policy of export diversification has expanded New Zealand's markets to include China, Australia, the European Union, the United States, and Japan. The United Kingdom accounted for 88% of New Zealand exports in 1940. This dropped to 35.9% in 1970 and 17% by 1979.<sup>129</sup> The United Kingdom accounted for 2.53% of New Zealand's exports in 2020.<sup>130</sup>

New Zealand remains a member of the 1971 Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) with the United Kingdom, Australia, Malaysia, and Singapore. The FPDA was established following the British decision to remove ground troops East of the Suez after 1971 and the Indonesian

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<sup>122</sup> "Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern on Huawei: UK and US Won't Influence New Zealand Decisions," *Radio New Zealand*, February 19, 2019.

<sup>123</sup> Jasper Jolly, "New Zealand Blocks Huawei Imports over 'Significant Security Risk,'" *The Guardian*, November 28, 2018.

<sup>124</sup> "Five Eyes Alliance Urges China to End Crackdown on Hong Kong Legislators," *Reuters*, November 18, 2020.

<sup>125</sup> Tom Hunt, "NZ Stakes Out Independent Position in Criticism of Hong Kong Arrests," *Stuff*, January 11, 2021.

<sup>126</sup> Sen. Hon. Marise Payne, "Joint Statement on Human Rights Abuses in Xinjiang," March 23, 2021.

<sup>127</sup> Zane Small, "New Zealand 'Uncomfortable with Expanding Remit of Five Eyes' Foreign Minister Mahuta," *Newshub*, April 22, 2021 and Jason Walls, "NZ-China Relations: Foreign Minister Nanaia Mahuta and Marise Payne Face Five Eyes Questions," *New Zealand Herald*, April 21, 2021.

<sup>128</sup> In 1968, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson announced that British troops would be withdrawn from East of the Suez in 1971. In 1970, the Edward Heath Government moved to retain some British presence in Southeast Asia through the Five Power Defence Arrangement. P.L. Pham, *Ending 'East of Suez': The British Decision to Withdraw from Malaysia and Singapore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>129</sup> Roderic Alley, *New Zealand and the Pacific* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984).

<sup>130</sup> Trend Economy, "New Zealand: International Trade Statistics," April 5, 2021. <https://trendeconomy.com/data/h2/NewZealand/TOTAL>.

“Konfrontasi” undeclared war against eastern Malaysia and Singapore from 1963 to 1966.<sup>131</sup> Between 1964 and 1966, New Zealand troops, fighting with Australian and British forces, helped the then-new state of Malaysia to fight off Indonesian attempts to wrest control of north Borneo.<sup>132</sup>

## ASEAN

New Zealand has developed its relations with the 10-nation Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN)<sup>133</sup> during the past two decades. New Zealand became a formal ASEAN Dialogue Partner in 1975.<sup>134</sup> The ASEAN-New Zealand-Australia Free Trade Agreement came into force in 2010. New Zealand is active in several ASEAN centered groups such as the East Asia Summit, the ASEAN Regional Forum, and the ASEAN Defense Minister’s Meeting-Plus (ADMM+). New Zealand signed the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2005. ASEAN is New Zealand’s fifth largest trading partner and accounted for almost 10% of New Zealand’s exports in 2017.<sup>135</sup>

## Climate Change Response

The Ardern government has undertaken a number of measures that demonstrate its commitment to addressing the threat of climate change. In November 2018, the New Zealand Ministry of Defence published *The Climate Crisis: Defence Readiness and Responsibilities*. This assessment found that “climate change will be one of the greatest security challenges for New Zealand Defence in the coming decades ... the links between climate change and conflict are indirect but demonstrable.” The Assessment also found that climate change will require more humanitarian assistance, disaster relief, stability operation, and search and rescue operations.<sup>136</sup>

New Zealand is a party to the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention’s two major subsidiary agreements: the Kyoto Protocol (first commitment period) and the Paris Agreement.<sup>137</sup> In April 2020, New Zealand communicated an updated Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) per the requirements of the Paris Agreement. Specifically, the updated NDC reaffirms New Zealand’s commitment to “reduce net emissions of greenhouse gases (other than biogenic methane) to zero by 2050” and “reduce emissions of biogenic methane to 24 to 47 per cent below 2017 levels by 2050, including 10 per cent below

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<sup>131</sup> Carlyle Thayer, “The Five Power Defence Arrangements: The Quiet Achiever,” *Security Challenges*, February 2007.

<sup>132</sup> “Confrontation in Borneo,” <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/confrontation-in-borneo#:~:text=In%201964%20New%20Zealand%20began,cross%2Dborder%20raids%20into%20Indonesia>.

<sup>133</sup> ASEAN’s members are Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

<sup>134</sup> ASEAN Secretariat Information Paper, “Overview of ASEAN-New Zealand Dialogue Relations,” September 2019. [https://asean.org/?static\\_post=overview-of-asean-new-zealand-relations-2](https://asean.org/?static_post=overview-of-asean-new-zealand-relations-2).

<sup>135</sup> New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade, “AANZFTA Overview,” <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/trade/free-trade-agreements/free-trade-agreements-in-force/asean-australia-new-zealand-free-trade-agreement-aanzfta/aanzfta-overview/>.

<sup>136</sup> New Zealand Ministry of Defence, *The Climate Crisis: Defence Readiness and Responsibilities*, November 2018, <https://www.defence.govt.nz/publications/publication/the-climate-crisis-defence-readiness-and-response>.

<sup>137</sup> For more information on these treaties, see CRS Report R46204, *The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement: A Summary*, by Jane A. Leggett.

2017 levels by 2030.”<sup>138</sup> In 2019, parliament passed the Zero Carbon Act with cross-party support. This act commits New Zealand to reducing net greenhouse gas emissions (except biogenic methane) to zero by 2050. It also sets a target to “reduce emissions of biogenic methane to 24-47 per cent below 2017 levels by 2050, including to 10 per cent below 2017 levels by 2030.”<sup>139</sup>

As reported in its NDC, New Zealand established an independent Climate Change Commission in December 2019 with the goal of ensuring the country meet its climate goals.<sup>140</sup> This Commission and others have called for further action to meet the challenge of climate change. The Commission has urged the government to “pick up the pace ... current government policies do not put Aotearoa [New Zealand] on track to meet our recommended emissions budgets and the 2050 targets.”<sup>141</sup> Further, an independent scientific analysis of countries’ NDC commitments, the Climate Action Tracker,<sup>142</sup> rated New Zealand’s 2020 update of its NDC targets as “insufficient” and pointed out that the NDC update submission “did not contain a stronger 2030 economy-wide target.”<sup>143</sup> The New Zealand Green Party has emphasized the importance of climate change and green energy. The Green Party supported the 2019 Climate Change Response (Zero Carbon) Amendment Bill, an emissions Trading Scheme, the planting of one billion trees, stopping new offshore oil and gas exploration, 100% renewable energy generation by 2035, electric cars, public transport, and a Green Investment Fund.<sup>144</sup>

In December 2020, New Zealand committed the government to become carbon neutral by 2025.<sup>145</sup> New Zealand also has a renewable electricity target of 100% by 2035.<sup>146</sup> These actions follow earlier initiatives from the Labour Party. Former Labour Party Prime Minister Helen Clark (1999-2008) set a goal in 2007 for New Zealand to be a leader on climate change and to become carbon neutral.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> New Zealand Submission Under the Paris Agreement Communication and Update of New Zealand’s Nationally Determined Contribution, 22 April 2020,” <https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/ndcstaging/PublishedDocuments/New%20Zealand%20First/NEW%20ZEALAND%20NDC%20update%2022%2004%202020.pdf>.

<sup>139</sup> New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, “Climate Change Response (Zero Carbon) Amendment Act 2019,” <https://environment.govt.nz/acts-and-regulations/acts/climate-change-response-amendment-act-2019/>.

<sup>140</sup> The Climate Change Commission was formed as “an independent government organization focused on climate action.” Climate Change Commission, “Our Story,” <https://www.climatecommission.govt.nz/who-we-are/our-story>.

<sup>141</sup> “Executive Summary: Work Must Start Now,” January 31, 2021, Draft Advice for Consultation, <https://ccc-production-media.s3.ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/public/Executive-Summary-advice-report-v3.pdf>.

<sup>142</sup> The Climate Action Tracker is an independent scientific analysis that tracks government climate action and measures it against the globally agreed Paris Agreement. It is a collaboration of two organizations, Climate Analytics and New Climate Institute since 2009. See <https://climateactiontracker.org/>.

<sup>143</sup> CAT Climate Target Update Tracker, New Zealand, <https://climateactiontracker.org/climate-target-update-tracker/new-zealand/>.

<sup>144</sup> The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, <https://www.greens.org.nz>.

<sup>145</sup> New Zealand Parliament, “Motions—Climate Change—Declaration of Emergency,” December 2, 2020 [https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/combined/HansDeb\\_20201202\\_20201202\\_08](https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/combined/HansDeb_20201202_20201202_08).

<sup>146</sup> New Zealand Labour Party, “100% Renewable Electricity Generation by 2030,” <https://www.labour.org.nz/release-renewable-electricity-generation-2030> New Zealand Climate Action Tracker, Country Summary, <https://climateactiontracker.org>.

<sup>147</sup> Helen Clark, “Prime Minister’s Statement to Parliament,” February 14, 2007, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/prime-minister%E2%80%99s-statement-parliament-0>.

## Economics and Trade

The New Zealand economy recovered strongly in the second half of 2020 after recession due to lockdowns resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic. After contracting in the second quarter of 2020, the New Zealand economy surged 14% in the third quarter.<sup>148</sup> After experiencing an estimated -0.3% growth rate in 2020, New Zealand's GDP growth is projected to be 5.4% in 2021. Tourism will likely remain effected due to travel restrictions. Agriculture remains important to New Zealand's economy and "exports of primary items such as dairy products, meat, wool, and wood remain crucial."<sup>149</sup>

New Zealand is a trade-dependent nation. As such, its leaders have traditionally been strong advocates of free trade. New Zealand's largest export markets are China, Australia, the European Union, the United States, and Japan. China overtook Australia as New Zealand's largest trading partner in 2013. New Zealand's principal exports are dairy products, meat, timber, fish, fruit, wool, and manufactured products. New Zealand's top export markets are China (28%), Australia (14.6%), the United States (9.4%), and Japan (6.9%). New Zealand has approximately 26 million sheep,<sup>150</sup> and 6 million dairy cattle.<sup>151</sup>

New Zealand supports liberalizing trade in the Asia-Pacific region. New Zealand supported the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade grouping, from which former President Trump withdrew in January 2017, and is a member of the CPTPP, which became effective in 2018. New Zealand is also a member of the 15-member Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which was agreed to in November 2020.

**Figure 1. Map of New Zealand**



**Source:** Map Resources; adapted by CRS.

<sup>148</sup> "New Zealand Economy Surges Out of Recession," *Bloomberg*, December 16, 2020.

<sup>149</sup> The Economist Intelligence Unit, "New Zealand: Country Report," April 2021.

<sup>150</sup> "Number of Sheep Livestock in New Zealand," Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/974492/new-zealand-sheep-livestock-numbers/>.

<sup>151</sup> "Number of Dairy Cattle Livestock in New Zealand," Statista, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/974482/new-zealand-dairy-cattle-numbers/>.

## Chronology<sup>152</sup>

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1000	New Zealand is first populated with the arrival of Polynesian Maori people.
1642	Abel Tasman of Holland makes first European discovery of New Zealand.
1769-1777	Captain James Cook explores New Zealand.
1815	European settlement of New Zealand begins.
1840	The Treaty of Waitangi is signed between the British Crown and Maori Chiefs.
1841	New Zealand becomes an independent colony of the British Empire.
1845-1872	New Zealand wars between Europeans and Maori as Europeans encroached on Maori lands.
1893	New Zealand gives all women the equal right to vote.
1907	New Zealand shifts from colonial to self-governing dominion status within the British Empire.
1914-1918	Approximately 100,000 New Zealand troops out of a total population of 1.1 million go to fight in WWI.
1915	The campaign on Gallipoli in the Dardenelles begins and represents one of New Zealand's largest contributions of personnel to the war, along with operations in Palestine.
1939-1945	New Zealand contributes forces in support of the allied powers in WWII. They fight in Crete and in North Africa at places such as Tobruk and El Alemain.
1950-1953	New Zealand sends troops to fight with U.N. forces in the Korean War.
1951	New Zealand signs the ANZUS treaty with the United States and Australia.
1960s	New Zealand sends troops to fight with the United States in Vietnam.
1983	Closer Economic Relations agreement is signed between New Zealand and Australia.
1985	Labour government of David Lange refuses to let U.S. nuclear warships enter New Zealand harbors.
1986	The United States suspends its alliance commitment to New Zealand.
1996	Mixed-Member-Proportional representation is introduced.
1999	New Zealand sends troops to East Timor with the United Nations. Helen Clark of the Labour Party becomes prime minister.
2002	Prime Minister Clark wins reelection over a faltering National Party.
2004	New Zealand and China begin free trade talks.
2005	Helen Clark wins a close election over a resurgent National Party.
2006	New Zealand troops go to East Timor to quell unrest.
2008	John Key of the National Party becomes prime minister.
2010	TPP negotiations commence; Wellington Declaration signed.
2011	Earthquake devastates Christchurch. John Key reelected prime minister.
2012	Washington Declaration signed. New Zealand participates in RIMPAC naval exercises.
2014	John Key reelected. New Zealand participates in RIMPAC for second time.
2016	TPP Agreement signed in Auckland.
2017	Labour Leader Jacinda Ardern becomes Prime Minister.
2020	Prime Minister Ardern reelected.

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<sup>152</sup> For a detailed history of New Zealand, see James Belich, *Making People: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (London: Penguin Publishers, 2002); "History—Te Ara, Encyclopedia of New Zealand," <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/history>.



## **Appendix. Wellington Declaration**

### **Wellington Declaration on a New Strategic Partnership Between New Zealand and the United States<sup>153</sup>**

Media Note  
Office of the Spokesman  
U.S. Department of State  
Washington, DC  
November 4, 2010

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Minister of Foreign Affairs for New Zealand Murray McCully and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton of the United States met today to reaffirm the close ties between their two nations and to establish the framework of a new United States-New Zealand strategic partnership to shape future practical cooperation and political dialogue.

New Zealand and the United States are both Pacific nations. Our governments and peoples share a deep and abiding interest in maintaining peace, prosperity, and stability in the region, expanding the benefits of freer and more open trade, and promoting and protecting freedom, democracy and human rights worldwide. We recall the long history of shared United States and New Zealand sacrifice in battle and we honor those, past and present, who have borne that sacrifice.

As we look to the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, our shared democratic values and common interests will continue to guide our collective efforts. The United States-New Zealand strategic partnership is to have two fundamental elements: a new focus on practical cooperation in the Pacific region; and enhanced political and subject-matter expert dialogue—including regular Foreign Ministers’ meetings and political-military discussions. We resolve to further our two nations’ joint cooperation in addressing broader regional and global challenges, such as climate change, nuclear proliferation, and extremism.

We resolve also to develop new joint initiatives that confront the challenges faced by the Pacific. Particular areas of focus are to include renewable energy and disaster response management. We recognize that climate change adaptation in the Pacific is also a priority for both countries and is an issue to which the United States and New Zealand are committed. We intend also to work closely to enhance dialogue on regional security issues.

We endeavor to develop deeper and broader people-to-people ties between the United States and New Zealand, encouraging innovation, and expanding our commercial and trade relations, building on the creativity and rich diversity of our societies.

To ensure the broadest participation of our citizens in strengthening the relationship between our two nations, we should focus efforts across our societies, including women, youth, minorities and future leaders.

We are dedicated to working together to address trade, security and development issues through APEC, the East Asia Summit, the United Nations, and other regional and multilateral institutions.

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<sup>153</sup> U.S. Department of State, “Wellington Declaration on a New Strategic Partnership Between New Zealand and the United States,” press release, November 4, 2010, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2010/11/150401.htm>.

Our goal is a partnership for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century that is flexible, dynamic, and reflects our fundamental beliefs and aspirations.

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