Confidential Filing

The call on the PM by the New Zealand

High Commissioner, Mr. L. W. Grander, & his

Successed NV. Bryce Harland,

NEW ZEALAND

JULY 1979

Referred to	Data	Referred to	Dota	Deferred to	Data	Deferred to	Detail
Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
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CONFIDENTIAL Subject or noste 10 DOWNING STREET LONDON SWIA 2AA From the Private Secretary 3 June 1991 Dea Kiland INTRODUCTORY CALL BY THE NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSIONER Thank you for your letter of 3 June with briefing for the New Zealand High Commissioner's call on the Prime Minister. Thank you too for the supplementary brief which was very helpful. I enclose a letter from Mr Bolger which the High Commissioner handed over. The main substantive points of the meeting were: The High Commissioner said that the personal contact which the Prime Minister and Mr Bolger had established had helped the New Zealand Government find a balance in its policy on the Gulf. The Prime Minister said he was happy to continue to help on similar lines. The High Commissioner told me as he was leaving that Mr Bolger would attach importance to this given the influence which Britain carried in New Zealand. GATT. This was discussed on familiar lines. New Zealand Nuclear Policy. The High Commissioner said New Zealand's policy was dictated by environmental issues which might, over time, fade a bit as concerns about the greenhouse effect etc came to predominate. He did not foresee any change in New Zealand's policy in the near future but he hoped there could be grey areas in which New Zealand policy would stand in less sharp focus. He was very grateful for the help the Foreign Secretary had given in supporting Mr McKinnon in his recent visit to Washington. South Africa/Sport. The High Commissioner showed himself to be a supporter of our policy of sport by sport integration and readmission to international sporting competition. He had evidently recommended in this sense after his recent meeting with the ANC. J S WALL Richard Gozney Esq Foreign and Commonwealth Office CONFIDENTIAL

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30 May 1991

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London SW1A 2AH

Office

Prime Mi

Dean Stephen,

Introductory call by the New Zealand
High Commissioner: 3 June

The new New Zealand High Commissioner, the Hon George Gair, is calling on the Prime Minister on 3 June. He succeeds Mr Bryce Harland who has retired from the New Zealand Foreign Service butwho will continue to live in Britain.

Mr Gair arrived in London on 9 May. He is one of two political appointees in the New Zealand Diplomatic Service, the other being in Washington. He was National MP for North Shore (Auckland) from 1966 until retirement from politics in 1990 and as Deputy Leader of the National Party (1986-7), he supervised the party's transition from Opposition to Government. Previously he was a key Minister in the Holyoake, Marshall and Muldoon Governments / (1972 and 1975-84). I enclose a personality note.

The Prime Minister may like to cover some of the following points:

## Bilateral

- Met Mr Bolger in December. Useful telephone contacts with him (on Gulf) since then.
- Recently first visit to London by Foreign Minister McKinnon.

#### International

- Present NZ Government turning back to old friends is very welcome. (The New Zealand Government has recently published a paper on defence policy which envisages a shift away from concentration on the South Pacific to a global approach including reliance on and support for collective security.)
- complication is NZ non nuclear policy (which conflicts with our policy of Neither Confirm Nor Deny and precludes RN ships visits).
- strong identity of interest in GATT Uruguay Round, reform agricultural trade, reform CAP.

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## South Africa: Sport

- understand the ANC representative called on the High Commissioner. Agree with ANC: sport promotes nation building.
- hope the High Commissioner was able to reassure him of NZ support for South Africa's readmission to ICC.

#### Antarctica

 we welcome outcome of Madrid meeting and hope that parties can conclude negotiations on environmental protocol for Antarctic Treaty in Madrid in June.

#### Economy

- understand NZ economy has undergone radical reforms both under previous and present Government. What are the prospects? When will the reforms bear fruit?

Jans ever,

(R H T Gozney)
Private Secretary

J S Wall Esq 10 Downing Street

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# HON GEORGE FREDERICK GAIR NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON SINCE MAY 1991

Born 1926 Dunedin, South Island. Educated Victoria University and University of Auckland. Graduated 1949.

Worked as journalist and then as public relations officer, in Melbourne and in Auckland.

Elected to the New Zealand Parliament for the National Party 1966. MP continuously from 1966 to 1990.

A Minister in the National Party Governments of Prime Ministers Holyoake, Marshall and Muldoon in 1972 and from 1975 to 1984. Held almost every domestic ministerial portfolio including Energy, Health, and Transport.

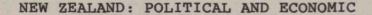
Opposition Front Brench 1984 to 1987. Deputy Leader of the National Party (in Opposition) 1986/87.

Latterly he has been a member of the Casino Control Commission.

Awarded the QSO in 1988.

Married with 3 children.

A bespectacled man of medium build, with thinning grey hair. He is very genial and claims to feel younger than his 64 years. He has a meticulous air, reinforced by taking notes at frequent intervals during official conversations.



#### ESSENTIAL FACTS

Population : 3,339,000 (1988) (Approx 15% Maori and Pacific

Islanders)

Total GDP : US\$40.7 billion (1989)

Per Capita GNP : US\$12,330 Area : 268,112 km<sup>2</sup>

Realm : Governor General, Dame Catherine Tizard CMG DBE

Prime Minister : The Rt Hon Jim Bolger MP Foreign Minister : The Hon Don McKinnon MP

#### GENERAL

- 1. 1990 marked the 150th Anniversary of the Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (6 February 1840). This established the State of New Zealand as it is today.
- 2. A mood of introspection and uncertainty prevails. This has been compounded by two factors: first, tensions and divisions between those of Maori and European descent, caused by the revival of consciousnes of their separate cultural tradition and the sense of historic grievance of the Maori community. Second, the uncertainties stemming from economic recession, government expenditure cuts and drastic reform of public sector structures.
- 3. Tension between the Maori and European communities has, however, recently declined. This may be partly because the 150th Anniversary celebrations in 1990 gave the Maori a sense of involvement and purpose, but also largely because the policies of the previous Labour government engendered a feeling that avenues are opening through which the Maori can seek redress for their grievances, improvement of their lot, and more direct control of their own affairs. The issues, particularly land, which gave rise to tension are still there. But for the present the climate is better. In the long term continuing inter-marriage must anyway erode the sense of separateness.

#### INTERNAL POLITICAL

- 4. New Zealand is an independent realm within the Commonwealth. The Queen is Head of State. The unicameral 97-seat Parliament is elected by universal suffrage in triennnial General Elections.
- 5. The National Party came to power in October 1990 after six years of Labour Party rule. National's majority of 38 seats over Labour is the biggest parliamentary majority since 1935. National's victory stems from a decisive rejection of the Labour Government by New Zealand voters, rather than from enthusiasm for National's policies. National secured 48.7% of the total vote, but the poll was low by New Zealand standards: and this figure represents only 40% of the enrolled electorate. Labour's share of the vote was 34.7%, a 13% drop from 1987 and just under 30% of the electorate.

#### THE ECONOMY

6. Despite trade liberalisation, deregulation of financial markets, radical tax reform and corporatisation of some government departments under the previous administration, real GDP in 1990 was lower than in 1985. However, inflation has been reduced from a peak of 18.2% in 1986 to 4.8% in 1990 and is targetted to fall to 0-2% by 1993. Unemployment more than doubled over the period to a level of 7.7% in October 1990. A lack of business confidence and of concrete results from the GATT talks has led the Reserve Bank to forecast 0.4% GDP growth for 1991 and 2% for 1992. Government action to improve the situation has included a reduction in Government expenditure including cuts in welfare benefits, the simplification of tax rules and the introduction of a bill to reform industrial relations.

#### GATT

7. About 70% of New Zealand's exports are still agricultural. The outcome of the agricultural aspect of the Uruguay round is of critical importance to New Zealand. They are members of the Cairns Group, but have adopted a moderate stand compared to the Latin Americans and (sometimes) Australia. They hope for progress from the European Community on three key fronts: market access, internal

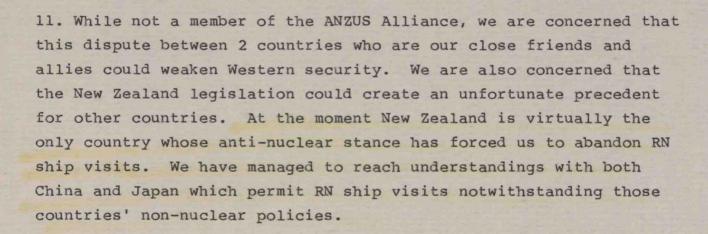
support and export subsidies. Export subsidies cause the most concern in New Zealand. Having diversified successfully into new markets over the past twenty years, they now find their unsubsidised agricultural produce squeezed out by the dumping of heavily subsidised agricultural surpluses from the EC and United States.

#### FOREIGN POLICY

8. The new National Government have adopted a more internationalist, less isolationist stance than their predecessors, demonstrated in particular by their contribution of a small (non-combat) force to the Gulf. They are currently carrying out a defence review which is expected to underline New Zealand's need for a defence capability to enable it to co-operate with larger Western friends. They place much more emphasis on relationships with Australia, the European Community, the United States and the Western Pacific Rim than their predecessors. They have recently declared their candidature for a term on the Security Council (1993-4).

#### ANZUS AND SHIP VISITS

- 9. The previous Labour administration adopted a non-nuclear policy which had widespread support. The National Party was originally against this policy but prior to the election in 1990 switched its stance on the issue.
- 10. As part of its non-nuclear policy, the New Zealand Government is committed to excluding nuclear armed and powered vessels from its ports. This conflicts with the policy of "neither confirming nor denying" whether a ship carried nuclear weapons (NCND), shared by the US and Britain. The US, a member of the ANZUS Alliance (with Australia and New Zealand), has responded by suspending virtually all defence links with New Zealand. Australia retains its bilateral security relationship with New Zealand, though it disagrees with that country's nuclear policy. The New Zealand Government has argued that their policy on ship visits had no bearing on New Zealand's continued membership of the ANZUS Alliance to which they remained committed.

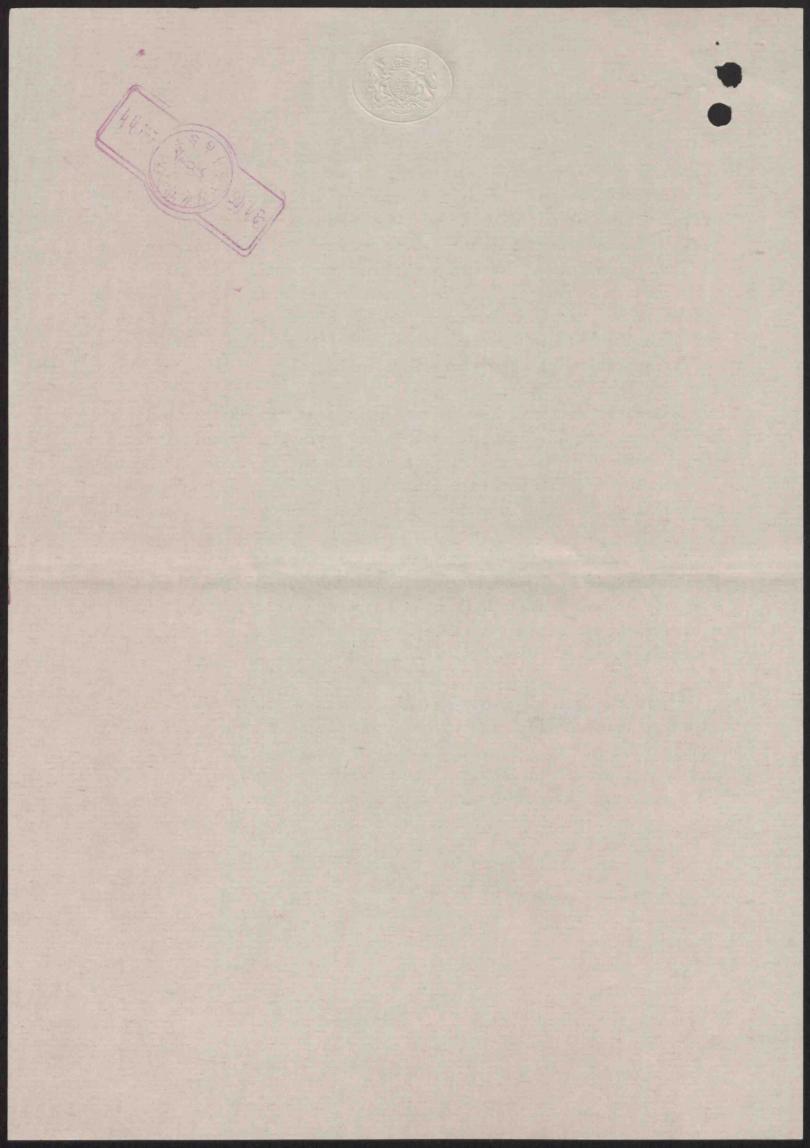


12. The National Party has recognised the damage caused to its armed forces by the reduced cooperation with its principal allies and is seeking to improve the situation. But there is little prospect of real improvement until the country's non-nuclear policy is modified.

#### UK-NEW ZEALAND RELATIONS (INCLUDING BILATERAL TRADE)

- 13. Relations are generally close and cordial, reflecting the fact that 85% of New Zealand's European population is of British descent. New Zealand has expressed appreciation to the UK for our support of New Zealand in the European Community.
- 14. The UK's share of New Zealand's trade has fallen markedly, but is still significant. In 1989 7.4% of New Zealand exports were to the UK, and the UK supplied 8.8% of New Zealand imports. In 1990 UK imports from New Zealand were £484 million (a rise of 10.8% compared with 1989) while exports were £440 million (a rise of 10.3%).

SOUTH PACIFIC DEPARTMENT May 1991



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Strohn
To be amour. (This will have to change of German visir good ahrad). S't/s

Foreign & Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

13 May 1991

His Excellency
The Hon George F Gair, QSO
New Zealand High Commission
New Zealand House
Haymarket
LONDON
SWIY 4TQ

My der High Commissione

I am writing, in confirmation of what Lorna Hughes was told this afternoon, to say that the Prime Minister looks forward to receiving you at 10 Downing Street at 3.00 pm on Monday 3 June in order to present the letter of introduction from the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

S W F Martin

Assistant Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps

Bcc: Miss Sandra Phillips (10 Downing St)
Mr Hall, Private Office
Mr Thomas (SPD) - could briefing please
reach No 10 by the evening of 31 May

DSG



CF File CePC

# 10 DOWNING STREET

ce Master

From the Private Secretary

22 November 1985

Den Peter

# RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSIONER

The Prime Minister had a meeting with the New Zealand High Commissioner this morning. Mr. Harland handed over a letter from his Prime Minister, of which I enclose a copy.

messages.

The Prime Minister spoke of the support which Britain had always given to New Zealand and would continue to give. New Zealand had a very special place in the hearts of all British people. The fact that New Zealand had been the first to offer support in the Falklands campaign had made a great impression.

The Prime Minister continued that this background had made her all the more upset over the issue of ships visits. This was the first blot on relations between Britain and New Zealand. She knew that the United States was also very offended about the New Zealand Government's behaviour. simply would not do for the New Zealand Government to say that their door was always open. It was up to them to go and knock on the United States door. Mr. Harland said that he thought his Government was prepared to do this. But one had to remember that the New Zealand Government had been elected on a clear pledge to prohibit entry of nuclear weapons into New Zealand harbours and waters. The Prime Minister said she wondered whether it had ever been made properly clear to the New Zealand people what the implications of this pledge would be. In her view it would have very serious long term effects which would be highly damaging to New Zealand. She doubted whether the New Zealand people understood that their Government would be isolating the country and losing fundamental friends. Mr. Harland said he believed that his Government wanted to mitigate these consequences. The fact was that there was wide support within New Zealand for the Government's policy and threats by the United States to take counter measures only solidified that support. It gave people the impression that New Zealand was being pushed around.

The Prime Minister said that it was monstrous to say that New Zealand was being pushed around. The reality was that New Zealand was trying to push others around. It must take responsibility for the consequences of its own actions

Mr. Lange could of course do as he liked, but it was he who had taken the initiative in banning nuclear ship visits; and just as he had the right to take his own decisions, so others had the right to decide their reaction. The New Zealand Government's decision would not affect our basic support for New Zealand. Relations between the two countries extended far beyond Governments and policies. But she was in no doubt that the impact was very damaging.

Mr. Harland asked what was the Prime Minister's advice. The Prime Minister said that what New Zealand could not do was to leave it to others to adhere to New Zealand's If they tried to do that, they would not get any ships visiting from Britain or from the United States. Mr. Harland said that the New Zealand Government's proposed legislation would give some room for manoeuvre. His Prime Minister wanted to open the door to a programme of visits. He read out the relevant Article of the proposed legislation. This was to the effect that the Prime Minister of New Zealand might grant approval for a foreign warship to visit a New Zealand port only if he was satisfied that it was not carrying nuclear explosive devices. He thought that New Zealand was making an effort to ease the situation, but it was not getting a response. The Prime Minister said that it did not seem to her that the proposed clause was any help at all. It created an assumption that ships visiting New Zealand ports were not carrying nuclear weapons. She saw no realistic prospect of a solution along these lines, in which case the only thing was to ride out the problem without letting it affect wider relations. Mr. Harland said that he saw some virtue in this: but unfortunately the United States was threatening to end the ANZUS Pact, so that the consequences could not be contained. New Zealand still wanted a negotiated solution. The Prime Minister concluded that such a solution would only be available if the New Zealand Government were significantly to change its policy.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

Charles Powell

Peter Ricketts, Esq., Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



# PRIME MINISTER'S

PERSONAL MESSAGE SERIAL No. 71670/85

Prime Minister
Wellington
New Zealand

25 September 1985

cc Master

The Right Honourable Margaret Thatcher, MP

My Dear Prime Minister

This letter will be presented to you by Mr W B Harland, who has been appointed New Zealand High Commissioner in the United Kingdom.

New Zealand and the United Kingdom have been steadfast friends over many years. As High Commissioner, Mr Harland will seek to maintain and strengthen the special relationship between our two countries. I am sure that his wide experience in New Zealand and international affairs, as well as his personal qualities, will enable him to hold this office with distinction.

I am confident that you and your colleagues will extend to Mr Harland all possible assistance and every facility in the performance of his mission.

Yours sincerely



# Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 November 1985

CO SINI.

Dear Charles,

Falklands at the UN: Call on the Prime Minister by the New Zealand High Commissioner

Since our brief for this meeting was written, the New Zealand High Commission have told us of the New Zealand position on the Falklands resolution.

Mr Lange is apparently considering a change in the New Zealand vote (they have traditionally voted with us) in the light of the Argentine "soft" resolution.

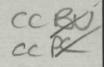
New Zealand claimed to see the chance of a consensus text, with explanations of vote from our friends, emphasising the Charter's principle of self-determination. They thought this would avoid an acrimonious debate and a slippage in our vote, and would remove the item from the agenda in future years.

New Zealand would therefore support the amendments we propose on self-determination. If the resolution was adopted with these amendments, and with no other changes, New Zealand would vote for it. If our amendments were not adopted, New Zealand would abstain.

We have expressed disappointment at this change, and emphasised that the notion of a consensus was entirely misplaced, since the Argentine position on sovereignty was unchanged. The Prime Minister may wish to emphasise this point to Mr Harland tomorrow.

(P F Ricketts) Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq 10 Downing Street





Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

21 November 1985

Prime Minister

Dear Charles,

New Zealand High Commissioner's Call on the Prime Minister on 22 November

I enclose briefing for the introductory call on the Prime Minister by the New Zealand High Commissioner, Mr Bryce Harland, on Friday 22 November, at 9.30 am, together with a personality note on Mr Harland.

Mr Harland took up his appointment on 1 October. The previous High Commissioner, Mr Joe Walding, died suddenly in June. Mr Harland is the first career diplomat to fill the post.

The brief concentrates on the ships visits problem. You will have seen a copy of Washington telno 3201 (copy enclosed) which sets out US thinking on how they propose to resolve the ships visits problem.

The Foreign Secretary, who has had a number of discussions with the New Zealanders (Deputy Prime Minister Palmer and High Commissioner Harland) aimed at finding a solution, has been wary about acting as an intermediary with the Americans until we were clearer as to whether they were themselves interested in a solution. Mr Shultz has now sent him a message suggesting that it would be helpful for us to weigh in with the New Zealanders; copy also enclosed.

Sir Geoffrey has been concerned that the American approach of "stick and carrot" was being so managed that it might well make the New Zealanders less willing to find a compromise - particularly if the "stick" element was too evident. The chances are not good that Mr Lange will be prepared to back off to the extent required by the Americans (ie the resumption of the full range of ships visits). We may need to say so to the Americans, perhaps in a reply to Shultz after the High Commissioner's call. But the Foreign Secretary believes that we should take the opportunity of Mr Harland's call to put pressure on the New Zealanders to face up to the need for them to move if a solution is to be found to this problem, and to consider very carefully the consequences of a further breakdown.

/The



This firm message might be tempered by an assurance of our willingness to continue the dialogue with the New Zealand Government once they let us have details of what they propose to include in their revised draft legislation. The enclosed brief reflects this line.

Ye ever, Peter Ridatts

(P F Ricketts) Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq PS/10 Downing Street



INTRODUCTORY CALL ON THE PRIME MINISTER BY THE NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSIONER ON FRIDAY, 22 NOVEMBER, AT 9.30 AM

#### **OBJECTIVES**

- 1. To welcome the New Zealand High Commissioner and demonstrate importance we continue to attach to our special relationship.
- 2. To remind the New Zealanders of the importance we attach to their support in UNGA on Falklands.
- 3. On ship visits, to emphasise own difficulties with proposed New Zealand legislation; to urge New Zealand to speak urgently to Americans before taking any irrevocable steps.

#### ARGUMENTS

- 4. Tradition of close co-operation: reflects continued strength of kinship ties.
- 5. New Zealand support on Falklands a valued example. This year Argentines have promoted "soft" text. But no change of substance in position: they insist on negotiations on sovereignty (under euphemism); refuse to acknowledge Islanders' right of self-determination.
- 6. We are proposing amendments reaffirming self-determination. If accepted, can abstain on existing text as amended. If not, bound to vote against. Hope New Zealand will take same approach.
- 7. I have promised your Prime Minister continued support on Community access for New Zealand agricultural products.
- 8. Glad to provide explosives expert to help over New Zealand police enquiries into sinking of "Rainbow Warrior". Happy to see indications that New Zealand/ France are working to restore normal relations: important for New Zealand.



- 9. Ship Visits: share US "neither confirm nor deny" policy. Naval visits not possible on basis of draft clauses we have seen.
- 10. Key to resolution of problem lies with Americans: know they are ready to talk to you. Not for us to mediate between ANZUS partners but US likely to insist on resumption of full range of visits. Ban on nuclear powered ships most damaging and likely to impede progress.
- ll. But our own interests also involved. Dislike proposed legislative approach. Not followed by others who do not want nuclear weapons on their territory. Hope New Zealand Government will consider very carefully whether legislation on ship visits cannot be dispensed with or radicallly modified to meet our concerns. Ready to talk further in light of your Government's reaction.
- 12. Failure to agree could damage Western security in Pacific, ANZUS and New Zealand. Other countries might follow New Zealand example making US and NATO operations more difficult. Only Soviet Union would gain. Is this what New Zealand wants?

#### TACTICAL ARGUMENTS

- 13. New Zealand Government's proposed date (mid-December) for tabling legislation gives little time for serious consideration. Can date not be put back? Willingness to do this will affect own judgement of New Zealand seriousness in seeking way out. Once legislation tabled, and public, more difficult to negotiate.
- 14. Domestic opinion in New Zealand should not override its wider interests.

## HIS OBJECTIVES

#### Ship visits

15. To persuade us that legislation is best way to bring about resumption of ship visits; that latest proposed text (not yet seen)



takes account of our concerns and puts onus on New Zealand to make up own mind about ships' acceptability.

16. To obtain our support by claiming that Americans have been intransigent.

#### YOUR RESPONSE

- 17. We, like Americans, do not like idea of legislation by a friend and ally.
- 18. Could not live with legislation which presented us with choice between deceiving you or making our "neither confirm nor deny" policy meaningless.
- 19. Problem mainly one for New Zealand to solve with US.

#### BACKGROUND

#### Falklands

20. New Zealand has voted against Argentine resolutions since 1982, but has shown signs of wanting to switch to abstention.

#### New Zealand/EC

- 21. Under current arrangements, quotas agreed for butter imports to EC until end-1986. Quotas for 1987 and 1988 remain to be negotiated.
- Imports of New Zealand sheepmeat regulated by voluntary restraint arrangement until 1988. UK is New Zealand's largest and most reliable customer.

#### "Rainbow Warrior"

23. The "Rainbow Warrior" was blown up in Auckland Harbour on 10 May: one crew member died. On 4 November, two French agents on trial in New Zealand pleaded guilty to manslaughter. Sentencing due 22 November: they are expected to be imprisoned in New Zealand, but



deported after a decent interval.

24. The UK provided an underwater explosives expert to help New Zealand police enquiries.

#### Ship Visits

- 25. In August, the New Zealand Government announced its intention to introduce anti-nuclear legislation, including clauses regulating ship visits, by end year.
- 26. Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Palmer, visited Washington and London in late September with draft of clauses on ship visits: Shultz refused to discuss legislation.
- 27. Harland apparently briefed to encourage UK to break deadlock: Foreign Secretary agreed attempt should be made.
- 28. FCO official sounded State Department on 12 November. He was informed that proposals for further discussions were being put to Shultz, on condition that New Zealand confirmed agreement to access of same classes of ship as before. Understand Shultz has now agreed. Gap with New Zealand still wide. Aggravated by apparent intention to include ban on nuclear powered ships, now 50% of US Navy.
- 29. Mr Lange has promised to provide a copy of complete draft of legislation to UK, US and Australia within next ten days.
- 30. An RN Task Group is planned for 1986 to Far East and Pacific. A visit to New Zealand at present ruled out, but programme flexible enough to permit visit if change in New Zealand policy allows. New Zealand Government informed.

South Pacific Department Foreign and Commonwealth Office November 1985

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HARLAND, William Bryce

Born 1931

Graduate of Victoria University of Wellington with an MA in history and of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts, USA.

Joined New Zealand MFA in 1953. Third Secretary, Singapore, 1956; Bangkok, 1957; Second Secretary, New York, 1959. Became Head of the South Pacific and Antarctic Division, MFA, in 1962 and Assistant Head, External Aid Division, in 1964. Served as Counsellor in Washington (1965-69). Head, Research Division, MFA, in 1969; Head, Asian Affairs division (1970). In 1973 he went as Ambassador to Peking. In 1977 he returned to the MFA as Assistant Secretary and Director of External Aid. From 1982-85 served as the Permanent Representative, New Zealand Permanent Mission to the UN in New York.

Able, ambitious and a businesslike colleague, who in his last post went out of his way to seek British views.

Married, with one son by his present marriage. Two sons from a previous marriage.

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INFO PRIORITY WELLINGTON, CANREERA, MODUK (FR SEC(O)(O))

YOUR TELNO 1926: NEW ZEALAND SHIP VISITS

SUMMARY

- 1. US NOW ON A MORE ACTIVIST STICK/CARROT POLICY: READY TO OFER A DIALOGUE ON WHAT LEGISLATIVE FORMULAE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT DETERMINED TO WARD THAT FAILURE TO FIND ACCEPTABLE FORMULAE WOULD HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES. A SHULTZ MESSAGE TO LONDON ENVISAGED. DETAIL
- 2. IN HOLMES' ARSENCE (IN GENEVA) WE DELIVERED DAUNT'S MESSAGE TO MONAMARA (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, POL-MIL), AND WENT OVER THE GROUND WITH HIM.
- DAUNT ON 12 NOVEMBER. THE DIALOGUE ABOUT POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS WILL START WHEN WOLFOWITZ (AND MCNAMARA) SEE AMBASSADOR ROWLING ON 22 NOVEMBER. THE PROPOSED WOLFOWITZ BROADCAST INTERVIEWS WILL ALSO GO AHEAD. WE STRESSED YOUR HOPE THAT NOTHING BE SAID IN PUBLIC ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE TO FIND A SOLUTION:

  MCNAMARA WAS HOWEVER CLEAR THAT THIS WAS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE SHULTZ-APPROVED STRATEGY. THE NEW

  ZEALAND GOVERNMENT CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN IN PUBLIC THAT THE SHIP VISITS ISSUE WAS NOT SEPIOUS, AND DID NOT THREATEN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES: THE ADMINISTRATION HAD NO WISH TO THROW DOWN THE GAUNTLET, BUT THOUGHT IT IMPORTANT TO SET THE RECORD STRAIGHT IN PUBLIC, POINTING OUT THAT THERE WOULD BE SERIOUS LONG-TERM DIFFICULTIES IF NO SOLUTION COULD BE CONTRIVED.
- COORDINATED US/UK APPROACHES TO THE NZG REFORE THEIR ERAFT LEGISLATION IS TABLED. MC MAMARA (PLEASE PROTECT) SHOWED US THE DRAFT, WHICH IS LIKELY TO BE TRANSMITTED TO GENEVA, FOR APPROVAL BY SHULTZ, BY 20 NOVEMBER. HAVING REFERRED TO PAST US/UK CONSULTATIONS ON THE SHIP VISITS ISSUE, IT SUGGESTS THAT, SINCE US AND UK VIEWS ARE QUOTE COINCIDENT UNQUOTE, AND TIME SHORT, NOW MIGHT RE A PROPITIOUS MOMENT FOR YOU TO WEIGH IN AGAIN WITH THE NZG AROUT THE UK'S CONCERNS. HMG'S INFLUENCE MIGHT RE DECISIVE IN WELLINGTON, GIVEN THE SPECIAL UK/NZ RELATIONSHIP: AND NZG REACTIONS TO THE UK MIGHT RE QUOTE LESS AUTOMATIC AND NEGATIVE UNQUOTE THAM TO THE US. YOU MIGHT EXPLAIN WHY BOTH THE US AND THE UK HAVE TO BE VERY FIRM ON THE ISSUE OF NOND. THE MESSAGE CONCLUDES BY SUGGESTING THAT US AND UK APPROACHES BE SEPARATE BUT COORDINATED.

4. SHULTZ HAS ALSO APPROVED THE IDEA OF A MESSAGE TO YOU UNSING

5. STATE THINK THAT HARLAND (AND 'N O'LEARY) ARE RIGHT TO SUGGEST THAT THE NZG'S COMMITMENT TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION BY MID-DECEMBER TO FIRM. BUT THEY MAYE THE IMPRESSION THAT THE DRAFT LEGISLATION WILL BE SOMETHING OF AN OMNIBUS TEXT, WITH PROVIDIONS RANGING FROM A RAN ON LUCLEAR MASTE DUMPING TO THE PACIFIC NAFZ PROPOSAL.

GIVEN THAT SUCH A TEXT MOWED CONTAIN A ADDITION OF ELEMENTS UNTILS WOULD APPEADE LANGE'S POTENTIAL CRITICS ON THE LEFT, STATE HOPE THAT THE PROVISIONS ON PORT VISITS CONTAINS AND APPEADE LANGE'S POTENTIAL CRITICS ON THE LEFT, STATE

- 6. HOLMES WILL TRAVEL FROM GENEVA TO CAMBERRA FOR REGULAR TALKS WITH THE AUSTRALIANS ON 25/26 NOVEMBER. HE IS LIKELY, INTER ALIA, TO URGE THEM TO WARN THE NEW ZEALANDERS OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS LIKELY TO ENSUE IN THE US/NZ DEFENCE RELATIONSHIP IF THE LEGIS- LATION GOES AHEAD IN TERMS WHICH DO NOT MEET US DESIDERATA.
- ADMINISTRATION ARE NOW FIRMLY ON A CARROT AND STICK POLICY. THE CARROT IS THAT THEY ARE PREPARED (ON 22 NOVEMBER) TO INDICATE TO THE NEW ZEALANDERS THEIR MEADINESS TO COUNTENANCE A LEGISLATIVE SOLUTION, AND DETAILED DISCUSSIONS ABOUT IT, PROVIDED THAT THE NZG IN TURN INDICATES WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW SHIP VISITS TO RESUME ON THE OLD PATTERN. THE STICK, WHICH THEY CLEARLY WILL NOT DROP, IS THE WOLFOWITZ BROADCASTS, TOGETHER WITH FIRM PRIVATE MESSAGES THAT NO SOLUTION INCOMPATIBLE WITH NOND WILL BE ENTERTAINED HERE. THEY HOPE FOR SIMILAR PRIVATE MESSAGES TO WELLINGTON FROM LONDON: AND MOULD ODVIOUSLY BE VERY PLEASED IF THE FROCESS WERE TO START WHEN THE PRIME MINISTER SEES HARLAND ON 22 NOVEMBER.

C. THE CHANCES OF ANY FURTHER SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS HERE REFORE THE

ARE LOW: BUT WE SHALL OF COURSE REPORT IF WE DETECT ANY.

WRIGHT

LIMITED
DEF D
SPD
PLANNING STAFF
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NEWS D
PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR RENTON

PS/PUS SIR W HARDING MR DAUNT MR WILSON COF'ES SENT TO No. 10 DOWNING STREET

CONFIDENTIAL

# SECRET

Dear Geoffrey,

During our regular consultations, you and I as well as our staffs have regularly discussed the difficulty both our countries would have should the Lange Government legislate restrictions on port access for our warships.

Since our views are coincident on this issue and since we understand the Lange Government plans to introduce port access legislation before Parliament adjourns December 12, I believe it would be a propitious moment for you to convey your concerns once again to the GNZ. I believe there will be little possibility for successful resolution of this issue without an understanding on the part of the GNZ that it must restore normal port access. In this regard, HMG's influence could be decisive. Your relationship with New Zealand is a very special one. Kiwis pay close attention to your views. It would be useful if you could explain to the GNZ why both of our governments must be very firm in our NCND policy. believe separate but coordinated approaches at this time by our governments expressing similar concerns may improve prospects for success, and hope you share this view.

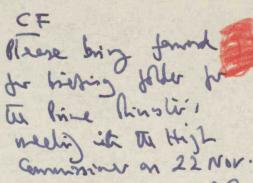
Sincerely,

/s/

George P. Shultz

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Ref. A085/2835 MR POWELL



The new New Zealand High Commissioner, Mr Bryce Harland, CDV.

- 2. Mr Harland said that despite the New Zealand withdrawal from the regular intelligence-sharing meetings he would make it his business to keep the framework of contacts alive, so that the link could be re-established at some future date. His Government was trying to find a modus vivendi with the United States. As he had told the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, New Zealand had told the United States that they were willing to talk if the United States was. The door was open; but, in Dean Rusk's phrase, the Americans would not pick up the phone. There was so far no sign of a resumption of talks on the legislation proposal or indeed anything else. Senior figures at the White House were evidently preoccupied with the forthcoming United States/Soviet summit. When he saw the Prime Minister on 22 November his main message would be that the New Zealand Government was making a political effort at reconciliation with the United States.
- 3. Sir Robert Armstrong said that the Prime Minister might refer to the recent CHOGM, which had called for all her qualities of strength and determination. The New Zealand Prime Minister had not been in the front line in putting pressure on her on sanctions against South Africa, but she had found few friends around her. Agreement had eventually been achieved on a declaration, but the process had not been painless. Mr Harland said that he understood that Mr Lange had taken a low profile. He had not been able to agree with Mrs Thatcher, but had sought to avoid an open split in the Commonwealth.
- 4. Mr Harland said that New Zealand greatly appreciated United Kingdom support on Community access to her agricultural products. Sir Geoffrey Howe had given an assurance that this would continue,

despite counter-pressures from British agriculturalists. The next round of talks would be in August. Meanwhile he was glad to note the strength of United Kingdom/New Zealand relations. There was no dearth of visiting New Zealand Ministers, and New Zealanders always got a very special welcome. He had been particularly struck by this when he visited the New Zealand stall in Westminster Abbey and signed the New Zealand book there. He imagined that the relationship would to some extent erode with the change of generations, but his son who had recently visited the United Kingdom doing routine labouring jobs had been impressed by the knowledge and affection for New Zealand evidently felt by ordinary British people. Sir Robert Armstrong agreed, adding that the farming community were however more apprehensive than ever, given the greater pressures now facing them.

- 5. Mr Harland said that he might raise with Mrs Thatcher
  New Zealand economic policies which had been tough but brave.
  The crunch was coming now, with inflation running at 15 per cent.
  The Finance Minister, Mr Douglas, had said that if wage increases went through that level, the soft landing he envisaged would turn into a crash landing. He hoped that, on some future visit to London by Mr Douglas, there might be an opportunity for Mrs Thatcher to meet him; he thought she would find him interesting.
  Sir Robert Armstrong said that he knew that the Prime Minister admired the policies now being pursued in New Zealand.
  - 6. I am sending copies of this minute to Sherard Cowper-Coles, Kieran Murphy and Clare Adams.

MS

M C STARK

6 November 1985

New Zealand: Int Sit Feb 81.

FROM: S W F Martin Protocol Department DATE: 4 October 1985 cc: Private Secretary PS/Lady Young PS/Mr Raison Mr Furness PS/No 10 South Pacific Department PS/PUS PA/Sir W Harding PA/Dr D C Wilson PA/Mr Gibbs PA/Mr Furness PA/Mr Illman The new High Commissioner for New Zealand, Mr Bryce Harland, is due to arrive in London on Tuesday 15 October and will assume his functions immediately. An appointment with the Prime Minister to present the Letter of Introduction has been arranged for Friday 22 November at 9.30 am. An audience of Her Majesty The Queen will also be arranged in due course. In due course, you should arrange for the appropriate FCO Minister to give a lunch in honour of the High Commissioner. Appointments for the High Commissioner to pay his initial calls at the FCO have been made as follows: Date Time Minister of State (Lady Young) Mon 21 Oct 3.00 pm Deputy Under Secretary (Sir W Harding) 21 Oct 3.45 pm Acting Head of CCD (Mr J Illman) 21 Oct 4.30 pm Assistant Under Secretary (Dr D C Wilson) 21 Oct 5.00 pm Head of South Pacific Department Tues 22 Oct 4.30 pm Vice Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps 22 Oct 5.00 pm Secretary of State Mon 28 Oct 10.00 am Permanent Under Secretary Fri 1 Nov 12 Noon 5. For these calls would you please prepare a biography of the High Commissioner and a short brief on our relations with New Zealand. They should be given the following distribution: Top copies on blue paper to: Protocol Department - to forward to the Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps for Her Majesty The Queen. This copy should have the date and 'Foreign and Commonwealth Office' typed at the bottom. Private Secretary (10 Downing Street) Other copies to: Private Secretary - for the Secretary of State APS to Secretary of State Minister of State (Lady Young) Permanent Under Secretary Deputy Under Secretary (Sir W Harding) /Assistant

Assistant Under Secretary (Dr D C Wilson)
Assistant Under Secretary (ODA)
Vice Marshal of the Diplomatic Corps
Head of South Pacific Department
Acting Head of Commonwealth Co-ordination Department
4 copies to Protocol Department for Mr Martin

4 October 1985

S W F Martin Protocol Department

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Sugartin



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

2 October 1985

Mr Neil Walter Acting High Commissioner New Zealand High Commission New Zealand House Haymarket SWIY 4TQ

# My deer Weil,

I am writing, in confirmation of our conversation yesterday, to say that the Prime Minister looks forward to the High Commissioner (Mr Bryce Harland, who arrives in London on 15 October) calling on her at 10 Downing Street at 9.30 am on Friday 22 November in order to present the letter of introduction from his Prime Minister, the Rt Hon D R Lange.

I am writing separately about Mr Harland's initial courtesy calls on Ministers and senior officials of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

S W F Martin

Assistant Marshal of the

Diplomatic Corps

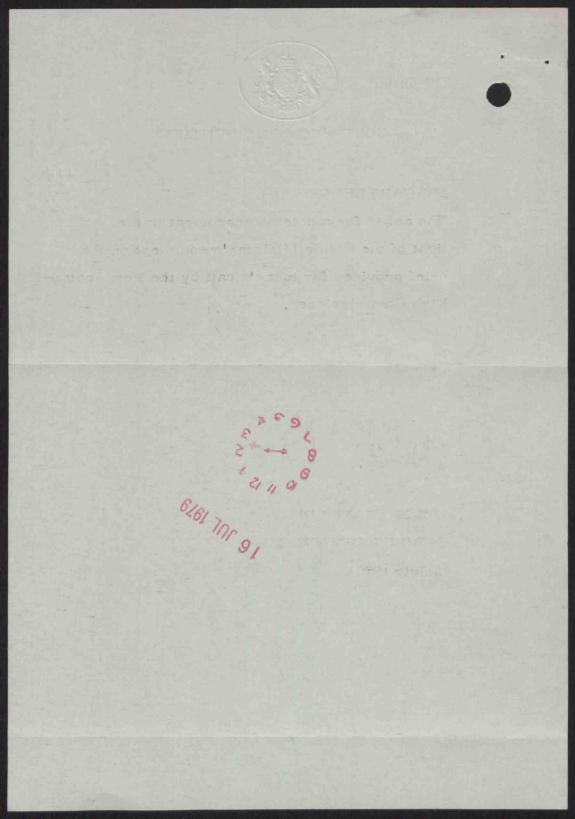
Bcc: Mrs Ryder, 10 Downing St
Miss Phillips, Private Office
Mr Furness (SPD). Could briefing
please reach No 10 by the
evening of Thursday 21 November

co yes 908 Can 1 90 shood antomate only. CR Cerolie. Mr. Marti Fro is looking for two slets for in un High of Artic Common. 273.32.64 1900 - figi (Kahar Ishorustile) 22 Nov - New Zeelend (aller 1/2 hr,

CX 1 (anivs 190)

CX 1 (cx. (anivs 190) hourd you check with CDP or clear a frie not the PM? Thy Will have to wait until the Stern is ow! M. 27/5

New Lealand QZ 01166 COVERING CONFIDENTIAL MR CARTLEDGE You asked for a note on sheepmeat in the light of the Prime Minister's comment on the brief provided for today's call by the New Zealand High Commissioner. M D M FRANKLIN CABINET OFFICE SWI 16 July 1979



#### SHEEPMEAT AND NEW ZEALAND

- We have no choice but to accept some kind of sheepmeat regime because Article 38 of the Treaty of Rome provides for a common market in agricultural products, including sheepmeat. This does not oblige us to agree to any particular form of regime but it does mean that we cannot oppose the adoption of a regime in principle.
- 2. The French currently restrict imports of sheepmeat from the United Kingdom to protect their market, in which prices for producers are much higher than in the United Kingdom. The Commission have challenged these restrictions in the European Court and the French will almost certainly lose their case - judgement will probably be given in September. accordingly pressing hard for the introduction of a Community regime.
- This French demand puts us in a strong position to insist on the kind of regime that suits our interests and those of the New Zealanders. tried, notwithstanding the Treaty provisions, to oppose a regime of any kind we should thus deprive ourselves of this leverage.
- A sheepmeat regime would in fact give us better access to the continental market for our exports of fresh sheepmeat. It would therefore represent an improvement of the present position, provided that our supplies of cheap frozen sheepmeat from New Zealand are not threatened and that the budgetary cost of the regime is kept within reasonable limits. But some limit on exports of frozen sheepmeat from New Zealand is probably inevitable.
- Although Mr Muldoon would prefer there to be no sheepmeat regime, the New Zealanders generally now probably accept that its introduction in some form cannot be avoided. Their concern and ours will be to ensure continuing access to the United Kingdom market, if possible with growth in the future.

16 July 1979 Cabinet Office



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

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13 July 1979

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Introductory Call on the Prime Minister by the New Zealand

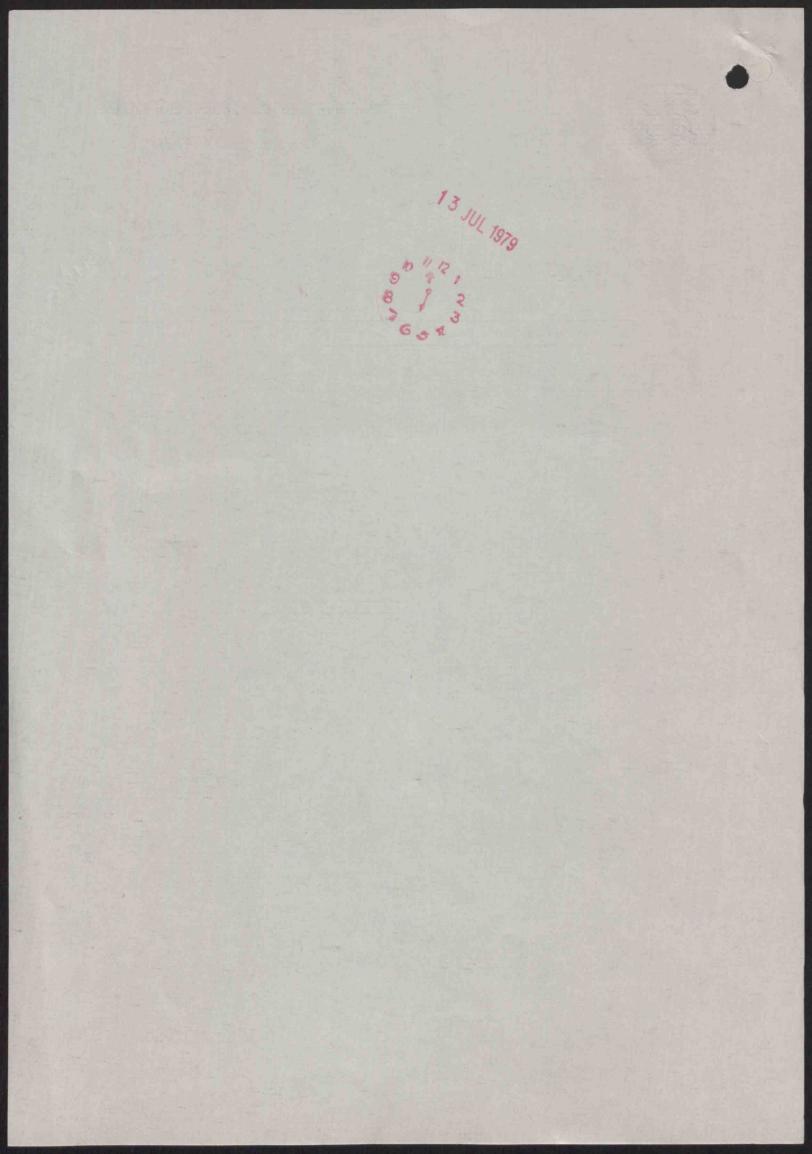
High Commissioner on 16 July

I enclose a brief, and a personality note on Mr Gander, in preparation for his call on the Prime Minister.

(J S Wall)

Private Secretary

Bryan G Cartledge Esq 10 Downing Street LONDON



- c. Sporting Contacts with South Africa
- 6. Government accepts Gleneagles Agreement.

# Rhodesia

7. Glad of recent opportunity to exchange views with Mr Muldoon. We will be putting forward proposals in the light of consultations which will include Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting at Lusaka. Grateful for New Zealand's help in preventing that meeting degenerating into polemics.

## New Hebrides

8. Value of New Zealand Government's consistently constructive attitude to Anglo-French policies in New Hebrides. Prospects for independence early in 1980 reasonably good.

#### ESSENTIAL FACTS

## EEC/New Zealand

- a. Post-1980 butter access and sheepmeat regime
- 1. No significant developments since Prime Minister saw

  Mr Muldoon on 11 June. Mr Muldoon wrote to Prime Minister after

  their meeting saying he was "immensely encouraged" by her

  understanding of the problems. New Zealanders are also

  generally encouraged by constructive attitude of Commissioner

  Gundelach. On <u>butter</u> next stage will be a Commission report

  expected in near future. On <u>sheepmeat</u> the Agricultural Council

  has agreed to aim to settle terms of a regime by 31 October 1979.

  Imports from New Zealand will be subject of negotiations with

  New Zealand once Community has agreed a mandate.

# b. Special levies on butter

2. Two personal interventions with the Commission by the Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food secured implementation from 11 July of the reductions in the special levy applicable to New Zealand butter exports agreed in principle at the June Agriculture Council. Problems at working level had held this up. But we were able to make arrangements (Special Exchequer payment) to keep New Zealand retail sales moving in the interim period. Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

# a. Security for The Queen's visit

- 3. Steps have been taken to inform the Prime Minister's colleagues in all other Realms of her decision not to advise The Queen against visiting Zambia.
- 4. During the Prime Minister's discussion with Mr Muldoon on 11 June he expressed concern for safety of The Queen and support for whatever Mrs Thatcher decided to do in terms of advice.

When informed of the Prime Minister's decision, the Deputy

New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Talboys, told our High

Commissioner that as New Zealand had no separate sources of
information they were bound to accept the British assessment.

5. A member of Air Vice Marshal Reed-Purvis's staff remains in Zambia as a link between Zambians and The Queen's Flight.

A form of words for the Prime Minister's possible use in Parliament has been agreed with the Zambians. This states that an assurance has been received from the Zambian Government that all necessary measures are being taken to ensure The Queen's safety.

# b. Sporting Contacts with South Africa

6. We may be tackled at Lusaka, since six British rugby clubs will be touring South Africa this summer, four in early August. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary told the House of Lords on 19 June that the Government accepted the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement.

# Rhodesia

7. Fairly strong Rhodesia lobby in New Zealand. Mr Muldoon likely to go along with our lead without sticking neck out very far.

# New Hebrides Condominium

8. Independence of Kiribati on 12 July leaves Pitcairn as only British dependent territory in South Pacific. We and French plan independence for New Hebrides by early 1980. Prospects greatly improved by good progress of Government of National Unity, formed in December 1978, in which Anglophones and Francophones equally represented.

H E THE HON LESLIE WALTER GANDAR
New Zealand High Commissioner in London

Born Wellington 1919.

Educated Victoria University, Wellington (BSc).

Served in the RNZAF and RAF in Britain and the Middle East, 1940-44. Since the war he has built up from scratch an 830-acre sheep farm at Colyton, Wellington Province, which he was reluctant to leave.

Long association with Massey University (Chancellor 1970-75). Closely involved in local government before entering Parliament in 1966. Minister of Science, Mines, Electricity and Energy Resources February-December 1972. Minister of Education, Science and Technology from December 1975 until he lost his seat in the 1978 general election (still bitter about his defeat).

Competent as a Minister and regarded as one of the most liberal in Mr Muldoon's Cabinet. Intelligent, humane and seriousminded. A good conversationalist. Interested in music, cricket, and Maori culture. Said to have learnt the Maori language while a Minister, and has taken up Maori wood carving.

Fellow of the New Zealand Institute of Agricultural Science and Fellow of the Institute of Physics.

Mrs Gandar was a good scholar, taking her degree at an unusually early age. Played an active part in her husband's political career. They have five grown-up children. A daughter in her early 20s died of a congenital heart disease in London three or four years ago while on a world trip with her parents.

Please Fle



# 10 DOWNING STREET

MR. CARTLEDGE

New Zealand High Commissioner

The only time I have for the New Zealand High Commissioner to pay a courtesy call on the Prime Minister is between 1850 and 1790 on Monday 16 July. Would you like me to (a) contact the High Commission (b) arrange briefing through the Foreign Office?

3 July 1979

Briefmy requested for 12-7-79



Reference

5 July 1979

Miss Caroline Stevens, Prime Minister's Office, 10 Downing Street, LONDON S W 1. New Zealand Place File New Zealand High Commission 16 July

New Zealand House

Haymarket

London SW1Y 4TQ

Telephone: 01-930 8422 Ext:

Telex: 24368

Dear mis Stevens,

As promised, I enclose the curriculum vitae of the High Commissioner Designate, the Hon L. W. Gandar.

I confirm the appointment offered by Mrs Thatcher for 6.30 pm on Monday, 16th July.

Yours sincerely Srong Selow

Counsellor (Assistant to the High Commissioner)



# NEW ZEALAND

## NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSION NEWS BULLETIN

17 April 1979

# APPOINTMENT OF NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSIONER TO LONDON

"The Government has appointed The Hon. Leslie Gandar as High Commissioner in London to succeed Sir Douglas Carter," the New Zealand Prime Minister, Right Hon. R.D. Muldoon announced in Wellington on 17 April. It is expected that the changeover will take place about mid-year when Sir Douglas completes his three year term of appointment.

"The Post in London has always been an extremely important one for New Zealand, and never more so than now," said Mr Muldoon.

"While Britain is still our principal trading partner, and the links between us of all kinds remain close and strong, the overall relationship, like every relationship, benefits from close and continued attention.

"This year the European Community, of which Britain is a member, is at the point of considering a number of issues of great significance to our agricultural export trade, and indeed for the future course of New Zealand's economic development.

"The Government has great confidence, which I believe will be widely shared throughout the community, in the ability of Mr Gandar to discharge his responsibilities as New Zealand's representative in He will bring to the task parliamentary and ministerial experience, practical experience in farming and a close interest and considerable knowledge of many other fields of activity, particularly in scientific research and in education. He will be able to build on the excellent work done by Sir Douglas Carter throughout his term of office," Mr Muldoon said.

Mr Gandar, who was born in Wellington in 1919, was educated at Wellington College and Victoria University from which he graduated in Science in 1940. During World War II he served with the RNZAF and the RAF in Britain, the Middle East and Iran.

After the war he took up sheepfarming at Waiata in the Manawatu district, and continues to farm. He served for many years in the local bodies of the district and also was a member of the Council of Massey University for ten years, being Chancellor of the University from 1970-75.

He was a Member of Parliament from 1966 to 1978 and served in 1972 as Minister of Science, Mines, Electricity and Energy Resources and from 1975 to 1978 as Minister of Education, Science and Technology.

Mr Gandar was made an Honorary Doctor of Science of Massey University in 1976 and is also a Fellow of the New Zealand Institute of Agricultural Science and of the Institute of Physics. He is married and has five children.

