

PRIME MINISTERVISIT OF NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER

Mr. and Mrs. Lange will arrive shortly before 1230 having driven cross country from a private visit, to give time for them to tidy up.

Other guests are invited for 1230 for 1300 hrs.

You will probably want to take Mr. Lange off for a private talk after lunch, deciding there and then whether you want note-takers present.

I attach the briefs, together with a card. The main subjects for you to raise are Falklands, nuclear ships visits and CHOGM on which you will want to enlist support for your views on length etc. He will want to mention New Zealand/EC, East/West, disarmament and economic relations.

You will want to read the telegram reporting Geoffrey Howe's talk with him in New York (Flag A).

Finally I attach a card with notes for a toast.

C.D.P.

28 September, 1984



Prime Minister Foreign and Commonwealth Office
Useful background London SW1A 2AH
if this subject comes
up in default with Mr. Lange

28 September 1984

CJP
28/9.

Dear Charles,

Briefing for Prime Minister's Meeting with Mr Lange:
Nuclear Ships' Visits

You asked for the background to the reference in paragraph 11 of UKMis New York telno 903, attached to the briefing sent over yesterday, which refers to accommodations which the UK has reached with the Australians, Scandinavians (i.e. Danes and Norwegians) and Canadians over nuclear ships' visits. The position is that the authorities of these four countries do not permit nuclear weapons on their soil in peacetime. However, since, technically, a visiting vessel would not be "on the soil", the prohibited circumstances does not arise, and alongside visits are thus possible. (The trouble that arose over the visit of Invincible to Sydney in December 1983 had a special origin. Invincible needed dry-docking for repairs and this raised the question of whether drydock constituted Australian soil.)

In the cases of India, Sweden, Finland and the Seychelles, the national governments have declared that they will not accept nuclear ships' visits. But the governments concerned do not in fact implement this policy. They refrain from seeking statements from us when we approach them about ships' visits.

All of these arrangements, particularly thos in the preceding paragraph, are sensitive.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

V. sorry this is so late.

Foreign Office

London SW1V 2AH

28 SEP 1984



CB



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

*Prime Minister
You may like to
add a reference
to this to your
toast*

28 September 1984

*CDP
20/9.*

Dear Charles,

Visit by the Prime Minister of New Zealand

Before she sees Mr Lange on Sunday, the Prime Minister will want to have seen the attached message to her from Lord Jellicoe.

*Yours ever,
Colin Budd*

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED

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IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 317 OF 28 SEPTEMBER

AND TO IMMEDIATE BCG MELBOURNE, AUCKLAND

FOR SPD. PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TO NO. 10

FOR PRIME MINISTER FROM LORD JELlicoe

1. I UNDERSTAND DAVID LANGE IS LUNCHING WITH YOU AT CHEQUERS ON SUNDAY.

2. I AM AT PRESENT IN NEW ZEALAND AS LEADER OF A MAJOR BOTB MISSION WITH SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM: BRITISH AEROSPACE, BRITISH ELECTRICITY INTERNATIONAL, DAVY CORPORATION, GEC, HAWKER SIDDELEY, JAGUAR CARS, LLOYDS BANK, ROLLS-ROYCE (CIVIL ENGINE GROUP), S G WARBURG.

3. WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN A VERY WARM WELCOME AND WE HAVE HAD VALUABLE AND EXTREMELY CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH MINISTERS CAYGILL, TIZARD, PREBBLE, COLMAN, MOORE AND NEILSON, WITH A WIDE RANGE OF SENIOR NZ OFFICIALS AND WITH LEADING MEMBERS OF THE NEW ZEALAND BUSINESS COMMUNITY.

4. I HAVE BEEN GREATLY IMPRESSED BY:

A) THE APPRECIATION BY NZ MINISTERS, OFFICIALS AND BUSINESSMEN OF THE FIRM SUPPORT WHICH WE GIVE NZ IN THE BRUSSELS ARENA:

B) THE HIGH COMPETENCE OF THE MINISTERS (SOME IN THEIR MIDDLE THIRTIES) IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT WHOM WE HAVE MET:

C) THEIR EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO LIBERALISE AND OPEN UP THE NZ ECONOMY:

D) THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH THE NEW INDUSTRIALISING NZ PRESENTS, IF VIGOROUSLY PURSUED, FOR BRITISH EXPORTERS AND INVESTMENT.

5. I BELIEVE THAT A LOT OF USEFUL NEW BUSINESS FOR THE UK COULD RESULT FROM OUR MISSION.

MESSAGE ENDS.

O'LEARY

RESTRICTED

pa.
20/9.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Prime Minister

28 September 1984

You may
like to look
at this
before you see
Mr. Lange.

Dear Charles,

ms.

Visit of New Zealand Prime Minister

Mr Lange spoke today (28 September) at the Foreign Press Association, and I enclose a copy of the text of his speech, which covers the visits of nuclear vessels to New Zealand ports and waters, and New Zealand's attitude to sporting contacts with South Africa.

C D P
20/9.

On the former, Mr Lange spoke in very robust terms of his government's intention to ban nuclear vessels from New Zealand. His position seems to us to have hardened since he spoke in New York earlier this week.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

RESTRICTED



NEW ZEALAND

NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSION NEWS BULLETIN

EMBARGOED TO 28 SEPTEMBER 1984, 13.00 HOURS

SPEECH NOTES

THE HON DAVID LANGE

PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND

Address to the Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers Association and the Foreign Press Association on 28 September 1984 at 1 pm at the Foreign Press Association, Carlton House Terrace, London.

Thank you for the opportunity to speak to you today. I want to talk to you about two topics in international relations which are important to New Zealand, which have attracted attention outside New Zealand, and on which my views, the views of the New Zealand government and the state of public opinion in New Zealand have sometimes been misrepresented.

Those issues are New Zealand's exclusion of nuclear weapons and New Zealand's record of sporting contact with South Africa.

You are people of influence and I am going to make it plain to you where I stand. I have some evidence about public opinion in New Zealand and I am going to rebut some of the nonsense which has been written by foreign observers about opinion in New Zealand, not so much about sporting contact with South Africa but certainly about nuclear weapons.

Let me say to begin with that I am not here to contest opinion which is critical of New Zealand's decision to exclude nuclear weapons and nuclear vessels from our ports and waters. The government knew when it assumed office that its policy would prompt a critical response from those among its friends and allies who did not share its views, and it is ready to meet that criticism in a reasoned manner. What I intend to contest today are statements made about our policy outside New Zealand which are positively misleading.

There are two common misconceptions. The first is about my view of nuclear weapons. Some overseas commentators have chosen to draw parallels between the Labour governments of New Zealand and Australia. The Hawke government does not share the view of the left among the Labour caucus and allows nuclear armed and powered vessels to visit Australian ports. That is Australia. New Zealand is different. Last month, however, the Economist newspaper suggested that I should in what it called 'Hawkeish style' convince my party of the truth of the Australians' warning that no ships meant no ANZUS alliance.

The inference was, and it is a point which has been plainly made by other commentators, that in barring nuclear weapons from New Zealand I am a captive of the left of the Labour Party, and that I am planning to loosen my bonds.

The commentators are wrong. I tell this audience now, in case you ever again have any doubt, that there will be no nuclear weapons in New Zealand as long as I am Prime Minister and that is from the heart.

I am not going to persuade the Labour Party to change its mind about nuclear weapons because they and I are of the same mind. Any foreign commentator who bases his or her analysis on a perception of a difference about nuclear weapons between me and the Labour Party is starting from a false premise.

The second misconception about New Zealand's attitude to nuclear weapons suggests that our exclusion of them is some sort of political whimsy, a minority view imposed on the mainstream of political thinking, the left let loose on middle New Zealand. This is the view which holds that there is no intellectual depth or commitment in New Zealand's exclusion of nuclear weapons.

Shortly before the Labour Party held its annual conference last month the US Information Service brought a professor of political science to New Zealand to lecture the public about the necessity of New Zealand's playing host to nuclear weapons. He described the government's policy as an 'almost flippant whim'. It was he said out of the blue and off the wall. Our proposal for a nuclear free South Pacific was a form of escapism. The Economist in the article I mentioned a moment ago said in its Eurocentric fashion that 'New Zealand is a lot further away from almost anywhere than Australia is. It may be easier for vague ideas to take hold there about alliances....'

We have been accused of a lot worse than having vague ideas but what I want to dispute here is the suggestion that there is any element of capriciousness in the New Zealand government's approach. The exclusion of nuclear weapons was an issue during this year's election campaign. It was deliberately made an issue by the National Party government which set out to convince New Zealanders that a refusal to accept nuclear armed ships would leave New Zealand defenceless.

New Zealanders did not buy that argument. The National Party received 36 per cent of the vote. The rest of the vote was divided between three parties, two of which had defence policies a great deal more radical than Labour's. The only party which wanted nuclear weapons in New Zealand got a caning.

There were other issues in the election, but the election result is not the only evidence that New Zealanders are determined to exclude nuclear weapons. Over ninety local authorities in New Zealand have declared themselves to be nuclear free zones. Those zones cover more than 60 per cent of the population.

An authoritative public opinion poll was conducted in New Zealand in August which asked the respondents if they agreed or disagreed with government policy on the exclusion of nuclear weapons from New Zealand. This poll was taken after George Shultz had visited New Zealand and stated his view that a ban on nuclear vessels was incompatible with ANZUS. Seventy-six per cent of those polled did not want nuclear weapons brought into New Zealand. Sixty per cent thought that New Zealand should renegotiate ANZUS - a term which in New Zealand essentially means a desire to broaden the scope of the alliance to de-emphasise its military nature.

The New Zealand Labour Party has been consistent over the years in its opposition to nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons were not brought to New Zealand in 1972-75 while it had a Labour government.

I am satisfied that in implementing its policy of excluding nuclear weapons from New Zealand the government is expressing the opinion of the majority of New Zealanders. This is not a flight of radical fancy. Those of you who have been to New Zealand will know how conservative a country it is on moral and social issues. It is that conservative country which wants to exclude nuclear weapons. We know that we are taking a step which is serious. We know we face opposition. We have thought about the issues because they have been forced on our attention. But we still want to exclude nuclear weapons, and if you are writing about events in New Zealand you should not underestimate the seriousness and determination of our purpose.

The other topic I wished to raise is New Zealand's sporting contact with South Africa. I talked about misrepresentation and here I would make it clear that most of the misunderstanding starts in New Zealand. We seem to talk about South Africa in many different voices.

The former National Party government was a signatory to the Gleneagles agreement. It undertook by that agreement to discourage contact between sportspeople representing New Zealand and sportspeople representing South Africa. In its 1975 election manifesto the National Party said that if the Springboks were invited to New Zealand it would make them welcome. After it had signed the Gleneagles agreement it had to alter its rhetoric. Nonetheless, it allowed the Springboks to tour New Zealand in 1981.

That was a painful time in New Zealand. There were points of principle at issue on both sides of the argument. I reserve my condemnation for the National Party government which allowed that argument to be conducted in the streets of New Zealand. It did that for a cynical political advantage - to make sporting contact with South Africa an issue in a general election which is eventually won by a narrow margin.

Sporting contact with South Africa was not an issue in the general election of 1984, although the National Party tried hard at times to make it run.

The Labour government's view is clear enough. It is implacably opposed to sporting contact with South Africa and will remain so until the day when apartheid is dismantled and South African teams are wholly representative. We will not issue visas to enter New Zealand to any team representing South Africa.

The government cannot prevent New Zealand sportspeople, whether organised in teams or otherwise, from leaving New Zealand to play in South Africa, but it will use every reasonable means of persuasion at its disposal to make the case against going.

You may know that the All Blacks are due to tour South Africa next year and that will be the first test of our resolution.

Public opinion in New Zealand is divided on the merit of that tour. There are many people in New Zealand who have exactly the same opinion as the government but if they are in the majority I think it would be a small one.

I think that the reason for the continuing strong support for sporting contact between New Zealand and South Africa is quite simple - love of rugby. It is hard to explain to outsiders how important rugby is in New Zealand. It is an essential part of the New Zealand culture and probably only white South Africa shares that.

The New Zealand advocates of sporting contact with South African can muster a range of libertarian argument in support of their case but in the end it is the love of the game which drives them. It is not love of South Africa. It is love of rugby as played in South Africa.

I am certain that if the dialogue between the New Zealand government and the New Zealand rugby union is conducted in moral or philosophical terms that I can make the better case. If it comes down to a discussion of the impact of sporting ostracism as opposed to the advantages of contact I am confident in my argument. The real difficulty will lie in overcoming the desire to play the game, a desire so overwhelming it blinds its adherents to all other considerations.

I intend to draw those considerations to the attention of the New Zealand rugby people. I shall ask them to weigh them carefully against the game.

Whatever the outcome I hope that you will understand what is going on in New Zealand. The government will be trying to stimulate a shift in public opinion which will ensure that a sporting tour to South Africa is as unthinkable in New Zealand as the presence of nuclear weapons.

There is a mood for change in New Zealand. I hope some of you will have the opportunity to examine it for yourselves. The new government of New Zealand is part of that mood - not imposing change but encouraging it as we seek to redefine our view of ourselves and the world.



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

27 September 1984

Dear Charles,

Death of former Governor-General of New Zealand

When she meets Mr Lange at Chequers on Sunday, the Prime Minister may like to say to him how sorry she was to read of the recent death of Sir Denis Blundell, Governor-General of New Zealand from 1972-77 and before that High Commissioner in London from 1968-72. I enclose as background a copy of The Times obituary.

Yours ever,

Colin Budd

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Prime Minister

CDP
27/9.

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cutting dated.....2.5 SEP 1984.....19

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PCD

SIR DENIS BLUNDELL

Sir Denis Blundell, GCMG, GCVO, KBE, OBE, QSO, who died yesterday in Australia where he was on holiday, at the age of 77, was Governor-General of New Zealand from 1972 to 1977, and was a former New Zealand High Commissioner in London. He was also one of the foremost members of the legal profession in New Zealand.

Edward Denis Blundell was born in Wellington in 1907 and educated at Waitaki Boys' High School, Oamaru, South Island; and Trinity Hall, Cambridge. A distinguished cricketer he gained his Blue for the University in 1928 and 1929 and he was later to represent New Zealand in 1936-37. After the war he was prominent in cricket administration as president of the New Zealand Council, 1957-60.

He was called to the Bar by Gray's Inn in 1929 and in that year, too, he was admitted barrister and solicitor of the Supreme Court of New Zealand as a member of a prominent Wellington legal firm where he became senior partner.

During the Second World War he enlisted as a private in

the New Zealand Army and was sent to Europe with the 2nd New Zealand Division. Here he distinguished himself in service during the campaigns in Greece, Crete, the Middle East and Italy rising to lieutenant-colonel and commanding the division's 23rd Battalion. He was appointed OBE (mil) in 1944.

After the war he continued with his legal career, being president of the New Zealand Law Society from 1962 to 1968 and when in the latter year he was appointed New Zealand High Commissioner in London it was the first time that this appointment had been made from outside the ranks of politicians. During his period in London Blundell was active in trying to mobilize British public opinion in an attempt to stiffen the British Government's resolve in the direction of protecting New Zealand's position in the negotiations to join the EEC.

At the end of his time in London he was appointed Governor-General of New Zealand. He had been created GCMG in 1972 and GCVO in 1974. He was also appointed a Companion of the Queen's Service Order of New Zealand.

Av. Sands

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Mr. Bridges

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