Topic: New Zealand and the Cold War

A. Seeing both sides of the argument

Use the page <u>New Treaties and Alliances</u> and your own knowledge and ideas to help you complete the following activity.

You are an adviser working in the Department of External Affairs in 1950, and you have been asked to write a paper for the minister of external affairs, Frederick Doidge, and the prime minister, Sidney Holland. They will use this paper to give Cabinet information to help it discuss the benefits and disadvantages for New Zealand of signing an alliance with Australia and the United States.

Your task is to:

- **a. Outline at least three advantages** for New Zealand of signing such an alliance with the Australians and Americans. You must explain to the ministers why you believe these things advantage New Zealand. For instance:

 One advantage is that any alliance with a country as powerful as the United States gives New Zealand a powerful regional ally.
- **b. Outline at least three disadvantages** for New Zealand of signing such an alliance with the Australians and Americans. You must explain to the ministers why you believe these things disadvantage New Zealand. For instance: One disadvantage is that such an alliance separates New Zealand from its traditional ally, Great Britain.
- **c. In no more than 150 words**, you must advise your ministers which argument to support and the reasons why you believe this action should be taken, i.e., to sign an alliance or not. They will be expecting you to give them answers to some possibly tricky questions raised by those who might disagree, so consider this in your final advice.

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B. Examining primary sources (ANZUS and SEATO)

Security Treaty between the United States, Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS)

The Parties to this Treaty,

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments, and desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace in the Pacific Area,

Recognizing that Australia and New Zealand as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations have military obligations outside as well as within the Pacific Area.

Desiring to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that no potential aggressor could be under the illusion that any of them stand alone in the Pacific Area, and

Desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area,

Therefore declare and agree as follows [11 articles in total]:

ARTICLE II

In order more effectively to achieve the objective of this Treaty the Parties separately and jointly by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE III

The Parties will consult together whenever in the opinion of any of them the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened in the Pacific.

ARTICLE IV

Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty. DONE at the city of San Francisco this first day of September, 1951.

Referring to the ANZUS treaty, complete the following questions:

1. Why does the introduction to ANZUS refer to Australia and New Zealand being members of the British Commonwealth?

- 2. What do the three parties agree to do in Article II?
- 3. In what geographical area are the treaty parties obliged to take action?
- 4. What is the relationship between ANZUS and the United Nations?
- 5. How is the ANZUS treaty an example of collective security?
- 6. Who or what is a *Plenipotentiary*?

South-East Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Manila Pact), 8 September 1954

Introduction
The Parties to this Treaty,

Recognizing the sovereign equality of all the Parties,

Reiterating their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments, Reaffirming that, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities,

Desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the treaty area,

Intending to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the Parties stand together in the area, and Desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security,

Therefore agree as follows [11 articles in total]:

ARTICLE III

The Parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

ARTICLE IV

1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.

Referring to the Manila Pact, complete the following questions:

- 1. Why do the countries that signed the Manila Pact refer to the United Nations?
- 2. What evidence is there in this introduction that the Manila Pact is a collective security arrangement? Quote evidence from the introduction to support your answer.
- 3. What are some of the methods that those signing the Manila Pact propose using to strengthen peace and freedom? Consider Article III in your answer.
- 4. What do you understand to be the purpose of Article IV?

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C. Meet the press

Read this extract from a press conference given by President Eisenhower in April 1954. In it he refers to what was to become known as the **domino theory**.

President Eisenhower's news conference, 7 April 1954

Q. Robert Richards, Copley Press:

Mr President, would you mind commenting on the strategic importance of Indo-China to the free world? I think there has been, across the country, some lack of understanding on just what it means to us.

The President:

You have, of course, both the specific and the general when you talk about such things.

First of all, you have the specific value of a locality in its production of materials that the world needs.

Then you have the possibility that many human beings pass under a dictatorship that is inimical to the free world.

Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the 'falling domino' principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

Now, with respect to the first one, two of the items from this particular area that the world uses are tin and tungsten. They are very important. There are others, of course, the rubber plantations and so on.

Then with respect to more people passing under this domination, Asia, after all, has already lost some 450 million of its peoples to the communist dictatorship, and we simply can't afford greater losses.

But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indo-China, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you are talking really about millions and millions of people.

Finally, the geographical position achieved thereby does many things. It turns the so-called island defensive chain of Japan, Formosa, of the Philippines and to the southward: it moves in to threaten Australia and New Zealand.

It takes away, in its economic aspects, that region that Japan must have as a trading area or Japan, in turn, will have only one place in the world to go- that is, toward the communist areas in order to live.

So, the possible consequences of the loss are just incalculable to the free world.

In reference to this press conference:

- a. How does Eisenhower appear to divide the world?
- b. What are some of the reasons Eisenhower gives for the need to prevent the first domino falling?
- c. What has already happened to 450 million people in Asia according to the president?
- d. Which countries is Eisenhower referring to when he speaks of '450 million people'?
- e. What link does Eisenhower make between Japan and the domino theory?
- f. How might this press conference have influenced thinking in New Zealand?
- g. Quote ONE fact and ONE opinion from the reply given by Eisenhower at the April news conference.

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D. Role Play

Imagine you are a member of the press at a press conference held by the New Zealand Prime Minister, Keith Holyoake, in May 1965. Write three questions to ask the prime minister about whether or not New Zealand should send combat troops to Vietnam.

Then, write the replies to these questions that could be expected from him.

Your questions and replies should consider the prime minister's justification for becoming involved and his responses to reasons for not going.

- A member of the class could assume the role of Keith Holyoake and the class could select six questions to ask him. Some students could be the various reporters asking the questions. The remainder of the class can record the questions and answers, and a recording of the conference could be made. At the end of the conference, check the accuracy of the notes made by the class 'recorders'.
- This would be an ideal opportunity to discuss the purpose and nature of political press conferences.

Use the topics on the Vietnam War and www.VietnamWar.govt.nz for extra help

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E. Short answer questions Asian theatres of war

Use the NZHistory.net.nz category <u>Post Second World War</u> conflicts and your own knowledge and ideas to help you complete these activities:

Korean War (1950-53)

- 1. Provide at least three reasons why New Zealand was so willing to participate in the Korean War.
- 2. Was the conflict between North and South Korea an internal or international one? Explain your answer.
- 3. How would you describe the nature of New Zealand's military involvement in Korea?
- 4. What economic benefits did the Korean War bring to the New Zealand economy?
- 5. Why did Prime Minister Holland and his minister of labour, William Sullivan, refer to the leaders of the waterfront workers as 'communist wreckers' during the waterfront dispute of 1951? See War on the wharves the 1951 waterfront dispute.

Malayan Emergency (1948-60)

- 1. What was the primary role of the British Commonwealth Far East Strategic Reserve, in which New Zealand became more directly involved in 1955?
- 2. Why was New Zealand caught up in affairs in Malaya during the 1950s?
- 3. Would you describe the Malayan emergency as an example of the domino theory or a local issue? Explain your answer.

Vietnam War (1959–75)

- 1. What specific agreement led to New Zealand's involvement in Vietnam?
- 2. What other factors influenced the New Zealand government's decision to commit troops to Vietnam?
- 3. When did New Zealand first send troops to Vietnam?
- 4. What were the major differences between the New Zealand Labour Party and the National Party regarding involvement in Vietnam?
- 5. What were some of the particular reasons why the Vietnam War was so unpopular with some New Zealanders?
- 6. Why does Roberto Rabel describe the Vietnam War as New Zealand's 'most controversial military experience of the twentieth century?'

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F. Cartoon interpretation



'Better not interfere, old boy – he might lose his temper!'

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, reference: Eph-E-EXHIBITION-1939-01

Permission of the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Te Puna Matauranga o Aotearoa, must be obtained before any reuse of this image.

Using the cartoon, 'Better not interfere, old boy – he might lose his temper!' and the topic New Zealand and the Malayan Emergency, complete the following activities:

- 1. Which country is wielding the machete?
- 2. The man giving the advice not to interfere is the Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies. Who is the man he is giving the advice to?
- 3. How would you describe the reaction of Malaysia to what is going on?
- 4. What event is being referred to in this cartoon? Give evidence to support your answer.
- 5. In what year was this cartoon most likely to have been drawn?
- 6. In what other ways had the countries in the foreground been involved with Malaysia prior to this event?
- 7. What is the attitude of the cartoonist to the view taken by the countries in front to what is going on behind them?
- 8. Why did the character on the right in the foreground initially choose to take the advice of Menzies and not interfere?
- 9. What action did this character eventually take on behalf of his country in response to this event?
- 10. What was the eventual outcome of the event portrayed in this cartoon?

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G. Shaping of identity over time

Use the NZHistory.net.nz category <u>Post Second World War</u> conflicts and your own knowledge and ideas to help you complete the following activity. See also the tips on good <u>paragraph writing</u> in the Teacher's Toolbox.

Through the 1950s and 1960s New Zealand developed its identity as a nation supporting the Cold War struggle against communism. For example, the Holland National government committed troops to Korea in 1950.

Write **three** paragraphs of between 100 and 150 words each, describing:

- the ways in which New Zealand became more concerned with Asian affairs in the period 1948–72
- the actions taken by New Zealand governments (1950–65) that showed support for the United States' policy of containing the spread of communism
- in detail, ONE way that New Zealand's concerns with Asian affairs in the period 1948–72 had affected New Zealand's relations with traditional allies by 1965.

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H: Practice essays: Achievement standard 1.5: describe a historical development, in an essay

Use the NZHistory.net.nz category Post Second World War conflicts and your own knowledge and ideas to help you complete the following practice essays. They are based on similar questions set in recent NCEA Level 1 exams. Also, examine achievement standard 1.5: describe a historical development, in an essay.

Ensure that your essay has:

- an introduction, which has an opening statement of two or three sentences that clearly state what the essay is about
- the main body, consisting of a series of sequenced and structured paragraphs that contain generalisations with supporting evidence
- a conclusion or brief statement that sums up your answer to both parts of the essay question.

Essay topic 1:

In what ways did New Zealand governments give military support to the United Nations and the Commonwealth between 1945 and 1960? For what reasons did New Zealand support these international organisations?

The ideas below are designed to help you, but it is important that you add your own knowledge as well.

Some ways that New Zealand gave military support to the United Nations and the Commonwealth were:

- helping establish the United Nations
- Kayforce
- ANZAM.

Reasons for New Zealand supporting the United Nations and the Commonwealth were:

- promoting collective security
- maintaining traditional ties and relationships
- countering the Cold War.

Essay topic 2:

What were the main security arrangements New Zealand made in the period 1945–55? Why did New Zealand enter into these new security arrangements?

The ideas below are designed to help you, but it is important that you add your own knowledge as well.

New security arrangements developed were:

- United Nations
- ANZUS
- Manila Pact
- SEATO.

Reasons for new security arrangements were:

fear of Japan

- realisation that Britain could no longer be relied upon for security continued support for collective security threat from the Cold War and associated domino theory.