

New Zealand's imperialist role - from the Boer War to today

Introduction by Mike Treen

GPJA editor

The attached PDF document is meant as a resource for what is often the hidden, horrific role that the New Zealand military has played in enforcing the world imperialist system. Given New Zealand's size, this usually means that our rulers ally themselves with a larger imperial power, first Britain and latterly the USA.

The system that is being enforced is a system of both economic plunder and ongoing exploitation. This system evolved from the colonial world established by a handful of countries, beginning with Portugal and Spain in the 15th Century, followed by Britain, France, and the Netherlands, and culminating in the scramble for Africa, which also included Italy, Germany, and Belgium. The USA and Japan joined in a bit later to take what they could.

Every empire required military force that cost the lives of millions of people.

However, that system of plunder evolved into the modern form of imperialism, which is still best described by the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin in his book, [Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism](#), written in 1916 in the midst of what was the first great inter-imperialist war.

Today, almost the same countries comprise the imperialist world. They have created their own club dubbed the G7 nations. The Group of Seven (G7) countries are selected based on their status as major advanced economies and developed democracies. There are no formal criteria for membership, but the group consists of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The European Union also participates in G7 summits. The G7 countries are responsible for roughly half of the world's GDP.

Australia and New Zealand grew to become minor imperialist nations with colonies of their own and have been satellites of the bigger imperialist powers.

The GDP per capita of the imperialist world (Western Europe, Japan, the USA, Australia & New Zealand) is about US\$50,000.

The GDP per capita of the former colonial world is around a quarter of that number - ranging from \$2500 for India, \$5000 for South East Asia, \$7500 for Africa, \$11000 for Latin America and the Caribbean, to \$12,600 for China.

All these nations (except China) have remained in debt bondage and unable to significantly develop their economies to the point of escaping imperialist domination and exploitation.

China, on the other hand, doubled the size of its economy each decade for the last four decades. 800 million people were lifted out of poverty, and 150 million out of extreme poverty. See: Tricontinental -

[Serve the People: The Eradication of Extreme Poverty in China](#)

Because of the size of their population, 1.4 billion people, they have become the largest economy on earth when measured on a purchasing power parity basis. They became the industrial powerhouse of the world with an astonishing 30% of world manufacturing output.

"China's per capita income has increased five-fold between 1990 and 2000, from \$200 to \$1,000. Between 2000 and 2010, per capita income also rose at the same rate, from \$1,000 to \$5,000, moving China into the ranks of middle-income countries."

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poverty_in_China

China has experienced significant wage growth over the past few decades, with average wages increasing from 445 yuan per year in 1952 to 114,029 yuan in 2022. Minimum wages in China have indeed seen substantial increases between 2010 and 2025, driven by economic growth, urbanization, and efforts to reduce income inequality. The average minimum wage rose significantly from around ¥1,200 in 2010 to approximately ¥2,100 by 2020, with further increases in subsequent years, reaching ¥2,690 in Shanghai by 2025, [according to Payroll](#).

As well, in recent years, China has used its massive investments in infrastructure, in particular high-speed rail, to significantly reduce inequality between regions.

There is some debate worldwide about whether this was the result of a form of state-directed capitalism, or as they describe themselves, "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics".

I have sympathy for a view closer to the latter position, but one still critical of China's bureaucratic authoritarianism. See: [China as a transitional economy to socialism?](#) by Michael Roberts

To do what they have done economically over the last four decades implies some system of planning. Only Korea and Taiwan have developed in a similar rapid economic way and that was only because they were the front line of the Cold War against the Soviet Union and China; they were allowed to develop their economies, including with some state planning, and (until recently) export freely to the US. But it is clear that the monopoly capitalists call the shots on what the government does in Korea and Taiwan, and that appears not so in China, despite the immense wealth of some of the capitalists there.

However, the gigantic economic growth in China meant it became the biggest trading power of almost every country on earth. This means that, if they want to, countries can risk taking a more independent stance (politically and economically). This is reflected in the formation of the [BRICS alliance](#) in 2009, which has grown progressively stronger and now has half the world's population and over 40% of its GDP.

This was explored in a useful [Tricontinental report](#) recently, which argued that though still weighed down by debt and austerity, developing countries are beginning to chart alternative paths as a new mood takes hold in the Global South.

The hidden history of NZ imperialism

New Zealand's role in the various wars of empire is often completely hidden from our understanding.

My first job in preparing this document was simply to catalog what I could discover and provide links to basic facts proving we were there (including some surprises to even me - like against the Boxer Rebellion in China, the Russian revolution, or more latterly the invasion of Egypt by Israel, the UK and France in 1956).

When forces opposed these wars inside Aotearoa New Zealand, I tried to find links to those voices also.

I hope you emerge horrified by what you learn.

Mike Treen
GPJA

NZ MILITARY CONFLICTS

Wars involving New Zealand:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_involving_New_Zealand

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_history_of_New_Zealand

1899-1902: SOUTH AFRICA

A 180,000-strong imperial expeditionary force was used in South Africa to suppress a rebellion by Ditch-descendant farmers. "Over 100,000 Boer civilians, mostly women and children, were forcibly relocated into concentration camps, where 26,000 died, mostly by starvation and disease. Black Africans were interned in concentration camps to prevent them from supplying the Boers; 20,000 died." New Zealand sent 10 contingents, a total of approximately 6,500 men and 8,000 horses.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Boer_War

[Counting the Cost: The Impact of the South African War 1899-1902 on New Zealand Society](#) – Thesis by Nigel Robson, Massey University.

1900: BEGINNING OF A PACIFIC EMPIRE

[New Zealand's 'Critics of Empire': Domestic Opposition to New Zealand's Pacific Empire, 1883-1948.](#) - Thesis by Nicholas Hoare

[A Short History of New Zealand Imperialism](#) by Daniel Simpson Beck, ISO Sept 10, 2015.

[New Zealand's Pacific Empire](#) by William Ray, from The Aotearoa History Show, Nov 3, 2022

1900: COOK ISLANDS

1900: On 27 September 1900, the Parliament of New Zealand approved the annexation of the islands to New Zealand and the following month the New Zealand Governor, Lord Ranfurly, landed in Rarotonga. The five ariki and seven lesser chiefs signed a deed of cession, and the Cook Islands were annexed by New Zealand on 7 October 1900 without any debate or examination of the ramifications or implications. On 11 June 1901, the

boundaries of New Zealand were extended to include the Cook Islands, and the power of the ariki was removed.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Rarotonga

[Empire on the cheap — prison labour in the Pacific by Jared Davidson - E Tagata](#)

[Bullying of Cook Islands shows hypocrisy of sub-imperial henchmen](#) by Mick Hall, June 19, 2025

[The fragile foundations of Pacific sovereignty](#) by Sione Tekiteki, E-Tangata, Jun 22, 2025

1901: NIUE

Niue was brought within the boundaries of New Zealand on 11 June 1901 by the same Order and Proclamation as the Cook Islands. The Order limited the islands to which it related by reference to an area in the Pacific described by co-ordinates, and Niue, at 19.02 S., 169.55 W, lies within that area.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niue>

2002: Newly declassified Government documents lend some weight to claims that New Zealand's representative to Niue in the 1950s, Cecil Hector Larsen, was murdered by locals because he was a bully.

[Papers suggest murdered Niue governor was bully by Allison Horwood \(NZ Herald\)](#)

1900-1901: THE BOXER REBELLION, CHINA

New Zealand and Australian troops supported Britain during [the “Century of Humiliation” of China](#) – a 100-year multi-country colonial invasion and exploitation of China from the First Opium War (1839-1842) to the founding of the People's Republic of China (1949).

Both countries sent troops to aid Britain in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion of 1900-1901. The Boxer Rebellion was a peasant uprising in China that attempted to drive all foreigners from the country. “Boxer” was the English name given to a Chinese secret society that practiced boxing and calisthenic rituals in the belief that it would make its members impervious to bullets. Perhaps a total of up to 100,000 or more people died in the conflict, although estimates on casualties have varied widely.

Many scholars brush off the Boxer Rebellion as an ill-conceived and easily defeated revolt, but in [“The Boxer Rebellion and the Great Game in China”](#), the military historian David J. Silbey shows just how close the Boxers came to beating back the combined might of the imperial powers. Drawing on the diaries and letters of Allied soldiers and diplomats, he paints a vivid portrait of the war. Although their cause ended just as quickly as it began, the Boxers would inspire Chinese nationalists—including a young Mao Zedong—for decades to come.

[China \(Boxer Rebellion\), 1900–01 from Australian War Memorial](#)

[Australia and the Boxer Rebellion 1900 -The South Australian Contingent](#) by N. Westphalen in the Journal of Military and Veterans' Health

NZ is listed as a participant in the Boer War on this site.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_involving_New_Zealand

I couldn't find any evidence to support this claim online, so I wrote to the NZ Defence Forces and they kindly replied with a couple of links that do show some support for Britain & Australian participation in the war. This includes the following:

[From: Secretary of State, London Date: 1 July 1900 Subject: Thanking New Zealand Government for their ready compliance in matter of employment of part of Australian Squadron in China](#)

[From: Commander New Zealand Forces, Wellington Date: 25 July 1900 Subject: Applications to serve with a Contingent in the China War](#)

[From: Secretary of State for the Colonies Date: 21 August 1900 Subject: Regarding despatch of vessels of Australasian squadron to China](#)

You can request access to the physical files via the Archives New Zealand website by using the following link:

<https://collections.archives.govt.nz/web/arena/search#/?q=China+1900>

1909-1972 COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING IN ACTION

Compulsory military training (CMT), a form of conscription, was practised for males in New Zealand between 1909 and 1972. Military training in New Zealand has been voluntary before then and ever since.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Compulsory_military_training_in_New_Zealand

1914-1918: WW1

[NZ History: World War One](#)

The total number of NZ troops and nurses to serve overseas in 1914–18, excluding those in British and other Dominion forces, was 100,471, from a population of just over a million. Forty-two percent of men of military age served in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, fighting in the Gallipoli campaign and on the Western Front. 16,697 New Zealanders were killed and 41,317 were wounded during the war – a 58 percent casualty rate.

Approximately a further thousand men died within five years of the war's end, as a result of injuries sustained, and 507 died while training in New Zealand between 1914 and 1918.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_history_of_New_Zealand_during_World_War_I

[From Gallipoli to Gaza: remembering the Anzacs not as a 'coming of age' tale but as a lesson for the future](#) by Olli Hellmann, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Waikato

[Why did New Zealand suffer the worst casualty rate in World War I?](#) By Mike Treen, Links, Jan 23, 2019.

OPPOSITION TO WW1

[Our clever, irreverent and courageous soldiers returned from war and wanted to forget – but we will remember](#) by Jonathan Milne – Stuff, Nov 10, 2018.

[NZ History: Conscientious objection and dissent](#)

[World War One: The Fight against Conscription](#) by Cory Anderson, ISO – 4 Aug, 2014.

[Anzac Day: The Māori who refused to fight in World War I](#) by Karanama Ruru, Stuff, 25 April, 2022.

[The Princess of Mercer Te Puea Herangi who tried to stop Māori enlisting in the war](#) – Extract in Herald on Sunday June 2, 2019, from *Whitiki! Whiti! Whiti! E! Māori in the first World War*, Published by Bateman Books

[Māori soldiers' Great War battle for equality](#), by Carmen Parahi, Stuff, November 9, 2018

[NZ History: Policing the war effort](#)

[How Kiwis opposed the not-so-great war](#) by Kate Camp, June 8, 2016

[NZ History: Paddy Webb's resistance to conscription](#)

REESTABLISHING COLONIAL RULE AFTER WW1

“To the victors, the spoils. A hundred years ago, after the conclusion of the First World War, the British Empire and its French ally broke up the old Ottoman-dominated Arab world and created new countries (Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia), principalities and outposts (the Gulf States, southern Yemen) and puppet states (Egypt, Iran), as well as laying the foundations on which Israel would be built, after the Second World War.”

[Conquered Lands](#) - by Tariq Ali, New Left Review, Jan/Feb 2025.

1914: SAMOA

[NZ History: New Zealand force captures German Samoa 1914.](#)

During New Zealand's colonial rule, 20 percent of the population died from the Spanish flu in 1918 due to extreme neglect by the authorities. The ship responsible for bringing the disease to Samoa also brought it to Tonga and Fiji.

[How NZ took influenza to Samoa, killing a fifth of its population](#) by Jamie Tahana, Radio NZ, Nov 7, 2018.

[Land, labour, and epidemic diseases – two articles on capitalist penetration of the Pacific](#) by James Robb, A Worker At Large, July 14, 2019.

[Cotton, slaves, war, and measles in colonial Fiji](#) by James Robb, A Worker At Large, July 19, 2019.

[Indentured labourers at the forefront of early anti-colonial struggles in the Pacific](#) by James Robb, A Worker At Large, May 8, 2019.

[Cruise of the Mokoia – Harry Holland and anti-colonial struggles in Fiji and Samoa](#) by James Robb, A Worker At Large, May 13, 2019.

[Untold Pacific History | Episode 3: Samoa - NZ's Colonisation of Samoa & the Mau Movement](#) | RNZ, June 1, 2021.

1915: GALLIPOLI

[Gallipoli invasion: a dirty and bloody business](#), by Phil Duncan, Redline, April 24, 2012.

[Gallipoli, the Turkish view: New Zealanders were 'pawns in a very dirty British game](#), by Kurt Bayer, NZME, April 10, 2015.

[Gallipoli—a hill too far](#), by Mark Bathurst, NZGEO, July-Aug, 2004.

1916: FIELD PUNISHMENT No.1

The New Zealand Government secretly shipped 14 of the country's most outspoken conscientious objectors to the Western Front in an attempt to convert, silence, or, quite possibly, kill them. This is their story. Based on the book "We Will Not Cease" by Archibald Baxter.

[This painting by Bob Kerr](#) shows Archibald Baxter enduring field punishment no. 1 or 'the crucifixion', as it was known.

[Field Punishment No 1 film reviewed – reminder that the war's not over](#) by Don Franks. Redline, 24 April, 2014. (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3124186/>)

[NZ History: Field Punishment No.1](#)

1915-1919: BATTLE OF THE WAZZIR, EGYPT

[NZ History: Anzac soldiers riot in Cairo's Wazzir brothel district, 2 April 1915](#)

During the afternoon and evening of 2 April (Good Friday), up to 2500 New Zealand and Australian troops rioted in the Haret Al Wassir red-light district of Cairo's Ezbekieh Quarter. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_the_Wazzir

1917-18: PALESTINE

NZ and Australian troops were key to the British conquest and effective colonisation of Palestine.

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/palestine-campaign>

1917: GAZA, PALESTINE

[New Zealand's shameful role in the 1917 destruction of Gaza](#), by Scott Hamilton, Spinoff, 29 November, 2023.

"After days of artillery attacks poison gas was also used to conquer Gaza City – the gateway to Palestine held by the Ottomans."

1917: RUSSIA

Following the Russian revolution, the new workers' and peasants' government was attacked by 17 countries, including Britain, the USA and Japan to support the reactionary forces in a civil war. A group of New Zealand soldiers and officers helped the British. "New Zealanders were involved in the campaign in northern Russia, a largely forgotten war that

became known as "Churchill's War" and "The Great Russian Gamble". 7-12 million Russians were killed in the civil war that was prolonged for years by imperialist intervention before the new Soviet government prevailed.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allied_intervention_in_the_Russian_Civil_War

[Role of Kiwi soldiers in Russian war](#) By Bruce Munro, Otago Daily Times, 16 October, 2017.

[Churchill's Secret War with Lenin: British And Commonwealth Military Intervention In The Russian Civil War, 1918-20](#)

1918: SURAFEND, PALESTINE

Anzac troops kill Arab civilians at Surafend. This was a war crime by New Zealand and Australian troops when a village was destroyed and at least 40 men were killed in retaliation for the death of a Kiwi soldier. Arabs were deemed untrustworthy and Bedouins were routinely killed.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surafend_massacre

[Anzac massacre: The story of Surafend](#), by William Ray, Podcasts and Series Producer, Radio NZ, 26 July 2024,

[NZ History: Anzac troops kill Arab civilians at Surafend, 10 December 1918](#)

[What happened at Surafend?](#) by Terry Kinloch, Historian, WW100

1919: EGYPT

The Egyptian people rose against British colonial rule in 1919, and Anzac troops killed hundreds of civilians in suppressing the revolt.

[The ANZAC role in crushing the 1919 Egypt Revolt](#), by David T. Rowlands, Green Left, April 17, 2011

[After the First World War: the 1919 Egyptian Revolution](#), by John Slight, The Open University

1919: NZ TROOPS RIOT IN BRITAIN

New Zealand troops riot in England: The men were enraged at repeated delays in scheduled sailings of troopships to New Zealand because of a British shipwrights' strike; the Cantabrians also complained of bias against South Islanders in decisions about sending men home. Other grievances included compulsory education, pointless guard duty and a lack of leave.

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/new-zealand-troops-riot-england>

1919: NAURU

Nauru (a former German colony) was placed under a joint Australian-British-New Zealand mandate with Australian administration. Nauru is a phosphate-rock island with rich deposits near the surface, which allowed easy strip-mining operations for over a century. 80% of the island was phosphate and turned into a wasteland to enrich farmers in New

Zealand and Australia. "A worked-out phosphate field is a dismal, ghastly tract of land ... its cavernous depths littered with broken coral, abandoned tram tracks, discarded phosphate baskets, and rusted American kerosene tins."

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nauru>

[A Dark History of the World's Smallest Island Nation](#), by Peter Dauvergne, The MIT Press Reader

Japanese occupation of Nauru 1942-1945

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_occupation_of_Nauru

1925: TOKELAU

The annexation by Britain took place on 29 February 1916.[44] From the point in time that the islands were annexed, their people had the status of British subjects. Tokelau was removed from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony and placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General of New Zealand in 1925, two Orders in Council being made for the purpose on the same day.[42][45] This step meant that New Zealand took over administration of Tokelau from the British on 11 February 1926.[46] At this point, Tokelau was still a territory under the sovereignty of the United Kingdom but administered by New Zealand.[46] The Union Islands (Revocation) Order in Council, 1948[47] after reciting the agreement by the governments of the United Kingdom and New Zealand that the islands should become part of New Zealand, revoked the Union Islands (No. 2) Order in Council, 1925, with effect from a date fixed by the Governor-General of New Zealand after he was satisfied that the New Zealand Parliament had provided for the incorporation of the islands with New Zealand, as it did by the Tokelau Islands Act 1948.[48] Tokelau formally became part of New Zealand on 1 January 1949.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tokelau>

[The stolen people of Tokelau](#): by Teuila Fuatai, E-Tangata, Jun 16, 2024

The brutal history of "blackbirding" and its devastating impact on Tokelau, which lost half its population to Peruvian slave ships in the 1860s.

[Slavery ship masts a reminder of horrors of slavery in the Pacific](#), by Justin Wong, The Post.

[Installation tells story of Tokelauans sold into slavery](#) by Dominic Godfrey, RNZ Pacific Journalist

1929: SAMOA

[NZ History: 'Black Saturday' in Samoa, 28 December 1929](#)

New Zealand military police fired on Mau independence demonstrators in Apia, killing 11 Samoans, including the independence leader Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III.

[The Mau Movement for Samoan Independence](#), By Iain Murray, The Commons

[New Zealand's chapter of shame in Sāmoa](#), by Maire Leadbeater, E-Tangata, Nov 10, 2024

[Mau opposition to New Zealand rule in Samoa, 1927-1933](#), Global Nonviolent Action Database

1939-1945: WW2

140,000 New Zealand personnel served overseas for the Allied war effort, and an additional 100,000 men were armed for Home Guard duty. 11,928 New Zealanders died during the war. This was the highest casualty rate for a Commonwealth nation like Britain and Australia, according to NZ History. Other Losses: In addition to deaths, New Zealand also experienced over 15,000 wounded and 8,000 captured, according to NZ History.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_history_of_New_Zealand_during_World_War_II

[NZ History: The Second World War at home](#)

The Second World War was, in part, a struggle against Fascist Germany and a dictatorial Japan. It was also in part an inter-imperialist war (Germany, Japan, Italy on one side and Britain, France, the USA, on the other side) for control of colonies. It was also a war to protect and or reinstate the colonial empires of the “Allied” countries, including Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the USA.

That is why New Zealand troops fought in Crete and North Africa. NZ troops took action in Egypt, which was a British colony, Tunisia and Syria, which were French colonies and Libya, which was an Italian colony. NZ forces fought against the Japanese in Sumatra. NZ did not participate in wars in support of the return of colonial rule of the “Allies” immediately but joined wars in Korea, Malaya and Vietnam later.

In New Zealand, Japanese and German nationals were rounded up and put in camps. 49 Japanese were killed in a single massacre protesting the conditions

[NZ History: 49 killed in Featherston POW incident, 25 February 1943](#)

[Massacre at Featherston](#), by Don Rowe, NZGEO, Mar-April, 2016.

INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLES POST 1945

Independence movements had grown powerfully during the period of the Japanese occupation in Vietnam and Indonesia in particular and the Dutch and French fought bloody wars after the collapse of Japan to reinstate their colonial control.

The French were finally defeated in Vietnam in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Dien_Bien_Phu

Despite two partially successful military campaigns in 1947 and 1948–1949, Dutch efforts to re-establish their colony failed and the Netherlands recognised Indonesian sovereignty in December 1949.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_East_Indies

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_National_Revolution

[When Indonesians Fought Dutch Colonization – And Won](#), Video by AJ+, 18 August, 2024.

The US and Britain tended to negotiate a new neocolonial relationship with their former colonies, which then got formal independence, like in India (1947) and the Philippines (1946).

NATO was formed to oppose the Soviet Union and its allied states in Eastern Europe. When the Soviet Union collapsed in 1990, Nato has steadily expanded eastwards, and is effectively becoming a world military force with “associated states” like New Zealand.

Elizabeth Samet discusses her book "Looking for the Good War" and the myth of World War II as a righteous and decisive conflict, arguing that it has led to false memories and bad historical analogies.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=niJTdQXzzo0>

[Lest We Forget: The Hidden History of British War Crimes in World War II](#), by Black Dwarf, May 2025.

Britain's complicity in the Holocaust against European Jews (for more on this, see [The Holocaust: why did it happen?](#) By John Smith, ResearchGate, January 2025.

[The straight line connecting Iraq and World War Two](#) by John Smith, ResearchGate, January 1998

[This year, the 80th anniversaries of World War 2 events can teach us lessons about politics today](#), by Rupen Savoulain, Declassified UK, May 21, 2025.

[Millions of the black and brown people who fought for Europe's freedom didn't get a VE Day](#) by Gary Younge, The Guardian, May 8, 2025.

[The Empire never died: The British Empire is still with us](#), by Mark Curtis, Declassified UK, 19 May, 2025.

1945: OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

New Zealand participated in the occupation of Japan following its surrender, primarily through the British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF), known as Jayforce. Approximately 12,000 New Zealanders, including both men and women, served in Japan during this period. Their tasks included demilitarization, demobilization, and later, policing duties.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/J_Force

[NZ History: Main body of Jayforce lands in Japan](#)

New Zealand joined the US-led occupation of Japan. Treaties were imposed that allowed the permanent stationing of US troops on bases in Japan. Both the Socialist and Communist Parties grew rapidly in post-war Japan and the US responded by releasing war criminals and reestablishing parts of the reactionary social and political system destroyed in the war and deporting thousands of Koreans.

[The post-war Left in Japan](#), by Yamabe Yoshiyuki, Libcom, February 2, 2011

[New Zealand And The Military Occupation Of Japan 1945-48](#), by Laurie W. Brocklebank. A thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University.

[New Zealand's role in the mass deportation of Koreans from post-WWII Japan](#) by Scott Hamilton, The Spinoff, April 25, 2025.

Even after the Occupation officially ended in 1952, a total of 260,000 American soldiers remained based on mainland Japan (exclusive of U.S.-controlled Okinawa, which had tens of thousands more).[60] Even today, some 31,000 US military personnel remain based in Japan, including at major bases near Tokyo, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Aomori, Sapporo, and Ishikari.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occupation_of_Japan

The US has also maintained a permanent military occupation of Germany.

1946: FIVE EYES FORMED

An alliance was formed between five anglophone countries and their security agencies: the US (NSA), the UK (GCHQ), Australia (ASD), Canada (CSEC) and New Zealand (GCSB), comprising a series of bilateral agreements on surveillance and intelligence-sharing.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Eyes

[New Zealand Spies on Neighbors in Secret “Five Eyes” Global Surveillance](#), by Ryan Gallagher, Nicky Hager, The Intercept, March 4, 2015.

[New Zealand spying on Pacific allies for 'Five Eyes' and NSA, Snowden files show](#), by Toby Manhire, The Guardian, March 5, 2025.

[New book on Five Eyes spying club explains NZ's role in world's largest intelligence network](#), By David Fisher, NZHerald, Oct 5, 2022.

[The Phantom Eye: New Zealand and the Five Eyes](#), by John Battersby & Rhys Hall, Intelligence and National Security, Volume 38, Issue 6 (2023), Taylor and Francis Online,

1950: KOREA

NZ joins the war against Korea. Millions die.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand_in_the_Korean_War

[Korean War and New Zealand](#) by Academic Writing at Auckland University.

[Kiwis in Korea: When the Cold War ran hot](#), by Vaughan Yarwood, NZGEO, May-June 2002.

[Opposition to New Zealand's involvement in the Korean War \(ch 1-3\)](#), by Glenn L Swafford, National Library,

International anti-imperialist historical reporting of the Korean War

[Uncovering the Hidden History of the Korean War](#) by Owen Miller, Jacobin, June 25, 2020.

[The Korean War at 70: imperialism's legacy of bloodshed and division](#) by Sung-yang Park, In Defence of Marxism, 27 July 2023

[70 Years Later, the Korean War Must End](#), Cathi Choi, Counterpunch, July 28, 2023

[Preparing for war is the beginning: An early warning for Northeast Asia](#), by Dae-Han Song,

Peoples Dispatch, September 14, 2023

[The Korean War at 70: Imperialism's legacy of bloodshed and division](#), by Sung-yang Park, The Communist, 27 July 2023

1948-60: MALAYAN EMERGENCY

NZ joins Britain in the suppression of the Malayan National Liberation forces that had fought the Japanese under communist leadership.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malayan_Emergency

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/the-malayan-emergency>

[‘The Crimes of British Imperialism’: The Malayan “Emergency”](#), by Nick Oung, The Communist, 19 December 2024

[British Imperialism and the Political Economy of Malayan Independence](#), by Alex Sutton, Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 2016

[Unveiling the Violence of the British Imperialist War in Malaya: Chin Peng's My Side of History](#), by Fadia Nadwa Fikri, Liberated Texts, September 15, 2022

[British Imperial Revival in the Early Cold War: The Malayan ‘Emergency’ 1948-60](#), by Liam Raine, University of Sheffield, 23 November 2020

1951: ANZUS TREATY

NZ, Australia and the US signed the ANZUS Treaty on September 1, 1951. The US suspended NZ from Anzus when it declared itself nuclear-free in 1985.

<https://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1952/2.html>

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/anzus-comes-into-force>

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ANZUS>

[ANZUS and the US alliance—A plan for war and regional domination](#), by Solidarity, 21 August, 2021.

[The US-Australia Alliance Is a Charter for Imperialism, Not a Defensive Pact](#), by Rory Anderson, Jacobin, 16 March 2021.

[Why New Zealand Took Itself out of ANZUS: Observing “Opposition for Autonomy” in Asymmetric Alliances](#), Amy L. Catalinac, Harvard University,

[Suspended from ANZUS, 1985](#), Te Ara

Is NZ trying to revive ANZUS?

[Anzus alliance - are we still in it or suspended or something in between?](#) By Audrey Young, Senior Political Correspondent, NZ Herald, 1 April, 2024

[Putting the NZ back into ANZUS: Why a fleeting reference means a lot](#), The Strategist, ASPI, 16 August, 2024.

1952: OPERATION HURRICANE

This was Britain's first nuclear test. It was conducted off the North West Australian coast on 3 October 1952. The RNZAF took part in monitoring the radioactivity by conducting flights to the North and South of Auckland and a return flight to Suva.

[Research about New Zealand's nuclear veterans](#), Veterans Affairs,

1956: SUEZ

A New Zealand military vessel was used to assist Britain, France and Israel when they invaded Egypt after Egypt nationalised the Suez Canal. The US opposed the invasion, so they were forced to withdraw and this marked the end of the assumed British dominance on the globe.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Royalist_\(89\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HMS_Royalist_(89))

[HMNZS Royalist: a vessel of compliance: New Zealand and the Suez Canal crisis of 1956](#), by Fraser Vaughan Liggett, University of Canterbury

[How the Suez crisis sank the British Empire](#) by The Newsroom, Yorkshire Post, 30 Oct 2016.

[1956 Suez Crisis: the death of an empire](#), by Steve Jones, The Communist, 24 March, 2025.

1957-1958 OPERATION GRAPPLE

Operation Grapple was a series of British nuclear weapons tests conducted in the Pacific Ocean between 1957 and 1958. The tests, which included both atomic and hydrogen bombs, were aimed at demonstrating British nuclear capabilities and maintaining their influence during the Cold War. New Zealand also participated, providing naval support with ships and personnel.

New Zealand sent two frigates, HMNZS Pukaki and HMNZS Rotoiti, to support the tests as weather ships and for monitoring purposes. Over 500 New Zealand sailors were also involved, observing the detonations. The tests had long-term health effects on the New Zealand veterans and their families due to radiation exposure. The first tests were conducted in May and June 1957, and the final test was on September 23, 1958.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Grapple

[Harrowing stories reveal decades of fallout for nuclear test veterans](#), by Jimmy Ellingham, Stuff, June 12, 2021

[Research about New Zealand's nuclear veterans](#), by Veterans Affairs

[Lest we forget? Aside from Anzac Day, NZ has been slow to remember its military veterans](#) – Opinion by Alexander Gillespie, Professor of Law, University of Waikato, April 23, 2025

1962-1971: THAILAND

Amidst fears that Thailand would be invaded by the communist regime in neighbouring Laos, New Zealand deployed around 300 members of the armed forces to northeastern

Thailand. In co-operation with forces from America, the United Kingdom, and Australia, the New Zealanders helped the Thai military to construct infrastructure, including roads and an airfield in the region. While the fears of an invasion never eventuated, the New Zealanders were considered to have served in an 'unstable environment with ongoing risks from insurgency', and their service was recognised as operational.

<https://www.aucklandmuseum.com/war-memorial/online-cenotaph/features/southeastasia>

1964-1966: BORNEO

NZ and British forces were involved supporting the recently independent former colony of Malaysia in a confrontation with the radical nationalist government led by Sukarno in Indonesia. The island of Borneo had been divided between the British and Dutch colonies and the returning Dutch had seized parts of Borneo to use against Indonesia.

New Zealand invades Borneo during Indonesia-Malaysia Confrontation

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/confrontation-in-borneo>

Brunei is the only sovereign state entirely on Borneo; the remainder of the island is divided between its multi-landmass neighbours of Malaysia and Indonesia. With its super-rich Sultan guarded by Gurkhas, Brunei is a relic of empire where Britain and Shell still wield enormous influence. The New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) has a long-standing relationship with Brunei, primarily through military exercises, training assistance, and annual discussions under the Mutual Assistance Programme.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brunei>

[Brunei: Britain's neo-colonial oil hub near China](#), by Adam Ramsay, Declassified UK, 20 May 2025.

1965: INDONESIAN COUP

NZ, UK and Australian strategic forces are deployed in support of a right-wing military coup that led to the deaths of a million communists and their supporters in Indonesia.

[New Zealand and the 30 September coup attempt](#), by Andrew Lim, ResearchGate, June 2015

[Australia's Role in the 1965-66 Communist Massacres in Indonesia](#), by Marlene Millott, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 30 Sept 2015.

[Behind the coup that backfired: the demise of Indonesia's Communist Party](#), by Robert Cribb, Professor, School of Culture, History and Language, Australian National University

[Accomplice to atrocity?](#) By Marlene Millott, 4 April 2016

[Australia, UK, US were complicit in Indonesian massacres – report](#), by Radio NZ, 21 July 2016.

[Indonesian state 'responsible for genocide' in 1965: People's tribunal says government must compensate victims and survivors of mass killings some five decades ago](#), Al Jazeera, 21 July 2016.

[Genocide Finally Enters Public Discourse: The International People's Tribunal 1965](#), by

Aboeprijadi Santoso and Gerry van Klinkenba, Independent journalist, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; b K Journal of Genocide Research, 2017

1964-1972: VIETNAM

The US took over from France after its defeat in Vietnam in 1954 by dividing the country between North and South and using its control of the South to prevent new elections promised in the peace treaty with France.

Between June 1964 and December 1972, more than 3000 New Zealand military personnel served in South Vietnam. Thirty-seven died while on active service and 187 were wounded. More than 200 New Zealand civilians also went to help the people of South Vietnam; two lost their lives.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand_in_the_Vietnam_War

[NZ History: Vietnam War](#)

[New Zealand and the Vietnam War](#), Manatu Taonga, 8 August, 2024.

In 1995, Vietnam released its official estimate of the number of people killed during the Vietnam War: as many as 2,000,000 civilians on both sides and some 1,100,000 North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front fighters.

<https://www.britannica.com/question/How-many-people-died-in-the-Vietnam-War>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam_War_casualties

[The last, most shameful chapter of NZ's involvement in the Vietnam War](#) by David Barber, Stuff, 21 Dec 2019.

Antiwar movement in Aotearoa

<https://vietnamwar.govt.nz/nz-vietnam-war/war-back-home>

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/ephemera/34542/mobilising-against-the-war-1966>

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/video/21113/anti-vietnam-war-march>

<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22618823>

<https://digitalnz.org/stories/5bb172fcfb002c627d9f5c34>

[NZ History Fact sheet 9: Protest and the Vietnam War](#)

[Anti-Vietnam War protests – 50 years ago](#), by Christchurch City Libraries

[Anti-Vietnam War Protests in New Zealand](#), Site written by Chantelle Murray, student at Baradene College of the Sacred Heart

[The Vietnam Antiwar Movement In New Zealand](#) by Roberto G. Rabel, Peace and Change

[Responses in New Zealand to the Vietnam War: A Case Study of the Palmerston North Community](#), by Suhaila M. Katavich, Massey University

[The protest movement in Dunedin against the Vietnam War, 1965-1973](#), Peter Brook Bell, University of Otago, 1989

Protest Video

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/video/21113/anti-vietnam-war-march>

<https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/video/anti-vietnam-war-protest>
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQOQQZt_Rjw

[Photos of April 30, 1971 mobilisation against the war](#) by John Miller

Campaigning against Compulsory Military Training

[How students fought Compulsory Military Training in the 1960s & 70s](#), by Robert Reid, Scoop, 6 June, 2023.

[Organisation to Halt Military Service pamphlet](#), Teara

[Film about protest from 50 years ago to stop conscription in New Zealand](#), by Helen Harvey, Stuff, 27 September, 2023.

[OHMS! Protest! - A Celebration of Resistance](#), Maori TV

1960-1987: AGENT ORANGE, VIETNAM

NZ was a manufacturer of Agent Orange used to defoliate millions of acres in Vietnam. "The government of Vietnam says that up to four million people in Vietnam were exposed to the defoliant, and as many as three million people have suffered illness because of Agent Orange, while the Vietnamese Red Cross estimates that up to one million people were disabled or have health problems as a result of exposure ..."

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agent_Orange

[50 years of Agent Orange/dioxin disaster in Vietnam](#), by the Government of Vietnam.

[Agent Orange exposure: Paritūtū chemical plant site neighbour and ex-employee unimpressed by Dow survey](#), By Robin Martin, RNZ, 22 Jun, 2023.

[New Plymouth former chemical plant investigation finds potential for contamination](#), by Robin Martin, RNZ, 10 August, 2024.

New Zealand soldiers affected by Agent Orange

"During the war in Vietnam, some of the 3,400 New Zealanders who served between 1963 and 1975 were exposed to 'Agent Orange', the notorious defoliant used by the US military. Some of them and their children experienced related health problems and higher death rates. The government did not accept that there was a problem until 2006 and apologised in 2008. Assistance and compensation was based on evidence of specific listed conditions. And although the list has expanded over time, the legal and medical burden of proving a link between exposure and an illness falls on the veteran. This is the opposite of what should happen. If there is uncertainty about the medical condition of a veteran, such as a non-listed condition, it should be for the Crown to prove an illness or injury is not related to military service. This burden should not fall on the victim." (See below "Lest We Forget").

[Lest we forget? Aside from Anzac Day, NZ has been slow to remember its military veterans](#), by Alexander Gillespie, Professor of Law, University of Waikato, 23 April, 2025

[NZ State resisted legal coverage for medical consequences on NZ veterans suffering the](#)

[consequences of exposure to Agent Orange](#), by Krystal Gibbens, RNZ, 21 Nov 2024.

[VETERANS' ENTITLEMENTS APPEAL BOARD ruling for Tā Harawira Tiri GARDINER \(deceased\)](#)

['Disappointment' as more veterans likely to die waiting for Agent Orange legal arguments](#), by Krystal Gibbens, RNZ, 21 November 2024

[Claim Agent Orange caused brain tumour adds \\$3.2b in unallocated govt spending](#), RNZ, 7 April 2025

Campaign against US military bases

As part of the mass movement in New Zealand against the Vietnam War, there were large and militant protests against the various specialist US military installations already in New Zealand, or proposed to be set up here, from the late 1960s onwards. These included the proposed Omega station, which was stopped by NZ protests, and relocated to Australia; the US Air Force's top-secret Project Longbank, at RNZAF Base Woodbourne, which closed in the early 1970s; and the USAF's Mt John observatory, which was civilianised in the 1970s and relocated to Hawaii in the 1980s. Protests against the US Navy and Air Force base at Christchurch Airport (Harewood) and its communications facility at RNZAF Weedons were a central part of this early anti-bases campaign

<https://www.converge.org.nz/abc/abc-campaign-history.html>

[Waihopai is a Secret U.S. Spy Base in New Zealand Designed for War-fighting](#), by Murray Horton, GPJA, 29 August, 2024.

1971: FIVE-POWER DEFENCE ARRANGEMENT

This positioning of New Zealand forces in South-East Asia became known as a strategy of 'forward defence' – engaging the opponent as far away from one's own territory as possible. In 1971, Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom formalised their defence obligations to Singapore and Malaysia with the signing of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA), an agreement that was still in force in the 2020s. Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom formalised their defence obligations to Singapore and Malaysia with the signing of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA), an agreement that was still in force in the 2020s.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/asia-and-new-zealand/page-3>

Military exercises occur regularly with the most recent being in April 2025.

<https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/AK2504/S00512/new-zealand-defence-force-deepens-commitment-to-the-south-east-asian-region.htm>

[Why NZ should leave the Five Power Defence Arrangement](#), By Keith Locke, 24 May, 2016

1974-1989: NEW ZEALAND FORCE SOUTH EAST ASIA BASED IN SINGAPORE

New Zealand Force South East Asia (NZFORSEA)[1] (1974–1989) comprised the elements of the Royal New Zealand Navy, New Zealand Army and Royal New Zealand Air Force. Much of the New Zealand military left Singapore as part of Operation Kupe in 1989, [2] leaving behind a residual Defence Support Unit (NZDSU).

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Zealand_Force_South_East_Asia

1975: LIBERATION OF VIETNAM

The Fall of Saigon, 1975. Fifty years of repeating what was forgotten, by Eugene Doyle, Solidarity, April 2025.

[Part one: On the courage to remember](#)

[Part 2: Quiet mutiny – the US Army falls apart](#)

[Part 3: From triumph to Trump](#)

1978: VIETNAM OCCUPIES CAMBODIA TO STOP GENOCIDE – NZ SUPPORTS KILLERS

Vietnam acted to prevent the continuing genocide in Cambodia by the Pol Pot-led regime. NZ supported the exiled Pol Pot regime until 1990. US & Britain armed the Khmer Rouge in camps in Thailand to attack Cambodia and Vietnam and deny even food aid for a starving people.

[‘After the killing fields’](#). Paul Bellamy reviews New Zealand's approach to Cambodia from 1979 to 1989. New Zealand International Review (Jan-Feb, 2008)

[4 - The “Dilemma” of Recognition: New Zealand and Cambodia](#), Published online by Cambridge University Press: 21 October 2015

[“Brother Number One”](#) is a New Zealand documentary on the torture and murder of New Zealand yachting Kerry Hamill by the Khmer Rouge in 1978. It follows the journey of Kerry's younger brother, Rob Hamill, an Olympian and Trans-Atlantic champion rower, who travels to Cambodia to retrace the steps taken by his brother and John Dewhirst, speaking to eyewitnesses, perpetrators and survivors. The film's website notes that “the latter half of the 20th century, New Zealand's foreign policy towards Cambodia was defined by its commitment to two regional, multi-national agreements: SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). In addition, New Zealand's policies were influenced by its relations with other Western nations, particularly the US - to which it was bound by the military co-operation treaty ANZUS (America-New Zealand-United States). Both SEATO (established in 1954) and ASEAN (established in 1967) sought to promote economic and political stability in Southeast Asia through regional agreements which tied participating nations to Western powers. A key tenet of both associations was to prevent the spread of communism in Southeast Asia.”

Films and articles by John Pilger on Cambodia

<https://johnpilger.com/category/cambodia/>

[Cambodia's missing accused](#), 23 June 2011

[Thirty years on, the holocaust in Cambodia and its aftermath is remembered](#), 19 June 2011.

1982: NZ SUPPORT FOR BRITAIN IN MALVINAS WAR

When the “Falklands War” broke out in April 1982, New Zealand offered to relieve a Royal Navy ship on operational duties in the Indian Ocean, so that one of its ships could be available for operations in the South Atlantic.

<https://navymuseum.co.nz/explore/by-collections/ships/canterbury-frigate/>
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Falklands_War

[British sovereignty over the Falklands is an absurd imperial hangover that must end](#), by Simon Jenkins, The Guardian, 7 April 2022.

1985: NZ REFUSED ENTRY TO USS BUCHANAN

The US warship, *The Buchanan*, was refused entry after the US refused to declare the presence or absence of nuclear weapons. David Lange did not withdraw New Zealand from ANZUS, although his government's policy led to the US's decision to suspend its treaty obligations to New Zealand. The policy did not become law until 8 June 1987 with the passing of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act 1987, more than two years after and a year after the US suspended its treaty obligations to New Zealand. This law effectively made the entire country a nuclear-free zone.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ANZUS>

[NZ History: Nuclear-Free New Zealand](#)

1985: AUCKLAND, NZ / FRANCE

In 1985, France authorised the bombing and sinking of the Rainbow Warrior in New Zealand's territorial waters, killing photographer Fernando Pereira. Six members of the French Secret Service were known to have been involved. Four left the country before the bombing, and two were arrested while trying to flee the country and charged with murder. They pleaded guilty to manslaughter and received a 10-year prison sentence. Under pressure from France, they were released and sent to French Polynesia. Soon thereafter, they returned to France.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sinking_of_the_Rainbow_Warrior

[NZ History: Rainbow Warrior sunk by French secret agents, 10 July 1985](#)

[Greenpeace educational resource on the bombing](#)

[The Rainbow Warrior 1985-2025: French state terrorism and the end of innocence Part 1](#) by Eugene Doyle, Solidarity, 2 July 2025.

[The Rainbow Warrior 1985-2025. Part 2: Nuclear refugees in the Pacific: the evacuation of Rongelap](#), by Eugene Doyle, Solidarity, 3 July 2025.

[Eyes of Fire: The Last Voyage and Legacy of the Rainbow Warrior](#) by David Robie

[David Robie: New Zealand must do more for Pacific and confront nuclear powers](#), RNZ, 10 July 2025.

1990-1998: GULF WAR - IRAQ

New Zealand provided military personnel to the United States-led coalition against Iraq in the Gulf War that removed Iraqi troops from Kuwait. This was followed by economic sanctions during which millions of people died.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_sanctions_against_Iraq

[How to Kill an Entire Country: The Legacy of the Sanctions against Iraq](#), by Doa Ali, TNI, 26 July, 2023.

[Remembering Operation Desert Storm: the RNZAF and the Gulf War, 1991](#), by Simon Moody, Airforce Museum, 18 Jan , 2021 by Simon Moody

[Crisis And Decision - New Zealand And The Persian Gulf War 1990/1991](#)

Thesis by Antony J. Cudworth

[No Blood for Oil – publication of the Auckland Gulf Crisis Committee](#) (PDF of Craccum supplement, March 1991).

[No Blood for Oil](#), Text reprinted, GPJA, 25 Feb, 2025.

1997: BOUGAINVILLE

[Archive: Bougainville: New Zealand's part in a guerilla war](#) by David Robie, Cafe Pacific, 10 Dec, 1989

[Bougainville wants independence. China's support for a controversial mine could pave the way](#), by David Robie, Cafe Pacific, 7 June, 2025.

“New Zealand troops were dispatched to Bougainville as a Truce Monitoring Group, marking the end of a nine-year war between the Bougainville Revolutionary Army and the government of Papua New Guinea (PNG). They famously landed on the island armed only with guitars. Many of the personnel still have vivid memories of helping Bougainville's people. But whatever the personal motivations of individual soldiers, they were being used to serve New Zealand government interests.”

[New Zealand Imperialism in the Pacific in the 21st Century](#) by Grant Brooks

1999: TIMOR LESTE

“New Zealand troops deployed to East Timor as part of a United Nations operation led by Australia. The territory had been under a brutal Indonesian occupation since 1975, when Indonesian forces launched a massive air and sea invasion to crush Timorese independence.”

[New Zealand Imperialism in the Pacific in the 21st Century](#) by Grant Brooks

[Australia & NZ – with friends like these....](#) By Mike Treen, The Daily Blog, 4 June 2022.

[The ghosts of Indonesia won't lie](#), by John Pilger, Cafe Pacific, 13 March, 2006

2001-2021: AFGHANISTAN

NZ joins war against Afghanistan. More than 3500 personnel would end up serving in Afghanistan, most in the Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT) in Bamyan, and there were also four separate SAS deployments over 15 years.

[New Zealand's 15-year role in Iraq](#), by RNZ, 7 October 2015

[A letter to the Labour Party Conference December 1, 2001 regarding invading Afghanistan](#), by Mike Treen, The Daily Blog, 17 August 2021.

KEITH LOCKE (Green) : "I move, That the House take note of a matter of urgent public importance. That matter is the commitment by the Government of special forces to Afghanistan. The Green Party is strongly opposed to the Government's decision to send the SAS back to Afghanistan." [Hansard, NZ parliament, 18 August 2009.](#)

[New Zealand should never have joined the war in Afghanistan](#), by Keith Locke, 5 September, 2021

2003-2021: SOLOMON ISLANDS

[Alternative View On Solomon Intervention, Column: Global Peace And Justice Auckland](#), Scoop, 11 July 2003.

[Why the Australian-New Zealand military adventure in the Solomon Islands is bound to fail](#), by James Robb, A Worker at large, 7 December 2021.

"New Zealand troops landed at Honiara, capital of the Solomon Islands. The official mission of the Australian-led force was to 'restore order'. Five years of inter-ethnic conflict had cost more than 100 lives. Around 40,000 people had been driven from their homes. The New Zealand soldiers would stay on for a decade, and return again after that."
[New Zealand Imperialism in the Pacific in the 21st Century](#) by Grant Brooks

2003: IRAQ

NZ does not join the March 2003 invasion of Iraq but agrees to send 61 troops, including 35 New Zealand Army engineers, to help with reconstruction efforts in September 2003.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_invasion_of_Iraq

[New Zealand's 15-year role in Iraq](#), RNZ, 7 Oct 2015.

Opposition to Iraq War & Deployment

[Stop killing the people of Iraq: Aotearoa / New Zealand, March and April 2003](#), Converge, Peace Movement Aotearoa

[Battle cry to activism as war looms](#), by Tim Watkin, NZ Herald, 15 Feb 2003.

[Thousands join anti-war protests in NZ](#), by Wayne Thompson and NZPA, NZ Herald, 22 March 2003.

[Thousands turn out for anti-war protests in New Zealand](#), ABC News, 31 March 2003

[NZ joins "colonial occupation" says Alliance](#), Scoop, 10 June 2003.

['This is a socialist war': the pro-war 'Left' and its antecedents](#) By Scot Hamilton.
Red & green (Auckland, N.Z.), 2005; n.5:p.99-108; issn:

[20 years after the invasion of Iraq – the biggest war criminals of this century are still free](#)
by John Minto, The Daily Blog, 14 March 2023

[Stop the Gulf War protest poster](#). Te Papa

[Stop the Gulf War badge](#), Te Papa

2006: TONGA

“New Zealand and Australian troops were sent to the Kingdom of Tonga — again to 'restore order'. Tonga was a deeply unequal society dominated by the king and his nobles. Of the 33 MPs in the Tongan parliament, fourteen were appointed by the king for life and nine more by the 33 members of the country's nobility. Only nine were directly elected by the 'commoners'.”

<https://iso.org.nz/2024/09/24/new-zealand-imperialism-in-the-pacific-in-the-21st-century/>

NORTH KOREAN SANCTIONS 2006-2025

2006: Sanctions were adopted by NZ following a nuclear test by North Korea.

United Nations Sanctions (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) Regulations 2006

<https://www.legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/2006/0382/latest/DLM421679.html#DLM421678>

[A Constructive New Zealand Role For Peace On The Korean Peninsula](#) by Matt Robson, NZ-DPRKSociety, 5 July 2012,

2017: The 2006 Sanctions were revoked and replaced by further sanctions in 2017.

<https://www.legislation.govt.nz/regulation/public/2017/0074/17.0/DLM7215457.html>

[New Zealand North Korea Friendship Society raided over donations](#), RNZ, 22 October 2020. “An 80-year-old retired humanitarian worker and a presbyterian minister have had their homes raided by police over a donation used to purchase personal protective equipment (PPE) in North Korea.”

[The sanction blues: New Zealand aid group to DPRK gets raided, records seized due to pressure from U.S.](#) by Gregory Elich, Korean Quarterly.

[Twenty-one Reasons Why The United States Does Not Want Peace In Korea](#), Scoop, Opinion: NZ DPRK Society, 7 Oct 2020.

[Statement For The Goal Of Advocating For The New Zealand Government To Support A Formal End To The Korean War](#), by New Zealand Coalition for Inter-Korean Peace, Scoop, 23 June 2021

[RNZAF completes North Korea sanctions enforcement deployment](#), by NZ Defence Forces, 18 June, 2021.

[History of Sanctions on the DPRK & China w/ Tim Beal](#), Guerrilla History, 2 June, 2023.

2024: NZ enhances North Korea sanctions monitoring

<https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-enhances-north-korea-sanctions-monitoring>

[RNZAF Poseidon deployed to Japan for North Korea sanctions monitoring](#), TV1 News, 29 April 2025.

NZ Joins Wargames against North Korea

NZ joins “Exercising Freedom Shield,” which is an annual series of US-controlled military exercises that barely conceal a practice invasion of North Korea.

[Wargames in South Korea](#), The Defence Force has taken part in Exercise Freedom Shield, exploring regional security and crisis situations on the Korean Peninsula. Defence Force Media Centre, 12 April 2023.

[US Military Policy Is Stoking the Risk of Nuclear War on Korean Peninsula](#), Truthout, 19 September, 2024.

[North Korea warns New Zealand to stop ‘military interference’ around Korean peninsula](#) by Te Aniwhiwa Paterson, Te Ao Maori, 13 May, 2024.

[US Deploys Robodogs to War Game Assault on Kim's 'Secret' Tunnel](#), Newsweek, 18 March 2025.

2012: NZ BECOMES NATO “PARTNER”

New Zealand formalised its cooperation with NATO in 2012 with our Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme (IPCP). In 2024, New Zealand and NATO updated their partnership framework, the Individually Tailored Partnership Programme (ITPP). Japan is a partner of Nato.

<https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/peace-rights-and-security/international-security/nato>

[New Zealand getting too close to Nato](#), by Keith Locke, Newsroom, 22 June 2022.

What is Nato?

[NATO: The Most Dangerous Organisation on Earth](#), Tricontinental Dossier #85, 10 June 2025.

[NATO and Imperialist Military Expansionism](#) by Josefina L. Martínez and Diego Lotito, Left Voice, 17 July, 2022

[NATO, the imperialist war machine](#), by Gary Wilson, La Lucha, 22 August, 2023

[An imperialist alliance: NATO’s bloody history](#), by Adam Adelpour, Solidarity, 24 June, 202.

[NATO was founded to crush communist, socialist, and anti-colonial movements in Europe and around the world](#), by Ann Garrison, Black Agenda Report, 16 April, 2025.

2015-2023: IRAQ AGAIN

New Zealand supports US-led campaigns in the Middle East, beginning in Iraq again in 2015.

[Was New Zealand’s deployment to Iraq worth it?](#) By Geoffrey Miller, RNZ, 5 September 2022

[Anti-war protesters demonstrated in Wellington this evening condemning the](#)

[Government's decision to send New Zealand troops to Iraq](#), RNZ, 26 Feb 2015

[Open letter opposing military deployment to Iraq after invasion](#) by Christian World Service and others, 11 Feb 2015.

[NZ: Minto calls for 'mobilisation' backing peace, justice in Middle East](#), Pacific Media Centre, 25 Jan 2020.

[Protesters call for NZ to leave Iraq, shut down Waihopai](#), by Emma Stanford and Dan Satherley, Stuff, 25 January, 2020

2022: UKRAINE WAR & RUSSIAN SANCTIONS

[New Zealand has provided military support for Ukraine since 2025](#), Ministry of Defence

[Political Roundup: NZ's remarkable rush to war](#), by Bryce Edwards, The Integrity Institute, 14 April 2022.

[Ukraine – time for geopolitics and diplomacy](#), by Ian Powell, The Daily Blog, 15 Feb 2023.

[NZ entering Ukraine conflict 'at whim of govt' - former Labour general-secretary](#), by RNZ, 11 June 2023

[Government announces \\$16 million support package for Ukraine ahead of NATO Summit](#), by RNZ, 23 June 2025.

[Winston Peters announces more Russian sanctions](#), Radio NZ, 19 June 2025.

2023: AUKUS ANNOUNCED BY US, UK & AUSTRALIA

[New Zealand may join Aukus pact's non-nuclear component](#), The Guardian, 28 March 2023.

[What You Should Know about New Zealand's Potential Involvement in AUKUS Pillar Two](#) by Marco De Jong, Security Context, 28 May, 2024.

[NZ started discussing AUKUS involvement in 2021, newly released details reveal](#), by Marco De Jong & Emma Shortis, The Conversation, 1 May, 2024.

[AUKUS is a generational foreign policy, Pacific historian Marco De Jong says](#), By ByTe Aniwanawa Paterson, Te Ao, 6 May 2024.

[Nuked: The Submarine Fiasco that Sank Australia's Sovereignty](#) by Murray Horton Reprinted from Covert Action Magazine, GPJA Nov 12, 2024.

Antiwar commentary & actions 2014-2024

[Why workers need our own "foreign policy" based on solidarity](#), by Mike Treen, 14 October, 2014

[Anzac Day: Remembering the futility of wars for empire!](#) By Mike Treen, The Daily Blog, 26 April, 2021

[20 years after the invasion of Iraq – the biggest war criminals of this century are still free](#), by John Minto, The Daily Blog, 14 March 2023.

[Media Blackout](#): Against The Current. 25 Oct 2024. This week Christchurch became the first New Zealand city to take action against Israel. The mainstream media, though, decided it wasn't worthy of coverage.

2022: ANTI-CHINA PIVOT

[New Zealand has just joined an overtly anti-China alliance – are the economic risks worth it?](#) By Jane Kelsey, The Conversation, 25 May 2022.

[Why it is mad for NZ to support a US war against China](#), by Mike Treen, The Daily Blog, 21 April, 2023.

[Military Initiative by Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States \(AUKUS\) is Another Major Step in Prospective War on China](#), by Murray Horton, Covert Action Magazine, 19 June 2023.

[Gordon Campbell on wasting money on Defence, and Melanie, RIP](#), Werewolf, 30 Jan 2024.

[Helen Clark and Don Brash warn Government dragging NZ into US-China conflict](#), By Thomas Coughlan, NZ Herald, 16 Jul, 2024

[New Zealand's Part In US Moves Provoking China](#) by Phil Pennington, RNZ, 3 March 2025.

[Poking the Dragon](#) by Mike Smith, The Standard, 24 April, 2025. “Seven cross-party New Zealand politicians have just paid a “private” visit to Taiwan. They were received publicly by the Taiwanese government, who paid for the trip. In the current geopolitical environment, it was extraordinarily foolish.”

[Don Brash: Our Foreign Policy Is Increasingly Nuts](#), bassettbrashandhide, 24 April, 2025.

2024: REJOINING WARGAMES IN PACIFIC

[US war games in Pacific seek global participation in imperialist maneuvers](#), by Kawena‘ulaokalā Kapahua and Joy Lehuani Enomoto, GPJA, 13 July, 2024

[They Are Making the Waters of the Pacific Dangerous](#), Tricontinental, 18 July, 202408150021

[Towards a genuine ‘Ocean of Peace’](#) by Marco de Jong & Dylan Asafo, Te-Tangata, 20 Apr 2025

[People of Pacific Rim say 'no' to US-China war](#), by Bevan Ramsden, Pearls and Irritations, June 20, 2025,

2024: YEMEN

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Dr. Beal has written numerous articles about the DPRK, including:

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A tragic chapter of Samoan and New Zealand history is explored in this Coconet TV documentary. Nearly a quarter of Samoa's population was killed in one month in 1918, after flu sufferers were allowed to disembark the ship Talune in Apia. New Zealand was heavily criticised for not quarantining the vessel.

<https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/1918-samoa-and-ship-of-death-2018>

Islands of Empire (1985, 16mm, 63 min)

Islands of the Empire was produced at the height of the anti-nuclear movement in Aotearoa New Zealand. The documentary traces the history of NZ's military alliance with the US, from World War II, with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, through to the Vietnam War and beyond. It examines US military installations in NZ and the often successful campaigns against them, while demonstrating that defence research, joint military exercises and military procurement in this country have all been designed for integration into the US war machine and the consolidation of American power in the Pacific. The film concludes with the massive anti-nuclear movement culminating in the election of a Labour Government committed to banning visits of nuclear warships.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HDoobc7LFDA>

Mururoa 1973

In 1973, Alister Barry joined the crew of a protest boat (The Fri) to Mururoa Atoll, where the French Government were testing nuclear weapons. Barry records the assembly of the crew, the long journey from Northland, and their reception in the test zone; when The Fri was boarded and impounded by French military he had to hide his camera in a barrel of oranges. The Fri was a key part of activism that was formative for environmental group Greenpeace, and anti-nuclear sentiment in New Zealand. Barry's debut film screened in prime time on Kiwi television, and gained international attention.

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Discover the new power in the faces of the Pacific. Journey through nine island nations to trace a decade of struggle by the peoples of the South Pacific to declare their region nuclear-free. Enter homes, plantations, markets, and canoes to hear the people tell their story. The American and French admirals reveal their concerns; activists, radiation victims, church leaders, and prime ministers offer regional perspectives. Underscoring the vivid imagery is the music of the region, ranging from traditional string bands and choirs to contemporary rock groups, including Australia's Midnight Oil. A powerful account of Pacific philosophies, with global implications.

Sedition - The Suppression of Dissent in World War II (2005)

New Zealand chronicles the experiences of Kiwi pacifists during wartime. New laws affecting meetings, mail and media coverage meant that talking about pacifism could result in arrest, and imprisonment. By June 1940, holding more than one copy of a 'subversive' magazine could mean nine months hard labour. Ironically many of the MPs backing the laws had earlier been imprisoned for their anti-war beliefs; while Christian Pacifist Society leader Ormond Burton was twice decorated for bravery during World War I.

<https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/sedition-2005>

The Rainbow Warrior (1993)

This film tells the true story of the sinking of the Greenpeace ship, the Rainbow Warrior (commanded by Jon Voight), in Auckland Harbor in 1984, and the subsequent investigation by the New Zealand Police (led by Sam Neill) which revealed French government responsibility. The ship was on its way to protest French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

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When We Go To War (TV Mini-series) 2015

The story follows a New Zealand family at the outbreak of WWI, from optimism to despair as war's toll mounts. It chronicles their experiences on the home front and battlefields of Gallipoli and Egypt.

<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3553312/b>

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