In an interrelated and increasingly dynamic and globalised security environment, New Zealand faces complex and multifaceted non-traditional threats. They range from trade insecurity to terrorism, transnational crime, disputes over the control and exploitation of resources, and tensions linked to ideological, cultural and religious differences. The volume’s contributors include local and international academics alongside experts who have extensive New Zealand security sector expertise in defence, diplomacy, national security coordination, intelligence, policing, trade security and border management.

*New Zealand National Security: Challenges, Trends and Issues* situates New Zealand within its broader political and regional security context and the various great and minor power tensions occurring within the Asia-Pacific and South Pacific regions. It looks at how to protect New Zealand’s border and the zones where its interests meet the world; it examines alternative ways of practising New Zealand’s national security; and it looks at looming national security questions. It aims to provide New Zealanders with a critical awareness of the various salient security trends, challenges and opportunities to initiate a whole-of-society discussion of security.
New Zealand National Security
New Zealand National Security
Challenges, Trends and Issues

Edited by William Hoverd,
Nick Nelson and Carl Bradley
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What we in New Zealand think of as ‘security’ has changed. It is no longer the sole domain of our defence forces to protect New Zealand and its citizens’ way of life. Lives and livelihoods around the globe are increasingly connected through the internet, telecommunications systems and complicated trade supply chains. These connections are great — they improve our lives immensely — but they also connect us to people and groups (both state and non-state actors) who threaten our security via cyber attacks, terrorism, transnational crime and human trafficking. Other global threats, such as the complex, interrelated effects of global warming, environmental disasters, pandemics and the depletion of food stocks now impact us nationally and globally.

The speed of trade, technology and travel flows makes it increasingly difficult to detect risks at our border. Our geographical location once kept us safe; however, as global power dynamics shift and change, so too do traditional notions of New Zealand’s border and national security. We now
need a deeper understanding of security, and of how we can maintain the New Zealand way of life in the face of the changing shape of our world — within New Zealand, the Pacific and across the world. The government is experienced in responding to some of these threats and is able to plan and prepare for them. Other threats require a wider collection of partnerships and solutions in order to develop new ways of responding to developing threats, not just nationally but also globally.

This unique book is timely and important. It grew out of a national security conference and workshop that involved academia, government officials and industry representatives. It is, I hope, the start of an enduring critical dialogue about national security between these parties as well as in the wider New Zealand public.

The book offers fresh insights into some of the challenges, trends and issues directly relevant to New Zealand’s national security. It situates our national security within our geographical region and amid the political and economic interests that affect New Zealand. It also engages with and challenges our national security policies, capabilities and practices, and reveals aspects of our national security that we may not be thinking enough about, such as ethical considerations or how legislation shapes our behaviours.

Clearly, there is more to say, to question and to explore about New Zealand’s national security direction, what we want it to be and how to create the future we want for our mokopuna. For that we need to involve the whole of our society. This book opens that ongoing conversation — a conversation for the twenty-first century.

*Carylyn Tremain*
*Chief Executive and Comptroller of New Zealand Customs*
In June 2005, I had just left my London hotel to start my journey to Heathrow to meet my wife. As I arrived at the tube station, they were closing the steel gates. Nobody could tell me what was going on and there was no cell phone coverage. I eventually caught a bus to the airport — an airport that was in lockdown, as much as it could be given that international flights continued to arrive and depart.

Later, much later, we were to discover the reason for London’s chaos — acts of domestic terrorism involving bombs on London’s transport system. As anyone who has experienced these extreme forms of terrorism involving violence directed at civilians will know, it is deeply upsetting for everyone involved, whether as individuals, communities or those organisations that are responsible for public health and safety. It undermines individual and collective ontological security, and invokes the reset button. Why? Who? What should happen to avoid further attacks?

The 2005 London bombing was only one of a series of incidents that have escalated the interest in a range of security issues for countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States. The terrorism that was associated with groups like the Irish Republican Army has now morphed into ‘Islamic terrorism’. Moreover, there are new vectors, new candidates (both as targets and as perpetrators) and new technologies. Terrorism is both international and domestic, both traditional (bombs) and new
(cyber threats), and seemingly endless in terms of the possibilities.

This invites the question, then, of: What constitutes security? It is exactly this question that the contributors to this book dissect and discuss. As Wil Hoverd points out in the introduction, the definition of what constitutes security is continually contested and (re)negotiated. That is as it should be. As I note with terrorism above, the possibilities are endless. But that does not mean that it cannot be defined and understood. The chapters in this book are testimony to that. The complexity of the thinking and research reflects the complexity of security in a contemporary world.

A book that explains this complexity and the nature and issues of security for New Zealand in the Asia-Pacific region is to be particularly welcomed. New Zealand is something of an outlier, both in a geographical sense and in terms of its experiences of security — or challenges to that security. But it would be a mistake to think that remoteness or a relatively safe and stable recent history means that the country is exempt from threats to security. Cyber threats know no territorial boundaries or authorities. New Zealand’s geopolitical realignment away from the United Kingdom to Asia, and its increasingly open borders, present some very new possibilities — or challenges. This book, in my opinion, fully canvasses these existing and emerging issues. It provides an extension of the 2016 inaugural New Zealand National Security Conference held at Massey University, and a more detailed rendering of security in twenty-first-century Aotearoa New Zealand. I hope it gets the readership it deserves, because failure to engage with these issues imperils all of us.

Distinguished Professor Paul Spoonley FRSNZ
Pro Vice-Chancellor, Massey University
Discussions around security are intriguing and contentious. They are also important. The inaugural New Zealand National Security Conference hosted by Massey University's Centre for Defence and Security Studies in Auckland on 30–31 August 2016 provided an opportunity for government agencies, academia, the corporate sector and wider society to come together to discuss New Zealand's security from an international, national and societal perspective. This volume, arising from the conference, provides a timely discussion about what constitutes security; what today's security challenges, trends and issues are; and what opportunities exist for greater cross-society engagement in deciding issues of security for all New Zealanders.

While it is difficult and intellectually problematic to make sweeping generalisations on the contending views that arose from the conference, a number of key themes emerged: the complexity of the contemporary security environment; the interconnection of the global and New Zealand's
national security environment; and the opportunities for broader engagement to address security from a whole-of-society perspective. Although not a complete list, these themes are core issues and provide an opportunity to shape the discourse on New Zealand’s national security. This volume draws these themes together and offers ideas on a way forward for addressing security issues from a fresh perspective.

Nick Nelson
Centre for Defence and Security Studies
Massey University
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22 SAS</td>
<td>Special Air Service Regiment</td>
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<tr>
<td>5SOF</td>
<td>Five Special Operations Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>A2/A</td>
<td>anti-access/area denial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACSC</td>
<td>Australian Cyber Security Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>AI</td>
<td>artificial intelligence</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANU</td>
<td>Australian National University</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANZAC</td>
<td>Australia New Zealand Army Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANZUS</td>
<td>Australia, New Zealand, United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASEM</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Meeting</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASW</td>
<td>anti-submarine warfare</td>
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<tr>
<td>AEPF</td>
<td>Asia-Europe People’s Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARF</td>
<td>Asia Regional Forum</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASRF</td>
<td>Airborne Surveillance and Response Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASIO</td>
<td>Australia Security Intelligence Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAMS</td>
<td>broad area maritime surveillance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CANSOFCOM</td>
<td>Canadian Special Operations Forces Command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDSS</td>
<td>Centre for Defence and Security Studies, Massey University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERA</td>
<td>Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CERT</td>
<td>Cyber Emergency Response Team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CICA</td>
<td>Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>CMT</td>
<td>combined maritime forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMINT</td>
<td>communications intelligence</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSI</td>
<td>Container Security Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>counterterrorism</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUES</td>
<td>Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea</td>
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DESC  Domestic and External Security Coordination
DHS  Department of Homeland Security
DNI  Director of National Intelligence
DPMC  Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet
DPRK  Democratic People's Republic of Korea
DSO  Directorate of Special Operations
EEC  European Economic Community
EEZ  exclusive economic zone
FAMC  future air mobility capability
FANC  Forces Armées en Nouvelle-Calédonie
FAPC  Forces Armées en Polynésie Française
FASC  future air surveillance capability
FATF  Financial Action Task Force
FTA  free trade agreement
GATT  General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCSB  Government Communications Security Bureau
GFCE  Global Forum on Cyber Expertise
HADR  humanitarian assistance and disaster relief
HAMC  Hells Angels Motorcycle Club
HUMINT  human intelligence
ICT  information and communications technology
IMPACT  International Multilateral Partnership Against Cyber Threats
IOCTA  Internet Organised Crime Threat Assessment
IOT  internet of things
IRA  Irish Republican Army
ISIL  Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISR  intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance
IT  information technology
ITU  International Telecommunications Union
IUU  illegal, unregulated and unreported
JTF2  Joint Task Force 2
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LGBTQI</td>
<td>lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex</td>
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<tr>
<td>LRDG</td>
<td>Long Range Desert Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBIE</td>
<td>Ministry for Business, Innovation and Employment</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCDE</td>
<td>Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFAT</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO-ISAF</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation International Security Assistance Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>NFIB</td>
<td>National Fraud Intelligence Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>NMCC</td>
<td>National Maritime Coordination Centre</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSS</td>
<td>National Security System</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZIC</td>
<td>New Zealand Intelligence Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZDF</td>
<td>New Zealand Defence Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZSAS</td>
<td>New Zealand Special Air Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZSIS</td>
<td>New Zealand Security Intelligence Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZSOF</td>
<td>New Zealand Special Operations Forces</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZTE</td>
<td>New Zealand Trade and Enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODESC</td>
<td>Officials’ Committee for Domestic and External Security Coordination</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODESC(G)</td>
<td>Officials’ Committee for Domestic and External Security Coordination (Governance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMCs</td>
<td>outlaw motorcycle clubs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPV</td>
<td>offshore patrol vessel</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSINT</td>
<td>open-source intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Kurdistan Workers’ Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLA</td>
<td>People’s Liberation Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS-US</td>
<td>Philippines-United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSCs</td>
<td>private security companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSIDS</td>
<td>Pacific Small Island Developing States</td>
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PTA | preferential trading arrangements
---|---
RAAF | Royal Australian Airforce
RCEP | Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
SARS | severe acute respiratory syndrome
SASR | Special Air Service Regiment
SBS | Special Boat Service
SCS | South China Sea
SEAL | sea, air and land teams
SES | Secure Exports Scheme
SIGINT | signals intelligence
SOCAUST | Special Operations Command Australia
SOCC | Special Operations Component Command
SOCNZ | Special Operations Command New Zealand
SOF | Special Operations Forces
TPP | Trans-Pacific Partnership
UNDP | United Nations Development Programme
UNODC | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC | United Nations Security Council
UNSCR | United Nations Security Council Resolution
USIC | United States Intelligence Community
USSOCOM | United States Special Operations Command
WCO | World Customs Organization
WHO | World Health Organization
WTO | World Trade Organization