

From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]@tpk.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@crownlaw.govt.nz; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@mfat.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@treasury.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@publicservice.govt.nz; Kristina Temel
Cc: [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]
Subject: Agency consultation for Cab paper for Treaty Principles Bill
Date: Friday, 22 March 2024 3:51:29 pm
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)

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Kia ora koutou,

I am reaching out about the Ministry of Justice's planned approach for agency consultation on the Treaty Principles Bill, including for an upcoming draft Cabinet paper we plan to consult on next week.

As you may be aware, the Ministry of Justice experienced a security incident in January, where a draft legislative bid for the proposed Treaty Principles Bill was leaked to a political party and a media outlet. This prompted us to undertake a review of our process in relation to the handling and distribution of sensitive material.

In response to the leak, the Secretary of Justice, Andrew Kibblewhite, has instructed officials to boost security settings during agency consultation, particularly for sensitive work programmes. This includes the careful control on the distribution of information and advice on the Treaty Principles Bill.

As stated above, **we plan on engaging on agency consultation** with relevant agencies on a draft Cabinet paper on the Treaty Principles Bill next week. We have decided that during agency consultation, we will not be distributing the draft Cabinet paper in digital format, per the normal process.

In light of Andrew Kibblewhite's instructions, the process for agency consultation will involve the following:

- Relevant persons will be **invited to a reading room session**, where officials may read and provide comment on the draft Cabinet paper directly
- All physical copies of draft papers must remain in the reading room at all times
- Justice officials will be on hand to discuss the paper with you and make note of your comments
- When entering the reading room, guests will be asked to leave any digital devices, including laptops, phones, and smart watches outside

The coalition agreement between New Zealand National Party and ACT New Zealand has indicated that the Treaty Principle Bill may . The ACT website also states their policy on the proposed principles.

You may also want to consider the following high-level questions to prepare for your comments:

- How does your agency interact with the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and its principles?
- What might defining the principles in legislation mean for you and your agency?
- How might defining the principles in legislation interact with your current work programmes or any other government work?
- Are there any potential legislative, impact or financial implications we need to consider?
- Are there any other potential risks, benefits or policy issues to defining the principles in legislation?
-

At this stage, we are aiming to conduct our reading session **on Tuesday, 26 and/or Wednesday, 27 March 2024**. We will be sending out email invitations for these sessions shortly. Due to tight timeframes, we have limited scope to arrange for alternative sessions, but understand that our allocated time may not suit everyone. If that is the case, we are happy to try to arrange an alternative session at the Justice Centre for you to attend.

If you are unable to attend either of these sessions, please be sure to get in touch and we will see what we can arrange. If you are not the appropriate person to provide feedback on this paper, please let us know who we should contact and we will be in touch with them directly.

I appreciate that this is a different process to what you may be used to and am grateful for your time and patience in advance.

Happy to discuss these arrangements further if you have any questions.

Ngā mihi,

██████████



██████████

Ngati Kahungunu Ki Wairarapa | Rangitane O Wairarapa

Manager | Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty Team

Civil and Constitutional Policy

Ministry of Justice | Tāhū o te Ture

M ██████████ |

Justice Centre | 19 Aitken Street

DX Box SX10088 | Wellington

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From: [redacted] on behalf of [redacted]
To: [redacted]; [redacted] @tpk.govt.nz; [redacted] @crownlaw.govt.nz; [redacted] @pco.govt.nz; [redacted] @pco.govt.nz; [redacted] @treasury.govt.nz; [redacted] @publicservice.govt.nz; Kristina Temel; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted] @pco.govt.nz
Cc: [redacted] @publicservice.govt.nz; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]
Subject: Agency Consultation: Treaty Principles Bill Regulatory Impact Statement

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Kia ora koutou,

As indicated on Friday, the Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty policy team are ready to engage with agencies on a draft Regulatory Impact Statement paper on the Treaty Principles Bill.

To ensure that we adhere to the Secretary of Justice's expectations around security, this consultation will take place in a reading room at the Justice Centre on Tuesday 26 March 2024 and Wednesday 27 March 2024. These sessions will be held:

- * Wednesday 10 April 2024 10am – 12pm
- * Thursday, 11 April 2024 10am – 12pm

This email invite is for one of those reading room sessions. Please RSVP by either accepting or declining the invite so that we can keep track of numbers.

Please also advise how many people will be attending from your agencies.

When you arrive at the Justice Centre, please report to reception, which can be accessed on the Aitken Street side of the building. Reception will take you through sign-in procedures before letting us know that you are here. You may want to ask for any of the following people on arrival:

- * [redacted] – Manager, Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty
- * [redacted] – Senior Policy Advisor – Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty
- * [redacted] – Policy Advisor – Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty

In our email on Friday, we asked you to consider some of the following questions in preparation of your advice:

- * How does your agency interact with the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and its principles?
- * What might defining the principles in legislation mean for you and your agency?
- * How might defining the principles in legislation interact with your current work programmes or any other government work?
- * Are there any potential legislative, impact or financial implications we need to consider?
- * Are there any other potential risks, benefits or policy issues to defining the principles in legislation?

We appreciate your patience with this new process and look forward to seeing you soon.

Ngā mihi,

Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty Team

Subject: Agency Consultation: Treaty Principles Bill Cabinet Paper
Location: KS.3 - 18
Start: Wed 27/03/2024 10:00 am
End: Wed 27/03/2024 12:00 pm
Recurrence: (none)
Meeting Status: Accepted
Organizer: [REDACTED]

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Kia ora koutou,

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To ensure that we adhere to the Secretary of Justice's expectations around security, this consultation will take place in a reading room at the Justice Centre on Tuesday 26 March 2024 and Wednesday 27 March 2024. These sessions will be held:

- Tuesday, 26 March 2024 10am – 2 pm
- Wednesday, 27 March 10am – 12 pm

This email invite is for one of those reading room sessions. Please RSVP by either accepting or declining the invite so that we can keep track of numbers.

Please also advise how many people will be attending from your agencies.

When you arrive at the Justice Centre, please report to reception, which can be accessed on the Aitken Street side of the building. Reception will take you through sign-in procedures before letting us know that you are here. You may want to ask for any of the following people on arrival:

- [REDACTED] – Manager, Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty
- [REDACTED] – Senior Policy Advisor – Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty
- [REDACTED] – Policy Advisor – Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty

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- How does your agency interact with the Treaty of Waitangi/te Tiriti o Waitangi and its principles?
- What might defining the principles in legislation mean for you and your agency?
- How might defining the principles in legislation interact with your current work programmes or any other government work?
- Are there any potential legislative, impact or financial implications we need to consider?
- Are there any other potential risks, benefits or policy issues to defining the principles in legislation?

We appreciate your patience with this new process and look forward to seeing you soon.

Ngā mihi,
Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty Team

From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]@tpk.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@crownlaw.govt.nz; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@mfat.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@treasury.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@publicservice.govt.nz; Kristina Temel
Cc: [REDACTED]
Subject: Agency consultation for the Regulatory Impact Statement on the Treaty Principles Bill
Date: Friday, 5 April 2024 4:04:48 pm
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)

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Kia ora koutou,

We are reaching out again about the Ministry of Justice’s planned approach for agency consultation on draft Regulatory Impact Statement (RIS) for the Treaty Principles Bill.

As with the Cabinet paper, we have decided that during agency consultation, we will not be distributing the draft RIS in digital format. Many of you will be familiar with this process as it is identical to the one we ran for the draft Cabinet paper.

- Relevant persons will be **invited to a reading room session**, where officials may read and provide comment on the draft RIS directly
- All physical copies of draft papers must remain in the reading room at all times
- Justice officials will be on hand to discuss the paper with you and make note of your comments
- When entering the reading room, guests will be asked to leave any digital devices, including laptops, phones, and smart watches outside

9(2)(g)(i)

We greatly appreciated all the feedback received on the Cabinet paper. Hopefully we were able to incorporate those points into the draft RIS but if upon reading, you found we have not gotten it quite right please let us know.

We will conduct our reading session **on Wednesday 10 and Thursday 11 April**. We will be sending out email invitations for these sessions shortly. If the allocated time is not suitable we are happy to arrange alternative session at the Justice Centre for you to attend. Similarly, due to privacy, time, and space constraints, we respectfully request a limit of 5 subject matter experts per agency. Again, if this doesn’t suit, please let us know.

If you are unable to attend either of these sessions, please be sure to get in touch and we will

see what we can arrange. If you are not the appropriate SME to provide feedback on this paper, please let us know who from your agency we should contact and we will be in touch with them directly.

Happy to discuss these arrangements further if you have any questions.

Ngā mihi,



████████████████████
Senior Policy Advisor | Constitutional Arrangements and Treaty
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From: [REDACTED]
To: [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz; [REDACTED]@treasury.govt.nz; Kristina Temel; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]@miat.govt.nz
Cc: [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]
Subject: RE: IN CONFIDENCE - DO NOT DISTRIBUTE: Agency comments on Cabinet Paper: Policy options on progressing a Treaty Principles Bill
Date: Wednesday, 1 May 2024 11:44:25 am
Attachments: [image001.jpg](#)

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IN CONFIDENCE / CABINET

Kia ora koutou,

Thank you again for providing comment on the Cabinet Paper for the Treaty Principles Bill.

This is just a short email to let you know that we have received confirmation from our Minister's Office that the paper went out for Ministerial consultation yesterday. You may wish to keep an eye out for this paper from your Ministers' offices in the coming days – in case you would like to tender further advice.

We are operating on the assumption at this point that the paper will be lodged by 16 May, with SOU Committee consideration on 22 May and Cabinet approval on 27 May.

If we can support you for a constructive conversation at Cabinet, please feel free to get in touch with us.

Ngā mihi,



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IN CONFIDENCE / CABINET

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, 9 April 2024 2:30 pm
To: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@dpmc.govt.nz>; [REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz'
<[REDACTED]@pco.govt.nz>; [REDACTED]@treasury.govt.nz' <[REDACTED]@treasury.govt.nz>;
[REDACTED]@elections.govt.nz; [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@tearawhiti.govt.nz>;

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[REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@tpk.govt.nz> <[REDACTED]@tpk.govt.nz>; [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@publicservice.govt.nz>
<[REDACTED]@publicservice.govt.nz>; [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@mfat.govt.nz>
<[REDACTED]@mfat.govt.nz>
Cc: [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@justice.govt.nz>; [REDACTED] <[REDACTED]@justice.govt.nz>
Subject: IN CONFIDENCE - DO NOT DISTRIBUTE: Agency comments on Cabinet Paper:
Policy options on progressing a Treaty Principles Bill

Kia ora koutou,

-

Thank you for visiting us at the Justice Centre to provide comment on the Draft Cabinet paper for the Treaty Principles Bill. The paper has now been sent to the Associate Minister of Justice's (Treaty Principles Bill) Office to prepare for Ministerial consultation.

We are currently working towards the current timeline:

Activity	Dates
Ministerial consultation	Monday 15 April 2024 – Monday 26 April 2024
Lodge Cabinet paper	Wednesday 2 May 2024
SOU for policy approval	Wednesday 8 May 2024
CAB for policy approval	Monday 13 May 2024

We would like to take this opportunity to provide a thematic summary of all agency comments and how we have approached them. We have attempted to capture all the main points from your feedback. If you feel that anything is missing, please feel free to get in touch.

The overarching themes of your comments were as follows:

- **Legal implications** – many comments pointed to a range of legal risks, particularly in light of the policy intent not to disrupt the Treaty settlement process. You pointed out that stating a policy intent not to interfere with settlement processes will not necessarily mitigate any unintended consequences. We have accepted this advice and strengthened sections of the paper to ensure that the risks of unintended consequences are reflected. We have also signalled to the Associate Minister that we will need to prepare further advice on any implications on settlement processes, in addition to other legal risks. The RIS will also feature a more robust analysis of this issue. We will continue to work with relevant agencies on this matter and expect to advise Cabinet separately in July.
- **Exposure draft risks** – Agency comments outlined the following risks to the proposal to release an exposure draft Bill prior to introduction:
 - **Lack of time to do meaningful engagement** – your comments pointed out that the six-week period set aside for public consultation on the exposure draft Bill may be insufficient with driving meaningful engagement. We have included a specific statement pointing to this risk in the Cabinet paper.
 - **Process does not meet partnership expectations of consultation** – Following your feedback, the paper notes that the exposure draft process does may not meet expectations of a good faith engagement expected of Treaty partners, particularly if there are unlikely to be any substantial changes resulting from public consultation.
- **Māori-Crown Relations** – Your feedback pointed out the significant risks the policy proposals in this paper pose to the Māori-Crown relationship. These comments related to the policy proposals themselves, but also the non-consultative approach during policy development. For the purposes of this paper we have strengthened the section on how iwi, hapū, the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal may interpret the policy proposals. We have also carved out space for two departmental comments – from the Ministry of Justice and Te Arawhiti – reiterating these concerns.

Referendum – we have noted a range of concerns with a potential yes/no referendum, including security concerns, disruption of a General Election, costing issues, and the implications of potentially conducting two constitutionally significant referendums at the same time. Although we have already provided preliminary advice on these matters to our Minister, we expect to provide further advice to Cabinet in July, if they approve a referendum clause.

- **Disproportionate impact of referendum on Māori** – Given the demographic build up of New Zealand’s population, many of you expressed concerns that a binding referendum will have the effect of imposing the views of the majority on Māori. This point is reflected in Te Arawhiti’s departmental comment. We note that the paper seeks agreement for further advice on the conduct of a referendum. Should Cabinet agree to include a provision on a referendum in the Bill, we expect to provide further advice on this to our Minister and to Cabinet in subsequent papers.
- **Need to see the RIS** – many of you expressed an interest in seeing the RIS and having an opportunity to provide feedback on it. We expect to run a similar process for the RIS as we did with this Cabinet paper and expect to be in touch soon, if we have not done this already.
- **Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi section** – Some feedback pointed to the need for a paper of this nature to include a dedicated Treaty of Waitangi analysis section. The team made an early drafting decision to weave ToW analysis throughout the main body of the paper – this, we feel, is the best approach to manage some of the constraints of this paper. Our RIS will include a robust ToW analysis and we will continue to advise our Minister on ToW implications of this policy in subsequent papers.

Once again, I would like to thank you for your time – we know that the process is less convenient than a standard agency comment process. However, on our end, we found it refreshing to have face-to-face discussions on the implications of a policy work programme and appreciated your frank advice.

Our intention for this work is to continue with a collaborative and constructive process for what is a highly complex, and in many ways constrained, item of work. If you have any particular views on what this process might look like from your agency’s perspective, we would encourage you to let us know. If there is anything you need from us to help briefing your Ministers for a productive conversation at Cabinet, please let us know.

Ngā mihi,



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From: [Clare \[REDACTED\]](#)
To: [DL Executive Leadership Team](#)
Subject: Coalition documents
Date: Friday, 24 November 2023 11:38:14 am
Attachments: [final-ministerial-list.pdf](#)
[image001.png](#)
[national_act_agreement.pdf](#)
[nzfirst-agreement-2.pdf](#)

Hello

Here are the documents from today's government announcement – the list of Ministers, and the two coalition agreements.

Clare

Clare [REDACTED] (she/her) | Senior Media and Communications Advisor | **Electoral Commission** | **Te Kaitiaki Take Kōwhiri** |
PO Box 3220 | Level 4, 34-42 Manners St, Wellington | Phone [REDACTED] | Mobile [REDACTED] | [vote.nz](#) |
[elections.nz](#)





Coalition Agreement

New Zealand National Party
& ACT New Zealand

54thParliament



Coalition Agreement between the National Party and the ACT Party

This agreement should be read in conjunction with the Coalition Agreement between the National Party and the New Zealand First Party (the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement).

Preamble

1. New Zealand faces significant long-term economic, social, and environmental challenges – and at the 2023 General Election New Zealanders voted for change, and a new government with policies to seriously address these challenges.
2. The National and ACT Parties commit to forming a Coalition Government with the New Zealand First Party (together, the Coalition Government) that will provide stability, grow economic prosperity, restore national unity, and boost social cohesiveness, alongside the rights and responsibilities of being a New Zealand Citizen.
3. The Coalition Government’s priorities for this term include rebuilding the economy, improving the quality of Government spending and regulation, lowering the cost of living, dealing to rising crime by restoring law and order and personal responsibility, enforcing consequences for criminals, ending race based policies, introducing more choice and competition into social service provision, delivering better health and education, defending freedom and democracy, providing opportunity for all in education, health, employment, and infrastructure, and improving the lives of seniors.
4. The Coalition Government policies have as a key objective restoring New Zealand’s former reputation as being a world economic and social leader. All Parties wish to lay the foundations for the immediate, medium, and long-term return of New Zealand to prosperity.
5. All Parties wish to work towards New Zealand again becoming an export powerhouse, by focusing on an economy that enables wealth creation, maximises added value before exporting, invests in IT to promote economic growth and employment, and ensure high educational achievement which will lead to high value employment opportunities.
6. This agreement sets out the arrangements between the National and ACT Parties to establish a constructive and enduring working relationship in the best interests of New Zealand, while strengthening public confidence in the integrity of Parliament and our democracy. This agreement should be read in conjunction with the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement.

Nature of Agreement

7. The National and ACT Parties commit to delivering a stable and effective coalition government, alongside the New Zealand First Party.
8. The Parties will do this whilst recognising the importance in a democracy of maintaining independent political identities arising from the voting public's choice.
9. The Parties recognise that the Coalition Government involves different political parties with different manifestos. Although many policies may overlap, policies in this agreement outlined in the "ACT Policy Programme" section will be promoted and acknowledged as ACT's policy and contribution to the Coalition Government. For the avoidance of doubt, where policies overlap with the Policy Programme of the New Zealand First Party in the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement, they may also be promoted as ACT's policy and contribution to the Coalition Government.

Policy Programme

10. The ACT Party agrees to progress the National Party priorities this term as set out in the "National Policy Programme".
11. The National Party agrees to progress the ACT Party priorities this term as set out in the ACT Policy Programme.
12. The ACT Party agrees to support the New Zealand First Party initiatives as outlined in the Coalition Agreement between National and New Zealand First.
13. The Government will form a jointly agreed 100 day plan based on the Parties' priorities.

National Policy Programme

14. The National Party priorities agreed to be progressed in this term are set out in its eight point commitment card, Fiscal Plan, Tax Plan, 100 day plan, and 100 point economic plan, with the exemptions as set out below.
15. The following commitments in National's policy plans have been modified to accommodate ACT's concerns:
 - The Government will not progress the development and delivery of National's manifesto commitment to a "Taxpayer's Receipt" for taxpayers.
 - National's manifesto commitment to remove two farming regulations for every new one introduced will be replaced by this agreement's commitment to reduce farming regulation and undertake comprehensive regulatory review across Government.
 - National's Going for Housing Growth policy will now accommodate the ACT/National agreement to make the Medium Density Residential Standards (MDRS) optional for councils, and to consider sharing a portion of GST collected on new residential builds with councils.

- The Parties confirm no ongoing commitment to income tax changes, including threshold adjustments, beyond those to be delivered in 2024.
- The Parties recognise that details of the Fiscal Plan may be subject to amendment in response to significant new information or events.
- Full cost benefit analysis must be presented before any binding agreement is made with respect to the Waikato medical school.
- National's commitment to supercharge electric vehicle infrastructure with a comprehensive, nationwide network of 10,000 public EV chargers by 2030 will specifically take into account ACT's concern that there be robust cost benefit analysis to ensure maximum benefit for government investment.

ACT Policy Programme

16. The Coalition Government will also progress the following additional policies which are a priority for the ACT Party in this Parliamentary term:

Rebuilding the Economy and Improving Productivity

To lift New Zealand's productivity and economic growth to increase opportunities and prosperity for all New Zealanders, the Parties will:

Regulation

- Legislate to improve the quality of regulation, ensuring that regulatory decisions are based on principles of good law-making and economic efficiency, by passing the Regulatory Standards Act as soon as practicable.
- Immediately establish a new ministerial portfolio for Regulation.
- Establish a new government department, required to assess the quality of new and existing legislation and regulation, funded by disestablishing the Productivity Commission and consolidating some regulatory quality work across the public sector where appropriate.
- In consultation with the relevant Minister, carry out regulation sector reviews, which could include the primary industries, the finance sector, early childhood education, and healthcare occupational licencing, in each case producing an omnibus bill for regulatory reform of laws affecting the sector.
- Rewrite the Credit Contracts and Consumer Finance Act 2003 to protect vulnerable consumers without unnecessarily limiting access to credit.
- Amend the Overseas Investment Act 2005 to limit ministerial decision making to national security concerns and make such decision making more timely.
- Reform market studies introduced by the Commerce Amendment Act 2018 to focus on reducing regulatory barriers to new entrants to drive competition.

Fiscal Policy

- Deliver savings in public sector spending by reducing non-essential back office functions, with expenditure reduction targets to be set for each agency, informed by the increase in back office head count at that agency since 2017.
- When evaluating government expenditure, it should be assessed on the extent to which it is delivering public goods, social insurance, regulating market failure and political choice.

Tax

- Ensure the concepts of ACT's income tax policy are considered as a pathway to delivering National's promised tax relief, subject to no earner being worse off than they would be under National's plan.
- Restore mortgage interest deductibility for rental properties with a 60 per cent deduction in 2023/24, 80 per cent in 2024/25, and 100 per cent in 2025/26.
- Repeal the Clean Car Discount.

Monetary Policy

- Narrow the Reserve Bank's remit, to focus on price stability, and take advice on replacing "medium term" with specific time targets.
- Amend the Reserve Bank of New Zealand Act 2021 to remove the dual mandate and take advice on removing the Treasury observer and returning to a single decision maker model.

Employment

- Repeal the Fair Pay Agreement regime by Christmas 2023.
- Reform health and safety law and regulations.
- Expand 90-day trials to apply to all businesses.
- Consider simplifying personal grievances and in particular removing the eligibility for remedies if the employee is at fault, and setting an income threshold above which a personal grievance could not be pursued.
- Maintain the status quo that contractors who have explicitly signed up for a contracting arrangement can't challenge their employment status in the Employment Court.

Immigration

- Increase the cap on the number of workers under the Recognised Seasonal Employer scheme to increase the flexibility of the quota allocation system.
- Introduce a five year, renewable parent category visa, conditional on covering healthcare costs, with consideration of a public healthcare levy.
- Remove median wage requirements from Skilled Migrant Category visas.
- Liberalise the rules to make it easier for family members of visa holders to work in New Zealand, beginning with Skilled Migrant Category visa holders.

Infrastructure and Housing

- Repeal the Natural and Built Environment Act 2023 and the Spatial Planning Act 2023 by Christmas.
- Amend the Resource Management Act 1991 to make it easier to consent new infrastructure including renewable energy, allow farmers to farm, get more houses built, and enable aquaculture and other primary industries.

- Replace the Resource Management Act 1991 with new resource management laws premised on the enjoyment of property rights as a guiding principle.
- Institute long-term city and regional infrastructure deals, allowing PPPs, tolling and value capture rating to fund infrastructure.
- Introduce financial incentives for councils to enable more housing, including considering sharing a portion of GST collected on new residential builds with councils.
- Legislate to make the MDRS optional for councils, with the need for councils to ratify any use of MDRS, including existing zones.
- Remove the Kāinga Ora Sustaining Tenancies Framework and ensure appropriate consequences for tenants who engage in repeated antisocial behaviour.
- Explore allowing home builders to opt out of needing a building consent provided they have long-term insurance for the building work.
- Work to replace fuel excise taxes with electronic road user charging for all vehicles, starting with electric vehicles.
- Work with Auckland Council to implement time of use road charging to reduce congestion and improve travel time reliability.
- Reverse speed limit reductions where it is safe to do so.

Tenancy Law

- Allow landlords to issue a 90 day notice to a tenant to end a periodic tenancy without providing a reason or applying to the Tenancy Tribunal.
- Return tenants' notice period to 21 days and landlords' to 42 if the tenant wished to move or landlord wished to sell a property.
- Introduce "pet bonds" to make it easier for tenants to have pets in rental properties.

Agriculture

- Maintain a split-gas approach to methane and carbon dioxide through to 2050 and review the methane science and targets in 2024 for consistency with no additional warming from agricultural methane emissions.
- Reverse the recent ban on live animal exports while ensuring the highest standards of animal welfare.
- Reform the National Animal Welfare Advisory Committee to ensure its functions, membership and mandate are appropriate.
- Cease implementation of new Significant Natural Areas and seek advice on the operation of existing Significant Natural Areas as part of the Government's programme to reform the Resource Management Act.
- Improve Farm Environment Plans so they are more cost-effective and pragmatic for farmers.
- Enable farmers and landowners to offset sequestration against their on-farm emissions.
- Liberalise genetic engineering laws.
- Replace the National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management 2020 to allow district councils more flexibility in how they meet environmental limits and seek advice on how to exempt councils from obligations under the National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management 2020 as soon as practicable.

Natural Resources

- Update the Crown Minerals Act 1991 to clarify its role as promoting the use of Crown minerals.
- Explore the potential for a critical minerals list, where such minerals would have a preferential pathway for development once identified.
- Replace the National Policy Statement for Freshwater 2020 to rebalance Te Mana o te Wai to better reflect the interests of all water users.
- Repeal the ban on offshore oil and gas exploration.

Restoring Law and Order and Personal Responsibility

- Increase funding for the Department of Corrections to ensure there is sufficient prison capacity as required.
- Invest in the construction of new youth justice beds.
- Restore Three Strikes legislation, with amendments to tighten the definition of strike offences and ensure some benefit for pleading guilty.
- Abolish the previous Labour Government's prisoner reduction target.
- Amend the Sentencing Act 2002 and associated legislation to ensure appropriate consequences for criminals, including:
 - Giving greater weight to the needs of victims and communities over offenders.
 - Including gang membership as an aggravating factor during sentencing.
 - Including the victim working sole charge or adjacent to a dwelling as an aggravating factor during sentencing.
 - Defund Section 27 reports and explore reforming Section 27 requirements.
- Take advice on amending the Criminal Proceeds (Recovery) Act 2009 so the threshold amount for seizing gang assets is \$0 if an illegal firearm is found.
- Strengthen the electronic monitoring regime.

Firearms Law Reform

- Rewrite the Arms Act 1983 to provide for greater protection of public safety and simplify regulatory requirements to improve compliance and pass it through all stages during this term of Parliament.
- Transfer responsibility for the Arms Act 1983, policy and regulation to the Ministry of Justice, and transfer the Firearms Safety Authority, administrator of the Act, to another department such as the Department of Internal Affairs.
- Review whether the Firearms Registry is effectively improving public safety, beginning by June 2024.
- Immediately begin to repeal and replace Part 6 of the Arms Act 1983 relating to clubs and ranges.

Delivering Better Public Services

To improve the effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness of public services, the Parties will:

Education

- Reintroduce partnership schools and introduce a policy to allow state schools to become partnership schools.
- Explore further options to increase school choice and expand access to integrated and independent schools including reviewing the independent school funding formula to reflect student numbers.
- Prioritise reporting and enforcement action to reduce truancy, including centrally collecting and publishing attendance data.
- Improve the cost-effectiveness of the school lunch programme.
- Replace the Fees Free programme with a final year fees free policy with no change before 2025.
- Amend the Education and Training Act 2020 such that tertiary education providers receiving taxpayer funding must commit to a free speech policy.
- Amend the Education and Training Act 2020 to enshrine educational attainment as the paramount objective for state schools.
- Restore balance to the Aotearoa New Zealand's Histories curriculum.

Health

- Disestablish the Māori Health Authority.
- Repeal the Therapeutic Products Act 2023.
- Broaden the terms of reference of the Royal Commission into the Covid-19 response, subject to public consultation.
- Update Pharmac's decision making model to ensure it appropriately takes patient voice into account and reform the funding model to account for positive fiscal impacts on the Crown of funding more medicines.
- Require the Ministry of Health to publish a Medicines Strategy every three years.
- Require Medsafe to approve new pharmaceuticals within 30 days of them being approved by at least two overseas regulatory agencies recognised by New Zealand.
- Better recognise people with overseas medical qualifications and experience for accreditation in New Zealand including consideration of an occupations tribunal.
- Investigate build and lease-back arrangements for new hospitals.
- Allow the sale of cold medication containing pseudoephedrine.
- Allow appropriately qualified pharmacists to directly prescribe certain treatments.
- Agree the terms of reference for the statutory requirement to review the End of Life Choice Act 2019 following consultation between the Parties, with any potential future changes to be progressed by way of a member's bill, recognising this is a conscience issue.
- Examine the Māori and Pacific Admission Scheme (MAPAS) and Otago equivalent to determine if they are delivering desired outcomes.
- Repeal the Smokefree Environments and Regulated Products (Smoked Tobacco) Amendment Act 2022 to remove the requirements for denicotinisation and the reduction in retail outlets.
- Introduce serious penalties for selling vapes to under 18s, and consider requiring a liquor licence to sell vapes.

Social Services

- Implement sanctions, including electronic money management, for beneficiaries who can work but refuse to take agreed steps to find a job.
- Develop an approved pool of doctors who can issue medical certificates to go onto a health and disability related benefit.

Oranga Tamariki

- Remove Section 7AA from the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989.
- Create a truly independent monitoring and oversight agency for Oranga Tamariki.
- Improve the rights and responsibilities of caregivers to give them more autonomy.
- Increase devolution of care decisions to relevant community organisations.

Public Service Delivery

- Immediately issue stop-work notices on several workstreams, including:
 - Three Waters (with assets returned to council ownership).
 - Auckland Light Rail.
 - Let's Get Wellington Moving.
 - Income Insurance.
 - Industry Transformation Plans.
 - Lake Onslow Pumped Hydro.
- Amend the Public Service Act 2020 to clarify the role of the public service, drive performance, and ensure accountability to deliver on the agenda of the government of the day.

Strengthening Democracy

To uphold the principles of liberal democracy, including equal citizenship and parliamentary sovereignty, the Parties will:

- Remove co-governance from the delivery of public services.
- Ensure government contracts are awarded based on value, without racial discrimination.
- Issue a Cabinet Office circular to all central government organisations that it is the Government's expectation that public services should be prioritised on the basis of need, not race, within the first six months of Government.
- Repeal the Canterbury Regional Council (Ngāi Tahu Representation) Act 2022.
- Restore the right to local referendum on the establishment or ongoing use of Māori wards, including requiring a referendum on any wards established without referendum at the next local body elections.
- Pass the Constitution (Enabling a 4-Year Term) Amendment Bill through first reading in the first 15 months of the term.
- Introduce a Treaty Principles Bill based on existing ACT policy and support it to a Select Committee as soon as practicable.

Ongoing Decision-Making Principles

17. The Coalition Government will make decisions that are:

A. Principled – making decisions based on sound public policy principles, including problem definition, rigorous cost benefit analysis and economic efficiency.

B. Focused – driving meaningful improvement in core areas including:

- Lifting New Zealand’s productivity and economic growth to increase opportunities and prosperity for all New Zealanders;
- Ensuring New Zealanders are safer from crime;
- Lifting educational achievement so that every child has opportunity to get a world class education;
- Improving housing affordability;
- Improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the public service and of government-funded services;
- Restoring price stability;
- Providing tax relief to income earners.

C. Results-driven – interventions that aren’t delivering results will be stopped.

D. People-focussed – public services, whether for New Zealanders or tourists, will be designed around the needs of the people who use them.

E. Accountable – the Government will set clear public service targets and regularly report on progress towards these objectives.

F. Evidence-based – decisions will be based on data and evidence, with programmes regularly assessed to see if they are delivering results.

G. Fiscally responsible – with spending decisions based on rigorous cost-benefit analysis to ensure taxpayer money is treated with respect, and recognising the need to get the public books back in order by reducing the overall fiscal impact of government.

H. Pro-democracy – upholding the principles of liberal democracy, including equal citizenship, parliamentary sovereignty, the rule of law and property rights, especially with respect to interpreting the Treaty of Waitangi.

18. The Parties will work together and in good faith to reach agreement on specific policy and legislative initiatives where not specifically agreed in this coalition agreement, or the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement.

Relationship Between the Parties

19. The Parties will work together in good faith and cooperate with each other in respect of Executive and Parliamentary activities to advance these shared goals, including any public statements on behalf of the Coalition Government. This includes a commitment to policies and programmes set out in the “Policy Programme” section of this agreement and to New Zealand First’s Policy Programme in the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement. This commitment is also made for the benefit of the New Zealand First Party. The Parties will consult closely with each other in a genuine and timely manner on all matters of importance to the Coalition Government. The Parties will work together on processes for effective consultation.
20. A Coalition Committee will be established, which will meet at least once per House sitting block. The Coalition Committee will consist of the Leader and Deputy Leader of National, ACT and NZ First or agreed replacements, and the Leader of the House, and will monitor government progress against each item in the coalition agreements.
21. The Parties agree to work in good faith and undertake best endeavours to achieve consensus on Cabinet decisions, with due consideration to the positions of each Party in the Coalition Government, while maintaining commitments made in this agreement.
22. The Parties agree that any concerns will be raised in confidence as soon as possible and in good faith, and will be responded to expeditiously to allow for the speedy resolution of such matters in private. Concerns will be resolved by applying, so far as they are relevant, the principles and terms of this agreement. The following steps will be followed for raising and resolving concerns:
 - A. In the first instance, concerns can be raised with the Chiefs of Staff of the Parties with a view to reaching a speedy resolution.
 - B. If the concerns have not been expeditiously resolved to the satisfaction of the Party raising the concerns – or, if the concerns require urgent resolution, the Party leader of the Party raising the concerns may refer the matter for direct discussion between the Party leaders.
23. The Parties will be guided by the “no surprises” principle and inform each other, confidentially and promptly of matters of significance.

Ministerial and Other Positions

24. ACT will have three Ministers inside Cabinet, two Ministers outside Cabinet, and one Parliamentary Undersecretary.
25. Ministerial portfolios have been agreed between the Leaders of ACT and National, and include David Seymour as Deputy Prime Minister from 31 May 2025.
26. A Minister from ACT will be appointed to the Appointments and Honours Cabinet Committee (APH), with appropriate consultation on proposed appointments.

Cabinet Manual

27. Government Ministers agree to be bound by the Cabinet Manual in the exercise of ministerial responsibilities, and on conduct, public duty, and the personal interests of Ministers.
28. The Parties agree that the present “no surprises” policy needs clarification to better respect the privacy of individuals. This policy will be updated in Government.

Collective Responsibility

29. Government Ministers will operate in accordance with the convention of collective responsibility. Ministers are expected to show careful judgement and recognise distinction when referring to party policy that differs from government policy.
30. As provided for in the Cabinet Manual, the Parties can “agree to disagree” in relation to matters on which the Parties wish to maintain, in public, different positions. Any “agree to disagree” matter must first have been raised and dealt with as a concern under clause 22. The Parties may “agree to disagree” on the matter if it remains unresolved following the clause 22 process. Subject to this “agree to disagree” process, a Minister’s support and responsibility for the collective government position must always be clear.
31. ‘Agree to disagree’ matters, including any matters beyond those set out in this agreement, will be dealt with on a ‘no surprises’ basis.

Confidentiality

32. Government Ministers will be bound by the principle of Cabinet confidentiality, as set out in the Cabinet Manual.

Management of Parliamentary Activities

33. The Parties will vote together on procedural motions in the House and Select Committees, except where one of the Parties has advised the other in advance that such support is not forthcoming. The Parties will operate on a “no surprises” policy in terms of procedural motions to be put before the House or Select Committee.
34. The Leader of the House will consult the ACT and New Zealand First Parties about the House programme in advance of each sitting session.
35. The Parties agree to a “no surprises” approach to new members’ bills. However, no Party is obliged to support another Party’s members’ bills.
36. The Parties undertake to keep full voting numbers present whenever the House is sitting and in Select Committee.

Relationship to Other Agreements

37. The Parties to this agreement recognise the Government is comprised of a coalition of three political parties – National, ACT, and New Zealand First.
38. The Parties agree that this agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and agree to not enter into any other relationship agreement which is inconsistent with this agreement.
39. National and ACT acknowledge that National is entering into the National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement simultaneously with entering into this agreement. The National and New Zealand First Coalition Agreement sets out New Zealand First’s policy priorities (the New Zealand First Policy Priorities) and includes equivalent provisions to this agreement.

Dated: 24 November 2023

Christopher Luxon
National Party Leader

David Seymour
ACT Party Leader



Coalition Agreement

New Zealand National Party
& New Zealand First

54thParliament



Coalition Agreement between the National Party and the New Zealand First Party

This agreement should be read in conjunction with the Coalition Agreement between the National Party and the ACT Party (the National and ACT Coalition Agreement).

Preamble

1. New Zealand faces significant long-term economic, social, and environmental challenges – and at the 2023 General Election New Zealanders voted for change, and a new government with policies to seriously address these challenges.
2. The National and New Zealand First Parties commit to forming a Coalition Government with the ACT Party that will provide stability, grow economic prosperity, restore national unity, and boost social cohesiveness, alongside the rights and responsibilities of being a New Zealand Citizen.
3. The Coalition Government’s priorities for this term include rebuilding the economy, improving the quality of Government spending and regulation, lowering the cost of living, dealing to rising crime by restoring law and order and personal responsibility, enforcing consequences for criminals, ending race based policies, introducing more choice and competition into social service provision, delivering better health and education, defending freedom and democracy, providing opportunity for all in education, health, employment, and infrastructure, and improving the lives of seniors.
4. The Coalition Government policies have as a key objective restoring New Zealand’s former reputation as being a world economic and social leader. All Parties wish to lay the foundations for the immediate, medium, and long-term return of New Zealand to prosperity.
5. All Parties wish to work towards New Zealand again becoming an export powerhouse, by focusing on an economy that enables wealth creation, maximises added value before exporting, invests in IT to promote economic growth and employment, and ensure high educational achievement which will lead to high value employment opportunities.
6. This agreement sets out the arrangements between the National, and New Zealand First Parties to establish a constructive and enduring working relationship in the best interests of New Zealand, while strengthening public confidence in the integrity of Parliament and our democracy. This agreement should be read in conjunction with the National and ACT Coalition Agreement.

Nature of Agreement

7. The National and New Zealand First Parties commit to delivering a stable and effective coalition government, alongside the ACT Party.
8. The Parties will do this whilst recognising the importance in a democracy of maintaining independent political identities arising from the voting public's choice.
9. The Parties recognise that the Coalition Government involves different political parties with different manifestos. Although many policies may overlap, New Zealand First's policies outlined in this agreement will be promoted and acknowledged as New Zealand First's policy and contribution to the Coalition Government. For the avoidance of doubt, where policies overlap with the Policy Programme of the ACT Party in the National and ACT Coalition Agreement, they may also be promoted as ACT's policy and contribution to the Coalition Government.

Policy Programme

10. The National and New Zealand First Parties agree to progress in this term the policies set out in National's Fiscal Plan, Tax Plan, 100 day plan and 100 point economic plan, except for the specific exemptions which have been agreed between the Parties and set out in this Coalition Agreement document.
11. The Parties will also progress the following additional policies which are a priority for the National Party:
 - A. Lower inflation and grow the economy to ease the cost of living and create better paying jobs.
 - B. Let Kiwis keep more of what they earn with tax relief of up to \$100 per fortnight for an average income household and a FamilyBoost childcare tax credit of up to \$150 per fortnight.
 - C. Build infrastructure with 13 new Roads of National Significant and four major public transport upgrades.
 - D. Restore law and order by backing Police to tackle gangs, boot camps for serious young offenders, and stronger sentencing so New Zealanders can feel safe.
 - E. Lift school achievement by teaching kids an hour each of reading, writing and maths every day, banning cell phone use at school, and regular assessment and reporting to parents.
 - F. Cut health waiting times by training more doctors, nurses, and midwives, and giving Kiwis access to 13 more cancer treatments.
 - G. Support seniors by maintaining the Winter Energy Payment, increasing Super every year and boosting it with our tax relief plan, which will see a superannuitant couple get over \$600 extra each year.
 - H. Deliver Net Zero by 2050 including by doubling New Zealand's renewable electricity and supporting new technology to reduce agricultural emissions.

12. Tax relief will be progressed as set out in National's Tax Plan, but will not include a repeal of the foreign buyer's residential property ban, with income tax reductions coming into force from 1 July 2024.
13. The New Zealand First Party agrees to support the ACT Party initiatives as outlined in the Coalition Agreement between National and ACT.
14. The Parties will also progress the following additional policies which are a priority for the New Zealand First Party:

Rebuilding the Economy and Improving Productivity

To lift New Zealand's productivity and economic growth to increase opportunities and prosperity for all New Zealanders, the Parties will:

Economy

- Provide the ways and means of fulfilling the objectives laid out above in this agreement.
- Recognise that expenditure on wealth creation and infrastructure is prioritised over expenditure on consumption.
- Reduce Core Crown expenditure as a proportion of the overall economy.
- Establish a select committee inquiry into banking competition with broad and deep criteria to focus on competitiveness, customer services, and profitability.
- Explore options to strengthen the powers of the Grocery Commissioner, to improve competitiveness, and to address the lack of a third entrant to remove the market power of a duopoly.
- Assess and respond to the impact that energy prices have on inflation including consumer led institutional improvements.
- By or before 2026, assess the impact inflation has had on the average tax rates faced by income earners.
- As an export dependent nation, prioritise free and fair trade agreements, including with India.
- The Coalition Government will increase funding for IRD tax audits to urgently expand the IRD tax audit capacity, minimise taxation losses due to insufficient IRD oversight, and to ensure greater integrity and fairness in our tax system.

Employment and Immigration

- Strengthen obligations on Jobseeker work ready beneficiaries to find work and make use of sanctions for non-compliance with work obligations, and consider time limits for under 25s.
- Improve the Accredited Employer Work Visa to focus the immigration system on attracting the workers and skills New Zealand needs.
- Commit to moderate increases to the minimum wage every year.
- Ensure Immigration New Zealand is engaged in proper risk management and verification to ensure migrants are filling genuine workforce needs.

- Investigate the establishment of an “Essential Worker” workforce planning mechanism to better plan for skill or labour shortages in the long term.
- Commit to enforcement and action to ensure those found responsible for the abuse of migrant workers face appropriate consequences.
- Address and provide solutions for the long-expressed concern of the OECD into the lack of focus in New Zealand Immigration Policy.

Infrastructure, Energy, and Natural Resources

- Establish a National Infrastructure Agency under the direction of relevant Ministers, to coordinate government funding, connect investors with New Zealand infrastructure, and improve funding, procurement, and delivery to:
 - Prioritise regional and national projects of significance.
 - Facilitate or procure funding for regional and national projects of significance.
 - Procure from government agencies for appropriate Crown projects.
 - Oversee procurement from the private sector.
- Prioritise strategic infrastructure to improve the resilience of heavy industry in New Zealand.
- Establish a Regional Infrastructure Fund with \$1.2 billion in capital funding over the Parliamentary term.
- Repeal the Natural and Built Environment Act 2023 and the Spatial Planning Act 2023.
- Amend the Resource Management Act 1991 to:
 - Make it easier to consent new infrastructure including renewable energy, allow farmers to farm, get more houses built, and enhance primary sector including fish and aquaculture, forestry, pastoral, horticulture and mining.
 - Streamline the plan preparation process in Schedule 1 of the RMA.
 - Simplify the planning system and related statutes including the Public Works Act and the Reserves Act.
 - The Parties commit to establish a fast-track one-stop-shop consenting and permitting process for regional and national projects of significance. The process will include a referral by Ministers for suitable projects. A Bill to introduce this process and make other essential statutory amendments will have its first reading as part of the government’s 100 day plan.

- Cancel Auckland Light Rail and Let's Get Wellington Moving and reduce expenditure on cycleways.
- Commit to building a four-lane highway alternative for the Brynderwyns and investigate the use of private finance to accelerate construction.
- Investigate the threshold at which local lines companies can invest in generation assets.
- Commission a study into New Zealand's fuel security requirements.
- Facilitate the development and efficiency of ports and strengthen international supply networks.
- Commence an urgent review into the implementation of the National Policy Statement on Indigenous Biodiversity before any implementation.
- Replace the National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management 2020 and the National Environmental Standards for Freshwater to better reflect the interests of all water users.
- Investigate the reopening of Marsden Point Refinery. This includes establishing a Fuel Security Plan to safeguard our transport and logistics systems and emergency services from any international or domestic disruption.
- Progress further work examining connecting the railway to Marsden Point and Northport from the Northern Main Truck Line.
- Progress the detailed business case for a dry dock at Marsden Point to service domestic and international shipping needs and to support our Navy vessels, with investigation of funding options including commercial partnerships.
- Require the electricity regulator to implement regulations such that there is sufficient electricity infrastructure to ensure security of supply and avoid excessive prices.
- Examine transmission and connection pricing to facilitate cost effective connection of new renewable generation resources, both on-shore and off-shore.
- Plan for transitional low carbon fuels, including the infrastructure needed to increase the use of methanol and hydrogen to achieve sovereign fuel resilience.
- Future-proof the natural gas industry by restarting offshore exploration and supporting development of hydrogen technology to produce hydrogen from natural gas without co-production of CO₂.
- Ensure that climate change policies are aligned and do not undermine national energy security.
- Ensure the government's energy settings allow for the exploration of natural geological hydrogen in New Zealand, to maximise future energy resilience.
- Investigate the strategic opportunities in New Zealand's mineral resources, including vanadium, and develop a plan to develop these opportunities.

Primary Sector

- Stop the current review of the ETS system to restore confidence and certainty to the carbon trading market.
- Progress work to recognise other forms of carbon sequestration, including blue carbon.
- Incentivise the uptake of emissions reduction mitigations, such as low methane genetics, and low methane producing animal feed.
- Support Farm Environment Plans administered by regional councils and targeted at a catchment level.
- Adopt standardised farm level reporting.
- Cut red tape and regulatory blocks on irrigation, water storage, managed aquifer recharge and flood protection schemes.
- Amend the National Environmental Standards for Plantation Forestry (NES-PF) regulations to place a duty upon harvesters to contain and remove post-harvest slash.

- Direct government agencies where practical and appropriate to preference the use of woollen fibres rather than artificial fibres in government buildings.
- Reverse the recent ban on live animal exports while ensuring the highest standards of animal welfare.
- Reform the National Animal Welfare Advisory Committee to ensure its functions, membership and mandate are appropriate.
- Deliver longer durations for marine farming permits and remove regulations that impede the productivity and enormous potential of the seafood sector.
- Liberalise genetic engineering laws while ensuring strong protections for human health and the environment.

Restoring Law and Order and Personal Responsibility

To restore law and order and ensure New Zealanders are safer in their communities, the Parties will:

- Commit to training no fewer than 500 new frontline police within the first two years.
- Increase the number of the trained Youth Aid Officers over the term.
- Adequately resource community policing, including Māori and Pasifika wardens, Community Patrol New Zealand, and Neighbourhood Watch.
- Introduce a suite of measures designed to tackle youth crime including consideration of a Youth Justice Demerit Point system.
- Reform the Fleeing Driver laws to curb the increase in fleeing driver incidents.
- Amend the Sentencing Act 2002 and associated legislation to ensure appropriate consequences for criminals, including:
 - Giving priority to the needs of victims and communities over offenders.
 - Including gang membership as an aggravating factor during sentencing.
 - Ensuring real consequences for lower-level crimes such as shoplifting.
 - Removing concurrent sentences for those who commit offences while on parole, on bail, or whilst in custody.
- Where appropriate, require prisoners to work, including in the construction of new accommodation in prisons or pest control.
- Equip corrections officers with body cameras and protective equipment, where appropriate.
- Seek to make it easier for New Zealanders, including prisoners, to get drivers licences, and better support to existing programmes that are delivering positive outcomes.
- Introduce the Protection for First Responders and Prison Officers legislation which will create a specific offence for assaults on first responders which includes minimum mandatory prison sentences.
- Introduce the Coward Punch legislation which will create a specific offence for anyone who injures or kills someone with a coward punch.
- Investigate the introduction and implementation of Degrees of Murder Sentencing legislation.

Delivering Better Public Services

To improve the effectiveness, efficiency and responsiveness of public services, the Parties will:

Education

- Enforce compulsory education and address truancy.
- Focus on doing the basics better through emphasising reading, writing, and maths.
- Refocus the curriculum on academic achievement and not ideology, including the removal and replacement of the gender, sexuality, and relationship-based education guidelines.
- Stop first year Fees Free and replace with a final year Fees Free with no change before 2025.
- Maintain the Apprenticeship Boost scheme.

Health

- Abolish the Māori Health Authority.
- Update Pharmac’s decision making model to ensure it appropriately takes “patient’s voice” into account and increase funding for Pharmac every year.
- Require Medsafe to approve new pharmaceuticals within 30 days of them being approved by at least two overseas regulatory agencies recognised by New Zealand.
- Better recognise people with overseas medical qualifications and experience for accreditation in New Zealand.
- Progress the adoption of digital technology in harder to staff areas and make greater use of Nurse Practitioners.
- Repeal the Therapeutic Products Act 2023.
- Fund Gumboot Friday/I Am Hope Charity to \$6 million per annum.
- Renegotiate the Crown funding agreement with St John with a view to meeting a greater portion of their annualised budget.
- Ensure Plunket is funded to do their job properly.
- Ensure proper funding for birthing units and maternity care, including providing for a three day stay for new mothers.
- Repeal amendments to the Smokefree Environments and Regulated Products Act 1990 and regulations before March 2024, removing requirements for denicotisation, removing the reduction in retail outlets and the generation ban, while also amending vaping product requirements and taxing smoked products only.
- Reform the regulation of vaping, smokeless tobacco and oral nicotine products while banning disposable vaping products and increasing penalties for illegal sales to those under 18.

Seniors

- Keep the superannuation age at 65.
- Amend the Building Act and the Resource Consent system to make it easier to build granny flats or other small structures up to 60sqm requiring only an engineer's report.
- Progress the review of the Retirement Villages Act.
- Upgrade the Super Gold Card and Veterans Card to maximise its potential benefit for all Super Gold Card and Veteran Card holders.
- Investigate the funding formula for new residential care beds.
- Engage openly and constructively with the aged-care sector.
- Undertake a select committee inquiry into aged care provision to include supporting people with early onset conditions and what asset thresholds are appropriate in 2023/24.
- Explore options to build on the Local Government Rates Rebate Scheme for Super Gold Card holders.
- Work on establishing bipartisan agreement to fund both care and dementia beds that New Zealand needs now and with a focus on the long term needs by 2040.
- Liaise with retirement village owners and occupiers to seek a mutually agreed way forward to safeguard the interests of the 50,000 plus New Zealanders living in retirement villages.

Strengthening Democracy and Freedoms

To uphold the principles of liberal democracy, including equal citizenship and parliamentary sovereignty, the Parties will:

- Commit that in the absence of a referendum, our Government will not change the official name of New Zealand.
- Support to select committee a bill that would enact a binding referendum on a four-year term of parliament.
- Ensure publicly funded sporting bodies support fair competition that is not compromised by rules relating to gender.
- Legislate to make English an official language of New Zealand.
- Ensure all public service departments have their primary name in English, except for those specifically related to Māori.
- Require the public service departments and Crown Entities to communicate primarily in English - except those entities specifically related to Māori.
- Protect freedom of speech by ruling out the introduction of hate speech legislation and stop the Law Commission's work on hate speech legislation.
- End all Covid-19 vaccine mandates still in operation.
- Ensure, as a matter of urgency in establishment and completion, a full scale, wide ranging, independent inquiry conducted publicly with local and international experts, into how the Covid pandemic was handled in New Zealand, including covering:
 - o Use of multiple lockdowns,
 - o Vaccine procurement and efficacy,
 - o The social and economic impacts on both regional and national levels, and
 - o Whether the decisions made, and steps taken, were justified.

- Ensure a ‘National Interest Test’ is undertaken before New Zealand accepts any agreements from the UN and its agencies that limit national decision-making and reconfirm that New Zealand’s domestic law holds primacy over any international agreements.
- As part of the above, by 1 December 2023 reserve against proposed amendments to WHO health regulations to allow the incoming government to consider these against a “National Interest Test”.

Equal Citizenship

- The Coalition Government will defend the principle that New Zealanders are equal before the law, with the same rights and obligations, and with the guarantee of the privileges and responsibilities of equal citizenship in New Zealand.
- The Coalition Government will work to improve outcomes for all New Zealanders, and will not advance policies that seek to ascribe different rights and responsibilities to New Zealanders on the basis of their race or ancestry.
- The Coalition Government will honour the undertakings made by the Crown through past Treaty of Waitangi settlements.
- The Coalition Government will reverse measures taken in recent years which have eroded the principle of equal citizenship, specifically we will:
 - o Remove co-governance from the delivery of public services.
 - o As a matter of urgency, issue a Cabinet Office circular to all central government organisations that it is the Government’s expectation that public services should be prioritised on the basis of need, not race.
 - o Restore the right to local referendum on the establishment or ongoing use of Māori wards, including requiring a referendum on any wards established without referendum at the next Local Body elections.
 - o Stop all work on He Puapua
 - o Confirm that the Coalition Government does not recognise the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as having any binding legal effect on New Zealand.
 - o Amend section 58 of the Marine and Coastal Area Act to make clear Parliament’s original intent, in light of the judgment of the Court of Appeal in *Whakatohea Kotahitanga Waka (Edwards) & Ors v Te Kahui and Whakatohea Maori Trust Board & Ors* [2023] NZCA 504.
 - o Amend the Waitangi Tribunal legislation to refocus the scope, purpose, and nature of its inquiries back to the original intent of that legislation.
 - o Conduct a comprehensive review of all legislation (except when it is related to, or substantive to, existing full and final Treaty settlements) that includes “The Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi” and replace all such references with specific words relating to the relevance and application of the Treaty, or repeal the references.

Ongoing Decision-Making Principles

15. The Coalition Government will make decisions that are:

A. Principled – making decisions based on sound public policy principles, including problem definition, rigorous cost benefit analysis and economic efficiency.

B. Focused – driving meaningful improvement in core areas including:

- Lifting New Zealand’s productivity and economic growth to increase opportunities and prosperity for all New Zealanders;
- Ensuring New Zealanders are safer from crime;
- Lifting educational achievement so that every child has opportunity to get a world class education;
- Improving housing affordability;
- Improving the efficiency and effectiveness of the public service and of government-funded services;
- Restoring price stability;
- Providing tax relief to income earners.

C. Results-driven – interventions that aren’t delivering results will be stopped.

D. People-focussed – public services, whether for New Zealanders or tourists, will be designed around the needs of the people who use them.

E. Accountable – the Government will set clear public service targets and regularly report on progress towards these objectives.

F. Evidence-based – decisions will be based on data and evidence, with programmes regularly assessed to see if they are delivering results.

G. Fiscally responsible – with spending decisions based on rigorous cost-benefit analysis to ensure taxpayer money is treated with respect, and recognising the need to get the public books back in order by reducing the overall fiscal impact of government.

H. Pro-democracy – upholding the principles of liberal democracy, including equal citizenship, parliamentary sovereignty, the rule of law and property rights, especially with respect to interpreting the Treaty of Waitangi.

16. The Parties will work together and in good faith to reach agreement on specific policy and legislative initiatives where not specifically agreed in this coalition agreement, or the National and ACT Coalition Agreement.

Relationship Between the Parties

17. The Parties will work together in good faith and cooperate with each other in respect of Executive and Parliamentary activities to advance these shared goals, including any public statements on behalf of the Coalition Government. This includes a commitment to policies and programmes set out in the “Policy Programme” section of this agreement and to ACT’s Policy Programme in the National and ACT Coalition Agreement. This commitment is also made for the benefit of the ACT Party. The Parties will consult closely with each other in a genuine and timely manner on all matters of importance to the Coalition Government. The Parties will work together on processes for effective consultation.
18. A Coalition Committee will be established, which will meet at least once per House sitting block. The Coalition Committee will consist of the Leader and Deputy Leader of National, ACT and NZ First or agreed replacements, and the Leader of the House, and will monitor government progress against each item in the coalition agreements.
19. The Parties agree to work in good faith and undertake best endeavours to achieve consensus on Cabinet decisions with due consideration to the positions of each Party in the Coalition Government, while maintaining commitments made in this agreement.
20. The Parties agree that any concerns will be raised in confidence as soon as possible and in good faith, and will be responded to expeditiously to allow for the speedy resolution of such matters in private. Concerns will be resolved by applying, so far as they are relevant, the principles and terms of this agreement. The following steps will be followed for raising and resolving concerns:
 - A. In the first instance, concerns can be raised with the Chiefs of Staff of the Parties with a view to reaching a speedy resolution.
 - B. If the concerns have not been expeditiously resolved to the satisfaction of the Party raising the concerns – or, if the concerns require urgent resolution, the Party leader of the Party raising the concerns may refer the matter for direct discussion between the Party leaders.
21. The Parties will be guided by the “no surprises” principle and inform each other, confidentially and promptly of matters of significance.

Ministerial and Other Positions

22. New Zealand First will have three Ministers inside Cabinet, one Minister outside Cabinet, and one Parliamentary Undersecretary.
23. Ministerial portfolios have been agreed between the Leaders of New Zealand First and National, and include Rt Hon Winston Peters as Deputy Prime Minister until 31 May 2025.
24. A Minister from New Zealand First will be appointed on the Appointments and Honours Cabinet Committee (APH), with appropriate consultation on proposed appointments.

Cabinet Manual

25. Government Ministers agree to be bound by the Cabinet Manual in the exercise of ministerial responsibilities, and on conduct, public duty, and the personal interests of Ministers.
26. The Parties agree that the present “no surprises” policy needs clarification to better respect the privacy of individuals. This policy will be updated in Government.

Collective Responsibility

27. Government Ministers will operate in accordance with the convention of collective responsibility. Ministers are expected to show careful judgement and recognise distinction when referring to party policy that differs from government policy.
28. As provided for in the Cabinet Manual, the Parties can “agree to disagree” in relation to matters on which the Parties wish to maintain, in public, different positions. Any “agree to disagree” matter must first have been raised and dealt with as a concern under clause 20. The Parties may “agree to disagree” on the matter if it remains unresolved following the clause 20 process. Subject to this “agree to disagree” process, a Minister’s support and responsibility for the collective government position must always be clear.
29. ‘Agree to disagree’ matters, including any matters beyond those set out in this agreement, will be dealt with on a ‘no surprises’ basis.

Confidentiality

30. Government Ministers will be bound by the principle of Cabinet confidentiality, as set out in the Cabinet Manual.

Management of Parliamentary Activities

31. The Parties will vote together on procedural motions in the House and Select Committees, except where one of the Parties has advised the other in advance that such support is not forthcoming. The Parties will operate on a “no surprises” policy in terms of procedural motions to be put before the House or Select Committee.
32. The Leader of the House consult the Parties about the House programme in advance of each sitting session.
33. The Parties agree to a “no surprises” approach to new members’ bills. However, no Party is obliged to support another Party’s Members’ Bills.
34. The Parties undertake to keep full voting numbers present whenever the House is sitting and in Select Committee.

Relationship to Other Agreements

35. The Parties to this agreement recognise the Government is comprised of a Coalition of Three Political Parties – National, ACT, and New Zealand First.
36. The Parties agree that this agreement represents the entire agreement between the parties and agree to not enter into any other relationship agreement which is inconsistent with this agreement.
37. National and New Zealand First acknowledge that National is entering into the National and ACT Coalition Agreement simultaneously with entering into this agreement. The National ACT Coalition Agreement sets out ACT’s policy priorities and includes equivalent provisions to this agreement.

Dated: 24 November 2023

Christopher Luxon
National Party Leader

Rt. Hon. Winston Peters
New Zealand First Leader

Ministerial List

for announcement on 24 November 2023

Notes:

1. Warranted portfolios are listed in the left-hand column. Other responsibilities assigned by the Prime Minister are listed in the right-hand column.
2. Appointees will be entitled to use the honorific 'Rt Hon' or 'Hon' only after they have been sworn in as Executive Councillors, or if they have previously been granted the right to use the honorific for life.
3. Ministers will be Cabinet Ministers unless otherwise indicated.

NATIONAL PARTY MINISTERS

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

Christopher Luxon

Prime Minister
Minister for National Security and Intelligence

Minister Responsible for Ministerial Services

Nicola Willis

Minister of Finance
Minister for the Public Service
Minister for Social Investment

Associate Minister of Climate Change

Chris Bishop

Minister of Housing
Minister for Infrastructure
Minister Responsible for RMA Reform
Minister for Sport and Recreation

Leader of the House
Associate Minister of Finance

Dr Shane Reti

Minister of Health
Minister for Pacific Peoples

NATIONAL PARTY MINISTERS

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

Simeon Brown

Minister for Energy

Minister of Local Government

Minister of Transport

Minister for Auckland

Deputy Leader of the House

4 **Erica Stanford**

Minister of Education

Minister of Immigration

4 **Hon Paul Goldsmith**

Minister for Arts, Culture and Heritage

Minister of Justice

Minister for State Owned Enterprises

Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations

1 **Hon Louise Upston**

Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector

Minister for Social Development and Employment

Minister for Child Poverty Reduction

2 **Hon Judith Collins**

Attorney-General

Minister of Defence

Minister for Digitising Government

Minister Responsible for the GCSB

Minister Responsible for the NZSIS

Minister of Science, Innovation and Technology

Minister for Space

Lead Coordination Minister for the Government's Response to the Royal Commission's Report into the Terrorist Attack on the Christchurch Mosques

NATIONAL PARTY MINISTERS

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

3 **Hon Mark Mitchell**

Minister of Corrections
Minister for Emergency Management and Recovery
Minister of Police

4 **Hon Todd McClay**

Minister of Agriculture
Minister of Forestry
Minister for Hunting and Fishing
Minister for Trade

Associate Minister of Foreign Affairs

4 **Tama Potaka**

Minister of Conservation
Minister for Māori Crown Relations:
Te Arawhiti
Minister for Māori Development
Minister for Whānau Ora

Associate Minister of Housing (Social
Housing)

3 **Matt Dooney**

Minister for ACC
Minister for Mental Health
Minister for Tourism and Hospitality
Minister for Youth

Associate Minister of Health
Associate Minister of Transport

Melissa Lee

Minister for Economic Development
Minister for Ethnic Communities
Minister for Media and Communications

Associate Minister for ACC

NATIONAL PARTY MINISTERS OUTSIDE CABINET

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

¹ **Simon Watts**

Minister of Climate Change

Minister of Revenue

² **Penny Simmonds**

Minister for Disability Issues

Minister for the Environment

Minister for Tertiary Education and Skills

Associate Minister for Social
Development and Employment

Chris Penk

Minister for Building and Construction

Minister for Land Information

Minister for Veterans

Associate Minister of Defence

Associate Minister of Immigration

Nicola Grigg

Minister of State for Trade

Minister for Women

Associate Minister of Agriculture
(Horticulture)

Andrew Bayly

Minister of Commerce and Consumer Affairs

Minister for Small Business and Manufacturing

Minister of Statistics

ACT MINISTERS

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

David Seymour

Deputy Prime Minister (from 31 May 2025)

Minister for Regulation

Associate Minister of Education
(Partnership Schools)

Associate Minister of Finance

Associate Minister of Health (Pharmac)

Brooke van Velden

Minister of Internal Affairs

Minister for Workplace Relations and Safety

Nicole McKee

Minister for Courts

Associate Minister of Justice (Firearms)

Andrew Hoggard (outside Cabinet)

Minister for Biosecurity

Minister for Food Safety

Associate Minister of Agriculture
(Animal Welfare, Skills)

Associate Minister for the Environment

Karen Chhour (outside Cabinet)

Minister for Children

Minister for the Prevention of Family and Sexual
Violence

Simon Court MP

Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the

Minister for Infrastructure

Minister Responsible for RMA Reform

NEW ZEALAND FIRST MINISTERS

Portfolios

Other responsibilities

Rt Hon Winston Peters

Deputy Prime Minister (until 31 May 2025)

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister for Racing

Hon Shane Jones

Minister for Oceans and Fisheries

Minister for Regional Development

Minister for Resources

Associate Minister of Finance

Associate Minister for Energy

Casey Costello

Minister of Customs

Minister for Seniors

Associate Minister of Health

Associate Minister of Immigration

Associate Minister of Police

Mark Patterson (outside Cabinet)

Minister for Rural Communities

Associate Minister of Agriculture

Jenny Marcroft MP

Parliamentary Under-Secretary to the

Minister for Media and Communications

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Progress towards our strategic priorities

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Preparing for the future

- [Redacted]
- We have provided feedback to the Ministry of Justice on the electoral work programme for this term, including a possible [Redacted], and consultation on the Treaty Principles Bill.

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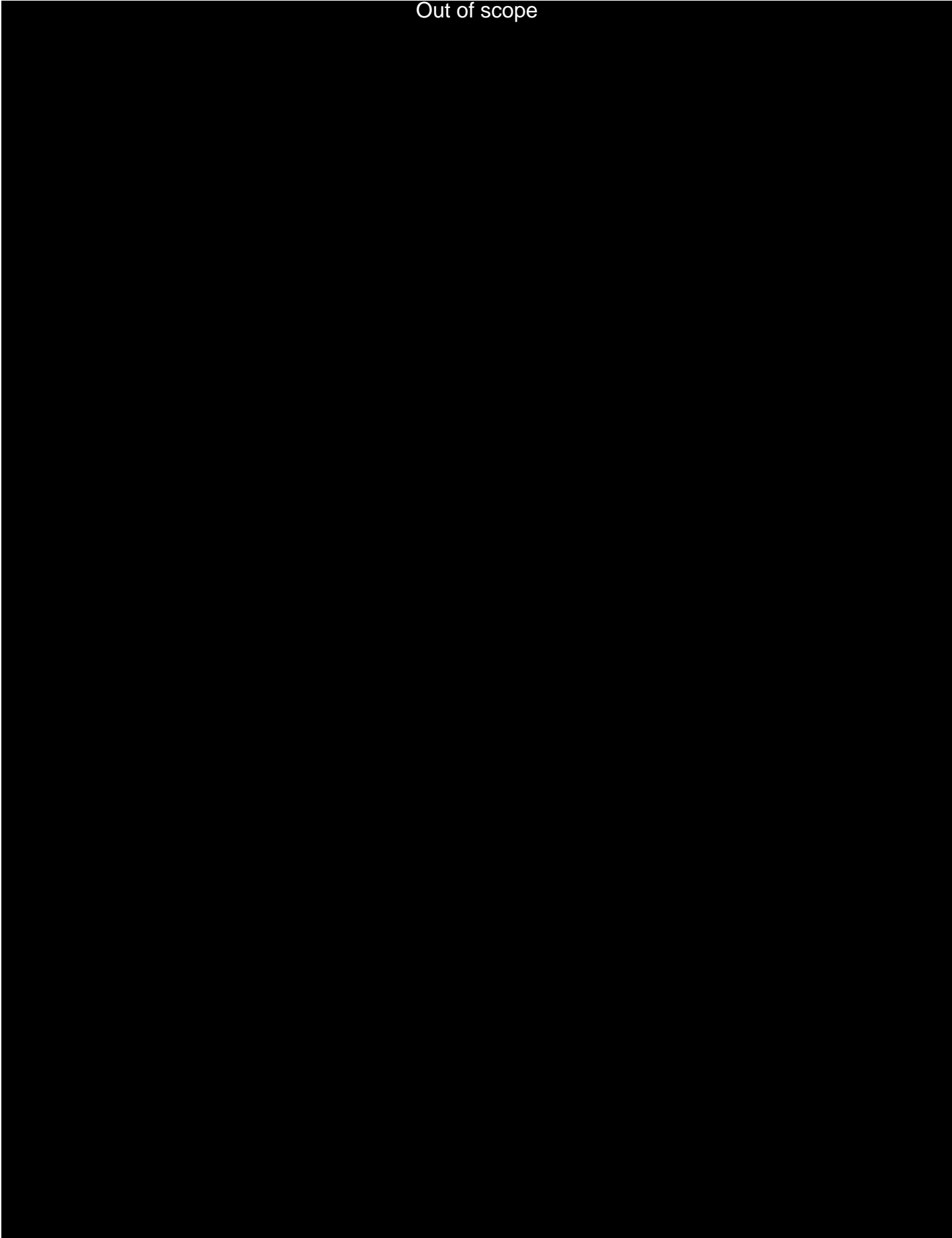
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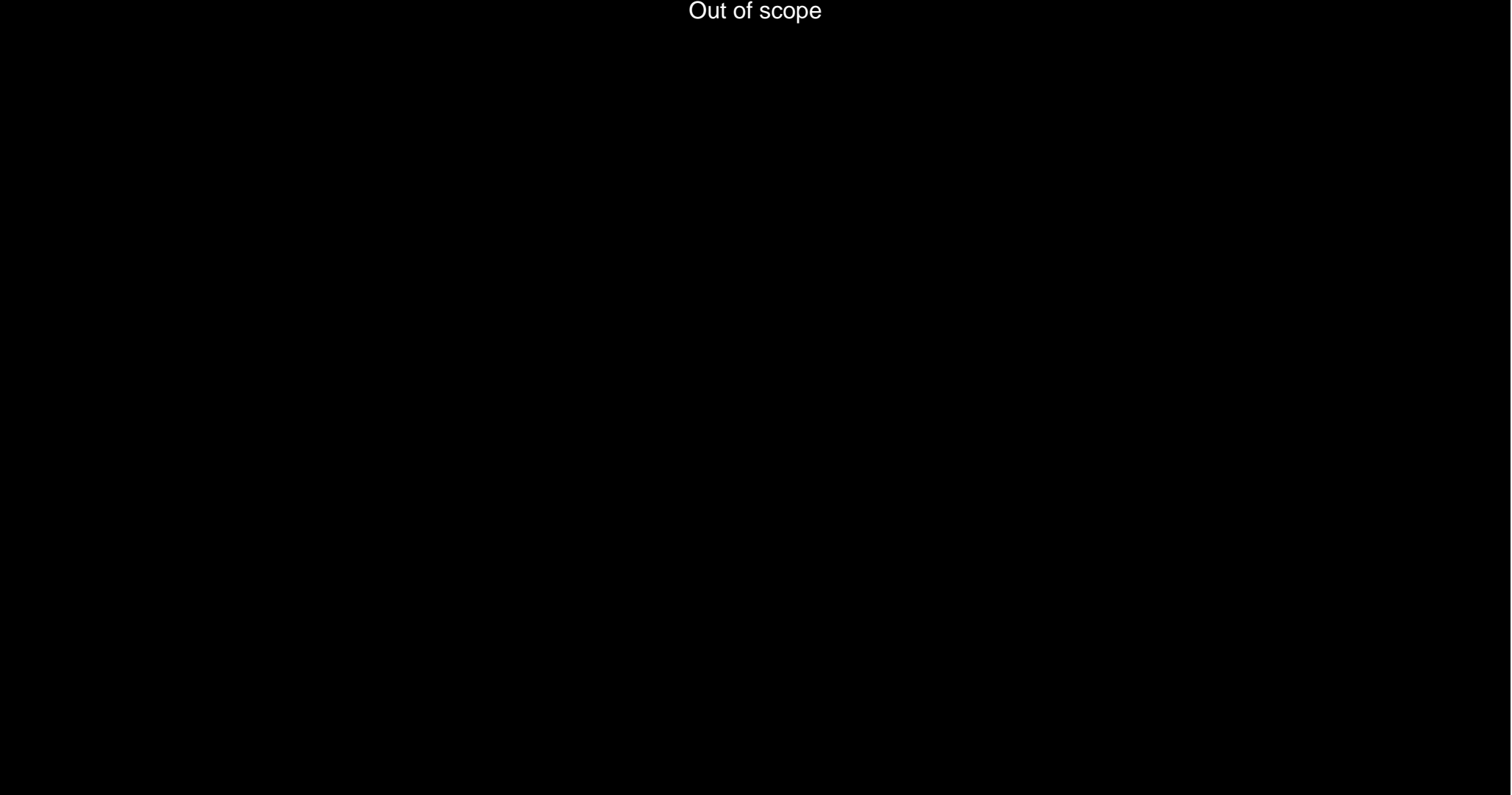
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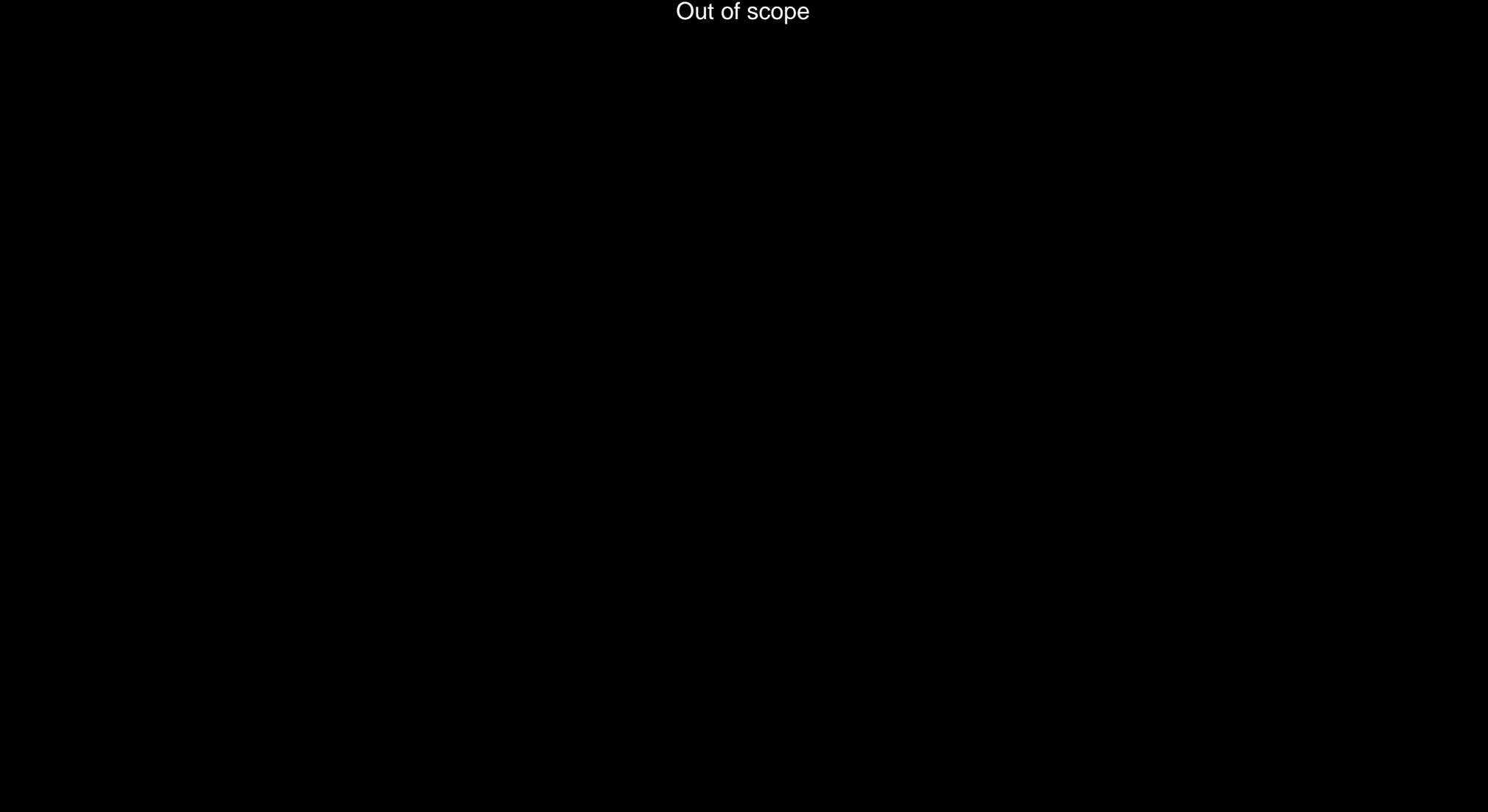
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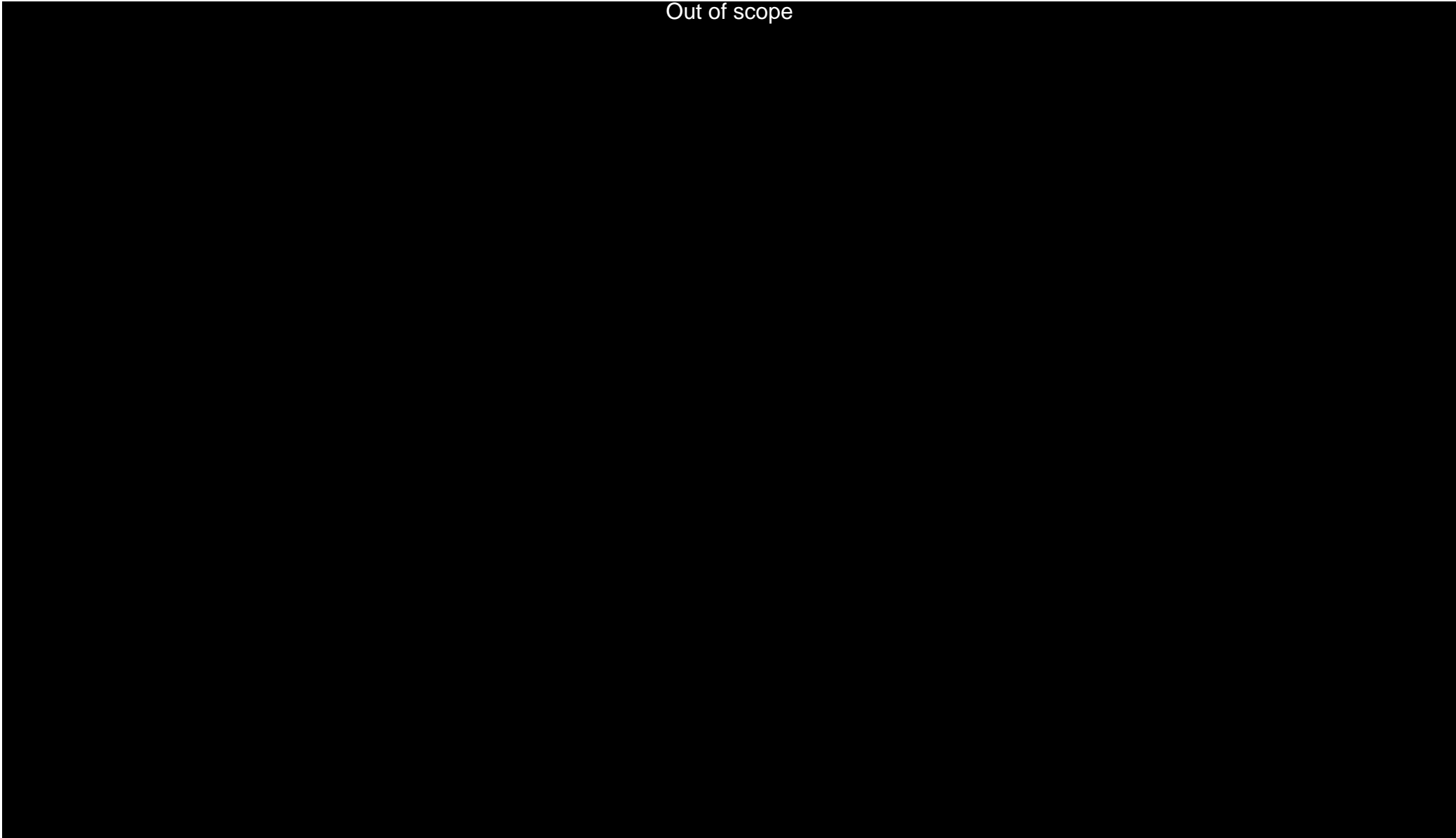
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Environment and activity in 2025

To: ELT

For: ELT meeting 12 November 2024

Prepared by: Suzanne Knight-Tinirau, Manager
Communications and Education

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Discussion

5. Activity taking place in 2025 that has cross-over with our work on the MEO and local elections, boundary review and preparations for the 2026 General Election includes:

- the introduction and committee stages of the Treaty Principles Bill in the first half of the year

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7. The Treaty Principles Bill has already seen an increase in public debate on Māori/Crown relations and the treaty principles. The Māori roll and Māori electorates could be drawn into the debate. The Bill will be before a select committee when the Commission communicates with enrolled Māori in April about the deadline to change rolls before the local elections (MEO), and when the proposed electorate boundaries are released for public comment by the Representation Commission (date tbc).

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Appendices

A. Table of activity in 2025, themes, and potential public impacts.

Treaty Principles Bill	
Themes	Māori/Crown relations, treaty principles
Potential public impact	Increased public debate, possible focus on Māori roll and Māori electorates; uncertainty about whether there will be a referendum with the GE.
Nov-24	7 November bill introduced to Parliament
Dec-24	
Jan-25	
Feb-25	Treaty Principles Bill at select committee stage, public submissions. Bill likely to be debated at Ratana celebrations in late Jan and Waitangi Day events Feb 6
Mar-25	
Apr-25	
May-25	Treaty Principles Bill likely to be reported back to Parliament in May: https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/527629/treaty-principles-bill-to-go-through-six-month-select-committee-process
Jun-25	
Jul-25	
Aug-25	
Sep-25	
Oct-25	
Nov-25	
Dec-25	



This report covers the main activities undertaken by the group/business unit for the period.

Progress against the strategic priorities

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Preparing for the future

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- We have provided feedback to the Ministry of Justice on the electoral work programme for this term, including a possible [Redacted] and consultation on the Treaty Principles Bill.

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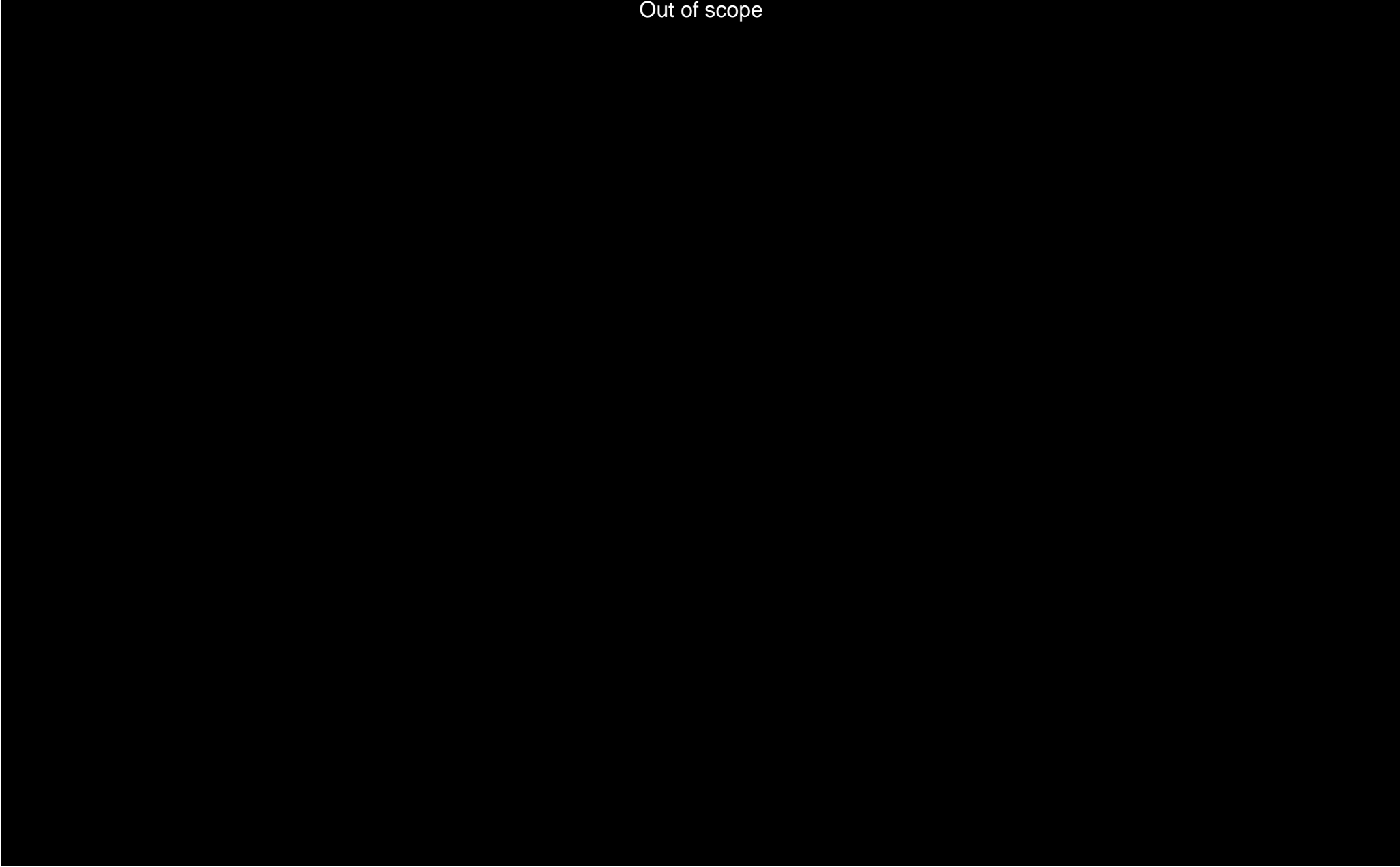
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Potential electoral policy reform timelines 2024-2026¹

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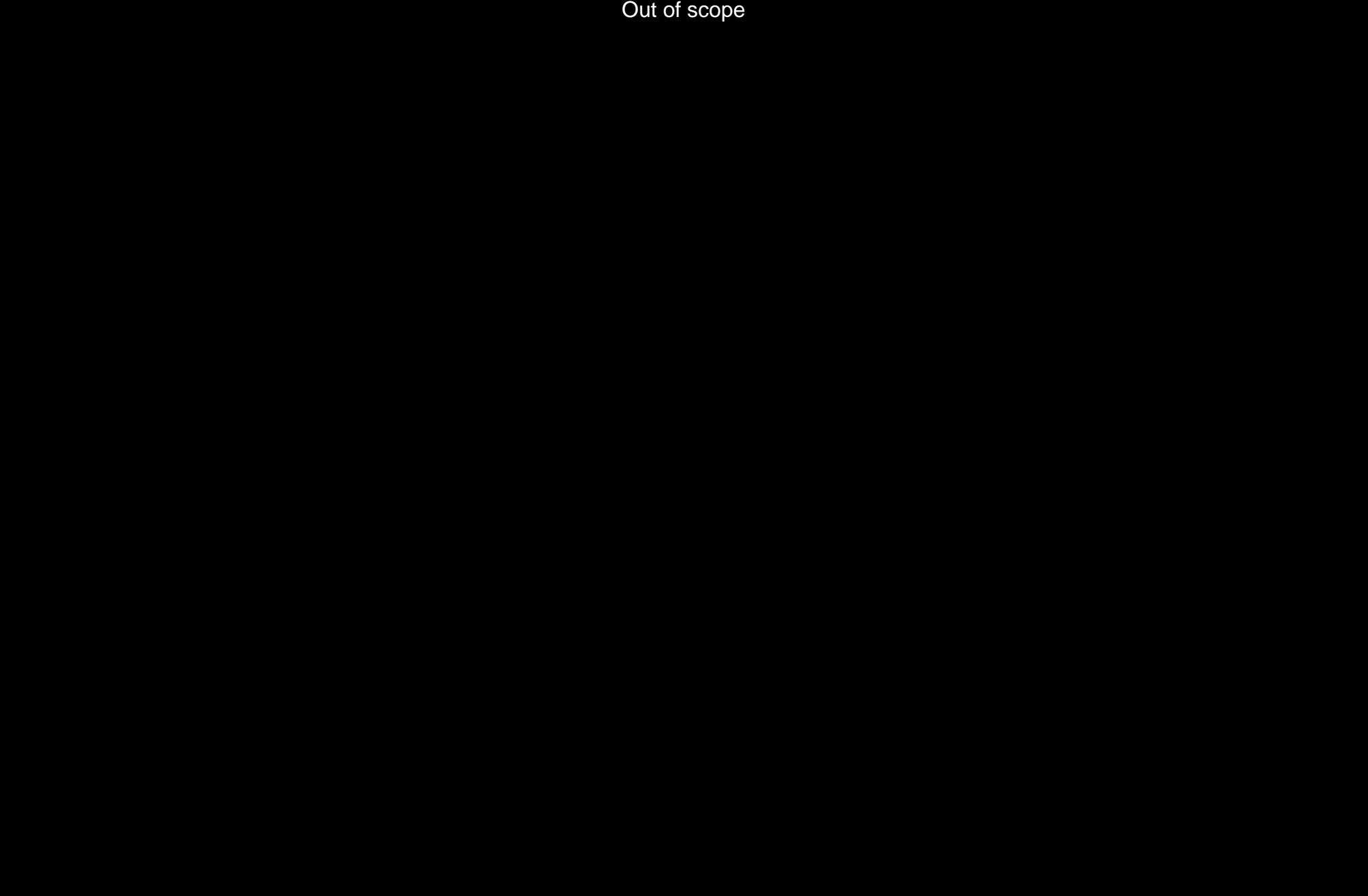
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Legislation	Scope	Policy work and costings	Policy decisions	Bill introduced	Select Committee	Bill passed
<p>██████████ ██████████</p> <p>Proposed Treaty Principles Bill urgent hearing progressing Oct 24</p>	Out of scope					
Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill	members Bill – government will support a bill to first reading	Has a referendum clause. Likely to be linked to the Referendum Frameworks Bill for the term of Parliament proposal and not confirmed until after the bill gets reported back from select committee in June 2025.TBC	9 September	7 November, 1 st reading 14 Nov Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi Bill 94-1 (2024), Government Bill Contents – New Zealand Legislation	Report back 16 May 2025	TBC
Out of scope						

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In the News 8 November 2024 (18 media items)

Friday, 8 November 2024, 1:33 PM

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In other stories this week, the Treaty Principles Bill was introduced to Parliament and will have its first reading next week (see 1News and RNZ stories). If the Bill was passed, it would trigger a referendum at the next election.

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Other stories this week (7 media items)

Treaty Principles Bill introduced to Parliament

1News · Internet · 07 Nov 2024, 11:49 am

The Treaty Principles Bill has been introduced to Parliament – and will have its first reading next Thursday, November 14. The bill was originally set to be introduced on November 18. After it was revealed...

[Continue reading](#)

The Treaty Principles Bill has been released: Here's what's in it

RNZ · External media · 08 Nov 2024, 1:55 AM

The controversial bill - which only ACT supports - has officially been introduced at Parliament. Here's a first look.

[Continue reading](#)

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