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Foreword



Heather Roy MP

ACT Deputy Leader & National Security Spokesman

Keeping Kiwis safe is undoubtedly the most important role of Government. Maintaining peace at home and abroad, protecting our assets and maintaining constructive relationships with the international community ensures that we have markets with which to trade.

A crime-ridden society places a huge burden on social services and results in people choosing to raise their children elsewhere. Like you, I want my children and grandchildren to grow up in a safe, prosperous nation - one which can be proud of its identity. Sadly, New Zealand is not on that path and that is why I have put so much emphasis on correcting the policy areas that are leading us that way.

Once in Government, this document will form the basis of our White Paper on International Relations and National Security - a statement of our direction and purpose. It is comprehensive and fundamentally different to any policy produced by any political party in several decades. It addresses all the policy elements that contribute to keeping us safe in a coherent, formal, Whole-of-Government approach. Not only does stovepipe thinking within ministries detract from capability but it is wasteful of your tax money. It is also out of step with most major nations.

The choice of language in this paper is deliberately designed to signal our intent to properly align with 21st century life and challenges. That is why the term

'Foreign Policy', which is reflective of the colonial era, is better described as International Relations. It is also why I am ACT's National Security Spokesman - it signals our overarching view of all the factors that contribute to our safety and prosperity. Furthermore, it immediately identifies vast gaps in current thinking.

To ensure my view was shared by those tasked with safety and security roles, I have contacted, visited or gone out to observe normal daily operations with every element discussed within, ranging from over two years service in the Army to sailing on a frigate as well as duty patrols with police and ambulance, rescue helicopters and more. I have spoken to thousands of people in forums ranging from students and community groups to international conferences. I am confident that ACT's approach is the correct one.

This is a substantial piece of work which is the culmination of the efforts of dozens of people over three years. I wish to thank them all for their input and take great pride in commending this document and the actions it charts to all New Zealanders.

Heather Roy

Overview

Comprehensive National Security

The role of politicians, in keeping Kiwis safe and prosperous, begins with providing a coherent national vision, which clearly articulates a vision for international relations and national security. Without a geo-political statement of intent, senior public servants are operating in a situational vacuum, buffeted by politically expedient decisions, variable media coverage and a short electoral cycle.

It is not the role of politicians to play arm-chair expert nor to seek votes by pandering to special interest groups.

This draft White Paper takes a high-level but pragmatic view of what currently exists and what capabilities are needed for New Zealanders to be safe in a challenging 21st century world. ACT's thought leadership is often used by other parties in the formation of policy. However, it must also be acknowledged that 'the walk and the talk' of those who espouse ACT ideas as their own are frequently quite different.

This policy document considers defence, international relations, police, customs, immigration, fisheries, courts (including victims' rights & at-risk families), corrections, intelligence agencies, civil defence, emergency services (fire, ambulance, rescue helicopters, search & rescue), biosecurity, coastguard, surf lifesaving, airways, maritime agencies and veterans of these services in one coherent approach. There are several principles on which this policy has been based:

1. National Security is one of the core

arms of the State that contribute to ACT's goal of enabling New Zealand to achieve Optimum National Power (ONP).

2. We are a trading nation and therefore our economy is dependent on global stability, buoyant international markets and safe means of transit for our goods.

3. We do not have the resources to pursue isolationist policies nor to alienate those we would trade with.

4. Protecting our people and resources is neither an optional activity nor one that we

can allow to continue to degrade because of political ideology or unwillingness to discard old ways of thinking.

5. We must find fresh, new ways to maximise capability within the context of a very small economy and that requires a formal Whole-of-Government approach rather than current ad hoc systems.

6. Like any community, we have specific responsibilities to our neighbours in the South-West Pacific region and we cannot do that alone. Neither can we allow the current failing policies to continue.

7. Security policies only work when every member of our society feels that they have a role to play.

8. Peace is not the absence of war just as safety at home is not measured by crime rates. There will be no full and final solution to war or crime but effective containment of those who disrupt society is achievable.



Whole of Government

Simple Law, Fewer Ministries, One Goal

Many people are familiar with the concept of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). In the last few years, a model of National Power has been discussed and some countries, most notably China, are beginning to implement it. While there are differing views on its method and purpose, ACT's goal for New Zealand embraces the concept. We refer to it as Optimum National Power (ONP). ONP is, in effect, a performance management system for politicians. Traditionally, the budget is the main measure of Government efficiency and this, along with a large, fragmented State sector leads to huge waste. ONP measures effectiveness at moving toward a single goal for New Zealand. ONP ensures that there is no unnecessary duplication of resources or effort within the State sector. It focuses on bringing all possible efforts by Kiwis toward a single vision or goal.

ACT has stated that goal - To **Bring Our Children Home**. We need to create a future for them here so that this country has the best education, healthcare, jobs, pay and personal safety in the world. Then

- A Cabinet of 10 and Parliament of 100 MPs
- Consolidation of security-related portfolios under a Minister of National Security
- The appointment of an independent National Security Advisor (NSA).
- The removal of the Departmental Executives Security Group (DESG) & its co-ordinating office (ODESC) from the Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet structure and re-formed under the NSA.
- The Regulatory Responsibility Bill, in its final form, would include provision for considering national security implications of legislation.
- Immediately conduct an External Assessment to update the one now in use, which pre-dates Sept 11, 2001.
- A comprehensive review of the appropriateness of the Public Finance Act provisions relating to capital charge and depreciation on core state functions such as National Security.
- A Whole-of-Government focus on regenerating New Zealand's Reserve Forces

they won't need to leave permanently and those that have left can come home.

ACT's vision for international relations and national security is the creation of a legislative environment that will lead to a balanced, focussed, cost-effective structure within the public and private sector, in order to achieve the goal of safety and prosperity for all New Zealanders.

In an unpredictable world and a region that faces ongoing instability, it is vital that we put an end to

'stove-pipe' thinking in the structure and funding of the many elements that contribute toward the overall goal of keeping Kiwis safe. This requires the focus to be on national and international security in every sense and means that contributing arms of the State would operate within a formal Whole-of-Government context, rather than the current ad hoc arrangements. They would operate seamlessly with private sector and community based elements (such as private prisons and Maori Warden groups) which already contribute to the same goal.

Allies, Treaties & Pacts

There's No 'I' in Team

International trade and relationships cannot be separated from national security. Part of the Kiwi lifestyle is to be able to travel freely and safely to and from our homes. We need our products to arrive in good shape at their destinations without interference. For there to be markets for us, the world needs to be safe and to achieve this, we need to play our part in peace and security arrangements that do not otherwise directly impinge on us. No country, on its own, is powerful enough to guarantee world stability. In short, we have a high degree of self-interest in contributing to the general deterrent effect of 'the willing' against aggressors everywhere.



Although New Zealand has several standardisation and relationship based agreements, we have no functional mutual defence treaties that address all our regional and national interests. Before considering new undertakings, ACT believes that arrangements with traditional allies must be repaired.

The ANZUS alliance (Australia, New Zealand & the United States) exists on paper but is effectively void due to our prohibition on nuclear propelled warships in our waters. Closer Defence Relations (CDR) is a subset of the Closer Economic Relations (CER) arrangement with Australia but is also hampered by the breakdown of ANZUS and lack of capability alignment with Australia.

The Five Power Defence Arrangement (FPDA) is the legacy of Britain's colonial presence in Asia and includes New Zealand,

Australia, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore. However, New Zealand's ability to contribute, in reality, is very limited. We are an active participant in the United Nations and also in various non-UN efforts to bring peace to troubled areas, but there is more that could be done.

We believe that peace and security can only be founded on economic prosperity. Our interests can be grouped into regional (the Asia Pacific region) and international security. We need alliances that reflect this and which are based first and foremost on the economic groupings that underpin those groups.

Security alliances based around groups like the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) or the Association of South East Asian nations (ASEAN) make sense however, we cannot ignore the fact that India is one of the most capable military nations in this region; that Indonesia is one of the most populace and economically vulnerable nations in our region or that China is rapidly becoming a major economic and military stakeholder in our neighbourhood.

There is no country that has both the capability and interest in providing regional security in our region. ACT believes that we must form a new mutual defence treaty in the Asia-Pacific region based on similar lines to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Like NATO, we see an essential provision being that an attack on one is an attack on all. New Zealand can take a leadership role in the creation of

Law & Order

What Every Citizen Should Be Doing

Failing to control crime undermines our communities and is ultimately a cost to all. ACT's top priority in Government is to create a 'Zero Tolerance for Crime' policy framework within the first year. This will include an increase in Police numbers on the front line, a strong focus on community policing and placing victims' rights over those of convicted criminals.

Police R Us

The cornerstone of ACT's approach is that the Police are simply tasked to do on, a full-time basis, what every citizen should be doing anyway—maintaining safe communities. Numerous changes in both legislation and Police practice have had the effect, in the eyes of many Kiwis, of the Police setting themselves apart and above the rest. This ranges from traffic ticket 'targets' (seen as revenue generating) to the prosecution of individuals who defend themselves.

We do not want to live in a Police state. ACT believes that communities become safer when everyone takes responsibility for dealing with problems as they arise. This means that simplistic measures, like police per capita, are not the answer. New

Zealand has record numbers of sworn Police officers now and more on the way but crime figures, especially those involving violence, continue to rise. There will never be enough Police if citizens are not motivated to take action in their neighbourhood.

The structure of the Police force is not optimised for community safety. Of the 7700+ sworn officers, the vast majority are deployed in units ranging from HQ staff to CIB, communications, vehicle inspection and traffic units, youth aid etc. Less than half are routinely assigned to general duties and when leave, courses and so on are factored out, only about half to two thirds of them are on the street in New Zealand at any time.

To offset this, a variety of makeshift measures have been implemented. These range from community patrols of shopping centres to volunteers riding

in cars or manning rural station communications.

ACT's Policing Principles

(based on Sir Robert Peel's fundamentals)

1. Police must secure the willing co-operation of the public to be able to secure and maintain their respect and confidence
2. Police, at all times, should maintain a relationship with the public that reflects that the police are the public and the public are the police; the police are only members of the public who are paid to give full-time attention to duties which every citizen has in the interests of community welfare.
3. Police should concentrate on enforcing the law and never appear to usurp the powers of the Courts.



First - Do No Harm

ACT believes that citizens should not put their life in danger on behalf of the State without also being provided the full protection of the State.

Police Reserves

This means that fulltime Police will be given every force protection measure available, on exactly the same basis as we intend to do with Defence Force and other security agency personnel. It also means that ACT will greatly expand the use of the existing provisions of the Summary Proceedings Act to appoint Special Constables to provide protection to existing Police support volunteers and current non-sworn staff (which make up 25% of New Zealand's 10,300 total Police numbers). ACT intends to include the Police as an option for Reserve Force service under our Voluntary National Service Scholarship provisions (see page 31).

Recruitment and Retention

Other recruitment and retention initiatives will include increased sourcing of foreign police officers, changing provisions to allow Police who have left under the Police Early Retirement Fund (PERF) provisions to be re-enlisted and to bring Police retirement and superannuation plans into alignment with those of the Defence Force. The introduction of Police Reserves will enable seamless transition between regular and reserve police without breaking service. It will also enable remuneration to be re-examined so that issues such as excessive duty hours can be fairly rewarded. The pool



of talent available for consideration in senior Police appointments will also expand over time.



Through the combination of Police Reserves and private security firms reducing the administrative and petty crime workload, full-time Police will be able to be re-deployed into communities and on to crimes of a more serious nature.

First - Write Good Laws

An ancient piece of wisdom and guideline for politicians in making laws is 'First - Do No Harm'. This is also referred to as the 'Law of Unintended Consequences'. While Police must always exercise discretion in dealing with offences, they should not be tasked by legislation to do so. The issue of excessive force in smacking your child is one such example of bad law-making. It is for Government to make law, which the Police enforce by bringing offenders before the Court. The Court's role is to judge and award sentence on the matter.

ACT intends to remove or amend any legislation that fails this simple constitutional test. The Regulatory Responsibility Bill is an ACT initiative now before Parliament that will ensure future laws do not get rushed through or introduce unintended consequences.

Zero Tolerance

Different Types of Offenders

ACT's view is that there are basically three types of offender. First, there are the minors who, with the typical spirit of youth, get up to mischief. A percentage of these are being used by hardened criminals to commit crime because they know the law will be unable to deal with them due to their age. Then there are the random acts – adults who spontaneously do something dumb, out of passion, impulsiveness or intoxication. Finally, there are the organised crime gangs and serial offenders.

Youth Offending

Research has shown that, if young offenders are caught and dealt with at the outset, they do not go on to commit more serious offences. This approach has many titles, from '**broken windows**' to '**zero tolerance**'. The greatest impediment to this, right now, is that the age of criminal accountability is too high. The processes in place for dealing with youth offences are too limited and far too politically correct. When behaviour is fun or exciting and has no real negative consequence, the human instinct is to repeat and extend the behaviour. Most children know right from wrong before going to school.

In policy terms, this requires a range of measures including lowering the age of criminal

ACT ZERO TOLERANCE EXPLAINED

- Zero over-looking youth crime
- Zero excuses after 3rd similar offence
- Zero parole until full sentence served
- Zero bail for violent or repeat offences
- Zero concurrent sentencing
- Zero Court delay
- Zero chance of avoiding capture
- Zero proceeds of crime left in the hands of criminals

accountability to 12 for the most serious offences. ACT intends to expand the range of non-custodial sentences available for youth offenders with custodial options available for those that do not satisfactorily complete their initial punishments. We will also create a wider range of secure youth facilities that will keep children separated from adult offenders and only grouped with those of similar developmental age. ACT believes that this group will gain most from enhancing the focus on restorative justice, victims' rights and community disapproval methods. This is also consistent with the Māori justice principles of **Muru** (compensation) and **Whakamā** (shame).

Early intervention for minor crime such as vandalism, disorderly behaviour, graffiti can save the young person from a life of crime and the nation from a lifetime of managing their lost opportunities. A few families are responsible for a large proportion of crime. Many laws negatively affect the whole community but do not change these families. ACT's solution to the core problem is to provide mentors for these failing families.



ACT intends to establish sentences for adults who use minors to commit crimes the same as those available for the worst forms of child abuse.

Swift Justice

Random Offending

Random senseless acts, range from drunken street fights to domestic violence and public damage occur every day. Often committed under the influence of alcohol or drugs, these offenders must be dealt with firmly. However, the vast majority are not an ongoing risk to society, unless there is no immediate sanction to their actions. Throwing away the key is not the answer for these people who often wake in a cell or at home the next morning thinking "what have I done?" The days of other citizens making it clear that their actions were 'not OK' are now treated as vigilante-ism. ACT believes that the laws regarding your right to defend yourself, your family and property must be strengthened.



Courts

Justice delayed is justice denied. ACT believes that New Zealand's Courts have become an expensive legal bureaucracy that is failing to deliver on the intent of the people. ACT intends to review the Courts and related systems (such as the Legal Services Agency that administers Legal Aid) with particular focus on the cost and timeliness of outcomes. We intend to introduce night and weekend courts, with greater use of Community Magistrates, to clear backlogs and reduce unfair delays.

However, the Courts can only administer justice and sentencing in accordance with laws written by Parliament. ACT will make several fundamental changes to the law to ensure that the outcomes New Zealanders have been wanting for decades happen. These include the phasing out of

automatic eligibility of parole and concurrent sentencing (**Truth in Sentencing**), reduction in legal aid entitlement relative to the number of previous convictions, automatic maximum sentence for three violence offences (**3 Strikes and You're Out**), removal of bail provisions for violent and repeat offenders and automatic custody provisions for those breaching bail.

Victims' Rights

ACT introduced amendments in 2007 that stopped the current Government from removing the automatic right of victims to be heard at parole hearings. We intend to further

strengthen victims' rights by establishing an autonomous Victim Reparation Fund from which the State will immediately pay reparations awarded to victims and recover these from the offender through wages, welfare cheques or bank accounts. ACT also plans to strengthen the Proceeds of Crime legislation to enhance asset seizure powers and all monies recovered will go into the Victim Reparation Fund.



Immigrants, Refugees and Visitors

ACT will introduce laws regarding people convicted of an offence here, or covered under our laws, who are not New Zealand citizens. In these cases, the Courts will be able to deport these people on completion of sentence. There will be no discretion for Courts where the offence carries a maximum penalty of two or more years imprisonment.

It Doesn't Pay

ACT does not believe it is realistic to plan for a total halt to crime or to have all criminals in jail. However, we do believe that effective containment of criminals, to the point that they find it difficult to disrupt the normal lives of citizens is achievable. This is the same principle that underpins our policies relating to terrorism.

Prisons

Prisons are society's way of saying that we have run out of tolerance and options with an offender. While ACT does not believe in removing all hope of reform, we do believe that current recidivism rates show our present imprisonment system is not working in the way we expect it to.

ACT intends to change many aspects of the current prison system. This includes the re-introduction of specialist companies to run the most challenging prisons - remand and maximum security. There would also be a rotating nationwide 'swing shift' of prison officers who would act as the State's audit agency. It would comprise the best officers from the State and private prison system and would assume control of a prison for brief periods with little to no warning.

ACT's sentencing policies mean that there will be a temporary increase in prison numbers. However, as the effects of our edu-

cation, health, youth at risk, social welfare and economic improvement initiatives are felt, we believe that this number will peak and begin to decline in about 10 years.

Further changes by ACT to prison legislation include the abolition of 'gang' wings and the separation of prisoners convicted of similar crimes (which is very effective in The Netherlands). This removes the 'crime school' factor from prison life.

ACT intends to legislate to completely block un-monitored communications in and out of prison which will make it difficult in terms of running illicit operations from "inside". There will be instant prison time provisions for anyone bringing contraband into a prison. These policies have to be in place before

longer sentences will be totally effective.

ACT intends to make it compulsory for inmates to participate in education or work. Those with drug and alcohol addictions will be required to attend an appropriate programme. Where contraband is found, all prisoner privileges will be removed. On the third strike, the inmate will be re-located to another prison to break their supply chain.

ACTION on Prisons

- Mix of private and public prisons plus nationwide swing-shift of prison officers to audit all prisons
- Prison numbers to peak in 5-10 years then decline
- Abolition of gang wings
- Separation of inmates with similar convictions
- Block all un-monitored communications
- Instant jail time for anyone bringing contraband into a prison and re-location for inmates in possession.
- Compulsory education or work for inmates
- Compulsory treatment for addiction related offences

Attack One-Attack All

Organised Crime and Gangs

ACT's view on organised crime is that '**An Attack on One is An Attack on All**'.

To create and run an organization for the specific purpose of committing crime is to declare war on the society in which these people and their families live. In acknowledging this fact, Government must, as it does in times of war, commit the full power of the State's capability to defend the people from attack. We will change legislation to enable all State security agencies to come together in a Whole-of-Government attack on organised crime.



Organized crime is about money. Follow the money and you find the heads of the groups that see their fellow citizens as 'bunnies' and 'John Does'. That's why ACT intends to create an Organized Crime Tactical Operations Unit based on a new statutorily independent Crown Entity. It will focus on investigating the tax and corporate structures that criminals use to launder their money. That is how Al Capone was finally brought to heel.

The Organised Crime Tactical Operations Unit will be a small, highly capable, multi-disciplinary group that will have the capability to conduct operations separately or in cooperation with other security agencies, against organised crime elements.

ACT cannot offer hard-working Kiwis a low flat tax system without ensuring that those who would hurt and steal from law-abiding citizens are brought to account. In this way, New Zealand can address organized crime, international terrorism and corporate money laundering in one view.

ACT believes in freedom and personal

liberty above all else and any legislative changes to enable the containment of criminals must first pass that test.

We must stop reactive, media-based legislation and acknowledge that violence is a mechanism for gaining money and to stop it we must understand the criminals' intent.

Gangs no longer deal in two-bit crimes – illegal activity has become very sophisticated. Black market sales of tobacco grown in the Tasman region, for instance, are already a significant concern. As Government tariff increases on alcohol and tobacco

bite harder, it is likely that the criminal attractiveness of these items will rise. Petrol and food, including livestock and shellfish can also be added to this list. As in other countries, attacks on trucking firms and depots, rather than armoured cars and banks, will increase.

Gambling, fast money loans, 're-birthing' of stolen vehicles and protection rackets are all sources of income to gangs. A recent appearance is texted death threats where the 'hitman' asks for money in order to cancel the 'contract'.

Advanced fee, false invoicing and various forms of internet-based fraud are also organized crime 'products'. So, too, are money laundering and identity theft. Counterfeit items are rapidly growing, areas for criminals with an annual value \$512 billion (USD) They account for 5-7% of total world trade ranging from movies, music, clothing and jewellery to pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, car and aircraft parts.

Civil Defence

It's a Matter of 'When' Not 'If'

ACT believes that New Zealand's Civil Defence & Emergency Management (CDEM) system requires a large scale overhaul. We agree with research that shows natural disasters are a 'when' not 'if' scenario for this country. There are significant capability gaps between policy, preparedness, response and recovery. Capabilities and funds are too low or are allocated to so many departments across Government that the benefits are lost in trying to coordinate their use. ACT's Whole-of-Government approach to national security will put an end to stovepipe planning however, this will take time. A natural disaster may be much closer.



While the the Ministry of Civil Defence and Emergency Management has limited operational roles, it is largely a policy ministry. It is often criticised for lack of response to events that it is not structured nor resourced to deal with. CDEM preparedness, response and recovery is largely in the hands of individuals, groups and communities. ACT believes that this situation places people's lives and our economy at great risk.

Optimum National Power (ONP) includes the ability to harness all the resources of the nation for agreed purposes. Protecting ourselves, in the event of disaster, is one such scenario. To achieve this, two key elements must be implemented. The first is logistics. It is essential to have a national database of response assets, ranging from plant to construction materials. Second, ACT intends to consoli-

date response units that are currently dispersed between the Defence Force, Police, emergency services and many more, into a single CDEM response force with a shadow command structure to be activated in time of emergency. While this occurs now within exercises, the legislation at present is so confused that it can only work by the co-operation of individuals. ACT does not believe that is robust enough.

Market signals also have a role to play in people's behaviour and ACT intends to involve the insurance industry in developing emergency planning. We also intend to review related legislation, such as that covering the Earthquake and War Damage Commission, to establish common guidelines on the extent that individual's should take personal responsibility for their preparedness.

Cross-competence within the emergency services sector is also essential if local responses to CDEM events are to be effectively managed.



Emergency services contribute daily to the safety of all Kiwis. However, ACT believes that it is time for all emergency services to be re-examined as one group with a view to improving structure, cross-competence, communications (including the 111 phone service) and funding.

Emergency Services

Help When You Need It

The emergency services group includes not only fire and ambulance but all those groups that provide help when you need it in an emergency. Using that definition, ACT has expanded this part of our policy to also consider rescue helicopters, the Royal New Zealand Coastguard, Search and Rescue groups and Surf Life Saving New Zealand. ACT's vision is for a fully integrated, cross-trained emergency service.

Fire

The Fire Service has a small full-time core and a majority of volunteers that provide a wide range of emergency responses including fires, vehicle incidents and hazardous substance threats.

Ambulance

The ambulance services of New Zealand are staffed with a mix of dedicated full-time and part-time personnel but are facing tough times. Our society cannot do without them.

Rescue Helicopters

Twelve separate services, administered by Trusts and funded through a mix of ACC and Health monies plus community grants and sponsorship operate our rescue helicopters. Given the 'Golden Hour' principle of preserving life, ACT believes that this is no longer an optional service.

Coastguard

It is estimated that 1 million kiwis go boating or fishing. In this context, it is unacceptable that the Royal New Zealand Coastguard has to rely on grants, sponsorship and charity to fund its operation. The volunteer crews go out in the worst circumstances to save the life of another – even though this is a core role of Government.

Search & Rescue

Search and rescue (SAR) teams are largely a mix of civilian volunteers

with some local Police involvement and occasional logistic support by the NZDF. ACT proposes to review the structure and funding of both rural and urban SAR groups to reflect our basic position that the preservation of life is a duty of Government.

Surf Life Saving

Few of us have not made use of the beaches in summertime. At the most popular areas, our safety is ensured by Surf Life Guards. The 13,000 volunteers fund their operations from charitable sources. ACT believes that it is appropriate to include them in the emergency services review, as is the case already in many Western countries.

ACT's Vision for Emergency Services

- An integrated, nationwide emergency response service
- Cross-trained paramedics available no matter which area or agency is the first responder
- A zero-defect '111' system
- Training and progression integrated with ACT's Voluntary National Service scheme
- People who must be rescued due to their own negligence pay for the service

Border Management

Mending the Fence

A safe New Zealand is like a healthy body. A natural and enhanced defence allows Kiwis to pass back and forth unimpeded but stops threats from entering or deals with them quickly when identified. This requires seamless integration of border control measures including customs, immigration and management of airspace and territorial waters.



ACT believes that New Zealand must base its border control on a comprehensive intelligence network to be forewarned of potential risks. However, a reduced flow of information since the breakdown of ANZUS coupled with the stovepipe planning enshrined in Government legislation detracts from achieving this outcome. Some inter-agency initiatives, such as the National Targetting Centre operated by Customs, MAF, Immigration and Maritime NZ have been very successful. ACT intends to further develop these into formalised structures as part of its Whole-of-Government security strategy and to consolidate fragmented intelligence resources.

Ultimately, New Zealand must rebuild relationships with our allies to ensure that we get the information we need to protect our borders. It is essential that we engage our neighbours in the Pacific region and assist them to also develop their Customs and border control procedures. At the present time, there is huge diversity in both Customs legislation and capability across the many Pacific Island nations,

which allows problems to reach our shores that should be dealt with by others. ACT proposes a new NATO-style regional treaty that will enable harmonisation of all resources in the region.

The New Zealand Customs Service accounts for 18% of all Government revenue (\$9.2b) and its workload will further increase with new Free Trade Agreements. ACT believes that this service requires greater resourcing and new capabilities to meet the challenges that the nation faces. The highest priority capability requirement now is for short to medium range surveillance. The RNZAF P3 fleet is too expensive to operate in this role and ACT will immediately seek to solve this capability gap.

Our economy suffers if all goods are slowed down on arrival and departure. We need to get the balance right. ACT will invest in new screening technology at all merchant ports of entry and increase New Zealand's access to satellite surveillance systems.

Alienating law abiding Kiwis does not improve security. ACT believes that current airport security procedures have largely inconvenienced travellers and added cost but contributed little to safety. There are many potential targets for terrorists that are completely unprotected. ACT intends to remove security screening of all passengers on domestic flights and re-focus security agencies on persons-of-interest, high risk goods and forward screening at international ports of origin.



People at the Door

Kia Ora - We've Been Expecting You

ACT's policy regarding people arriving in New Zealand addresses three types of traveller and each requires different treatment. Those holding citizenship who are not listed as persons-of-interest should be able to travel unhindered.

Transit

People, aircraft and ships transiting our ports, territorial airspace and waters, and temporary arrivals (tourists, business and governmental visitors, student and work visa holders) require forward processing and monitoring based on risk assessment. Tourism is essential to the economy and a negative experience on arrival can sour an entire journey. While safety of Kiwis is paramount, our entry and departure procedures and the degree of safety available to visitors should reflect that which we would offer them in our own homes.

Immigrants and Refugees

ACT intends to strengthen forward screening of immigrants to ensure that those who apply to enter with specific professional or trade qualifications, are entitled to practice those skills here. We believe that new criteria for residency and citizenship are required to stop this country being used as a back door route to Australia and elsewhere.



While New Zealand has international responsibilities in regard to refugees, ACT believes that we should apply tougher standards for acceptance of individuals

and reduce the scope of the family re-unification provisions, which we believe are being abused. It is unreasonable for Kiwis to endure diminished safety or service provision in health and other sectors simply because refugees can arrive without comprehensive criminal and health profiling.



Problem Visitors

ACT intends to change the law so that anyone arriving unannounced without proper documentation is not allowed to enter the country and is deported immediately.

ACT will introduce laws regarding people convicted of an offence here, or covered under our laws, who are not New Zealand citizens. In these cases, the Courts will be able to deport these people on completion of sentence. There will be no discretion for Courts where the offence carries a maximum penalty of two or more years imprisonment.

Economic Zone

Using and Protecting Our Assets

New Zealand's economic zone is a vast wealth of resources. It is vital to our economic well-being. Our National Security strategy must include both sustainable exploitation and effective protection of this resource. Only about 3% of our exclusive economic zone (EEZ) generates almost all our wealth. We must plan for the sustainable use of the other 97%. If we don't, or if we cannot protect it, other nations or groups will.



ACT believes that current economic zone policies are in need of substantial change. The Resource Management Act impedes, rather than improves, sustainable development and use of resources. Fisheries quota are based on disputed and incomplete research and must be re-considered before we see the local fishing industry effectively destroyed. The Oceans Policy Group appears to be more

focused on protection rather than sustainable use of our maritime resources. ACT believes that all these functions must be brought together into one coherent resource management policy and will introduce legislation to that effect.

Biosecurity

As a trading nation and tourist destination, New Zealand relies on its 'clean green' reputation and natural resources. Without these, our economy would be vulnerable and this is why they are an important aspect of national security. ACT's policy in this area is closely aligned with elements of defence and border management. The most important capability is strong intelligence networks and this requires effective relationships with all regional partners.



ACT intends to invest in new technology for screening goods at all ports of entry. Understanding the true nature of biosecurity risks and their likely solutions requires scientific input. ACT views the role of Government as providing an environment that will increase relevant and more balanced research output from universities, public and private sector science facilities on biosecurity and fisheries management.

Sustainable Management

Shipping Lanes

New Zealand must have reliable shipping lanes to move products to their markets. Growing incidences of piracy and merchant fleets using 'Flags of Convenience' are both risks to our activities as a trading nation. ACT intends to place the legislation pertaining to New Zealand flagged ships, their crews and international maritime law under the oversight of a National Security Advisor.

Interdiction

ACT plans to enhance our ability to interdict poachers and unwelcome transits in our EEZ as well as to introduce tougher penalties for those that would steal our assets. This means new and upgraded maritime surveillance and interception capabilities as well as the ability to contribute to the protection of New Zealand and allied-flagged merchant ships.

Defence Force

NZForce21 - Future Capability Focus

Developed nations have a range of options in order to enforce their national will or respond to threats against the achievement of their goals. These response options are diplomatic (e.g. dialogue and protest), legal (e.g. world courts), economic (e.g. sanctions) and military (either the threat or actual use). If we do not have a credible defence force, we significantly limit our options to respond to challenges.

Political debate on defence policy over the last 70 years has centred largely on hardware purchases. ACT's vision is to create a governance framework within which Defence commanders can get on with the job for which they are employed without political interference and with continuity of supply assured. Our intent is to focus the New Zealand Defence Force (NZDF) on capabilities that reflect current and future challenges to New Zealand's goals. The NZDF will be a significant component in the development of New Zealand's Optimum National Power (ONP).

The current state of conflict in the world is asymmetric. One example of this is powerful and well structured conventional forces pitched against loosely networked, poorly equipped and relatively un-trained insurgents. Instead of just military forces, we now see many government agencies involved in a range of war-like operations. This is described as Fourth Generation Warfare (4GW).

In the near future, the involvement of all of society, known as Fifth Generation War-

fare (5GW), will be the norm. The reason for this is that warfare reflects society and there are strong political, economic, social and technological trends that are shaping our security environment. Examples of these include:

1. Pressure on the relevance of the nation state
2. Rapid appearance of smaller economic entities.
3. Increasing loyalty to a cause rather than the nation.
4. The Internet and advances in biotechnology and nano-technology.

Just as in science, the rate of change of our security requirements is exponential rather than linear. This means that New Zealand cannot continue to focus solely on equipment life cycles of up to 30+ years based on a 10 year Long-Term Development Plan (LDTP). To do so is not just preparing for the last war but is actually choosing to travel a rapidly divergent path from known trends while spending vast sums of taxpayer money in preparing for the last generation of warfare. We are not advocating an end to current procurements but rather describing a 'both/and' governance framework for a considered transition into 5GW capabilities.



The New Zealand
Ministry of Defence
Manatū Kaupapa Waonga

NEW ZEALAND
DEFENCE FORCE
TE OPE KAATUA O AOTEAROA





The NZDF provides vital capability in achieving our intent of keeping all Kiwis safe and prosperous but it cannot be viewed in isolation. Our approach to the Defence Force is based on the over-arching goal of generating Optimum National Power for New Zealand. The 8 principles described below, in priority order, apply equally to all the agencies that contribute to New Zealand's National Security. This is the basis on which ACT will create or amend legislation.

Zero Tolerance for War or Crime

Specialist capabilities held only within the NZDF for war-fighting will also be considered as part of ACT's plan to neutralise organised crime. Crime against Kiwis is no different to conducting war against our society.

An attack on one is an attack on all just as is stated in NATO Article 5. In order to avoid departmental duplication of assets, it is essential that the NZDF be available to defend Kiwis in all situations.

Force Protection

Government has a special responsibility to protect those who put their lives in danger on behalf of society. Rapid acquisition and deployment of every reasonable force protection measure is the highest priority in ACT's non-legislative plan to create the Defence Force that society needs and expects.

Force Regeneration

Regeneration of the NZDF begins and ends with people. This starts with keeping those

PRINCIPLES & PRIORITIES

1. Zero Tolerance for War or Crime
2. Force Protection
3. Force Regeneration
4. De-Politicisation
5. Independent but not Isolationist
6. Home, Region, World
7. Force Projection & Deterrence
8. Preparation for 5GW

we already have and also making the best use of existing personnel resources. ACT recognises that rates of pay are important but that research clearly shows it falls after job satisfaction and pride in the role. The NZDF of the future will comprise a significant reserve (part-time) compo-

nent which will be supported by multiple initiatives. The leading strand of this will be Voluntary National Service Scholarships. Improved conditions for veterans and their families is also an essential element of ACT's force regeneration plan.

De-Politicisation

ACT's Regulatory Responsibility Bill, once passed will ensure that any future legislation passed through Parliament must consider National Security implications. The creation of a statutorily independent National Security Advisor (NSA) and the removal of the DESG/ODESC from the Department of Prime Minister & Cabinet will also assist in the de-politicisation of Defence.



Independent not Isolationist

ACT supports New Zealand's stance in the world community as an independent nation. However, that does not mean isolationist. New Zealand lacks the resources to defend itself and is reliant on trade for economic survival. Isolationism costs more and is harder to achieve than any other international relations strategy. To this end, ACT's intent is to repair relationships with traditional allies and to create appropriate new relationships including one, coherent 'NATO-Style' Treaty Organisation in the Asia-Pacific region.

Home, Region, World

Except for unforeseen events in our Strategic Area of Interest, New Zealand domestic security issues will be addressed before extending national influence into the region or beyond. This includes a review of all aspects of the Pacific Plan, Mutual Assistance Programme and NZAid. Current projects will continue but no new items added until this is complete.

Force Projection & Deterrence

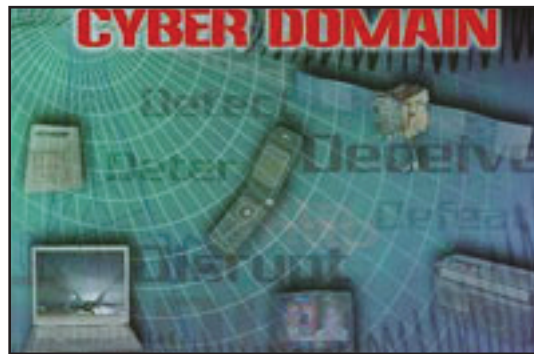
Many security capabilities are interdependent and therefore only useful in the context that they can be or are employed. Current and future capabilities must be able to be projected and sustained in the Theatre of Operations for which they are intended. ACT's view is that containment of international threats is the only realistic outcome for the future rather than the traditional view of total victory. New Zealand will take an active role in contribut-

ing to the general deterrent effect of coalitions that support freedom, democracy and the rule of law. In the post-peak oil world, force projection and sustainment needs will change significantly.

Preparation for 5GW

The world is already transitioning into 5GW, and this provides both directional guidance and a significant opportunity for New Zealand. While this country lacks the resources to take a major role in world security events in a traditional 4GW sense, that is not the case in a 5GW environment. ACT's Optimum National Power (ONP)

model provides the basis for the creation of NZForce21. A key element of this approach is the positioning of New Zealand as world leaders in cyberspace warfare.



DEFENCE POLICY

Many of the problems facing the NZDF are created by the political framework within which it operates.

White Papers on Defence are infrequent. The last one was produced in 1997 and largely endorsed the 1991 paper, despite significant environmental changes like the Gulf War and end of the Cold War. Given this record, it is unlikely that either the Labour or National Party's promised review in 2009 will do much to change the status quo. Labour's has been to base decisions on political expediency rather than within the context of a coherent strategy.

Defence Policy must begin with an accurate assessment of the situation and risk. The last assessment by New Zealand's External Assessments Bureau (EAB) was in 2000. Clearly, the post-Sept 11 2001 world is very different. ACT believes that a formal assessment is the first step to get-



UP TO NOW

ting policy on the right track. Australia is currently undertaking public consultation as part of its Defence White Paper process. The opportunity to align the activities was self-evident but has been lost.

Labour's Defence Sustainability Initiative (DSI 2005) for which \$4.4B is committed over 10 years amounts to very little extra for Defence. In the financial years ending 2002-2008, the Government recovered \$3.8B

in depreciation and capital charge from Vote Defence. Most of the items in the Long Term Development Plan (LDTP) were already under consideration in 1999.

Rather than churn taxpayers' money through the hands of bureaucrats, ACT believes that it is better to review the appropriateness of the funding structures for core arms of State like Defence, which must be asset heavy and cannot behave like private sector entities.



IMMEDIATE *actions*

ACT has maintained consistent public positions on NZDF-related issues. While planning for the future is essential, there are several matters for which immediate action is required.

Air Combat Force

There are two issues relating to air combat capability. First, due to the current Government's mismanagement of the disbandment and disposal process of the 34 Skyhawk (A4) and Aermacchi (MB339) aircraft, the option of restoring the Air Combat Force (ACF), as it existed previously, does not now exist. The only option for the A4 aircraft is for engineer training, collections and parts. A detailed proposal for disbursement has been released separately by ACT. The RNZAF should be reimbursed the estimated \$20m in operational funding that it has spent maintaining the ACF Disposal Unit since 2002



The second issue is whether New Zealand should restore the air combat capability. To re-develop the personnel competence for this role would take 5-8 years and major threats never arise with that much notice. However, New Zealand is not now in a position economically to justify purchasing and maintaining a fleet of modern jet fighters. ACT has developed a middle-ground solution to the either/or dilemma.

Until NZForce21 and Regional Treaty structures are developed, it is our intention to maintain personnel competence through the establishment of an RNZAF Advanced Flying Training School utilising the existing MB339 fleet. This unit would provide basic jet training for members of

the NZDF as well as students from the Defence Forces of our regional partners and allies. This will shorten lead times in case of major crisis and provide an incentive for Kiwis to remain here or to return home rather than choose to serve in other air forces. Other countries would pay the full cost of training for their personnel. New Zealand's MB339s are a unique variant that are capable of carrying the same or similar ordnance in current service. This allows for the re-formed unit to have limited operational roles within New Zealand.



As part of our regional security plan, ACT intends to allow for NZDF sub-units to serve routine tours of duty in allied forces. This offers the possibility of maintaining fully trained fighter pilots and engineers operating in the modern aircraft of our allies - as was the case in the RAF in WWII.

Nuclear Propulsion

The Labour Government's mid-80s decision to extend the nuclear-free legislation to include propulsion, led to the breakdown of ANZUS, which was our only functional mutual defence treaty. New Zealand's intelligence flow, purchase priority and many other elements have been affected as a consequence.

It is now accepted internationally that nuclear energy is a 'Smart Green' option. In a post-peak oil world, nuclear propelled cargo vessels are inevitable and under current legislation, that would mean we were unable to get goods in and out of the country. For these two reasons, ACT intends to repeal the clauses banning nuclear propulsion.

IMMEDIATE **act**ions

Reserves / Territorials

The feeling of involvement and connection between society and its security forces is essential. In the 5GW environment, rather than thinking of citizen soldiers in the outdated sense of providing surge capability, they become the centre of gravity for national security. Current attrition of NZDF Reserves is of critical concern. ACT will immediately halt further degradation of these elements by separating vote allocations in the short term and stopping all reserve unit disbandments and amalgamations currently under consideration until NZForce21 planning is complete. A cross-party Parliamentary Committee on Defence Reserves will be formed based on the successful UK model in order to consolidate support and viewpoints from all parties in Parliament.



ACT's Voluntary National Service Scholarship scheme (VNS - see page xx) will see Reserve Force numbers rise to approximately 20,000 over 5 years as part of a 30,000-strong NZDF.

Recruitment & Retention

NZDF personnel turnover is currently around 15% per annum but, in critical trades and rank levels, the situation is much worse. ACT's plan to turn this around is based on a whole-of-life model that incorporates youth-at-risk, New Zealand Cadet Forces, new conditions of service, seamless regular and reserve transition and additional benefits to service families and veterans. It is based on a comprehensive insurance-based scheme that is consistent with the Party's approach

for all Kiwis. However, it recognises the special risk and pressures of serving the country. This will apply not just to NZDF but all Government agencies that perform national security functions.

Veterans

National security cannot operate effectively without proper consideration being given to the treatment of veterans of all the many groups that contribute to keeping society safe. This goes beyond society's debt to veterans and also includes the beneficial effect of a coherent veteran's policy on retention and recruitment.

Once within Government, ACT would move immediately to direct that one staff member from the Ministry of Social Development be permanently attached to the RNZRSA in each region to manage, on-site, the benefits currently available to returned and service personnel.

Defence Real Estate

While efficient use of resources is to be encouraged, the Defence estate has specific requirements that go beyond cost accounting. ACT's view is that, where possible, Government agencies should share resources. However, the special nature of national security agencies means that Defence facilities must be viewed under additional criteria.



ACT will halt all current Defence estate processes until NZForce21 requirements are known. This includes RNZAF Whenuapai, military satellite camps and rifle ranges and also a number of smaller provincials facilities which, while owned by Defence,

IMMEDIATE **act**ions

Rising Cost of Hardware

Military hardware is expensive to purchase and is worth only a fraction of its initial value once purchased. ACT intends to change depreciation policy on military hardware from straight line through life to actual market value. This means that, until a review of core State finance models is complete, the NZDF will benefit in its operating funds due to a reduction in the depreciation component of its vote. A policy of cross-border leasing of Defence hardware, instead of purchase, is a top priority for ACT.

Civilianisation of Support Functions

As part of efficiency initiatives and also reflective of diminishing personnel numbers, the NZDF has civilianised many of its support functions ranging from catering to maintenance. While this is a pragmatic solution to current issues, it presents the NZDF with a dilemma in regard to deployability and operational sustainability. This is due to the Laws of War and the status of civilians on the battlefield.

ACT intends to incentivise Defence civilian contractors to have a percentage of their staff, (with a planning figure of 15% currently in use), as members of the Reserve. This means that they can be mobilised for operations without significant pre-deployment effort. In the future, this will become a standard requirement for companies wishing to bid for support function contracts with the NZDF. This model is already used by some of our allies and will also apply to contracts with some other New Zealand security agencies.



New Zealand Defence Industry

As a free-market oriented Party, ACT supports the concept of a strong defence industry group within the New Zealand economy. This means that we will seek to buy or lease from New Zealand companies, where products are comparable in quality and price, with overseas-sourced options.



ACT views the New Zealand defence industry, in the future, as forming an integral element of NZForce21 and will initiate discussions with industry groups such as the New Zealand Defence Industry Association to seek their assistance in ensuring that its members are well placed to support New Zealand's transition into the 5GW era and especially into cyberspace warfare leadership.

Pacific Islands

The South-West Pacific region is experiencing ongoing instability as part of the natural transition from colonial control to independence and democracy. While ACT intends to review New Zealand's role and support to our neighbours in a Whole of Government approach, we believe that many issues can be better addressed by using the resources of the substantial Pacific Island community resident in New Zealand. ACT will immediately establish an advisory group on the SW Pacific region using leaders of the many nations who are now New Zealand citizens. Ultimately, this group will be chaired by the National Security Advisor.

Tax on Operational Remuneration

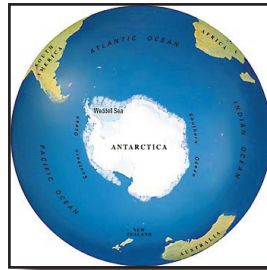
ACT will move to make all pay and allowances for New Zealand security personnel

SHAPING NZFORCE21

While there is substantial work to do in order to plan for the transition of today's NZDF to being a significant component of NZForce21, several factors will shape ACT's approach.

Antarctica's 'Gibraltar'

The world is faced with increasing constraints on mineral resources and ACT believes that it is inevitable some nations or groups will choose to ignore international conventions regarding exploitation of Antarctica. As the most useful staging point to the southern Arctic region, New Zealand must prepare, in the future, to be able to deter or despatch attempts to enter Antarctica via New Zealand and also to have the capability to assist in halting undesirable activities there.



NATO-Style Regional Mutual Defence

Although New Zealand has several standardisation and relationship based agreements, we have no functional mutual defence treaties that address all our regional and national interests. ACT does not believe it is possible or appropriate to seek to re-establish ANZUS in this role. We intend to have New Zealand take a leadership role in the creation of a 'NATO-style' mutual defence treaty for the Asia-Pacific region. Membership of this would reflect traditional allies and new friends and would be based on similar lines to NATO Article 5 - an attack on one is an attack on all. NZForce21 capabilities will be configured on this assumption.

30,000 NZDF Personnel

ACT's intent is to increase the total size

of the NZDF to 30,000 within 5 years. Two thirds of those will be reservists in all three services. We intend to employ current and new legislation to achieve this figure, which is based, in part, on the accepted 3:1 sustainability model. However, in the case of Reserves, the sustainability planning figure is 6:1 due to other factors of less impact to regular personnel.

The NZForce21 model also employs Handy's 'shamrock' staffing concept of core, specialist contractor and casual contractor. There will be seamless transition between regular and reserve. The current reserve requirement on release from regular service (normally 4 years) will be enforced.

Voluntary National Service scholarships, which provide student loan offset for serving the country, will be managed to make up the balance. Sub-units and individuals will be attached, on an ongoing basis, for full tours of duty within the forces of our allies.

Cyberspace Warfare Leadership

As the world becomes more dependent on communications, the battle for control of the electromagnetic spectrum, referred to as 'Cyberspace' will become critical to national and international security. ACT intends to develop capabilities within NZ-



Force21 that will enable New Zealand to become world leaders in this battlespace domain. As a result, New Zealand will become a major player in the world intelligence community.

SHAPING NZFORCE21

Post-Peak Oil - Force Projection

Fuel is a significant factor for defence forces worldwide in terms of cost, availability and supply logistics. In the post-peak oil world, it is inevitable that nuclear propulsion for shipping will become cost effective. As a consequence, maritime power will regain ascendancy as the means of projecting force. This is a major consideration in ACT's plans for NZForce21 and why we believe it essential not to further degrade our blue water naval combat capability and experience.



Remote Economic Zone Surveillance

The Asia Pacific region contains about 30% of the world total of exclusive economic zones (EEZ). It is not practical to spend hours flying around the ocean looking for intruders. A new treaty will facilitate seamless alignment of patrolling effort. ACT agrees with expert analysis that EEZ surveillance in the future will be done largely by satellites and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV). This means that NZForce21 must be configured toward those capabilities. It will also be necessary to have an on-call, self-contained Rapid Reaction Force that can move to interdict EEZ intrusions.



Leadership in Veterans' Policy

ACT intends to position New Zealand as international leaders in policy and practice relating to veterans. This will be based on the principle that anyone who puts their life in danger at the request of the State, deserves special consideration. ACT's def-

inition of veteran is therefore inclusive of Police, Emergency Services, Customs, Fisheries etc. The treatment of veterans is explained more fully on page 32, however, it will include a whole-of-life model that can begin prior to joining and continue on until death. Many benefits will also apply to the immediate family of the veteran. Legislation will be changed regarding the manner in which unknown hazard exposures (such as Agent Orange and Post-Traumatic Stress) are handled by the Government. If we want to solve recruitment and retention in NZForce21, we must have an outstanding veterans' policy.

Vote: National Security

In the future, ACT sees the consolidation of several current 'stovepipe' funding arrangements brought together into VOTE: National Security. Not only will this rationalise planning and reduce Government waste, it is also one of the mechanisms by which ACT intends to reduce Parliament to 100 MPs and Cabinet to 10 over time, as the people of New Zealand requested by referendum some time ago.

National security funding will not be based on 'percentage of GDP' or other misleading formulae. We will do what we need to do in order to keep Kiwis safe. We will focus on the development of Optimum National Power and fund it to the level required.

Aligned Social Policy

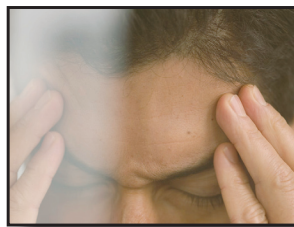
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ACT believes that an effective National Security strategy must be properly aligned with social policy. Without this taking place, the arms and services of the State that are tasked with the safety of us all become disconnected from society and both groups lose trust and confidence in the other.

The Regulatory Responsibility Bill, introduced into Parliament by ACT in 2007, will help to ensure that every new law will be considered for its overall cohesiveness with existing legislation. However, there are some areas that must be dealt with immediately. There are also new social policy initiatives listed in this section which ACT will introduce.

Mental Health

The delivery of community-based care for the most seriously mentally ill has fallen well-short of expectations. The Police are neither trained nor equipped to deal with this but they are often called on to do so. Around 15 percent of prisoners suffer from an untreated mental illness despite being no more violent than the general population. Prison is no place to house those with psychiatric conditions but while patients fall through the cracks of a fragmented health system this practice will continue. This is a failure by the Government to take care of some of our most vulnerable citizens and needs to be comprehensively reviewed. In the short term ACT intends to establish more supervised housing and



ensure those with a mental illness and/or drug or alcohol addiction are treated in prison.

Youth Mentoring

ACT's Youth Mentoring policy is about providing a fence at the top of the cliff rather than an ambulance at the bottom. The providers that we need already exist. They range from the New Zealand Cadet Forces, Scouts and Guides to Outward Bound-style adventures, the Limited Service Volunteer scheme, and many school-based academies. ACT intends to bring these into a nationwide plan while leaving the groups independent.



Voluntary National Service

ACT's Voluntary National Service Scholarship Scheme (VNS) is a concept that has been proven effective in other countries. It addresses the specialised labour shortage, youth attitudes, state costs and outbound migration issues in a fresh, innovative way that is consistent with ACT's approach to problems. It could be linked to many schemes from student loans to KiwiSaver, health, Courts and Police (e.g. diversion), neighbourhood watch, social welfare, trade training etc. It provides a basis for developing leadership, commitment and a sense of service before self - the key components of nationhood which are essential if New Zealand is to catch up and overtake similar countries such as Australia.

Choose to Serve

Voluntary National Service Scholarships

New Zealand has been experiencing an exodus of talent, particularly young graduates and tradespeople, for many years. ACT believes that it is appropriate for students to make a contribution (currently 30%) to the total cost of their tertiary education but acknowledges the impact that student loans, coupled with low wage rates, is having on our economy.

ACT intends to implement a Voluntary National Service Scholarship (VNS) scheme that will enable people to pay off their student loan, either in whole or part, through voluntarily working in designated professions, trades or locations. This will provide a further incentive for our aspirational young citizens while providing Government with a mechanism for targeting areas of need. It will help to stem the outflow of talent overseas and make inroads into burgeoning student debt levels.

VNS is an element in developing Optimum National Power. It is a key part of ACT's Vision to **Bring our Children Home**. However, the improvement of our economy, to the point that our young people feel that they have a future in New Zealand, is critical to overall success.

We believe that there is a genuine interest in the community toward serving society. However, economic realities such as student loans, excessive taxation, a 7-day working week and the need for dual incomes mean that all organisations are finding it increasingly hard to attract

members.

The VNS concept is simple. During, or upon leaving high school, a person can apply for the scheme.



They might choose to serve first and study later, study first and serve later or do both in parallel. Full time service (1-2 years) or part-time service (4-6 years at up to 7 weeks per year) in

any of the designated streams would be paid as a basic salary and relevant training given. VNS would also offset their student debt according to a formula. It will also bridge the qualifications/experience gap for newly qualified Kiwis.

The Government must place clear limits on what entry streams are available, determined by areas of need (e.g defence, doctors, nurses, police). If we provide an incentive to our talented young Kiwis to serve their country in this way, those sectors, the individuals and the country will be the better for it.



Kiwis have a long-held aversion to anything 'compulsory'. ACT does not support compulsory military training and, although the Defence Force will be a VNS option, this is not its purpose.

ACT believes that many immigrants and refugees find it hard to adopt the symbols of their new nation. VNS offers them the chance to stand proud underneath the New Zealand flag and achieve a true sense of citizenship not easily found elsewhere.

Veterans

The Time Has Come to Say “Fair’s Fair”

If National Security is to operate effectively, veterans must be considered an essential element of the policy. Without this focus, recruitment, retention and morale become serious capability degraders. Our veterans have contributed significantly to the freedoms we enjoy today. They deserve more than a one-off pageant and a Veterans’ Year badge.



ACT’s policy is based on fundamental changes to legislation affecting veterans and on the new basis that anyone who puts their life in danger at the request of the State is considered a veteran.

ACT’s Veteran’s policy has three principles:

1. **Before** enlistment – This sets out the ‘deal’ between the New Zealand people and those they ask to protect them. It assists recruitment and clarifies expectations and obligations,
2. **During** Service - Dealing with issues that arise during service that will have long term effects on the person and their family. This provides priority care, peace of mind and aids retention of valuable personnel. It recognises the fact that people are serving their country and does not unfairly discriminate between services or full time versus part time duties,
3. **After** leaving the service - This needs to be a framework, not reactive legislation. If a soldier, for instance, suffers from a chemical agent, a bullet wound or psychological trauma, the fact remains the

same. They, or their family, are living less than full lives as a result of us asking them to do something important and risky, on behalf of us all.

Specific Changes

ACT will direct that one staff member from the Ministry of Social Development be permanently attached to the RNZRSA in each region to manage, on-site, the benefits currently available to returned and service personnel.

We will create a comprehensive insurance-based Veterans’ scheme that will apply to all from enlistment through to death.

Doing the right thing for our veterans is not just about money. What ACT is actually proposing, via these and other measures, is to give them back their mana! Veterans’ concerns have been dismissed by successive governments. They have made



them wait for medical care behind gang brawl participants and drunk drivers while more data is collected about their claims. Veterans have been expected to queue up at WINZ for payments

as beneficiaries (which they are definitely not!). Successive governments have degraded and destroyed relationships with our friends overseas that these men and women forged in blood. ACT says that the time has come to say ‘fair’s fair’

Lest We Forget

Abbreviations

4GW	Fourth generation warfare	NZ	New Zealand
5GW	Fifth generation warfare	NZAid	NZ Overseas Aid Agency
A4	Skyhawk jet fighter/bomber	NZ Army	New Zealand's Army
ACF	Air combat force	NZDF	New Zealand Defence Force
ACT	New Zealand political party	NZForce21	ACT's working title for the NZDF of the future
ANZUS	Australia, New Zealand, United States mutual defence treaty (not operating)	ODESC	Officials Committee for Domestic and External Security Coordination
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	ONP	Optimum National Power
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations	RAF	Royal Air Force
CDEM	Civil Defence and Emergency Management	RNZAF	Royal New Zealand Air Force
CDR	Closer Defence Relations between Australia and NZ	RNZN	Royal New Zealand Navy
CER	Closer Economic Relations between Australia and NZ	RNZRSA	Royal New Zealand Returned and Services Association
DESG	Domestic and External Security Group	SAR	Search and Rescue
DSI	Defence Sustainability Initiative	UAV	Un-manned Aerial Vehicle
DPMC	Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet	USD	United States Dollars
EAB	External Assessments Bureau	VNS	Voluntary National Service
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone		
FPDA	Five Power Defence Arrangements-series of bilateral defence consultation relationships between the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia and Singapore covering aggression toward the two latter nations.	WINZ	Work and Income New Zealand
GDP	Gross Domestic Product	WWII	World War Two
LTDP	NZ Defence Force Long Term Development Plan		
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry		
MB339	Aermacchi jet trainer		
MOD	Ministry of Defence		
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation		
NSA	National Security Advisor		

**International Relations and National Security
ACT NEW ZEALAND**

Keeping Kiwis Safe in the 21st Century

For The Fallen

Lawrence Binyon 1869-1943

*With proud thanksgiving, a mother for her children,
England mourns for her dead across the sea.
Flesh of her flesh they were, spirit of her spirit,
Fallen in the cause of the free.*

*Solemn the drums thrill; Death august and royal
Sings sorrow up into immortal spheres,
There is music in the midst of desolation
And a glory that shines upon our tears.*

*They went with songs to the battle, they were young,
Straight of limb, true of eye, steady and aglow.
They were staunch to the end against odds uncounted;
They fell with their faces to the foe.*

*They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old:
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.*

*They mingle not with their laughing comrades again;
They sit no more at familiar tables of home;
They have no lot in our labour of the day-time;
They sleep beyond England's foam.*

*But where our desires are and our hopes profound,
Felt as a well-spring that is hidden from sight,
To the innermost heart of their own land they are known
As the stars are known to the Night;*

*As the stars that shall be bright when we are dust,
Moving in marches upon the heavenly plain;
As the stars that are starry in the time of our darkness,
To the end, to the end, they remain*

2008

act

Just one tick is all it takes

Authorised by Nick Kearney, 137 Beach Haven Road, Auckland