

# Why David Seymour's speech of 28 January 2024 is a master class in White Supremacy and racist attacks on Māori

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The following provides a series of brief explanatory notes on those aspects of David Seymour's 28 January 2024 speech that advocate the use of White Supremacy and racism against Māori. The analytical tools deployed for this analysis are Oxford English Dictionary definitions of White Supremacy and racism, and the Waitangi Tribunal's summary of the differing Māori and British value systems.

Oxford English Dictionary Definitions:

1. **White Supremacy: (noun)** the belief that white people constitute a superior race and should therefore [dominate](#) society, typically to the [exclusion](#) or [detriment](#) of other racial and ethnic groups.
2. **Racism: (noun)** [prejudice](#), discrimination, or [antagonism](#) by an individual, community, or institution against a person or people on the basis of their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group, typically one that is a minority or [marginalized](#).

Waitangi Tribunal on Māori and British values systems:<sup>1</sup>

1. Rangatira ...brought with them an understanding of the world that was based on whakapapa;<sup>2</sup> on the values of whanaungatanga,<sup>3</sup> manaakitanga,<sup>4</sup> kaitiakitanga,<sup>5</sup> and rangatiratanga;<sup>6</sup> on the imperatives of mana,<sup>7</sup> tapu,<sup>8</sup> and utu.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti: The Declaration and the Treaty – Stage 1 Report Wai 1040*, page 2.

<sup>2</sup> Whakapapa: Genealogical progression that determine identity including whānau, hapū and iwi membership. Through the principle of whakapapa, all things can be traced back in a logical sequence to the beginning of creation. Through this principle, all people and all elements of the physical and spiritual worlds are seen as related at a fundamental level (Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, page 20).

<sup>3</sup> Whanaungatanga (kinship): A fundamental ordering principle within society; the view that all things were related, and that the wellbeing of any person or group was intimately connected to the well-being of their kin (Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, pages 19, 23).

<sup>4</sup> Manaakitanga: Closely related to whanaungatanga, manaakitanga is often translated as hospitality, though it also encompassed values such as generosity, kindness, caring and support for others, all of which serve to cement social relationships between groups as well as within them (Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, page 33).

<sup>5</sup> Kaitiakitanga: Guardianship or care for the environment (Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, pages 19, 33).

<sup>6</sup> Rangatiratanga: the exercise of mana (paramount and ultimate power and authority derived from the gods).

<sup>7</sup> Mana: paramount and ultimate power and authority derived from the gods (Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, pages 22-23).

<sup>8</sup> Tapu has both spiritual and legal connotations: A person, place or thing is dedicated to a deity and by that act it is set aside or reserved for the sole use of the deity. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. . . . any profane use is sacrilege, breaking of the law of tapu (Māori Marsden quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, page 23).

<sup>9</sup> Utu: the use of reciprocity in the pursuit of balance. To put it in another way, in the web of kinship every action demands an equal and opposite reaction in order to maintain balance. This idea underpins rules of positive conduct (hospitality, generosity, and so forth) as well as negative conduct (punishment and

2. The British brought their own perspectives and motivations, which typically included belief in an omnipotent God; in individual rights to life, liberty, and property; in the importance of commerce as a means of personal advancement; in the superiority of British institutions of law and government, under which Parliament held sovereign power; and in their own roles as agents of civilisation.<sup>10</sup>

These underpinning and differing fundamental values of Māori culture and British culture remain to this day.

The following is a list of specific examples provided in the Seymour speech which can be classified as demonstrating one or more of the following characteristics:

- are statements of, or advocate for White Supremacy
- attack and/or denigrate Māori values and culture,
- misrepresent the situation for Māori
- are demonstrably false statements of fact.

By way of summary:

Examples 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21 to 27, 29, 30, 32 and 33 (17 examples) are statements of or advocate for White Supremacy.

Examples 1 to 8, 13, 14, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33 (17 examples) attack and/or denigrate Māori values and culture.

Examples 2, 4 to 15, 18, 19, 21 to 24, 26 to 30, 32, 33 (26 examples) misrepresent the situation for Māori.

Examples 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 15 to 18, 21 to 24 (13 examples) are demonstrably false statements of fact.

Please see Appendix 1 for the full speech. The literature available to demonstrate why each of these examples can be characterised in this manner is extensive, particularly in the fields of Māori language, Māori culture, medicine and health, education, political studies, sociology, law, history, psychology, economics etc. and is the stuff of a Masters thesis.

#### **Examples for the Seymour speech:**

(1) These are basic truths but even reading them out has come to sound quaint in **a world where your identity matters more than what you do.** *References the Māori value of whakapapa (see footnote 2). Whakapapa is a fundamental aspect of the Māori culture and world view. This minimises its relevance and thus denigrates Māori.*

(2) **“Those values, in a nutshell, are that you can make a difference in your own life, and the lives of those you care about. In fact, you are the only person who can do that.”** *This speaks to the concept of a liberal democracy where the rights of individual are*

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retribution) (Waitangi Tribunal *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei* quoted in Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, page 25).

<sup>10</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti*, page 2.

considered more important than those of the collective. It overrides and dismisses the Māori values of whanaungatanga (see footnote 3) and manaakitanga (see footnote 4).

- (3) **“Personal freedom is essential to our collective success. Only a free society unleashes each person's creative potential, and we simply won't solve our collective problems while citizens hide their light under a bushel.”** Overrides and dismisses the Māori value and practice of whanaungatanga (see footnote 3) whereby those who witness and can attest to contributions made to society are the appropriate people to commend those contributions. It is considered arrogant and inappropriate for an individual to sing their own praises. The well-known aphorism is “E kore te kūmara e kōrero ana mō tōna ake reka – the kūmara never speaks of its own sweetness”.
- (4) **“That profit is a good thing, because people get more value from what a business sells than from the resources it consumes.”** Overrides and dismisses the Māori value of utu (see footnote 9).
- (5) **“That making sure your kids show up to school every day - with lunch - is YOUR responsibility.”** Demonstrates a complete lack of comprehension of the poverty Māori find ourselves in, after generations of government policies that dispossessed Māori to advance the rest of New Zealand. This advocates for condemning Māori children and their whānau who suffer as a result of racism and culturally irrelevant and inappropriate education delivered in many Pākehā schools and who choose to withdraw to protect themselves from such abuse. (It is important to note that kōhanga reo, kura Kaupapa Māori, whare kura and whare wānanga have an excellent track record of successfully delivering education for Māori (and non-Māori) children – but are severely under-resourced and unable to cater for the number of Māori children wanting to enrol).
- (6) **“That if you break the law, YOU are responsible. Not your mental health, or your workplace.”** Advocates for the institutional racism that targets Māori children from birth and condemns them to a pipeline to incarceration – see the reports of The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Abuse in Care.
- (7) **“We accept that if we don't figure out how to get kids out of violent homes and into school so they can build their own lives, the costs will be measured in victims and prison beds.”** Advocates condemning Māori children to the racism and culturally inappropriate education provided by many Pākehā schools.
- (8) **“We accept that if government policy doesn't treat all people equally as human beings, then we will gradually find division becomes the norm.”** This is perhaps the clearest example of racism. It falsely assumes that government policy and law is universally applied and implemented for all. However, there is no sector in New Zealand where Government policy does treat all people the same. Whether this is education, health care or the legal system, systemic bias has been demonstrated at every level against Māori. For example, on the protection of property rights in New Zealand, land property rights only apply to non-Māori. A non-Māori with a land issue has the right to go to court and have the outcome legally enforced in full. Māori with a land right issue can only go to the Waitangi Tribunal from whence the entity that

*stole the land nominates whether and how much they are willing to return, and Māori rights are not legally enforceable. This advocates for maintaining the existing divisions caused by the inequalities that are the direct result of the dispossessions perpetrated by colonisation.*

### **Treaty Principles Bill**

(9) New Zealanders want to ensure that the wrongs of the past are put right and that **“every child has equal opportunity.”** *Falsely implies that all children can start with the same opportunities and hence denies the current existence of major inequities between Māori and Pākehā (see socio-economic statistics).*

(10) “In recent decades, we've been told that in order to solve these problems we must become a **'Tiriti-centric' New Zealand where there are two types of people in partnership - tangata whenua (land people) and tangata tiriti (Treaty people) - who would each have different political and legal rights.**

**This is not only untrue, it is incompatible with the fundamental democratic value that all citizens are equal under the law.** This divisive idea has been fuelled by unelected bureaucrats and judges promoting a 'partnership' interpretation of our founding document.” *Denies the content and meaning of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the internationally recognised treaty between the rangatira of hundreds of hapū and the British sovereign. Te Tiriti o Waitangi recorded the agreement as Māori always retaining the right to be distinctively Māori and the British Crown always respecting and upholding the ultimate and paramount power and authority that Māori carry as the tangata whenua (the people who are of this land). In that role the rangatira allowed the subjects of the British sovereign to come into this country and live in peace (as tangata tiriti – those who came under the promise of the treaty) and the rangatira devolve to the British sovereign permission to use a self-management mechanism (Kāwanatanga) to stop the lawlessness of her subjects recently arrived in the country and those still to come. It is the understanding that has always been held by Māori who are the kaitiaki of both He Whakaputanga (the Declaration of Independence/Sovereignty) and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.*

(11) **“If you believe that the Treaty is a partnership between races, then you have to believe that tangata whenua have different rights and duties in New Zealand from tangata Tiriti. And that means people get different positions in government, they get treated differently in the workplace, they get treated differently based on who their ancestors were, not on what they do today and the character of their own behaviour.”** *Misrepresents by omission that while being qualified with knowledge and expertise in English culture only is sufficient qualification for the business of government in England, it is insufficient in Aotearoa New Zealand. Ideally, all should be equally qualified in both Māori and English cultures. In the absence of sufficient qualifications in Māori culture, those with such qualifications are required to make up for the deficiencies, and institutional practices must be changed to recognise, respect, and uphold that expertise.*

- (12) Or you can believe that we are all equal and that each of us should have a chance and a choice in life to be the best that we can. My belief is that the latter way is the only way forward for any society." *Falsely claims "we" are all the same, that the sameness by implication is British based/White culture and law and that this is the only way a society can progress. This is a statement that White culture is the only culture, the underpinning assumption of White Supremacy.*
- (13) "Every time we say that people have different rights based on ancestry, we breed resentment." *Denies the right of Māori to be Māori and tangata whenua, and falsely implies that by doing so Māori breed resentment by existing. Another statement of White Supremacy which seeks to obliterate Māori people.*
- (14) "And more importantly, we create the idea that which group you're a member of is more important than your basic value as a person." *Denigrates the Māori cultural values of whakapapa (see footnote 2) and whanaungatanga (see footnote 3) and advocates replacing them with the English cultural value of the right of the individual.*
- (15) "Many of the worst events in history came from group first, individual second, thinking." *Denigrates and demonises the Māori value of whanaungatanga(see footnote 3) and the well-being of the whānau advocating that it be overridden by the English cultural value of the right of the individual. An example of White Supremacy.*
- (16) "ACT is promoting a proper debate on the Treaty principles, and our Treaty Principles Bill would be a law passed by Parliament that says the Treaty says what it means and means what it says." *Falsely claims that Parliament can unilaterally redefine the treaty between two sovereign nations, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to meet White Supremacist aspirations and remove all mention of the Māori as being a party to the treaty.*
- (17) "We take the Māori text and we take what it literally says:" *Falsely claims that the purported translations of phrases is a literal translation. An accurate literal translation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is provided at Appendix 3.*
- (18) "...that the government has the right to govern." *The Queen of England was only given to permission to exercise kāwanantanga (devolved self-management) over her own British subjects who immigrated as a result of Te Tiriti. The government has no legitimate right to have any say over anything pertaining to Māori.*
- (19) "There is one government." *In terms of Te Tiriti, for tangata tiriti (non-Māori) only. Assertion that government has a legitimate right to dictate to Māori is false and legislation condoning such illegitimacy is racist against Māori.*
- (20) "Some say Māori didn't cede sovereignty." *The treaty, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, is clear that Māori did not cede sovereignty. The Waitangi Tribunal (a Crown body) confirmed this in its 2014 report once it inquired into He Whakaputanga and Te Tiriti.*

- (21) "The reality is there's five million of us on these islands and the practicalities of living together means there must be one law and Government. That's the first article."

*False. The first article speaks only to Pākehā coming under the control of the Queen of England via the self-management mechanism of kāwanatanga. Article 2 confirms that Māori will continue to live under our own tino rangatiratanga (see footnote 6). Te Tiriti envisages a system of legal pluralism where Māori live as Māori under our own legal system of tikanga and Pākehā live as Pākehā under their legal system of the rule of law. Legal pluralism exists in many nation states including Canada and the USA.*

*This statement implies that the "one law" and "Government" is that of the Pākehā – it is a statement of White Supremacy.*

- (22) "The second article says that we have a right to tino rangatiratanga: self-determination." *Tino rangatiratanga is the exercise of mana – absolute and paramount power and authority derived from the gods that is exercised for the well-being of whānau, hapū and iwi in accordance with tikanga (the legal system of whānau, hapū and iwi). It cannot be redefined and restricted to the English cultural notion of self-determination. It is far broader and much more encompassing.*

*The practice of taking words from te reo Māori and mistranslating them to coincide with the translators' colonising aspirations is a common mechanism used in the pursuit of White Supremacy – it is known in the literature as the Humpty Dumpty principle after Lewis Carroll's character in Through the Looking Glass" who proclaimed to Alice, "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less."*

- (23) "Now, some people say that only applies to Māori. We argue it should apply to everybody, for a number of reasons. One, as I said, we're all human. Two, many people who are Māori also are proud of many other whakapapa from around the world. So, it seems crazy to try and divide the right to self-determination and property to only apply to some citizens." *This applies only to the English cultural notion of self-determination which Pākehā in New Zealand enjoy because it was guaranteed to them in article 1 of Te Tiriti. It is the Pākehā right to be Pākehā.*

- (24) "We believe that should apply to all, and that's backed up by the third article, which says that we have nga tikanga katoa rite tahi: the same rights and duties." *Another example of the application of the Humpty Dumpty principle. Article 3 guaranteed to Māori that they could have access to English culture and law in the same manner as Pākehā. It follows on from Article 2 that guaranteed tino rangatiratanga to the hapū. In other words, Māori have access to both their own culture and legal system and the British culture and legal system.*

- (25) "Our Bill means Parliament would legislate that those are the principles, and that means that we are not a partnership between races. We are not people who have to look at our family tree to find out how we fit in. We're all New Zealanders with the same basic rights..." *This imposes British culture and law on Māori and attempts to*

*legally deny the existence of Māori. This is a clear and simple expression of the aim of White Supremacy.*

- (26) *"Don't call anyone who disagrees with you racist. What you say is not only untrue but saying it cheapens a powerful term." An example of a statement of domination dictating that only the White master can determine how those he has or wishes to disempower may describe him.*
- (27) *"Don't act like some sixteenth century priest saying we're not allowed an opinion because we're not experts." An example of a statement of domination whereby the White master will never allow those he has or is trying to disempower to point out his ignorance.*
- (28) *"Don't say, or even hint, that there will be violence if you don't get your way." An example of race-baiting.*
- (29) *"These arguments pave the road to division. Take those arguments off the table and try dialogue like adults." Statistics that demonstrate the relative deprivation, poverty and marginalisation of Māori prove that New Zealand society is already divided by ethnicity. White Supremacy however views such statistical evidence as the norm. It denigrates, belittles, and dismisses attempts to pursue compliance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi that aim to improve Māori statistics.*
- (30) *"Instead, you could just answer this: If the Treaty is a Partnership between the Crown and only Māori, then what is the place of a child born in this country today who is not Māori? Are they born into second class citizenship as Tangata Tiriti, where some roles in public life are not available to them because they have the wrong ancestors?" This is a statement of the unfounded fear of White Supremacists of what may happen to them if they are no longer able to exercise White Supremacy – the unfounded fear that if Te Tiriti o Waitangi is upheld then Māori will do to Pākehā what Pākehā did to us.*

*The answer to this question is No. Tangata Tiriti are in the privileged position of being manuhiri of Tangata Whenua with the Tiriti-guaranteed right to be who they have always been upheld and honoured. Tangata Whenua (the people of the land) will always be who we are with the responsibility under tikanga to manaaki (take good care of – see footnote 4) their manuhiri.*

- (31) *"If the answer to that is yes, then where are the successful societies that treat people differently based on their ancestry? What is your model for the future of New Zealand based on these Treaty principles?" The answer is no. Models exist in a number of nation states where legal pluralism exists, e.g. Canada and the USA.*
- (32) *"If the answer is no, then we have a bright future, but it requires casting off the divisive notion that the Treaty is a partnership between races, between tangata whenua on the one hand and tangata tiriti on the other, and embracing the Treaty as a commitment to all New Zealanders having freedom under the rule of law." The*

*answer is no but can only be premised on upholding Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a nation of two peoples, Tangata Whenua for whom tino rangatiratanga is exercised in accordance with tikanga, and Tangata Tiriti for whom kāwanatanga is exercised under the English cultural notion of the rule of law, with each taking the best care of each other – as Te Tiriti promised.*

*The reference to the rule of law benefitting all New Zealanders ignores the negative impacts it has on Māori. There is extensive literature, including reports of the Waitangi Tribunal, which particularises the manner in which Pākehā law, the rule of law, is biased against Māori. The biased use of the legal system over many generations has led to significant distrust of the Pākehā legal system by Māori and therefore many consider that rather than a process of maintaining the peace, it is a mechanism for removing rights and privileges of Māori.*

- (33) *“Leaders in Māoridom who have the ear of the young need to ask themselves: are they dealing with the issues responsibly, or simply inciting baseless racial resentment?” It is not Māori inciting racism and hence the perpetuation of White Supremacy, but rather those who consciously, and for many unconsciously, adhere to the notion of White domination that excludes and is detrimental to other racial and ethnic groups.*

## **APPENDIX 1**

### **David Seymour Full speech 28 January 2024**

David Seymour delivered his speech from the Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron in Auckland and touched on a range of issues including the 2024 US Election and the Treaty Principles Bill.

Good morning, fellow New Zealanders.

Today I'd like to talk about the state of our nation, as our new government establishes itself at the start of 2024. It's a story about the challenges outside our borders, how we can prepare inside them, and the role ACT plays in making sure we do.

I've long said that our country has a long term political cycle. Periods of golden weather, like the 60s and early 70s, and the 90s and early 2000s, are followed by growing frustration, like the early 80s and early 2020s. Each time there is a rebirth. Our nation has a great capacity to reinvent itself, each time becoming more inclusive, mature, and prosperous than before.

One day our new Government will be judged. It could be viewed as midwife to another reborn New Zealand, stronger and freer again. Or, it could turn out to be spectator to ongoing decline until another government takes us somewhere else entirely.



As a wise man once said, you get one shot, one opportunity. New Zealanders are ready for change, and if we don't take care of their concerns, someone else will.

## The world outside

Nearly everywhere you look offshore there be dragons, but New Zealand's Government has been asleep. For three years our Foreign Minister was also the Minister for Local Government, an impractical arrangement, and she barely left the country.

In the outside world, our only ally is ramping up its defence efforts at an extraordinary rate. So are the Japanese and Chinese among other Pacific powers. Our backyard is a contested space, and it's part of a worldwide trend of democracy in retreat.

Since the GFC, fewer and fewer countries practice democracy, and those that do practice it less sincerely. The underlying narrative of the last 30 years - that the good guys always win - is fading to uncertainty.

Nothing sums up the retreat of democracy better than the extraordinary presidential election playing out in the United States. I visited over Christmas and asked dozens of Americans who's going to win. Now, I was in the South, but the most common answer was Trump 'because life was better before,' and because he has quote, 'steel balls.'

'The court cases?' I asked them. 'Oh, they're just a jack up because he's winning.' Now, I don't want to take sides in another country's election, but democracy needs trust in its institutions. When half the people think the leading Republican nominee is corrupt and the other half think the justice system is corrupt for saying so, you have a problem of division.

A divided America is bad news for Ukraine, Israel, Taiwan, and all small countries. We will need to be much braver in a more dangerous world.

It's easier to be brave when you've got your own house in order. As it happens, our country domestically is at one of those inflection points we face every couple of generations.

We cannot serve the world by playing small, but that is the well-worn approach of New Zealand politicians this century. In fact, it's hard to think of ambitious policies made in New Zealand since the year 2000.

## Lost decades

The problem is this century's first two decades were lost decades under Clark, Key, and Ardern. Their governments had three things in common.

### 1. They denied problems.

They said there was no housing crisis when ownership rates were in free fall and houses cost ten times income. They said if kids got more NCEA credits, that was the same as more education, even as our students fell down the international tables. They told us population growth was as good as productivity growth. They told us the gradual erosion of liberal democracy was new and enlightened biculturalism.

## 2. They governed without values.

They eroded the simple idea that a person can make a difference in their own life. When did you last hear a political leader plainly state that doing your homework, earning a living, making sure your kids go to school, with lunch, and following the law are just your responsibility? These are basic truths but even reading them out has come to sound quaint in **a world where your identity matters more than what you do.**

## 3. They made bad policy.

Without accepting problems or applying values, bad policy is inevitable. At school, students found the curriculum was gutted, while exams were replaced with credits. Tenancy law, employment law, and criminal law all became fuzzier with more rights and fewer responsibilities. Increasing benefits for people who don't work became a political contest while the responsibility to work became an afterthought.

That's just a sample of the last twenty years. That's why it's time for real change, but you can see not everyone is on board for this.

## Time for real change

The media calls this coalition the most right-wing government since the 1990s. Now, I know our friends in the media are excited about the election result and we welcome them cheering us on from the sidelines. But let's think about that comment for a second.

Since 1999, New Zealand has had two left-wing governments and one very centrist government. We've been drifting to the left - sometimes slowly, sometimes faster.

Over the last quarter of a century, the Clark, Key, and Ardern governments have all eroded the simple idea that YOU are the person that makes the difference in your own life. There's been a cultural shift towards the idea that if there is a problem to be solved, or if life is to get better, the people in Wellington will do it for us.

Our change in values has resulted in more regulation of how you use your property or your business. It's meant the government is spending more of your money - much of it wasteful - and taxing you more to pay for it.

Since the 1990s, the government has steadily crept further and further into your life. What has been the result?

Education results are going backwards. One in ten working age New Zealanders is on a main benefit. The price of a house is out of reach for most young New Zealanders. Productivity has flatlined.

## Accepting reality

If a problem defined is a problem half solved, then Clark, Key, and Ardern's evasion tells the new Government we must openly accept problems exist. I believe the new Government is refreshingly ready for reality.

We accept that if we don't figure out how to get kids out of violent homes and into school so they can build their own lives, the costs will be measured in victims and prison beds.

We accept that if we don't consent building infrastructure and fund it so we have places to live, then a generation will decide they're not wanted, and live overseas. Politically, we know that Gen-Z will support whichever party makes them property owners, for the rest of their voting lives.

We accept that if government policy doesn't treat all people equally as human beings, then we will gradually find division becomes the norm.

We accept that if the rate of productivity growth doesn't increase, then we won't be able to afford the defence force, the healthcare, or even the holidays of a first world country, and will lose that status.

With a Government that accepts reality, there's no limit to what we can achieve.

### Applying the right values

The sad truth is, the values that made New Zealand strong, unified, and productive have been eroded over the last 25 or so years.

Those values, in a nutshell, are that you can make a difference in your own life, and the lives of those you care about. In fact, you are the only person who can do that.

Personal freedom is essential to our collective success. Only a free society unleashes each person's creative potential, and we simply won't solve our collective problems while citizens hide their light under a bushel.

We lost decades when too few people stood up to publicly defend these basic values. Worse, too many people are afraid to speak out because doing so means you get labelled or cancelled.

When did you last hear a New Zealand leader - any leader, doesn't have to be a politician - say the following:

That a person's hard work, success, and wealth should be celebrated.

That business is a force for good, voluntarily uniting entrepreneurs, investors, workers and customers to achieve together what they couldn't achieve alone.

That profit is a good thing, because people get more value from what a business sells than from the resources it consumes.

That higher wages come from higher productivity, not from politicians passing laws.

That lower, flatter taxes encourage people to work, save and invest.

That new regulations should only be foisted on New Zealanders if there is no other solution, and the benefits outweigh the costs.

That if you accept welfare from other taxpayers, certain responsibilities come with it.

That making sure your kids show up to school every day - with lunch - is YOUR responsibility.

That if you break the law, YOU are responsible. Not your mental health, or your workplace.

ACT will continue to proudly defend these values, even if no one else does, because we have to face the root cause of our problems head on.

We are at a turning point. We can put the right values back in government. But we shouldn't underestimate the massive challenge that lies ahead of us if we try to do so.

There are hundreds of noisy groups who don't want us to see the right values put into practice. The media will give them a platform every night at 6pm. And it's too easy for governments to back down in the face of negative headlines.

The forces for more government in your life haven't gone away. Standing up to them will take courage and initiative.

The good news is that a government that accepts reality and applies the right values can implement better policies. The better news is ACT's coalition agreement with National and New Zealand First is filled with policies that will make a real difference for a more prosperous, unified, and respectful New Zealand.

## Delivering on real change

I want to thank the quarter of a million New Zealanders who put ACT at the Cabinet table for the first time. You've empowered us to build a freer country with more opportunity for the generations to come.

ACT's Ministers are wasting no time delivering on the real change that you voted for.

Brooke van Velden as Workplace Relations Minister has repealed Labour's so-called "Fair Pay" Agreements and restored 90-day trials for all workers. Now she's got her sights on simplifying our health and safety laws and clearing up the law around contractors. In short, she is making it easier for one New Zealander to offer another New Zealander a job.

Nicole McKee as the Associate Minister of Justice is going to repeal Parts 5 and 6 of the Arms Act which is causing clubs and ranges around the country to close, review the firearms registry to find out whether it's actually improving public safety, and rewrite the Arms Act to focus on public safety and simplify the red tape firearms owners face. She's also going to bring back Three Strikes to ensure the worst criminals get longer in jail, and she will make our anti-money laundering laws simpler.

Karen Chhour has a big challenge turning around Oranga Tamariki. She plans to repeal section 7AA of the OT Act which has led to children being removed from safe, loving homes because their caregivers are the "wrong" race. She also plans to improve the rights and responsibilities of caregivers to give them more autonomy and make it easier for caregivers to offer safe and loving homes for children.

Andrew Hoggard as Associate Environment Minister will improve Farm Environment Plans so they're more cost-effective and pragmatic for farmers, stop the implementation of new Significant Natural Areas, and begin replacing and reforming Labour's anti-farming freshwater regulations.

Simon Court as Undersecretary to the RMA and Infrastructure Minister will be supporting the critical task of replacing the RMA and developing new infrastructure funding and financing tools, including PPPs.

Think about this for a moment, because it's an achievement of everyone here. Finally, there is a genuine rethink on resource management law after two lost decades of kicking the can down the road. And a key voice at the table is an ACT MP who is a civil engineer steeped in free market principles. That is real change.

As Minister for Regulation, I will introduce the Regulatory Standards Act which will ensure that new restrictions on using and exchanging your property will only be made if the problem is defined, the benefits outweigh the costs, and property rights are respected. The Government will establish a Ministry of Regulation which will assess the quality of new and existing legislation and regulation. And it will carry out regulation reviews in sectors like the primary industries, finance, early childhood education, and healthcare occupational licencing, and clear out laws that are sapping Kiwi ingenuity.

In education, the Government will reintroduce the successful partnership school model and allow any state school to become a partnership school. We're going to get kids back to school by centrally collecting and publishing attendance data and taking enforcement action on truancy. And we'll restore balance to the New Zealand history curriculum, moving away from the idea that colonisation is to blame for all our problems.

As Associate Health Minister I'm responsible for making Pharmac the modern, efficient medical-tech agency it deserves to be, so Kiwis get their pharmaceuticals like it's a first world country.

As Associate Finance Minister I'm responsible for cost control. Needless to say, we have our work cut out for us.

## Treaty Principles Bill

This week Christopher Luxon asked me to be Associate Minister of Justice, responsible for the Treaty Principles Bill. Ahead of Waitangi Day, I'd like to explain why ACT is advancing a Treaty Principles Bill.

New Zealanders want to ensure that the wrongs of the past are put right and that every child has equal opportunity.

In recent decades, we've been told that in order to solve these problems we must become a 'Tiriti-centric' New Zealand where there are two types of people in partnership - tangata whenua (land people) and tangata tiriti (Treaty people) - who would each have different political and legal rights.

This is not only untrue, it is incompatible with the fundamental democratic value that all citizens are equal under the law. This divisive idea has been fuelled by unelected bureaucrats and judges promoting a 'partnership' interpretation of our founding document.

I have a very simple belief that each of us are united by something much greater than any kind of history or culture - that is, universal humanity. The same rights, the same dignities for every person. And that is what has driven all the good movements in human history - votes for women, the civil rights movement in America, and the end of apartheid in South Africa, along with the rights of people of different sexualities to be themselves and marry as they wish. That's what I believe.

And when it comes to the Treaty of Waitangi, we as a country have a simple choice to make. We can either believe that the Treaty of Waitangi created a partnership between races, as some say, or we can believe that it delivers what it says itself in the Māori version: nga tikanga katoa rite tahi - the same rights and duties. That is the fundamental question.

If you believe that the Treaty is a partnership between races, then you have to believe that tangata whenua have different rights and duties in New Zealand from tangata Tiriti. And that means people get different positions in government, they get treated differently in the workplace, they get treated differently based on who their ancestors were, not on what they do today and the character of their own behaviour.

Or you can believe that we are all equal and that each of us should have a chance and a choice in life to be the best that we can. My belief is that the latter way is the only way forward for any society. Every time we say that people have different rights based on ancestry, we breed resentment. And more importantly, we create the idea that which group you're a member of is more important than your basic value as a person.

Many of the worst events in history came from group first, individual second, thinking. ACT is promoting a proper debate on the Treaty principles, and our Treaty Principles Bill would be a law passed by Parliament that says the Treaty says what it means and means what it says.

We take the Māori text and we take what it literally says: that the government has the right to govern. There is one government. Some say Māori didn't cede sovereignty. The reality is there's five million of us on these islands and the practicalities of living together means there must be one law and Government. That's the first article.

The second article says that we have a right to tino rangatiratanga: self-determination. Now, some people say that only applies to Māori. We argue it should apply to everybody, for a number of reasons. One, as I said, we're all human. Two, many people who are Māori also are proud of many other whakapapa from around the world. So, it seems crazy to try and divide the right to self-determination and property to only apply to some citizens.

We believe that should apply to all, and that's backed up by the third article, which says that we have nga tikanga katoa rite tahi: the same rights and duties.

Our Bill means Parliament would legislate that those are the principles, and that means that we are not a partnership between races. We are not people who have to look at our family

tree to find out how we fit in. We're all New Zealanders with the same basic rights and with that platform constitutionally we can get stuck in to tackling the real problems and challenges that New Zealanders face.

Now, here's the challenge to those who disagree with the Treaty Principles Bill. The arguments we are hearing so far won't work.

Don't call anyone who disagrees with you racist. What you say is not only untrue but saying it cheapens a powerful term.

Don't act like some sixteenth century priest saying we're not allowed an opinion because we're not experts. The Treaty fits on one page and we can all read it. Everyone is allowed to have an express an opinion.

Don't say, or even hint, that there will be violence if you don't get your way.

These arguments pave the road to division. Take those arguments off the table and try dialogue like adults.

Instead, you could just answer this: If the Treaty is a Partnership between the Crown and only Māori, then what is the place of a child born in this country today who is not Māori? Are they born into second class citizenship as Tangata Tiriti, where some roles in public life are not available to them because they have the wrong ancestors?

If the answer to that is yes, then where are the successful societies that treat people differently based on their ancestry? What is your model for the future of New Zealand based on these Treaty principles?

If the answer is no, then we have a bright future, but it requires casting off the divisive notion that the Treaty is a partnership between races, between tangata whenua on the one hand and tangata tiriti on the other, and embracing the Treaty as a commitment to all New Zealanders having freedom under the rule of law.

Leaders in Māoridom who have the ear of the young need to ask themselves: are they dealing with the issues responsibly, or simply inciting baseless racial resentment? It is an important question.

## Conclusion

Our country has lost two decades this century. We cannot lose another. Thanks to governments that denied reality, eroded our values, and put in place poor policies, we need real change.

New Zealand has become more divided. Social services are dysfunctional. We risk losing the first world status we take for granted if we don't have the courage to change.

The good news is we have a government prepared to accept reality and solve problems, with policies based on the right values.

That allows us the paradox of optimism. Yes, things are bad, globally, locally, on nearly every front. But the courage to take problems head on, armed with the solutions to solve them, puts a spring in our step.

We'll need it though, because we face a massive challenge in shifting the values in government and delivering real change. A number of groups stand in the way.

We have a media who seems to be shocked voters picked the wrong team. Their indignity knows no bounds, and the familiar patterns that are eroding media credibility overseas are familiar here. If I was a God fearing man, I'd pray for them, but I'm afraid they'll have to look inside themselves for earthly salvation.

You will have noticed we have a public service, or at least a very few of them, in the habit of writing unflattering advice and mailing it to the opposition or the media. As Brooke van Velden has elegantly said, they are not letting us down, but the majority of professional and committed public servants sitting beside them. I should add that the fact three out of four leaks have been ACT policy shows who they fear the most.

Then there's a parliamentary opposition who have little interest in honouring the institution. We saw it in Labour's multiple and demonstrable lies during the campaign, and they're the 'responsible' coalition partner. The Greens' purge of environmentalists will be complete when James Shaw announces his retirement, leaving them with an identity crisis brought on by identity politics.

Making real, positive change in this landscape can seem like impossible odds.

There is only one force great enough to tip these odds in the favour of quality policy, and that's you. The people in this room, watching at home, and up and down this great country of ours who share the basic values it is built on.

The value that individual people, given freedom under the law, can make a difference in their own lives and the lives of those they care about.

You are the humble New Zealand battlers willing and able to do the hard yards - to build valuable businesses, raise great kids, and contribute to the tapestry of our culture through language, ideas, and art - thank you. You are the champions of New Zealand's story. ACT stands for you and our goal is to shift power from the government departments and politicians in Wellington back to you, your family, and your business. I hope you'll come along for a noble, challenging, and essential ride.



## APPENDIX 2

### Extract from He Whakaputanga me te Tiriti – The Declaration of Independence report of the Waitangi Tribunal 2014 p.2

All of those interpretations reflect their time and place, and the concerns, preoccupations, and perspectives of whoever is speaking or writing. When rangatira gathered at Waitangi, Waimate, and Mangungu, they brought with them an understanding of the world that was based on whakapapa; on the values of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and rangatiratanga; on the imperatives of mana, tapu, and utu, all of which we discuss in chapter 2. They came from a world in which each hapū was autonomous and exercised power over its own territories, retaining that autonomy even when acting in alliance or concert with other hapū. The rangatira brought also their own individual experiences and concerns, based on the interests of their hapū; on their relationships with the traders, missionaries, sawyers, whalers, and others who had visited or settled in their lands; and on their engagement with the ideas those people had brought.

The British brought their own perspectives and motivations, which typically included belief in an omnipotent God; in individual rights to life, liberty, and property; in the importance of commerce as a means of personal advancement; in the superiority of British institutions of law and government, under which Parliament held sovereign power; and in their own roles as agents of civilisation.

In February 1840, the leaders of those two worlds established a formal relationship with each other through the mechanism of the treaty. It is our task to determine the nature of that relationship as each party understood it, and indeed to determine whether there was any common understanding at all.

## APPENDIX 3

### Literal translation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840

by Professor Margaret Mutu

(in consultation with many kaumātua and kuia including Professor Sir Hugh Kāwharu)

Published variously in

*Te Whānau Moana: Ngā kaupapa me ngā tikanga* (2003, Reed Publishers)

*Weeping Waters* (2010, Huia Publishers)

*The State of Māori Rights* (2011, Huia Publishers, revised edition in press)

*Ngāti Kahu: Portrait of a Sovereign Nation* (2017, Huia Publishers)

<i>Original document</i>	<i>Translation by Margaret Mutu</i>
<p>Ko Wikitoria, te Kuini o Ingarani, i tana mahara atawai ki nga Rangatira me nga Hapu o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a ratou o ratou rangatiratanga, me to ratou wenua, a kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a ratou me te Atanoho hoki kua wakaaro ra he mea tika kia tukua mai tetahi Rangatira hei kai wakarite ki nga Tangata maori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e nga Rangatira maori te Kawanatanga o te Kuini ki nga wahi katoa o te Wenua nei me nga Motu – na te mea hoki he tokomaha ke nga tangata o tona lwi Kua noho ki tenei wenua, a e haere mai nei.</p>	<p><i>Victoria, the Queen of England, in her concern to protect the leaders and nations of New Zealand and in her desire to preserve their ultimate and paramount power and authority and their lands to them and to maintain peace and good order, considers it necessary to send a leader to arrange with the people of New Zealand so that their leaders will agree to the Queen’s devolved self-management mechanism over all parts of this land and (adjoining) islands and also because there are many of her people already staying on this land and others yet to come.</i></p>
<p>Na ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakarite te Kawanatanga kia kaua ai nga kino e puta mai ki te tangata Maori ki te Pakeha e noho ture kore ana. Na, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua ahau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kawana mo nga wahi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua aiane, amua atu ki te Kuini e mea atu ana ia ki nga Rangatira o te wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tirani me era Rangatira atu enei ture ka korerotia nei.</p>	<p><i>So, the Queen desires to establish a devolved self-management mechanism so that no evil will come to Maori and to Europeans living in a state of lawlessness. So, the Queen has seen fit to send me, William Hobson, a Captain in the Royal Navy, to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand (both those) being allocated now and in the future to the Queen and says to the leaders of the Confederation of the tribal groupings of New Zealand, and other leaders these laws spoken of here.</i></p>
<p><b>Ko te tuatahi</b> Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa hoki ki hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kawanatanga katoa o o ratou wenua.</p>	<p><b><i>The first</i></b> <i>The leaders of the Confederation and all the leaders who have not joined that confederation give indeed to the Queen of England forever the totally devolved self-management mechanism over their land.</i></p>
<p><b>Ko te tuarua</b> Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira – ki nga hapu ki</p>	<p><b><i>The second</i></b> <i>The Queen of England agrees to protect the leaders, the nations and all the (Māori)</i></p>

<p>nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa. Otiia ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga me nga Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wahi wenua e pai ai te tangata nona te wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e ratou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mona.</p>	<p><i>people of New Zealand in the unqualified exercise of their ultimate and paramount power and authority over their lands, villages and all that they value. But on the other hand the leaders of the Confederation and all the leaders will allow the Queen to trade for (the use of) those parcels of land which those whose land it is consent to, and at a price agreed to by the person whose land it is and by the person trading for it (the latter being) appointed by the Queen as her trading agent.</i></p>
<p><b>Ko te tuatoru</b> Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tenei mo te wakaaetanga ki te Kawanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani nga tangata maori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a ratou nga tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki nga tangata o Ingarani.</p>	<p><b><i>The third</i></b> <i>For this agreed arrangement therefore concerning the devolved self-government mechanism of the Queen, the Queen of England will protect all the ordinary people of New Zealand [that is, the Māori] and will give them the same rights and duties of citizenship as the people of England.</i></p>
<p>W. Hobson Consul + Lieutenant Governor Na ko matou ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o nga hapu o Nu Tireni ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko matou hoki ko nga Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o enei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e matou, koia ka tohungia ai o matou ingoa o matou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o nga ra o Pepueri i te tau kotahi mano e waru rau e wa tekau o te tatou Ariki. Ko nga Rangatira o te Wakaminenga</p>	<p><i>W. Hobson Consul + Lieutenant Governor</i> <i>We the leaders of the Confederation of the nations of New Zealand who met here at Waitangi, along with the leaders of New Zealand see the setting out of these words, they are taken, and all agreed to by us and so our names and our signs are indicated. This was done at Waitangi on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of February in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty.</i> <i>The leaders of the Confederation</i></p>