

Working Paper 2020/11

# A List of Coalition Agreements and Support Agreements since 1996

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# 1.0 Introduction

This working paper provides a list of coalition agreements and support agreements (confidence and supply or co-operation) since Mixed Member Proportional representation (MMP) was first established in 1996. When there is uncertainty over who has ‘confidence in the House’, the MMP process requires the Governor-General to draw on political statements, verbal or written, in order to form a view as to whether confidence in the House is attained and the tests of quantity and clarity have been achieved. As part of this process, the Governor-General is able to rely on verbal public assurances, although signed written documents are preferred.

The McGuinness Institute found that there is no singular platform that holds a comprehensive list of historical political agreements; this working paper aims to fill in this gap to provide an historical timeline. We include links to copies of the publicly available agreements in Appendix 1. Political agreements document are not government-owned documents; instead they are owned by the political parties, which means there is no official record kept.

We would encourage government to establish a public record that contains a user-friendly list of political agreements, including copies of the documents. Given the nature of these agreements as founding documents for the subsequent parliamentary term, we believe it is important that these documents be recorded so as to track changes in agreements overtime.

## 1.1 Background

Our interest is in the agreements mentioned in the ‘Speech from the Throne’, the speech the Governor-General makes at the start of the parliamentary term. Political parties make these agreements with a view to forming government. The formation of government is a political process (managed by the political parties) while the appointment of government is a legal process (managed by the Governor-General). The political process starts with the date of the election and ends with the appointment of government. Below are a number of excerpts from the 2017 *Cabinet Manual* with mention to the role of political agreements in the formation of government:

Para 6.18 (outcome of elections)

Under New Zealand’s proportional representation electoral system, it is likely that two or more parties will negotiate coalition or support agreements so that a government can be formed, whether it is a majority or minority government. A coalition agreement provides for a closer relationship between two or more parties than a support agreement, a distinguishing characteristic of coalition agreements being that coalition parties are represented in Cabinet.

Para 6.42 (principles and processes of government formation)

The process of forming a government is political, and the decision to form a government must be arrived at by politicians.

Para 6.43

Once the political parties have reached an adequate accommodation, and it is possible to form a government, it is expected that the parties will make appropriate public statements of their intentions. Any agreement reached by the parties during their negotiations may need to be confirmed subsequently by the political parties involved, each following its own internal procedures.

Para 6.44

By convention, the role of the Governor-General in the government formation process is to ascertain where the confidence of the House lies, on the basis of the parties’ public statements, so that a government can be appointed. It is not the Governor-General’s role to form the government or to participate in any negotiations (although the Governor-General might wish to talk to party leaders if the talks were to have no clear outcome) (DPMC, 2017).

The following excerpts from a speech made in 2013 by then Governor-General Lt Gen The Rt Hon Sir Jerry Mateparae, GNZM, QSO indicate the importance of ‘quantity’ and ‘clarity’ when assessing whether two or more parties can form a government.



The question is, what do our constitutional arrangements require of political parties before a prospective government can be sworn in by the Governor-General? In a nutshell, it's about quantity and clarity...

...The formation of a government depends on one or more parties being able to show they will have a majority in the House of Representatives – that they have ‘the confidence of the House’. This is where governments in parliamentary systems like ours get their legitimacy from: by having the support of a majority of members in a democratically-elected parliament. This is the ‘quantity’ part of the equation. The prospective government needs to be able to show it will have the numbers...

...I'd now like to turn to the ‘clarity’ side of the equation. Under MMP it is not enough for a party or grouping of parties simply to have the numbers in the House. They must also communicate the result of their negotiations so the public knows what sort of government has been formed, and so as Governor-General, I can appoint the leader of that party or grouping as Prime Minister.

What is required are clear and public statements by the party leaders concerned, showing that the prospective government will have the confidence of the House. By clear and public statements I mean that the parties forming or supporting the government must make unambiguous explanations of their intentions on matters of confidence, so it is obvious to everyone where party allegiances in the House will lie.

To date, coalition and support arrangements under MMP have always been captured in formal written documents, often announced at media conferences. Written documents have clear advantages in terms of certainty and transparency, and I would expect that practice to continue (Government House, 2013).

## 1.2 Types of political agreement

Different types of agreements serve different purposes in terms of how the two parties interact with one another, and the sort of power the minority party is given.

A coalition agreement commits both parties to govern together and apply ‘collective responsibility’. This mechanism is put in place through the appointment of a minister/ministers to Cabinet. A coalition agreement is not a coalition agreement unless both parties are represented in Cabinet. For example, the 2017 coalition agreement states ‘New Zealand First will have four Ministers inside Cabinet’.

In contrast, a confidence and supply agreement enables signatories to have a greater degree of separation; for example, it may require a minority party to speak on behalf of the New Zealand Government when a topic sits within its portfolio, but allow that minority party to disagree on certain policies when it is beyond its remit. Under a confidence and supply agreement, a Minister of the Crown can be appointed as a representative of the minority party, but that Minister must sit outside of Cabinet, enabling the party to operate in such a way that it does not need to meet the high standard of collective responsibility (McGuinness Institute, 2020a).

Co-operation agreements offer even further degree of separation; the minority party agrees to support the major party, but they do not provide confidence and supply.

Figures 1 and 2 overleaf show the types of agreement and the length of the agreement documents signed since 1996. Figure 3 maps the agreements signed between parties since 1996.

## 1.3 Types of government formed under MMP

Under MMP, there are four types of government that are likely to eventuate (although other permutations are possible):

1. Majority single-party (single party with over 50% or more of the seats in the House held by one political party)
2. Minority single-party (single party with 50% or less of the seats in the House held by one political party)
3. Majority coalition (multiple parties with over 50% or more of the seats in the House govern together)
4. Minority coalition (multiple parties with 50% or less of the seats in the House govern together). (McGuinness Institute, 2020b).

Figure 1: Types of political agreements since 1996

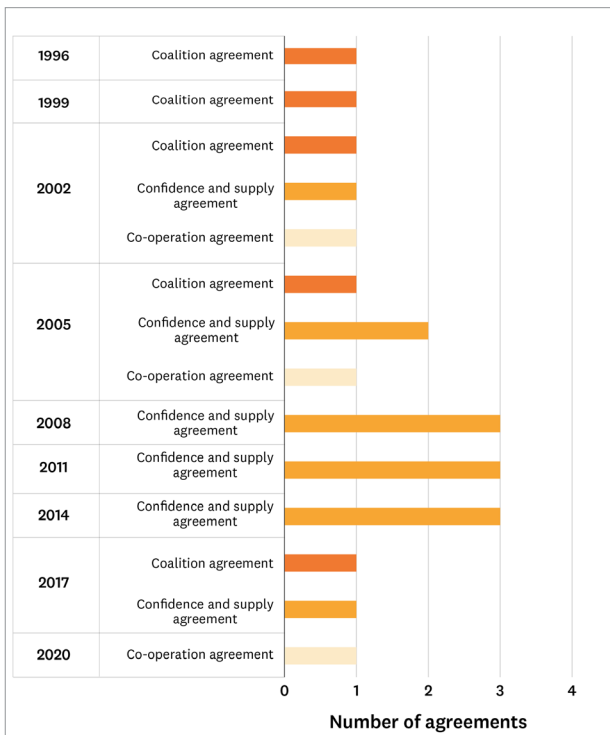
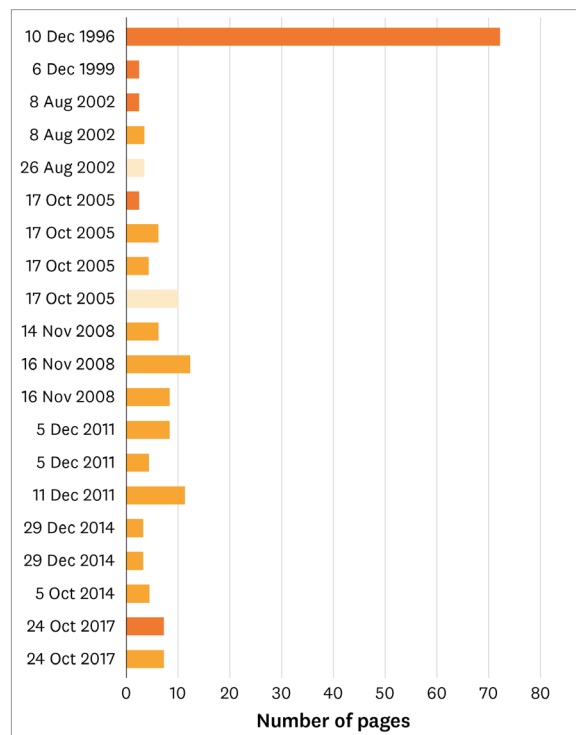
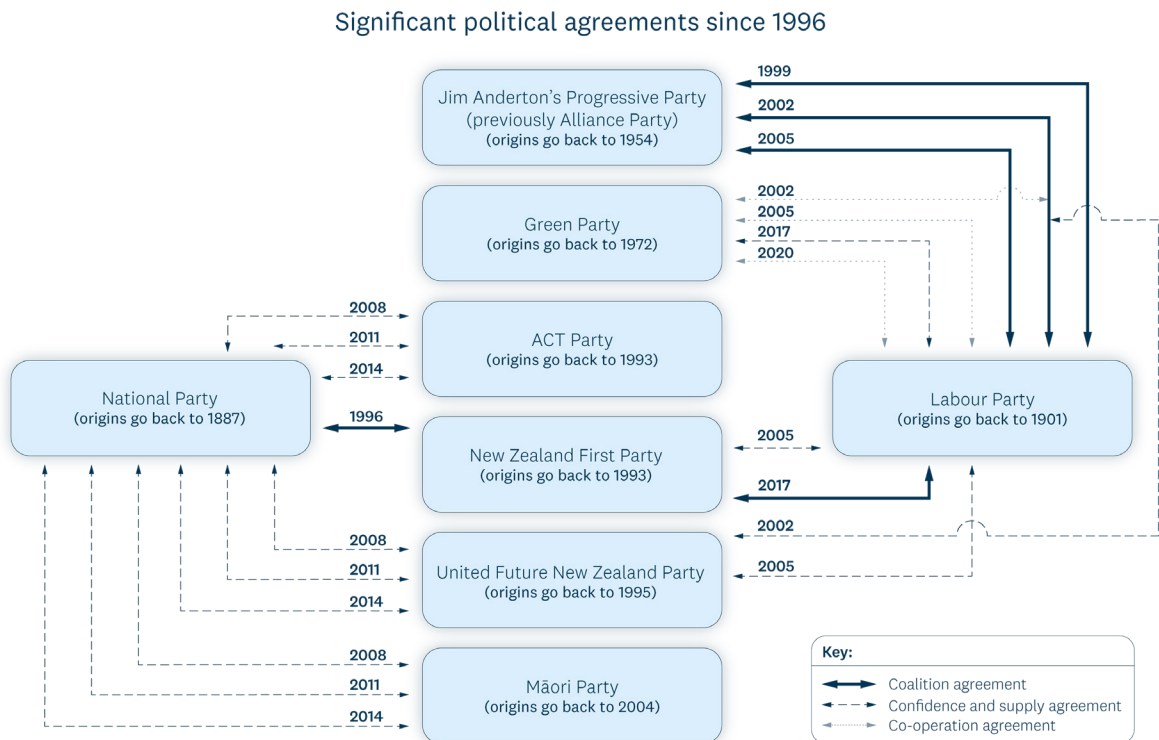


Figure 2: Number of pages of each political agreement



Key: ■ Coalition agreement ■ Confidence and supply agreement ■ Co-operation agreement

Figure 3: Significant political agreements since 1996



## 2.0 Observations

If policy-makers want to create durable, sustainable and trustworthy government, we need to put in place the necessary policy instruments to ensure that citizens (in particular, voters, journalists, historians) have access to accurate and timely information. Reporting on the outcomes of the formation of government (in terms of signed agreements, policy priorities and trade-offs) enables citizens to understand how well MMP is working for Aotearoa New Zealand and ensures quality public policy continues to drive change for all New Zealanders. We decided to explore political agreements because they are, arguably, the deciding documents that determine the formation of a government, and the priorities that the government has agreed to progress.

The Institute has been advocating for an independent review of progress in regard to the 2017 *Coalition Agreement New Zealand Labour Party & New Zealand First* and the 2017 *Confidence and Supply Agreement New Zealand Labour Party & Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand* (McGuinness Institute, 2019, pp. 4–5). This is particularly relevant given the 2017–2020 parliamentary term has drawn to a close.

To this end, we undertook an assessment of the extent to which the policy priorities outlined in the two agreements that formed the 2017 government have been implemented. This working paper can be read in conjunction with other work the McGuinness Institute has undertaken in regard to political agreements. *Working Paper 2020/07 – Analysis of the 2017 Labour-New Zealand First Coalition and Agreement, three years on* and *Working Paper 2020/08 – Analysis of the Labour-Green Party Confidence and Supply Agreement, three years on* review the extent to which the policy priorities set out in the political agreements have been implemented during the 2017–2020 parliamentary term. We use press releases and news articles to determine whether the policy priorities have been 1. fully implemented, 2. partially implemented or 3. not implemented. The papers also discuss in more detail the general nature and content of each type of agreement (coalition and confidence and supply). See *Working Paper 2020/07 and Working Paper 2020/08* for the full analysis.

This working paper includes key takeaways from the above exercise, and explores how New Zealand might improve its historical records of coalition support agreements to ensure they are given the appropriate due diligence they deserve. We also provide a number of recommendations that we believe could strengthen civic engagement and education in New Zealand.

Firstly it should be noted that, from the research exercise, it is evident that almost all priorities written in both agreements were progressed to have either been fully implemented or partially implemented. This indicates the importance and weight of these agreements as not only the key documents that form a government, but as the guidelines of what occurs within a parliamentary term. In light of this, it is concerning that these documents do not undergo greater levels of scrutiny, nor are they treated as formal documents with filing requirements. In the cases of minority parties, the successes of the implementation of agreements should be seen as successes of MMP; it is odd that they are not treated as a measure of strength of influence by the minority signatories.

Three key issues were raised during this research process:

### 1. There is no requirement for coalition and support agreements to be filed on a public platform.

The Institute struggled to gather copies of all coalition and support agreements signed since the MMP system was established in 1996. These documents are ‘owned’ by the signatories (political parties), meaning there is no public historical record of these documents. It is up to the discretion of the signatories to make these documents public; it could be argued, however, that there is a moral obligation to file these documents.

This makes it difficult to track and compare agreements over time and ultimately, policy priorities over time. This lack of historical record makes for a large gap in public information as there is no record of how the agreements were progressed, nor how agreements have changed over time within their economic, social and environmental context.

The Institute could not find a 1996 confidence and supply agreement between Labour/Progressive and the Green Party. Following communications with the Labour and Green parties, DPMC and the Parliamentary Library, it appears that not only was the agreement never signed, but it never went beyond a draft. Despite searching for the agreement and contacting numerous parties, we found that no one appears to have a copy of this agreement.

**2. The documents are largely informal, in that there is no apparent structure, content or shape that the agreement must take.**

While there are significant differences in the nature of coalition agreements and other support agreements (e.g. number of ministers in the House), there does not appear to be any difference in the structure and content of the written agreements. This is evident when comparing the Labour–NZ First and Labour–Green 2017 agreements. They were of similar lengths and contained a similar number of policy priorities. They bore no significant differences except for categorisation of priorities (e.g. environment, health, education) and the priorities themselves. This makes it difficult to understand how the written agreements differ in practice and the level of influence each party has on public policy in relation to the type of agreement signed.

Interestingly, of all of the historical agreements between parties since 1996 that are publicly available, none of these versions are signed (except for a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding between the Labour Party and the Green Party), making the documents even more informal.

**3. There is no review or assessment of whether or not policy priorities agreed upon within the documents are progressed within the parliamentary term**

This detracts from the importance of these documents as the foundation of a parliamentary term. Given that policy priority progression is not tracked against the documents, it is not only difficult to establish what has been achieved during a parliamentary term, but it is also difficult to examine what trade-offs each party made when comparing the documents that formed the government and policies that voters were promised during the election campaign.

It could be argued that lack of easily accessible information on the progression of public policy within the public arena is one of the gaps that aid in the misconceptions of the relevance of government to everyday people. The working papers prepared by the McGuinness Institute provide high-level, evidence-based tables that are easily accessible and easy to understand and create more tangible correlations between projects, initiatives, budgets and how these align with party policies and those who vote for them.

## 3.0 Recommendations

Below we outline a number of recommendations that could better formalise written political agreements as key documents in government formation, and how they could be harnessed as tools to measure progress and historically record how policy priorities progress and adapt over time.

- Require central filing of coalition and support agreements.
- Require the filed copies of the agreements to contain signatures.
- Require minority parties in government to monitor the progression of agreements.
- Require an independent review of progression reports.
- Require any coalition party to also sign other support agreements if there is more than one minority party in the formation of a government.

The McGuinness Institute has a particular interest in ensuring that there are historical accounts filed and stored in central government so that we have, over time, a narrative of the shifts in thought and processes as government shifts from election to election. It is our view that once citizens have voted for the parties they want to be in power, the second process of shaping government is the agreements, compromises and trade-offs made through coalition and support agreements. MMP was designed to ensure that diversity in political thought is maximised within government, and to remove the 'first past the post' politics that sustained a two-party system in New Zealand. It is important to record the manner in which major and minor parties interact with one another to shape the direction of Aotearoa New Zealand under the signed agreements that have determined policy priorities since 1996.

## 4.0 Political agreements since 1996

Table 1: List of political agreements since 1996

Date	Major party	Minor party	Title of agreement
<b>1996 general election – 12 Oct 1996</b>			<b>Majority coalition</b>
1996*	National (44/120 seats)	New Zealand First (17/120 seats)	<u>The 1996 coalition agreement between National and New Zealand First</u>
<b>1999 general election – 27 Nov 1999</b>			<b>Minority coalition</b>
6 Dec 1999*	Labour (49/120 seats)	Alliance (10/120 seats)	<u>The coalition agreement [?]</u> (title not known)
1999**	Labour (49/120 seats)	Green (7/120 seats)	Although mentioned in the speech from the throne, no agreement was signed
<b>2002 general election – 27 Jul 2002</b>			<b>Minority coalition</b>
8 Aug 2002*	Labour (52/120 seats)	Progressive (2/120 seats)	<u>Coalition Agreement between the Labour and Progressive Coalition Parties in Parliament</u>
8 Aug 2002**	Labour/Progressive (54/120 seats)	United Future (8/120 seats)	<u>Agreement for Confidence and Supply between the Labour/Progressive Government and the United Future Parliamentary Caucus</u>
26 Aug 2002***	Labour/Progressive (54/120 seats)	Green (9/120 seats)	<u>Co-operation Agreement between the Labour/Progressive Government and the Green Parliamentary Caucus</u>
<b>2005 general election – 17 Sep 2005</b>			<b>Minority coalition</b>
17 Oct 2005*	Labour (50/121 seats)	Progressive (1/121 seats)	<u>Coalition Agreement: Labour and Progressive Parties in Parliament</u>
17 Oct 2005**	Labour (50/121 seats)	New Zealand First (7/121 seats)	<u>Confidence and Supply Agreement with New Zealand First</u>
17 Oct 2005**	Labour (50/121 seats)	United Future (3/121 seats)	<u>Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future</u>

Date	Major party	Minor party	Title of agreement
17 Oct 2005***	Labour (50/121 seats)	Green (6/121 seats)	<u>Labour led Government Co-operation Agreement with the Green Party</u>
<b>2008 general election – 8 Nov 2008</b>			<b>Minority single-party</b>
14 Nov 2008**	National (58/122 seats)	United Future (1/122 seats)	<u>Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future</u>
16 Nov 2008**	National (58/122 seats)	ACT (5/122 seats)	<u>National-ACT Confidence and Supply Agreement</u>
16 Nov 2008**	National (58/122 seats)	Māori Party (5/122 seats)	<u>Relationship and Confidence and Supply Agreement between the National Party and the Māori Party</u>
<b>2011 general election – 26 Nov 2011</b>			<b>Minority single-party</b>
5 Dec 2011**	National (59/121 seats)	ACT (1/121 seats)	<u>Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand</u>
5 Dec 2011**	National (59/121 seats)	United Future (1/121 seats)	<u>Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future New Zealand</u>
11 Dec 2011**	National (59/121 seats)	Māori Party (3/121 seats)	<u>Relationship Accord and Confidence and Supply Agreement with the Māori Party (including Schedule A)</u>
<b>2014 general election – 20 Sep 2014</b>			<b>Minority single-party</b>
29 Sep 2014**	National (60/121 seats)	ACT (1/121 seats)	<u>2014 Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand</u>
29 Sep 2014**	National (60/121 seats)	United Future (1/121 seats)	<u>2014 Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future New Zealand</u>
5 Oct 2014**	National (60/121 seats)	Māori Party (2/121 seats)	<u>2014 Relationship Accord and Confidence and Supply Agreement with the Māori Party</u>
<b>2017 general election – 23 Sep 2017</b>			<b>Minority coalition</b>
24 Oct 2017*	Labour (46/120 seats)	New Zealand First (9/120 seats)	<u>Coalition Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party &amp; New Zealand First</u>

Date	Major Party	Minor Party	Title of Agreement
24 Oct 2017**	Labour (46/120 seats)	Green (8/120 seats)	Confidence & Supply Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party & Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand
<b>2020 general election – 17 Oct 2020</b>			<b>Majority single-party</b>
1 Nov 2020***	Labour (65/120 seats)	Green (10/120 seats)	New Zealand Labour Party & Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand Cooperation Agreement

### Key:

- \* **Coalition agreement:** where two or more political parties agree to govern together (five signed). A coalition agreement involves each of the relevant parties having members in the Cabinet and all Cabinet ministers being bound by the convention of collective Cabinet responsibility.
- \*\* **Confidence and supply agreements:** where a minority political party agrees to support a major party on confidence and supply (13 signed). In contrast to a coalition agreement, a confidence and supply agreement may involve the smaller party holding one or more ministerial posts, but such ministers are not full members of the Cabinet (although they attend Cabinet committee meetings). In such situations, selective collective responsibility applies, in the sense that the ministers in question are bound to agree with the government’s policies/decisions in their specific areas of ministerial responsibility but not with all other policy decisions.
- \*\*\* **Co-operation agreement:** where a minority political party agrees to support a major party but does not go as far as providing confidence and supply (two signed).



# Appendix 1: Coalition and support agreements

Appendix 1 contains the front page of all coalition, confidence and supply and co-operation agreements. We have also included two memorandums of understanding. Each agreement contains a link to a copy of the full agreement.

## 1.1 Coalition agreements

10 December 1996

The 1996 coalition agreement between National and New Zealand First

THIS AGREEMENT made this                      day of                      1996

BETWEEN NEW ZEALAND FIRST Political Party registered under the Electoral Act 1993 (hereinafter referred to as "New Zealand First")

AND                      The NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL PARTY duly registered under the Electoral Act 1993 (hereinafter referred to as "National")

**BACKGROUND**

- A. In 1993 the people of New Zealand chose mixed member proportional as an electoral system to replace the first past the post electoral process. That was a decision made after lengthy debate and as such represented the will of the majority of New Zealanders who desired a new electoral system thereby permitting greater participation in the electoral process.
- B. A feature of MMP is the necessity for parties to consider coalition arrangements to enable the formation of a stable government. The experience of similar democracies to New Zealand with coalition governments is that policy is developed by consensus it being recognised that co-operation is critical to the long term stability of coalition government.
- C. Even though parties form coalitions the identity of each coalition partner is recognised as being legitimate. It is accepted that circumstances dictate that political parties going into coalition should focus on their similarities, on what they have in common and how they can bridge the gap between them in the interests of the country as a whole. It is an extension of this process that parties are able to co-operate in policy development and administration to ensure the greater public good.
- D. The parties recognise that no party has an absolute mandate to put its own promised policies in place. The advancement of administration and policy positions requires negotiation, understanding and practical resolution of differences to achieve an acceptable position for the enduring of a coalition. Development of policy is achieved through consensus and good sense.
- E. The parties have conducted negotiations with respect to the formation of a Coalition Government for the period post-election 1996. The parties have agreed to the formation of a coalition subject to the terms and conditions of this agreement.
- F. Notwithstanding the formation of a Coalition Government, each party will preserve a separate identity and operating procedures in every respect, save and except where such procedures are incompatible with this Coalition agreement whereupon the letter and spirit of this coalition agreement shall supercede each individual party's procedures.



# The coalition agreement

30 Jun, 2000 3:24pm

🕒 3 minutes to read

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The Labour and Alliance parties will form a Coalition Government with the following objectives:

1. To implement a policy platform which reduces inequality, is environmentally sustainable and improves the social and economic wellbeing of all New Zealanders.
2. To restore public confidence in the political integrity of Parliament and the electoral process.
3. To provide stable and effective long-term government for New Zealand without losing the distinctive political identity of either party and
4. To act in good faith between the Coalition partners.

## PROCESSES FOR COALITION MANAGEMENT

So far as possible the achievement of the above objectives will be driven by consensus management and the avoidance of surprises.

The Coalition Government will operate within the convention of collective cabinet responsibility, subject to the provisions of this agreement, and the expectation is that cabinet decisions will be taken by consensus.

There will be a standing Coalition management committee comprising the two leaders, their deputies and the two senior whips. Meetings of the committee will be chaired by the Prime Minister. Each party leader may nominate a member of the party outside Parliament to attend meetings as required.

The tasks of the management committee will include dispute resolution and strategic political management of the Coalition.



## Coalition Agreement between the Labour and Progressive Coalition Parties in Parliament

The Labour and Progressive Coalition parties in Parliament agree to form a government with the objective of:

Providing stable government over the next term of Parliament, so as to implement a comprehensive policy programme aimed at increasing economic growth, reducing inequality and improving the social and economic well-being of all New Zealanders and their families in a manner which is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable.

### Objective

To provide stable government over the next term of Parliament so as to implement a comprehensive policy programme aimed at increasing economic growth, reducing inequality and improving the social and economic well-being of all New Zealanders and their families in a manner which is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable.

### Good faith and no surprises

Both parties to this agreement will operate in government on a good faith and no surprises basis.

### Maintaining identity

The coalition partners will work in good faith to further the objectives of government, while accepting the need for distinctive party political identities within government, especially in relation to the smaller party being able to maintain a separate but responsible identity. Agree to disagree provisions will apply where necessary and in such circumstances the Progressive Coalition will be free to express alternative views publicly and in Parliament.

### Cooperation with other parties

The government will enter into agreements with other parties to secure confidence and supply and to facilitate the implementation of the preferred legislative programme in Parliament.

### Policy Programme

The manifestos of Labour and the Progressive Coalition have much in common with both parties being committed to a progressive social democratic policy programme. Reflecting its electoral mandate, Labour will lead the broad policy programme, recognising the Progressive Coalition's general priorities of employment, support for low income families, health and education and its wish to make specific progress on:

- ensuring better co-ordination and integration of industry assistance.
- implementation of a comprehensive drug strategy aimed at protecting young people and educating them on the dangers of drug use.
- policy to promote a better balance of work and family responsibilities.



## **Coalition Agreement: Labour and Progressive Parties in Parliament**

Our objective is to continue to deliver ongoing stability in a coalition government that is implementing programmes for a sustainable and growing economy in a progressive, just and fair society. Our respective and joint policy priorities for this term will also take account of arrangements with supporting parties and be set out to the House in the Speech from the Throne.

The two parties will work together in good faith and with “no surprises”, reflecting appropriate notice and consultation on important matters including the ongoing development of policy.

Both parties recognise the need for parties to be able to maintain distinctive political identities in government and Parliament. This applies particularly to the smaller party and during this term of Parliament we will further develop processes for:

- ensuring appropriate credit for and recognition of the policy achievements of the smaller party; and
- the expression of different views publicly and in Parliament.

The Progressive Leader will be appointed to a Cabinet position and the Prime Minister will allocate portfolios after appropriate consultation, noting particularly the coalition priorities for this term. Decision-making processes will be by consensus and as set out in the Cabinet Manual and other Cabinet documents, noting that quorum rules relating to the need to have at least one member from each coalition party present in all Committee and Cabinet meetings will not necessarily apply.

Both parties will work with other parties in Parliament through appropriate support arrangements and consultation systems to form a stable government and to progress a positive legislative programme.

**Dated the 17<sup>th</sup> October 2005**

**Rt Hon Helen Clark**  
**Labour Leader**

**Hon Jim Anderton**  
**Progressive Leader**



24 October 2017

Coalition Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party & New Zealand First



# COALITION AGREEMENT

New Zealand  
Labour Party &  
New Zealand  
First

52<sup>nd</sup> Parliament



## 1.2 Confidence and supply agreements

8 August 2002

Agreement for Confidence and Supply between the Labour/Progressive Government and the United Future Parliamentary Caucus



### Agreement for Confidence and Supply between the Labour/Progressive Government and the United Future Parliamentary Caucus

The United Future parliamentary caucus agrees to provide confidence and supply for the term of this Parliament, to a Labour/Progressive government with the objective of:

Providing stable government over the next term of Parliament, so as to implement a comprehensive policy programme aimed at increasing economic growth, reducing inequality and improving the social and economic well-being of all New Zealanders and their families in a manner which is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable.

#### Good faith and no surprises

All parties to this agreement will operate on a good faith and no surprises basis for the term of this Parliament.

#### Policy Programme

It is agreed that the detail of the policy programme will be based on the manifestos of the government coalition partners and will take account of the policy priorities of the United Future Party.

It is acknowledged that policy initiatives advanced by United Future during this Parliamentary term will be considered by the government and resolved according to the procedures set out in this agreement.

In particular the government will, as immediate priorities, in consultation with the Leader of United Future,

- By the end of this year develop proposals for a Commission for the Family which will have regard to the United Future policy platform, (attached as Appendix A), and relevant parts of the Labour Manifesto, including the Parenting Council initiative, with a view to implementation in the 2003/04 financial year.
- Pass, by the end of this year, strong victims rights legislation, including increased support for victims support groups.
- Ensure that new transport legislation is introduced and passed that includes provisions for alternative funding options to facilitate the accelerated development of new roading infrastructure.

The government will not introduce legislation to change the legal status of cannabis and will implement a comprehensive drug strategy aimed at protecting young people and educating them on the dangers of drug use.

#### Consultative arrangements

The government will consult with United Future on a range of issues including:

- The broad outline of the legislative programme and the priorities within it.
- Key legislative measures.
- Major policy issues.
- Broad budget parameters.

That consultation will occur in a timely fashion so that the views of United Future can be incorporated into final decision making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of United Future, and there will be ongoing relationships between relevant portfolio Ministers and United Future spokespeople.



## Confidence and Supply Agreement with New Zealand First

### Preamble

New Zealand First pledged, on 7 September 2005, in a keynote address in Rotorua, that it would not enter into a formal coalition arrangement with either a Labour-led or a National-led government.

It was further stated that, in the interests of political stability, the party would not oppose supply and confidence to whichever party the voters elected to form a government.

When it became apparent during the government-forming period that, without New Zealand First, there was potentially an equal split of 57 each for the opposing sides, New Zealand First moved to stabilise the position.

This required a positive vote on supply and confidence to the new government led by the party with the most seats in the House.

Such an undertaking was the only means of achieving stable government for the next three years without being part of the coalition government.

### Confidence and Supply

New Zealand First agrees to provide confidence and supply for the term of this Parliament, to a Labour-led coalition.

The relationship between New Zealand First and the government will be based on good faith and no surprises.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with New Zealand First on issues including:

- The broad outline of the legislative programme.
- Key legislative measures on which the government is seeking NZ First support.
- Broad budget parameters.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure New Zealand First views can be incorporated into final decision making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of New Zealand First.



## Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future

United Future agrees to provide confidence and supply for the term of this Parliament, to a Labour-led government

The relationship between United Future and the government will be based on good faith and no surprises.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with United Future on issues including

- The broad outline of the legislative programme
- Key legislative measures
- Major policy issues
- Broad budget parameters

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure United Future views can be incorporated into final decision-making

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of United Future.

Other co-operation will include:

- Access to relevant Ministers by designated United Future MPs
- Regular meetings between the Prime Minister and the United Future Leader
- Advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or United Future
- Briefings by the Government on significant issues before any public announcement.

### Ministerial Position

The Leader of United Future will be appointed to a ministerial position outside Cabinet. Portfolios will be agreed between the Prime Minister and the Leader of United Future.

### Policy Programme

The Labour-led government has agreed during this term of Parliament to adopt and implement the following broad principles, policies and priorities advanced by United Future





## Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future

United Future agrees to provide confidence and supply through positive votes of support for the term of this Parliament to a National-led government.

The relationship between United Future and the government will be based on good faith and no surprises.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with United Future on issues including:

- The broad outline of the legislative programme.
- Key legislative measures.
- Major policy issues.
- Broad budget parameters

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure United Future views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of United Future.

Other co-operation will include:

- Access to relevant Ministers.
- Regular meetings between the Prime Minister and the United Future Leader.
- Advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or United Future.
- Briefings by the Government on significant issues before any public announcement.

### Ministerial Position

The Leader of United Future will be appointed to the positions of Minister of Revenue and Associate Minister of Health. These ministerial positions will be outside of Cabinet.

### Policy Programme

The National-led government has agreed during this term of Parliament to adopt and implement the following broad principles, policies and priorities advanced by United Future:

- Maintain the policy, research and advocacy role of the Families Commission whilst seeking to achieve administrative efficiencies between the operations of the Families Commission and the Office of the Children's Commissioner.
- Reducing elective surgery waiting lists by greater utilisation of private hospital capacity, in a planned way where this cannot be met by the public hospital system;
- Progressing the long-term medicines strategy for quality use of pharmaceuticals in the health sector, *Medicines New Zealand*, including the role Pharmac should play in that strategy.



## **NATIONAL-ACT CONFIDENCE AND SUPPLY AGREEMENT**

Made this 16<sup>th</sup> day of November 2008

BETWEEN: The National Party  
("National")

AND The ACT Party  
("ACT")

### **PREAMBLE**

Recognising that National and ACT have a duty to give effect to the will of the people as expressed at the general election, in particular the strong mandate for a change in New Zealand's economic and social directions:

Recognising that National and ACT have shared goals for a more prosperous and cohesive New Zealand driven by the initiative and hard work of individual New Zealanders:

Recognising that significant changes in institutions and policies will be needed to achieve those goals:

Recognising that New Zealand's productivity performance will need to increase dramatically if New Zealanders are to enjoy greater prosperity:

Recognising that the country also faces immediate and serious economic risks due to the international financial crisis and global recession:

Recognising that in order to promote strong growth in investment, employment and incomes, stable government and high levels of business confidence are required:

National and ACT agree on the following elements of an approach to government --



16 November 2008

## **Relationship and Confidence and Supply Agreement between the National Party and the Maori Party**

### **Introduction**

The National Party and the Maori Party recognise the importance of mana maintenance and enhancement for both parties to this agreement.

The relationship between the Maori Party and the National Party will be one of good faith and no surprises.

Both the National Party and the Maori Party will act in accordance with te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi.

### **Consultation Arrangements**

The National Party will consult the Maori Party on issues including:

- The legislative programme/measures
- Policy issues
- Broad Budget parameters
- Government appointments, with the National Party considering in good faith recommendations by the Maori Party

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure Maori Party views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Office of the Prime Minister and the Office of the Co-Leaders of the Maori Party.

The relationship between the two parties will also be furthered through:

- Timely access to relevant Ministers by designated Maori Party Members of Parliament
- Monthly meetings between the Prime Minister and the Co-Leaders of the Maori Party



## Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand

ACT New Zealand agrees to provide confidence and supply through positive votes of support for the term of this Parliament to a National-led Government in return for National's agreement to the policy programme and other matters set out in this document.

The agreement between ACT and National builds on the stable and constructive relationship developed between the two parties over the past three years and will continue to be based on good faith and no surprises.

This agreement recognises that National and ACT have joint aspirations for a more prosperous country. It also recognises their shared goals of:

- improving the competitiveness of New Zealand's import-competing and exporting activities through reducing intrusive government regulation and excessive government spending
- raising productivity growth by the same means and through ongoing public sector reform and greater reliance on competitive processes; and
- reducing child poverty, educational underachievement and youth unemployment.

The policy programme outlined in this agreement upholds and advances these goals.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with ACT including on:

- the broad outline of the legislative programme
- key legislative measures
- major policy issues
- broad budget parameters; and
- policy issues and legislative measures to which ACT is likely to be particularly sensitive.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure ACT views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of Hon John Banks.

Other co-operation will include:

- access to relevant Ministers
- regular meetings between the Prime Minister and Hon John Banks



## **Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future New Zealand**

United Future agrees to provide confidence and supply for the term of this Parliament, to a National-led government

The relationship between United Future and the government will be based on good faith and no surprises.

### **Consultation arrangements**

The Government will consult with United Future on issues including:

- The broad outline of the legislative programme
- Key legislative measures
- Major policy issues; and
- Broad budget parameters.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure United Future views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of United Future.

Other co-operation will include:

- Access to relevant Ministers
- Regular meetings between the Prime Minister and the United Future Leader
- Advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or United Future; and
- Briefings by the Government on significant issues before any public announcement.

### **Ministerial Position**

The Leader of United Future will be appointed to the positions of Minister of Revenue, Associate Minister of Health and Associate Minister of Conservation. These ministerial positions will be outside of Cabinet.



### **Relationship Accord and Confidence and Supply Agreement with the Māori Party**

The Māori Party agrees to provide positive votes of support for all matters subject to Confidence and Supply votes for the term of this Parliament to a National-led Government in return for National's agreement to the policy programme and other matters set out in this document.

The National Party and the Māori Party recognise the importance of mana maintenance and enhancement for both parties to this agreement.

The agreement between the Māori Party and the Government builds on the stable and constructive relationship developed between the two parties over the past three years and will continue to be based on good faith and no surprises.

The National Party and the Māori Party will act in accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty is our country's founding document. It created a nation based on diversity and shared aspirations for future success and prosperity. Both National and the Māori Party are committed to working together to ensure Māori and all New Zealanders can enjoy a successful and more prosperous future.

The policy programme outlined in this agreement upholds and advances these aspirations.

### **Consultation arrangements**

The Government will consult with the Māori Party including on:

- the broad outline of the legislative programme
- key legislative measures
- major policy issues
- broad budget parameters
- policy issues and legislative measures to which the Māori Party is likely to be particularly sensitive, and
- government appointments, with the Government considering in good faith recommendations by the Māori Party.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure the Māori Party views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Co-leaders of the Māori Party.





## 2014 Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand

ACT New Zealand agrees to provide confidence and supply for the term of this Parliament to a National-led Government in return for National's agreement to the policy programme and other matters set out in this document.

The agreement between ACT and National builds on the stable and constructive relationship developed between the two parties over the past six years and will continue to be based on good faith and no surprises.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with ACT including on:

- the broad outline of the legislative programme
- key legislative measures
- major policy issues
- broad budget parameters; and
- policy issues and legislative measures to which ACT is likely to be particularly sensitive.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure ACT views can be incorporated into final decision-making. Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of David Seymour.

Other co-operation will include:

- access to relevant Ministers
- regular meetings between the Prime Minister and David Seymour
- advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or ACT, and
- briefings by Ministers and officials on significant issues and issues that are likely to be politically sensitive before any public announcement.

### Policy programme

National and ACT have worked together constructively over the past two parliamentary terms to provide stable government and to implement policies to promote a strong economy.

In this parliamentary term, ACT has a number of priorities to progress with the government – making further progress on the development of partnership schools; reducing the regulatory burden on businesses and consumers; and on reform of the Resource Management Act, among the key ones, as follows:

#### 1. Partnership Schools/Kura Hourua

National and ACT agree to further develop the model and expand the trial of Partnership Schools/Kura Hourua, for the purpose of improving educational outcomes for disadvantaged students. This will include maintaining the momentum and continuity of



## **2014 Confidence and Supply Agreement with United Future New Zealand**

United Future agrees to provide confidence and supply support for the term of this Parliament to a National-led Government in return for National's agreement to the matters set out in this document.

The agreement between United Future and National builds on the stable and constructive relationship developed between the two parties over the past six years and will continue to be based on good faith and no surprises.

### **Consultation arrangements**

The Government will consult with United Future including on:

- the broad outline of the legislative programme
- key legislative measures
- major policy issues
- broad budget parameters; and
- policy issues and legislative measures to which United Future is likely to be particularly sensitive.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure United Future views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Leader of United Future.

Other co-operation will include:

- access to relevant Ministers
- regular meetings between the Prime Minister and the United Future Leader
- advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or United Future, and
- briefings by Ministers and officials on significant issues and issues that are likely to be politically sensitive before any public announcement.





## **2014 Relationship Accord and Confidence and Supply Agreement with the Maori Party**

### **‘Te Tatau ki te Paerangi’ – A doorway to our horizons**

The Maori Party agrees to provide confidence and supply through positive votes of support for the term of this Parliament to a National-led Government in return for National's agreement to the matters set out in this document.

The agreement between the Maori Party and National builds on the stable and constructive relationship developed between the two parties over the past six years and will continue to be based on good faith and no surprises.

#### **Consultation arrangements**

The Government will consult with the Maori Party including on:

- the broad outline of the legislative programme
- key legislative measures
- major policy issues
- broad budget parameters; and
- policy issues and legislative measures to which the Maori Party is likely to be particularly sensitive.

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure the Maori Party views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Co-Leaders of the Maori Party.

Other co-operation will include:

- access to relevant Ministers
- regular meetings between the Prime Minister and Maori Party Co-Leaders
- advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or the Maori Party, and
- briefings by Ministers and officials on significant issues and issues that are likely to be politically sensitive before any public announcement.

24 October 2017

Confidence & Supply Agreement: New Zealand Labour Party & the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand

**CONFIDENCE & SUPPLY  
AGREEMENT**

New Zealand  
Labour Party &  
Green Party of  
Aotearoa New  
Zealand

52<sup>nd</sup> Parliament



## 1.3 Co-operation agreements

26 August 2002

Co-operation Agreement between the Labour/Progressive Government and the Green Parliamentary Caucus



### Co-operation Agreement between the Labour/Progressive Government and the Green Parliamentary Caucus

The Green Party Parliamentary caucus (Green Party) and the Labour/Progressive government are committed to having a constructive relationship based on good faith for this term of Parliament.

The commitment of the Labour/Progressive government is to:

Provide stable government over the next term of Parliament, so as to implement a comprehensive policy programme aimed at increasing economic growth, reducing inequality and improving the social and economic well-being of all New Zealanders and their families in a manner which is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable.

The Green Party is committed to building an ecologically sustainable, socially just, participatory and peaceful society.

The Government and the Green Party share many similar goals and will co-operate on agreed areas of policy development and legislation in order to facilitate the implementation of a shared agenda.

#### Co-operation on Policy and Legislation

The Government will consult with the Green Party on a range of issues including:

- The broad outline of the legislative programme and the priorities within it
- Key legislative measures
- Major policy issues

The Government and the Green Party will engage on the detail of policy via a number of categories:

#### Category A

- Full participation of Green Party spokespeople in the development of policy positions with the expectation of developing joint positions.

#### Category B

- Consultation on the broad direction of policy, and the development of related legislation, with the aim of achieving support for legislative measures and/or policy proposals.

#### Category C

- Consultation for the purposes of information sharing without any particular expectation of developing agreed positions.

Issues will be assigned to a category by agreement and the procedures which will be followed will be dependent on that assignment. The initial procedures are set out in the attachment to this agreement.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Co-Leaders of the Green Party.

Other co-operation will include:

- Access to relevant Ministers by designated Green Party MPs
- Quarterly meetings between the Prime Minister and the Green Party Co-Leaders
- Advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or the Green Party
- Briefings by the Government on significant issues before any public announcement.
- Ongoing input by the Green Party into the implementation of previously agreed budget initiatives



## Labour led Government Co-operation Agreement with the Green Party

The Green Party agrees to provide stability to a Labour/Progressive coalition government by co-operating on agreed policy and budget initiatives and not opposing confidence or supply for the term of this Parliament.

The Green Party is committed to ecological sustainability, a self-reliant economy, a fairer society and a peaceful world.

The relationship between the Green Party and the government will be based on good faith and no surprises.

### Consultation arrangements

The Government will consult with the Green party on issues including

- The broad outline of the legislative programme
- Key legislative measures
- Major policy issues
- Broad budget parameters

Consultation will occur in a timely fashion to ensure Green Party views can be incorporated into final decision-making.

Formal consultation will be managed between the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Co-Leaders of the Green Party.

Other co-operation will include:

- Access to relevant Ministers by designated Green Party MPs
- Regular meetings between the Prime Minister and the Green Party Co-Leaders
- Advance notification to the other party of significant announcements by either the Government or the Green Party
- Briefings by the Government on significant issues before any public announcement
- Input into the budget process and inclusion of Green Party budget initiatives in each of the three years



New Zealand Labour Party  
& Green Party of Aotearoa  
New Zealand

# COOPERATION AGREEMENT

53<sup>rd</sup> Parliament



## 1.4 Memorandums of understanding

8 April 2009

Memorandum of Understanding Between The New Zealand National Party and The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand



### **Memorandum of Understanding Between The New Zealand National Party and The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand**

#### Purpose

The National Party and the Green Party wish to work together to develop policy and legislation in areas of common interest. The purpose of this MoU is to establish a framework within which the Parties can engage in such areas as are identified from time to time.

#### Principles

The following principles underpin this working relationship:

- Both Parties are fully independent and retain their rights to vote and speak on all issues as they see fit
- The intent of both Parties is to establish a good faith working relationship
- This agreement is not based on any prerequisite policy commitments

#### Framework

To facilitate a working relationship in identified policy areas, the National Party agrees to provide the Green Party:

- Access to Ministers and appropriate departmental officials for briefings and advice
- Input into the Ministerial decision making process, including Cabinet papers

The Green Party agrees:

- To consider facilitating government legislation via procedural support on a case by case basis

Both Parties agree:

- To keep the details of working discussions confidential until negotiations are concluded, whether the result ends in agreement or not
- To facilitate this joint working relationship, the leadership of both Parties will meet at least quarterly to monitor progress, assess the overall relationship and to agree areas where joint work will occur
- To review this MoU yearly to assess its effectiveness and determine whether it should continue

John Key  
Leader

Jeanette Fitzsimons  
Co-Leader

Russel Norman  
Co-Leader

Memorandum of Understanding Signed 8 April 2009

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25 May 2014

Memorandum Of Understanding Between the MANA Movement and the Internet Party

## MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

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As at Sunday 25th May 2014

**Between the MANA Movement and the Internet Party**



31 May 2016

Memorandum of Understanding between the New Zealand Labour Party and Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand



# Memorandum of Understanding

## between the

### New Zealand Labour Party and

### Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand

31 May 2016

#### Preamble

The Labour Party and the Green Party have agreed to work together on matters of mutual interest. In an MMP electoral environment we believe the interests of our movements and ideals can best be achieved by working co-operatively whilst respecting we are separate political parties.

We are open to building relationships with other parties, people and organisations that share our goal but recognise that is a decision for them.

We note the non-Government parties collectively are supported by more New Zealanders than the Government parties.

It is our intent to build on this agreement so as to offer New Zealanders the basis of a stable, credible and progressive alternative government at the 2017 General Election.

#### 1. Our Purpose


- a) The parties agree to work co-operatively in order to change the Government at the 2017 election.

#### 2. Working Together

- a) We acknowledge any relationship prospers if we work together in good faith and mutual trust. As such we commit to treat each other with integrity and openness.
- b) We agree to co-operate where appropriate in Parliament. This may include co-ordination in Question Time, Select Committees, and supporting each other's Members' Bills and Supplementary Order Papers.
- c) We will investigate a joint policy and/or campaign to advance our purpose. We agree to invite each other to appropriate forums.
- d) We agree to a "no surprises" policy that means we give each other prior notice and the details of major announcements and speeches. This includes matters where we may disagree.
- e) We will consider ways that we can co-operate in the 2016 Local Government elections.
- f) We will meet at least monthly to address matters that advance the purpose of this agreement. Each party will have four representatives - two party leaders, the chiefs of staff and a non-parliamentary party representative.

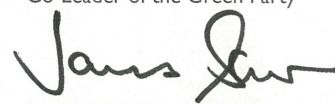
#### 3. Agree to Disagree Protocol

- a) Each party is proud of their political culture, history and identity. Whilst many of our policies are compatible, we accept that as independent parties, there will be differences in specific policies and strategies.
- b) We support each other's right to express alternative views, whilst acknowledging our responsibility to discuss our position with each other before public debate. We agree to articulate differences in a collegial and respectful manner so as not to detract from the purpose of this agreement.

  
Andrew Little MP  
Leader of the Labour Party

  
Hon Annette King MP  
Deputy Leader of the Labour Party

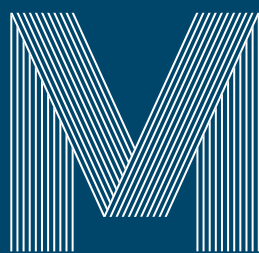
  
Metiria Turei MP  
Co-Leader of the Green Party

  
James Shaw MP  
Co-Leader of the Green Party



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MCGUINNESS INSTITUTE  
TE HONONGA WAKA